

Hands Across the Sea

Situating an Edwardian Greetings
Postcard Practice



Peter Gilderdale

A thesis submitted to the Auckland University of
Technology in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2013

School of Art and Design

Table of Contents

Attestation of Authorship	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abstract	ix
Volume I: The Background Context	1
Preface	2
Introduction	5
The HATS Postcard within the Literature	7
Deltiological Histories of the Postcard	10
Academic Study of the Postcard Genre	14
The Structure and Aims	25
Method.....	30
Chapter 1: The Early History – The Symbol and the Phrase.....	50
The Handshake Emblem.....	50
The Genesis of Hands Across the Sea	58
Liberal Symbols: Temperance, Trade, Peace and Post.....	60
The Civil War, the Telegraph and the Graveyard.....	73
Masons, Friendly Societies and the Unions.....	78
Poetry, Patriotism, Melodrama and Music	89
Summary.....	107
Chapter 2: The Early History – The Culture of Collection	109
Design and the Development of Consumer Culture	111
Design Reform and Graphic Culture	111
Taste, Consumption and the Romantic Ethic	117
Novelty, Originality and the Fancy Goods Store.....	122
Albums, Print and the Collecting Culture	128
The Album and the Leisured Consumer: Friendship books, Autographs and the Commonplace.....	128
Photographs, Scraps and the Lithographic Tradition	139
Serial Souvenirs: The Theory of Collecting	152
The Visual Traditions Underpinning the Card	158
The Visual Vernacular of Celebration.....	158
Sentiment, Kitsch and the Language of Flowers	167
The Development of a Greetings Culture.....	183
Letters, Cards and the Valentine.....	183

From Gift to the Mass Market: Christmas Ritual and the Christmas Card...	193
Art for the Leisured Masses: Aesthetic Reform and the Christmas Card.....	205
A Postcard Precursor: The Christmas Card Business.....	219
Summary.....	239
Volume II: The Postcard	241
Chapter 3: The Postcard Craze	242
The Infectious Craze.....	242
The Early Official Postcard	244
The Early Picture Postcard	250
Speed, Space and Emigration: Edwardian Society.....	268
Edwardian Visuality	279
Though the Eyes of the Sellers: The New Zealand Postcard Craze	283
The Early Craze in New Zealand	287
Revitalising the Trade: From Views to Actresses	294
A Second Revitalisation: From Actresses to Greetings.....	309
Postal Statistics and Envelopes.....	317
The Postcard's Decline.....	322
Summary.....	329
Chapter 4: The Hands Across the Sea Postcard – The History	332
The Study: Logistics and Demographics.....	333
Consolidating the HATS Meme: 1898-1904.....	336
Early Hands Across the Sea Postcards	347
The Pivotal Year: 1908.....	359
From Craze to Cliché: HATS 1909-20.....	372
The Trajectory of the Craze.....	374
Ubiquity Beckons: The Decline of HATS Postcards	377
The Effects of the War.....	380
Verse and the Move to Folded Cards	385
The Afterglow	390
Summary.....	395
Chapter 5: The Hands Across the Sea Postcard – Tying Together the Threads... 397	
Greetings or Communication: Letters or Cards.....	397
The Often Anonymous Artists, Writers and Designers of Greetings	410
The HATS Postcard's Aesthetic.....	418
Modern or Nostalgic: The Languages of Greetings Postcards	425
The Melodramatic Connection	426

Sentimental Symbols and a Language of Emotion.....	434
Summary and Synthesis	443
Conclusion.....	445
Epilogue.....	451
Volume III: Appendices & References	455
Appendices	456
Part A:.....	456
Appendix 1: The Origins of Shaking Hands.....	456
Appendix 2: Advertising Cards and Coloured Scraps Showing Hands.....	464
Appendix 3: Christmas Card Retailing in New Zealand	467
Appendix 4: The People Who Used HATS Cards.....	470
Appendix 5: Publishing HATS Cards	486
Part B:.....	495
Appendix 6: Postcard Companies Producing HATS Cards	495
Appendix 7: Beagles' Cards.....	500
Appendix 8: Ashburton Guardian List of Crazes: 1887-1903.....	507
Appendix 9: Charts of Auckland Postcard Retailers' Prices: 1902-1910.....	509
Appendix 10: HATS Cards Used in the 601 Card Survey	517
List of Figures.....	552
References	561
Newspaper and Magazine Sources	561
Websites	576
Primary Sources.....	579
Secondary Sources.....	584

Please note that owing to the large number of figures in this work, the list of figures, which would normally appear here, has been placed after the appendices.

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby acknowledge that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor any material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Peter Gilderdale

October 2013

Acknowledgements

An undertaking of this nature is inevitably the result of many kindnesses, both large and small. My colleagues in the School of Art and Design, and the Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies have contributed their support in many different ways, whilst without the grant of time given to me by AUT University, in the form of a Vice Chancellor's Doctoral Study Award, the thesis could not have been completed in its current form. I am deeply grateful for it.

I have been fortunate to encounter many generous people in the course of the research. Although much of it occurred outside archives, a number of librarians, curators and archivists have significantly smoothed the way. In addition to the uniformly helpful library staff at AUT, I would like to thank: The National Library of New Zealand's Marian Minson (from the Alexander Turnbull Library) and Chelsea Hughes (from Papers Past); Keith Giles, of the Sir George Grey Special Collections in the Central City Library; the Lake County Discovery Museum's Catherine Hamilton Smith (Director of Cultural Resources) and Heather Johnston (of their Curt Teich Postcard Archive); Wendy Chmielewski of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection; and Renata Vickrey and Francis Gagliardi of the Elihu Burritt Archives at the Central Connecticut State University. Sharon Lawler, of the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Ange Greenwood and Matthew Neill of the University of Sheffield Library's National Fairground Archive, Anna Stone of the Aviva Archive and Margaret Aish of the Farmers Archive were amongst those who assisted with permissions for images.

I am similarly grateful to William Main, and to Alistair Gilkison of the Archive of New Zealand Sheet Music for the use of images from their private collections, and to a number of other collectors and enthusiasts who helped me with information I could not otherwise access: Dr Mark Cottrill, Malcolm Roebuck, Dave Murray of the Stevengraph Collectors Association; John Bland regarding J. Beagles & Co.; Peter Backman regarding Wrench Postcards; Narena Oliver regarding A. D. Willis, and

Yvonne Coles for early access to her extensive collection and library. This research was also made much more pleasant by the encounters I had with the dealers who sold me many of the cards, and also responded to my queries and follow-ups, especially Val Mills, Ray Orton, Ross Alexander and the now sadly deceased Merle Sneddon. Several colleagues and friends also helped by giving me cards, including Professor Welby Ings, Lesley Kaiser, and Baukje Lenting. I am also eternally grateful to an anonymous contributor to the Excel User Group, whose advice on embedding images in a spread sheet was quite simply invaluable.

A number of academics have also assisted in multiple ways. Dr Julia Gillen of Lancaster University and Dr Nigel Hall have been particularly generous in discussions around postcards, but I also want to acknowledge Dr Nick Mansfield of Manchester University and Dr Anne Ravenhill regarding Trade Union banners; Dr Andrew Popp of Liverpool University and Dr Simon Mowatt of AUT University with regard to aspects of Business history; as well as Professor Steven Skaggs of the University of Louisville and Dr Samantha Matthews of Bristol University who, like Julia Gillen and Nigel Mansfield, provided copies of articles they had written and which I could not otherwise access.

Two very special groups of people have played a huge part in this work, my supervisors and my family. I was fortunate to have uniformly positive and helpful advice and support from my supervisors. Associate Professor Caroline Daley of the University of Auckland and Dr Alan Young guided me surely through my first tentative year, after which Professor Rob Allen and Dr Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul shared primary and secondary supervisory roles. I cannot thank them enough for their expert understanding of when to be hands-off and when to engage the brakes, along with their constant trust, wisdom and mentorship. It has been a privilege working with them.

Finally, I must thank my family, who have had to put up with a lot less of me for the last six years. My parents (whose enthusiasm for art and literature set me off on this path) have always provided inspiration and support. My daughters, Anna and Christina have similarly supported me,

each helping in different ways. Anna's progress through a history degree has meant an on-going engagement at home with a broad range of historical work that I would not otherwise have encountered, another set of historian's eyes, and access to various useful resources. As a librarian, Christina's knowledge of Auckland Libraries has been of material assistance, and her scientific abilities have meant that she was able to help me with Word graphs which I would never have figured out alone. Her mother's acute proofreading skills have also made a major contribution to the quality of the final piece. It is not easy being married to a PhD project, but Helle has managed to put up with my mental absences and the years of marred evenings, weekends and (non)holidays. The fact that we are still married speaks volumes for her love, forbearance and sense of humour. This piece is dedicated, with love, to her.

Abstract

The Edwardian postcard has been described as the Twitter of its age. Earlier regarded as an insignificant pop-cultural trifle, it has, over the last two decades, begun to receive serious academic attention. This attention has, however, been unevenly spread, and often relies on a forty-year-old narrative of the postcard's history that locates the postcard as the product of a set of discrete occurrences within postal history.

This thesis argues that the lack of a contemporary, broadly contextualised history distorts our understanding of the postcard's place within Edwardian society. It centres its critique around a genre of greetings postcard that is disadvantaged by the current approach: Hands Across The Sea (HATS). These multimodal cards' designs normally contain the clasped hands symbol and utilise imagery and verse that is ostensibly old-fashioned, nostalgic and sentimental – qualities that sit uncomfortably within the academic tendency to frame the postcard as a quintessentially modern medium. Yet advertisements show that Edwardians within the British diaspora were prepared to pay up to six times more for these cards than for normal tourist views. This discrepancy between contemporary and Edwardian estimation of the card, it is argued, is itself significant.

To explain how the HATS card could be valued thus, the study fundamentally re-situates the history of the postcard, using a wide-ranging, contextualist approach that is both interdisciplinary and multi-methodological. It initially uses the heuristic of exploring the HATS phrase and symbolism to negotiate nineteenth century culture and to identify the connotations HATS carried for postcard users. Over the course of a century HATS would develop out of Anglo-Saxonist liberal discourse to be adopted by trade unions, and to rhetorically exemplify both Anglo-American and Colonial relationships. Culturally, however, its use in such areas as melodrama and the trade union emblem is shown to be of unexpected significance for postcard study.

Located primarily at the intersect between design history and history, the thesis draws on business history, sociology and anthropology to connect or reframe the postcard's relationship to discourses such as taste, gift-giving, consumerism, collecting, anonymity, design, printing and material culture. The transnational Victorian print culture of lithographic 'Art Publishing', its business networks and its customers' collecting practices, it turns out, all prefigured major aspects of the postcard's development, most significantly via the Christmas card. The thesis then re-examines the history of the postcard, using new evidence from postcard retailing to posit three distinct historical waves of postcard fashion. Following view and actress card phases, the HATS card is shown to be a central element in a revitalisation of the greetings genre which occurred as Edwardians sought 'better' cards. A detailed study of six hundred HATS cards collected in New Zealand then examines the dynamics of a genre that played a key role in the transnational maintenance of family and friendship networks among immigrants. It explores how this popular cultural item evolved with no clear initiator, and challenges the middle-class attitudes to authorship, originality and the commonplace that have prevented recognition of HATS' significance.

Ultimately, the thesis's richly contextualised account of the trajectory of this entangled phenomenon aims to provide an improved historical underpinning for future postcard studies. In addition to showing that 'Hands across the Sea' represents a paradigmatic aspect of late Victorian and Edwardian culture, it concludes that the postcard's history is emblematic of contradictory progressive and nostalgic currents that co-existed in Edwardian society, but that there is far more continuity with earlier practices and visual culture than the current postcard literature acknowledges.



Volume I: The Background Context

Preface

Sometime during the first decade of the twentieth century, an Edwardian child drew a diagram on the final page of a copy of *The New Zealand Graphic Reader*. The book is also embellished with childish drawings of torpedo boats and soldiers, but this diagram is different [Figure 1]. Probably copied from a blackboard illustration, it schematically links New Zealand and England with a “bond of friendship.” This bond, inaccurately described as “hand across the sea,” seems apposite, despite New Zealand having been a cipher amongst British Victorians for the ends of the earth.¹ Friendship, here, transcends the geographical divide.

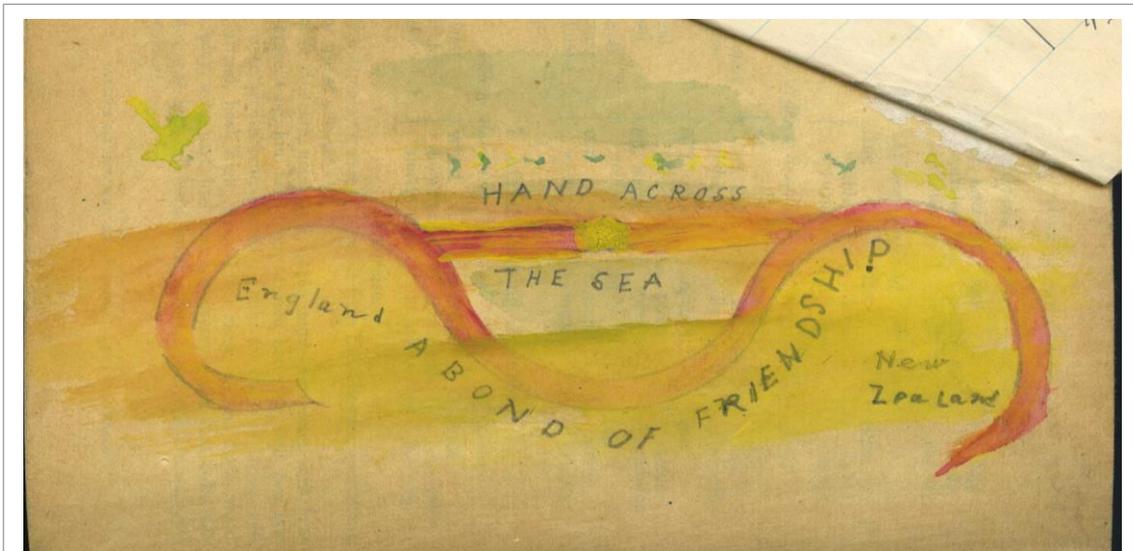


Figure 1: Schoolbook Hands Across the Sea diagram, ca.1908.

Drawn in the back of a copy of the *New Zealand Graphic Reader*, this diagram provided the genesis for the present research. A yellow blot covers what is probably a failed attempt to draw clasped hands.

Author's collection

When I bought this book, and discovered the drawing inside, it spoke to me. Perhaps there were echoes of Paul McCartney's “hands across the water” lyric,² or perhaps, as an English child immigrant myself, I connected it to 1960s schoolroom maps with the British Empire demarcated in its all-important red. At all events, I used this single material item for a while in my teaching as an emblem of imperialist relations, but then it was replaced. I thought no more about it until a coincidence made me aware that this was

¹ Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2012), pp.1-2.

² It is the first line of the chorus in McCartney's 1971 *Uncle Albert/Admiral Halsey*.

no isolated occurrence.³ TradeMe, the New Zealand equivalent of eBay, had opted to put postcards and writing ephemera under the same heading. As a collector of the latter, I found myself forced to wade through hundreds of postcards for the occasional inkwell. It was here, however, that I noticed three items called “Hands across the Sea” postcards. Without that earlier

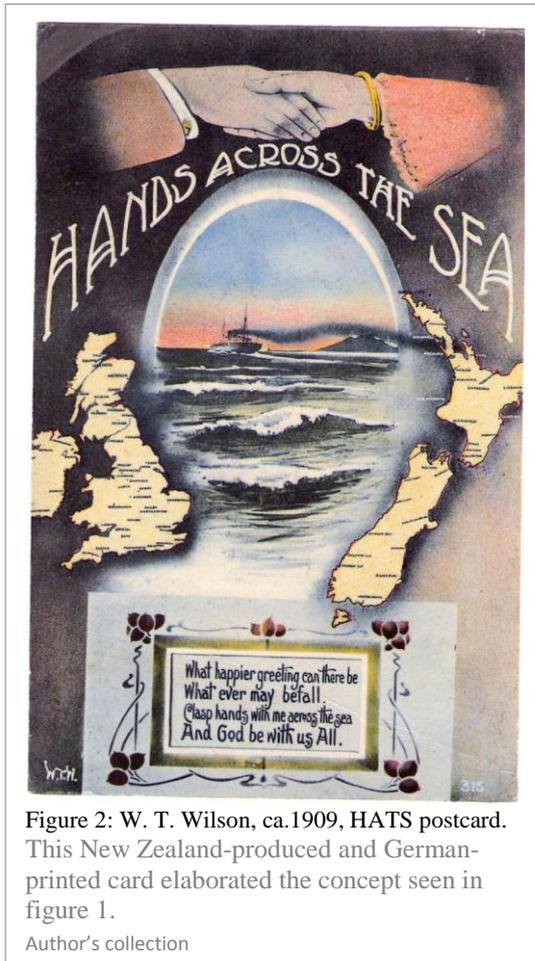


Figure 2: W. T. Wilson, ca.1909, HATS postcard. This New Zealand-produced and German-printed card elaborated the concept seen in figure 1. Author's collection

diagram, I would never have opened those links, and this thesis would not have happened. However, the phrase looked familiar and historical curiosity got the better of me. One of those cards turned out to be the closest in design to the original diagram of any I have subsequently located [Figure 2].

Evidently, “hands across the sea” stretched beyond the schoolroom, and I started to buy these cards as they came up – which they did frequently, once dealers discovered a potential purchaser. Ten years ago, it would have been almost impossible to discover much about these cards. They appear only sporadically in museum archives,⁴ and are virtually absent in the literature. However, my online collecting interest coincided with

the advent of online searchable newspaper databases, and these not only documented the cards, but revealed that “hands across the sea” reached well

³ On the way multiple instances of an object change the discussion from object to type, see Sara Pennell, "Mundane Materiality, or, Should Small Things Still Be Forgotten? Material Culture, Micro-Histories and the Problem of Scale," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (London: Routledge, 2009), pp.173-4.

⁴ Museums did not collect such popular cultural objects at the time, and where these have arrived subsequently they are in albums which have been gifted, and have little context. I opted to exclude these collections (the people who gift items to museums are unlikely to be representative of postcard users), a decision supported by Daniel Gifford, who similarly excluded institutional collections in favour of cards sourced online. Daniel Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910" (Doctoral Dissertation, George Mason University, 2011), p.26.

beyond postcards, being utilised much more extensively during the Edwardian period than I could ever have imagined.

Michael Ann Holly recalls a visit to the National Gallery with Mieke Bal, where Bal was able to use a barely perceptible dot in a Vermeer painting, representing the hole that would have housed a nail to hold a picture, as a hook to hang a narrative of displacement.⁵ Statistically, the usage of “hands across the sea” represents a barely perceptible dot on the visual and linguistic landscapes, but its occurrence in texts and objects that were widely dispersed across time and space suggested that this dot might prove to be a rabbit-hole that opens into hitherto unseen aspects of Edwardian culture. Displacement was part of it, but that represented only one thread of what rapidly turned into a patchwork quilt. And so, in the spirit of Tim Ingold’s ‘wayfaring’,⁶ with no distinct destination initially in mind, a hobby became research.

⁵ Michael Ann Holly, "Responses to Mieke Bal's 'Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture' (2003)," *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 2 (2003): p.239.

⁶ Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), p.15.

Introduction

Around the time that Figure 1 was being drawn, Auckland father, A.E. Morgan wrote a postcard to his daughter Eda, who was at school in the New Zealand provincial centre of Whanganui [Figure 3].¹ Although he used the old fashioned long ‘s’ when addressing “Miss Eda Morgan,” he was clearly trying to be up to date in his choice of medium by taking the advice of a retailer. “I hope,” he wrote, “you will like these post Cards I am sending you they are quite a new sort dear so they told me where I bought them.”²

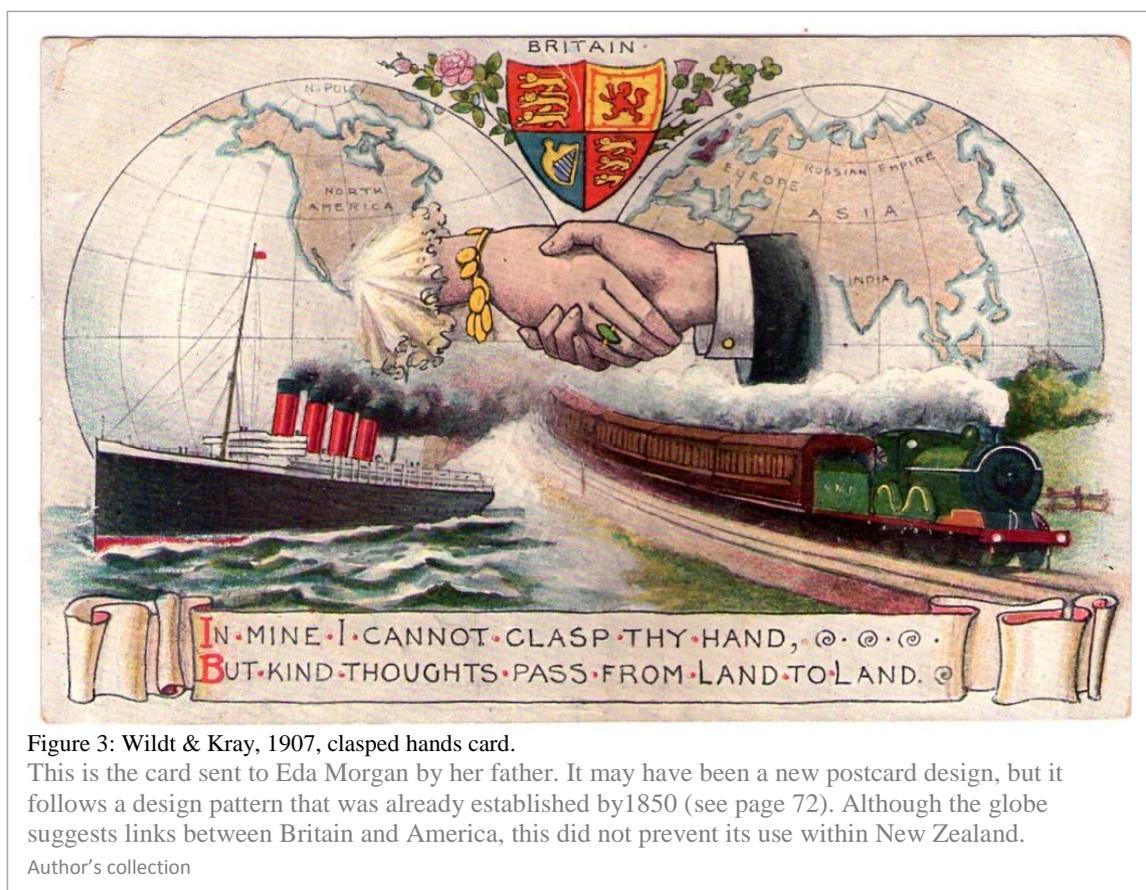


Figure 3: Wildt & Kray, 1907, clasped hands card.

This is the card sent to Eda Morgan by her father. It may have been a new postcard design, but it follows a design pattern that was already established by 1850 (see page 72). Although the globe suggests links between Britain and America, this did not prevent its use within New Zealand.

Author's collection

¹ At the time, the town now known as Whanganui was spelt Wanganui. Since Whanganui appears regularly in the text it is worth clarifying that in this thesis I will use the original name when quoting original texts, or newspaper titles, but the newer spelling in the narrative.

² The economy of punctuation in this text is typical of many of the texts on postcards, which frequently dispensed with capitals and full stops. The card itself is Wildt & Kray series 1280, and, like all the Hands across the Sea cards illustrated here, is part of the author's collection – along with two others also sent to Eda by her father, and bought at the same time.

Postcards have been likened to an Edwardian Twitter in terms of their cultural reach,³ explaining why Eda Morgan was involved in postcard collecting at this time.⁴ The postcard craze would peak in 1909,⁵ but this

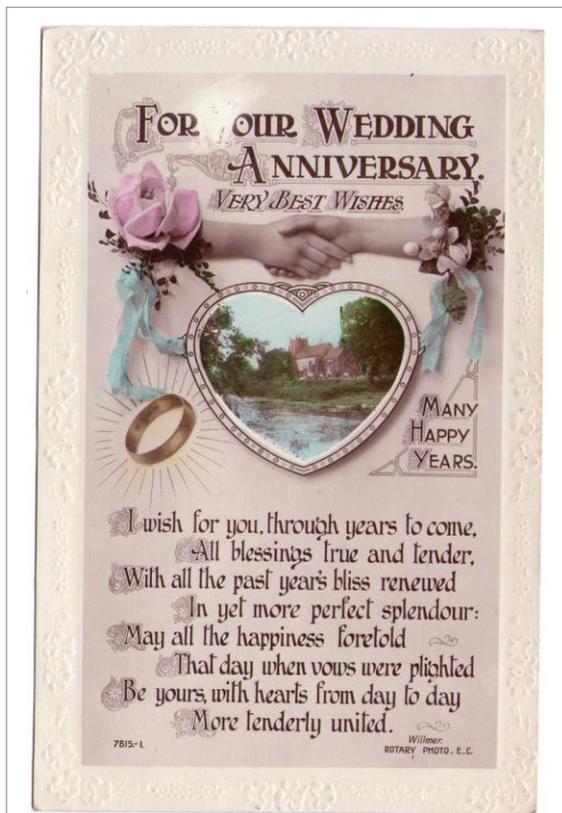


Figure 4: Rotary Postcard, ca.1919, wedding anniversary card.

Although the design and production of this card fits with the immediate post-war period, it is not possible to know exactly when it was sent, and it could be anytime between 1918 and the mid 1920s.

Author's collection

card is earlier. Although Mr. Morgan posted his card undated in an envelope, the card's production can be assigned to late 1907 by the manufacturers' sequential numbering system.⁶ Given the time necessary to export it to New Zealand and still be "quite a new sort" in the shop, it was probably sent during 1908.

At least a decade later, by which time the postcard craze had largely subsided,⁷ an anonymous husband sent his wife an anniversary card [Figure 4], with the following comment about the pre-printed text on the card:

My Darling You must substitute Ours for Yours. I could not get a card with Ours instead of Yours as I'd liked to have done. Fancy Hands across the sea on it. It does remind me of our courting days dearest, and your first message to me. Bless you.

Quite apart from the evidence that postcards played a part in this couple's courtship, and the sender's desire for the printed text to be specific to the

³ Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," in *British Educational Research Association Annual Conference* (Manchester2009), p.1 of transcript. It is worth noting that the Victorian photograph album has been described as the "Victorian Facebook." Nicole Hudgins, "A Historical Approach to Family Photography: Class and Individuality in Manchester and Lille, 1850-1914," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (2010): pp.564-5.

⁴ Postcards do not survive a century without having been collected. As I found two other messages to Eda from her father, it is likely she had either her own album, or gave them to a collector friend.

⁵ Alan Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939* (Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 1984), p.23.

⁶ Anthony Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers* (Malvern, UK: Golden Age Postcard Books, 1978), p.331. Wildt & Kray were a British firm.

⁷ Tonie Holt and Valmai Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971), p.41.

context (a desire later fulfilled when someone scraped away the offending ‘Y’) this text is notable for the way the sender interprets the clasped hands on the card as “hands across the sea” (hereafter abbreviated as HATS). HATS is not written anywhere in the printed text, but the sentiment was easily interpreted by the purchaser, and evidently evoked warmly nostalgic feelings. Between these two cards being sent, therefore, postcards bearing clasped hands went from being new to being so recognisable that their symbolism was understood without being textually stated.

The HATS Postcard within the Literature

This degree of ubiquity would make sense if art critic, Gabriel Coxhead, is correct in asserting that the HATS card was “the apogee of the so-called Golden Age of picture postcards.”⁸ For Coxhead, few genres of card “could match the sheer range of themes, imagery, and artistic styles of the designs that put HATS at the forefront of the worldwide craze for sending and collecting.”⁹ However, if the HATS card was the culminating design of the estimated 200 billion or more cards sent worldwide between 1900-1920,¹⁰ surely one might expect it to feature prominently in postcard literature? This it most certainly does not. Indeed, Coxhead is the only writer to deal with the HATS postcard phenomenon within something approximating an academic context.¹¹

There is little more interest amongst deltiologists.¹² J. H. D. Smith’s *Picture Postcard Values* boasts 6000 entries for different types of card, but amongst these, HATS appears only as an item in the “Miscellaneous” section of the Greetings chapter, alongside rabbits, frogs and fireworks.¹³ Anthony Byatt notes HATS as a “popular greeting,” which “can be linked with any

⁸ Gabriel Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," *Cabinet* 36, Friendship Issue (2010): p.107.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.107.

¹⁰ Bjarne Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," *Cultural Analysis* 4 (2005): p.18. 1900-1920 was the substantive period of the Golden Age.

¹¹ Coxhead’s piece is more criticism than history. Although *Cabinet* is a serious publication, Coxhead’s article has no bibliography or referencing.

¹² Deltiology is the term now used for postcard collecting. There is an extensive deltiological literature around postcards, which, at times, provides perspectives lacking in the academic literature.

¹³ J. H. D. Smith, *Picture Postcard Values 2000* (Colchester, UK: IPM, 2000), p.86.

collection that stresses communication for they often depict ships and trains, the continents and even the globe itself.”¹⁴ For Byatt, then, the cards are collectible not in their own right, but only as part of other themes. Tonie and Valmai Holt similarly touch on HATS fleetingly, but do reproduce an example on their cover, and acknowledge it as “an extremely popular type of greetings card that seems to have gone entirely out of fashion.”¹⁵ Most other books meant for card collectors, however, omit HATS altogether. Alan Leonard went some way to redressing this gap in 2006. Following up a short article on a single HATS card,¹⁶ he wrote a reasonably full overview of the genre and its publishers in which he briefly contextualised it in relation to turn-of-the-century emigration, and acknowledged that “the theme is extensive, and significant enough to merit a fuller survey.”¹⁷ This however, is far from claiming it to be the ‘apogee’ of the postcard craze.¹⁸

The HATS genre has been consistently neglected by serious collectors. Following dealers like Smith, they allocate the highest value to the rarest cards and the lowest to the most common. HATS cards are consistently low-priced, but this indicates widespread use.¹⁹ They were also valued by their users. As I will demonstrate later in this thesis (page 313), Edwardians were prepared to pay up to six times the price of a standard view card for a HATS card. And my study of the publishers of over two thousand HATS cards (arguably less than a third of the overall number of designs created)²⁰

¹⁴ Anthony Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction* (Malvern, UK: Golden Age Postcard Books, 1982), p.48.

¹⁵ Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.78.

¹⁶ Alan Leonard, "Hands across the Sea," *Picture Postcard Monthly*, January 2005, p.12.

¹⁷ Alan Leonard, "Hands across the Sea," *Picture Postcard Annual 26* (2006): p.4.

¹⁸ Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.107.

¹⁹ The only writers to observe this disconnect between historical and contemporary valuing of cards were Dûval and Monahan, who noted that Art reproduction cards were not originally a ‘poor man’s gallery’, since they originally cost 3d or 4d at a time most cards cost a penny [William Dûval and Valerie Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour* (Poole, UK: Blandford, 1978), p.54]. However whilst they comment on the cheapness of these cards in today’s market, they fail to explain why this occurs.

²⁰ My rough estimate of there being at least 6-8000 different HATS designs is based on my collection having, on average, approximately two cards in any given series – and postcard series usually consisted of at least six cards. However it is impossible to know how many series are not represented at all in the collection, or how many of the cards come from series in which a HATS design may have been included as part of another theme, and therefore only occurred once. With such variables, any estimate is going to be approximate.

identifies over one hundred firms that offered versions of the HATS theme, (see Appendix 6.1). Leonard's term 'extensive' seems justified.

If HATS was indeed a widely-known Edwardian postcard genre, this raises two major questions. Why did this theme resonate with the postcard buying public, and why has it subsequently attracted so little interest from academics? Coxhead and Leonard appear to address the first. They link HATS to emigration,²¹ to memory, and "the desire to stay connected, to keep in touch, despite the vastness of physical separation."²² Coxhead suggests it can be seen as "a kind of extended meditation on transportation and communication, helping senders and recipients to come to terms with a

radically changing world."²³ However, whilst such explanations register a correspondence between genre and context, they do not actually explain why the HATS metaphor is the one that became emblematic of these issues. Manufacturers created other types of cards addressed to emigrants, but these appear to have resonated rather less, [e.g. Figure 5].

The origins of the HATS phrase are, as Coxhead points out, unknown, though he notes its use as a metaphor for international relations during the 1890s.²⁴ Yet surely these origins are central to appreciating the connotations that gave HATS its subsequent significance? This issue defines the first major question that this thesis addresses. It is not enough to ask what HATS meant for the Edwardians.



Figure 5: Heart to Heart postcard. The heart to heart card was one of the more successful of the alternatives to HATS. Author's collection

This meaning is entwined with a set of origins that helped HATS acquire the cultural force that it evidently had, and these are explored in chapter 1. In doing this, I adopt what Naomi Schor labels a "continuist" approach to the HATS phenomenon, highlighting its links with the wider origins of the postcard medium, rather than only acknowledging its radical

²¹ Leonard, "Hands across the Sea," p.4.

²² Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.107.

²³ Ibid., p.109.

²⁴ Ibid.

discontinuities.²⁵ And thinking about the postcard medium leads to the other major question that initially needs addressing: why have HATS postcards been largely overlooked in the postcard literature?

Deltiological Histories of the Postcard

Academic study of the postcard dates back little more than a quarter century,²⁶ but it draws on earlier deltiological histories whose legacy is worth discussing. Richard Carline's *Pictures in the Post* was an early attempt to sum up the postcard's progress.²⁷ Being from the late 1950s, it would be easy to bypass this work, agreeing with Sandra Ferguson that serious deltiological work on the postcard did not begin until the 1970s.²⁸ Nevertheless, Carline was extensively used by the first wave of postcard historians, and has been cited by some more recent scholars such as Bjarne Rogan.²⁹ This work is important, because it is evident that Carline had access to several of the postcard collector's magazines that were published in the early years of the 'postcard craze'.³⁰ This helps Carline's study of the craze itself to be more detailed than Frank Staff's oft-cited *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*.³¹ Staff is stronger on the origins, but Carline's

²⁵ Naomi Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," *Critical Inquiry* Winter (1992): p.209.

²⁶ For example: David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, eds., *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), p.xi.

²⁷ Richard Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard* (Bedford, UK: Fraser, 1959).

²⁸ Sandra Ferguson, "'A Murmur of Small Voices': On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research," *Archivaria* 60 (2006): p.173.

²⁹ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication."

³⁰ Carline illustrates one on plate III and mentions several others. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, pp.38-46.

³¹ Frank Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, 2nd ed. (London: Lutterworth 1979). Academics, like Naomi Schor, wanting a secure historical background to support their work tend to gravitate to Staff [Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," p.209]. The reality is that few of the more recent general histories add much significant historical research to Carline, Staff and the Holts' accounts of the British postcard craze, with the notable exception of the sustained archival research of Anthony Byatt. [Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*.] Other authors [e.g. Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*], reiterate collecting categories, or else largely rework existing accounts, albeit whilst adding in knowledge drawn from their own collecting. Other examples of such works include: A. W. Coysh, *The Dictionary of Picture Postcards in Britain, 1894-1939* (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collector's Club, 1984); C. W. Hill, *Picture Postcards* (Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 2007 [1987]); Martin Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day* (London: Studio Editions, 1992); Tom Phillips, *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000).

work, along with that of Anthony Byatt,³² provide more information on the phenomenon itself.

Carline, however, comes with an agenda. As a painter, his focus was on showing how cards “develop the artistic faculties,” and he was particularly keen to give postcard artists their due.³³ He was not alone in this. Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Nice highlight the modernist predilection for the “charisma ideology,” which focuses attention on the immediate producer, while masking who “authorises the author.”³⁴ This means that, like many a writer on graphic design history,³⁵ Carline massages a largely anonymous medium towards such authors as can be identified. This approach can still be seen in a recent lavish publication of work from the Leonard Lauder collection which focuses heavily on either cards produced by artists, or on cards that reflect the avant-garde design styles of the period.³⁶ The result is a wonderful book, but not one – if the advertisements I analyse in chapter three are in any way typical – that the average Edwardian would recognise as remotely representative of what they could buy in the shops.³⁷ Since HATS cards were almost always produced unsigned, with designs that look more Victorian than avant-garde, their omission from works that focus on

³² Byatt’s 1978 *Picture Postcards and their Publishers* is still required reference for anyone serious about researching postcard publishing. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*.

³³ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.70.

³⁴ Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Nice, “The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods,” *Media, Culture & Society* 2, no. 3 (1980): p.263.

³⁵ Two typical earlier examples of this approach are Bevis Hillier, *The Style of the Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Herbert, 1998); Jeremy Aynsley, *A Century of Graphic Design: Graphic Design Pioneers of the 20th Century* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2001). Despite design historical awareness of this tendency to mirror what Jonathan Woodham calls “late-twentieth century media interest in designer-celebrities” [Jonathan M. Woodham, “Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map,” *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 3 (2005): p.262], the heroic approach continues to hold sway, with much graphic design writing still valorising individuals, or discussing styles (which, even when used anonymously, are genealogically traced to individual authorial originators). See, for example, Patrick Cramsie, *The Story of Graphic Design: From the Invention of Writing to the Birth of Digital Design* (London: British Library, 2010).

³⁶ Lynda Klich and Benjamin Weiss, *The Postcard Age: Selections from the Leonard A. Lauder Collection* (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 2012).

³⁷ Dûval and Monahan are correct to note, for example, that Art Nouveau cards are difficult to find. Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, p.57. Few British cards seem to have employed this style.

either the card as art, or the card as visually reflective of modernity,³⁸ is unsurprising. And the anonymity of both the postcard artists and manufacturers is exacerbated by the loss of almost all postcard company records either through neglect, or immolation during the war,³⁹ meaning that archival historical research on postcard history is severely limited. The postcards themselves are often the only source available.

“Classification,” according to John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, “precedes collection,”⁴⁰ and the creation of a postcard taxonomy by the deltiologists of the sixties and seventies,⁴¹ served to further marginalise HATS cards. Although Edwardian publishers had, as can be seen from their advertising, developed rough and ready categories in their postcard advertising, [e.g. Figure 100], the varying deltiological classifications that informed catalogues like Smith’s do not adhere to those original terms. In Smith, HATS is placed as part of the ‘miscellaneous’ section of the overall greetings category,⁴² whilst in Burdick’s early American catalogue, it is completely absorbed into general greetings.⁴³ Dûval and Monahan distinguish between ‘Topographical’ and ‘Themes’, amongst which HATS, though not mentioned, could fit within ‘Greetings’, ‘Ships’, and

³⁸ See, for example, Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*; Carole Scheffer, "Architectural Postcards and the Conception of Place: Mediating Cultural Experience" (Ph.D., Concordia University, Canada, 1999), p.240.

³⁹ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.14. Byatt also notes, on page 40, that postcard companies were heavily bunched together in the “Postcard Mile” area of London’s East End – an area that was all but obliterated during the Blitz. Important company records such as those of Raphael Tuck were totally destroyed. The records of almost all the other firms had disappeared by the 1920s, leaving a dearth of company archival material [Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.36]. Howard Woody similarly points out that the historically low regard for postcards did not encourage the contemporary archiving of significant records. Such archives as survived neglect and immolation tended to be discarded when companies went out of business, Howard Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, ed. Christaud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), p.22.

⁴⁰ John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1994), p.1.

⁴¹ Anthony Byatt acknowledges the Holts as having been responsible for the first postcard taxonomy. Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.81.

⁴² Smith, *Picture Postcard Values 2000*, p.86.

⁴³ J. R. Burdick, ed. *The American Card Catalog* (New York: Nostalgia Press, 1967), p.156. This is unsurprising. As will become evident, HATS was a less significant genre for Americans.

‘Transport’.⁴⁴ Martin Willoughby simply divides cards into ‘views’ and ‘subjects’.⁴⁵

The fact that HATS imagery falls across multiple deltiological categories [Figure 6] has not helped it to be recognised separately.⁴⁶ Yet, if Chris



Kennedy is correct in defining a genre as “a set of texts shar[ing] the same communicative purpose and social ends [that] tend to share the same ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning,”⁴⁷ then HATS is a genre, and it was treated as such in Edwardian advertising. Whilst deltiological knowledge continues to grow as a result of the efforts of journals like *Picture Postcard Monthly*, it tends to reflect contemporary estimations of genres, publishers and artists. Tom Phillips went

some way to reframing the card as an anonymous item of social exchange,⁴⁸ but the British postcard phenomenon still awaits serious, contextualised, historical consideration. This is why Staff’s work,⁴⁹ which supplies some context, is still predominantly used by academic writers exploring the postcards’ potential. Nevertheless, with its second edition now thirty four

⁴⁴ Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, p.5. Though not mentioned amongst these themes, HATS could fit within Greetings, Ships or Transport.

⁴⁵ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, p.86.

⁴⁶ The ‘PC438’ included after the phrase “Author’s collection” in the caption to Figure 6 is the number allocated to this card in my 601 card study of dated HATS cards. Cards with such a number can be cross-referenced to their entry in Appendix 10. Where no ‘PC’ number is included, the card is either undated, or was purchased after June 2012, the cut off date for that study. ‘PC’ is the Edwardian acronym for ‘postcard’.

⁴⁷ Chris Kennedy, “‘Just Perfect!’ The Pragmatics of Evaluation in Holiday Postcards,” in *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, ed. Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard, *Tourism and Cultural Change* (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2005), p.226.

⁴⁸ Phillips, *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages*, p.26.

⁴⁹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*.

years old, one can query whether it is advisable to accept Staff's historical conclusions uncritically.

Academic Study of the Postcard Genre

Admittedly, for most academics, the postcard's history is relatively incidental to their studies. If not simply using cards as a motif within larger theoretical concerns,⁵⁰ researchers have been attracted to the postcard for its ability to freeze-frame Edwardian modes of representation and culture.

Though most still concentrate on the cards' visual aspects,⁵¹ there has been increasing interest in the handwritten texts. The disciplines paying the picture particular attention are visual culture and tourist studies,⁵² the latter joining sociology and communication history in also studying the user's texts. Building on initial work by Wayne Mellinger and Elizabeth Edwards,⁵³ tourism's focus on the postcard coincided with the rise of discourse analysis, with scholars seeing postcards as "cultural texts" which constituted "the discursive expression of the popular culture of the time."⁵⁴

Broadly speaking, the tourist literature is interested in both the ways that cards represent the power relations within a culture, and the discursive assumptions that become articulated in the tourist encounter with new places, peoples and activities. Tourist scholarship forms perhaps the most developed discrete disciplinary home for the postcard,⁵⁵ but its importance

⁵⁰ In such studies, a version of the postcard is used to illustrate a theoretical concern. This is, for example, how it is used by Derrida, for whom it offers a metaphor that contributes to a discussion of the history of philosophy. Jacques Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* [La Carte Postale: de Socrate à Freud et au-delà (1980)] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁵¹ Mark Simpson, "Archiving Hate: Lynching Postcards at the Limit of Social Circulation," *English Studies in Canada* 30, no. 1 (2004): p.20.

⁵² Tourism's interest is not necessarily only historical, given that sending a postcard remains a current tourist ritual.

⁵³ Elizabeth Edwards, "Postcards - Greetings from Another World," in *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, ed. Tom Selwyn (Chichester, UK: Wiley & Sons, 1996); Wayne Martin Mellinger, "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994).

⁵⁴ Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan, "Representations of 'Ethnographic Knowledge': Early Comic Postcards in Wales," in *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, ed. Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard (Clevedon, UK: Channel View, 2005), p.56.

⁵⁵ Significant contributions to this body of work not already mentioned include Marion Markwick, "Postcards from Malta: Image, Consumption, Context," *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 2 (2001); Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan, "Mythic Geographies of Representation and Identity: Contemporary Postcards of Wales," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 1, no. 2 (2003); Peter M. Burns, "Six Postcards from Arabia," *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004); Atila Yüksel and Olcay Akgül, "Postcards as Affective Image

for this study is less in its content than in its tendency to assume that tourist cards equate to postcards. Whilst this may be very much the case today, the practice of the HATS card suggests that Edwardian usage was broader than just the touristic. The same point can be made in relation to visual culture. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson note that photographic view cards (the stuff of tourism) are heavily over-represented within a literature that “can be characterised in terms of absences and presences.”⁵⁶

Sandra Ferguson reflects this over-representation, arguing that the postcard’s development is intertwined with the photograph,⁵⁷ and ascribing the picture postcard’s genesis to the development of techniques for printing photographs.⁵⁸ Despite thereby ignoring several key genres of non-photographic card, Ferguson’s article is useful in explaining the revival of academic interest in the postcard. She traces the evolution of academia’s move away from its longstanding prejudice towards the everyday, through postcard scholars’ self-deprecating attempts to inveigle the ‘humble’ card into existing discourses. As a visual medium, she argues, historians and sociologists (more comfortable with textual sources) had been reluctant to utilise the photographic postcard, querying its reliability as a source – not least because of its anonymity, and its frequent lack of the type of documented provenance that museums require.⁵⁹ However, as the focus of history moved away from politics and society to culture and the everyday, she argues, “a documentary form like the postcard could finally begin to gain credence as a research tool.”⁶⁰

Makers: An Idle Agent in Destination Marketing," *Tourism Management* 28, no. 3 (2007); Crispin Thurlow, Adam Jaworski, and Virpi Yläne, "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards," in *Tourism Discourse*, ed. Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Sabrina Francesconi, "Multimodally Expressed Humour Shaping Scottishness in Tourist Postcards," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9, no. 1 (2011).

⁵⁶ Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, p.xii. One of the more developed early theoretical studies that emphasised the relationships between views, viewers and the places represented is Carol Scheffer’s study of architectural postcards. Scheffer, "Architectural Postcards and the Conception of Place: Mediating Cultural Experience."

⁵⁷ Ferguson, "'A Murmur of Small Voices': On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research," p.169.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.170.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.176.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.180.

Fergusson here casts postcards as a “research tool,” but the resulting emphasis on subject matter downplays postcards’ worth as subjects in their own right. The quote also defines the genre. Despite her discussions of photography, she locates this definition not around media, or content, but rather through a process, that of ‘documenting’. There is no doubt that many postcards are documentary.⁶¹ Yet the ‘documentary’ definition excludes cards like HATS or greetings postcards, and implicitly prioritises the medium of photography. Nor is Ferguson the only author to assume that the view/documentary card provides the generic postcard pattern. Although a title like *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* ought to alert one to a book that deals with the particular genre of view cards, the way that Christaud Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb frame the card in their introduction tends to universalise it.⁶² They propose four postcard functions: those of souvenir, collectible, communication, and research resource.⁶³ These are valid categories, but the book discusses them as properties of *the* postcard, and not of the *view* card.

Not all generic definitions are based on image or process. The concept of the postcard as an open letter underpins the theoretical discussions in Jacques Derrida’s *The Post Card*,⁶⁴ and Bernhard Siegert’s *Relays*, which focuses on the damage to subjectivity caused by the postcard’s lack of confidentiality.⁶⁵ Whilst Siegert is correct that this openness was inherent to the postcard’s legislative origins,⁶⁶ Bjarne Rogan has pointed out that

⁶¹ This is highlighted by the prominence given in recent literature to the postcard connections of significant photographers such as Walker Evans. In addition to Evan’s 1948 writing being included in a major anthology, introduced by Elizabeth B. Heuer [Walker Evans, “Main Street Looking North from Courthouse Square,” in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010)], Evans’ work has been the subject of a major profile by the Metropolitan Museum. Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Walker Evans and the Picture Postcard* (New York: Steidl / Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009).

⁶² Christaud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington, WA: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), pp.1-11.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp.3-5.

⁶⁴ Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*.

⁶⁵ Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System* [Relais: Gerschicke der Literatur als Epoche der Post, 1751-1913], trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp.146-7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.147-8.

around 50% of postcards were not sent open.⁶⁷ This undermines the assumption that openness is a generic quality of postcards. To prioritise theoretical neatness and postal legislation over consumer behaviour is to reinforce a suspiciously modernist set of power relations. Jan-Ola Östman opts instead to frame the postcard as generically slippery – operating across multiple semiotic modes, sliding across the private/public divide, and merging aspects of spoken and written language to provide a fluid venue for less formal, dialogical communication.⁶⁸ Emphasising, as this thesis does, the actual ways that users put the postcard to work, allows for the card to be redefined over time, and requires categorical flexibility.

Because communications theorists like Östman are aware that the ‘picture postcard’ has multimodal aspects, and that the postcard is, as Naomi Schor put it, a “perfectly reversible semiotic object,”⁶⁹ they tend to be less prescriptive about the genre as a whole. While highlighting the tourist aspects of postcards,⁷⁰ Bjarne Rogan acknowledges the range of genres that the postcard encompassed,⁷¹ adding ritual to Geary and Webb’s list,⁷² and noting that the cards’ greetings functions are connected to the aesthetics of the image.⁷³ He argues that the postcard’s abbreviated forms act analogously to text messages – being “social tokens” or “ritual communication” that remind the receiver of their relationship with the

⁶⁷ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.2. This is supported by David Bowers, who notes that the “vast majority” of the film and theatrical postcards he collected were not postally used – though, like Rogan, he does not specify how many were used but not posted, and how many were collected unused. Q. David Bowers, "Souvenir Postcards and the Development of the Star System, 1912-14," *Film History* 3, no. 1 (1989): p.40. I will argue below that Rogan and Bowers’ observations are borne out by the evidence of the HATS cards in this study.

⁶⁸ Jan-Ola Östman, "The Postcard as Media," *Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 24, no. 3 (2004): pp.437-9.

⁶⁹ Schor, "Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900," p.237. In an anthropological context, Lázló Kürti makes a similar point, arguing that postcard analyses must take into account the interrelationship of text and image. Lázló Kürti, "Picture Perfect: Community and Commemoration in Postcards," in *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, ed. Sarah Pink, Lázló Kürti, and Ana Isabel Afonso (London: Routledge, 2004), p.66.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.3.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.7.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.19. He specifically notes, however, that his article does not deal with the aesthetic aspect of cards.

sender.⁷⁴ Barbara Becker and Karen Malcolm call this the ‘phatic’.⁷⁵ Seen thus, the postcard has no automatic relationship with particular types of imagery like views. While Rogan does not entirely dispel the stereotype of the postcard as tourist image,⁷⁶ his insistence on the postcard as theoretically “entangled” is fundamental to any appreciation of the postcard medium.⁷⁷

Jeffrey Meikle, one of the few design historians to write about the postcard, argues that postcards typically feature “travel, movement and absence from home.”⁷⁸ But he also notes that, over time, a particular narrative about the past tends to colonise the present.⁷⁹ Academically, this applies to the postcard. According to Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall,⁸⁰ the textual aspects of the cards are seldom studied.⁸¹ Certainly, despite the corrective work of such communication theorists, the majority of postcard scholars still prioritise the pictorial,⁸² normally focussing on view-based tourist card

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.18.

⁷⁵ Barbara Becker and Karen Malcolm, "Suspended Conversations that Intersect in the Edwardian Postcard," in *Systemic Functional Linguistics in Use*, ed. Nina Nørgaard (Odense: Syddansk Universitet), p.177. Clive Ashwin usefully shows how utterances that are signals of intent rather than carriers of specific meaning can also have visual counterpoints, for example in conventions such as underlining and the use of arrows. Clive Ashwin, "Drawing, Design and Semiotics," in *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, ed. Victor Margolin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁷⁶ The collections he studies, for example, relate to tourism. Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.14.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp.18-19. Rogan does not acknowledge the origin of the “entangled” concept, which derives from Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

⁷⁸ Jeffrey L. Meikle, "A Paper Atlantis: Postcards, Mass Art, and the American Scene. The Eleventh Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): p.282. The Curt Teich cards that he discusses come from the 1930s – later than the period covered here. He has written another piece on this: Jeffrey L. Meikle, "Pasteboard Views: Idealising Public Space in American Postcards 1931-1953," in *Public Space and the Ideology of Place in American Culture*, ed. Miles Orvell and Jeffrey L. Meikle (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009).

⁷⁹ Meikle, "A Paper Atlantis: Postcards, Mass Art, and the American Scene. The Eleventh Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture," p.284.

⁸⁰ Gillen and Hall's *Edwardian Postcard Project* constitutes one of the most sustained academic engagements with the postcard over the last ten years. See: Gillen, Julia, and Nigel Hall. "Edwardian Postcard Project." (2013).

<http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/EVIIpc/index.php> [accessed June 10th, 2013].

⁸¹ Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," ed. Monika Büscher, John Urry, and K. Witchger, *Mobile Methods* (Hoboken, NJ: Routledge, 2010). p.46.

⁸² Simpson, "Archiving Hate: Lynching Postcards at the Limit of Social Circulation," p.20.

images.⁸³ Should they look beyond these, most opt for documentary content that is in some way transgressive. Reacting to the uncritical 1970s interest in the surreal, fantastic and erotic aspects of postcards,⁸⁴ academic writers have zeroed in on the exploitation underpinning such Edwardian jollity. This might relate to the purely sexual,⁸⁵ but more often it relates to race – be this the sadistic violence of American lynching,⁸⁶ or the exploitative aspects of the colonial enterprise.⁸⁷ Although other themes and genres have been

⁸³ In addition to the tourist studies mentioned earlier, other studies of the view card apply it to a variety of disciplines such as cultural geography: Gordon Waitt and Lesley Head, "Postcards and Frontier Mythologies: Sustaining Views of the Kimberley as Timeless," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20 (2002); sociology: Robert Bogdan and Ann Marshall, "Views of the Asylum: Picture Postcard Depictions of Institutions for People with Mental Disorders in the Early 20th Century," *Visual Sociology* 12, no. 1 (1997); health: Sara Anne Hook, "You've Got Mail: Hospital Postcards as a Reflection of Health Care in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Medical Library Association* 93, no. 3 (2005); library studies: Bernadette A. Lear, "Wishing They Were There: Old Postcards and Library History," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 43, no. 1 (2008); and gender history: Rebecca Preston, "Hope You Will Be Able to Recognise Us': The Representation of Women and Gardens in Early 20th Century British Domestic 'Real Photo' Postcards," *Women's History Review* 18, no. 5 (2009).

⁸⁴ This type of card had been highlighted by Surrealist artists like André Breton and Paul Éluard, e.g. Paul Éluard, "Les Plus Belles Cartes Postale," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010 [1933]). The Surreal influence is apparent in early Postcard compilations such as C Lauterbach and A. Jakovsky, *A Picture Postcard Album: A Mirror of the Times*, trans. Joan Bradley (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961). After Terry Gilliam's surreal and existentialistically absurd use of such cards for the credits to Monty Python's *Flying Circus*, several books featuring this type of (often French) postcard appeared, including William Ouellette, *Fantasy Postcards* (London: Sphere, 1975); Paul Hammond, *French Undressing: Naughty Postcards from 1900-1920* (London: Jupiter, 1976); Barbara Jones and William Ouellette, *Erotic Postcards* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1977). A recent addition to this literature is Clément Chéroux and Ute Eskildsen, *The Stamp of Fantasy: The Visual Inventiveness of Photographic Postcards* (Göttingen, DE: Steidl, 2007).

⁸⁵ See: Lisa Z. Sigel, "Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (2000); Lynda Klich, "Little Women: The Female Nude in the Golden Age of Picture Postcards," *Visual Resources* 17, no. 4 (2001).

⁸⁶ Although numerically minuscule, this genre has attracted disproportionate academic interest. See: Simpson, "Archiving Hate: Lynching Postcards at the Limit of Social Circulation"; Amy Louise Wood, "Lynching Photography and the Visual Reproduction of White Supremacy," *American Nineteenth Century History* 6, no. 3 (2005); Linda Kim, "A Law of Unintended Consequences: United States Postal Censorship of Lynching Photographs," *Visual Resources* 28, no. 2 (2012).

⁸⁷ See, for example, Brooke Baldwin, "On the Verso: Postcard Images as a Key to Popular Prejudices," *Journal of Popular Culture* 22, no. 3 (1988); David Prochaska, "Fantasia of the Photothèque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal," *African Arts* 24, no. 4 (1991); Virginia-Lee Webb, "Transformed Images: Photographers and Postcards in the Pacific Islands," in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, ed. Christa M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), (along with several other chapters in this book); Rebecca J. DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales," *Parallax* 4 (1998); Yoke-Sum Wong, "Beyond (and Below) Incommensurability," *Common Knowledge* 8, no. 2 (2002); Steven Patterson,

explored – such as suffrage,⁸⁸ propaganda,⁸⁹ theatre and film,⁹⁰ national cards,⁹¹ and the comic genre⁹² – the preponderance of discourses linked to the Other,⁹³ relative to the huge range of postcards available, justifies Prochaska and Mendelson's earlier point about presences and absences.

Whilst the academic focus on process and subject matter has de-emphasised the postcard itself as a subject of study, Prochaska and Mendelson point to a developing interest within visual culture in postcards' production and reception.⁹⁴ Following on from David Freedberg's work,⁹⁵ the context of reception has been highlighted in art historical and visual cultural writing, and Prochaska himself makes a clear attempt to deal evenly with these areas.⁹⁶ He has long been aware that anonymous and unoriginal postcards can still, materially and culturally, be useful objects of study.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, a cursory look through the title page of Prochaska and

"Postcards from the Raj," *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 2 (2006); Tu T. Huynh, "Loathing and Love: Postcard Representations of Indentured Chinese Laborers in South Africa's Reconstruction, 1904-10," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 9, no. 4 (2008); Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Jews as Postcards, or Postcards as Jews: Mobility in a Modern Genre," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 4 (2009); Patricia Goldsworthy, "Images, Ideologies, and Commodities: The French Colonial Postcard Industry in Morocco," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8, no. 2 (2010).

⁸⁸ Catherine H. Palczewski, "The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 4 (2005).

⁸⁹ John Fraser, "Propaganda on the Picture Postcard," *Oxford Art Journal* 3 no. 2 (1980); Jon D. Carlson, "Postcards and Propaganda: Cartographic Postcards as Soft News Images of the Russo-Japanese War," *Political Communication* 26, no. 2 (2009).

⁹⁰ Bowers, "Souvenir Postcards and the Development of the Star System, 1912-14"; Veronica Kelly, "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia," *New Theatre Quarterly* 20, no. 02 (2004); Penny Farfan, "'The Picture Postcard is a Sign of the Times': Theatre Postcards and Modernism," *Theatre History Studies* 32 (2012).

⁹¹ Alison Rowley, "Popular Culture and Visual Narratives of Revolution: Russian Postcards, 1905-22," *Revolutionary Russia* 21, no. 1 (2008); Alison Rowley, "Monarch and the Mundane: Picture Postcards and Images of the Romanovs, 1890-1917," *Revolutionary Russia* 22, no. 2 (2009); Peter O'Connor and Aaron M. Cohen, "Thoughts on the Precipice: Japanese Postcards, c.1903-39," *Japan Forum* 13, no. 1 (2001).

⁹² Richard Wall, "Family Relationships in Comic Postcards 1900-1930," *The History of the Family* 12, no. 1 (2007); Pritchard and Morgan, "Representations of 'Ethnographic Knowledge': Early Comic Postcards in Wales."

⁹³ Christaud Geary had already noted the Other as a significant research theme in 1998. Geary and Webb, *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, p.9.

⁹⁴ Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, p.xii.

⁹⁵ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁹⁶ David Prochaska, "Exhibiting the Museum," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

⁹⁷ "Fantasia of the Photothèque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal," p.40.

Mendelson's recent *Postcards* still shows a high proportion of essays that relate to art, artists, photographers and the museum,⁹⁸ and to places and the documentary.⁹⁹ There is a single chapter on real photos,¹⁰⁰ one on postcard poetry,¹⁰¹ and one on collecting.¹⁰² However there are none focused on the commercial companies that produced the postcards. Wary, perhaps, of charges of commodity fetishism,¹⁰³ it appears that production, in visual culture, refers primarily to production by an author.

In highlighting this bias, my aim is not to devalue the important work of the scholars concerned. Rather, I want to point out that Prochaska is fighting an uphill battle in trying to counter the "high/low" debate that continually surfaces around postcards.¹⁰⁴ Regardless of the apparent democratisation implied by the term 'visual culture',¹⁰⁵ it is difficult not to get a sense that this disciplinary venue affects the postcard analogously to something that Prochaska and Mendelson observed, namely that as other mass cultural forms became targeted by museums and elite collectors, prices rose to

⁹⁸ There are five chapters relating to this: Andrés Mario Zervigón, "Postcards to the Front: John Heartfield, George Grosz, and the Birth of Avant-Garde Photomontage," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Kimberly A. Smith, "Ambivalent Utopia: Franz Marc and Else Laske-Schüler's Primitivist Postcards," *ibid.*; Paul Éluard, "Les Plus Belles Cartes Postale," *ibid.* (2010 [1933]); Walker Evans, "Main Street Looking North from Courthouse Square," *ibid.* (2010 [1948]); Ellen Handy, "Outward and Visible Signs: Postcards and the Art-Historical Canon," *ibid.* (2010).

⁹⁹ In addition to reprinting Naomi Schor's seminal 1992 article [Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900"] there are four other chapters: Nancy Stieber, "Postcards and the Invention of Old Amsterdam around 1900," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Annelies Moors, "Presenting People: The Politics of Picture Postcards of Palestine/Israel," *ibid.*; John O'Brien, "Postcard to Moscow," *ibid.*; Timothy Van Laar, "Views of the Ordinary and Other Scenic Disappointments," *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Rachel Snow, "Correspondence Here: Real Photo Postcards and the Snapshot Aesthetic," *ibid.*, ed. Jordana Mendelson and David Prochaska.

¹⁰¹ Cary Nelson, "Love Your Panzer Corps: Rediscovering the Wartime Poem Card," *ibid.*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson.

¹⁰² Although not acknowledged as such, Rebecca DeRoo's chapter is a reprint of her 1998 article: DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales."

¹⁰³ Commodity fetishism is the name applied to the process whereby the context of production is stripped from a mass-produced product as it moves into consumer culture. The importance of this Marxist concept of commodity fetishism within visual culture can be seen in the prominence it is given in a key visual culture textbook: Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.280-84.

¹⁰⁴ Prochaska, "Exhibiting the Museum," p.107.

¹⁰⁵ This is as opposed to the inherently high cultural term 'art history'.

match.¹⁰⁶ The postcard's legitimacy may be enhanced as a result of its elevation to academic attention, but it appears that this comes at the price of downplaying the realities of its mass cultural and commercial contexts. While the Marxist critique of the commodity fetish aims at maintaining the worker's presence, its effect in this historical debate concerning postcards is quite the opposite. By concentrating on works where the author *is* visible, or by acknowledging them only as emblems of mass culture, we risk committing one final act of erasure – denying the cards' creators and users the one courtesy available to us, that of taking their anonymous efforts seriously.

In many ways, then, this study sets out to act as a corrective for imbalances in the existing literature. There are many excellent studies of postcards which justifiably emphasise the photographic, the documentary, and the ideological. These are important aspects of the genre as a whole, and postcard images and texts can undoubtedly provide a fascinating insight into many aspects of Edwardian culture, and contribute to discussions of communication and mobility. However, with my focus on the HATS card, I am concerned that current discussions tend to universalise from a limited perspective, allowing the documentary mode of the photographic view card to assume, unchallenged, the mantle of postcard archetype. Although a few academic writers have recognised the overlap between postcards and greetings cards,¹⁰⁷ the first effective re-framing of this issue occurred in a recent PhD by Daniel Gifford, which argued the case against the standard view of postcards being based around mobility and travel.¹⁰⁸ Focussing on American holiday cards, Gifford became the first scholar to argue that the greetings postcard was central, rather than peripheral to the postcard phenomenon.¹⁰⁹

While this thesis will reinforce Gifford's view, his work highlighted another set of problems. His definition of holiday cards as being primarily "image-

¹⁰⁶ Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, pp.xi-xii.

¹⁰⁷ Thurlow, Jaworski, and Yläne, "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards," p.120.

¹⁰⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.9.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.153.

based conversations” applies to the American holiday cards he studied,¹¹⁰ but does not entirely fit with the British traditions HATS belongs to – which get progressively more text-heavy over time, [compare Figure 3 and Figure 4]. This discrepancy suggests that there may be factors causing the British and American card traditions to diverge. Britain, for example, introduced the divided-back postcard in 1902,¹¹¹ whilst the United States waited until late 1907.¹¹² I will explain the context for these changes later (page 264), but given that British scholars like Gillen and Hall regard the introduction of the divided back as fundamental to the postcard’s development as a communications medium,¹¹³ this five year time-lag in communicative potential between the two postcard traditions seems significant. Indeed, the two traditions ran exactly parallel for little more than a year because, in 1909, the United States introduced the Payne Aldrich Tariff which effectively cut German cards out of their market.¹¹⁴ Since Germany was a primary producer of greetings postcards, their exit obliged American firms to enter the greetings market six years earlier than many of their British counterparts, who went on using German printers and importing German cards until the First World War cut their contact.¹¹⁵ The two industries thus operated under significantly different conditions for most of the craze, and this poses a question as to how much they need to be seen as distinct.¹¹⁶ This perhaps explains the decidedly national tinge to the literature on postcards and greetings cards. Whilst the bulk of the communications and tourism research is European, much of the visual/photographic and greetings card literature is from the United States, with the two major

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp.156-7.

¹¹¹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.66.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Gillen and Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.2 of transcript.

¹¹⁴ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.84-7.

¹¹⁵ Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.41.

¹¹⁶ Different legislation in Germany and several other European countries, for example, meant that they have distinct histories which diverge significantly from the British. Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.54, 56.

academic books of postcard studies both being American.¹¹⁷ Deltiological works are equally national, but more evenly spread.¹¹⁸

Both national traditions have historical reasons for not attending to the HATS card. The tourist and communication focus of the European traditions tends to reinforce the generic tourist/view definition of the visual aspects of the card, focussing instead on the experience of users. The more image- and greetings-based studies are American. However, my research will show that HATS was a discourse that Americans did not warm to – resulting in only a small number of American HATS cards being produced. It was too minor a genre to challenge the idea, implicit in Gifford's work, that the term holiday cards somehow equates to greetings cards.¹¹⁹ The British greetings card tradition, however, had many 'good luck' and floral greetings as well as HATS cards, none of which were inherently associated with holidays. Although later greetings card manufacturers have prioritised holidays, this was not necessarily the case for British Edwardians.

The HATS card, then, highlights some grey areas in the academic literature, and this is compounded by the lack of a sound historical framework for placing the greetings postcard. Deltiological histories like Staff's are remarkably vague about the details of what happened during the postcard craze, and even Carline's work has little detail after 1907, when his postcard journal sources ceased publication. Whilst Gifford has assembled a reasonably sound account of the American craze, there is no equivalent academic study of the history of the postcard craze in Britain or its

¹¹⁷ Geary and Webb, *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*; Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*.

¹¹⁸ It has proven impossible to access many of the American deltiological works. New Zealand libraries during the 1970s and 80s appear to have had better links to British rather than American publishers. As my research relates to the British diaspora, this has not significantly impacted on the research.

¹¹⁹ Gifford slides between the two terms on pages 11-12, and though he, on page 153, again acknowledges the holiday card as a subset of greetings cards, in his discussion the two are usually conflated. [Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910."] Barry Shank argues that publishers of the 1905-10 period saw the term postcard and holiday card as virtually synonymous. Barry Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp.128-9.

colonies.¹²⁰ Nor can postcard practice be neatly isolated from other types of collecting practice, as postcard literature tends to do. This realisation came as a result of buying what I thought was a HATS postcard, only to discover that (being a different size and blank on the back) it was a Victorian Christmas card. Previously I had anachronistically assumed that greetings cards were folded, but it turned out that most Victorian greetings cards were flat and printed only on one side – for easy pasting into scrapbooks. The only fundamental material difference between a Christmas card and a postcard was thus the printed address section on the latter. If Gifford was right, and greetings postcards were “image-based conversations,” such conversations had begun well before the picture postcard’s time. I thus had to query how definitive the postal function of the post-card really was. And if (as turned out to be the case) nineteenth century greetings card publishers had already rehearsed this imagery, how did this scrapbook-related practice connect to the postcard? The lines of inquiry necessary to resolve these issues inevitably altered the dynamic of the research. Bjarne Rogan was correct to describe the postcard as being ‘entangled’, and it seemed increasingly impossible to follow any single thread without unpicking the other parts of the bundle.

The Structure and Aims

The thesis therefore adopts the following structure to tease out the implications of the HATS card. After a discussion of the methods used for the research, chapter 1 sets out to discover why HATS became ubiquitous. To do this, I isolate the earlier connotations that the postcard inherited from the phrase ‘hands across the sea’ and the clasped hands symbol, making full use of newspaper archives to discover patterns in the use of these

¹²⁰ My work will therefore refer to a number of local deltiological studies. Whilst many of these are little more than catalogues, New Zealand has been fortunate in having a quite extensive set of postcard histories, most particularly written by William Main and Alan Jackson, who collaborated on a major study: William Main and Alan Jackson, *“Wish You Were Here”: The Story of New Zealand Postcards* (Nelson, New Zealand: New Zealand Postcard Society, 2004). Such strongly national histories, however, normally focus on local card manufacture (which, as I show in Appendix 5, was, for logistical reasons, largely photographic), rather than on card usage. My research, which focuses on the transnational networks of card importation and their local consumption therefore has relatively little overlap with this significant body of deltiological research.

elements.¹²¹ Certain groups turn out to use the image and phrase more than others, and this chapter isolates several distinct practices which ultimately inform later chapters. The tension between liberal reform usage, and that of trade unionists proves significant, as does its use in both patriotic “Greater Britain” and Anglo-American rhetoric. Certain cultural sites also help orient later discussion, most notably poetry, melodrama, and working class usage of the emblem.

While chapter 1 aims to provide HATS with a contextual framework, chapter 2 does the same for the postcard, by examining the consumption, production, promotion and reception of a burgeoning Victorian card culture. It focuses more on the practices that informed this culture than on the history of the material object (the card), teasing out attitudes to taste and originality that would ultimately inform the reception and collection of the postcards. Collecting practices centred on the album prove particularly significant, and the thesis aims to provide, for the first time, a cohesive account of the connections between the various practices involved. In many ways this chapter fundamentally reinterprets what is significant about the origins of the postcard, moving away from previous linear accounts based primarily around postal history. The visual, emotional and ritual cultures that informed card consumption are thus linked to the broader cultural dynamics of the colonial enterprise. The final section of the chapter then examines how the Christmas card trade rehearsed strategies that would subsequently inform the postcard craze, as stationery manufacturers developed transnational networks that provided it with a ready-made infrastructure.

¹²¹ The availability of searchable newspaper archives has hugely altered the nature of this research, and being located in New Zealand has proved to have distinct advantages. Whereas in larger countries the initial focus of digitisation seems to have been on larger metropolitan newspapers, New Zealand’s *Papers Past* database included a large number of smaller local newspapers which reported on everyday culture at a level of detail that simply did not occur in the larger papers. The postcard, for example, appears highly infrequently in London’s *Times*, but between 1905-8 was regularly discussed within the New Zealand press. Although larger numbers of smaller papers are now becoming available online overseas, at the time of starting this research, *Papers Past* provided the most functional and the most useful of any of the newspaper databases I worked with.

Chapter 3 recontextualises the postcard craze, examining both the postcard's development and the cultural factors that were at play during the Edwardian period. It focuses particularly on evidence from the retailing of postcards in order, for the first time, to provide a coherent account of the craze itself, positing three discrete phases of postcard fashion and positioning HATS within one of them. Chapter 4 then addresses the history and implications of the HATS postcard itself, using both historical sources and a study of over 600 dated cards to explain the craze for HATS cards, before Chapter 5 situates HATS in relation to earlier discussions around card culture. It shows, very clearly, the multiple functions of HATS cards – as gift, collectible, communication, and ritual greeting, demonstrating how, over time, the cards moved from an early emphasis on communication, towards an increased focus on greetings – with an associated increase in the importance of pre-printed textual elements. This section also helps provide a nuanced analysis of the tension between the modern and nostalgic aspects of the cards' images and texts. Ultimately, I position HATS cards as seeking to directly communicate emotion by utilising a visual language that drew on commonplace symbols to create a series of melodramatic affective situations. To do this, the thesis has to unpick the automatic negative connotations associated with words like sentimental, commonplace, melodramatic and nostalgic. It is only once this is done that HATS's appeal to optimistic, future-oriented migrants in places like New Zealand can adequately be appreciated.

The overall aim of the study is therefore to show that the HATS and postcard phenomena are deeply embedded within a wider set of cultural assumptions and practices. And postcard scholarship, I argue, needs a firmer historical footing if it is to move forward without perpetuating a dubious discourse that has developed from a definition of the postcard that HATS destabilises. I challenge the postcard = modernity equation, and instead demonstrate both the continuities and discontinuities with previous practices. By looking less at postcard imagery than at the nature of the practices involved in card culture, it is possible to see why the HATS

greetings postcard was so much more embedded within Edwardian culture than we have hitherto realised.

Clive Dilnot points out that the territory of design covers not only what was done, but also that which was deliberately not done, and that which remains to be done.¹²² A study of the HATS card could have taken several other forms, and in choosing a contextual focus I have had to relinquish several other potentially fruitful approaches. A postcard for emigrants fits within the current mobilities paradigm, however this mobilities approach is being very effectively utilised by Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall, and I wanted this study to complement rather than compete with their work. Although I deal with aspects of mobilities, it is not the central focus, and I have similarly opted only to utilise the user texts which I documented for contextual purposes.¹²³ Secondly, although my study is fundamentally sympathetic to material culture,¹²⁴ it was necessary to sacrifice some of the more specifically material features in order to accommodate the study's historical scope and the large number of cards analysed. The appealing discourse of the everyday also had to be downplayed. As little-regarded pieces of day-to-day communication, many postcards fit within the purview of this analytical approach, but the HATS card is part of a subset of the postcard which, I will argue in chapter 2, is intended to support a celebratory, rather than an everyday culture. I also opted to prioritise historical sources over literary representations of the postcard phenomenon.¹²⁵ Finally, given the symbolic

¹²² Clive Dilnot, "Some Futures for Design History?" *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): p.378.

¹²³ I had originally transcribed and studied all the user texts in the 601 card survey with the intention of dealing with them in detail. I put the data in an Excel spreadsheet, but after attending a workshop on NVivo, I realised that these texts would have been better analysed using that software. I therefore intend to study this data at a later point, preferably working in tandem with a communications scholar.

¹²⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, for example, pointed out how the tendency to see photographic representations as carriers of meaning marginalizes the very real material qualities of these photographs. Elizabeth Edwards, "Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs," *Visual Studies* 17, no. 1 (2002): p.74. This can similarly apply to postcards and suggests an avenue for research that has yet to be developed.

¹²⁵ This was a reaction to what I felt was an over-reliance on literary representations of the greetings card phenomenon, at the expense of historical research, in Barry Shank's work. Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*. Nevertheless, the postcard did appear in literature, and Monica Cure's recent PhD has elegantly filled this gap. Monica Cure, "Text with a View: Turn-of-the-Century Literature and the Invention of the Postcard" (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 2012).

resonance of the hand, it would be feasible to focus the discussion around the haptic aspects of HATS practice.¹²⁶ However, whereas the current approach is not unduly disadvantaged by a diminished focus on the haptic, the lack of context would have hampered my ability to fully round out a haptically-focussed discussion of HATS.

The one disadvantage of centring the thesis on the contextual re-situation of HATS is the scope necessarily involved in adopting such an approach. One might ordinarily expect such research to concentrate on some partial aspect of the phenomenon using a single conceptual lens. This works effectively within areas where the groundwork has been thoroughly established, and the research is intended to dig deeper. Here, however, with much of the groundwork either outdated or non-existent, a more broadly contextual and integrative approach seems warranted. The limitations of a PhD, nevertheless, effectively provide the researcher with a fixed length of string with which to build a net. A closer mesh weaves a smaller net that catches everything within a lesser stretch of sea. A broader mesh, allows a larger area of water to be fished – but with greater potential for some fish to escape. Detail and exactitude are therefore traded for scope and context. Fishing these waters with a coarser net inevitably means that there will be gaps in what follows, but it is hoped that these will be compensated for through the increased coherence that this reconfiguration of the territory provides. Over time, I trust that further research, and more string, will enable a more finely meshed analysis. The following section, however, aims to more fully contextualise the thinking involved in the decisions that led to this approach.

¹²⁶ Raymond Tallis's exploration of the hand provides a very thorough starting point for such a study. Raymond Tallis, *The Hand: A Philosophical Inquiry into Human Being* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

Method

'Method' is not the name of some 'tool-kit', some series of procedures or protocols to be performed when confronted with a set of objects, it is rather the name that we should give to the way we apprehend and comprehend the objects we tend to. By 'method' then, I don't want to suggest a plodding series of steps that will allow something to count as having been analysed, for instance. Instead I want to suggest that we use method and methodology to name the characteristics of a scholarly and intellectual contact with the world.

Ben Highmore.¹

Unlike scientists, historians tend to be remarkably coy about making their methods explicit.² According to Hayden White, “learning to think historically is like learning a language or an idiom; one learns how to do it by mimesis,”³ and this approach tends to apply to historical method. Even the more nuts and bolts books aimed at students, such as *The Pursuit of History*,⁴ paint the specifics of undertaking historical research with a broad brush. Yet method, according to social scientists John Law and John Urry, helps make some things more real and others less – a process they describe as “ontological politics.”⁵ Decisions made in the course of research are not neutral, instead evoking a wide range of discourses and debates. John Law also notes that “while standard [social science] methods are often extremely good at what they do, they are badly adapted to the study of the ephemeral, the indefinite and the irregular.”⁶ This could easily describe postcard practice, meaning that a study of postcards cannot automatically default to a social scientific methodological ‘tool kit’. The choices made during the

¹ Ben Highmore, *Michel De Certeau: Analysing Culture* (London: Continuum, 2006), p.2.

² John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.xi. Gaddis’s book is intended to make them more transparent.

³ Ewa Domanska, "A Conversation with Hayden White," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 12, no. 1 (2008): p.12. He adds that “if I were to teach a course in historical methodology I would simply give students examples of the best historical writing I know and have them study how historians think, and feel, and write.”

⁴ John Tosh and Seán Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, 4th ed. (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2006).

⁵ John Law and John Urry, "Enacting the Social," *Economy and Society* 33, no. 3 (2004): p.404.

⁶ John Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.4. Elsewhere Law and Urry are more specific, singling out the fleeting, the distributed, the multiple, the sensory, the emotional, and the kinaesthetic as areas that current methods deal with poorly. Law and Urry, "Enacting the Social," p.403.

research are therefore explained in this section, which aims to articulate the thinking behind my uses of particular historical and social scientific methods to deal with the multiple aspects of this entangled topic.

I start with a proviso. Definitions of terms like ‘postcard’ and other similarly contentious concepts are woven into the text itself, where they can be dealt with in context. The same applies to my detailed explanation of the methods used for a quantitative study of 601 HATS cards, which occurs when the results begin to be drawn into the discussion, on page 333.

Allowing these elements to play into the narrative, rather than corralling them into structural conformity is, as I intend to explain in this section, in keeping with the broader methodological considerations outlined below.

Method is frequently entwined with issues of disciplinarity. In academic research, a topic’s disciplinary location may well precede the choice of subject matter. The discipline provides an arena within which research, methodological orientation and dissemination may well be prescribed. Therefore, if a disciplinary venue is decided upon *a priori*, interdisciplinarity is, if not ruled out, then distinctly less likely. In this case, the starting point for my research lay not in a decision to undertake a PhD in a particular discipline, but rather in the identification of a topic. For Hayden White, “in historical research, the methods are dictated by the object of study, rather than, as in the sciences, having to devise methods of studying ‘unknown’ objects.”⁷ Given the scant use of postcards by historians, this object of study could just as well have been defined as ‘unknown’, but it did not situate itself at any obvious point in the Social Sciences either – fitting, as noted above, Law’s categories of the ‘ephemeral’, ‘indefinite’, and ‘irregular’.⁸ It was not an easily defined object at all, but rather a bundle of interrelated subject/objects: ‘hands across the sea’, the clasped hands symbol and the postcard. Linking visual, verbal, haptic, popular cultural, kitsch, communicative, designed, mobile and transnational aspects (to name but a few of the possible options), and with a postcard literature – as noted in the introduction – spread liberally through a range of other disciplinary

⁷ Domanska, "A Conversation with Hayden White," p.15.

⁸ Law and Urry, "Enacting the Social," p.403.

contexts, the subject lacked a clear disciplinary home.⁹ In terms of my own academic location, it made sense to cast it provisionally as either graphic design history or design history. “Many intellectual enterprises,” Bruno Latour commented recently, “after a detour through Romance language departments in the 1980s, have recently migrated from deserted philosophy departments to design and architecture schools,”¹⁰ so locating the research within the design arena made sense.

Grace Lees-Maffei noted that “design history’s promiscuity, in terms of using material and methods from other disciplines, has served it well.”¹¹ In a relatively newly defined arena, however, questions of definition – of boundaries, content and focus – have tended to take precedence.¹² Historical sub-genres, such as design, business, economic or gender history owe their identities to their content, and Design History’s focus on delineating design – whether defined as object or discourse – has meant that any sustained discussion of methodology in the literature took a back seat.¹³

‘Promiscuity’, in this context, was less a life choice than a necessity.

For some, history ceased being the appropriate arena altogether. Judy Attfield, for example, recommended that design history needed to become part of the wider framework of Material Culture.¹⁴ Her definition of design as ‘things with attitude’¹⁵ encapsulates material culture’s emphasis on the ‘social life of things’,¹⁶ a formulation that allowed Igor Kopytoff to develop

⁹ As another postcard PhD researcher put it: “with the possibility of observing its functions from different vantage points, the postcard effectively challenges disciplinary allegiances of study.” Scheffer, “Architectural Postcards and the Conception of Place: Mediating Cultural Experience,” p.10.

¹⁰ Bruno Latour, “Spheres and Networks: Two Ways to Reinterpret Globalization,” *Harvard Design Magazine* 30, Spring/Summer (2009): p.144.

¹¹ Grace Lees-Maffei, “The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm,” *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): p.365.

¹² Woodham, “Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map,” p.258.

¹³ Lees-Maffei, “The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm,” p.359. Lees-Maffei notes that after Tony Fry’s work design historians moved away from the fetishised object, to place design within discourse. See Tony Fry, “A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality,” *Design Issues* 6, no. 1 (1989).

¹⁴ Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p.29.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁶ Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

his concept of ‘object biography’.¹⁷ Once uncoupled from the subjective figure of the designer and the processes of production, engagement with other sociologically driven discourses such as consumption and leisure becomes inevitable. Historians, too, have found Material Culture’s focus on consumption attractive, and used it as a way of integrating less traditional sources.¹⁸

The disciplinary cross-fertilisation has gone both ways. Sociologists like Colin Campbell, and Ben Highmore from Cultural Studies, have written on design history.¹⁹ The work of Clifford Geertz had earlier been a catalyst for the discovery of common ground between history and the social sciences.²⁰ His process of “thick description,” which teases out the “multiplicity of complex conceptual structures” involved in the everyday details of cultural practices,²¹ has close parallels to the way many historians work with sources. The boundaries between design history, history and the social sciences, then, seemed porous, and both Material Culture and the newer Actor Network Theory (ANT) helped negotiate this.²² They redefined the power relationships inherent in older versions of design history with new approaches to agency.²³ In particular, ANT’s democratic distribution of agency to all actors, irrespective of category, offered the potential to deal

¹⁷ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹⁸ Karen Harvey, ed. *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁹ Colin Campbell, "Consumption and the Rhetorics of Need and Want," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998); Ben Highmore, "The Design of Everyday Life," *ibid.* 22 (2009).

²⁰ A good overview of this process is given in the introduction to Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

²¹ Clifford Geertz, *An Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.9. Geertz acknowledges, on page 6, that the term “thick description” is taken from Gilbert Ryle.

²² Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). A good example of the theory in action is to be found in John Law and Annemarie Mol, "The Actor-Enacted: Cumbrian Sheep in 2001," in *Material Agency*, ed. Carl Knappett and Lambros Malafouris (New York: Springer, 2008).

²³ Despite the focus on design heroes having been challenged in design history as early as the 1980s by writers such as Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), the focus on human agency via great pioneers was still to be found into the new century in books like Aynsley, *A Century of Graphic Design: Graphic Design Pioneers of the 20th Century*.

with the largely anonymous practices involved in creating and consuming greetings postcards.

Most disciplinary discourses (in their original forms) tended to privilege particular types of agency. In traditional history the dominant agents were people. Sociology defined itself around structures and, more recently, directional process like mobilities.²⁴ Material culture renewed interest in things. ANT, however, simply placed each of these on an even plane, allowing each to be actors, with equal potential agency. I initially responded to the democratic aspects of this formulation, but, as a method it soon left me dissatisfied; all roads seemed to lead, somewhat limitingly, to networks. The attraction for me of the ANT approach, I realised, was less in the method itself than in its potential as a tool of narrative emplotment.²⁵ It helped in defining the different actors' relationships – given that in the Hands across the Sea story there are no automatic lead characters.

Another, less obvious, factor also demonstrates the disciplinary push and pull of this research. Newly available searchable databases showed no respect for disciplinary distinctions that might otherwise have been enforced by the physical layout of a library.²⁶ Without these databases, it would have been almost impossible to trace the extent to which the postcard had been embraced by a variety of disciplines. With them, Pandora's methodological box beckoned. In keeping with White's point about historians aligning method to the object of study, I therefore decided to follow the trajectory of the subject matter, regardless of the disciplinary ownership of the methods used. This seemingly interdisciplinary approach was still motivated by an historical orientation, but one that was now broader – moving well beyond

²⁴ John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000).

²⁵ Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artefact," in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, ed. Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

²⁶ Adrian Bingham provides a comprehensive set of approaches for such searching. Adrian Bingham, "The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010). For example he advises, on page 229, that one should look at the whole page of a newspaper, and not just the retrieved article, in order to get its full context. I have adopted this latterly, however much of the database searching undertaken for this research was done between 2008-11, on dial-up. This mitigated against such an approach. I have re-done the searches for some key articles following Bingham, but not for all.

the self-imposed limitations of design history.²⁷ Adrian Forty argued that “no design works unless it embodies the ideas held in common by the people for whom the object was intended,”²⁸ but the book which I thought best integrated design into those wider ideas lay outside design history in a work on design by historian Deborah Cohen.²⁹ Design is only one part of a HATS card, but even to understand that design, it seemed necessary to explore the other aspects of the bundle of tangled discourses shared by the cards and their users.

Although not tightly wedded to a disciplinary home, it would be misleading to call this research fully interdisciplinary.³⁰ Historians have been charged with approaching interdisciplinarity with a spirit of “omnivorous borrowing” and “good-natured interdisciplinary theft.”³¹ White casts this as *ad hoc* “bricolage,”³² a term originating in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss.³³ Michel de Certeau also uses the term, saying of the comparable creative enterprise of cooking that it “simultaneously organizes a network of

²⁷ Design historian Clive Dilnot argued that “the real subject we are after is not the closed field of design lineage but the open field of design intelligence contrasted and sharpened against the necessary norms.” [Dilnot, “Some Futures for Design History?” p.381.] Dilnot was amongst the first to critique the focus on individual designers, and the lack of connection between design history and the broader social context. [“The State of Design History, Part 1: Mapping the Field,” in *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, ed. Victor Margolin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp.221, 232.] Nevertheless his comment on focussing on “design intelligence” still betrays an underlying desire to make the profession of the designer look good in an academic context. This helped me to realise that card practice (in its many guises) was the central feature of this thesis, rather than the more limited concept of design intelligence.

²⁸ Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*, p.245.

²⁹ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). Lara Kriegel’s *Grand Designs* served to reinforce this sense, being another excellent discussion of design written from outside design history. Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

³⁰ Hayden White argues that “genuine interdisciplinarity entails a fusion of codes as well as methods, which usually involves the creation of a new technical language for the characterization of objects of study as possible subjects of the methodologies deployed by the disciplines in question.” Domanska, “A Conversation with Hayden White,” p.14.

³¹ Rohan McWilliam, “What is Interdisciplinary about Victorian History Today?,” 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 1 (2005): pp.16-17.

³² Domanska, “A Conversation with Hayden White,” p.14.

³³ Lévi-Strauss takes the term from its original sense (as being the swift situational responses of craftsmen and others with manual dexterity), and applies it to a type of concrete “mythical” intellectual activity. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), pp.16-22.

relations, poetic ways of “making do” (*bricolage*).”³⁴ The method that underlies such ‘tactics’ is one of improvisation – an approach that I identify with through my other practice as an improvisational calligrapher.³⁵ David Sudnow’s *Ways of the Hand* describes the analogous craft process of learning jazz piano, whereby hands and mind are schooled until they are able to synthesise action and intention in a single improvisational mode.³⁶ This is, arguably, the goal of craft,³⁷ and Sudnow draws on Merleau-Ponty’s concepts of embodiment, in the interests of overcoming the ubiquity of the Cartesian mind/body divide.³⁸ Given that the subject of this thesis is “Hands across the Sea,” and that montage, in one form or another, is one of the cards’ underlying structures, it seems appropriate to consider the sorts of orientational retooling that occur when metaphors of improvisational bricolage and of haptic engagement are engaged. Could history ever be seen as handiwork?

It should be clear by now that, despite drawing on some aspects of the social sciences, this research is situated, broadly, as history. But what does it mean to be a historian? What identities do historians project? These are important questions to ask, because the very idea of history as a craft or as ‘handiwork’ would, I think, run counter to many historians’ idea of their role. Although Anthropologists are more inclined to identify with the craft

³⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p.xv.

³⁵ Much calligraphy follows prescribed patterns, however my work makes decisions about letterform and design on the spot in an integrated response to the ever changing context of the piece – a process I have long regarded as equivalent to jazz. Like jazz, one has to have complete confidence in one’s underlying technique to be able to do this.

³⁶ David Sudnow, *Ways of the Hand: A Rewritten Account* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

³⁷ Theorists debate whether crafts aspires to the skilled replicability of pre-industrial craft or the intuitive responsiveness of post-industrial craftspeople, who consciously want to distance themselves from the repetitive replicability of the machine. Peter Betjemann’s discussion of this in relation to the pivotal Arts and Crafts movement is useful, noting that it has been framed as an opposition between craftsmanship and workmanship [Peter Betjemann, "Craft and the Limits of Skill: Handicrafts Revivalism and the Problem of Technique," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): pp.188-90]. My own calligraphic work relies on this being less a binary than a continuum. Like Sudnow, I regard perfect replicability as a prelude to the freedom necessary for improvisation.

³⁸ Sudnow, *Ways of the Hand: A Rewritten Account*, p.3. He is referring to Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2002 [1962]). Lisa Cartwright has recently written an article in which she uses Sudnow’s work to interrogate John Berger’s *Ways of Seeing*, suggesting that Berger’s work is more fully embodied than the title suggests. Lisa Cartwright, "Ways of Seeing and Ways of the Hand," *Journal of Visual Culture* 11, no. 2 (2012).

model,³⁹ one has to go back to the 1950s to find a book written overtly about the historian's 'craft'.⁴⁰ It was written by Marc Bloch, one of the founders of the *Annales* School. With a focus on working class history, labour of the hand might have seemed appropriate, but Bloch's concern, was to move history away from an earlier identification with the scientist.⁴¹

If the *Annales* historians were critical of empirical science, they nevertheless sometimes used quantitative methods to uncover the structural big-picture over long periods of time, in their attempt to unearth the experience of those excluded from official history. This 'longue durée' approach would dominate history until at least the mid-1970s,⁴² and quantitative methods stayed in favour amongst social historians for even longer. One can find books from well into the 1980s that quiver with graphs and charts:⁴³ "history by numbers," as it is referred to by Tosh.⁴⁴

Quantitative methods are used in parts of this thesis (see page 333) for much the same reasons that social historians have used them. Provided one acknowledges potential flaws (such as treating social categories like class or occupation as fixed),⁴⁵ a statistical approach to analysing the postcard's practice is helpful in revealing broader dynamics that are otherwise opaque. Ultimately, the quantitative method's problem lies less in its utility, than in

³⁹ Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp.239-40.

⁴⁰ Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954). The original French book, published in 1949, is entitled "*Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*," and the translation of *métier* as 'craft' probably says more about English than French thinking. However this book is cited as one of the key works on historical method by John Lewis Gaddis, in justifying a more explicit focus on method. Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, p.x.

⁴¹ Ranke, as early as 1830, had written an essay called "On the Character of Historical Science." Leopold von Ranke and Georg G. Iggers, *The Theory and Practice of History: Edited with an Introduction by Georg G. Iggers* (Hoboken: Routledge, 2010), p.111.

⁴² Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know about It," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): p.17. In sociology, Norbert Elias, in a 1968 postscript to his book, similarly argued strongly for the study of long-term developments. He argued that social developments are in a constant state of gradual change, as opposed to the then fashionable sociological views of society as static states, prone to occasional abrupt change to new static states. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Revised ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000 [1939]), pp.458-9.

⁴³ For example, Richard Wall and Jay Winter, *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁴⁴ Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, p.257.

⁴⁵ Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, p.7.

its ideological implications.⁴⁶ Despite the protests of writers like Bloch that the method differs from the scientific, its structural approach, aligned with the distanced and “disinterested” mien of the *longue durée* historian,⁴⁷ inevitably invoked the spectre of scientific ‘objectivity’. The 1970s reaction assault on quantitative history by post-structural writers like Foucault and White,⁴⁸ however, helped to create a different identity for historians. It was based on another figure many already had leanings towards – and one just as little enamoured with the ways of the hand as the scientist or statistician: the novelist.

The post-structural objection to the ‘objectivity’ of earlier historians lies in radically differing views about the epistemological truth-status of the raw materials that historians use to unearth the past. What is being uncovered as one pores over one's primary sources?⁴⁹ Until the ‘linguistic turn’, there had been a straightforward understanding that, as Louis Mink puts it, “history-as-it-was-lived... is an untold story. The historian’s job is to discover that untold story, or part of it, and to retell it.”⁵⁰ For Mink, as for Hayden White, the idea that there was a concrete historical truth to be unearthed complete, was suspect not only on the relativist grounds that the historian could in no way claim to be an impartial observer, but also because the historical account necessarily relied on the historian’s choice of certain narrative structures, and literary tropes. There were, as White pointed out, multiple ways that historians could construct the plot of any given historical narrative.⁵¹ Eviatar Zerubavel provides a recent version of what these narrative structures might be, and it is salutary to realise how few such structures (be they narratives of progress or decline, or patterns that are

⁴⁶ Of course, opting for pragmatic utility over ideological purity is itself an ideological position – one which will be discussed later.

⁴⁷ Hayden White, "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses," *History and Theory* 44, no. 3 (2005): p.334. White is here quoting from Michael Oakshott.

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977); Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1973): p.61.

⁴⁹ Indeed, even using words like ‘uncovered’ or ‘unearthed’ assumes a pre-existing past amenable to archaeological recovery.

⁵⁰ Louis O. Mink, "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument," in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, ed. Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p.134.

⁵¹ White, "Interpretation in History," p.294.

circular or staccato) underpin so much writing.⁵² And by downplaying the degree to which literary sensibilities affect historical writing, traditional history, in Mink's view, denied its affinity with literature.⁵³

Nevertheless, for all his emphasis on the literary, Mink differs from White, and subsequent narrative historians,⁵⁴ in his insistence that history and fiction are necessarily different.⁵⁵ Given that this assertion is entirely unsupported,⁵⁶ it would appear that for Mink, despite understanding the logic behind narrativism, the novelist was not at the core of his identity as a historian. White, however, continues to try and connect “the aims of historical enquiry and the aims of poetic expression,” and to assert that “history needs to return to the humanities and the humanities need to be linked more intimately to the arts, which at the present time the humanities simply cannibalize rather than help cultivate.”⁵⁷ Despite a very wide engagement with many facets of historical work, White appears most passionate about the issue of art – thus suggesting that this underpins his sense of identity. This may help explain the affinity that many writers in art and design seem to feel for his work.⁵⁸ However, just as saying ‘art’ tends to assume, hierarchically, that one is talking about Fine Art (rather than applied art, craft or design), so does saying ‘literary’ assume the hegemonic ascendancy of the novel, poem or play. Were a historian to shun the identity of novelist, and move to the less exalted literary genre of biography, what would happen?

Interestingly, historians do not seem to do this. As Jill Lepore points out, the job of the biographer is to get close to the subject, in a way that historians

⁵² Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp.14-36.

⁵³ Mink, "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument," p.134.

⁵⁴ For example, Alun Munslow, *Narrative and History* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁵⁵ Mink, "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument," p.148.

⁵⁶ Richard T. Vann, "Louis Mink's Linguistic Turn," *History and Theory* 26, no. 1 (1987): p.14.

⁵⁷ Hayden White, "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses," *ibid.*44, no. 3 (2005): p.338.

⁵⁸ He is, for example, the only historian outside design history cited in Grace Lees-Maffei's seminal article on design history. Lees-Maffei, "The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm," p.352.

do not.⁵⁹ And the distinction between history and biography has traditionally been that biography relates to a single individual, whereas history, even when dealing with individuals, involves the relations of individuals to wider factors. Biography has no such wider imperative. It is worth considering this distinction, because it perhaps explains why Kopytoff's above-mentioned call for biographies of things has been heeded more in Material Culture studies than in history. The latter has, however, developed prosopography, an approach defined by Lawrence Stone as a "collective biography" of a group of actors.⁶⁰ Stone was thinking of human actors, but an ANT-based merging of Stone and Kopytoff's approaches could potentially enable a study of the Hands across the Sea cards to be framed as collective object biography. However, the corpus of cards I study here has been pieced together through my own collecting practice, and this raises issues relating to my position in relation to the sources, and the extent to which I could unwittingly play the part of the advocate.

Just as historians do not regard themselves as biographers, nor do they generally regard themselves as advocates. Nevertheless, advocacy comes easily if one starts to identify with the people and groups being studied. For some historians, the choice to study class, gender or race-based history comes from prior identification. For others, identification happens in the course of their work, or from trying to be relevant. There is an appeal in such passionate advocacy; the historian as social activist is particularly easy to justify as critique in action. Methodologically, however, this raises the question of whether emotional investment affects how one deals with one's sources. Whilst it is unavoidable that historians will bring their own prejudices to bear on which sources they consult, and more particularly which ones they regard as significant, the key question is whether this is a tendency to be embraced or, as much as possible, resisted. Can, or should, one suppress one's own preferences in favour of being as scrupulous as

⁵⁹ Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): p.139. The question remains, however, as to what they are devices for.

⁶⁰ Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971): p.46.

possible about what is in the historical data? Can a noble cause ever justify massaging the evidence?

This research involved two factors with the potential to intensify any tendency towards advocacy. My own experience as an immigrant, having watched my parents struggle with issues of distance and displacement, has probably heightened my predisposition to study greetings cards that sought to ameliorate this condition. Similarly, the fact that much of the source data for the study was material I had collected (and paid for) meant that I ran an additional risk of distorting the significance of the phenomenon beyond the normal researcher tendency to valorise one's subject of study. The closeness needed for object biography was here almost too easy to achieve.

Advocacy was not, however, the identity that underpinned the beginnings of this research. Nor was it the mantle of scientist, statistician, novelist, or biographer. The identity that originally oriented my approach to history was that of the detective. As a teenager, the book that propelled me into history was Josephine Tey's novel *The Daughter of Time*, in which a hospitalised detective proves the innocence of Richard III,⁶¹ and my initial approach to gathering evidence about the HATS phenomenon felt like detective work. The analogy between historian and detective is extensively used, most notably by microhistorians, for whom, however, "subjects are only devices."⁶² Unlike biography, where the subject is sufficient in and of itself, in microhistory clues can lie anywhere in the broader context, which requires close scrutiny. Unsurprisingly, the microscope provides the microhistorian's dominant metaphor. This magnifying-glass-wielding detective image certainly predisposed me towards the microscopic approach, as did my subsequent training in Ancient History.

Ancient History specialises in trying to figure out what has happened from the shards that long periods of time have left behind. It thus has much in common with an approach described by Voltaire in his 1747 novel, *Zadig*, where the hero is able, from footprints alone, to describe in minute detail

⁶¹ Josephine Tey, *The Daughter of Time* (London: P. Davies, 1951).

⁶² Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," p.144.

the particulars of a horse and a dog.⁶³ The idea of interpreting evidence, Sherlock Holmes-like, from the merest fragment, is as appealing to the ancient historian as it was to Carlo Ginzburg, who highlighted *Zadig* and Holmes in one of his works on microhistory.⁶⁴ Ginzburg describes the detective's conjectural process as the practice of "making retrospective predictions."⁶⁵ However, it is one thing to retrospectively imagine a Palaeolithic pattern from a few scattered dinosaur footprints, and quite another to make much sense of a muddy field, over which a herd of bison have recently passed. Here, there is no shortage of tracks, but rather a paucity of immediate coherence. This is the situation that one finds oneself in when dealing with modern history. Documentary evidence, the holy grail of the ancient historian, is not in short supply. With an estimated 200-300 billion postcards posted between 1900 and 1920, for example,⁶⁶ it is hard not to be overwhelmed by the volume, and to retreat to the nearest hill for a birds-eye view, instead of diving into the mud. The broader issues, like the size of the herd and the direction it was moving in, are apparent from a macro view, but opaque close up.⁶⁷ Historical distance remains an important concept for history,⁶⁸ whereas my own identification with the microscopic aspects of the studies, and with the hand rather than the eye, left me more inclined to head for the mud than to the hills.

⁶³ Voltaire, *Zadig: Or, the Book of Fate. An Oriental History* (London: John Brindley, 1749), pp.22-31.

⁶⁴ Carlo Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method," *History Workshop Journal* 9, no. 1 (1980): pp.22, 28.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.23.

⁶⁶ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.18.

⁶⁷ John Lewis Gaddis neatly characterises this distinction in dealing with the landscape of the past by comparing the removed figure of Caspar David Friedrich's 1818 *Wanderer Over the Sea of Fog* with Gwennyth Paltrow's wading ashore on a deserted beach in the 1998 film *Shakespeare in Love*. Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, p.129.

⁶⁸ Mark Salber Phillips' study of the importance of distance within historical thought is pertinent here. He notes that the warm close-up of E.P.Thompson's approach to the working classes is quite different from the coolly detached proximity of Foucault's description of the punishment metered out to the condemned regicide, Damiens. This distinction is important in highlighting that distance and proximity are not necessarily equivalent to affective engagement and can lead to quite different ideological positions. Mark Salber Phillips, "Rethinking Historical Distance: From Doctrine to Heuristic," *History and Theory* 50, no. 4 (2011): p.13.

By now, any reader who believes (overtly or covertly) in historical objectivity will have started querying why the researcher's identity issues are taking up house-room in an academic work. Isn't it enough to pay lip service to the impossibility of objectivity, doff one's hat to some accepted methods, and then get back to telling our students not to use the word 'I'? That is what I would have done a few years ago. However, in asserting that this research constitutes a 'practice', I am acknowledging that what comes out of the process is necessarily affected by the unique and non-replicable set of conditions that make up the intersection between the topic and the individual researcher.⁶⁹ Understood as practice, the emphasis moves to the processes of orientation,⁷⁰ rather than any particular sequence of actions.

Prior to undertaking this research, I had treated my calligraphic and design-historical work as separate practices, but then I began to realise that they were not. Calligraphy is fundamentally the practice of line, but line is also a metaphor that has seeped deeply into the ways we orient our thinking. Tim Ingold's study of line crystallised this.⁷¹ Until reading his book, the dominant metaphor that underpinned my research was that of weaving. Gottfried Semper theorised weaving as the fundamental impulse behind art,⁷² and it was subsequently used by such writers as Simmel,⁷³ Wittgenstein,⁷⁴ Merleau Ponty,⁷⁵ Geertz,⁷⁶ and Ginzburg,⁷⁷ and many less

⁶⁹ Once one adopts a more subjective position, research is fundamentally not replicable. Peter Stearns points out that historians have no laboratory methods to achieve replicability. Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), p.60.

⁷⁰ Henri Lefebvre sees 'orientation' as: "a 'sense': an organ that perceives, a direction that may be conceived, and a directly lived movement progressing towards the horizon." Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991), p.423.

⁷¹ Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History*.

⁷² Morna O'Neill, "Pandora's Box: Walter Crane, "Our Sphinx-Riddle," and the Politics of Decoration," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2007): p.312.

⁷³ Georg Simmel, "The Berlin Trade Exhibition," *Theory, Culture & Society* 8, no. 3 (1991 [1896]): p.109. says "On every day, at every hour, such threads are spun, dropped, picked up again, replaced by others are woven together with them. Herein like the interactions between atoms of society, accessible only to psychological microscopy."

⁷⁴ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* [Philosophische Untersuchungen], trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001 [1953]), p.27. In discussing games, he identified "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities in detail."

⁷⁵ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.xi. says "The real is a closely woven fabric."

well-known figures.⁷⁸ The parallels between weaving and ANT's networks had encouraged my interest in the latter. However, Ingold crucially pointed out that the lines underpinning both the network and weaving metaphors are conceived as straight.⁷⁹ Threads on a loom are straight, as are the connectors between nodes. In calligraphy, by contrast, lines are never fully straight, and this simple point partially unravelled the weaving metaphor. I realised that my process does not work in straight lines, and is not neat. It was closer to the process that Ingold describes as "wayfaring," arguing that this is the "fundamental mode by which living beings ... inhabit the world."⁸⁰ Wayfaring is the process of travel that happens when one is not following a chart. It meanders, and responds to changing circumstances.⁸¹ This contextual openness contrasts with travel and navigating, where the point of the exercise is to reach a destination, following a pre-plotted path.⁸² The navigated journey aimed to find the most efficient route between departure and destination, thus limiting, as best possible, space.⁸³ Whilst this collapsing of spatial distance fitted the intention behind both Hands across the Sea cards and transnationalism,⁸⁴ it represents everything I try to educate my students out of in their creative practice. If the research was to be open-ended and explorative, then it needed a non-prescriptive path – one that allowed for improvisation, backtracking and changes of course. This is closer to the craftsman's approach and, interestingly, Ingold utilised the

⁷⁶ Geertz, *An Interpretation of Culture*, p.5. "Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs..."

⁷⁷ Carlo Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method," *History Workshop Journal* 9, no. 1 (1980): pp.22-3. says of the microhistorical approach that "this inquiry may be compared to following the threads in a piece of weaving."

⁷⁸ Elihu Burritt, for example, said of the operations of the postal network that "every letter exchanged, like a weaver's shuttle, will carry across the ocean a silken ligature to bind two kindred hearts, and through them, two kindred nations." [Elihu Burritt, "An Olive Leaf," *Oberlin Evangelist* 8, no. 8 (1846): p.61.] The same metaphor was used by a rural postman who said of his role in uniting people that "I'm a livin' shuttle." G. Bramwell Evens, *A Romany in the Fields* (Oxford: Isis, 2006 [1929]), p.85.

⁷⁹ Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History*, p.75.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.81.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.84.

⁸⁴ Tony Ballantyne makes the useful point that transnationalism deals well with "across" but not so well with "under" and "beyond." Tony Ballantyne, "On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 45, no. 1 (2011): p.50.

notion of “skilled practice” to argue (against ANT) that the type of agency found in embodied subjects capable of developing skill is different from the agency of inert objects.⁸⁵

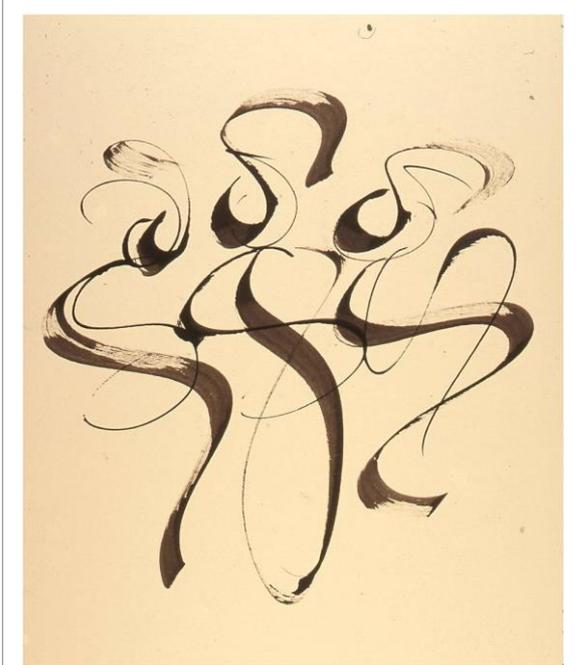


Figure 7: Peter Gilderdale, “The Three Graces.” This work plays with the gaps between the pre-existing pattern of the letter ‘g’ and the myriad of different paths the pen can take while writing it.

Ingold’s critique had implications not only for the discovery phases of my research, but also for the writing. I had originally envisioned a network-like narrative structure based around locating the various actors and tracing their connections. Ingold’s metaphor, however, suggested that the thesis could be framed via a process of translating the historical traces into discrete narrative threads,⁸⁶ or “zones of becoming,”⁸⁷ which looped backwards and forwards, connecting in places, but each with its own path. This was not the linear structure of a ruler, but rather had the linear character of a calligraphic

flourish,⁸⁸ effectively building a series of contextual segments which resonated together,⁸⁹ [e.g. Figure 7]. This approach seemed appropriate to dealing with subject matter that constituted a “zone of entanglement,”⁹⁰ one

⁸⁵ Tim Ingold, “When Ant Meets Spider: Social Theory for Arthropods,” in *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, ed. Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett (New York: Springer, 2008), pp.214-5.

⁸⁶ Ingold sees this process of transformation as one which, in the process, dissolves the surface. *Lines: A Brief History*, p.52.

⁸⁷ *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, p.221.

⁸⁸ *Lines: A Brief History*. Ingold implicitly makes this connection between the flourish and a narrative thread in the juxtaposition of his discussion and images of flourishes on pages 72 and 90.

⁸⁹ I found Barney Warf’s middle way between these approaches – one where he connected the planes of space with the lines of time via the metaphor of origami – too late to influence the structure. Whilst it is too geometrical to be fully analogous to what I have attempted, it does capture the three-dimensionality that underlies my understanding of entanglement. Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographics* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), p.9.

⁹⁰ Maja Van der Velden, Tone Bratteteig, and Sisse Finken, “Entangled Matter: Thinking Differently about Materials in Design,” in *Engaging Artifacts* (Oslo, Norway: Nordic Design Research, 2009), p.9. These authors are consciously building on Ingold’s ideas.

where, as Ingold put it, “multiple strands, like social life, entwine concurrently.”⁹¹

The move to threads was not without consequences. The web metaphor tended to prioritise the connections and actors as they existed in the Edwardian present. The thread metaphor seemed more conducive to the historical context of time. And this difference became fundamental during the writing process, as two options presented themselves. It was possible to write both a detailed microhistorical object prosopography of the Hands across the Sea card, and a contextualised historical study of factors that informed that card. With a modest 100,000 words to play with, however, space was insufficient to report both fully. A choice of emphasis had to be made, since without substantially reframing the context within which the card operated, it was not possible to adequately interpret the data that had been found during the more detailed research. The priority therefore became to contextually resituate the cards, whilst much of the more microscopic detail would have to await another venue.

Stephen Pepper identified “contextualism” as one of the four “root metaphors” that we use as “world hypotheses,” arguing that contextualism is about events that “are all intrinsically complex, composed of interconnected activities with continually changing patterns.”⁹² Hayden White adopted Pepper’s categories, arguing that “in any given historical work the mode of explanation actually favoured by a specific historian ought to be identifiable and distinguishable from the narrative mode (or plot-structure).”⁹³ White contrasts the historical implications of contextualism with those of the ‘mechanistic’ and ‘organicist’ worldviews (which tend to look for universal integrative explanatory structures), as well as with the ‘ideographic’ approach (Pepper calls this ‘formism’) which strives to represent microscopic detail accurately.⁹⁴ The selection of such an epistemological “mode of explanation” is one of the choices involved in

⁹¹ Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, p.221.

⁹² Stephen C. Pepper, *World Hypotheses: A Study in Evidence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p.233. The discussion of contextualism covers pp.232-79.

⁹³ White, "Interpretation in History," p.303.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.299-302.

plotting a narrative.⁹⁵ Contextualism, whilst staying close to the ‘story’ is “modestly integrative in its general aim” without trying to universalise.⁹⁶ The term has recently been used more generally, without making its structuralist origins explicit. Ben Singer provides a good description of the contextualist approach when he says it is used “to stress in a methodologically self-conscious way the fruitfulness of investigating an unusually wide spectrum of qualitatively disparate historical determinants.”⁹⁷ Daniel Gifford, citing Singer, adopts the contextual mode in his postcard study because it allows equal weighting to the “audience, historical context, and the images themselves.”⁹⁸ The advantage of the contextual mode is that it provides ample opportunity for the complex interweaving of conceptual themes and narrative threads, and in developing this narrative I have tried to utilise the tension between Ingold’s wayfaring model,⁹⁹ which allows the narrative to evolve, and White’s plotting which allows for the ‘modest integration’ of the conceptual destinations.¹⁰⁰

Mark Salber Phillips has characterised histories that, like this thesis, prioritise “scenes of common life” and promote a sympathetic appreciation of marginalised groups (i.e. the HATS genre) as orienting themselves to an explanatory mode that neither Pepper nor White would have countenanced: sentimentalism.¹⁰¹ Eva Ilouz has argued that whilst modern capitalism may appear to create a rational public sphere and an emotional private sphere, a number of key theorists (including Weber, Marx, Durkheim and Simmel) all create arguments that hinge on emotional reactions underpinning the

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.307.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.301.

⁹⁷ Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p.8. Daniel Gifford cites Singer in adopting the contextualist approach for his postcard study.

⁹⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.14-15.

⁹⁹ Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History*, p.15.

¹⁰⁰ White discusses this distinction between story and plot. White, "Interpretation in History," p.294.

¹⁰¹ Mark Salber Phillips, "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of Sentimental History for Life," *History Workshop Journal* 65, no. 1 (2008): p.54. Phillips suggests on page 62 that the days of focussing on the marginalised may be numbered, and that there is a growing interest in returning to grander narratives of a Darwinian character.

mechanisms of a modern consumer society, Illouz thus labels the modern character “homo sentimentalis.”¹⁰²

The very idea of the sentimental is a useful catalyst in explaining why this research needed to adopt a more broadly historical approach rather than remaining within the constraints of Design History. Educated designers exhibit a knee-jerk aversion to the sentimental, indicative of design history and design’s strategies for distancing themselves from popular culture. For example, if I were to suggest that one draw the metaphor of a narrative thread not from a utilitarian item like rope or string, but a decorative and feminised one like a ribbon [e.g. Figure 8], there are few design academics (or indeed academics of any persuasion) who could avoid a cringe reflex.



To appreciate the Hands across the Sea card in situ, however, requires the researcher to consciously uncouple from the disciplinary discourses that have created this reflex, whilst not necessarily valorising sentimentality either. Resituating this little-regarded card so as to appreciate why it

¹⁰² Eva Illouz, *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp.1-2.

attained heightened significance for the Edwardians therefore requires methodological and conceptual agility rather than deference – Ingold’s wayfaring, albeit within the context of historical enquiry. Elsewhere, Ingold has argued for a process of research that moves away from being a study *of* something, to being a study *with* something.¹⁰³ Intellectual craft, he believes, dissolves the distinctions between theory and method, work and life,¹⁰⁴ and in seeking to liberate research from the “tyranny of method” he challenges the automatic hierarchies involved in moving from the particular to the general.¹⁰⁵ For him, above all, research is a philosophic process embedded in one’s “observational engagements with the world.”¹⁰⁶ This is very much a hands-on attitude, and less like painting – whose process is always aligned to creating a finished composition – than it is graphic, like a drawing; an improvisational and exploratory process.¹⁰⁷ As Ingold argues, it is “a history of becoming rather than an image of being.”¹⁰⁸

Method, in this context, becomes a tool of orientation enabling the specific contexts of practice to inform a movement towards what Donna Haraway calls “situated and embodied knowledge.”¹⁰⁹ Applied to history, such an orientation moves towards a thoughtful, contextualised, warm but unsentimental engagement with the tangled threads of the practiced past rather than a distanced, cool and generalised abstraction of it. Roland Barthes noted that “writing makes knowledge festive,”¹¹⁰ and if the process of doing so is somewhat methodologically messy, as John Law suggests it is,¹¹¹ then so be it.

¹⁰³ Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, p.238. In this case one can see it as a move from being history of design, to history with design.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.240.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.242.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.243.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.222.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.221.

¹⁰⁹ Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): p.583.

¹¹⁰ Roland Barthes, "Lecture in Inauguration of the Chair of Literary Semiology, Collège De France, January 7, 1977," *October* 8 (1979): p.7.

¹¹¹ Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*, p.155.

Chapter 1: The Early History – The Symbol and the Phrase

Although the Hands across the Sea postcard is a twentieth century phenomenon, the phrase “hands across the sea” and the symbol of two clasped hands carried connotations that were established much earlier. Whilst later chapters will deal with these two threads in the context of the postcard, this chapter aims to locate both discourses – one verbal the other visual – within their broader cultural contexts, and to explore how they acquired the connotations that they carried with them. It does not attempt to be a comprehensive history. Rather, it is guided by the available evidence along a path which locates those places where the two nascent forms most intruded into the culture around them. This helps to identify the areas whose resonance can still be identified within the subsequent postcard phase. Several themes emerge from this process: the emblematic interpretation of the clasped hands using the Roman concepts of *fides* and *concordia*, (both of which left their stamp on subsequent clasped hands symbolism); the handshake itself as a symbol; its place within both revolutionary and Radical Liberal agendas; the latter’s co-option of handshaking imagery into discourses of free trade, peace and postal reform; disruptions in the discourse caused by the Civil War; the handshaking symbolism of friendly societies and unions; and finally its simultaneous appearance in popular cultural forms and as a symbol of the political agenda of “Greater Britain.” The task of this chapter is therefore to demonstrate that by the start of the twentieth century, when they were adopted by the postcard, both the phrase and the clasped symbol had already proven themselves to be surprisingly agile in their ability to speak to some very contradictory conditions within British politics and culture.

The Handshake Emblem

Of the two elements, the clasped hands symbol has by far the longer history. James O’Gorman once noted that “to my knowledge no one has yet undertaken the long and dreary task of cataloguing the uses and varying

significance of the handshake in the history of art,¹ and this remains largely true today. Here, it is not necessary to catalogue all uses of the symbol, but it is important to know the overarching frameworks within



Figure 9: Votive oil jar from Athens, ca.420 BC.

This was one of several Greek objects with clasped hands to come to the British museum in 1816 as part of the Elgin Collection.

Registration number: 1816,0610.275
© The Trustees of the British Museum

which they operated, since these seem to have been very long lasting, stretching as far back as fifth century BC Greece, where its use in funerary items probably symbolised family reunion [Figure 9].² It is, however, primarily the Romans, as interpreted through the Renaissance and Neoclassicism, that are of importance here.

One major usage of clasped hands was as a symbol of *Fides* (a deity identified with fidelity or good faith) and examples of this *fides* imagery appear particularly on coins.³ Coinage, for the Romans, held similar propaganda value to that of stamps in the nineteenth century,⁴ and doubtless helped to embed the symbol's general familiarity. This was assisted by Republican

Rome's adoption of the handshake as one symbol of the aligned concept of *Concordia*, which represented agreement and harmony,⁵ and was frequently represented on coins by either two standing figures shaking hands, or by disembodied clasped hands [Figure 10].⁶ A third variant on this theme is found in the image of clasped hands holding a caduceus – Mercury's staff which acted variously as the symbol of intellect, diligence, prudence and

¹ James F. O'Gorman, "More about Velázquez and Alciati," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28, no. 3 (1965): p.225.

² Stephen D. Ricks, "Dexiosis and Dextrarum Iunctio: The Sacred Handclasp in the Classical and Early Christian World," *FARMS Review* 18, no. 1 (2006): p.431.

³ Hamberg, Per G. *Studies in Roman Imperial Art, with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century*. Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945 quoted in Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: "Virtus" and the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.145.

⁴ Donald M. Reid, "The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 2 (1984): p.225.

⁵ McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: "Virtus" and the Roman Republic*, p.145.

⁶ Glenys Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 4 (1985): p.637. Rowan gives examples of other, non-clasped hands iconography used for *Concordia*, as well as the clasped hands type. Clare Rowan, "The Public Image of the Severan Women," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 79 (2011): pp.256-7.

prosperity in commerce. This version is often associated with *Pax* (peace),⁷ but also appears in association with *fides* and with *concordia*.⁸

For the Romans, the hand itself symbolised the individual citizen's legal autonomy,⁹ so that, alongside its more general association with 'friendship and loyalty',¹⁰ the handshake developed two other distinct ritual uses, both

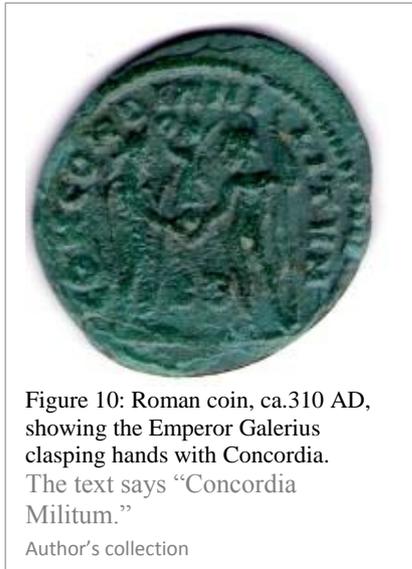


Figure 10: Roman coin, ca.310 AD, showing the Emperor Galerius clasp hands with Concordia. The text says "Concordia Militum."
Author's collection

contractual. The first relates to marriage. Although clasped hands images occurs sporadically in such contexts from Greek times onwards,¹¹ this type of symbolism became widespread in the later Imperial period, when it was particularly used by the early Christians.¹² Hand-fasting, as a ritual that bound families together, would continue on through the mediaeval period.¹³ References linking love and clasped hands occur in love tokens and jewellery throughout the succeeding centuries, found as much in the grand symbolic schemes of triumphal arches as in

day-to-day reminders of love.¹⁴ Neoclassical art certainly helped to link hand-fasting back to its classical roots,¹⁵ but its popular usage, expressed through items like fede (faith) rings [Figure 11],¹⁶ has ensured that hand-

⁷ Jeffrey A. D. Weima, "'Peace and Security' (1 Thess 5.3): Prophetic Warning or Political Propaganda?" *New Testament Studies* 58, no. 03 (2012): p.339. See also pp.335 and 337 regarding the symbolism of the caduceus.

⁸ Seth William Stevenson, C. Roach Smith, and Frederick W. Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins: Republican and Imperial* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), p.149.

⁹ Jürgen Streeck, "Depicting Gestures: Examples of the Analysis of Embodied Communication in the Arts of the West," *Gesture* 9, no. 1 (2009): p.13.

¹⁰ Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," p.637.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.639.

¹² Ricks, "Dexiosis and Dextrarum Iunctio: The Sacred Handclasp in the Classical and Early Christian World," p.435.

¹³ For example: Christine Peters, "Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 169 (2000): p.84.

¹⁴ Mark Brayshay, "The Choreography of Journeys of Magnificence: Arranging the Post-Nuptial Progress of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth of England from London to Heidelberg in 1613," *Journal of Early Modern History* 12, no. 5 (2008): p.392.

¹⁵ Caroline Winterer, "From Royal to Republican: The Classical Image in Early America," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): pp.1287-8.

¹⁶ Krohn, Deborah L. "Courtship and Betrothal in the Italian Renaissance." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (2012). http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cour/hd_cour.htm [accessed October 9, 2012]. She notes this symbolism is found on other objects and quotes the inscription from an inkstand which displays the clasped hands: "I give you my hand, give me your faith." Fede rings are best known today through the Irish tradition as

clasping remains to this day a component within some more traditional marriage ceremonies.

In such *fides* usage, the clasped hands symbol (in its compressed form) functions synecdochally, with the hands acting as a shorthand for specific



Figure 11: Well-worn 17th or 18th century 'fede' ring, symbolising faithfulness in marriage.

Registration number 1961,1202.411

© The Trustees of the British Museum

people, and with an underlying concept relating to fidelity. Even in Roman times, however, it can be difficult to differentiate between the various representations of *fides* and those of *concordia*. Both use two forms – the simple clasped hands symbol and an image of two standing figures shaking hands. The viewer

often has to rely on the textual label in order to distinguish between the two concepts. However when *concordia* is indicated – as occurs in the second legal usage relating to treaties and agreements – the symbol moves from acting synecdochally to metaphorically, indicating a formal alliance between groups, or between the individuals representing those groups.¹⁷

Roman clasped hand symbolism showed no consistent pattern that allows us to distinguish between these two types on visual evidence alone.¹⁸ It is thus unsurprising that a similar iconographic confusion occurs in sixteenth century emblem books. Renaissance scholars were evidently aware of classical coinage, and considered its compressed symbolism, like that of the hieroglyph, ideal for conveying the larger truths that underlay everyday reality.¹⁹ Their desire to find a non-linguistic semiotic form for conveying

“Claddagh rings,” in part because they play a significant role in “Finnegan’s Wake.” Marion Cumpiano, “Joyce’s Finnegan’s Wake,” *The Explicator* 48, no. 1 (1989): pp.48-9.

¹⁷ The faithfulness implied by *fides* here did not necessarily indicate a relationship of equality (any more than it did in marriage symbolism at that time) and could indicate fealty. [Streeck, “Depicting Gestures: Examples of the Analysis of Embodied Communication in the Arts of the West,” p.13]. It is such a relationship that Macbeth, in Shakespeare’s play, contravenes. Kathryn L. Lynch, “‘What Hands Are Here?’ The Hand as Generative Symbol in Macbeth,” *Review of English Studies* 39, no. 153 (1988): p.30.

¹⁸ Davies, “The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art,” p.639.

¹⁹ Charles Moseley, *A Century of Emblems* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1989), p.5.

complex thought led to the development of the Emblem,²⁰ a form which has recently been attracting scholarly attention for its ability, on a psychological level, to “make visible a combinatorial process of agency.”²¹ Its tendency towards the abstract particularly suited Protestant thinkers who distrusted the Catholic figurative tradition.²²



Figure 12: 'Fydei Symbolum' from Alciato's 1584 *Emblemata*.

By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.



Figure 13: 1910 New Zealand 'Hands Across the Sea' cartoon.

This cartoon by W. Blomfield of Lord Kitchener guiding Australasian defence co-operation appeared on the cover of Auckland's *Observer* on March 19, 1910. A comparison with Figure 12 demonstrates the longevity of emblematic visual tropes.

Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand

Alciato, the Italian originator of the genre, whose hugely influential 1531 *Emblematum Liber* was reprinted all over Europe,²³ ensured that clasped hands symbolism would be embedded in European culture over the next few centuries. In his book both *fides* and *concordia* are prominent.²⁴ *Fydei Symbolum* [Figure 12] is defined as “good faith,” combining, in typically

²⁰ On the semiotic tradition, see Jeffrey Wollock, "John Bulwer (1606-1656) and the Significance of Gesture in 17th-Century Theories of Language and Cognition," *Gesture* 2, no. 2 (2002): pp. 243-5. He also outlines the relationship of hieroglyphs and the work of Horapollo, see pp.234-5.

²¹ Barbara Maria Stafford, *The Cognitive Work of Images* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), p.52.

²² David Brett, *The Plain Style: The Reformation, Culture and the Crisis in Protestant Identity* (Belfast: Black Square Books, 1999), pp.43-4.

²³ Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsberg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531). The illustrations shown here are consistent with the iconographical scheme of the 1531 original edition, although they are chosen from more graphically sophisticated later editions.

²⁴ Alciato was not the first to use *fides* symbolism during the Renaissance, however. It appears, for example, with the clasped hands, in Guy Marchant's printer's mark in 1483. Per Mollerup, *Marks of Excellence: The History and Taxonomy of Trademarks* (London: Phaidon, 1997), p.37, fig.70.

polysemic fashion,²⁵ the figures of honour, truth and love,²⁶ whose personification is explained through the text. Another *fides* emblem depicts *In Fidem Uxoriam* meaning “on faithfulness in a wife.” *Concordia* appears in Alciato in two different forms. The first uses crows – a fiercely loyal group animal – but the second [Figure 14] shows two leaders shaking hands, with the accompanying verse:



Figure 14: ‘Concordia’ from Alciato's 1584 *Emblems*.

By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

When Rome was marshalling her generals to fight in civil war and that martial land was being destroyed by her own might, it was the custom for squadrons coming together on the same side to exchange joined right hands as gifts. This is a token of alliance; concord has this for a sign - those whom affection joins, the hand joins also.²⁷

Interestingly, when Geoffrey Whitney largely appropriated Alciato’s illustration in his 1586 English emblem book, he changed the accompanying text significantly: “Of Kings and Princes great, lo, Concorde joins the hands. And knits their subjects hearts in one, and wealthy

makes their lands...”²⁸ Whitney identified three types of emblem – the historical, the natural and the moral,²⁹ and he seems here to have moved *Concordia* away from Alciato’s more historical approach towards the moral. However, in doing this, he drew the emblem closer to the classical tradition of the ‘body politic’, by which the state is envisioned through the metaphor of the body.³⁰ Already well-worn by the end of the 16th century, the metaphor was used by Whitney’s ‘Virgin’ Queen, Elizabeth 1, whose

²⁵ Moseley, *A Century of Emblems*, p.3.

²⁶ See Sarah R. Cohen, "Rubens' France: Gender and Personification in the Marie De Medici Cycle," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (2003): Fig.17 for a 1603 medal by Guillaume Dupré depicting Henry IV, Marie de Medici and the Dauphin, which uses this exact *fides* iconographic pattern. There are occasional examples of three figure versions of the *fides* emblem through into the twentieth century (usually with three adult figures, e.g. Figure 13), however Alciato’s two-figure *concordia* emblem seems to have been much the more influential.

²⁷ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1584).

²⁸ Geoffrey Whitney, "Choice of Emblems," in *Whitney's "Choice of Emblems,"* ed. Henry Green (London: Lovell Reeve, 1852 [1586]), p.76.

²⁹ *Ibid.* See p.2 of Whitney’s “To the Reader.”

³⁰ Timo Miettinen, "Phenomenology and the Body Politic," *Philosophy Today* 55 (2011): p.162.

well-publicised transcendence of her female body helped her to portray herself as the embodiment of the State.³¹ It was similarly employed by James 1st in justifying his role as ‘head’ of State.³² This symbolism adds another level of significance to the use of the clasped hands in Figure 15, given that *concordia* can be understood as an agreement between collective bodies.



Figure 15: 1613 British print commemorating the wedding of Elizabeth, daughter of James I and Frederick, Elector Palatine. It is worth noting that this image is from two years after John Speed published his Genealogical supplement to the King James Bible, which used clasped hands extensively.

Registration number P,1.22

© The Trustees of the British Museum

With an accompanying text, *fides* and *concordia* in emblem books are both readily distinguishable – one signifying the moral quality of individual faithfulness [e.g. Figure 15],³³ and the other the similarly moral sense of collective accord. In practice, however, and without the emblem book’s integration of image and text,³⁴ it can be difficult to tell which meaning is intended. For example, is Figure 15 referring to fidelity in marriage or a compact between two nations? Or both?

³¹ Erin O’Connor, "Epitaph for the Body Politic," *Science as Culture* 11, no. 3 (2002): p.405.

³² Katherine Bootle Attie, "Re-Membering the Body Politic: Hobbes and the Construction of Civic Immortality," *ELH* 75, no. 3 (2008): p.497.

³³ Whilst the primary reading of this emblem relates to marriage and faithfulness, and thus *fides*, in as much as a royal marriage was a symbolic match between nations, there are also connotations of *concordia* here.

³⁴ Moseley, *A Century of Emblems*, p.10.

Hence, when people came to draw on the clasped hands emblem in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, it could operate within ‘high’ culture as a backwards-looking classical allusion, or within popular culture (where the emblem seems to have maintained its currency for much longer) as a viable and contemporary vehicle for conveying meaning.



Figure 17: Insurance certificate issued in 1755 by the Hand in Hand Fire Insurance company. The clasped hands symbol, below a crown – seen at the top of this emblematic certificate – was used both as the firemark and emblem for this company. The company was established under the name “Amicable Contributors” in 1696, but became Hand in Hand in 1720 and went by the same name until 1905. This image is a detail from a policy issued for Montague House, London.

British Museum Archives CE97/R
© Trustees of the British Museum

The Genesis of Hands Across the Sea

The clasped hands emblem proved fluid enough, through the eighteenth century, to be adopted by liberal politicians, revolutionaries and reformers. I examine these developments more extensively in Appendix 1 – which also details the origins of the custom of handshaking. I trace the handshake’s shift from its original Roman legal function to one where it connoted equality. Shaking hands did not become widespread until well into the eighteenth century, when the concept of the ‘hand of friendship’ started to merge with customs of greeting. The metaphorical idea of greeting someone at a distance by shaking hands across a space therefore only begins to make sense at this time.

The phrase ‘hands across the sea’, at this time, entailed a compression of time and space akin to that of the visual emblem.⁴² The earliest example found, thus far, of such a verbal construction, occurs in a 1791 article on the growth of London, where it refers to the “probability of London shaking hands with Hampstead.”⁴³ Then, in 1806, the journalist Charles Maclean wrote a book castigating the Governor of India, in resoundingly Radical terms, for curtailing “the liberty of the press,” and comparing him, insultingly, to Napoleon.

The extraordinary restrictions laid upon the press in India concur with the impious views of Bonaparte, of establishing despotism, ignorance, and barbarism, over the face of the earth. It seems, indeed, as if there had been a certain emulation between you; ... Could you have **shook hands across the Isthmus of Suez**, what congratulations might have passed on the conclusive results of your respective achievements! [sic]. The one had conquered the liberty of the press in France, and almost in Europe; the other had extinguished it in Asia. (The annihilation of personal and every other freedom follows of course).⁴⁴

This striking spatial synecdoche of shaking hands across the Isthmus did not pass immediately into common usage. Nor did John Sloane’s 1824 variation, in his translation of Caroline de La Motte Fouqué’s *Die Vertriebenen*, which first introduced the phrase “hands across the sea” as a spatial metaphor for *concordia*.

Since Spain and England have joined **hands across the sea**, you are as little safe here as I shall shortly be, for the Netherlands are swallowed up in the destructive union....⁴⁵

This is – by over a decade – the earliest located usage of this exact phrase,⁴⁶ and it is possible to hypothesise as to why it did not immediately find favour. Maclean used the pattern of verb + ‘hands across’ + geographical feature. As the phrase gradually gained traction through the 1820s and

⁴² Stafford, *The Cognitive Work of Images*, p.52.

⁴³ Public Advertiser (London, UK), “New Streets,” October 11, 1791, [no page].

⁴⁴ Charles Maclean, *Affairs of Asia: Considered in their Effects on the Liberties of Britain* (London: C. Maclean, 1806), p.139. The paucity of digitised material from this period makes it likely that there are other, possibly earlier, references yet to be located, but currently this is the earliest found. Please note that I will, in subsequent quotes, similarly highlight the HATS element, in order to make it easier for readers to find the key section.

⁴⁵ Caroline Auguste La Motte-Fouqué, *The Outcasts: A Romance* [Die Vertriebenen], trans. George Sloane, vol. 2 (London: G. & W. B. Whittaker, 1824), p.52.

⁴⁶ The next example, in an 1839 poem on the steam ship, is discussed below, page 62-3.

1830s, most subsequent writers followed that same structure. For the English, visualising the relationship between two countries normally involved spanning nameable places and, over the next two decades spaces as varied as the Atlantic, the Irish Channel, the Channel, the Strait, the Tweed, the Alps, the Himalaya Mountains and the North American Lakes were all co-opted into the phrase.⁴⁷ However England and Spain are not linked across a single recognisable place, and this would explain why Sloane opted for the generic word ‘sea’ rather than saying (albeit accurately) that they “joined hands across the Channel, France and the Bay of Biscay.”⁴⁸ Sloane’s choice was prescient, but by no means immediately victorious.

Liberal Symbols: Temperance, Trade, Peace and Post

The earliest formulations of the ‘hands across’ phrase occur most commonly within radical dissenting literature. The only 1820s example, apart from Sloane’s, is from an Evangelical journal that discusses “Episcopalians shaking hands across the Tweed with the Presbyterians,”⁴⁹ and it is in a Presbyterian context that the most common 1830s version of the phrase, ‘hands across the Atlantic’, first occurs.⁵⁰ *Hazard’s Register* exemplifies these early uses when it says that “it is a pleasant thing to see the Dissenters of England thus ‘shaking hands across the Atlantic,’ ... with the Presbyterians of the United States.”⁵¹ Such links between dissenters in England and the United States are not surprising. The early 1830s was a period of intense political agitation amongst dissenting groups, who looked to America as a place that did not treat non-conformists as second-class citizens. These groups were prominent in instigating the

⁴⁷ These variations, dating from 1827 onwards, are all readily searchable in British and US newspaper databases, so I have not itemised them as individual references.

⁴⁸ La Motte-Fouqué, *The Outcasts: A Romance*, 2, p.52.

⁴⁹ Evangelical Magazine, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, vol. 5 (London: Westley & Davis, 1827), p.260.

⁵⁰ Presbyterian Assembly, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, PA: W. F. Geddes, 1831), p.52.

⁵¹ Samuel Hazard, ed. *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania: Devoted to the Preservation of Facts and Documents, and Every Kind of Useful Information Respecting the State of Pennsylvania*, vol. 13 (Philadelphia: W. F. Geddes, 1833), p.320.

1832 Reform Act,⁵² as well as backing agendas that would be key to subsequent Liberal politics, including the Corn Law, Universal Suffrage, Design Reform, Temperance and Free Trade.⁵³

Not all of these discourses utilised clasped hands symbolism or the ‘hands across’ phrase, but several did. The symbol’s prior use in relation to universal suffrage is noted in Appendix 1.2, but it was Temperance activists who first used both ‘hands’ modes. The Rev. Hugh Stowell of Manchester hoped “that the Temperance Societies would extend their hands across the



Atlantic to their brethren in America,”⁵⁴ whilst the movement utilised clasped hands on temperance pledge medallions [Figure 18] worn to symbolise good faith,⁵⁵ a tactic that could backfire.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, whilst both phrase and symbol were used by Temperance advocates, there is no evidence that the two were ever linked together in this context. While the symbol was already well established, the phrase was still nascent and in a state of flux. This is apparent in the way that it was reported in association with a significant event in the tightening of the international trade and

communication networks that would ultimately nurture the postcard – the first sailing of the first purpose-built ocean paddle-steamer, the *Great Western*.

⁵² Thomas Ertman, "The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 8-9 (2010): p.1007.

⁵³ Joseph Coohill, "Free Trade Agendas: The Construction of an Article of Faith, 1837–50," *Parliamentary History* 30, no. s2 (2011): pp.171-3.

⁵⁴ Bristol Mercury (Bristol, UK), "The Temperance Meeting." April 19, 1834, [no page].

⁵⁵ This usage was sufficiently widespread for clasped hands to be utilised, without any direct explanation, as the illustration for a broadside ballad, published around 1860, called "Donald Blue," relating to the social costs of drunkenness. National Library of Scotland, shelfmark: RB.m.168(145). <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/16609>

⁵⁶ One man, arrested in a drunken state in London, was found to be wearing such a medallion, to the amusement of the press. The report stated that "the obverse represented two hands clasped with the words "Temperance Society, established 1833," and "Union is Strength." On the reverse were the words "Total Abstinence from Intoxicating Liquors." Morning Post (London, UK), "Police Intelligence." 14 April 1841, [no page].

The *Great Western*'s first voyages were widely reported, acting as a catalyst for press discussion about the complex relations between the transatlantic powers, and the ways that technology was forging closer and faster trading ties. The ship had begun its runs between Bristol and New York in 1838 and almost immediately the *New York Courier* reported that it was "as if the old world and the new had shaken hands across the broad Atlantic."⁵⁷ New York magazine *The Knickerbocker*, in a report entitled "The American Merchant," put it this way: "to use the bold expression of a speaker among the crowd that filled the splendid cabin of the Great Western a few days after her first arrival, 'the old and new world had shaken hands across the waters'."⁵⁸ The two journalists concerned had probably encountered this phrase for the first time in the "splendid cabin of the Great Western."⁵⁹ Certainly, both found it memorable, but each remembered the distinctive image (of the old world and the new shaking hands) in subtly different ways. They placed the word 'world' differently and one recalled it as shaking hands "across the water" whilst the other embroidered it to "across the broad Atlantic."⁶⁰ This sort of variation is what one might expect with the oral transmission of a memorable figure of speech, unreinforced by its large-scale use in print. Oral transmission offers a plausible reason for the creative variations found in the early stages of the phrase's development. Written reports, like those about the *Great Western*, did disseminate the phrase, but it is easy, in today's global digital environment, to over-emphasise the reach that any given source actually had. Hence, it seems likely that transmission would have been through a mixture of the oral (most examples located from this period come from speeches), newspaper reportage of such speeches, and literary venues such as books and poetry. It appears, for example, in a lengthy, anonymous 1839 poetic homage to the *Great Western*. The first since 1825 to use the formulation 'hands across the sea', it was entitled "The Steam Ship":

⁵⁷ Quoted in the Daily Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register, "Departure of the Great Western," May 21, 1838, [no page].

⁵⁸ Knickerbocker, "The American Merchant," *The Knickerbocker* 14, no. 1 (1839): p.13.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Daily Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register (MO), "Departure of the Great Western," May 21, 1838, [no page].

Swift in thy flight from shore to shore, from dark to sultry skies,
Welcomed wert thou, in every port, with shouts and glistening eyes
A pledge of amity renewed each voyage then would be,
As though the nations stretched and **shook their hands across the sea!**⁶¹

The same year, influential travel writer and artist Mrs. Jameson used the phrase to comment on Anglo-American relations, drawing on ideas of blood kinship between the two peoples that are apparent in many of the speeches where “hands across the Atlantic” occurs:

For myself, I cannot contemplate the possibility of another war between the English and Americans without a mingled disgust and terror, as something cruel, unnatural, fratricidal. Have we not the same ancestry, the same father-land, the same language? “Though to drain our blood from out their being were an aim,” they cannot do it! The ruffian refuse of the two nations – the most ignorant, common-minded, and vulgar among them, may hate each other and give each other nicknames – but every year diminishes the number of such; and while the two governments are **shaking hands across the Atlantic**, it were supremely ridiculous if they were to go to cuffs across the Detroit and Niagara!⁶²

Canada was not the only source of tension between the two countries. Concerns about the effects of tariffs and protectionism meant that speakers at both the 1843 Manchester Anti-Corn Law Meeting and the Free Trade Festival at Bury invoked ‘hands across the Atlantic’ imagery.⁶³ The Corn Law and trade agendas were linked. Free traders believed that the high corn prices created by protectionism dulled demand and were thus bad, not only for the poor who could not afford bread, but also for the profits of traders.⁶⁴ For many within the Liberal party of the 1840s,⁶⁵ free trade provided a rallying point, one with a particular “moral dimension” for Dissenters.⁶⁶ Moral philosopher Adam Smith had made the case for the benefits of

⁶¹ The Liberator (Boston, MA), “Literary,” September 13, 1839, p.148.

⁶² Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, vol. 1 (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), p.306. The link between literature and the press is demonstrated here by this passage being reprinted, for example, in the Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, DC), “Excerpts from Mrs. Jameson’s ‘Summer Rambles’,” June 24, 1839, [no page].

⁶³ The Liberator (Boston, MA). “Great Anti-Corn Law Meetings,” March 10, 1843, [no page]; Manchester Times and Gazette (UK), “Great Free Trade Festival at Bury,” September 2, 1843, [no page].

⁶⁴ Coohill, “Free Trade Agendas: The Construction of an Article of Faith, 1837–50,” p.173.

⁶⁵ On the earlier debates within the Liberal Party, see Appendix 1.2.

⁶⁶ Ertman, “The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization,” p.1011.

business friendships,⁶⁷ which transformed circles of strangers into friends beholden to one another,⁶⁸ encouraging mutual gain through co-operation.⁶⁹ This had fostered a cosmopolitan approach amongst leading business people, who found national boundaries inhibiting.⁷⁰ For them, individual agency, rather than State legislation (business people not politicians) could best create the conditions necessary for stable commercial relations. This approach resulted in the coming together of two discourses that appear incongruous to 21st-century eyes: peace and the free market.

These linkages were particularly evident at the 1849 third Peace Congress in Paris where leading Liberal politician Richard Cobden addressed an international audience of 1500 delegates.⁷¹ Cobden had been a key campaigner for the Anti-Corn Law league.⁷² There, a coalition had been forged between business (in both its humanitarian and self-serving guises) radicalism (in both its philosophical and middle class liberal varieties) and pacifism.⁷³ Like Cobden (originally a Manchester textile manufacturer) many fell into several of these categories,⁷⁴ but he was particularly seen as a leader of the free trade lobby.⁷⁵ With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and believing that reduced prices on agricultural imports would stimulate consumer spending, Liberals like Cobden were now looking to help develop an international environment conducive to free trade's expansion.⁷⁶ Since wars disrupted trading, achieving peace became a significant priority. In his

⁶⁷ Allan Silver, "Friendship in Commercial Society: Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Modern Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 6 (1990): p.1481.

⁶⁸ Lisa Hill and Peter McCarthy, "Hume, Smith and Ferguson: Friendship in Commercial Society," in *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity*, ed. Preston T. King and Heather Devere (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p.47.

⁶⁹ Thomas E. Woods, "Cobden on Freedom, Peace, and Trade," *Human Rights Review* 5, no. 1 (2003): p.77.

⁷⁰ Alan Bewell, "Erasmus Darwin's Cosmopolitan Nature," *ELH* 76, no. 1 (2009): p.20.

⁷¹ David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.33.

⁷² Peter Gurney, "'The Sublime of the Bazaar': A Moment in the Making of a Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England," *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 2 (2006): p.388.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.395. Gurney's description on p.394 of the battles over whether to have a Ball to celebrate the group's Bazaar, or not, highlights the tensions between the Puritan and modern factions within this alliance. These same tensions recur here in the discussion of holidays in the next chapter on pages 159-60.

⁷⁴ Woods, "Cobden on Freedom, Peace, and Trade," p.77.

⁷⁵ Coohill, "Free Trade Agendas: The Construction of an Article of Faith, 1837-50," p.171.

⁷⁶ Wolfram Kaiser, "Cultural Transfer of Free Trade at the World Exhibitions, 1851-1862," *The Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 3 (2005): pp.564-5.

address, Cobden targeted the (non-free-trade) financial systems of Europe before concluding with a ‘hands across’ reference to symbolise amicable bonds between both sets of Britain’s continental neighbours:

It is time that the people interfered, and the governments of the world ought to tender you their thanks for having, by this **fraternal shaking of the hands across the Atlantic and the Channel**, facilitated that process of disarmament which is called for alike upon every principle of humanity and sound policy.⁷⁷

At the congress, it was Cobden's contribution that was the most politically significant, however it was Victor Hugo's prescient version of the same image which garnered the most attention at the time – and subsequently.

A day will come when a cannon will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be astonished how such a thing could have been. A day will come when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe shall be seen placed in the presence of each other, **extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean**, exchanging their produce, their commerce, their industry, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the deserts, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God.⁷⁸

Whilst these were high profile occurrences of the phrase, it was another person present at the peace congress who was probably the immediate source of both Cobden’s and Hugo’s imagery. Elihu Burritt, America’s ‘learned blacksmith’, was a particularly influential figure in activating transatlantic temperance and peace networks and in linking these to the issue of postage.⁷⁹ Burritt promoted “universal peace and universal brotherhood,” not least by publishing a journal of that name.⁸⁰ In its first issue, he articulated his agenda – in the process linking ‘hands across’ with

⁷⁷ The Liberator (Boston, MA), “Speeches Delivered at the Peace Congress at Paris,” September 28, 1849, p.156.

⁷⁸ Peace Congress Committee, "Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congress: Held in Paris, on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of August, 1849," (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), pp.11-12.

⁷⁹ Frank Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918* (London: Lutterworth, 1964), p.105. Although peace would largely replace Burritt’s early interest in temperance, the two overlapped. Burritt was a delegate at the 1846 Temperance Meeting in London: Temperance Union, "The Great Temperance Meeting," *Journal of the American Temperance Union* X, no. 10 (1846).

⁸⁰ Elihu Burritt, ed. *The Advocate of Universal Peace and Universal Brotherhood*, vol. 1/1 (Worcester, MA: J. Howland, 1846).

the on-going attempt to find common ground through a shared Anglo-Saxon heritage:

While the greatest statesman that ever honoured that kingdom was urging through Parliament a measure calculated to fuse the Anglo-Saxon race into one great commercial, family circle, thousands and thousands of British subjects, embracing all conditions of society, were assaying to **shake hands across the ocean** with their brethren of the United States.⁸¹

In a highly publicised journey around England in 1846, Burrirt turned his “League of Universal Brotherhood” into what David Cortright has described as “the largest and most inclusive peace organisation up to that time.”⁸² He did this by adapting the temperance movement’s idea of a pledge [Figure 19].⁸³

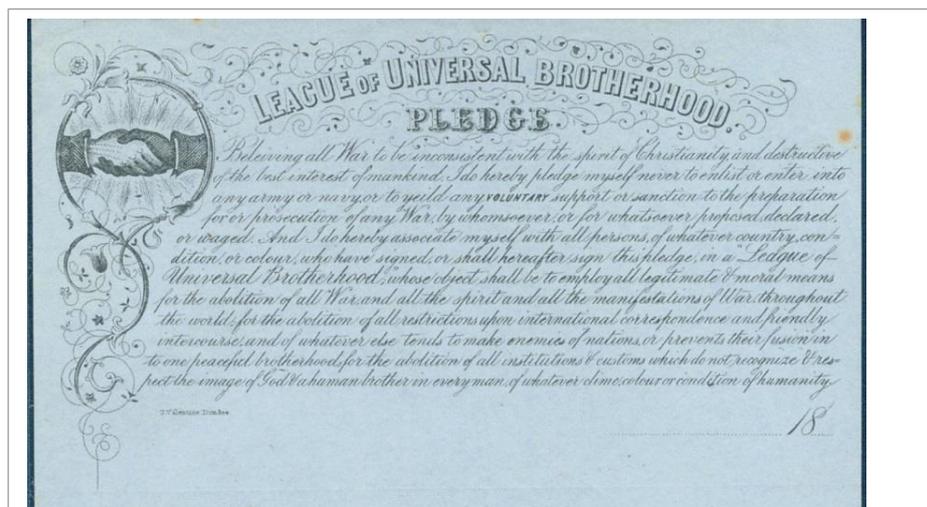


Figure 19: James Valentine (printer), ca.1846-8, Pledge for Elihu Burrirt's “League of Universal Brotherhood.”

The Elihu Burrirt Library holds two versions of the pledge, both using clasped hands. It is the other one that was used by Burrirt as a letterhead during the 1846. This suggests that this Valentine version may have been created later, perhaps in 1848 when Valentine designed envelopes for Burrirt.

Elihu Burrirt Collecton, The Elihu Burrirt Library, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, CT.

This pledge, with its clasped hands emblem, was already being used by Burrirt as a letterhead in 1846.⁸⁴ Amongst other things, the text of the

⁸¹ Ibid., p.69. The image of the chain of friendship is a masonic one. See below, page 79.

⁸² Burrirt signed up 30,000 supporters in Britain, along with another 25,000 in Europe. Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, pp.32-33.

⁸³ Ibid., p.32.

⁸⁴ Burrirt used it to write from Portsmouth to one Thomas Drew on January 26, 1846. Central State University Digital Collections. “Transcript 18463.” Elihu Burrirt Library,

pledge committed signatories to the promise that they would “associate...with all persons, of whatever country, condition or colour” [Figure 19]. The temperance movement, as noted above, had already utilised the clasped hands emblem on medallions,⁸⁵ but it is unlikely that any earlier temperance campaigner would, like Burritt, have been described in the press as coming “amongst us, with the clasped hands as his cognisance, as a teacher and promulgator of Christ's own doctrine of love.”⁸⁶ Nor is it likely that the earlier temperance medallions featured any interracial handshaking. Drawing, perhaps, on British abolition imagery [e.g. Figure 207] Burritt’s uncompromising emblem – aimed fairly and squarely at American slave-owners – was seen as decidedly risky by his apologist, Mary Howitt.

Unfortunately, however, for Burritt, at the same time that he advocates the increasingly popular subject of peace, he advocates, likewise the liberty of the black man; and this at present tends very much to lessen his pecuniary advantages; but that is of small consequence to this brave man. His motto, that God made of one flesh all nations of the earth, and his cognisance, which henceforth, as he told us, shall be the black hand clasped in white, testify to his opinions; and the time will come when they will cease to bring odium or loss to anyone.⁸⁷

It is important to appreciate how potentially prejudicial the emblem was to Burritt’s peace campaigning, and how unambiguously it conveyed the idea of ‘universal brotherhood’. Without it, it would be easy to uncritically accept Katie-Louise Thomas’s criticism that Burritt's Anglo-Saxon rhetoric, in effect, excluded all other races from the brotherly discourse.⁸⁸

(undated). <http://content.library.ccsu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/slides/id/844/rec/16> [accessed October 24, 2012].

⁸⁵ I use the term ‘emblem’ to emphasise the form’s continuity. By this period, ‘symbol’, a term that could encompass a wide range of both visual and verbal metaphor, had developed strongly positive connotations, in tandem with the rise of Romantic theory. [Peter Crisp, “Allegory and Symbol - a Fundamental Opposition?,” *Language and Literature* 14, no. 4 (2005): p.327.] I use ‘symbol’ in this broad, default sense throughout this work.

⁸⁶ Mary Howitt, “Memoir of Elihu Burritt,” in *The People's Journal* ed. John Saunders (London: People's Journal Office, 1847), p.241. ‘Cognisance’ is an equivalent heraldic term for emblem. Heraldry does use the clasped hands symbol, where it is known as a ‘foi’ or ‘faith’, but it is relatively rare, and thus not central to this research. However, Howitt’s usage shows that it could be understood in this context during the nineteenth century.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.245.

⁸⁸ Katie-Louise Thomas, “Racial Alliance and Postal Networks in Conan Doyle's “A Study in Scarlet”,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2, no. 1 (2001): p.5. Her analysis

Anglo-Saxonism formed part of the broader attempt to provide the Anglo-world with a heroic and British-centred heritage.⁸⁹ Drawing on the idea of the Norman Yoke, which argued that Britain had a free constitution prior to the Normans,⁹⁰ it became refined in the “literary historical” minds of writers like Thomas Carlyle.⁹¹ Very much a talking point in the 1840s, it would later develop ever more strident tones of evolutionary triumphalism, but had been gaining strength since earlier in the century.⁹² For Burrirt, without the benefit of hindsight, the transnational aspects of Anglo-Saxon discourse probably represented a move in the right direction. With hindsight, it is hard not to find a passage like the following to be ridden with the ideology of cultural and religious imperialism.

Now is the time to unite Anglo-Saxon Christians in a brotherhood whose moral power shall be felt all over the world. Let, then, the good ministers, on both sides of the Atlantic, arise and **shake hands across the ocean**.....Every letter exchanged, like a weaver’s shuttle, will carry across the ocean a silken ligature to bind two kindred hearts, and through them, two kindred nations. Such a social movement, co-operating with the ones I have noticed, would haste to its consummation the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the period when “nations shall learn war no more.”⁹³

Burrirt's imagery and texts, then, send us decidedly mixed messages. However it is a different type of message which is of most importance to this study. The temperance movement had already discovered the efficacy of postal campaigning for political ends.⁹⁴ Burrirt extended this concept,

of how the Anglo-Saxon discourse subsequently became “adopted by later century pro-imperialist jingoists” has merit, however the evidence in relation to Burrirt is more equivocal than she admits.

⁸⁹ Billie Melman, "Claiming the Nation's Past: The Invention of an Anglo-Saxon Tradition," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no. 3/4 (1991): p.581.

⁹⁰ Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, p.5. Epstein notes that Thomas Paine had used this idea.

⁹¹ Melman, "Claiming the Nation's Past: The Invention of an Anglo-Saxon Tradition," p.581. Carlyle himself, in his work on the French Revolution used the hands image thus: “Swindlery and Blackguardism have stretched hands across the channel, and saluted mutually.” [Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837), p.49.] Carlyle’s career is one of marked ideological shifts, and he seems to have later become disillusioned with Anglo-Saxonism. "T. C. To J. G. Marshall," *Carlyle Letters* 32, no. 1 (1857).

⁹² Marilyn Lake, "The White Man under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia," *History Workshop Journal* 58, no. 1 (2004): p.45.

⁹³ Burrirt, "An Olive Leaf," p.61.

⁹⁴ Peter J. Wosh, "Going Postal," *The American Archivist* 61, no. 1 (1998): p.232.

much more visibly, into the peace movement.⁹⁵ He agitated for a postal mechanism to help bring peoples more closely together – one he termed “Ocean Penny Postage.”

Gagan Sood has described postal networks as the “informational fabric” of the British Empire.⁹⁶ Reformers had already, prior to Burritt's initiative, won one major battle in democratising that fabric through the instigation of the Penny Post, in 1840.⁹⁷ A concession that was intended to help stave off the social discontent that lead to revolution elsewhere, the Penny Post's potential to expand and maintain both business and personal networks cannot be over-estimated.⁹⁸ Its radical agenda shines through the imperialistic imagery of William Mulready's initial official envelope [Figure 20].⁹⁹

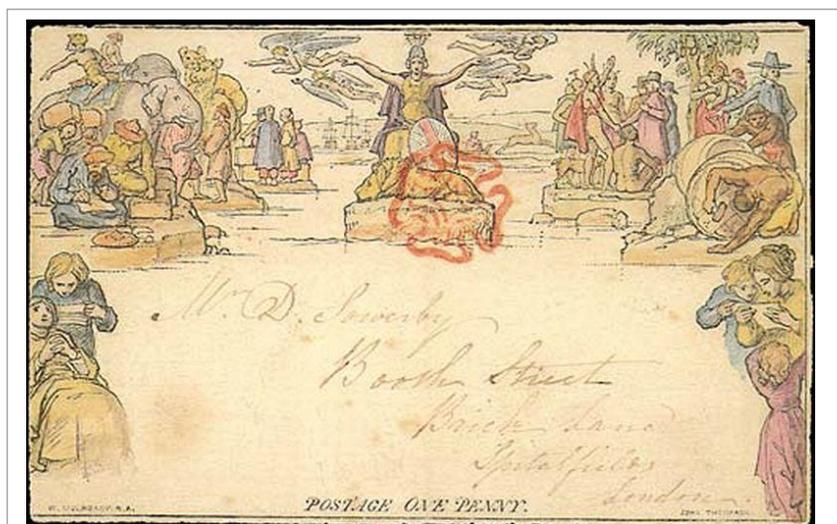


Figure 20: William Mulready, 1840, One Penny envelope.

William Penn is shown to the right of Britannia, shaking hands with the ‘Indians’. The envelope was short lived, and its attempt at educating the public in art was mercilessly mocked in the press.

Image Source: Wikimedia Commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

⁹⁵ The 1849 Peace Congress passed resolutions relating to postal reform. Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, p.34.

⁹⁶ Gagan D. Sood, "The Informational Fabric of Eighteenth-Century India and the Middle East: Couriers, Intermediaries and Postal Communication," *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 5 (2009): p.1087.

⁹⁷ On this see Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*; M. J. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840* (London: Athlone Press, 1985).

⁹⁸ Catherine J. Golden, ""Why is Raven Like a Writing Desk?": Post Office Reform, Collectible Commodities, and Victorian Culture," *Fourth Annual Postal History Symposium* (2009): p.2.

⁹⁹ This envelope was originally intended as another pre-paid alternative to the ‘Penny Black’ stamp. Reid, "The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian," p.227.

The imagery explicitly locates Britain as an Imperial hub, but the American vignette, showing William Penn shaking hands with an ‘Indian’, also positions the envelope within the radical discourse of peace.

Burritt’s association with postal reform stemmed from his having, during 1847, witnessed first-hand the distress of poor Irish emigrants leaving behind relatives they could not afford to write to.¹⁰⁰ He therefore immediately began campaigning for an affordable international postal charge.¹⁰¹ His first pamphlets used ‘olive leaf’ symbolism, but by the end of 1848 he had encouraged the Scottish engraver, James Valentine, to make a series of propaganda envelopes for both the broader Olive Leaf and more specific Penny Post causes.¹⁰² Although Mulready’s envelope had been a failure,¹⁰³ the 1840 postal regulatory change (abandoning charges previously calculated by distance and the number of sheets of paper used)¹⁰⁴ allowed users the luxury of envelopes and multiple sheets of paper: something they were quick to adopt.¹⁰⁵ Decorated envelopes and letter paper, for advertising, propaganda, and pleasure, thus became vogues of the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰⁶ Envelopes normally sold for a penny each,¹⁰⁷ so

¹⁰⁰ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.109.

¹⁰¹ Rowland Hill, in his seminal 1837 pamphlet *Post Office Reform: Its Importance and Practicability* had earlier noted the fact that affordable postal rates would give the poor “a means of communication with their distant friends and relatives, from which they are at present debarred.” [Quoted in Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.81.] Hill, however, was thinking locally, and only in 1853 sanctioned a reduction in overseas rates to six times the local rate (down from between eight or twelve times in 1840), a move intended to weaken the Ocean Penny Post campaigners’ position, as he believed the loss in revenue would be too great if the Penny Post was extended internationally. *Ibid.*, pp.148-9.

¹⁰² Carline gives a date of 1846 for these envelopes, Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.18. However a letter in the Elihu Burritt archives from Burritt to Edmund Fry in early 1848 notes that he was travelling to stay with Valentine: Central State University Digital Collections. “Elihu Burritt, Newcastle upon Tyne to Edmund Fry, 10 February, 1849.” Elihu Burritt Library, (undated).

<http://content.library.ccsu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/slides/id/888/rec/9> [accessed 25 October, 2012]. Burritt was able to announce the availability of the envelopes later in February. [Elihu Burritt, "The League Circle," *Bond of Brotherhood* 3, no. 7 (1849): p.56.] Fry, a bookseller and publisher, himself used the clasped hands symbol within his printing firm – see Maurice Rickards and Michael Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian* (London: British Library, 2000), colour plate 1.

¹⁰³ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.24.

¹⁰⁴ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.6. Envelopes were considered to be one sheet of paper, and charged accordingly.

¹⁰⁵ Carline also notes the early use of comic, musical and view envelopes. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, pp.18-19.

¹⁰⁶ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.23-35.

Burritt's, priced at 18 pence per 100,¹⁰⁸ were understandably widely used. Not all of the designs contained his clasped hands 'cognisance', but at least three placed it prominently, one commissioned for the Olive Branch campaign [Figure 21], and two for Ocean Penny Post.¹⁰⁹



Figure 21: James Valentine, ca. 1848-52, 'Olive Leaf' campaign envelope. The clasped hands emblem is central in the text ribbon. Elihu Burritt Collecton, The Elihu Burritt Library, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, CT.

This imagery was not only utilised on envelopes. It appeared prominently in coverage of the 1850 Peace Bazaar. Like the Anti-Corn Law Bazaar of 1845, this event acted as precursor to the 1851 Great Exhibition in legitimising consumer culture.¹¹⁰ At it, Mrs.

Cobden (wife of the above-mentioned Richard Cobden, the instigator of the 1845 event) was reported as running a stall in front of the most significant of the emblematic decorations:

The most striking object was a group of flags of various nations, arranged above a screen at the end of the hall, between two columns: these flags were blended together, and in the centre **were two clasped hands, black and white, the emblem of the league**. On one side of this was a model of a locomotive engine, and on the other a model of the steam vessel lent by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. A model of the electric Telegraph ran in front across the entire screen and this arrangement of the great elements of civilisation and progress, combined with the idea of the union of nations, produced an admirable effect, and was an object of general admiration.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.18.

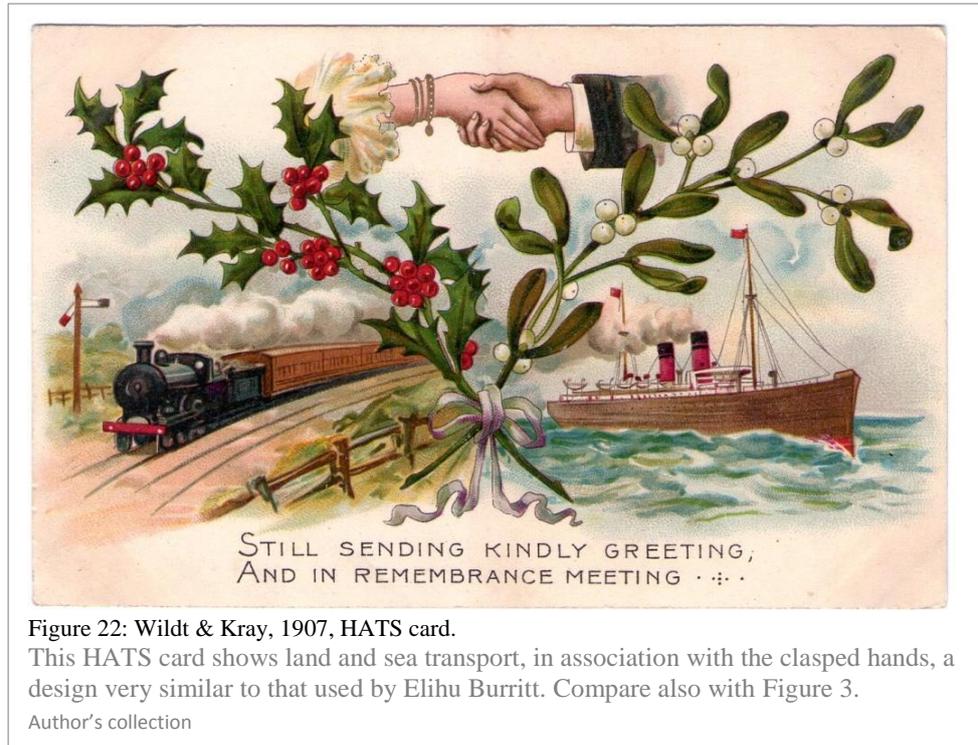
¹⁰⁸ Burritt, "The League Circle," p.56.

¹⁰⁹ These are reproduced in Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, plates 21b and 22a. He also reproduces three designs which did not contain clasped hands.

¹¹⁰ Gurney, ""The Sublime of the Bazaar": A Moment in the Making of a Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England," p.386. The first Bazaar of this type had been set up in Soho to raise money for families of the fallen in the French Wars. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.47.

¹¹¹ Daily News (London, UK), "The Peace Bazaar," May 31, 1850, [no page]. This type of decoration is by no means unique. It occurs twice, for example, in similar forms to the Peace Bazaar in Boston City Council, *The Railroad Jubilee: An Account of the Celebration*

This “arrangement” closely follows the layout of one of Valentine’s envelopes,¹¹² particularly in its positioning of a steam engine and a ship – those “symbols of progress” – on either side of the clasped hands. It further underlines the centrality of the clasped hands symbol for Burritt’s movement, and shows, too, that it was understood as an emblem.



Initially, the outlook for Burritt’s peace and post campaigns was positive, but despite support in Parliament from such leading liberals as John Bright,¹¹³ it would take another forty years for cheap international postage to be instigated (see page 247). Burritt did not live to see it, and nor did his group achieve lasting peace. The Crimean and the American Civil War – the latter seen by most liberal abolitionists as a just one – largely unravelled the peace movement.¹¹⁴

Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada, September 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1851 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1852), pp.101, 103.

¹¹² This is reproduced, albeit incorrectly dated to the 1860s, in Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, p.37.

¹¹³ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.120.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.124-5.



Figure 23: 1858 wood engraving by Baker and Godwin.

This image shows the *concordia* emblem being utilised in relation to the first trans-Atlantic telegraph cable, which was completed in 1858, but broke shortly afterwards. Neither the caption nor the accompanying text, however, use the term ‘Hands Across the Sea’ showing that the term had yet to cut through into popular culture.

Courtesy of Library of Congress

The Civil War, the Telegraph and the Graveyard

Although the first, abortive, transatlantic telegraph occasioned perhaps the earliest *concordia* image of England and America shaking hands in 1858 [Figure 23], these pleasantries did not continue into the next decade. The frosty Anglo-American relations engendered by the Civil War had a marked effect on the ‘hands across the Atlantic’ discourse, which had been utilised with some regularity through the 1850s. Relations between America and Russia improved,¹¹⁵ but a report on an 1863 American banquet honouring a group of Russian officers demonstrates how bad relations with England had become.¹¹⁶ At it, one Dudley Field’s vehement and unforgiving anti-British

¹¹⁵ In Moscow, the American, Gustavus Fox, was feted at a banquet where the menu was headed with clasped hands and a Latin motto, “Concordia et Lætitia,” [Joseph Florimond Loubat, *Gustavus Fox's Mission to Russia, 1866* (New York: Arno Press, 1970 [1869]), p.340.] ‘Lætitia’ translates as happiness or joy, and the *concordia* connotations of clasped hands are here very explicit.

¹¹⁶ It also shows how reworking the ‘hands’ phrase could be used as a propaganda weapon: “A reverend gentleman named Boole – peaceful as a Christian should be whenever he

rhetoric was particularly marked,¹¹⁷ and the prominence it was given may account for the tone subsequently adopted by his brother, Cyrus Field, at an 1866 banquet celebrating the successful laying of the second Atlantic Telegraph cable. This cable formed a very significant link within a communications revolution that, although expensive, would facilitate much faster access to information for nineteenth century businesses and newspapers.¹¹⁸ The cable project had been started during a period of much warmer international relations, and this clearly weighed on the mind of its creator. In his banquet speech, he stated that the cause dearest to him was the improvement of relations between England and America; that despite “family quarrels,” ultimately “blood is thicker than water.” He then concluded by saying: “I close with this sentiment: England and America – clasping hands across the sea; may this firm grasp be a pledge of friendship to all generations!”¹¹⁹

The commercial imperative underlying the cable was evidently more amenable to ‘hands across’ symbolism than the political situation. Elihu Burritt expressed the same idea – here in the words of a reporter attending a speech at Huddersfield on “the Higher Law and Mission of Commerce”:

Commerce has no country but the world; no patriotism but the honest, loyal interest in the material well-being of nations; war was an outrage upon its domains; and it would not obey the laws of war. **Commerce asked nations to shake hands across the sea;** commerce ... must

mentioned Russia, and as warlike as a Christian should not be whenever he mentioned England – said in the course of a speech which his friends declared to be an oration “That America and Russia clasped hand across the ocean, and the breadth of England’s isle was no impediment to their embrace.” The sentiment elicited such rounds of applause as to give the cue to the temper of the meeting to all the succeeding speakers.” Sheffield and Rotherham Independent (UK), “The Civil War in America,” November 3, 1863, [no page].¹¹⁷ The following gives the fuller context for Field’s remarks: “One of [the speakers], the Hon. Dudley Field, the brother of Mr Cyrus Field of the Atlantic Telegraph, in responding to the toast of “Neutrality,” purposely introduced into the list to afford an opportunity of the display of the anti-British rancour that fills the heart of America expatiated at great length upon the “false” neutrality of Great Britain and France, and especially the former. He declared that “Americans would never forget it... We see the ground fresh with graves, half of which would never have been opened but for the countenance which England and France have given to the rebellion...” Sheffield and Rotherham Independent (UK), “The Civil War in America,” November 3, 1863, [no page].

¹¹⁸ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.122-3. The cost precluded ordinary people from using it to any significant extent at this point.

¹¹⁹ Harper’s Weekly (New York), “Banquet to Mr. Field,” December 1, 1866, p.758.

and would be free, by sea and land, in peace and war. The lecturer strongly pointed out the importance of free trade.¹²⁰

Commerce notwithstanding, the almost complete lack of ‘hands across’ usage in America from the start of the war until the mid-1870s testifies to the short-term futility of Field’s hopes of better familial relations. Nor was there much reciprocal rhetoric in Britain. Despite this, it is possible to argue that Field’s speech was a pivotal moment that connected the earlier phase of ‘hands across’ usage with the later form of ‘hands across the sea’. In choosing to use this latter wording, Field was, I believe, reaching out to the British. The United States is flanked by oceans. Americans, like Burritt, had previously tended, when using the ‘hands’ phrase, to apply either the specific term ‘Atlantic’, the generic term ‘Ocean’, or occasionally ‘Water’. For the British, however, the generic term ‘Sea’ better encompassed the complexity of their maritime networks, and either the Huddersfield reporter altered Burritt’s ‘hands across’ phrase from ‘ocean’ to ‘sea’, or Burritt had learned to adapt to his audience. In adopting this specific version of the phrase, Cyrus Field was probably gesturing towards a British audience. The conciliatory tone of the speech, and the significance of the cable itself, meant that Field’s speech was far more extensively reported throughout the Anglo world than Burritt’s, becoming the first occasion that the phrase appeared in any form in the New Zealand press.¹²¹

If the Civil War put a dent in ‘hands across’ rhetoric, it did no such thing for the clasped hands symbol. Unionists found ample use for it, and it was one of the most common symbols on both ‘Union Flasks’ and patriotic envelopes.¹²²

¹²⁰ Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser, “Local News,” February 3, 1866, p.8.

¹²¹ Timaru Herald (NZ), “The Atlantic Telegraph.” February 13, 1867, p.2.

¹²² The flasks are for holding whisky (an ironic twist for the temperance movement). On the clasped hands usage on these flasks, see George S. McKearin and Helen McKearin, *American Glass: The Fine Art of Glass Making in America* (New York: Crescent, 1989), p.479. On the envelopes, clasped hands were often shown over a copy of the constitution, and with the phrase “The Union Forever.” Steven R. Boyd, Elaine Prange Turney, and David W. Hansen, “Union Civil War Patriotic Covers: An Overview,” *Journal of American Culture* 21, no. 3 (1998): p.6. They illustrate one on p.7. The symbol also occurred on quilts, though here it is more likely to symbolise optimistic hopes for resolution. Gary S. Foster and Lisa New Freeland, “Hand in Hand Til Death Doth Part: A Historical

New Zealand copyright legislation regards any online publication as 'commercial'. Thus images made available online for non-commercial use only must be removed.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

It may be accessed by searching on

www.lunacommons.org

Figure 24: Thomas Nast, 1872, "Let Us Clasp Hands Across the Bloody Chasm."

This cartoon was published in the September 21 issue of *Harper's Weekly* and refers to Greeley reaching across the graves of the 12,000 Union prisoners that died in the Confederate prison camp at Andersonville. It is one of a series of similar Nast cartoons.

Susan H. Douglas Political Americana Collection, #2214

Courtesy of Cornell University Library and www.lunacommons.org

In the post-war process of reconciliation, one politician did to try to verbally apply similarly positive 'hands' connotations. During the 1872 election campaign, the atypically protectionist Liberal, Horace Greeley, argued that the North and South should "clasp hands across the bloody chasm,"¹²³ provoking a devastating set of cartoon ripostes in *Harper's Weekly* from Thomas Nast [Figure 24].¹²⁴ Greeley's political demise ensured that this formulation would be effectively buried.¹²⁵

Assessment of the Clasped-Hands Motif in Rural Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 100, no. 2 (2007): p.132.

¹²³ Adam Tuchinsky, *Horace Greeley's "New-York Tribune": Civil War-Era Socialism and the Crisis of Free Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp.21-2.

¹²⁴ Harp Week. "Cartoonist Thomas Nast vs. Candidate Horace Greeley." (2005). <http://nastandgreeley.harpweek.com/SubPages/cartoons-1872-listBClaspHands.asp> [accessed October 28, 2012].

¹²⁵ It did resurface in the 1890s, with the Populist cause reprising the phrase, with at least one paper running a cartoon showing south and north clasping hands across the divide, and with the subtitle "Let us clasp hands across the bloody chasm: Horace Greeley anticipated the inevitable." *Southern Mercury* (Dallas, TX), "The Blue and the Gray," September 3, 1891, p.4.

Gravestones might, on the face of it, appear to be the greatest benefactors of Civil War clasped hands symbolism. Nancy-Lou Patterson found the symbol to be “ubiquitous,” between 1866-1928, on the gravestones she



Figure 25: Gravestones at Leigh Cemetery, New Zealand. The four large white gravestones date from between 1878 and 1914, and all show the clasped hands symbol, which was by far the most popular motif in this small-town cemetery during the period.

Photo courtesy of Helle Gilderdale

studied in two U.S. counties.¹²⁶

Symbolising equality and union

between the living and the dead,¹²⁷

clasped hands are not found on pre-

war stones, suggesting a possible

connection between union patriotism

and the symbol’s appearance

immediately after the Civil War. Peter

Stearns argues that this focus on the

continuity of life and death was a key

part of the emotional register of the

period, as people sought to deal with

grief.¹²⁸ Patterson, however, follows Cirlot in identifying two types of

clasped hands symbolism – one relating to marriage and one to fraternity.¹²⁹

America was developing a tradition of illustrated marriage certificates,¹³⁰ on

which clasped hands were frequently found,¹³¹ and thus the extension of the

¹²⁶ Nancy-Lou Patterson, "United Above Though Parted Below: The Hand as Symbol on Nineteenth-Century Southwest Ontario Gravestones," *Markers* 6 (1989): p.185. It is also noted as one of the most common gravestone motifs by Carl Lindahl, "Transition Symbolism on Tombstones," *Western Folklore* 45, no. 3 (1986): p.173. The clasped hands' being a post-Civil War motif is supported by the fact that of the 9000 early gravestone images in the Farber Gravestone collection, only one, dated 1870, has clasped hands. Luna Commons. "Browse Farber Gravestone Collection." (Undated).

<http://www.lunacommons.org/luna/servlet/FBC~100~1> [accessed April 3, 2013].

¹²⁷ Patterson, "United Above Though Parted Below: The Hand as Symbol on Nineteenth-Century Southwest Ontario Gravestones," p.192.

¹²⁸ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.40. Stearns highlights the focus in popular songs of the period on death and reunion. This idea of reunion with loved ones in heaven, he notes on p.68, is a distinctly nineteenth century Protestant notion.

¹²⁹ Patterson, "United Above Though Parted Below: The Hand as Symbol on Nineteenth-Century Southwest Ontario Gravestones," p.191. Cirlot's text is a Jungian-derived work that discusses clasped hands as relating to "mystic marriage" and "virile fraternity." It should, perhaps, be treated with caution. J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. Jack Sage, 2nd ed. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1972), p.137.

¹³⁰ This probably follows an earlier German practice where marriage certificates showed the couple at the altar. Frank Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), p.27. I have not been able to find examples, to verify if clasped hands occur in these.

¹³¹ One such US printer who used the emblem mid-century was York County engraver William Wagner, whose marriage certificates showed clasped hands inside a wreath, below

clasped hands marriage symbolism from the living to the dead is credible.¹³² Patterson does not connect this marriage imagery back to its *fides* and emblematic origins, and nor does she contextualise fraternity beyond its Masonic and Odd Fellow connotations. She found several stones where there are clear references to the Freemasons and Odd Fellows,¹³³ and this interpretation may be adequate to explain its usage on the gravestones she studied. However, although today the only fraternal society most people associate with the handshake motif is the Masons, its history lies with a much larger set of organisations, and to understand how those relate to the clasped hands, it is necessary to locate them within the Radical struggles of the late eighteenth century.

Masons, Friendly Societies and the Unions

The first Masonic lodge was established in Britain in 1717,¹³⁴ slightly later than the previously mentioned Fire insurance companies, which also utilised the clasped hands emblem (see page 57). It is unclear how and when the clasped hands became associated with the Masons, a group dedicated to non-sectarian religion, to brotherhood and to rituals, famously including secret handshakes.¹³⁵ Clasped hands are now routinely described as ‘masonic’, yet Bob James, one of the few writers to explore the relationship between Freemasonry and groups that shared common features with it, does not connect the symbol with the Masons.¹³⁶ He acknowledges the clasped

the motto “What God Hath Joined Together Let No Man Put Asunder.” Lloyd, June. “William Wagner – York’s Renaissance Man.” *Universal York*, March 19, (2011). <http://www.yorkblog.com/universal/2011/03/19/william-wagner-yorks-renaissa/> [accessed September 21, 2013].

¹³² One could also hypothesise that the accessibility of Greece to nineteenth century archaeologists led to a revival of Greek fifth century BC grave symbolism. I have not found parallel European studies to those conducted in the United States, and thus cannot say when clasped hands started to be used in this context outside the United States. I have found significant numbers of examples in as widely dispersed places as England, Denmark and New Zealand [Figure 25], but a larger study is needed, something that is again outside the scope of this research.

¹³³ Patterson, "United Above Though Parted Below: The Hand as Symbol on Nineteenth-Century Southwest Ontario Gravestones," p.191.

¹³⁴ Jessica Harland-Jacobs, "'Hands across the Sea': The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): p.239.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.245.

¹³⁶ James, Bob. “Craft, Trade of Mystery: Part One – Britain from the Gothic Cathedrals to the Tolpuddle Conspirators.” (2001). <http://www.takver.com/history/benefit/ctormys.htm> [accessed October 20, 2012]. This work is adapted from James’ PhD thesis, which remains formally unpublished. It is available online, but unpaginated.

hands' emblematic *fides* origins, and says it was used by any group trying to convey the concept of “trust and fidelity.” Nevertheless, he concentrates on its links, not with the Masons, but with later Friendly Societies,¹³⁷ and this is in line with the evidence.

Satirical prints such as Figure 26, as well as decorated bowls and other ritual items give a good picture of eighteenth century Masonic symbolism, and the clasped hands are noticeably absent.¹³⁸ Chalmers Paton, when

writing a work on Masonic symbolism in 1873, described the clasped hands as a Masonic symbol of unity, but gave no evidence of early Masonic usage, relying instead on its appearing in other “Ancient” contexts alongside symbols which were also used by the Masons.¹³⁹ Such vagueness seems warranted. By the nineteenth century the Masons had adopted the symbol, and would pass it on to various American academic ‘Greek’ fraternal organisations,¹⁴⁰ but overall it was much less prevalent in Masonic iconography than other emblems like the compasses, sun, beehive or all-seeing eye.¹⁴¹ It will require another study to establish whether, conspiracy theorists

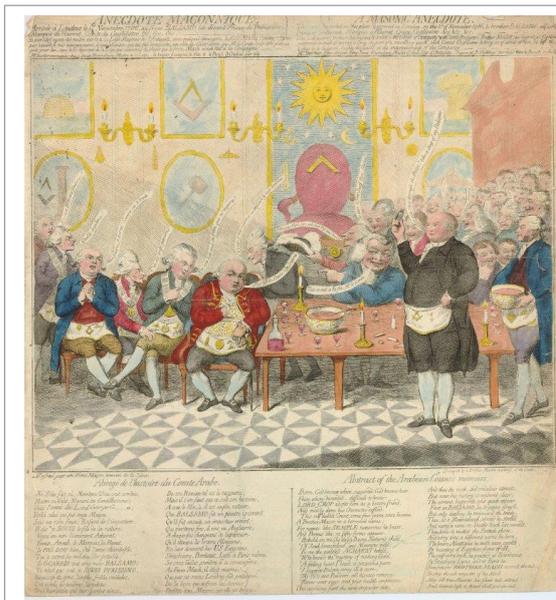


Figure 26: James Gillray, 1786, “A Masonic Anecdote.”

This work, published by Hannah Humphrey, is typical of eighteenth century Masonic imagery. The clasped hands do not figure amongst the images of beehives, compasses and suns on the regalia or walls.

Registration number 1868, 0808.5578

© The Trustees of the British Museum

notwithstanding, the Masons’ adoption of the clasped hands was

¹³⁷ Ibid, chapter 5.

¹³⁸ The only possible exception comes from a 1742 print entitled *The Free-Masons Downfall* (British Museum no. J,1.168) which has a small banner in the background which may include clasped hands. It is too small to be identified with certainty.

¹³⁹ Chalmers I. Paton, *Freemasonry: Its Symbolism, Religious Nature, and Law of Perfection* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1873), p.160.

¹⁴⁰ On this relationship, see Paul Rich, "Researching Grandfather's Secrets: Rummaging in the Odd Fellow and Masonic Attics," *Journal of American Culture* 20, no. 2 (1997): p.140.

¹⁴¹ The concept of a “chain of union” seems to have existed during the early period, Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, "The Universal Republic of the Freemasons and the Culture of Mobility in the Enlightenment," *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006): p.415. It is not clear whether the hand-holding ritual now associated with that concept had yet generated clasped hands symbolism.

retrospective. Here, I can only state that although it appears obvious to link the symbol to the Masons, definitive early examples of Masonic usage have eluded my searches. And since handshaking, as discussed in Appendix 1.1, was not a generally recognised social custom for much of the eighteenth century, there seems little practical reason for using a secret handshake.¹⁴² Hence, I intend to follow James’s lead, and concentrate on the groups that did use clasped hands symbolism publicly at the start of the nineteenth century: the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions.



Figure 27: 1805 Odd Fellows badge commemorating Lord Nelson. The clasped hands appear at the top. An indication of how pervasive the modern obsession with the handshake as a Masonic emblem can be seen from the fact that the Maritime Museum’s online description of this piece calls it ‘Masonic’, despite its inscription clearly stating that it is associated with the “Trafalgar Lodge of the Odd Fellows.” ID: JEW0356 National Maritime Museum Greenwich, London, Sutcliffe-Smith Collection.

By 1793, Friendly Societies were sufficiently established to warrant legislative protection through an “Act for the Encouragement and Relief of

¹⁴² Even if the secret handshake was in operation during this period, other contemporary groups such as the United Irishmen, which used secret hand signs such as one called “Hands Across,” [True Briton (London, UK), “Irish Parliament,” August 1, 1798, [no page]] were apparently still happy to use the clasped hands emblem on public objects like pins. Thomas Frost, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution 1776-1876*, vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), p.62.

Friendly Societies.”¹⁴³ Analogous to the middle class Guilds,¹⁴⁴ these welfare-providing groups gave the wealthier working population of ‘artisans’ and ‘mechanicks’ not only a safety net and a fraternal group identity, but also the ability to travel, unhindered by draconian vagrancy laws.¹⁴⁵ E. P. Thompson has suggested that their language of “society,” based on Methodist concepts of charity, friendship and brotherhood, helped to develop “working class consciousness.”¹⁴⁶ This may be true, but the membership represented only one segment of the proletariat: tradespeople, artisans, and upper-level factory workers, with few labourers or lower-end factory workers.¹⁴⁷ In the wake of the French Revolution, these groups were frequently eager to assert “national loyalty” in their rules and pamphlets,¹⁴⁸ not to mention patriotic souvenirs [Figure 27]. “Royal and loyal” is how Nick Mansfield describes the predominant iconography of Friendly Society banners.¹⁴⁹ These large painted pieces of fabric played a central role in a processional culture whereby the Societies publically solicited contributions

¹⁴³ Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace, "The Needs of Strangers: Friendly Societies and Insurance Societies in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 24, no. 2 (2000): p.53.

¹⁴⁴ Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, "Guilds and Middle-Class Welfare 1550-1800: Provisions for Burial, Sickness, Old Age, and Widowhood," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 1 (2012): p.62. They also draw on Guild and other earlier civic iconography. Nick Mansfield, *Radical Rhymes and Union Jacks: A Search for Evidence of Ideologies in 19th Century Banners*, vol. 45, Manchester Papers in Economic and Social History (Manchester: Manchester University, 2000), p.6.

¹⁴⁵ Wallace, "The Needs of Strangers: Friendly Societies and Insurance Societies in Late Eighteenth-Century England," pp.53-4.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1963), pp.421-2. Thompson could have looked at this as a broader non-conformist phenomenon, rather than focussing on Methodism – a denomination he saw as representing “tradesmen and privileged groups of workers,” p.427, and was particularly critical of. On this, see Roland Boer, "E. P. Thompson and the Psychic Terror of Methodism," *Thesis Eleven* 110, no. 1 (2012): p.55.

¹⁴⁷ Shani D'cruze and Jean Turnbull, "Fellowship and Family: Oddfellows' Lodges in Preston and Lancaster, c.1830-c.1890," *Urban History* 22, no. 01 (1995): p.30. Nor did they cater for many professional or managerial members, with the proportion of middle class members dropping to low single figures through the nineteenth century. Christopher J. Prom, "Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England," *Historian* 72, no. 4 (2010): pp.888-90.

¹⁴⁸ Wallace, "The Needs of Strangers: Friendly Societies and Insurance Societies in Late Eighteenth-Century England," p.58. These groups were already used to emphasising “decency and regularity” as a safeguard against being regarded as seditious. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.418.

¹⁴⁹ Mansfield, *Radical Rhymes and Union Jacks: A Search for Evidence of Ideologies in 19th Century Banners*, 45, p.24. Peterloo defendant Joseph Heatley used the ubiquity of marching with bands and banners amongst Sunday Schools and Friendly Societies to explain why the Peterloo protest was not a riot, but intended to be a peaceful procession. Robert Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," *Past & Present* 192, no. 1 (2006): p.110.

to help support financially troubled members.¹⁵⁰ This charitable link, the generic name ‘Friendly’, and a ritual culture that encouraged equality and conviviality,¹⁵¹ helps explain why Mansfield found a significant number of these banners sporting clasped hands.¹⁵²

Like the insurance companies, with whom they were in competition, Friendly Societies probably used the clasped hands in its *fides* form to convey trust and fidelity, as well as fraternity. Through the nineteenth

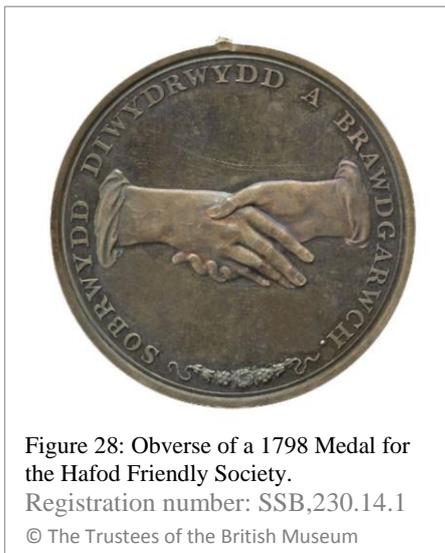


Figure 28: Obverse of a 1798 Medal for the Hafod Friendly Society.
Registration number: SSB,230.14.1
© The Trustees of the British Museum

century, larger Friendly Societies like the Odd Fellows seem to have used the symbol much more extensively than the Masons [e.g. Figure 27], and in the wider movement’s formative stages it was utilised by many smaller provincial groups as well [Figure 28].¹⁵³

Such widespread and dispersed usage amongst Friendly Societies helps explain why clasped hands symbolism might also occur amongst other, more radical groups like the early Trade Unions. These

groups had comparable structures and welfare intent to the Friendly Societies,¹⁵⁴ and similarly catered initially for skilled subsets of the working classes.¹⁵⁵ Clasped hands featured early in Trade Union iconography. As Radical protest revived after the Napoleonic wars,¹⁵⁶ they appeared on

¹⁵⁰ Prom, "Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England," p.904.

¹⁵¹ Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.82, 98.

¹⁵² Mansfield, *Radical Rhymes and Union Jacks: A Search for Evidence of Ideologies in 19th Century Banners*, p.24.

¹⁵³ It is reported as one of the Oddfellow emblems in a report of a procession in New Zealand. [New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Departure of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Duncan Cameron, K.C.B., from New Zealand," August 7, 1865, p.6.] On the ways that groups like the Oddfellows created international networks, see Arthur Downing, "The Friendly Planet: 'Oddfellows', Networks, and the 'British World' c.1840-1914," *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 03 (2012).

¹⁵⁴ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.423.

¹⁵⁵ A. E. Musson, *Trade Union and Social Studies* (Oxford: Routledge, 1974), p.19.

¹⁵⁶ On this revival see Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, pp.151-2.

banners like those on the peaceful march that ended so disastrously in Manchester in 1819, the Peterloo massacre.¹⁵⁷

Reports of the initial Manchester protest gathering describe several banners, two of which featured clasped hands. The Oldham Union's had a reverse (facing the marchers) with "two hands, both decorated in shirt ruffles, clasped in each other."¹⁵⁸ The Saddleworth, Lees and Moseley Union had a similar banner, with the words "Unite and be Free," and two clasped hands above the word 'love'.¹⁵⁹ This latter flag, described later by Samuel Bamford as "one of the most sepulchral looking objects that could be contrived,"¹⁶⁰ featured in the treason trial of the protest organisers.¹⁶¹ The Banner's colour (black), the word 'death', and the Cap of Liberty (used since the 1790s by Jacobins and Irish Republicans)¹⁶² were all read by prosecutors as seditious. The clasped hands, however, were not queried – showing that the symbol cannot have been understood as being primarily associated with revolutionary uses.

By the 1830s, with membership burgeoning,¹⁶³ trade unions were providing themselves with further iconographic trappings, which often included clasped hands [e.g. Figure 29]. Symbolism had been heavily used in initiation ceremonies amongst underground unions during the preceding decades,¹⁶⁴ providing such items with added meaning. Indeed, unions would continue to use rituals involving hand clasping and emblematic symbols to assert brotherhood well into the twentieth century.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," pp.111-12.

¹⁵⁸ The Times (London, UK), "Express from Manchester." August 19, 1819, p.2. The front carried the scales of justice, demanding Universal Suffrage.

¹⁵⁹ Morning Chronicle (London, UK), "York Assizes," March 25, 1820, [no page]. The other side had the scales of Justice and the words "Taxation without representation is unjust and tyrannical" and "Equal representation or death."

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.681.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, p.85. On earlier usage, see below, Appendix 1.2.

¹⁶³ Musson, *Trade Union and Social Studies*, p.15. This growth occurred in the wake of the repeal of the Combination Laws – anti-Jacobin legislation aimed at stopping workers forming societies.

¹⁶⁴ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp.509-13.

¹⁶⁵ Paul Michel Taillon, *Good, Reliable, White Men: Railroad Brotherhoods, 1877-1917* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), p.51.

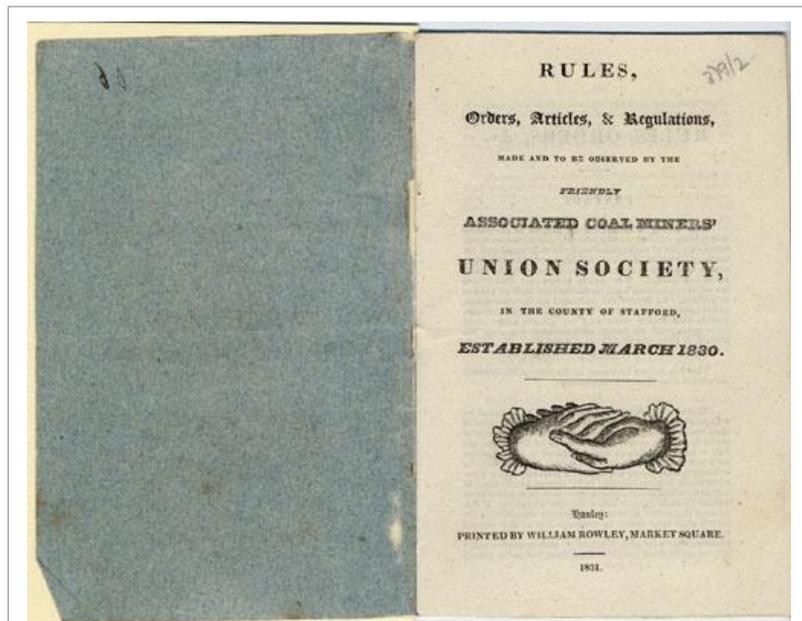


Figure 29: 1838 Book of the Rules of the Friendly Associated Coal Miners' Union Society.

The title of the Society, and the clasped hands both indicate the overlap between Friendly Societies and Trade Unions. The clasped hands have here been printed back to front.

© Stoke on Trent Museums

Courtesy of <http://www.staffspasttrack.org.uk/>

They even called their printed membership certificates 'emblems'. Originally functioning as de facto passports,¹⁶⁶ these developed into elaborately printed objects for display in unionists' homes and in "the upper rooms of pubs throughout the land."¹⁶⁷ Costing up to three shillings each, these items clearly carried considerable cultural capital within the union movement.¹⁶⁸ Leeson reproduced thirty-six such emblems. He did not, in his study, mention clasped hands once, but the symbol appears in eight of the reproduced emblems, three from the 1830s.¹⁶⁹ This is a large enough proportion to be significant, and evidence of nineteenth century union usage of the clasped hands is widespread [e.g. Figure 30].¹⁷⁰ What is important

¹⁶⁶ R. A. Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems* (Bath, UK: Adams & Dart, 1971), pp.6-7.

¹⁶⁷ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.337.

¹⁶⁸ Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*, p.18. It also underlines the fact that Union Membership often involved an exclusive subset of a trade. Musson, *Trade Union and Social Studies*, p.19.

¹⁶⁹ Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*, pp.9,19,20,34,45,46,47,57.

¹⁷⁰ For example, clasped hands or handshaking appears on twenty seven of the banners reproduced in John Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement* (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

here is not demonstrating *that* it was used (it was) but rather *how* it was used and what it signified.

Leeson identified two different strands within the nineteenth century union movement. One, closer to the protective Friendly Society model, looked

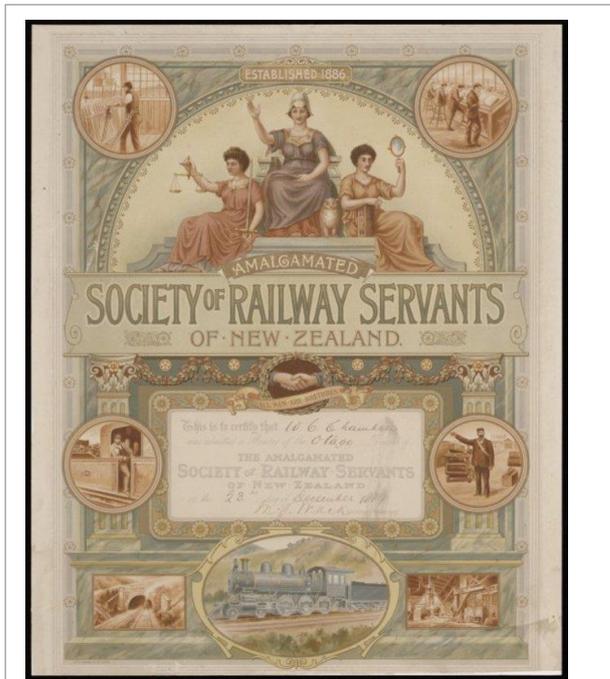


Figure 30: Printed Emblem for the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of New Zealand, ca.1889.

Printed chromolithographically by the Christchurch Press, this emblem admitted W. C. Chambers to the Otago Branch of the Society. Below the clasped hands is the motto "All Men are Brethren."

Ref: Eph-D-RAIL-1910-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://beta.natlib.govt.nz/records/22299443>

Permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, must be obtained before any re-use of this image.

inwards and backwards in a defensive manner – ‘United to Protect’ their existing rights. The other looked outwards towards a utopian expansion of worker rights, finding ‘Unity in Strength’.¹⁷¹ One might have expected the former group to utilise clasped hands, but in fact it was primarily used by the outward-looking variety.¹⁷²

Individual fraternity, within a group, implies *fides*, but the larger unions that sought to pull together multiple groups of workers are better represented by *concordia*. As the century developed, and workers became increasingly mobile, the union movement had to confront the issue of establishing fraternity at a distance. *Concordia* symbolism was appropriate, particularly

as the movement started to think internationally. The hand, after all, was a European symbol, and not just English.

Workers had, synecdochally, been labelled ‘hands’ since the late sixteenth century.¹⁷³ By the eighteenth century, jobs that involved clean and dirty

¹⁷¹ Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*, pp.6-7.

¹⁷² This conclusion remains tentative, being based on Leeson’s selection and on banners illustrated in various other works – which mostly conform to the pattern in Leeson. Of the twenty-two clasped hands banners with mottoes in Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement*, only four were of the protective variety. This needs a fuller exploration, but is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁷³ Simon Schaffer, "Experimenters' Techniques, Dyers' Hands, and the Electric Planetarium," *Isis* 88, no. 3 (1997): p.459.

hands had become symbolic of a rudimentary class distinction, with clean-hand professions, like architecture, providing an entry to the ranks of the ‘pseudo-gentry’ that was denied to the dirty-hand “mechanic.”¹⁷⁴ Indeed, in countries like Germany and Denmark, where the actual name for mechanics and artisans translates to “hand workers,”¹⁷⁵ the hand was integral to worker identity. Gottfried Korff notes that, in Germany, the intersection of this existing linguistic connotation with a post-1848 resurgent French use of fraternal clasped hands symbolism,¹⁷⁶ sparked a significant rise in clasped “brother-hand” symbolism among German workers’ associations.¹⁷⁷ Although the clasped hands symbol remained potent until the First World War, the single up-thrust fist, stemming from the Paris commune, would increasingly take over from it through the first two decades of the twentieth century, as Unionists became more militant.¹⁷⁸

For Marx, the hand was a potent symbol – but not of brotherhood. The key symbolism for him was the replacement of the skilled hand of the individual craftsman, with the repetitive gestures of the assembly line. This created a major condition of alienation, one exacerbated by the manipulative working of the ‘hidden hand of capital’.¹⁷⁹ Both Marx and Engels had consistently disliked the underlying religious impulse of the clasped hands’ ‘brotherly’

¹⁷⁴ Stephen Pumfrey, "Who Did the Work? Experimental Philosophers and Public Demonstrators in Augustan England," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 28, no. 2 (1995): p.132.

¹⁷⁵ Gottfried Korff, "From Brotherly Handshake to Militant Clenched Fist: On Political Metaphors for the Worker's Hand," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 42(1992): p.70.

¹⁷⁶ One example of such usage is Armand Cambon's 1848-9 *Étude pour la République*, Musée Ingres: <http://www.musees-midi-pyrenees.fr/musees/musee-ingres/collections/la-peinture-du-xixe-siecle/armand-cambon/etude-pour-la-republique/> [Accessed November 1, 2012]. It is worth noting that this increased use of hands symbolism in 1848 in France probably encouraged the clasped hands metaphors used at the 1849 Paris peace conference, discussed earlier.

¹⁷⁷ Korff, "From Brotherly Handshake to Militant Clenched Fist: On Political Metaphors for the Worker's Hand," p.72. The reference to “Bruderhände” is on p.70.

¹⁷⁸ Sherwin Simmons, "Hand to the Friend, Fist to the Foe': The Struggle of Signs in the Weimar Republic," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): p.331; Korff, "From Brotherly Handshake to Militant Clenched Fist: On Political Metaphors for the Worker's Hand," p.77.

¹⁷⁹ David Michael Kleinberg-Levin, "The Invisible Hands of Capital and Labour: Using Merleau Ponty's Phenomenology to Understand the Meaning of Alienation in Marx's Theory of Manual Labour," *Philosophy Social Criticism* 31, no. 1 (2005): pp.64-5. On Adam Smith's original conception of the ‘hidden hand’ as the mediator that linked self-interest with wider society see Steven G. Medema, *The Hesitant Hand: Taming Self-Interest in the History of Economic Ideas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp.19-25.

symbolism, and had replaced the original Communist motto of “All Workers are Brothers” with the more militant “Workers of all Countries, Unite!”¹⁸⁰ Their distaste, however, spread only slowly through the movement. Brotherhood would remain throughout the nineteenth century as a catch cry in the battle to unite workers transnationally, symbolised in multiple ways, such as Walter Crane’s illustration to William Morris’s *News From Nowhere* showing workers holding hands around the globe.¹⁸¹

Given the connotations of the hand within international socialism, it makes sense that the phrase ‘hands across the sea’ would take on a special meaning for unionists. The flashpoint for this would appear to be the 1889 dock strike, where English dockworkers, having used up all their own funds, still achieved a notable victory over their employers, owing to Australian unionists sending £30,000 that enabled them to prolong the struggle.¹⁸² This achievement also boosted the Australian labour movement. Australian unionists saw Australia, with its short history, as a more egalitarian society with less inbred prejudice against labour aspirations.¹⁸³ The 1889 display of Australian generosity would immediately result in the British Dock, Wharf, Riverside & General Labourers Union utilising *concordia* imagery on its pins, banners and emblems, showing an Australian and English worker either side of a globe, shields and flags, beneath the clasped hands and the motto of “the grip of brotherhood the world o’er.”¹⁸⁴ It was also understood as an example of ‘hands across the sea’.

¹⁸⁰ Korff, "From Brotherly Handshake to Militant Clenched Fist: On Political Metaphors for the Worker's Hand," p.72.

¹⁸¹ Felix Driver, "In Search of The Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire," *History Workshop Journal* 69, no. 1 (2010). p.155 Gorman has a similar image on a banner, Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement*, p.180.

¹⁸² Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*, p.56.

¹⁸³ John Norton's 1888 *The History of Capital and Labour in all Lands and Ages* was at pains to point this out. Nick Dyrenfurth, "Labour and Politics," *Labour History: A Journal of Labour and Social History*, no. 100 (2011): p.105.

¹⁸⁴ The emblem is reproduced in Leeson, *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*, p.57. Its format, whether by accident or design, is a more elaborate version of the 1838 Friendly Society of Sawyers banner reproduced in Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement*, p.70.

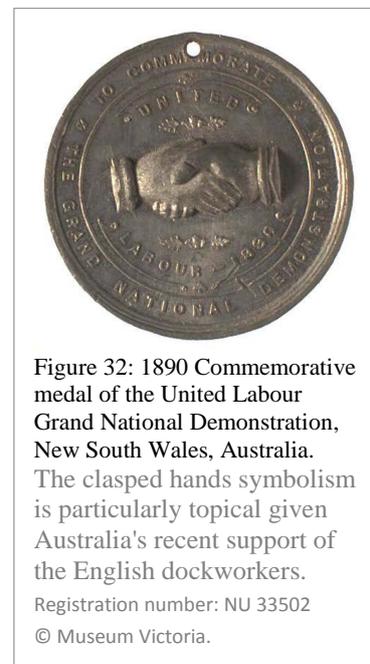
This can be seen in an 1889 cartoon by Luther D. Bradley in *Melbourne Punch* [Figure 31],¹⁸⁵ and in an 1890 article on the London celebrations for the strike's first anniversary, when it was reported that “numerous flags and



banners were carried, bearing as a device the English and Australian working men shaking hands across the sea.”¹⁸⁶ The same report shows the metaphor being worked on when a speaker advised English workers that, given a major strike in Australia, “it was now *their* bounden duty to put their hands in their pockets, and send over an immense sum of money to their brethren across the sea” [Figure 32].¹⁸⁷ By 1894, a report on an Eight Hour demonstration in London shows that banners had been created with another variant on

the emblem, in which the clasped hands imagery was complemented by the motto ‘hands across the sea’.¹⁸⁸

The clasped hands and the HATS phrase were now unequivocally connected. This can



¹⁸⁵ Reproduced in Henry J. Smith, *Cartoons by Bradley: Cartoonist of the Chicago Daily News* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1917), p.29. Figure 30 is sourced from page 29: “Cartoons by Bradley.djvu/39,” *Wikisource*, http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Page:Cartoons_by_Bradley.djvu/39&oldid=4134929 (accessed August 10, 2013). It is a copy from Smith’s 1917 work, and the quality of reproduction is therefore poor.

¹⁸⁶ Auckland Star (NZ), “Anglo-Colonial Notes,” October 7, 1890, p.5.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.5.

¹⁸⁸ The report said: “My heart swelled with pride when I saw on another banner two little isles, with a channel between them, and two gentlemen in irreproachable tailor-made suits, shaking hands across the gulf, one leaving behind him the British lion, couchant, with a well-fed benign smile on his face, and the other the Australian kangaroo, squatting on his tail, rampant, with the motto, ‘Hands Across the Sea’. This is the banner of the Riverside labourers or ‘dockers’, and it is a memorial to the generosity with which the Australian workmen responded to the call for help when the dockers went out on strike four or five years ago.” Auckland Star (NZ), “The Eight Hours Day.” June 30, 1894, p.11.

be seen particularly in the first of several similar reports of Christmas cards being sent between the compositor ‘companionships’ of two newspapers. In 1892 the *Adelaide Advertiser* noted theirs came “from the companionship of the *London Daily Chronicle*, and is a fine specimen of the printer’s art. In one corner of the card are clasped hands encircled by the words ‘Hands across the sea’.”¹⁸⁹ This is the earliest example found to date of a HATS card (albeit not commercial) and it is significant that it occurs within a unionised printing culture. Unionists had evidently taken the phrase to heart. The last verse of a poem by New Zealand Labour activist Charles J. McRae, published in the wake of the Dock strike,¹⁹⁰ is indicative of its stirring connotations within the movement:

As our fathers did in Freedom’s cause,
Just so will we unite;
Insist on having better laws,
And give to all their right.
Our homes from poverty be free,
Our lives no more be sold,
But **joining hands across the sea**,
We will Labour’s flag unfold.¹⁹¹

It was no accident that the ‘hands across’ phrase tripped so readily off the tongues of unionists in the years following 1889. Although it had an extra meaning within the union context, the groundwork for its burst of popularity had already been laid elsewhere. Poetry provides a good starting point for explaining this.

Poetry, Patriotism, Melodrama and Music

In reflecting on the politics surrounding the creation of Australia, John Hirst commented that “the nation was born in a festival of poetry,” but that historians have not known what to do with the swathes of “noble, profound

¹⁸⁹ The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), “The Advertiser.” January 15, 1892, p.4.

¹⁹⁰ New Zealand had its own set of Labour conditions however, which, in the wake of a successful Seamen’s strike in 1888 had seen the number of unions jump from 50 to 200 between 1888 and 1890. David Grant, *Jagged Seas: The New Zealand Seamen’s Union 1879-2003* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Canterbury University Press, 2012), p.19.

¹⁹¹ The first verse gives the wider context, saying “The iron hand of capital Too long has ruled the world, And Justice from her judgment seat Has cruelly been hurled. The people’s rights have trampled been Beneath the power of gold; But now in every land I ween, We can Labour’s flag unfold.” ‘Ween’ is an archaic word meaning to expect, hope or intend. Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Labour’s Flag,” March 18, 1890, p.3.

and elevating” (not to mention sentimental) verse that accompanied the politics.¹⁹² Nevertheless, Hirst regarded it as “the best guide to the ideas and ideals that inspired the movement.”¹⁹³ The propensity of so many people – from shearer to financier – to further political and social discourse through published rhyme and meter has been one of the surprises of this research. From the 1830s onwards, the ‘hands across’ metaphor was regularly put into poetic service for a variety of causes. Its use in relation to *The Great Western* has already been noted, but the following extracts from much longer poems give a sense of how it was both used and abused. The peace activists of the League of Brotherhood used it:

Brother leaguers! though the billows
Foam and chafe and roll between,
Yet our spirits have communion,
As though nought did intervene.
Stretch your hands across the ocean,
We will give ye hand for hand:
Link by link the chain is growing
That shall circle every land.¹⁹⁴

It was used, in a more bellicose context, by a poet signed W. D. from Trinity College, Cambridge, to celebrate the fall of Sevastopol during the Crimean War:

With equal ardour cheers the warlike Gaul,
With laurels crowned, ‘neath blazoned banners tall,
Lo! France and England, guards of liberty,
In their full heart of joy, **shake hands across the sea!**¹⁹⁵

The most forced couplet of all was penned by the “Irish novelist,” William Carlton, for a closing oration by Mr. and Mrs. Williams – the “Irish Boy and Yankee Girl” – at Dublin's Theatre Royal.¹⁹⁶ It references the short-lived first transatlantic telegraph cable [Figure 23]:

¹⁹² John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.15.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *The Liberator* (Boston, MA), “Poetry,” August 13, 1847, p.122. The poem is by H. G. Adams and entitled “Brother Leaguers.”

¹⁹⁵ *Bradford Observer* (UK), “Poetry,” September 27, 1855, p.7.

¹⁹⁶ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Dublin, IE), “Theatre Royal.” November 20, 1858, [no page].

This marriage of the nations drives me frantic,
For we will soon **shake hands across the Atlantic**.¹⁹⁷

It has been noted above that until the Civil War, ‘hands across the Atlantic’ was the dominant version of the ‘hands across’ phrase, but that it almost disappeared during the subsequent decade. I suggested (on page 75) that Cyrus Field’s widely reported HATS speech laid the groundwork for that phrase to dominate later. However, a part of the process of renewal was the HATS phrase appearing poetically several times in published works during the 1870s. John Nicol,¹⁹⁸ Harriett Stockall,¹⁹⁹ and Lizzie Baldy,²⁰⁰ all utilised it, and all opted for the word ‘sea’. As William Carlton had discovered,²⁰¹ the number of words that rhyme with ‘Atlantic’ can be counted on one hand. The same applies for ‘ocean’, whereas there is an almost limitless supply of rhymes for the word ‘sea’. Copy editors would later realise that ‘hands across the sea’ had a perfect length for subheadings, but, during the late 1870s and early 1880s, it was primarily poets that kept the metaphor in print. During the latter part of the 1880s, however, it was a popular song and a play that marked its transition from relatively well-defined political and poetic contexts into broader popular culture.

Until the 1880s, the phrase had predominantly been used in the Anglo-American context, with the relationships between Britain and its colonies like South Africa and New Zealand not meriting any *concordia* imagery. Indeed Bernard Porter has argued that prior to around 1880, most Britons were largely unaware of their Empire.²⁰² Political events would alter that. In

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. [no page].

¹⁹⁸ “While Janus, olive-crowned, bids North and South shake hands across the sea...” John Nichol, *Hannibal: A Historical Drama* (Glasgow, UK: J. Maclehose, 1873), p.4.

¹⁹⁹ “With breath of violets all the wakening land, since England stretched her hands across the sea...” Harriet Stockall, *Poems and Sonnets* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1879), p.89.

²⁰⁰ “Beyond the Ocean’s snowy wave, beyond the mountain’s peak, we stretch our hands across the sea, to find the one we seek...” Lizzie F. Baldy, *The California Pioneer: And Other Poems* (San Francisco: Bacon, 1879), p.83.

²⁰¹ Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser (Dublin, IE), “Theatre Royal,” November 20, 1858, [no page].

²⁰² Bernard Porter, “Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008): p.102. This was particularly true of the working classes. ““Empire, What Empire?” Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It,” *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2004): p.258.

1882, Gladstone's Liberal government invaded Egypt.²⁰³ By 1885, the British ideals of liberty had given way to the realities of force.²⁰⁴ But, despite a wave of patriotism, exemplified by collectible scraps depicting "Our Brave Soldiers in the Soudan,"²⁰⁵ the army became bogged down and, with the popular General Gordon dead, the Governments of Canada and New South Wales offered military support to the campaign.²⁰⁶ For the Australians, this provided the first opportunity for a self-governing colony to contribute militarily to the empire;²⁰⁷ to reciprocate friendship.²⁰⁸ Just how warmly this was received in Britain can be gauged from the following newspaper piece. After asking "which musician will be patriotic enough to be fired by the national and martial ring of the stirring song by Mr. Byron Webber in the *Topical Times* of July 18, and be 'cute enough to set it to music?" the author, "Philip," printed one verse and the chorus:

No thought now of the sorrow of the parting, years ago;
 No memory for the troubles since, that kindred kept apart;
 A mighty soul is thrilling with the ancient English glow!
 One filial pulse throbs steadfastly in Greater England's heart!
 The cheer beneath the Southern Cross we heard and proudly wept.
 And blessed the hour Australia rushed to help the Motherland!
 And when, equipped to join the fray, the keen Canadian leapt,
 Our words were grips of gratitude to each all-ready hand!
 [Chorus]:
Hands across the sea!
 Feet on British ground!
 The old blood is bold blood the wide world round!
 From the parent root,
 Sap, and flower, and fruit
 Grow the same, or mould or name –

²⁰³ The reason was to deter Egyptian nationalists. John Newsinger, "Liberal Imperialism and the Occupation of Egypt in 1882," *Race & Class* 49, no. 3 (2008): p.64.

²⁰⁴ Penny Summerfield, "Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment 1870-1914," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p.34.

²⁰⁵ See Alistair Allen and Joan Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps* (London: New Cavendish Books, 1983), pp.164, 167. These scraps were published by the Birn Brothers.

²⁰⁶ The Canadians were in Egypt by 1884 whilst the Australian offer was accepted in February 1885. Wanganui Herald (NZ), "The War in the Soudan," November 3, 1884, p.2; Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser (Canterbury, NZ), "Soudan News," February 20, 1885, p.2.

²⁰⁷ Australian War Memorial. "Sudan (New South Wales Contingent) March-June 1885," (undated). <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/sudan.asp> [accessed November 1, 2012].

²⁰⁸ A possible model for appreciating why this gesture was received so warmly is provided by Peter Bailey's "music hall friendship," a set of conventions emphasising both individual and collective mutual obligations. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, pp.98-100.

Hands across the sea!²⁰⁹

If 'Greater Britain' needed an anthem, this was it. When Webber died in 1913, its impact was still sufficient for a short obituary in *The Times* to conclude by saying that he was the author of "the famous patriotic song 'hands across the sea'."²¹⁰ In New Zealand, and with the piece having been put to music, the *Te Aroha News* reported that "'Hands Across the Sea' is the title of rather a jovial Anglo-Colonial song by Byron Webber and Florian Pascal, which, according to report, is going to be sung in all the pantomimes. It has a capital chorus."²¹¹

Several themes coalesce in the text to make it particularly relevant to the colonial political situation at the time. The broader concept 'Greater Britain' had been coined by Charles Dilke in 1868,²¹² but James Belich has shown that while its use in *The Times* was sparing through the 1870s, it grew exponentially through the 1880s and 1890s.²¹³ To counter concern about the country's international political fragility, a group of British politicians and political strategists started to recast the Empire as a larger federal alliance.²¹⁴ Starting in 1887, premiers from the colonies would be invited to London to meet British politicians, and in the 1890s the Liberal Unionist, Joseph Chamberlain,²¹⁵ perhaps the strongest supporter of this approach, would add the concept of tariff federation to the existing agenda of political federation.²¹⁶ Within this discourse, the Anglo-Saxon language of filial duty, Motherland, and ties of blood – all mentioned in Webber's song – served to reinforce the broad sense of patriotic unity. Suez had helped

²⁰⁹ Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times (London, UK), "Our London Letter," July 25, 1885, [no page].

²¹⁰ The Times (London, UK), "Mr. Byron Webber," April 3, 1913, p.9.

²¹¹ Te Aroha News (NZ), "Anglo-Colonial Notes," January 30, 1886, p.6.

²¹² Duncan Bell, "The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): p.4.

²¹³ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939*, p.457.

²¹⁴ Bell, "The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900," p.4.

²¹⁵ Liberal Unionists disagreed with Gladstone's policy of giving the Irish home rule. At an 1889 meeting, a speaker was already using the 'hands across' metaphor. Leicester Chronicle and Leicester Mercury, "Liberal Unionism at Lutterworth," March 23, 1889, p.8.

²¹⁶ Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c.1880-1932* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2000), pp.84-5.

New South Wales and Canada to define themselves as distinct entities, capable of proffering help to the parent, and being taken seriously by politicians like Chamberlain. The very evocation of HATS – if it was conceived with *concordia* symbolism – constitutes a psychological landmark on the road to British recognition of the colonies as significant junior partners.

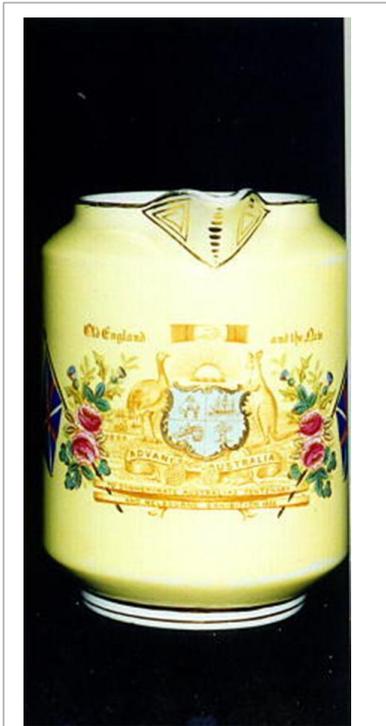


Figure 33: 1888 jug, manufactured in England to celebrate the centenary of British settlement in Australia.

This shows the clasped hands between “Old England” “and the New,” with “Advance Australia” below.

Registration Number SH 900935

© Museum Victoria.

All this explains why, in early 1888 (the centenary year of the European settlement of Australia), [Figure 33],²¹⁷ the playwright Henry Pettit abandoned the title he had planned for his latest melodrama – “Advance Australia” – and instead adopted the name “Hands Across the Sea.”²¹⁸ Indeed, the earliest advertisement for the play overtly links it to Webber’s song. Florian Pascal had been asked to compose an overture, and four lines of Webber’s chorus were published and acknowledged.²¹⁹ It may be that Pettit altered the title because he thought “Advance Australia” was being overused in the lead up to the centenary²²⁰ [e.g. Figure 33], or that he was concerned that other Australian States might be less enthusiastic about a centenary that prioritised New South Wales alone. The extent to which the title change facilitated the play’s success is difficult to determine accurately, but its timing, title and content collectively ensured it would be labelled an “Anglo-Colonial melodrama.”²²¹ According to the *Auckland Star* in 1896, “a drama with such a title

²¹⁷ Mary Casey, “Remaking Britain: Establishing British Identity and Power at Sydney Cove, 1788-1821,” *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 24(2006): p.88.

²¹⁸ South Australian Register (Adelaide, AU), “Anglo-Colonial Gossip,” April 5, 1888, p.6.

²¹⁹ The Era (London, UK), “Advertisements & Notices,” May 19, 1888, [no page]. It was also being advertised with the same Webber quote in Australia. [The Argus (Melbourne, AU), “Amusements,” October 2, 1888, p.16.] In 1900, the Weekly Dispatch (London, UK), “Plays and Players,” January 21, 1900, p.8, said that the title “was borrowed, with permission, by the late Henry Pettit for his melodrama at the Princess’s.”

²²⁰ For an Australasian perspective using the phrase, see the *Auckland Star* (NZ),

“Australia’s Centenary,” January 26, 1888, p.4.

²²¹ *Star* (Christchurch, NZ), “Anglo-Colonial Notes,” September 25, 1888, p.2.

would in itself ensure a large attendance. ‘Hands Across the Sea’ suggests sensation...,”²²² and the play did indeed prove sensational in both senses. After opening in Manchester on July 30th 1888 to a “hearty reception,”²²³ it started a run at London’s Princess’s Theatre in December, where “the pit and gallery roared their delight as long-suffering virtue and tardily-defeated vice were once more brought before them.”²²⁴ Its ultimate success meant that this work played a pivotal role in promoting the ‘hands across’ phrase, and, as I will argue later (page 271) the melodramatic mode that it uses is important for understanding postcards. It is therefore necessary to consider both Pettit’s work and melodrama itself in some detail.

Reviewers of the play described enough of the action for the plot to be reconstructed,²²⁵ and it contains both political and dramatic themes. The villain is the dissolute son of a wealthy (but evil) landowner, who is in love with his father’s ward, the daughter of a rich Australian digger. She rejects him, and her father allows her to marry the hero (a poor farming cadet, whose prospects are immeasurably improved by news that his shares in Australian mines have just made him a fortune of £20,000). While hero and heroine honeymoon, the villain frames his rival for murdering a French gambler in Paris [Figure 35]. Convicted and condemned to death, the hero is reprieved owing to the heroine’s frantic efforts [Figure 34], but is then shipped off for life to a French prison in New Caledonia.

²²² Auckland Star (NZ), “The Opera House,” December 1, 1896, p.3.

²²³ Manchester Guardian (UK), “Theatre Royal,” December 31, 1888, p.8.

²²⁴ Birmingham Daily Post (UK), “London Correspondence.” November 12, 1888, [no page].

²²⁵ Theatre posters also frequently carried the synopsis and illustrations of key moments in the plot. Theatre goers evidently went to melodrama for things other than the surprise of the storyline. Graham Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920* (London: British Library, 2008), p.75.



Figure 34: 1888 Theatre poster for “Hands Across the Sea” at London’s Princess’s Theatre. Two different posters were used for Henry Pettit’s play, both concentrating on key ‘situations’ of villainy in the plot, with the French here cast in that role. The clasped hands symbol is not used, and indeed, none of the play’s posters seen to date use the clasped hands symbol.

Michael R. Booth Theatre Collection, University of Newcastle, Australia
<http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/30448>

After escaping, he is given safe passage on a P&O ship bound for Australia, whose captain patriotically refuses to hand him over to the pursuing French authorities (“a good advertisement for Federation,” commented the *Wanganui Chronicle*).²²⁶ The convict is reunited with his wife who (by happy coincidence) just happens to be travelling on that very P&O ship. Once in Australia, and to the backdrop of Sydney Harbour, the villain is finally exposed, justice done, and the couple presumably settle in a colonial utopia.

The play, which opened almost simultaneously in Sydney, was a huge success in Australia. Not only did it mark the centenary, and show Australia as a land of opportunity, but it played to current Australian disquiet about French designs on Vanuatu, and France’s 1883 sending of 20,000 French convicts to New Caledonia, some of whom had then escaped to Australia.²²⁷

²²⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle* (NZ), “Our Melbourne Letter,” October 1, 1888, p.2. This refers to an ongoing debate as to whether New Zealand should be part of an Australasian federation.

²²⁷ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, p.66.

**This image has been removed by the author of
this thesis for copyright reasons.**

It can be accessed via public and institutional
libraries on the Illustrated London News Archive
– where it can be found as a second (and
initially invisible) page when ‘hands across the
sea’ is searched on this date.

Figure 35: Scene from “Hands Across the Sea” at the Princess’s Theatre: “Safe in a Husband’s Keeping!”

From the *Illustrated London News*, November 24, 1888, p.608, this illustration was published shortly after the play began its London run. It shows the ‘situation’ where the heroine is molested by a French aristocrat. He is subsequently murdered by the villain, who then frames the husband.

© Gale Group.

After a “good season, though short” in Sydney,²²⁸ its impresario, Charles Warner, was delighted to have a two month run in Melbourne.²²⁹ He then went on to play in other centres through 1889, “his engagement of 16 weeks having extended over 18 months.”²³⁰ When it arrived in New Zealand, “Hands Across the Sea” had earned Warner alone a profit of £6000 and was being promoted as “the most successful drama ever presented in Australia.”²³¹ The attendant media saturation explains why, by 1890, use of the phrase had increased.²³² In Christchurch, the *Star* was using it as a synonym for the Christmas post when it suggested that subscribers send “friends at Home” the “mail edition of the Canterbury Times, which has

²²⁸ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “The Stage in Australia,” August 31, 1888, p.28.

²²⁹ The Argus (Melbourne, AU), “Theatre Royal,” October 1, 1888, p.10; Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “The Stage in Australia,” December 7, 1888, p.28.

²³⁰ Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ), “The Otago Daily Times,” September 19, 1889, p.2.

²³¹ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “The Fine Arts,” June 22, 1889, p.14.

Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” November 18, 1889, p.3.

²³² A good example of this from beyond the media can be seen when businessman and onetime poet, R. Dudley Adams, writing from Australia to New Zealand’s former Governor Sir George Grey, concluded a letter saying “permit me therefore, in spirit, to respectfully, but cordially, shake hands across the sea between us.” Auckland Libraries, “Letter to Sir George Grey.” 29 November 1890. *Grey Letters*: GL A5.1.,

been specially prepared for ‘Hands Across the Sea’.²³³ And, as noted above (page 87) it was at exactly this time that the phrase moved into the Union mainstream, in the wake of Australia’s role in the Docker’s strike.

Even if the initial exposure to the play did not permeate through to everyone, the next decade provided ample additional opportunities. Already



Figure 36: 1889 Poster for a production of “Hands Across the Sea” at the Britannia Theatre, London. “Hands Across the Sea” is the headline act here.
© Special Collections, University of Kent at Canterbury.

a British staple, it played in the United States,²³⁴ and had four more tours of Australasia with Alfred Woods’ company in 1896, 1898, 1903 and 1904. By 1903 the *Auckland Star* believed that “no other melodrama in the language excepting ‘The Silver King’ has merited a greater share of popularity.”²³⁵ Indeed, interest in it was still great enough for the theatre in Palmerston North to have to allow patrons to sit in the wings in order to accommodate the crowds when it played.²³⁶ Even a decade after that, its popularity would be enough for it to be turned into a well-received 22 minute film by Australian filmmaker Gaston Mervale.²³⁷

“Hands Across the Sea” was the principal picture at the Lyric Theatre on Friday evening, when there was a large attendance. A drama teeming with thrilling situations, with the orthodox tale of love and hate skillfully interwoven in a network of crime and intrigue, it could not fail to attract.²³⁸

The cinema audience in 1912 were seeking “situations,” and in this they differed little from Pettit’s original audience twenty four years earlier. The

²³³ *Star* (Christchurch, NZ), “Seasonable Greetings to Friends at Home,” December 24, 1890, p.3.

²³⁴ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, (MA), “Hands Across the Sea,” September 3, 1889, p.2.

²³⁵ *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Amusements,” August 28, 1903, p.8. Henry Arthur Jones’ 1881 play “The Silver King” is now much the better known. See Kristen Guest, “The Subject of Money: Late-Victorian Melodrama’s Crisis of Masculinity,” *Victorian Studies* 49, no. 4 (2007): p.636.

²³⁶ *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Stage Jottings,” November 28, 1903, p.2.

²³⁷ Sandra Hall, ed. *Australian Film Index: A Guide to Australian Feature Films since 1900* (Port Melbourne, Australia: Thorpe, 1992), p.41 notes that the film was made by the Australian Life Biograph Company.

²³⁸ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, AU), “Amusements,” February 10, 1912, p.17.

term appears frequently in reviews,²³⁹ and Ben Singer situates the concept at the very centre of the melodramatic genre.²⁴⁰ He defines the ‘situation’ as “a striking and exciting incident that momentarily arrests narrative action while the characters encountered a powerful new circumstance,” giving the audience “heightened dramatic tension.”²⁴¹ The 1888 poster graphically captures one such ‘situation’ from “Hands Across the Sea” [Figure 34]. The French shipboard request for the return of their prisoner created another, and the release of patriotic fervour, when the P&O Captain refused, was clearly calculated by the author.

Audiences attending melodramas sought an experience that was more emotional than intellectual.²⁴² The theatre, as George Bernard Shaw succinctly put it a few years later, presented “life on thirty pounds a day, not as it is, but as it is conceived by the earners of thirty shillings a week.”²⁴³ He characterised the theatre audience as being predominantly made up of shop assistants, typists and clerks,²⁴⁴ “the class which earns from eighteen to thirty shillings a week in sedimentary employment, and lives in a dull lodging or with its intolerably prosaic families.”²⁴⁵ Even allowing for the satire, the audience for such melodramas appears to have been primarily drawn from a similar demographic to that served by the “respectable” Friendly Societies,²⁴⁶ one that, Christopher Prom argues, made its peace

²³⁹ For example, Auckland Star (NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” December 27, 1889, p.8.; Auckland Star (NZ), “The Opera House,” December 1, 1896, p.3. This latter says that the play is “packed full of exciting situations and sensational incidents.”

²⁴⁰ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.41.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.41 This is akin to the ‘tableau’, a similarly popular stage convention. Rohan McWilliam, “Victorian Sensations, Neo-Victorian Romances: Response,” *Victorian Studies* 52, no. 1 (2009): p.111.

²⁴² Sonia Solicari, “Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture,” *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* no. 4 (2007): p.3. Solicari is here discussing sentiment more generally.

²⁴³ George Bernard Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans* (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone, 1901), p.xiv.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.xii. This group, with shopkeepers added, would neatly fit with Peter Bailey’s description of the ‘petty bourgeois’ or lower middle-class. Peter Bailey, “White Collars, Grey Lives? The Lower Middle Class Revisited,” *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 3 (1999): pp.275-6.

²⁴⁵ Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans*, pp.vi-vii.

²⁴⁶ Prom, “Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England,” p.907. Arthur Downing notes that in the colonies, the higher real wages allowed more of the labouring classes to afford membership. Downing, “The Friendly Planet: ‘Oddfellows’, Networks, and the ‘British World’ c.1840-1914,” pp.398-9.

with middle class aspirations, but remained working class.²⁴⁷ It is a moot point whether to call this group lower, lower middle class, or petty bourgeois.²⁴⁸ Peter Bailey's stereotype of the lower middle classes "stifled by their suburban respectability and addiction to mass culture" seems to bear some truth.²⁴⁹ Being kicked around by life created a desire for small, but intense, pleasures.²⁵⁰

'Lowbrow' entertainment – and this applies as much to postcards as it does to melodrama – is generally understood as targeting the senses.²⁵¹ Modern mass culture owes much of its 'thrill' seeking to its sensational melodramatic forebears.²⁵² But the stigma subsequently attached to melodrama, as to its literary counterpart the "shilling shocker,"²⁵³ relates not only to its sensory mode but also to the very ease with which it was communicated. High culture, according to Pierre Bourdieu, should never be facile, or easy to decode.²⁵⁴ The accessibility and common tropes that made melodrama an ideal format for communicating collective patriotism opened it up to scorn from the more 'cultured' audience, who ultimately opted for Ibsen.²⁵⁵ Indeed, it would not be until the latter part of the twentieth century

²⁴⁷ Prom, "Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England," p.908.

²⁴⁸ Properly the "petit bourgeoisie," however I am following the tendency amongst a majority of scholars to use 'petit bourgeoisie' in relation to the continent, and 'petty bourgeois' in relation to Britain. The term carries tellingly pejorative connotations.

²⁴⁹ Bailey, "White Collars, Grey Lives? The Lower Middle Class Revisited," p.273. Linda Young argues that "respectability" is the defining characteristic of the lower classes. [Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2003), p.68.] On the issues around using class as an overarching classification, I am following Peter Bailey, who argues that whilst attempts to reframe class as a partial discursive construct have some merit, it "sticks like a burr" to nineteenth century culture, which cannot be adequately engaged with without it. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, p.5.

²⁵⁰ *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, p.79.

²⁵¹ Rachel Teukolsky, "White Girls: Avant-Gardism and Advertising after 1860," *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 3 (2009): p.424.

²⁵² Rohan McWilliam, "Victorian Sensations, Neo-Victorian Romances: Response," *ibid.* 52, no. 1: p.108.

²⁵³ Patrick Brantlinger, *Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), p.166. Lydia Wevers, in a detailed study of the reading habits of the users of a farm library in New Zealand, found that the most popular genres of book were "Romance (including sensational fiction) and adventure." Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 2010), p.196.

²⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p.486.

²⁵⁵ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.50.

that scholars began to identify in it signs of a distinct “imaginary complex,”²⁵⁶ realising that, as Rohan McWilliam puts it, melodrama was actually “a vital constituent of the Victorian frame of mind.”²⁵⁷

Like much Victorian liberal thinking, Melodrama owed its origins to revolutionary France. Under the old regime, popular theatre had been heavily censored and was only permitted in a non-verbal and gestural form.²⁵⁸ With dialogue allowed after the revolution, a new genre emerged. Retaining something of the exaggeration of the original, by Pettit’s time it had developed into what Ben Singer calls the “cultural expression of the populist ideologies of liberal democracy.”²⁵⁹ Jon Burrows has identified two types of melodrama, the sensational and sentimental, which often overlapped.²⁶⁰ “Hands Across the Sea,” it has already been noted, seems to have been perceived as primarily sensational. As the *Observer* observed:

Those who pine after sensations, and like them strong and highly seasoned and don’t mind a full flavouring of the improbable will find the bill of fare entirely to their taste. The sixpenny shocker is simply not in the same street with ‘Hands Across the Sea’.²⁶¹

Lynn Voskuil argues that in the communal atmosphere of “sensational theatre,” the British audience was able to combine their (private) individual embodied sensations with the imaginative sensation of being part of a (public) communal and national body.²⁶² The years during which “Hands Across the Sea” dominated Australasian floorboards saw nationalism,

²⁵⁶ Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp.202-3.

²⁵⁷ McWilliam, "What is Interdisciplinary about Victorian History Today?" p.1.

²⁵⁸ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, pp.131-132.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

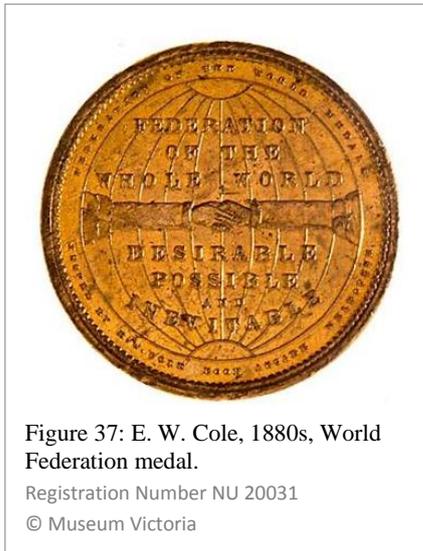
²⁶⁰ Jon Burrows, "Melodrama of the Dear Old Kind': Sentimentalising British Action Heroines in the 1910s," *Film History* 18, no. 2 (2006): p.165.

²⁶¹ *Observer* (Auckland, NZ), "The Lorgnette," December 5, 1896, p.21. Sensation in the theatre is part of a wider “breeze of sensationalism” which was visible even in the church – as when a pastor based his sermon on the biblical text “and he ran away naked.” *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Random Shots,” August 8, 1885, p.4.

²⁶² Lynn M. Voskuil, "Feeling Public: Sensation Theater, Commodity Culture, and the Victorian Public Sphere," *Victorian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2002): p.268.

federalism and the relationship to Britain both imagined and intensively debated.²⁶³

In Australia, E. W. Cole published a medal using the clasped hands to promote the idea of a world federation [Figure 37],²⁶⁴ but in the wake of



Pettit's play the phrase itself became a cypher for a particular type of shared Anglo-Colonial relationship. This can be seen in a comment by the editor of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* on some protectionist New Zealand policies:

The 'Home-land' and the 'Mother Country' are fine phrases, which have been freely used by New Zealand politicians of late in speeches delivered in this country..... But when it comes to a question of commerce, '**hands across the sea**' and 'altogether for the Empire's good' do not seem to count for much.²⁶⁵

This accords remarkably well with comments made a few years later by H. K. Rutherford, the President of the Ceylon Association, who identified "Hands Across the Sea" as Imperial rhetoric, rather than reality.

We have two kinds of Imperialism – the after-dinner kind, of **hands across the sea**, one for all and all for each, and the commercial Imperialism, which is, as you know, such a different kind.²⁶⁶

Despite increasing trappings of independence (Australia was federated in 1901, and New Zealand became a Dominion in 1907), James Belich characterises this period as one of "recolonisation," where cultural, economic and political ties between Britain and its colonies were actually

²⁶³ See Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*. Nationalism had become an influential popular movement from the 1820s and many régimes had subsequently updated their conception of themselves along national lines. [Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), pp.86-7.] Anderson (pp.4-6) has influentially argued that the nation is a "cultural artefact" and an "imagined political community" rather than natural. It has subsequently become normal to elide these two concepts and emphasise "imagined communities" cultural aspects. Nevertheless "imagined political community" fits the tenor of the national debate around Australia's genesis. The "deep, horizontal comradeship" implied in the word 'community' is particularly important. Ibid, p.7.

²⁶⁴ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, p.14. Although part of the national debate, World Federation offers a cosmopolitan and profoundly anti-national position.

²⁶⁵ Quoted in the *Mataura Ensign* (Gore, NZ), "Untitled," July 11, 1896, p.2.

²⁶⁶ A. G. Stanton, "British-Grown Tea," *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 52, no. 2689 (1904): p.20. The comment comes in discussion around Stanton's talk to the Society.

tightened.²⁶⁷ New Zealand had moved, in British minds, from being a physically distant “periphery” to a technologically contiguous “hinterland,” one which, with new forms of communications like the telegraph, now felt like an extension of Britain itself.²⁶⁸ Despite the work of ‘Greater Britain’ politicians like Chamberlain, this binding process has been described as relying on sentiment as much as systematic theory.²⁶⁹ The *Star* demonstrated both the process and politics of firming up these sentimental networks, when it chose to republish the following patriotic poem called “the Red Route” from London’s *St James Gazette*. It also commented editorially that the poem constituted “as strong an argument in favour of the Pacific [telegraph] Cable as anything that has been written.”²⁷⁰

John Bull has sons in many lands, his very blood and bone,
 Young giants with their father’s face, whom he will ne’er disown:
 Their homes are scattered far and wide, but o’er our ocean path,
 These sturdy scions come in crows to cheer the old man’s hearth.
 [Chorus]
 Here’s to the Red Route – the right route – our own route!
 Round the world from East to West Britons hold the track;
 Colony and Motherland,
Grasping each the other’s hand:
O’er the sea from strand to strand
 Floats the Union Jack.²⁷¹

The activities of touring theatre companies like Charles Warner’s can thus be cast as part of this process of ‘Red Route’ cultural recolonisation. Staging “Hands Across the Sea” in this light appears to be a remarkably successful exercise in Anglo-Colonial network building.

As an ‘after-dinner’ metaphor for Greater British fraternity, it is not surprising that ‘hands across’ imagery was pressed into service in 1897, during the Jubilee of that “linchpin for a sense of global national identity,”

²⁶⁷ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939*, pp. 161-2, 179-80.

²⁶⁸ Barnes, *New Zealand’s London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, p.8.

²⁶⁹ Bell, "The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900," pp.5-6.

²⁷⁰ *Star* (Christchurch, NZ), “The Idler,” February 8, 1896, p.4.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.4.

Queen Victoria.²⁷² Looking back on the year, the *Ashburton Guardian* commented that:

We have had much cause for rejoicing in the year that has passed – the jubilee year of the Queen, and the year of the great reunion of the empire in which the kinship and brotherhood of Great Britain all over the world shook **hands across the sea**.²⁷³

By 1898, the phrase was also being used to headline articles on rekindled Anglo-American relations.²⁷⁴ With Britain the only European country to back America in its war with Spain over Cuba, people like Chamberlain and Andrew Carnegie took the opportunity to posit something they labelled variously as “an Anglo-Saxon alliance” and “the British-American Union.”²⁷⁵ Some papers proposed a three way alliance with Japan,²⁷⁶ and the *Poverty Bay Herald* – in a cabled item credited to the United Press Association – noted that “remarkable demonstrations of feeling towards Great Britain are general in the United States. ‘God save the Queen’ has been sung in many New York theatres.”²⁷⁷ *Harpers Weekly* reflected this warming of relations when it published a long poem from a sea captain who noted that he wrote it in a “sentimental mood.” It starts by saying approvingly that “you’ve used us well, John Bull, we’ll own,” and then notes, in the third verse:

When Anglo-Saxon can attack,
With **hand across the sea**,
The Stars and Stripes and Union-Jack
Can set the whole world free.²⁷⁸

Abruptly, it seemed that the federal (if not the peaceful) dreams of Victor Hugo in 1849 and Cyrus Field in 1866 might be fulfilled,²⁷⁹ though the

²⁷² Bell, "The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900," p.5.

²⁷³ *Ashburton Guardian* (NZ), "The New Year," December 31, 1897, p.2.

²⁷⁴ This had been developing for a few years. In an 1895 speech in London, the US Ambassador, Mr. Bayard, had talked about “the friendship of our race” and quoted a couplet of Mr. Gladstone’s: “When love unites, wide space divides in vain, And hands may clasp across the spreading main.” *Manchester Guardian* (UK), “Summary of News,” December 20, 1895, p.5.

²⁷⁵ *Hawera & Normanby Star* (Hawera, NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” May 17, 1898, p.2.

²⁷⁶ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” March 12, 1898, p.5.

²⁷⁷ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne, NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” March 17, 1898, p.2.

²⁷⁸ *Harper’s Weekly* (New York), “Alliance,” July 30, 1898, p.751.

dynamics of the bi-lateral relationship were more ambiguous than they once had been. In responding to a toast of “Hands Across the Sea,” Captain R. C. Adams put his finger on the change in power relations when he commented: “I am not quite sure how to interpret this toast. Does it mean America stretching her hands over the sea to England, or is it England stretching her hands out to America?”²⁸⁰

After several decades of thinking internally, Americans were perhaps less versed in the history of ‘hands across the sea’ than the Europeans. This is hinted at in a report on the American peace celebrations in 1899.

An interesting incident is reported with regard to the review of troops held at Washington by Mr. McKinley in celebration of the return of peace. As one of the Military bands approached the stand, on which were the President, together with the members of the Diplomatic body and other prominent persons, it struck up the new march, “**Hands Across the Sea.**” This elicited applause from some of the foreign representatives, whereupon the other occupants of the gallery burst into cheers, which were taken up by the crowds in the street.²⁸¹

Whilst those to first recognise the HATS connotations were “foreign,” the march in question had been composed earlier that year by an American, John Philip Sousa. Best known for his “Stars and Stripes Forever,”²⁸² Sousa’s band, according to *Le Journal des Debats* “symbolises our period of hurry, steam and electricity.”²⁸³ On the playlist of one of its earliest performances, “Hands Across the Sea” appears bracketed with a quote from George Canning that is often incorrectly ascribed to Sousa himself: “A sudden thought strikes me; let us swear an eternal friendship.”²⁸⁴ This fits

²⁷⁹ Peace Congress Committee, "Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congress: Held in Paris, on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of August, 1849," pp.11-12. See also: Harper’s Weekly (New York), “Banquet to Mr. Field,” December 1, 1866, p.758.

²⁸⁰ Auckland Star (NZ), “With The Free Lovers,” June 15, 1898, p.3.

²⁸¹ Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc (Portsmouth, UK), “Hands Across the Sea,” May 27, 1899, [no page].

²⁸² Patrick Warfield, "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): pp.290, 301.

²⁸³ Quoted in the Palace Theatre of Varieties programme notes, “Sousa and his Band,” (1901), p.5. Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, Shelfmark: Musicians and Opera Singers (17).

²⁸⁴ The quote comes from a scene in a 1798 Anti-Jacobin play, *The Rovers*, by George Canning, George Ellis & John Hookham Frere. William Davenport Adams, *A Book of Burlesque: Sketches of English Stage, Travestie and Parody* (London: Henry & Co., 1891), pp.27-8. The Theatre of Varieties programme acknowledged this authorship. In the

well with the abrupt thawing of Anglo-American relations. By the next year, Sousa had added words to the tune and placed it in the London production of his Operetta *Mystical Miss*. It reciprocated the British support for Cuba by backing up the British position in the Boer War.²⁸⁵ A reviewer in the *St James Gazette* noted American support with pleasure and quoted some of the song's text:

Lingers for ever in fair Columbia's land,
The mem'ry of the pressure of Britannia's friendly hand;
Her best endeavour is the sacred debt to pay,
And as you felt to her in need, she feels to you to-day.
Our hands across the sea
Joined in friendship now shall be
And let posterity
The bond revere.²⁸⁶

The Boer War would see 'hands across' metaphors stretching in several directions. Not only did it help Britain to cement its relationship with some sectors of the United States, but it brought out the inner Greater Briton in the colonies. "Country Mouse," writing to the Women's Pages of the *Otago Witness*, effectively sums up the jingoistic populism of HATS' first stage:

Dear Emmeline, Don't you think the war has a very bright as well as a very dark side? How proud we are of the splendid way in which the colonies have stood by England, stretching loyal and loving **hands across the sea** to help the old mother land in her time of danger!²⁸⁷

scene from *The Rovers* where it originally appears, two women, unaware that they are both in love with the same man, meet for the first time and immediately become best friends. The similarity is so great to a scene in *The Importance of Being Earnest* that Oscar Wilde must have been alluding to *The Rovers*.

²⁸⁵ Tracey Chessum. "Musical of the Month: Flexible Operetta and Micro-History." *New York Public Library Blog*, September 30 (2011).

<http://globallib.nypl.org/blog/2011/09/30/musical-month-flexible-operetta-and-micro-history-guest-blogger-tracey-chessum> [accessed November 6, 2012]. Chessum incorrectly assumes here that "Hands Across the Sea" is an American export.

²⁸⁶ Ibid. The verse was also quoted in *The Era* (London, UK), "Theatrical Gossip," January 13, 1900, [no page] with the paper commenting that "if [the words] are not great they are patriotic."

²⁸⁷ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Cosy Corner Club," June 7, 1900, p.56. She continues: "And how each of us is filled with pride when our boys come to the front and receive the praise and credit they deserve. This war, they say, has "federated the Empire" as no legislation could have done. All its parts are bound together by a new tie of brotherhood, for they have fought and suffered side by side."

Summary

Narrating the early history of the clasped hands symbol and HATS phrase has generated a broader set of navigational co-ordinates for this study, through the discovery of patterns amongst both the groups that utilised HATS and the arenas where it occurs. The key concept, linking all these strands, is that of union and reunion, reflecting the development of handshaking as a potent symbol for both collective *and* individual friendship and connection. The Roman-derived distinction between images of *concordia* and *fides* helped differentiate collective from individual symbolism, and highlighted links to the emblematic tradition. Although it had disappeared from the fine arts by Victorian times, the emblem remained vital in nineteenth century popular culture, and the clasped hands were part of a widely shared visual language. Melodrama similarly relies on shared, unoriginal tropes, and the appearance of HATS as the title of one of the most well-known 1880s ‘Anglo-Colonial’ melodramas is no accident. Henry Pettit’s play, and Byron Webber’s HATS poem, between them, served to propel the phrase ‘hands across the sea’ into broader popular culture.

By 1900, therefore, HATS had not only inspired much decidedly uninspired verse, but had also achieved currency in several distinct discourses. Quite apart from its prominence as a symbol of two highly significant personal milestones (marriage and death), it became a catch cry for a particular brand of Liberal politics, connecting free trade with peace, and postal reform. Whilst demarcating a set of increasingly federal connections between Britain and its colonies, HATS also formed part of the Anglo-Saxonist rhetoric aimed at improving relationships with the United States. On the flip side, it held an entirely different set of meanings for working class Britons, for whom it evoked the union – often international – of the Labour movement. It was this latter group that had first put the ‘hands across’ slogan together with the clasped hands symbol, whereas I have found no graphics associated with Pettit’s play or Sousa’s song utilising the clasped hands emblem, in either its *fides* or *concordia* guises. Whether this is because there was a perceived political mismatch between text and image is

unclear. At all events, there appears to have been no large-scale graphic integration of the two elements by the end of the nineteenth century. This integration would ultimately occur within cartoons and postcards, but before examining these, there are other discourses that need to be addressed – ones which are essential to understanding the simple piece of card on which the phrase and symbol would be printed. If the impacts of non-after-dinner commercial imperialism (cf. page 102), networks, capital, consumer culture and design have remained largely in the background of this chapter, they become more central in the next two, which aim to situate the HATS postcard in relation to the array of practices that enabled it to occur and prosper.

Chapter 2: The Early History – The Culture of Collection

As Gaudreault and Marion point out, “when a medium comes into the world, it must also come to grips with pre-established codes (genres, institutions, other media etc.)”¹ Before a medium like the greetings postcard operated autonomously, an embryotic “proto-medium” could exist for a considerable period.² This chapter is necessary because HATS postcard practices drew extensively on a set of visual and cultural conventions largely absent from the types of postcards normally studied. They therefore challenge the status of postal historian Frank Staff’s *The Picture Postcard and its Origins* as the authoritative text on how this proto-medium should be defined historically. The book sees postcards as being the novel endpoint of a particular sequential set of stages in the postal history leading up to it.³ Staff’s research achievement was considerable, and much of his data is still highly relevant. Forty years on, however, and from the perspective of this research, it becomes necessary to query some of the fundamental decisions on selection and omission, most notably Staff’s prioritisation of the card’s postal function over its status as a collectible, consumer item. Staff adopts a basically chronological structure, moving from picture-cards, including Valentines,⁴ via the Penny Post, the pictorial envelope, and writing paper,⁵ to the postcard.⁶ In employing what Zerubavel has termed a “ladder” structure,⁷ Staff reinforced a type of periodised progress narrative which smoothes overlaps between practices. In emphasising production and ignoring many of the broader cultural issues that informed the way these objects were consumed, he is typical of his time. His implicit emphasis on progress similarly encourages the type of interpretation that, when it

¹ André Gaudreault and Philippe Marion, "A Medium is Always Born Twice...", *Early Popular Visual Culture* 3, no. 1 (2005): p.3.

² *Ibid.*, p.13.

³ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*. This was originally published in 1968, but it is the revised 1979 second edition which is normally seen as definitive.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.9-22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.23-43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.44-81.

⁷ Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, pp.18-23.

observes stylistic continuities, discounts them as ‘old-fashioned’. The contemporary desire to make postcards seem relevant by portraying them as ‘emblems of Modernity’,⁸ has also contributed to this tendency. Whilst postcards most certainly are part of the thrust to modernity, I argue that where evidence of continuity with earlier Victorian practice is abundant – as is the case with the HATS postcard – the implications need to be considered more fully, and not just written off as nostalgic and backward looking. This continuity is by no means only stylistic. Once one acknowledges the importance of consumers in card practice, the greetings postcard’s origins can be resituated within a set of collecting practices and theoretical debates that differ substantially from the standard postcard narrative. As the focus moves from the form of the card to the context of consumption, it becomes possible to trace other connections, such as that between the postcard and parallel practices like scrap collecting and friendship books. And, once these new factors are considered, the postcard’s history becomes considerably more embedded in its surrounding context than genre specific studies, like Staff’s, allow.

This chapter therefore aims to provide an alternative reading of the postcard’s cultural background to Staff’s standard account. It examines twelve non-chronologically-organised themes, which, although discrete, have been grouped within four broader sections. Each helps build up a picture of the often overlapping territories within which the greetings postcard evolved, and helps map the discourses that allowed the HATS postcard to attain prominence in the Edwardian period, as well as those that sowed the seeds of its subsequent erasure. Hence, each segment affects how an aspect of the card will later be interpreted. They link the history of a set of practices underpinning postcard use with a number of social and theoretical ideas, notably collection, taste, leisure, consumerism, sentiment, the vernacular, and the gift.

⁸ Most recently Prochaska and Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*.

Design and the Development of Consumer Culture

Design Reform and Graphic Culture

When, in 1840, the postal reformer Rowland Hill commissioned artist William Mulready to create a Penny Post pictorial envelope as an alternative to the penny black postage stamp [Figure 20], he was completely unaware of the hornet's nest he had just stumbled into. He seems to have naïvely assumed that after dispensing a healthily allegorical dose of Art, the aesthetically benighted would rise up in gratitude.⁹ They did not, resorting instead to derision in the press.¹⁰ However Hill's assumption was entirely in keeping with the Radical agenda that had led to the Penny Post in the first place. Along with free trade and peace, the group of Radical reformers that Hill belonged to was heavily involved in attempting to rehabilitate British taste.

The immediate reason for such concern lay in the debate surrounding the 1835-6 Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, which had articulated the disquiet of many, when it concluded that British manufactured goods, whilst well-made, were poorly designed.¹¹ It was, humiliatingly, the French who were most outperforming the British, owing to superior education, copyright laws and Museum culture.¹² British designers had, during the eighteenth century, tended to look towards the fine arts as a path towards upward social mobility,¹³ but with its virtual monopoly on art education, the British Royal Academy had kept a tight rein on entry to the ranks of the exalted.¹⁴ At the time of the Select Committee, the Academy's 200 students were the only publicly funded students in Britain, whilst France could boast 80 provincial art schools alone, with thousands of students.¹⁵ It seemed

⁹ Richard Carline reproduces Hill's journal entries, documenting his disbelief over the furore that erupted. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.17.

¹⁰ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.24.

¹¹ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, pp.1-2.

¹² Ibid. The superiority of the French in the luxury market had been of concern throughout the eighteenth century. John Styles, "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp.547-8.

¹³ Anne Puetz, "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): p.233.

¹⁴ Quentin Bell, *The Schools of Design* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p.27.

¹⁵ Ibid. France's first public industrial school had been founded in 1762. Ibid, p.26.

clear that the educational system was at fault,¹⁶ but there was much debate about how to proceed. Benjamin Robert Haydon, with support of middle class, industry conscious members of the committee,¹⁷ initially prevailed in setting up a School of Design based on the French academic drawing tradition.¹⁸ Haydon's aims, however, whilst squarely aimed at breaking the Academy's monopoly, were neither democratic nor industrial, as he believed that genius was innate.¹⁹ In best Romantic style, he saw art as a sphere that somehow removed the taint of commerce.²⁰ It was at precisely this point, as Haydon sought to use design to further the reach of his longstanding conception of heroic art,²¹ that Hill made his ill-fated decision to employ Mulready. The ensuing controversy in the press about the place of art within design very much mirrored what happened to the Schools of Design. There the manufacturing lobby loudly lost faith in Haydon's High Art, opting instead to run the school on the more pragmatic and industry-focused German model of the *Gewerbeschule*.²²

After a decade of much very public acrimony and politicking,²³ one design philosophy eventually came to dominate. Led by onetime Penny Post campaigner Henry Cole,²⁴ with painter Richard Redgrave, architects Owen

¹⁶ Ibid., p.47.

¹⁷ Mervyn Romans, "An Analysis of the Political Complexion of the 1835/6 Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures," *International Journal of Art & Design Education* 26, no. 2 (2007): p.221. Romans argues that Bell overemphasised the radical complexion of the committee.

¹⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), p.230.

¹⁹ David Higgins, "Art, Genius, and Racial Theory in the Early Nineteenth Century: Benjamin Robert Haydon," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 58 (2004): p.21. Jan Golinski provides an interesting parallel in science (where Romantic genius was also cast as undemocratic) by showing how Humphrey Davy's cultivation of a genius persona allowed chemistry to be regarded as non-subversive, whereas Joseph Priestley's earlier work in the field, which he tried to portray as natural and democratic, was regarded with real distrust by the powers-that-be. Jan Golinski, "Joseph Priestly and the Chemical Sublime in British Public Science," in *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*, ed. Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and Christine Blondel (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), pp.125-6.

²⁰ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.143.

²¹ Higgins, "Art, Genius, and Racial Theory in the Early Nineteenth Century: Benjamin Robert Haydon," p.23.

²² Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, pp.230-1.

²³ For a detailed analysis of this, see Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*.

²⁴ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, pp.22, 37.

Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt,²⁵ and a range of manufacturers,²⁶ this faction argued that it was not enough to reform design students and intransigent manufacturers. For manufactured goods to be permanently improved it was necessary to educate consumers in the rudiments of good taste.²⁷ The Great Exhibition of 1851 – for all its efficacy in bringing the discourse of design to the fore – had comprehensively failed to demonstrate British design superiority,²⁸ and Cole consequently adopted drastic measures. At the Museum of Ornamental Art, set up in 1852, he displayed objects with a commentary that demonstrated to the public what good design was, and what it was not.²⁹ Here truth and nature were contrasted,³⁰ with illusionistic representations of nature emerging as the clear loser.³¹

For Cole, in best utilitarian fashion, design must be fit for use.³² Much as manufacturers and the public might enjoy French-inspired *trompe l'oeil* flowers and *faux* marble on their wallpapers or upholstery,³³ these were fundamentally false and illogical,³⁴ and they offended artists and architects alike. Redgrave believed that ornament should not imitate nature, it should be stylised to reflect the patterns of natural laws.³⁵ These laws were conveniently two-dimensional, meaning that the simple and muted wallpapers he designed didn't clash spatially with his paintings.³⁶ Following Pugin's earlier injunction that "all ornament should consist of the enrichment of the essential construction of the building,"³⁷ architects argued

²⁵ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.15.

²⁶ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.8.

²⁸ Stacey Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 3 (2008): p.223.

²⁹ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.8.

³⁰ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.20-24.

³¹ Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," p.227.

³² Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.233.

³³ Joanna Banham, "The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform," in *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p.138.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.144.

³⁵ Barbara Whitney Keyser, "Ornament as Idea: Indirect Imitation of Nature in the Design Reform Movement," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998): p.136.

³⁶ Banham, "The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform," p.147.

³⁷ A. Welby Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1838), p.1.

that design should be similarly subservient.³⁸ Ornaments should not, as Owen Jones put it, destroy “the unity of the object they are employed to decorate.”³⁹ And despite the fact that some of their thinking emanated from dubious theories like ‘eumorphics’,⁴⁰ Cole and the reformers were certain that the way to unify manufactured objects within the home was through conventionalized, geometrical, flat pattern.⁴¹

Strangely, given the strongly graphic character of this work, Cole and Redgrave are almost entirely absent from histories of graphic design. These conventionally start their narratives with William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement,⁴² and, if they treat the Victorian period at all, concentrate on its print culture,⁴³ with perhaps a nod in the direction of Owen Jones, Pugin and John Ruskin, before focusing back on Morris and the Arts and Crafts.⁴⁴ This is unsurprising, given that the very name ‘graphic design’ binds the discipline to its mode of production, and that graphic design frames that production in terms of the printer’s shop rather than the textile manufacturer’s factory. Text and image do not coalesce in the latter type of decorative design, but it was this type of pattern-based work, and not the book, that informed the debates around the Schools of Design. Ultimately,

³⁸ Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," p.227.

³⁹ Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), p.25 quoted in Sloboda, *ibid.* Jespersen notes that for Jones this was the key difference between ornament – a gestalt totality – and decoration, which related to the distributed parts. John Kresten Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' the Grammar of Ornament of 1856," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (2008): p.9.

⁴⁰ Keyser, "Ornament as Idea: Indirect Imitation of Nature in the Design Reform Movement," pp.127-8. According to Kaiser, this theory argued via “transcendental anatomy” that the laws of nature were to be found through beautiful patterned forms and colours. Having such a base in theory allowed designers to start to claim art status.

⁴¹ Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," p.227.

⁴² Richard Hollis, *Graphic Design: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994). Bierut et al. similarly start the first book of historical writings about Graphic design with an extract from Morris. Michael Bierut et al., eds., *Looking Closer Three: Classic Writings on Graphic Design* (New York: Allworth Press, 1999), p.1.

⁴³ For example, Philip B. Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design*, 2nd ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992). The same occurs with the newest general history, where Patrick Cramsie looks at the Victorian period as relating to display typography, the Arts and Crafts movement and Art Nouveau. Largely drawn from the British Library collections, these high cultural works are assumed to be reflective of popular culture, whilst the type of lithographic material examined here is almost entirely absent. Cramsie, *The Story of Graphic Design: From the Invention of Writing to the Birth of Digital Design*, pp.123-62.

⁴⁴ Johanna Drucker and Emily McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2009), pp.163-9.

however, the erasure of Cole can probably be traced back to a passage in the book that crystallised Morris as a design icon,⁴⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner's highly influential *Pioneers of Modern Design*, which stated:

What raises Morris as a reformer of design high above the Cole circle and Pugin is not only that he had the true designer's genius and they had not, but also that he recognised the indissoluble unity of an age and its social system, which they had not done. Cole, Jones, and Wyatt had accepted production by machine unquestioningly, they had not seen that it posed any unprecedented problems and so had simply attempted to improve design without ever pioneering to its roots.⁴⁶

Although Morris was influenced by some of Owen Jones's theory,⁴⁷ he did not acknowledge it,⁴⁸ and later writers like Pevsner as a result took their cue from Ruskin's and Morris's emphasis on craft and the conditions of pre-industrial labour.⁴⁹ These views have assumed such canonical status that any suggestions that eighteenth century pre-industrial conditions were not automatically defined by the craft approach have gained little design historical traction.⁵⁰ Arts and Crafts are, however, of only marginal significance to this study. Indeed, as Deborah Cohen has shown, Morris's design was distinctly less influential in his own day than later writers assume.⁵¹ Whilst Morris may have believed that art should be for all,⁵² and wrote, as Jeffrey Meikle puts it, much solid "ideologically engaged social criticism" to support his views,⁵³ it was Cole and his circle who actually attempted to address the systemic issues as they saw them. In doing so, they risked alienating the very manufacturers that, according to Pevsner, they

⁴⁵ Lara Kriegel sees Pevsner as being the clearest example of this trend. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.201.

⁴⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, Revised ed. (London: Penguin, 1960), p.48.

⁴⁷ Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' the Grammar of Ornament of 1856," p.7.

⁴⁸ Carol A. Hrvol Flores, *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), p.247.

⁴⁹ Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, pp.23-4.

⁵⁰ This is what John Styles argued two decades ago, contra Adrian Forty, in a detailed study of eighteenth century manufacturers. Styles, "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," pp.528-9.

⁵¹ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.64.

⁵² Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, p.22.

⁵³ Jeffrey L. Meikle, "Writing about Stuff: The Peril and Promise of Design History and Criticism," in *Writing Design: Words and Objects*, ed. Grace Lees-Maffei (London: Berg, 2012), p.27.

had “accepted so unquestioningly.”⁵⁴ By setting up museums like that in South Kensington,⁵⁵ by providing cheap access to those museums for the working classes,⁵⁶ by being instrumental in the setting up of over one hundred new schools of art,⁵⁷ by publishing books aimed at children’s imaginations and marketing simple painting kits for children,⁵⁸ by bringing drawing and design into the government school curriculum,⁵⁹ and by setting up a system of certifying design teachers,⁶⁰ Cole’s reforms must take some of the credit for moving art and design from being a discourse for the elite to one which was accessible across society, and for having “done much practical good,” as Gleeson White would later acknowledge.⁶¹ Granted, Morris’s Marxist motives may have been pure. They may have ultimately triumphed on the battleground of ideology. But when it comes to understanding why, in 1880, the *Dundee Advertiser* might become the first British newspaper to employ a full-time artist,⁶² or why, from the 1870s onwards, working class artists started to earn a living by drawing in chalk on pavements,⁶³ or why Edwardians on twenty-five shillings a week would spend any surplus on postcards, Cole’s broadening of the demographic base for art seems more significant than any of Ruskin or Morris’s pronouncements. Though Ruskin had set up St George’s Mill,⁶⁴ and Morris the influential Morris & Co,⁶⁵ these practical measures were conceived from

⁵⁴ Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, p.48. On the reaction of manufacturers to Cole’s taste campaign, see Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.23.

⁵⁵ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.3.

⁵⁶ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.21.

⁵⁷ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.235.

⁵⁸ George Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card* (London: Spring, 1954), pp.7-8.

⁵⁹ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.233.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.234.

⁶¹ Gleeson White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers* (London: Studio, 1895), p.10.

⁶² Matthew Jarron, "Introduction," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 11(2006): p.8. This artist was Martin Anderson, who would later publish postcards as ‘Cynicus’.

⁶³ Lynda Nead, "The Age of the "Hurrygraph": Motion, Space and the Visual Image, ca. 1900," in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010), pp.107-9.

⁶⁴ Linda Coleing, "Utility Prefigured: Ruskin and St George's Mill," in *Utility Reassessed: The Role of Ethics in the Practice of Design*, ed. Judy Attfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.12-25.

⁶⁵ Charles Harvey, Jon Press, and Mairi Maclean, "William Morris, Cultural Leadership, and the Dynamics of Taste," *Business History Review* 85, no. 02 (2011): p.254.

the standpoint of production, and the consumers affected by their work were primarily from the upper-middle and middle classes.⁶⁶ Cole and the reformers, whilst also being practitioners themselves,⁶⁷ had targeted the dynamics of consumption itself as a significant battleground.⁶⁸

The problem with crediting Cole and his circle is that their relation to the consumer was thoroughly paternal. They shared with Morris and Ruskin a particularly Victorian brand of middle class didacticism, disseminating the idea that art could be improving.⁶⁹ Unlike Morris, however, Cole was willing to utilise and improve existing systems to influence consumers, and I believe his success lies in the downstream effects of his structural innovations. Pevsner notwithstanding, it was Cole who behaved as though there was an “indissoluble unity of an age and its social system.”⁷⁰ It was just that the British social system of the 1850s and ‘60s happened to be rampantly capitalist, and Cole and the reformers helped to align art and design with it. Cole’s inability, in practice, to lastingly bend consumer preferences across society to his version of ‘good’,⁷¹ lay not in any lack of effort but rather in his over-estimating the malleability of the consumer. Taste, it turned out, was considerably more complex than the design reformers had reckoned.

Taste, Consumption and the Romantic Ethic

As shown above, the design reformers of the 1850s marshalled a set of theoretical imperatives, some dubious, to argue, as Lara Kriegel puts it, that “the democratisation of consumption led to the aesthetic decay of manufactures.”⁷² In best Kantian style, arguments of beauty and genius had

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.270. The authors try to imply that Morris created a “community of taste” that spanned the classes, but give no evidence whatsoever to show that it percolated into the working class.

⁶⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.15.

⁶⁸ Jeffrey Meikle regards William Morris as “perhaps the first design writer to address both sides of the production consumption equation,” via his arguing for the “redemptive quality of honest, well-made furnishings.” Meikle, “Writing about Stuff: The Peril and Promise of Design History and Criticism,” p.26. This hinges around the idea of ‘design writer’. If one instead says ‘design theorist’ or ‘design critic’ then Cole would predate Morris.

⁶⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.24.

⁷⁰ Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, p.48.

⁷¹ Banham, “The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform,” p.145.

⁷² Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.8.

been marshalled against the mediocrity of the manual technician,⁷³ denigrating the “tawdry charms” of the type of facile sensation that might appeal only to the lovers of melodrama.⁷⁴ In the face of such authority, what could the manufacturer reply? Design history books don’t tell us, but Lara Kriegel, quoting a pseudonymous 1853 critic called “Argus,” notes that one answer was to appeal to the laws of the marketplace.⁷⁵ The public liked naturalistic work, and why should people not be allowed to choose what they liked? And naturalistic decoration could also be justified by appealing to science or to religion.⁷⁶ Fidelity to natural fact, and God’s creation were, at this time, powerful arguments.⁷⁷

For design reformers, however, the work that emanated from such approaches was not characterised by ‘exactness’ or ‘fidelity’, but by ‘imitation’, and the inability to see the difference between the two was precisely the deficiency of taste that they needed to re-educate.⁷⁸ And they could counter those that accused them of foisting foreign principles on British manufacture,⁷⁹ casting their position as patriotic, as Richard Redgrave made clear. “Taste,” he asserted, “which is in accordance with the habits, inclinations, and general disposition of any people, may be *national*

⁷³ John Potvin and Alla Myzelev, eds., *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), pp.5-6. They argue that the design reformers were trying to make a place for design in a context which saw beauty only in the transcendental qualities of the non-utilitarian. Morris and Ruskin’s prioritisation of the decorative and the craftsman were ways of countering this, but they point out on p.7 that this leaves no way of appreciating manufactured goods other than as conspicuous consumption. ‘Material culture’ they argue on p.8 is a concept that allows the frivolous aspects of this assumption to be purged.

⁷⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, pp.6, 34, 486.

⁷⁵ Kriegel reveals that “Argus” was a Manchester economist called F. J. Prouting. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.150. She notes on p.152 that Prouting believed that markets, not museums, should shape the “will of the consumer.”

⁷⁶ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.24.

⁷⁷ Ibid. This was a credo which Charles Baudelaire would parody in his critique of the thinking that valued photography: “I believe...that art is, and can only be, the exact reproduction of nature...Thus, if an industrial process could give us a result identical to nature, that would be absolute art.” Charles Baudelaire, *Oevres* (Paris: 1932), pp.222-4, quoted in Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p.691.

⁷⁸ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.145. Peter Betjemann notes that the late 1840s was the point at which manufactured imitation verneers led to the word ‘verneer’ gaining negative connotations. Betjemann, “Craft and the Limits of Skill: Handicrafts Revivalism and the Problem of Technique,” p.189.

⁷⁹ This was a particular criticism levelled by “Argus.”Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, pp.151-3.

without being *correct*⁸⁰ [original emphases]. European taste, in his opinion, had been ruled for too long by the French, with their “sensuous indulgence in pleasurable employments” leading to “glitter and over-ornamentation, to display and finery rather than to decorated usefulness.”⁸¹ For Redgrave, “the road to real excellence” required adherence to historically proven principle, given that the rule of aesthetic law was under threat from what we would now call cultural relativism.⁸² As Henry Cole had put it in 1849, to allow everyone to express their own taste was equivalent to saying “everyone to his morals.”⁸³

In connecting taste and morality, Cole was reflecting a deeply held middle class view which has ramifications for the HATS postcard – helping to explain why its frequently realistic images might be perceived as inferior. It therefore merits exploring in some detail. The linking of these two discourses had its roots in the eighteenth century, which is when, according to Colin Campbell, the middle classes began to realise that, lacking the refinement of the gentility, they were susceptible to the charge of vulgarity.⁸⁴ For Edmund Burke, taste was the faculty that “form[s] a judgement of the works of imagination and the elegant arts.”⁸⁵ Thus, to lack taste, as Scottish philosopher David Hume pointed out, was to display a wanton indelicacy of imagination.⁸⁶ If the growing middle classes were to challenge the established elites, Campbell argues, then they had to meet

⁸⁰ Richard Redgrave, *A Manual of Design*, vol. 6, South Kensington Museum Art Handbook (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), p.9. This is a later collection of his writings, and it is not clear when this was written. However it is likely that it forms something of a response to the criticism that he and the other reformers were prioritising foreign design.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁸² He argued that “the first step in this direction will be to attempt to lay down some general principles of taste in decoration, deduced from those works which in all ages have been considered excellent. Without such principles for our guidance, the inquiry would descend into vague and unsatisfactory assertions, a course which has fostered the idea that taste has no settled laws, but is a mere matter of fashion or individual feeling, against which there is neither dispute or appeal.” *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁸³ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.17.

⁸⁴ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p.149.

⁸⁵ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958 [1757]), p.14.

⁸⁶ Theodore Gracyk, "Delicacy in Hume's Theory of Taste," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 9, no. 1 (2011): p.2.

them on their own terms.⁸⁷ This discourse of taste spanned the nineteenth century so that Thorstein Veblen, writing at the start of the twentieth, would observe precisely this attitude amongst the “leisure classes,” noting that a highly refined taste bespoke wealth, and any lack thereof betrayed vulgarity.⁸⁸ Taste thus became, according to Pierre Bourdieu, an item of cultural capital,⁸⁹ the mechanism that enables art and “cultural consumption” to “fulfil a social function of legitimating social difference.”⁹⁰

Taste and consumption were first cast as mechanisms of social difference by Max Weber. He argued that eighteenth century puritans,⁹¹ who made up a good proportion of the developing middle class, began to use moral conduct as a trade-off for individually pursuing moderate material gain.⁹² Deborah Cohen convincingly expands this debate to the Victorian middle classes, showing how taste became further intertwined with a burgeoning predilection towards consumption. She highlights mid-century religious moves towards a gentler, less puritanical approach, based around the idea that each person was “an incarnation of a little bit of Jesus.”⁹³ With a kinder and more benign God,⁹⁴ this more democratic theology suggested that taste

⁸⁷ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.149.

⁸⁸ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Prometheus, 1998 [1899]), p.187.

⁸⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, p.12.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7. Mike Savage makes a strong case for the continuing relevance of Bourdieu’s ideas about taste. Mike Savage, “Status, Lifestyle and Taste,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.557-60. Whilst I find his arguments convincing in this case, it is also important to acknowledge Jean-Pascal Daloz’s reservations that theorists such as Veblen and Bourdieu tend to generalize theories about elites which were born of research into specific contexts, and which may be less relevant elsewhere. Jean-Pascal Daloz, *The Sociology of Elite Distinction: From Theoretical to Comparative Perspectives* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.48-52.

⁹¹ A good example of this type of angst-ridden predestinarian puritan is the Leeds clothier, Joseph Ryer, discussed in Margaret C. Jacob and Matthew Kadane, “Missing, Now Found in the Eighteenth Century: Weber’s Protestant Capitalist,” *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (2003).

⁹² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus], trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958 [1905]), pp.177, 180-1. To Lorna Weatherill, however, this was not simply an issue of social emulation, but rather one of the middle classes establishing appropriate means of differentiating their own expectations. Lorna Weatherill, “The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), p.208.

⁹³ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.12.

⁹⁴ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.68. Stearns, like Cohen, argues that religion needs to be factored into the mix when studying

(earlier seen as an innate quality by the eighteenth century upper classes) could now be available to anyone prepared to work for it.⁹⁵ Design reform, with its language of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ design (and by implication having the taste to distinguish between the two) thus enabled consumption to be seen as a basically moral act.⁹⁶ Choosing the ‘right’ consumer item was payoff – a spiritual salve that cleansed consumption of sin.⁹⁷

Colin Campbell’s ‘Romantic ethic’ thesis helps to explain the mechanisms that drove the desire which designer taste legitimated. Campbell followed Weber in arguing that it was through Protestantism that “autonomous, self-illusory hedonism became an acceptable form of conduct,”⁹⁸ agreeing that ‘taste’ was a puritan compromise, legitimating consumption if it evoked moral character rather than overtly displaying wealth.⁹⁹ Central to Campbell’s argument was the psychological premise that access to a new product created dissatisfaction with what one already had, thus generating a Romantic sense of longing that could only be assuaged through purchasing the desired “goods.”¹⁰⁰ Once purchased, the longing evaporated, thereby preparing the ground for new bouts of product-envy and the repetitious cycle of consumption that we recognise today.¹⁰¹ Although Campbell has been criticised for painting an idealist and generalised picture of the

Victorian culture, rather than only limiting it to economic structures and concepts like urbanisation.

⁹⁵ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.xi-xii.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30. See the later subsection on Sentimentality below on p.185 for the origins of this.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁹⁸ Colin Campbell, "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism: Reflections on the Reception of a Thesis Concerning the Origin of the Continuing Desire for Goods," in *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), p.42.

⁹⁹ *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.153.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.205-6.

¹⁰¹ "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism: Reflections on the Reception of a Thesis Concerning the Origin of the Continuing Desire for Goods," p.37. Such a process of consumer longing (in this case for book learning) can be found much earlier than the period Campbell discusses, at the very beginnings of Protestantism. In his posthumously published 1566 *Table Talk*, Martin Luther said "Before I translated the New Testament out of the Greek...every one longed after it, to read therein, but when it was done their longing lasted scarce four weeks. Then they desired the Books of Moses; when I had translated those, they had enough thereof in a short time. After that they would have the Psalter..." and so on. Martin Luther, *Selections from the Table Talk of Martin Luther*, trans. Captain Henry Bell (London: Cassell, 1886), p.108.

period's consumers,¹⁰² and for depicting those consumers as too passive,¹⁰³ his thesis about taste harmonises with much of Cohen's more historically grounded analysis of middle class consumption. And taste, as Linda Young points out, provided the conventions of middle class social coherence, becoming a subtle entry ticket for those of the upwardly mobile who were ambitious enough to work at acquiring it.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, in emphasising the concept of novelty as a driver for desire, Campbell identifies an important mechanism by which an almost limitless supply of opportunities for exercising taste judgements could be provided – at least to those who could afford it.

Novelty, Originality and the Fancy Goods Store

When the Launceston *Examiner*, in a 1905 discussion of postcards, noted that photography had enabled “publishers to issue a stream of novelties that sustain public interest, and thus ensure a big popular demand for anything that is new and artistic,”¹⁰⁵ it was reflecting a debate that was anything but novel, and which elucidates some key eighteenth century issues relating to the development of card culture. Joseph Addison initiated the fashion for ‘novelty’ when he located it alongside ‘the Great’ and ‘the Beautiful’, as one of his three basic aesthetic categories.¹⁰⁶ While in philosophy the concept of the ‘picturesque’, would quickly supplant novelty,¹⁰⁷ by putting a

¹⁰² Sharon Boden and Simon J. Williams, "Consumption and Emotion: The Romantic Ethic Revisited," *Sociology* 36, no. 3 (2002): pp.500-3.

¹⁰³ Jan De Vries frames the development of consumption as one in which active consumers utilised increasing consumer expertise to communicate their consumer capital to others. Taste is seen here as something produced in the interactions between consumer behaviour and the supply of produce. [Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.25.] De Vries concentrates on the household rather than the individual as being at the heart of the consumer revolution, locating this within a broader trajectory whereby, as household production became more specialised and effective, opportunities for consumption were increased. Ibid, p.10.

¹⁰⁴ Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*, p.21.

¹⁰⁵ *Examiner* (Launceston, AU), “The Passing of the Christmas Card,” December 23, 1905, p.9.

¹⁰⁶ Robin Dix, "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 26, no. 4 (1986): p.384. He had initially labelled it the “uncommon,” *ibid*, p.384. Burke would start part one of his classic study of the sublime with a section on novelty, linking it to curiosity and regarding it as a superficial but necessary prerequisite to intellectual enquiry. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, pp.32-3.

¹⁰⁷ Dix, "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category," p.386.

name to the quality of fleeting attraction that inhabits the products of change,¹⁰⁸ Addison let a sizeable cat out of the bag. Although Addison himself might have seen novelty within a broader set of ideas collectively emphasising moderation,¹⁰⁹ a manic type of wealthy, eighteenth century consumer apparently saw things differently. Non-puritan and “worldly,”¹¹⁰ when not buying ‘novelties’ such as “air balloon ribbons” and “Lunardi” hats in honour of ballooning’s pioneers,¹¹¹ this stylish and mostly upper-class Rococo being was buying new tableware, furniture and furnishings,¹¹² drinking tea out of the latest china teacups, and planning a chinoiserie garden.¹¹³ Here, in embryonic form, and with a clear moral belief that the dictates of taste demanded constant renewal of one’s material surroundings,¹¹⁴ was the novelty-addicted modern consumer.

Given the way that today’s manufacturers behave as though we are similarly addicted, courting us with novelty at every turn, it would be easy to assume that the mechanisms behind Campbell’s Romantic ‘longing’, and Veblen’s spirit of emulative consumerism were assiduously encouraged from the start by the manufacturers of the ‘industrial revolution’. This is precisely what the Lunar Society, set up by a group of leading eighteenth century businessmen, sought to do.¹¹⁵ Its members, like the radical Josiah Wedgwood, became effective promoters of the idea, but even Wedgwood found consumer behaviour difficult to predict,¹¹⁶ adjudging it more advantageous to advertise his ground-breaking technical discoveries through classical precedent.¹¹⁷ Not only did the new have to appear old, but

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.384.

¹⁰⁹ David Porter, "Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): p.397.

¹¹⁰ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.4.

¹¹¹ Paul Keen, "The "Balloomania": Science and Spectacle in 1780s England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 4 (2006): p.521.

¹¹² Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.22.

¹¹³ Porter, "Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste," p.396.

¹¹⁴ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.153.

¹¹⁵ Bewell, "Erasmus Darwin's Cosmopolitan Nature," p.20.

¹¹⁶ Porter, "Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste," p.402.

¹¹⁷ Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*, p.28. Wedgwood and Bentley’s 1779 catalogue inserts the word “antique” into the first two lines of the copy relating to almost every new “class” of work. Reproduced in Wolf Mankowitz, *Wedgwood*, 3rd ed. (Wigston, UK: Magna, 1992), pp.197-248.

copying from older models, rather than inventing new ones was still the norm.¹¹⁸

Contrary to Guy Debord's belief in the "permanent victory of innovation,"¹¹⁹ in the 1780s innovation was by no means guaranteed of dominating tradition.¹²⁰ Novelty, ultimately the fundamental driver of consumerism,¹²¹ itself needed a driver. One such was provided by the thesis, strongly promoted in Edward Young's 1759 *Conjectures on Original Composition*, that 'originality', (the preserve of genius) was superior to mere 'imitation'.¹²² Some late eighteenth century manufacturers, such as the publishers of Valentine writers and chapbooks, found themselves able to recycle old material just by labelling it as new or original,¹²³ and originality, along with creativity, would subsequently become enshrined in Romantic theory.¹²⁴ This discourse was ensconced enough by the 1830s and 1840s to be used as a central argument by calico manufacturers demanding better copyright protection for their designs.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, other manufacturers were concurrently still complaining about the relentless desire of consumers for novelty.¹²⁶ One could, after all, have saved a lot of money on machines, research and development, were the consumer to remain content with replacing like with like, preferably frequently. Planned obsolescence is the logical outcome of such thinking, second-guessing novelty, less so.

¹¹⁸ Helen Clifford, "Concepts of Invention, Identity and Imitation in the London and Provincial Metal-Working Trades, 1750-1800," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): p.250.

¹¹⁹ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone, 1995), p.130. Kriegel's analysis of the history behind the Great Exhibition similarly shows that Debord's ideas about the commodity obscuring the conditions of its production do not fit the evidence in that case. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.10.

¹²⁰ In his study of spectacular culture between 1650 and 1850, Richard Altick notes that the London public's preferences were "an unstable mixture, in which an insatiable appetite for novelty contended with a perennial loyalty to staple attractions," and that until the nineteenth century, "the old and the new were just about equally sought after." Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p.3.

¹²¹ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.18.

¹²² Dix, "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category," p.388. This would appear to be the origin of the design reformers' mistrust of design that imitated nature rather than translating it.

¹²³ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp.57-8.

¹²⁴ Dix, "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category," p.389.

¹²⁵ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.73, 78.

¹²⁶ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.37.

Consumer choice rather than the convenience of the manufacturer was what had most to gain from novelty gaining a foothold.

With the eighteenth century economy and population expanding,¹²⁷ a developing pool of potential consumers became acclimatised to this discourse of metropolitan fashion, not least via early retailer-focused advertising.¹²⁸ And it would be those entrepreneurs that understood their customers' developing desire for the novel that flourished.¹²⁹ Indeed, that other 'novel', with its silent reading culture, underpinned the sort of modern individualistic subjectivity that informed this shift.¹³⁰ The female consumer, who during the eighteenth century seems to have been responsible for the bulk of consumer purchasing,¹³¹ was increasingly targeted, with entrepreneurs playing on the woman's responsibility for the tone of the home's physical and emotional environment,¹³² as well as the patriotism, taste and virtue involved in purchasing for it.¹³³ Whereas previously the emphasis of such decisions had been on the quality of materials, by the end of the eighteenth century this set of values was being challenged by novelty, and its twin, variety.¹³⁴ Among the more successful at reading these developments was Rudolph Ackermann.

¹²⁷ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.28, 33.

¹²⁸ Styles, "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," p.541.

¹²⁹ Altick, *The Shows of London*, p.3.

¹³⁰ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.xii.

¹³¹ Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," in *Consumption in the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), p.281.

¹³² Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.148. It is worth noting, however, that Cohen has demonstrated that men were much more involved in the decision making of what we think of as the 'woman's domain' well into the nineteenth century, Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.89-90. Hence the picture Bermingham subsequently gives of Rudolph Ackermann's shop's demographic may be overstated.

¹³³ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.140.

¹³⁴ Clifford, "Concepts of Invention, Identity and Imitation in the London and Provincial Metal-Working Trades, 1750-1800," p.242.

New Zealand copyright legislation regards any online publication as 'commercial'. Thus images made available online for non-commercial use only must be removed.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

It can be found at www.wikigallery.org by searching “& Pugin, A.C. Rowlandson, T.”

Figure 38: A. C. Pugin & T. Rowlandson, 1809, Interior from Ackermann's Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufacture, Fashion and Politics.

The 'fancy goods' advertised in this shop provide the origins for a term that would still define retailers of decorative stationery a century later.

Source: Wikigallery.org.

Ackermann had arrived in England from Saxony in 1787, working as a carriage builder, before moving into printing, print-selling and publishing, and creating a journal, the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*.¹³⁵ If Cole would later help spread the fashion for Art across the dividing line between the middle and lower classes, Ackerman's *Repository* was instrumental in its earlier shift from the upper to the upper-middle class home, with an eclectic, gender-targeted fare, particularly noted for its fashion acumen.¹³⁶ By 1809, Ackermann's shop was advertising itself as “Manufacturers, Factors, and Wholesale Dealers in Fancy Goods.”¹³⁷ Its interior [Figure 38] shows racks of prints (so popular during the eighteenth century) alongside a huge cabinet of cardboard boxes, awaiting the application of ‘fancy work’ appliquéd prints: the up-and-coming fad of the 1810s.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Tom Devonshire Jones, "Ackermann's Repository 1809-28," *British Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (2010): p.69.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.70.

¹³⁷ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.139, caption to fig. 43.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.145-6. “Fancy” pictures have a longer history, having been made popular during the eighteenth century by artists like Phillip Mercier. Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.2. This is discussed further in the Sentiment section below.

In an age where upper-class female accomplishment was defined by the character-building disciplines of music and drawing, ‘fancy work’ offered aesthetic participation for those who had not, as Ackermann put it, “made themselves mistresses of the art of managing the pencil.”¹³⁹ Ackermann’s female consumers, though imbued with the Romantic view of moral renewal through art,¹⁴⁰ were still part of a “culture of copying.”¹⁴¹ He particularly targeted the Lydia Bennett type of young leisured woman, whose purchasing decisions were satirised by Jane Austen as “I do not think it is very pretty, but I thought I might as well buy it as not.”¹⁴² Easily bored,¹⁴³ such consumers, valued effect rather than effort, and were, in Ann Bermingham’s words, “long on imagination and short on concentration.”¹⁴⁴ Material objects, for them, began to carry emotional value,¹⁴⁵ and that value needed preserving. Ackermann’s ‘fancy’, mass-produced paste papers had initially been intended to decorate screens and boxes,¹⁴⁶ but they soon began to be collected. And it is here that the Fancy Goods store’s role in this narrative becomes clear. It was in the Fancy Goods store that the key elements of later card culture came together. Here, the female consumer, cardboard, and collecting culture finally coalesce with paste, printed media and affect. Their repository was the album.

¹³⁹ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.146.

¹⁴⁰ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, pp.200-1.

¹⁴¹ Clifford, "Concepts of Invention, Identity and Imitation in the London and Provincial Metal-Working Trades, 1750-1800," p.242.

¹⁴² Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Folio Society, 1975 [1813]), p.177.

¹⁴³ Peter Stearns notes that boredom was a concept that was defined at this stage. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.24.

¹⁴⁴ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.147.

¹⁴⁵ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.35.

¹⁴⁶ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.146. Bermingham, p.xii, notes that the culture of using prints in an intimate and personal way began in the eighteenth century, where prints began to be cut and pasted onto walls as part of the “decorative ensemble.”

Albums, Print and the Collecting Culture

The Album and the Leisured Consumer: Friendship books, Autographs and the Commonplace

Collecting and preserving memories of places, travels, friends and their gifts in an album, predates Ackermann by several centuries. The ancestor of the Victorian album is the *Album Amicorum*, a collection of quotes and greetings from friends.¹⁴⁷ The sixteenth century practice of carrying an album for this purpose originated amongst male German university students, documenting their *peregrinatio academico*.¹⁴⁸ This travel element of a humanist education followed a ritualised process of introductions and hospitality which helped establish scholarly networks and developed relationships of friendship and trust.¹⁴⁹ Franz Mauelshagen notes that within this humanist “republic of letters,” friendship, with its implication of equality, became the key indicator of humanist sociability.¹⁵⁰ Friendship Albums of this period typically incorporated images (often printed), captions, autographs, and mottoes which were often, like the images, emblematic in tone.¹⁵¹ Autographs, the central feature, acted as “unique traces of identity,”¹⁵² a mnemonic “group portrait” of the friends made and luminaries met during a humanist education.¹⁵³ The album’s mix of images, alongside formal and informal writing, would prove remarkably durable, underlining the importance of the emblematic and friendship concepts discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed, in combining friendship, autographs, emblems and mottoes, the album already contained several of the key elements of the HATS postcard.

¹⁴⁷ Jason Harris, "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship During the Dutch Revolt," *Texas Studies in Literature & Language* 47 (2005): p.304.

¹⁴⁸ Margaret F. Rosenthal, "Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum: British Library, MS Ergerton 1191," *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): pp.619, 625.

¹⁴⁹ Franz Mauelshagen, "Networks of Trust: Scholarly Correspondence and Scientific Exchange in Early Modern Europe," *The Medieval History Journal* 6, no. 1 (2003): pp.10-11.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.12. Indeed, he notes one Austrian bookbinder who used the emblems of heart and hand.

¹⁵² Samantha Matthews, "Album," *Victorian Review* 34, no. 1 (2008): pp.13-14.

¹⁵³ Rosenthal, "Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum: British Library, MS Ergerton 1191," pp.625, 635.

As the album genre developed, more visual documentation of its compiler's travels was included.¹⁵⁴ By the eighteenth century, with humanist educational networking giving way to the Grand Tour's 'sightseeing', the emphasis moved towards documenting a traveller's 'eyewitness' experience,¹⁵⁵ often through drawing or by purchasing prints.¹⁵⁶ Collecting

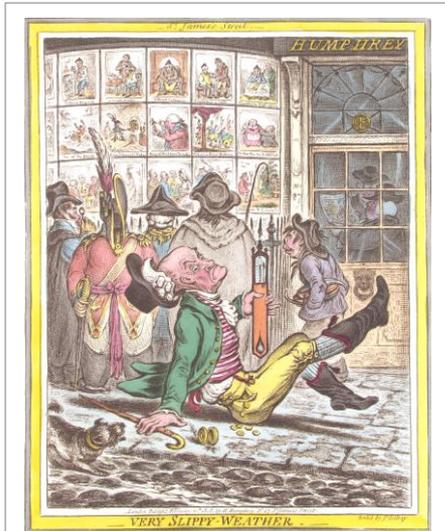


Figure 39: James Gillray, 1808, "Very Slippy-Weather."

The popularity of the print is alluded to in this image showing a crowd in front of Humphrey's print shop (publishers of this image) who are oblivious to their surroundings, and the drama behind them

Source: Wikimedia Commons.
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

engravings, whether in albums or folders, had been broadly popular in Holland during the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ Elsewhere its social reach was narrower, but print collecting nevertheless became increasingly prevalent amongst the upper classes from the seventeenth century onwards [Figure 39].¹⁵⁸

As collecting spread in tandem with consumer culture,¹⁵⁹ Romantic consumers of the late 1820s and 1830s were able to buy ready-made print collections. In these works, poets such as Letitia Elizabeth Landon might be commissioned by publishers to add text to their compilations of images.¹⁶⁰ These 'Annuals' provided "variety" for "a young and gentler class of readers," as Landon

described them in her introduction to *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*.¹⁶¹ And, as the 'Scrap Book' title suggests, whilst the commercially-

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.619.

¹⁵⁵ Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (1989): p.24.

¹⁵⁶ The sources I have found are all vague as to how album practice migrates through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and I am not sure if the Friendship Album maintains an unbroken continuity of practice, or whether the nineteenth century albums are to some extent a reinvention of the *album amicorum*. The answer to this is not essential for the current narrative, but this question needs further research.

¹⁵⁷ Russell Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.36.

¹⁵⁸ Birmingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.xii.

¹⁵⁹ Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p.64.

¹⁶⁰ Gina Opdycke Terry, "Image and Text in Nineteenth-Century Britain and its After-images" (PhD, Texas A&M University, 2010), pp.7, 12.

¹⁶¹ Letitia Elizabeth Landon, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* (London: Fisher, Son, and Jackson, 1832), p.3. Authorship is debatable in the context of such albums. Henry Fisher chose the images, Landon the text.

produced item functioned as a coherent collection in itself, the publisher expected favourite images to be cut and pasted into an album.

Around 1800, proto-type printed ‘scraps’ called “Medallions and Transparencies,” were being sold by Ackermann for between half a crown and five shillings a sheet.¹⁶² Intended to be pasted onto objects, many were collected in their own right. During the 1820s these black and white lithographic images started to be called ‘scraps’,¹⁶³ but it was Fisher’s series of ‘Scrap Book’ Albums, and John Poole’s 1826 *Manuscript Gleanings and Literary Scrap Book* that seem to have been responsible for popularising the name.¹⁶⁴ Prior to the 1820s, if not simply called an ‘album’, the term most used for personalised collections had been the ‘commonplace book’.¹⁶⁵ This was an album into which an individual copied quotes, usually in a structured form.¹⁶⁶ The commonplace book was thus a descendant of the Aristotelian-derived humanist approach.¹⁶⁷ Central to copying culture,¹⁶⁸ this involved collecting together or “gathering” fragments of text in order to memorise and then rearrange and combine elements in the on-going process of creating new work.¹⁶⁹ It was also primarily associated with the rhetorical

¹⁶² Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.284; Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.15.

¹⁶³ *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.15.

¹⁶⁴ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.285. Rickard’s explanation is supported by my searches for the term in Google Books. It does not appear before the 1820s.

¹⁶⁵ Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," *Genders*, no. 55 (2012): §13.

¹⁶⁶ Jillian M. Hess, "Coleridge's Fly-Catchers: Adapting Commonplace-Book Form," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 73, no. 3 (2012): p.464. During the eighteenth century ‘common’ items in the household were those that were essential for everyday use, as opposed to items used only occasionally. Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," p.284.

¹⁶⁷ Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §13. Aristotle had valorised the sort of uncalculating, non-utilitarian, intellectual friendships practised by the humanists as being of the highest order. Lorraine Smith Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.52-3.

¹⁶⁸ Bernhardt Siegert discusses the way the concepts of *exercitatio* and *imitatio* were fundamental to the type of educated letterwriting in which humanist scholars rearranged classical texts for rhetorical effect. Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, p.31.

¹⁶⁹ Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.6. This model of composition, where the invention of new work lay in placing together previously remembered items was a fundamental aspect of medieval oratory. [Mary J. Carruthers, *The*

training of men.¹⁷⁰ The parallel nineteenth century albums in which female friends and family wrote poems for one-another – the more direct descendant of the *album amicorum* – came to be called “Friendship Books,”¹⁷¹ or “Sentiment Albums,”¹⁷² both of which became popular at the same time as the “Scrap” Annuals.

It therefore appears unlikely that contemporaries would have called a 1791 album, created by five year old Frederick Lock and studied in an article by Andrea Immel, a “scrapbook,” as Immel does in her title.¹⁷³ If not simply labelled a “collection,”¹⁷⁴ it would have been called by the catch-all name given to works of compilation, an ‘album’.¹⁷⁵ Like a ‘commonplace book’, Lock’s album was constructed individually, rather than collectively, but it appears less earnest than the typical eighteenth century commonplace book of literary extracts.¹⁷⁶ The album is full of engravings, and illustrated lottery tickets, and it is clear Frederick enjoyed making it. Nevertheless, Andrea Immel sees its purpose as fundamentally educational,¹⁷⁷ albeit a more subtle

Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.197.] Erasmus had extended this by recommending the use of a commonplace book to help organise material for speechmaking. [Lucia Dacome, "Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 4 (2004): p.610.] A particularly important form of the commonplace book was an indexed version promulgated by John Locke, who argued that one’s identity was intertwined with memory. *Ibid.*, pp.605-6.

¹⁷⁰ Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §16, 18.

¹⁷¹ Hess, "Coleridge's Fly-Catchers: Adapting Commonplace-Book Form," p.469.

¹⁷² Andrea Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): pp.227-8.

¹⁷³ Andrea Immel, "Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 29, no. 1 (2005). Users of albums were aware of the differences between forms, however they frequently transgressed, making classification difficult. Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Is It a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit? Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 44, no. 1 (2009): p.102.

¹⁷⁴ This is the term used for the hand-transcribed book of riddles that Harriet Smith collates in *Emma*. Jane Austen, *Emma* (London: Folio Society, 1975 [1816]), chapter 9, p.61.

¹⁷⁵ Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §21.

¹⁷⁶ Hess, "Coleridge's Fly-Catchers: Adapting Commonplace-Book Form," p.463.

¹⁷⁷ Immel, "Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins," p.69. Mecklenburg-Faenger sees the commonplace book as a form of male rhetorical training. Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §18. Following this logic, it is possible that Frederick’s album was conceived of as a prelude to learning how to compile a commonplace book.

type of education that relied on “pleasurable sensations” providing better learning than fear of punishment.¹⁷⁸

Frederick Lock’s parents were thus part of an eighteenth century shift in attitudes to childhood that explains why friendship and scrap album compilation would thrive during the nineteenth century,¹⁷⁹ and lays the groundwork for subsequent card collecting. Following writers like Locke and Rousseau, educators began to see childhood as an extended period of developing the child’s innate abilities to the full, rather than trying to turn them into adults as fast as possible.¹⁸⁰ By the Victorian period, this Romantic view of a childhood innocence that needed to be nurtured in a gentle environment was widespread.¹⁸¹ It resulted in the use of items like commercially produced ‘reward cards’,¹⁸² as parents used consumer items to manipulate children’s emotional, moral and behavioural development.¹⁸³ While much of this educational approach centred on physical activity, albums and collecting activities were ideal for occupying children on rainy days. The concept of “rational education” justified the collection and study of such things as ferns, rocks and butterflies.¹⁸⁴

Friendship Albums

The friendship album of the Victorian period, however, could not call on science for its rationale, being, in Samantha Matthew’s words, “a tactile, sensuous, and intimate vehicle of affect.”¹⁸⁵ It therefore required a broader interpretation of moral development and character formation, one which included placing value on artistic enterprise – exactly the values that, as has been demonstrated, were part of the discourse of taste. Though Frederick

¹⁷⁸ Immel, "Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins," p.71. Peter Stearns regards this as a fundamentally Enlightenment approach. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.31.

¹⁷⁹ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.228.

¹⁸⁰ Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1992), pp.60-1.

¹⁸¹ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, pp.21-3.

¹⁸² Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.40. He notes that these were widely distributed in Sunday Schools from the 1840s.

¹⁸³ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.59.

¹⁸⁴ Sarah Whittingham, *Fern Fever: The Story of Pteridomania* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012), p.26.

¹⁸⁵ Matthews, "Album," p.15.

Lock's parents would probably have regarded his five-year-old album activity as an exercise in broadening the mind and developing the character (a "decoy" to lure him into more serious study),¹⁸⁶ in retrospect one could argue that collections like this also provided an ideal training ground for budding consumers. Within a culture that was still defined by scarcity, the album could, as Ellen Gruber Garvey put it, become a "visual celebration of plenty."¹⁸⁷ Collecting printed items was thus a convenient way of bonding with manufactured goods.

Theoretically tidy as this latter argument appears, it would be an overstatement to pigeon-hole the album in this way. Victorian album practice was much more varied than the above suggests, and there are differences between earlier and later phases. Friendship Books were the dominant form for the first sixty years of the century, and their content suggests a primarily social and mnemonic, rather than a material, function.¹⁸⁸ The act of asking friends, family and even total strangers to contribute items for the album made it a social as well as personal document,¹⁸⁹ a method of situating the individual within familial and broader networks, as well as one of consolidating memory.¹⁹⁰ Revealing the album's contents, as one had to when asking for contributions, carried the dual potentials of triumph and embarrassment for its owner.¹⁹¹ Contributors' choices, equally, could not avoid revealing their own "taste and education."¹⁹² The contents of such albums as Susan Slater's [Figure 40 and Figure 41] thus act as a digest of the popular literature and art of the period.

¹⁸⁶ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.22.

¹⁸⁷ Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.24.

¹⁸⁸ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.228.

¹⁸⁹ I am using the opposition of 'social' and 'personal', rather than 'public' and 'private', since whilst these documents could be called 'public', as they occur beyond the privacy of the individual's home, they do not function in Habermas's sense of the public sphere.

¹⁹⁰ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," pp.227-8.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.232.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.234.

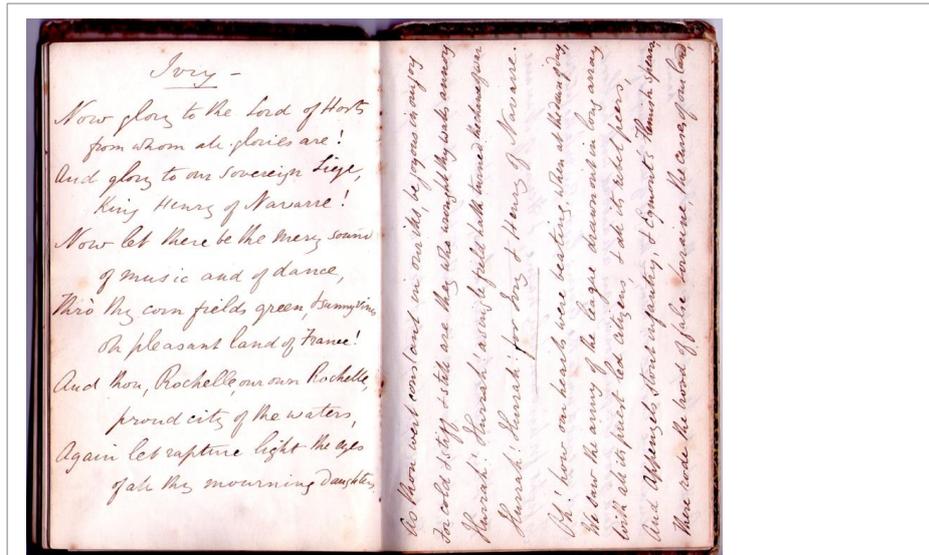


Figure 40: Susan Slater's Friendship Album, 1850. This album was given to Susan by her nephew in April 1850. It is full of pages like this, some clearly written by Susan, others by friends. Her most quoted poet was Longfellow, but Milton and Byron appear elsewhere.
 Author's collection



Figure 41: Pages from Susan Slater's Friendship Album, 1850. This is the only example of a drawing in the album – a copy from a print of Sir Joshua Reynolds's 1776 painting, *The Infant Samuel*. As is typical of such albums, poems and drawings are copies, not original compositions.
 Author's collection

As with the commonplace book, in such albums originality was not a requirement. The exercise of taste lay in selection, not origination. This capacity to turn the original into the commonplace led the album to be described by one 1820s commentator as a “portable graveyard” for the

popular verse of the day.¹⁹³ Andrea Kunard argues that the anxiety engendered by the whole process – with its fraught requests and its frightening choices – was the reason that printed Annuals became popular: for the gift-giver, buying such a culturally sanctioned item minimised the likelihood of a *faux pas*.¹⁹⁴ Kunard does not press the point, but it seems reasonable to suggest that what was at the heart of these Friendship Albums was the rehearsal of taste judgements, and that the anxieties that Kunard documents only really make sense within middle class attitudes to taste.

Whilst it was men who featured during the early stages of the album's development, the friendship album of the nineteenth century is regarded as a primarily feminine item,¹⁹⁵ its users coming from, in Landon's earlier quoted words, a "gentler class of readers."¹⁹⁶ The bulk of the album's leisured female demographic was provided by a social compromise which, according to Linda Young, occurred with the rise of the middle classes.¹⁹⁷ In the working classes, by definition, both men and women worked, but in the upper classes neither gender needed to. Amongst the middle classes, however, it was agreed that whilst men were obliged to work, women should not – with their visible leisure maintaining the family's appearance of "gentility."¹⁹⁸ This explains why such middle class features as the ritualization of family time occur in the mid-nineteenth century,¹⁹⁹ with women able to focus on family, and the family's image. And, as part of that

¹⁹³ Justyna Beinek, "'Portable Graveyards': Albums in the Romantic Culture of Memory," *Pushkin Review* 14 (2011): p.35.

¹⁹⁴ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.235.

¹⁹⁵ Matthews, "Album," p.13; Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §18-19.

¹⁹⁶ Landon, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, p.3.

¹⁹⁷ Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*, pp.17-18.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. Gentility is seen here as the defining middle class characteristic, just as "courtliness," according to Young, p.68, defined the upper classes and "respectability" the lower classes. Adorno usefully defines leisure as "the privilege of an unconstrained, comfortable lifestyle," distinguishing it from the later concept of "free time." Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.162.

¹⁹⁹ Jack White, "Making Time for Family: The Invention of Family Time(s) and the Reinvention of Family History," *Journal of Family History* 21, no. 1 (1996): p.8.

image, women were able to display, in Veblen's famous phrase, "conspicuous leisure."²⁰⁰

Although leisure and consumption are often intimately related,²⁰¹ in principle one can argue that consumption is about possession whilst leisure is about activity.²⁰² Charitable volunteer work and hobbies are both typical leisure activities,²⁰³ as are letter-writing, reading and putting together albums. However, whilst some of the more abstract types of leisure, such as volunteering, barely notice the vicissitudes of fashion, leisure's material forms come and go. By the end of the 1850s, for example, the Friendship Book was falling from favour.²⁰⁴

Autograph Albums

Some scholars have noted that subsequent to its mid-century demise, the Friendship Book served as a precursor to the autograph book,²⁰⁵ but little work seems to have been done on the relationship between the two. In reality, the album – whether defined as friendship or autograph – remained a sufficiently common practice for the compiler of J. S. Ogilvie's 1881 *Album Writers Friend* to begin by asking "who among readers of this preface has not been invited to write a few words of sentiment in the Album of a friend?"²⁰⁶ The book then provides numerous verses deemed appropriate for such occasions. Even a generation later, autograph albums of Edwardian children were filled with poetry, aphorisms and lyrics from popular music,²⁰⁷ and it is clear that time was expected to be lavished on the

²⁰⁰ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p.36.

²⁰¹ Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.132.

²⁰² Robert A. Stebbins, *Leisure and Consumption: Common Ground / Separate Worlds* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.108.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

²⁰⁴ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.228. McNeill similarly notes that albums of the 1820-1850s era were "a pastime of the well-to-do." W. K. McNeill, "Popular Songs from New York Autograph Albums 1820-1900," *Journal of Popular Culture* 3, no. 1 (1969): p.52.

²⁰⁵ Daniel A. Cohen, "Rewriting the Token of Love: Sentimentalists, Sophisticates, and the Transformation of American Girlhood, 1862-1940," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 2 (2011): p.224.

²⁰⁶ J. S. Ogilvie, *The Album Writers Friend: Comprising More Than Three Hundred Choice Selections of Poetry and Prose, Suitable for Writing in Autograph Albums, Birthday, Christmas and New Year Cards*. (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 1881), p.3.

²⁰⁷ McNeill, "Popular Songs from New York Autograph Albums 1820-1900," p.54.

entries. “Mag,” for example, writing a 1909 postcard to her friend Gert, asked: “will you bring our Autograph Books with you tomorrow & we will return yours as we are working on them. Hope you have written in them.”²⁰⁸

By the turn of the twentieth century, postcards and autographs were actually competing for popular favour. On one day in December 1904, the children’s pages of the *Otago Witness* included nine requests from its readers to share “autos,” and just one to exchange postcards.²⁰⁹ Three years later, in the same paper, “Veronica” wrote to say that, “I have collected 170 autos since I started, and I still have a desire to collect more. I have 140 post-cards, but it is not long since I started collecting.”²¹⁰ And a 1929 article retrospectively described the autograph as having been “a part of every young person’s social equipment.”²¹¹

Once the Friendship Book fell from upper-middle class fashion in the 1850s and morphed into the somewhat lower status Autograph Book, the phenomenon gets largely written out of history because, in chronologically-structured progress narratives, later iterations of a format are jettisoned. The increasingly marginal status of the Friendship Book form was reinforced by the fact that its early twentieth century users were no longer solely trend-conscious upper and upper-middle class youth, but instead included the socially diverse mix of children who wrote to the *Otago Witness* seeking postcards and autos.²¹² Yet, in mass cultural terms, the format remained as

²⁰⁸ From the author’s collection. This Birn Brothers card was sent on December 16, and depicts an actress in ‘Asti’ style.

²⁰⁹ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Autos,” December 14, 1904, p.76.

²¹⁰ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Letters from the Little Folk,” October 30, 1907, p.83.

²¹¹ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Autographing: an Ingenious Art,” December 26, 1929, p.2. It is worth distinguishing between the album with social intent and a different type that involved amassing signatures, often of the famous, to gaining possession of what Matthews describes as the “essence of personality.” [Samantha Matthews, “Psychological Crystal Palace?: Late Victorian Confession Albums,” *Book History* 3 (2000): p.126.] The “confession album” of Matthew’s article is yet another iteration of the album genre which is less immediately relevant to the current discussion. Signature gathering appears to be more typical of boys, whilst girls seem to have preferred the friendship variety. This conclusion regarding gender is my reading of scattered references, but regardless of whether this observation holds water, it is the autograph album with shared poetry in it which is the most vital for the purposes of this study.

²¹² An example of a less exalted type of autograph album comes from Girty Clark – who lived in a down-market part of Auckland. Her earthy album, with such deeply suspect poetic contributions as “Of all the Albums I have seen, Some are red and some are green,

popular as ever, and intersects, as I will show later, with the HATS postcard [see Figure 189].

If, as Bourdieu claimed, tastes “are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference,”²¹³ then it seems inevitable that once a practice becomes democratised, and the potential for taste differentiation diminishes, then its value as an indicator of cultural capital is reduced, and it will enjoy its afterglow on the far-flung fringes of fashion. Bourdieu sees the mechanism for this fashion phenomenon in the interplay between production (which distinguishes degrees of novelty, price and fitness) and the dominant class (which seeks to distinguish itself from its challengers).²¹⁴ In other words, the moment that a lower class finds a practice useful, and manufacturers broaden their range and lower their prices in order to access the mass market, difference must find a new vehicle.

In practice, of course, specific changes in fashion need fuller explanation. On the broadest level, a change in “cultural disposition” has to occur before any new taste can find a footing.²¹⁵ This is, as noted above, precisely what Deborah Cohen mapped out in *Household Gods*, when she argued that the British middle class consumer became progressively more comfortable with a degree of opulence that an earlier generation could not have sanctioned.²¹⁶ In a culture increasingly defined, as Leigh Erik Schmidt puts it, by “novelty and abundance, not the old bugaboos of scarcity and necessity,”²¹⁷ the Friendship Book lost its ability to demarcate middle class taste, and middle class album users of the 1860s and 1870s moved their collecting focus to those products of industrialisation that their purchasing power enabled them to partake in.²¹⁸ This was evident when Ogilvie, a few years later, included *Birthday, Christmas and New Year Cards* in the title of his *Album Writers*

But in India where I’ve been, All-bums are black,” was never likely to end up in a museum. This album is in the collection of the author.

²¹³ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, p.56.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.233.

²¹⁵ Harvey, Press, and Maclean, "William Morris, Cultural Leadership, and the Dynamics of Taste," p.252.

²¹⁶ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.12.

²¹⁷ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.32-3.

²¹⁸ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.237.

Friend,²¹⁹ thus pointing to the increasing interrelationship between later album and card practices. However, the first tendencies towards this change in album practice had been manifested earlier, particularly in the developing fascination with collecting printing and photography, via the stamp, the chromolithographic scrap and the *carte-de-visite*.

Photographs, Scraps and the Lithographic Tradition

Although stamps were one of the most avidly collected printed items during the nineteenth century, their production and collection operated quite differently to the practices I am exploring in this study. As Keith Jeffery points out, stamps are part of a system which is intimately intertwined with representing the state, indexing country of origin.²²⁰ Their production reflects an officially sanctioned bureaucracy, and a political agenda.²²¹ Consumers appear to have understood this on a very fundamental level. I have yet to see a scrapbook with stamps pasted amongst the scraps, or a stamp album with scraps interspersed between stamps. This may relate to gender – which Caroline Daley argues was more all-defining at this time than even the geographical constraints of people's environments.²²² Most toys during the Victorian period were rigidly demarcated to help define gender-based social roles,²²³ and apparently this differentiation carried into collecting. Ellen Gruber Garvey argues that the relative social status of stamps as opposed to advertising card collections derives from stamp collecting being associated with males and the cards with females.²²⁴ While her research related to the United States, the people described as leading

²¹⁹ Ogilvie, *The Album Writers Friend: Comprising More Than Three Hundred Choice Selections of Poetry and Prose, Suitable for Writing in Autograph Albums, Birthday, Christmas and New Year Cards*.

²²⁰ Keith Jeffery, "Crown, Communication and the Colonial Post: Stamps, the Monarchy and the British Empire," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): p.46.

²²¹ Reid, "The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian," p.224.

²²² Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1999), p.158. She notes that it was easier to redirect a river than to get people to alter gender perceptions.

²²³ Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*, p.110.

²²⁴ Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Dreaming in Commerce: Advertising Trade Card Scrapbooks," in *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), p.80. This is not an absolute. In the course of research I encountered exceptions amongst both genders (such as Arthur Hebb Miller's scrap collection – see below page 158), but not enough to repudiate Garvey's overall argument.

stamp collectors in the *Otago Witness* were “heads of great public schools, judges, barristers, etc.”²²⁵ professions hardly brimming with women.²²⁶ Stamp collectors, if “Philately” columns are in any way representative, collected officially produced items with an eye to their monetary return. Such people read journals like *The Connoisseur*, which connected collectors of stamps, coins, china and furniture to the discourse of art.²²⁷ Collectors of scraps or *cartes-de-visite*, on the other hand, were gathering commercially produced items for their social currency. More broadly, stamps were part of an educational approach that prepared boys for the wider world, whilst card collecting prepared girls for home and domestication.²²⁸ The stamp collecting model plays a part in the history of postcards, but it relates only to early official postcards, and some initial assumptions around postcard collecting – i.e. that postcards would have value as collectibles.²²⁹ Neither of these relates closely to the HATS postcards that are the basis for this research, and it is therefore unnecessary to dwell on the details of the stamp collecting phenomenon. Photographs and scraps are much more central to the discussion.

²²⁵ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Philately,” October 23, 1901, p.56. An article in the same paper a decade earlier also assumes stamp collectors to be male. *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Curiosities of Stamp Collecting,” January 15, 1891, p.35.

²²⁶ That some “young ladies” collected stamps, however, is clear from a comment about them having “escaped the philatelic infection” in favour of the postcard. [The *Standard*, August 21, 1899, quoted in Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.60.] And eighteen year old Cantabrian Rita writes to *The New Zealand Farmer* in 1903 that she has 1100 stamps and 500 postcards. *The New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal* (Auckland, NZ), “Older Cousin’s Circle,” March 1903, Home and Household Supplement, p.vi.

²²⁷ Kristin Mahoney, “Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Collecting in The *Connoisseur*: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors, 1901-1914,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 2 (2012): p.178.

²²⁸ On the broader trends, if not the application to collecting, see Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*, pp.112-13.

²²⁹ A 1906 comment on postcards that “when collectors came to sell their collections they found no market” is, I believe, accurate in denoting the end of the period where some people were collecting postcards for value. *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Philately,” April 4, 1906, p.81.

Photographs

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri introduced the photographic *carte-de-visite* (CDV) in 1854, using a four lensed camera to produce eight identical



Figure 42: Page from a ca.1880s *carte-de-visite* album.

This album page provides a chromolithographically printed floral background to the private photographs. The damage to one surround is a hazard of putting the CDV's into the pre-made slot. Pictures were normally un-labelled, so there is no record of the family these photos depict.

Author's collection

photographic portraits per glass negative.²³⁰ This efficient format created a Bordieu-esque cultural 'trickle-down' effect,²³¹ making photography (formerly the preserve of the very rich) affordable for the middle classes.²³² Although not cheap,²³³ as tangible markers of emotional connectedness,²³⁴ these photographic visiting cards quickly became popular.²³⁵

Young society women like Alice Miles did intricate flower paintings around CDV's of friends and family pasted into albums,²³⁶ establishing a visual precedent for photograph albums to have floral borders. The standard size of the cards allowed plush albums with ready-made slots to be marketed [Figure 42].²³⁷ Such albums did not need to be given to others for contributions to be added – they could be

²³⁰ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.75.

²³¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, pp.232-3.

²³² Ferguson, "'A Murmur of Small Voices': On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research," p.170.

²³³ They cost between ninepence and two shillings apiece, Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.43. At twenty one shillings for twelve cards in London, a dozen cards cost more than a labourer's weekly wage. (See below, p.260, for a discussion on wages.)

²³⁴ Andrea L. Volpe, "Collecting the Nation: Visions of Nationalism in Two Civil War-Era Photograph Albums," in *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), p.89.

²³⁵ Queen Victoria was a well-known devotee, cf. Rowley, "Monarch and the Mundane: Picture Postcards and Images of the Romanovs, 1890-1917," pp.127-8.

²³⁶ Alice's album was compiled in 1874. Alice Catherine Miles, *Every Girl's Duty: The Diary of a Victorian Debutante* (London: BCA, 1992). See plate opposite p.22.

²³⁷ Andrea Volpe documents one such from as early as 1865. Volpe, "Collecting the Nation: Visions of Nationalism in Two Civil War-Era Photograph Albums," p.91.

assembled privately, in the home.²³⁸ It thus became possible to swap “pho’s” of friends and family without the lurking taste issues that had dogged the Friendship Album,²³⁹ though access to viewing the album came with the price of reciprocating – as can be seen by the verse used to begin many albums [Figure 43].²⁴⁰

By the 1880s, reduced CDV prices encouraged usage by some of the working-classes – the album becoming, according to Nicole Hudgins, a “Victorian Facebook.”²⁴¹ Publishers had expanded the range of subject matter from the initial family portraits to include all kinds of famous people.²⁴² Prints of popular beauties had existed since the eighteenth century,²⁴³ and the genre now moved into photography, with actresses increasingly prominent.²⁴⁴ This type of celebrity *carte-de-visite* would prove to be an important photographic precursor for the significant later genre of actress postcards. The Photograph Album similarly prefigured the postcard album’s use and production. This was particularly pronounced

²³⁸ Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," p.237. Subsequently, a larger format called the cabinet card was introduced, but for the purposes of this study I use the term *carte-de-visite* (or CDV) as a generic term to cover both sizes.

²³⁹ Alice Miles uses the term “pho” in her 1868 diary. Miles, *Every Girl's Duty: The Diary of a Victorian Debutante*, p.84.

²⁴⁰ Robin Wichard and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de-Visite* (Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 1999), p.78. The text reads “Yes, this is my album, But learn ere you look, That all are expected, To add to my book. You are welcome to quiz it, The penalty is – You add your own Portrait, For others to quiz.” The Wichards cite this text as one of the two most popular verses for starting CDV albums. Barbara Jones also quotes the same text, with minor alterations, as an introductory verse used in Edwardian postcard albums. It thus had a long shelf life. Barbara Jones, introduction to Ouellette, *Fantasy Postcards*, p.12.

²⁴¹ Hudgins, "A Historical Approach to Family Photography: Class and Individuality in Manchester and Lille, 1850-1914," pp.564-5.

²⁴² Andrea Volpe sees this engagement with famous people as evincing the album-owner’s engagement with the issues of the day. [Volpe, "Collecting the Nation: Visions of Nationalism in Two Civil War-Era Photograph Albums," p.90.] A standard arrangement of a CDV album might involve starting with famous people, followed by friends and then images of family and places visited. Wichard and Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de-Visite*, p.78.

²⁴³ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.11.

²⁴⁴ This, as Erika Rappaport has shown, owed much to a symbiotic relationship between theatres and drapers like Liberty’s. The theatres showcased the latest fashions, with the actresses as willing clotheshorses – a combination that ultimately helped change the very negative image that had formerly followed women on the stage. [Erika D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.185.] Georg Simmel did not welcome this (evidently international) trend, noting in 1893 that “the actress who is not a bit more moral than the streetwalker, indeed perhaps even more calculating and grasping, is welcomed in salons from which streetwalkers would be expelled with the dogs.” David Frisby and Mike Featherstone, eds., *Simmel on Culture* (London: Sage, 1997), p.263.

because, in the late nineteenth century, photographers extended their range of subjects to include views of scenery, for tourists to include in their albums.²⁴⁵ The two types of album were sufficiently similar as social practices for the *Ohinemuri Gazette* to complain, in 1906, that “[postcard] albums are fast becoming as tiresome as the photograph books of years ago.”²⁴⁶ This connection underlines a crucial continuity in the way albums



Figure 43: *Carte-de-visite* designed to begin an album. This card, probably dating from the 1870s, shows that clasped hands imagery was associated with albums during the transition from Friendship to CDV albums. The term ‘quiz’ in the verse means poking fun at people. Author’s collection

were viewed – perhaps within the aestheticized setting of the parlour.²⁴⁷ The mass-produced *carte-de-visite* album, with its same-sized slots, accustomed users to a type of collecting that could seamlessly transition to postcards of a standard format.

Scraps

For most of the nineteenth century, there had been no standard size for printed cards. The abundant range of oddly-sized, and often oddly-shaped printed ephemera, was collected in a different type of album, the scrapbook. The beginnings of the scrapbook trend have already been noted (page 130), and cut-out images on thin paper gained in popularity in Britain between the 1820s and 1840s.²⁴⁸ Their imagery harmonises with the Scrapbook poetry of Letitia Elizabeth Landon. In describing the work of her

predecessor, the new editor of *Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap-Book*, Mary Howitt, accurately described not just the literary but also the visual taste of the scrapbook’s early demographic:

²⁴⁵ Drucker and McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*, p.129.

²⁴⁶ Ohinemuri Gazette (Paeroa, NZ), “Local and General,” January 17, 1906, p.2.

²⁴⁷ Jan de Vries suggests that the parlour was a symbolic space that signalled a family’s dedication to consumption. [De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present*, p.197]. I have to note, however, that despite a general assumption within the literature that postcard albums were a parlour staple, I have found no direct evidence to support this.

²⁴⁸ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.286.

We should say that it is the young and the ardent who must always be the warmest admirers of the larger poems of L.E.L. They are filled with the faith and fancies of the young. The very scenery and ornaments are of that rich and showy kind which belongs to the youthful taste – the white rose, the jasmine, the summer garniture of deep grass, and glades of greenest foliage; festal gardens with lamps and bowers; gay cavaliers and jewelled dames, and all that glitters in young eyes and love-haunted fancies.²⁴⁹

By the late 1850s, Ellen Gruber Garvey's comment about the album being a "visual celebration of plenty" starts to make sense.²⁵⁰ Once Howitt's "rich and showy" taste of the young met increasingly sophisticated printing technologies, the stage was set for the opulent type of 'scrap' collecting that reached fulfilment in the lavishly varied albums of the 1880s, with their array of often highly embossed and strongly coloured images:²⁵¹ precursors for the chromolithographic postcard.

If scrap collecting and the postcard are connected in the consumer practice of the album, they are also linked at the level of production – something overlooked by postcard scholars like Frank Staff, who compartmentalise the field around the word 'card'. Advertisements reproduced in Allen and Hoverstadt's *History of Printed Scraps* show a series of names of firms that would subsequently publish postcards. Raphael Tuck, Siegmund Hildesheimer, Martin Schlesinger, A. Sala, Birn Brothers, Davidson Brothers and Thomas Stevens, to name but a few, were all major manufacturers of scraps and other 'fancy paper' items long before becoming involved with postcards.²⁵² It is no coincidence, but in order to understand how it was that the postcard format attracted a particular type of existing manufacturer, it is necessary to understand the developments in printing that drew together this group of printers.

The Lithographic Tradition

After the First World War, letterpress mechanical printing, in tandem with the new four-colour half-tone printing process, established itself as the

²⁴⁹ Mary Howitt, ed. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book* (London: Fisher, 1840), p.7.

Howitt would later go on to write the profile of Elihu Burritt which is quoted above p.67

²⁵⁰ Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*, p.24.

²⁵¹ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.25.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.25, 26, 29, 61, 158, 169.

dominant British printing tradition. Its rivals, most notably the chromolithographers who dominated the greetings postcard trade, had tended to rely on German printing expertise, and were ill-equipped to respond. As post-war modernist historians started writing the history of printing, they adopted a form of technological determinism which focussed on the evolutionary victor: letterpress.²⁵³ This was then exacerbated by what Peter Stallybrass describes as “the conceptual gluttony of ‘the book’,” where histories of print gravitate to books rather than the many other types of printed item.²⁵⁴ However, as Dennis Bryans points out, such histories overemphasised the historical role of letterpress at the expense of other earlier technologies which had, during the nineteenth century, offered different modes of reproducing images and integrating them with text.²⁵⁵ When mentioned at all, alternatives such as engraving and chromolithography tend to be denigrated, as in Phillip Megg’s account:

Letterpress printers and admirers of fine typography and printing were appalled by the design language of chromolithography. Design was done on the artist’s drawing board instead of the compositor’s metal press bed. Without traditions and lacking the constraints of letterpress, designers could invent any letterform that suited their fancy and exploit an unlimited palette of bright, vibrant color never before available for printed communications.²⁵⁶

Such typographic distrust of the hand-drawn letterforms of engraving and the sensational colour of chromolithography remains strong. Even postmodern writers, in reassessing nineteenth century typography, have still tried to locate the rehabilitated material within the letterpress tradition. Doug Clouse and Angela Voulangas, for example, whilst recovering much overlooked material in their 2009 study,²⁵⁷ still kept chromolithography at

²⁵³ On this tendency, and the need for historians to examine alternative traditions, see Rodney Mader, "Print Culture Studies and Technological Determinism," *College Literature* 36, no. 2 (2009): p.132.

²⁵⁴ Peter Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs': Broadsides and the Printing Revolution," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), p.340.

²⁵⁵ Dennis Bryans, "The Double Invention of Printing," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): p.287.

²⁵⁶ Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design*, p.148.

²⁵⁷ Doug Clouse and Angela Voulangas, *The Handy Book of Artistic Printing: A Collection of Letterpress Examples with Specimens of Type, Ornament, Corner Fills, Borders*,

arm's length by quoting a printer, Andrew Corrigan, writing in 1944, who claimed that lithographers:

...committed every abortion but the one which would have been welcomed; they perpetrated every mutation except sterility. The degenerates swelled and pullulated, farrowed their litters and spawned their monstrous shoals until the world of Caslon and Baskerville, Jenson and Bodoni and Aldus, became the world of Caliban, the home of a bastard brood with the blood of beauty on its hands.²⁵⁸

This virulent attitude to lithography reflects an intense rivalry between the letterpress and lithographic traditions for professional domination.

Ephemera historian Graham Hudson argues that the antagonism between the two traditions goes back to an earlier period when the invention of new presses, new typefaces, and wood engraving enabled letterpress printers to challenge the supremacy of copperplate engravers for reproducing complex designs incorporating text and image.²⁵⁹

Traditionally, engraved illustrations and printed text were produced separately, with printers playing a subservient role to engravers – who, until the mid-eighteenth century, had sat alongside painters, draughtsmen and sculptors as a class of artist.²⁶⁰ Since engraving was an intaglio process that was incompatible with letterpress, their works were only integrated with the typography during the binding process. By the nineteenth century, engravers had been excluded from the Royal Academy, who argued that engraving lacked the requisite originality for the exercise of genius.²⁶¹ Though engravers – and later lithographers – would still call themselves

Twisters, Wrinklers, and Other Freaks of Fancy (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009).

²⁵⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.189.

²⁵⁹ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.24-32.

²⁶⁰ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1988), p.41.

²⁶¹ As mentioned earlier (page 11), Bourdieu described this as the “charisma ideology,” arguing that, in focusing on the charismatic producer, we suppress the role of the viewer/consumer as a participant in the process. Bourdieu and Nice, “The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods,” p.263. See also Gordon J. Fyfe, “Art and Reproduction: Some Aspects of the Relations between Painters and Engravers in London 1760–1850,” in *Design and Aesthetics: A Reader*, ed. Jerry Palmer and Mo Dadson (London: Routledge, 1996), p.206.

‘artists’,²⁶² they could no longer rely on the status of ‘artist’, and thus needed to exploit various commercial opportunities, initially through areas like wood engraving,²⁶³ and steel engraving.²⁶⁴

When lithography arrived as a serious contender around the 1840s, it immediately cannibalised much of the cheaper end of the engraver’s work (along with its design approach), and it also ate into the letterpress printer’s traditional jobbing market of circulars and ephemeral communications.²⁶⁵ Unlike wood or steel engraving, neither of which was ideally suited to lettering, everything in lithography was drawn directly onto the stone, thus allowing the artist a freedom to integrate lettering and image in ways that simply were not possible with letterpress.²⁶⁶ Wood engraving still dominated the mass market for illustrated black and white “sensation ornaments,”²⁶⁷ but it was less well adapted to the increasingly popular colour printing. After some early competition from the wood-based chromoxylography, lithography dominated this market by the 1870s [Figure 44].²⁶⁸ For the rest of the century the battle lines were drawn between the letterpress and lithographic camps, whose workers were even unionised in

²⁶² David Jury, *Graphic Design before Graphic Designers: The Printer as Designer and Craftsman 1700-1914* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), p.154.

²⁶³ Wood engraving could be printed on the same set as the lettering, thus gaining a practical commercial edge over metal engraving. [Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.23.] This would lead to its dominating the illustration of mass-media like newspapers and periodicals. Gerry Beegan, "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimile, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving," *Journal of Design History* 8, no. 4 (1995): p.257.

²⁶⁴ Steel engraving would remain a viable alternative for more complex work, such as banknotes and stamps. [Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel: The History of Picture Production Using Steel Plates* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), pp.31, 45.] It was used through the 1830s and 1840s for commercial scrap album illustrations and for illustrated writing papers, but ultimately its cost and improvements in other media would see engraving reduced to niche areas like billheads, trade cards and personal stationery. Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.48-9, 64.

²⁶⁵ *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.55-6.

²⁶⁶ Drucker and McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*, p.128. The authors acknowledge the vitality of chromolithography, but use this discussion to lead into its role in posters – the only part of the chromolithographic tradition that seems to be acknowledged within graphic design history.

²⁶⁷ This is how one 1864 printing journal described its masthead illustration. Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.68. The printers were J. & R. M. Wood.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.86-91. Mapmakers were just one of the areas to capitalise on the potential of new lithographic technology. Paul Dobraszcyk, "Useful Reading? Designing Information for London's Victorian Cab Passengers," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): p.135.

separate unions,²⁶⁹ and who read and subscribed to quite different sets of journals.²⁷⁰ Stylistically, lithography tended towards the increasing complexity of the drop-shadow “gaslight” style,²⁷¹ whilst the work of letterpress printers moved towards typographic subtlety, and aesthetic illustration.²⁷²



Figure 44: Detail showing the chromolithographic process
Chromolithography involved the layering of multiple colours, each printed on a different stone. High quality cards routinely used between eight and twelve stones. The process typically uses a blend of flat colour and stippling. This image is from a 1913 German-printed postcard, but the technique is little changed from the earliest cards.
Author's collection

²⁶⁹ The “Central Association of Lithographic and Copperplate Printers’ Societies of Great Britain and Ireland” was formed in 1860, subsuming the engravers in 1880 into the “Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers.” University of Warwick. “Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers.” (Undated).

http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/explorefurther/subject_guides/family_history/print/aslp/ [Accessed July 26, 2012]. A similar segmentation of the printing industry occurred in New Zealand, though somewhat later, with bookbinders, letterpress machinists, stereotypists and lithographers all separating from Typographical Unions. Peter Franks, *Print and Politics: A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995* (Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 2001), p.11.

²⁷⁰ Compare with Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.60, 102. It should be noted that these divisions may have been less clear-cut in places like New Zealand, with its smaller print industries. A printing company like Christchurch’s Whitcombe and Tombs, for example, which did a great deal of letterpress work, advertised on their trade card that they were “Lithographers, Printers, Binders.” Noel Waite, “The Octopus and Its Silent Teachers: A New Zealand Response to the British Book Trade,” in *Worlds of Print: Diversity in the Book Trade*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), p.15.

²⁷¹ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.124.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p.123.

The differences between these two approaches may also have had a cultural component. Lithography had been invented by a German, Alois Senefelder.²⁷³ Although introduced on a small scale in England by the start of the eighteenth century,²⁷⁴ it had been promoted by that ubiquitous Saxon, Rudolph Ackermann.²⁷⁵ In the latter part of the century some of the largest firms of lithographic “Art Publishers” (letterpress firms called themselves “Art Printers”)²⁷⁶ were founded by Germans. Louis Prang popularised the process in America,²⁷⁷ as did another German, Godefroy Engelmann, in France.²⁷⁸ In England, three of the largest early printers of cards and scraps, Raphael Tuck, Hildesheimer, and the Birn Brothers were all headed by German emigrants, and they, like most Art Publishers, printed much of their material in Germany, owing to family ties and the relative cheapness of printing there.²⁷⁹ The printers of chromolithographic scraps, cards and greetings postcards appear to have come consistently from this lithographic ‘Art Publishing’ tradition, with letterpress firms having little to do with such manufacture.

The close ties with Germany, which would ultimately hamstring the high quality greetings postcard market during the First World War (see page 383), thus seem to have been integral to the industry, and were thoroughly embedded by the 1880s. The Germans had, during the 1830s, led the way in

²⁷³ John Harthan, *The History of the Illustrated Book: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), p.172.

²⁷⁴ Michael Twyman, *Henry Bankes's Treatise on Lithography* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1976), p.ix.

²⁷⁵ Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005), p.11.

²⁷⁶ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.113, 119. The difference between these two varieties was that whilst Art Publishers published artistic images, Art Printers wanted print to be considered an art in itself. *Ibid.*, p.117.

²⁷⁷ It is common to find Prang credited as the inventor of chromolithography, e.g. Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, pp.92-3. In fact it was introduced into the United States in 1825 (a year after Prang was born) by Anthony Imbert. [Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.52.] Prang was responsible for its popularity there, but did not invent it. [Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, pp.68-70.] The American practice of erasing Senefelder parallels the British tendency to credit Caxton, rather than Gutenberg, with inventing printing. In both cases, Germans are denied credit for major inventions.

²⁷⁸ France would go on to be the high end-producer of ‘chromolithographie’. Jay Last notes that it was Engelmann that invented the term. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*, pp.10-11.

²⁷⁹ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.59.

developing widely available printed scraps,²⁸⁰ thus helping create a vibrant printing industry. With this historical advantage, German lithographic printing companies would actively promote themselves to the English-speaking world through such publications as the *Address Book of German Export Firms*, by attending trade fairs and exhibitions [Figure 45],²⁸¹ and by becoming highly adept in the area of mail order.²⁸² Following its unification in 1871, Germany's overall industrial capacity developed apace, and its strategic superiority to Britain was identified as early as 1886 by a Royal commission.²⁸³

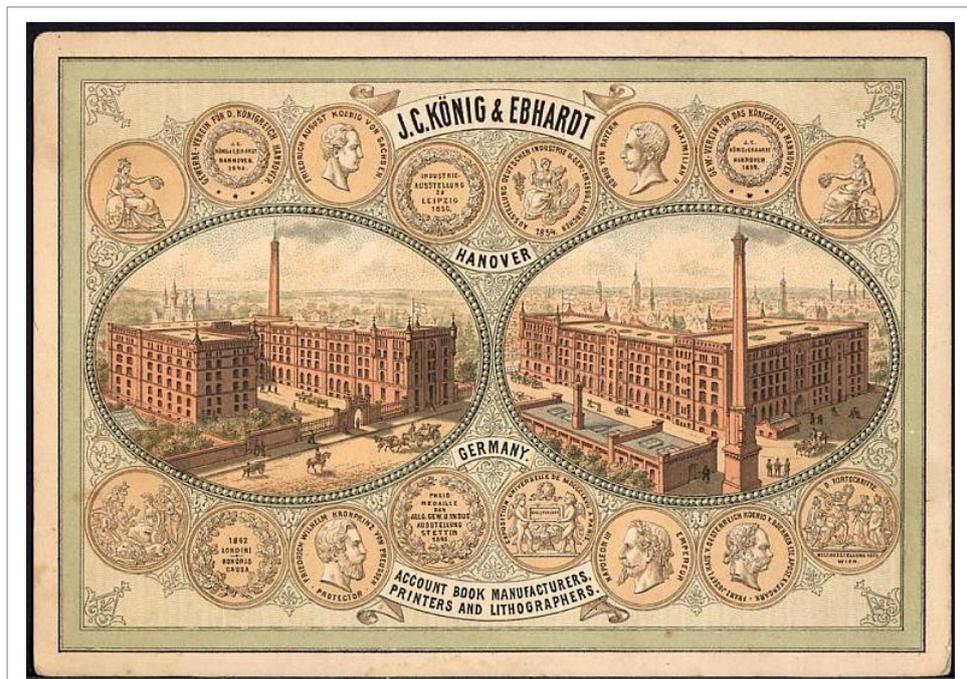


Figure 45: 1880s advertising card for König & Ebhardt.

This advertising card for a German printing and lithographic firm, sporting various prize medals, is printed in English, and was evidently intended to foster overseas trade, by being posted or handed out at trade shows.

Source: Wikimedia Commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

These issues would have been understood within the stationery industry.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it was not until after the 1890 McKinley Bill in the United

²⁸⁰ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.15. The Germans were also more generous than the British in the toys and items that they lavished on their children. Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*, p.9. This may explain their early interest in the scrap market.

²⁸¹ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.29.

²⁸² Jonathan M. Woodham, *Twentieth Century Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.17.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.12.

²⁸⁴ Christchurch manufacturing stationers Whitcombe and Tombs, for example, cited foreign competition as their reason for employing children. Franks, *Print and Politics: A*

States that the public became aware of the extent of British outsourcing, or of the quiet inroads being made by non-British manufacturers. As part of a widespread imposition of tariffs, the McKinley Bill insisted on imported items having their place of manufacture clearly stated – something not done previously.²⁸⁵



Figure 46: Place of manufacture wording from an early 1890s Raphael Tuck Christmas card. Raphael Tuck complied with the letter of the McKinley Bill, but by emphasising their other offices, and the design coming from Britain, it takes a determined reader to find the acknowledgement that it was printed in Bavaria.

Author's collection

Since the United States was already a huge market for chromolithography, most overseas printers seem to have bitten the bullet and added the place of origin to all their items, including those ultimately exported to places like New Zealand [Figure 46]. An article in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* sums up New Zealanders' surprise at the amount of German produce on the market, specifically mentioning cards as an example.

It has been brought home to us since the passing of the Foreign Merchandise Act, for the tell-tale legend "Made in Germany" or "Made in Belgium" is now seen on so many articles in every day use. "Printed in Germany" can be seen on nearly all the cheap but artistic illustrated books and cards which decorate every colonial stationer's counter. Trade may follow the flag, other conditions being equal, but when price becomes an important element patriotism is apt to go to the wall.²⁸⁶

Protectionists and nationalists might fret at German incursions, whilst free traders might fume at the McKinley Bill itself, claiming colourfully that protectionists believed "it is better to drink the sour national beverage rather

History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995, p.44. Franks cites the company's use of child and female labour as the reason for a major conflict in 1890 with the Typographical Association.

²⁸⁵ I have found no 1880s cards with this information on it.

²⁸⁶ *Hawke's Bay Herald* (Napier, NZ), "Boycotting Cheap Labour," October 31, 1891, p.2. The paper then goes on to specifically name and shame poet and politician Thomas Bracken (writer of New Zealand's national anthem), whose politics were protectionist, but who nevertheless had his book printed in Germany on account of the price – which is ascribed to the poor wages paid to German printers.

than good foreign wine.”²⁸⁷ The evidence of the cards suggests that the youthful consumers appear to have been largely impervious to such debates. The good price to quality ratio associated with German-printed cards and scraps ensured that they were consumed in large numbers.

Chromolithographic scraps were bought in large sheets, containing multiple variations of a particular theme. Allen and Hoverstadt reproduce one such sheet depicting forty hands holding flowers,²⁸⁸ each containing a short motto, similar to Figure 211 (see Appendix 2). This multiple format is not incidental. Chromolithography was an expensive process, becoming financially viable only when large numbers of items were printed.²⁸⁹ Since the lithographic stones used were large, it made sense to bunch together items that were ultimately to be sold together. The same approach would later be applied to postcards, where it was possible to print over thirty individual cards on a single stone.²⁹⁰ This facilitated the designing of sets of thematically connected cards, exploiting the printer’s trimming process where a row of cards could be sliced from a large sheet, cut up, and collated into packs (or boxes) of related cards. This process of creating series of similar but distinct groups of collectables was a crucial marketing technique of the period. As such, the mechanisms involved in this process of serialisation have attracted theorists of collecting.

Serial Souvenirs: The Theory of Collecting

Seriality, as Susan Stewart points out, is a key component of an exchange economy.²⁹¹ Card consumers appear to have expected to buy packs with related but unique cards – not packs with multiple identical items. As such, in the case of cards, Drucker and McVarish overstate the case when they say that “not only did mass production mean more, but it also meant more

²⁸⁷ Gustave De Molinari, "The McKinley Bill in Europe," *The North American Review* 151, no. 406 (1890): p.318.

²⁸⁸ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.108. These include “Remember Me”; “A Tribute of Love”; “True to Thee”; “Souvenir of Friendship”; “To One I Love” and three others, all of which are repeated five times within the sheet.

²⁸⁹Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.15.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.17-18.

²⁹¹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p.167.

of the same.”²⁹² There is no evidence of card users celebrating the uniformity of mechanical reproduction – they preferred the illusion that they were purchasing unique items. This desire for the unique is satirised by George du Maurier in a cartoon showing a distraught mother who, on breaking a china pot responds to her daughter’s pointing out that she still had *her* by saying “You, Child? You’re not Unique!! There are Six of you – a complete set!!”²⁹³ Manufacturers, however, encouraged the idea of the complete set, having learnt its efficacy for driving sales through such venues as the mid-century serialised novel.²⁹⁴ Incorporating a serial connecting narrative within a set of cards provided one powerful impulse for collecting,²⁹⁵ but the extent to which it was the primary motivation of collectors has been hotly debated, and since these arguments relate as much to the greeting postcard as to the scrap, they need to be introduced in some detail.

Theoretical debates around collection tend to take a starting point in the writing of Walter Benjamin, whose analysis of his own book-collecting habits painted a picture of the collection as a “chaos of memories,”²⁹⁶ relating both to the past of the collectible item, and to the memory of its acquisition. For Benjamin, “ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects.”²⁹⁷ Subsequent critics have queried whether it is reliable to generalise on the basis of a single bibliophile, pointing out that Benjamin’s approach tended to cast men as collectors and women as

²⁹² Drucker and McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*, p.142.

²⁹³ Quoted in Anne Anderson, “Chinamania!: Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful c.1860-1900,” in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), p.111.

²⁹⁴ Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*, p.5. Newspaper serialisation of novels had started with the French “roman-feuilleton” in 1836 in *La Presse*, and been picked up by English papers during the 1840s, but came into their own after knowledge taxes were lifted in the 1850s. Graham Law, “Nothing but a Newspaper: The Contested Space of Serial Fiction in the 1840s Press,” in *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp.32, 46.

²⁹⁵ Jennifer M. Black, “Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890,” *The Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 4 (2009): p.299.

²⁹⁶ Walter Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting,” in *Unpacking My Library: Architects and their Books*, ed. Jo Steffens (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), p.2.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10.

consumers.²⁹⁸ This distinction becomes interesting when one focuses less on books and more on scrapbooks, and photographic albums of ‘views’.

Views were already popular collectibles as eighteenth century prints, and these developed (via mid-nineteenth century engraved view cards,²⁹⁹ ready-made album views [Figure 47], and stereographic and cabinet card

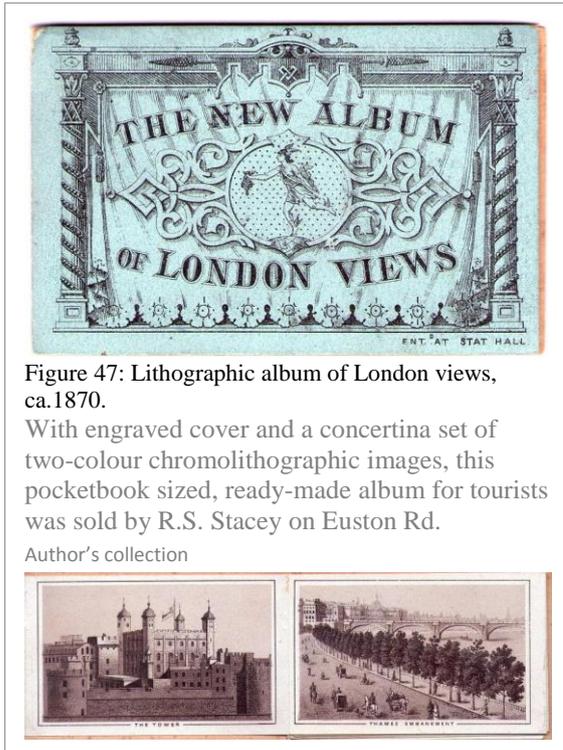


Figure 47: Lithographic album of London views, ca.1870.

With engraved cover and a concertina set of two-colour chromolithographic images, this pocketbook sized, ready-made album for tourists was sold by R.S. Stacey on Euston Rd.

Author's collection

iterations) into the photographic tourist images that typify much postcard practice – albeit not of the HATS variety. The ‘view’, Rosalind Krauss suggests, was associated with a particular mode of quasi-geographic categorisation in which ‘nature’ was systematically collected and ordered within middle-class collections.³⁰⁰ Judith Adler similarly associated this scientific tourist’s desire to undertake an inventory-like “impartial survey of all creation,” with a particular mode of souvenir collecting,³⁰¹ one summed up in the tourist behaviour of E. M. Forster’s

Baedeker-wielding English tourists, as they consume ‘sight’ after site.³⁰²

For Benjamin, such optically-oriented view collection was the mode of the flaneur, whilst his object collecting was more intimate and tactile.³⁰³ Susan Stewart touches on this difference when she makes the useful distinction between “souvenirs of exterior sights,” such as view cards and “souvenirs of

²⁹⁸ Potvin and Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, p.2. Later books like this tend to have worked within theoretical frameworks mapped out in the 1980s and 1990s, so I have largely confined my discussion to the original arguments.

²⁹⁹ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, pp.349-50.

³⁰⁰ Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), pp.139-41. Krauss, on pages 149-50, tries to reprise the notion of the ‘view’ as an archival item (and as an object for discursive analysis) rather than allowing it to be turned into ‘landscape’, and thus treated as an aesthetic item for a museum.

³⁰¹ Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," p.24.

³⁰² E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View*, Abinger ed. (New York: Penguin, 2000 [1908]), p.15.

³⁰³ Esther Leslie, "Walter Benjamin: Traces of Craft," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 1 (1998): p.10.

individual experience,” which she associates with items like scrapbooks.³⁰⁴ These use a book format but “deny the book’s mode of mechanical reproduction” by being individually, autobiographically, and uniquely compiled.³⁰⁵

...the memento becomes emblematic of the worth of that life and of the self’s capacity to generate worthiness. Here we see also the introduction of the metaphor of texture. From the child’s original metonymic displacement to the love-object, the sensual rules souvenirs of this type. The acute sensation of the object – its perception by hand taking precedence over its perception by eye – promise, and yet does not keep the promise of, reunion.³⁰⁶

For Stewart, it is important to paint this promise as empty. It makes it easier for the souvenir to be cleansed of its original context in order to be incorporated within the compiler’s personal narrative.³⁰⁷ The motivation behind this is thereby depicted as a nostalgic reliving of past experience, and one tainted by capitalism.³⁰⁸ She argues that “collections of ephemera serve to exaggerate certain dominant features of the exchange economy: its seriality, novelty and abstraction, they are an ultimate form of consumerism; they classicise the novel.”³⁰⁹

As Naomi Schor points out, for Stewart the consumerist destruction of the contexts of production and labour inherent in compiling a collection makes the collection “far more reprehensible than the [one-off] souvenir.”³¹⁰ Schor, whilst critical of both Stewart’s and Jean Baudrillard’s depictions of the collector as respectively “possessive bourgeois” and “narcissistic and fetishistic” misfit,³¹¹ agrees with Baudrillard’s argument that collections are

³⁰⁴ Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, p.139.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p.150.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.139-40.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p.167.

³¹⁰ Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," p.201. Stewart’s criticisms have precursors in Victorian criticisms of collecting as a pathological retreat from the world of people into the world of objects. Mahoney, "Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Collecting in *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors*, 1901-1914," pp.175,182,193.

³¹¹ Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," p.201. See also Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* [Système des objets], trans. James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996), pp.85-106. Note Schor’s demolition of Baudrillard’s sexism on pp.201-2.

organised in serial form, and argues that it is not the mnemonic but the narrative or thematic contiguity between the elements of the collection that are important.³¹²

Baudrillard argues that the collection facilitates the “mutual integration of object and person” and that “any collection comprises a succession of items, but the last in the set is the person of the collector.”³¹³ The centrality of the subjective figure of the collector as the “creator and initiator of both meaning and pleasure,”³¹⁴ is a common feature of all of the writing about collection. This is why Stewart could only see the collected object as a form of nostalgia,³¹⁵ or as a reframing of an object’s use value within a personal context.³¹⁶

What is missing from all such accounts, if one is to make sense of album practice, is not just the more recent critique, partially supporting Benjamin, that collecting should be understood as “performative, embodied, sensual and subjective,”³¹⁷ or Benjamin’s later focus on the collection’s non-utilitarian drive for completeness.³¹⁸ Nor is it the idea that collections comprise of either sacred objects, facets of self, or sensual experience.³¹⁹ Nor is it even Danet and Katriel’s useful distinction between taxonomic and aesthetic approaches to collecting,³²⁰ or Mieke Bal’s picture of the “collector as narrative agent.”³²¹ What is missing is an understanding of the

³¹² Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," p.202. She notes on p.201 that Stewart’s account draws on Baudrillard, which explains why Stewart, p.167, mentions seriality, though it plays a less central role for her than it does for Baudrillard.

³¹³ Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, p.91.

³¹⁴ Potvin and Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, p.2.

³¹⁵ Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, pp.139-40.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.162.

³¹⁷ Potvin and Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, p.5.

³¹⁸ Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, pp.204-5.

³¹⁹ David C. Giles, Stephen Pietrzykowski, and Kathryn E. Clark, "The Psychological Meaning of Personal Record Collections and the Impact of Changing Technological Forms," *Journal of Economic Psychology* 28, no. 4 (2007): pp.435-7.

³²⁰ Danet, Brenda and Tamar Katriel, “No Two Alike: The Aesthetics of Collecting,” *Play and Culture* 2, no.3 (1989), pp.253-277, quoted in Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p.45.

³²¹ Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1994), p.112.

social aspects of the collection. Russell Belk points out that if friendship is important in business relations, it is also likely to be central to collecting.³²² As noted earlier, friendship and autograph albums were collated reciprocally. This suggests that collecting can be both forward as well as backward looking, since pasting an object into a scrapbook can spring from the desire to display it for others as part of the development of familial and friendship networks. Schor quotes an advice columnist who, in 1900, observed postcards being used in the “exchange of courtesies” between the genders and advised that “for a well brought up young lady with a staunch heart and a cultivated mind, it provides thousands of ways of demonstrating her tact and savoir-faire.”³²³ This process need not only relate to the card’s content. As Alison Rowley points out, “postcards were avidly collected and ... the best specimens were kept in special albums to show to one’s friends and acquaintances.”³²⁴ The collector is still at the centre of such activity, but the motivation is perhaps less about memory, sensuality or serial internal logic than the theorists allow.

The clasped hands of the HATS postcard supply an analogy for the reciprocal collecting practices that existed earlier in the scrapbook and friendship album traditions. It is, however, unlikely that any one version of collecting theory is going to apply to all situations. Nineteenth century collectors doubtless shared a diverse range of motivations, and whilst some would have saved items of ephemera for social reasons, others would have seen it as an exercise in material autobiography. Nor should one underestimate the extent to which, in a ‘waste not, want not’ culture, collection may have also acted as a legitimating rationale for frivolous consumption through consigning graphic ephemera not to the wastepaper basket but to the scrapbook.

³²² Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p.57.

³²³ Griseline, “La Femme Chez Elle,” *La Cartophile*, December 1900, p.7, quoted in Schor, “Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900,” pp.211-12.

³²⁴ Rowley, “Popular Culture and Visual Narratives of Revolution: Russian Postcards, 1905-22,” p.1.

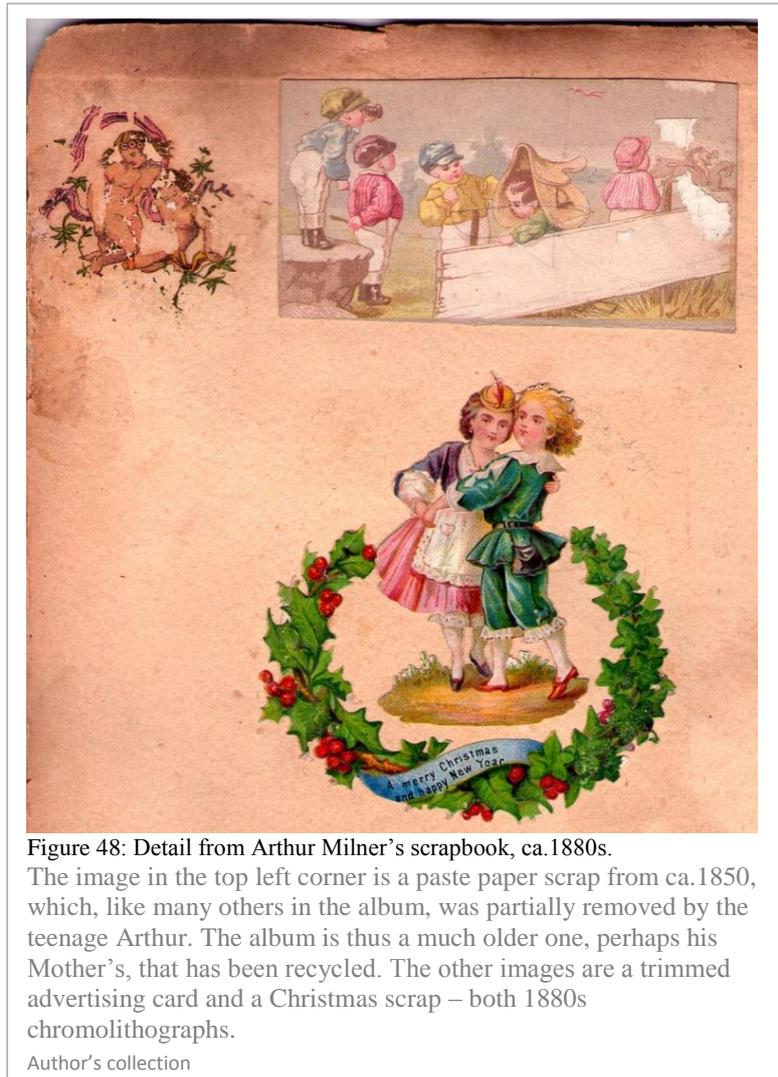


Figure 48: Detail from Arthur Milner's scrapbook, ca. 1880s. The image in the top left corner is a paste paper scrap from ca. 1850, which, like many others in the album, was partially removed by the teenage Arthur. The album is thus a much older one, perhaps his Mother's, that has been recycled. The other images are a trimmed advertising card and a Christmas scrap – both 1880s chromolithographs.
Author's collection

The Visual Traditions Underpinning the Card

The Visual Vernacular of Celebration

While scraps may have been big business, few scrapbook collections of the period appear to contain only commercially-produced scraps. A scrapbook like that of Christchurch boy,³²⁵ Arthur Hebb Milner [Figure 48], is typical in containing a wide array of printed items, from newspaper clippings, to scraps, mottoes, Valentines and a wide range of other late Victorian cards including religious, advertising, merit and greetings varieties.³²⁶ Whilst

³²⁵ Although scrapbooks tended to be regarded as feminine paraphernalia, many men and boys kept scrap albums – most notably Mark Twain. Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §32-33.

³²⁶ This album is in the author's collection.

generically different, and at times nationally variable,³²⁷ many of these items share common iconographic features such as flowers, ribbons, children, cherubs, hearts and ideal rural settings.³²⁸ All of these elements subsequently appear in postcards, which raises the question of how they became associated with the card genre. To understand this, it is necessary to consider the context in which the greeting card culture evolved – one in which cards came to act as markers for important celebrations.

During the eighteenth century there had been a clear distinction made within households as to items that were “common” or “best” – a distinction that Amanda Vickery equates to the difference between routine and celebratory activities.³²⁹ Leigh Eric Schmidt summarises the background issues relating to the celebratory culture that underpinned this distinction. He shows how, as Britain’s historically agricultural culture was challenged by industrialisation, one of the flashpoints related to the number of bank holidays, which was steadily reduced from forty seven in 1761 to just four by the mid-1830s.³³⁰ For centuries, these religious holidays had provided a stable sequence of opportunities for celebratory excess,³³¹ and in a rurally-defined culture they had been able to fit into the lulls of the agricultural year without damaging productivity. For the often puritan industrial manufacturers, however, they represented not only “wastrel prodigality,”³³² but also an on-going loss of profit – given that the machine could potentially work 365 days in the year, and manufacturers were keen to exploit as many of these as possible.³³³ Charles Dickens’ *Scrooge*, it would seem, was only a mild exaggeration of some of the single-minded, killjoy

³²⁷ Advertising cards, for example, were less common in Britain than America. Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.97.

³²⁸ Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," p.294.

³²⁹ Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," p.284.

³³⁰ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.30.

³³¹ Elaine McKay notes that after the Reformation, these holidays increasingly celebrated Royalty rather than just religion. Elaine McKay, "For Refreshment and Preserving Health: The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England," *Historical Research* 81, no. 211 (2008): p.73.

³³² Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.8.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p.27.

employers of the period.³³⁴ Unsurprisingly, this reduction in festive leisure opportunities was much lamented.³³⁵ Although in some areas the old holidays were able to coexist with industrialisation,³³⁶ Schmidt notes a strong strain of middle class Romantic nostalgia for the ‘good old’ festive observances of ‘Merrie England’ – linking it back to Colin Campbell’s arguments around consumerism, and the sense in which absence fuels desire.³³⁷ John Storey frames this development as the first iteration of the discovery of ‘folk’ culture, with concurrent interest in the “nature and character of the nation.”³³⁸

As with festivals, this folk culture relied on many shared celebratory practices. One example, which links to the iconography of later postcards, is the use of ribbons. Still used when wrapping celebratory gifts, ribbons appear historically across the social spectrum from at least the sixteenth century as fashionable celebratory gifts for Valentine’s day,³³⁹ for decorating maypoles,³⁴⁰ and in the fashions used by working-class youth for rituals like rush-bearing.³⁴¹ Popular enough to be sold second hand,³⁴²

³³⁴ Ibid., p.28.

³³⁵ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.408. This is analogous to the situation that occurred during the brief disappearance of these holidays during the Commonwealth. McKay, "For Refreshment and Preserving Health: The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England," p.72.

³³⁶ Susan Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp.74-5. It is worth noting that E. P. Thompson regarded the factors surrounding the move from pre-industrialism to industrial culture as “so complex as to defy analysis.” Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.411.

³³⁷ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.31.

³³⁸ John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), p.2. He argues that theorists like Johann Gottfried Herder saw ‘folk’ as relating to a purer uncorrupted culture.

³³⁹ Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.23.

³⁴⁰ Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: Including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May Games, Mummers, Shows, Processions, Pageants, and Pompous Spectacles, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 3rd ed. (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1838), p.363. The ‘strings’ he refers to were probably ribbons. Nevertheless, beribboned maypoles are in the minority at this period – if image searches can be relied to give a representative sample – with ribbons becoming more prevalent after the Restoration.

³⁴¹ Rushbearing involved a long ritual procession, headed by an illustrated banner, that would bear new rushes to the local church. [Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," p.118.] On page 119, Poole quotes Peterloo march leader Samuel Bamforth’s description of these preparations, which give a good sense of the place of ribbons and other celebratory items within the rituals. “Then, lads and lasses would at all spare hours be engaged in some preparation for the feast. New clothes would be ordered ... An old experienced hand was generally engaged to ‘make the cart’ ... The

ribbons were used to indicate loyalty to celebrities,³⁴³ and were subsequently adapted into national politics, becoming part of the Radicals' "repertoire of symbolic practice."³⁴⁴

Thus, when ribbons and other similar items like tinsel later appear in greetings cards and postcards [e.g. Figure 49],³⁴⁵ the designers were referencing a longstanding, popular, celebratory culture which survived in the vernacular practices surrounding decorating for holiday, processional and ritual feasting purposes.³⁴⁶ This culture was still alive in Britain during the later parts of the nineteenth century, but it had started to be regarded by the middle classes as a relic from the past. While Schmidt documents concern about the loss of the old celebratory customs by the 1830s,³⁴⁷ the discourse of a vanishing, but cherished, "Merrie England" was amplified during the period between 1880 and 1920. Rudyard Kipling talked of taking "time machine" trips into the country,³⁴⁸ whilst interest in antiquarian

girls meanwhile would all be employed at over-hours getting their own finery and that of their brothers or sweethearts ready for the great event. Tinsel was purchased, hats were trimmed with ribbons and fanciful devices; shirts were washed, bleached snow-white, and neatly pleated; tassels and garlands, and wreaths of coloured paper, tinsel, and ribbon, were designed and constructed, and a grand piece of ingenuity and splendour, a kind of concentration of the riches and the pomp of the party was displayed in the arrangements and setting forth of 'the sheet'. This was exclusively the work of the girls and women..."

³⁴² Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.23.

³⁴³ One example, already mentioned above, was the balloonist, Lunardi, Keen, "The "Balloonomania": Science and Spectacle in 1780s England," p.521.

³⁴⁴ Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, p.151.

³⁴⁵ Tinsel had been developed in the seventeenth century, but became used in eighteenth century 'tinsel pictures' that often depicted actresses. [Lee Kogan, "Sparkle Plenty," *Magazine Antiques* 179, no. 4 (2012): p.107.] It is also mentioned as part of the rushbearing rituals of the early 1800s. [Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," p.118.] I have not, however, been able to establish whether its move into celebratory fashion precedes or postdates such artistic practices.

³⁴⁶ There appears to be no extended study of the visual practices associated with this broader celebratory culture, and documenting it adequately lies beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless its existence, and relative continuity, can be seen through the illustrations in books such as Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2007). Similarly, it can be seen through newspaper reportage of celebratory events such as the earlier cited description of the decorations at the 1850 Peace Bazaar, *Daily News* (London, UK), "The Peace Bazaar," May 31, 1850, [no page], or in more formal published accounts such as the Railroad Celebrations in Boston. Boston City Council, *The Railroad Jubilee: An Account of the Celebration Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada, September 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1851*.

³⁴⁷ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.31.

³⁴⁸ Quoted in Nead, "The Age of the "Hurrygraph": Motion, Space and the Visual Image, ca. 1900," p.105.

collecting grew.³⁴⁹ Middle-class institutions like the Folk-Song Society, Folklore Society and the National Trust sought to preserve what they saw as a dying but distinctive vernacular national tradition that the masses were incapable of appreciating.³⁵⁰ Vernacular practices, like folk music, were

thus seen as part of a distinctive national tradition.³⁵¹



Figure 49: German clasped hands Birthday card, ca.1913.

This card uses ribbons to denote a gift, to imply connection, and has embossed silver to simulate glitter.

Author's collection PC568

The perceived aura of permanence underlying this rural idyll legitimised what Gerry Beegan and Paul Atkinson call (with a nod to Benedict Anderson) “the construction of the modern imagined national community.”³⁵² Its prescription of “cheery, patriotic wholesomeness,” as Gillian Bennett calls it,³⁵³ can be found even at the far reaches of the Empire in the construction of a “Ye Olde” town as the backdrop to a charity bazaar in New Zealand in 1905 [Figure 50] – a part of the recolonizing process that helped knit the Empire more closely together.³⁵⁴

Bernard Porter argues that patriotism was not a broad feature of British culture until the threat of foreign competition in the latter part of the century obliged the ruling classes to seek

backing from a broader section of the public.³⁵⁵ The promulgation of a ‘Merrie England’ – in which an unthreatening version of the rural working

³⁴⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.153-4. These emphasised the otherness of an object's contexts of origin. Mahoney, "Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Collecting in *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors*, 1901-1914," p.182.

³⁵⁰ Martin Myrone, "Instituting English Folk Art," *Visual Culture in Britain* 10, no. 1 (2009): p.29; Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization*, p.14. Storey argues, pp.6-7, that parallel to an anthropological interest in primitive cultures, folk culture allowed intellectuals to imagine they were getting a localised insight into the primitive.

³⁵¹ This could be adopted into high culture, as for example with the classical ‘pastoral’ music of the early twentieth century, Eric Saylor, "'It's Not Lambkins Frisking at All': English Pastoral Music and the Great War," *Musical Quarterly* 91, no. 1-2 (2008): pp.40-1.

³⁵² Gerry Beegan and Paul Atkinson, "Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 4 (2008): p.309.

³⁵³ Gillian Bennett, "Folklore Studies and the English Rural Myth," *Rural History* 4, no. 01 (1993): p.83.

³⁵⁴ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939*, pp.161-2, 179-80.

³⁵⁵ Porter, "'Empire, What Empire?' Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It," pp.258-9.

class coalesces with the gentry – fits neatly with such an agenda, which has been labelled the “English rural myth.”³⁵⁶



Figure 50: J. H. Daroux, 1905, photograph of the Bazaar in Aid of the Home for Incurable Invalids, Wellington Town Hall, New Zealand.

This photograph of ‘Ye Olde Town’ constructed for the bazaar was published in the *Weekly News* of 13 July, 1905.

Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19050713-12-4

In Romantic style, the ‘rural myth’ tended to place art, with all the grand moral force of Cole, Morris and the design reformers, at its centre.³⁵⁷ It discovered an arcadian commonality within the solid unchanging qualities of ‘folk art’, and to a certain extent this sense of timeless continuity accords with qualities such as respect for tradition, etiquette and procedure – all found within rural communities and the working classes.³⁵⁸ Traditions helped give workers a sense of legitimacy, but they also valued the new.³⁵⁹ Raphael Samuel is justified in noting the “promiscuous” willingness of working class artists to draw imagery from a wide range of sources spread

³⁵⁶ Darron Dean, "A Slipware Dish by Samuel Malkin: An Analysis of Vernacular Design," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 3 (1994): p.53.

³⁵⁷ Bennett, "Folklore Studies and the English Rural Myth," p.79.

³⁵⁸ On working class respect for tradition, see Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.420. Hoggart similarly discusses the “extraordinary changelessness” of some working class traditions. Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life, with Special References to Publications and Entertainments* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), p.31.

³⁵⁹ Sydney J. Shep, "Cultures of Print: Materiality, Memory, and the Rituals of Transmission," *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 28, no. 2 (2010): p.184. Shep’s article discusses, on p.183, a decorated float in a Labour Day celebration. This type of procession is typical of celebratory culture.

across the social spectrum.³⁶⁰ Dean similarly found local artists using an eclectic mix of popular and high cultural references.³⁶¹ On the face of it, there would appear to be a contradiction here. How can vernacular culture both follow tradition and be an omnivorous pilferer of cultural trends at the same time? Dean nevertheless makes a point which is crucial to unravelling this apparent contradiction, when he notes that within eighteenth century popular culture, with its copying culture, the value of new work lay not in its novelty but in its “imaginative interpretation” of an existing theme.³⁶²

Interestingly, it is the difference in value placed on the mimetic which provides the dividing line between middle class and working class culture to this day. In a fascinating study of karaoke, Rob Drew concluded that whilst the American working classes were able to find “expression of identity and difference” within the scripted confines of a pre-existing song, the format’s lack of originality precluded middle class participation, unless an element of irony was added.³⁶³ However this distinction does not hold in all areas of culture. Rampant originality does not seem to invade most middle class Christmas decorating traditions. Indeed the communal celebratory traditions touched on earlier appear to have roughly similar levels of continuity across classes. This karaoke quality is akin to what Eve Tavor Bannet describes as the “informed aesthetic pleasure” felt by literate eighteenth century readers on noting even minor departures from the commonplace interpretation of a text.³⁶⁴ It is thus only when one moves into the territory of Art – in its Romantic version – that the different emphases on originality become marked.

³⁶⁰ Raphael Samuel, "Art, Politics and Ideology: Editorial Introduction," *History Workshop Journal* 6, no. 1 (1978): p.104.

³⁶¹ Dean, "A Slipware Dish by Samuel Malkin: An Analysis of Vernacular Design," pp.160-61.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p.163. This is why Lara Kriegel could still find engraved copies of Raphael paintings being seriously reviewed in the 1830s press for their qualities as copies. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.46.

³⁶³ Rob Drew, "'Once More, with Irony': Karaoke and Social Class," *Leisure Studies* 24, no. 4 (2005): p.381. In Asia, with a more mimetic culture, kareoke was initiated and enjoyed within white collar culture, p.375.

³⁶⁴ Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, p.313.

Folk art, when interpreted as a ‘rural vernacular’, was acceptable to the nineteenth century middle class taste arbiters of the Arts and Crafts movement.³⁶⁵ Whilst short on originality, it represented the traditional (non-



Figure 51: 1905 Postcard showing the Scottish figure of ‘Heather Jock’.

This Millar & Lang card shows the survival into the postcard era of interest in earlier ritual celebration.

Author’s collection

machine) values of the hand-made, and its aesthetic had nationalist nostalgic appeal. Ironically, it was precisely because folk practices were losing their legitimacy in relation to utility that they were able to be understood in aesthetic terms, for much of the appeal of the ‘decorative arts’ derived from the idea, originating from Karl Philipp Moritz in 1785 and developed by Kant, that beauty could only exist in items with no use value.³⁶⁶ With such an appreciation for the aesthetic beauty and goodness of such rural vestiges as cottages, country pubs and people skating, the rural myth effectively packaged these items ready for aesthetic pleasure – and thus by implication for consumption [e.g. Figure 51].³⁶⁷ But aesthetes had little time for either the city-bred “mass-produced, low brow, brash, mercantile objects” that translated these ideas into

the “commercial vernacular,”³⁶⁸ or for the rural “rabble” that consumed them.³⁶⁹ As Walter Benjamin later put it, such a culture of mechanical reproduction involves “substituting mass existence for a unique existence.”³⁷⁰ For Benjamin, this was no bad thing. His aim was to politicise art.³⁷¹ Writing in the 1930s, he found film to be the medium in which a

³⁶⁵ Beegan and Atkinson, "Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design," p.308.

³⁶⁶ Potvin and Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, p.5.

³⁶⁷ Linda M. Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), p.147. This idea fits with Susan Stewart’s points about nostalgia and consumption. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, pp.139-40.

³⁶⁸ Beegan and Atkinson, "Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design." Peter Bailey points out that this distrust is in line with a broader middle class suspicion of the commercialising of leisure. Peter Bailey, "The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: A Late Twentieth-Century Review," *Rethinking History* 3, no. 2 (1999): p.134.

³⁶⁹ Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization*, p.4. He notes, pp.11-12, that the same arguments played out in music, with concern that vulgar music-hall songs were swamping folk songs.

³⁷⁰ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p.22.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.42.

sophisticated form of “simultaneous collective reception” allowed for a mass, rather than an individually aestheticized, response.³⁷² Nevertheless, prior to film, if one is to look for a living visual tradition within which working class, mass cultural taste can be found, then the melodramatic “commercial vernacular” provides one potential venue.

This vernacular, which encompasses the greeting card, was heavily engaged in the business of continuing Cole’s project of art education by offering contemporary, affordable interpretations of Art.³⁷³ Benjamin, would interpret this as part of the larger process of granting the masses expression, whilst withholding power.³⁷⁴ Ironically, however, it was exactly the combining of the hitherto middle class preserve of Art with the processes of mechanisation that triggered the censure of middle class taste, whereas the nostalgically-tinged rural folk crafts did not. Political expediency notwithstanding, Art, for these wealthy aesthetes, was inherently sullied by commerce.³⁷⁵ Chromolithography, particularly, had turned a genteel practice into a commodity.³⁷⁶ Such quality colour reproductions removed the visual distinction between the coloured original and the monochromatic reproduction, thereby challenging, as Miles Orvell put it, “fundamental values of cultural entitlement,”³⁷⁷ and the commercial activity itself became the whipping boy. Joseph Pennell, writing in a 1906 edition of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, maintained that postcards could have no artistic merit since they were the products of commercial firms.³⁷⁸ Little wonder that a good many card illustrators would duck for shelter behind nostalgic and

³⁷² Ibid., p.36.

³⁷³ This did not only occur in England. Louis Prang made exactly the same point, arguing that the democratic form of chromolithography would inevitably lift levels of taste. Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.77.

³⁷⁴ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, p.41.

³⁷⁵ This discourse, though ostensibly critiquing commerce for high minded reasons, ends up favouring those with money and leisure, in the same ways that William Morris’s hand printed wall-papers ended up costing far more than an average consumer could afford to pay. Banham, “The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform,” pp.147-8.

³⁷⁶ Mary Ann Stankiewicz, “Chromo-Civilization and the Genteel Tradition (An Essay on the Social Value of Art Education),” *Studies in Art Education* 40, no. 2 (1999): p.108.

³⁷⁷ Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p.37.

³⁷⁸ Quoted in Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.8.

sentimental images of cottages.³⁷⁹ If one could not please elite taste, at least one could supply the art that the market wanted, and if one is to understand the postcard's version of this, it is necessary to understand the other culture from which its version of art sprang.



Figure 52: Postcard of an Edwardian wedding cake. This wedding cake includes decorative sugar anchors, cupids, horseshoes, flowers, hearts and – centrally on the second tier – clasped hands.
Author's collection

Sentiment, Kitsch and the Language of Flowers

The existence of a substantially constant vernacular culture of celebration, which has, for example, embedded the ribbon as a celebratory item to this day, and covered wedding cakes with sugared emblems [Figure 52], is important to appreciate. Without it, the only way of interpreting such imagery when it appears in postcards [e.g. Figure 53], would be to follow aesthetes like Pennell and regard it as a debased trickle down from the

³⁷⁹ Helen Allingham is perhaps the best known of these. Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*, p.146.

Victorian culture of sentiment. I am not suggesting that rituals of celebration provide the only reason for the positive Edwardian working and lower-middle class response to the Hands across the Sea card, but they can provide one of several viable readings. Sentimentalism, however, also played a significant role in driving the broader culture of collection, and in establishing the popular forms of culture which some postcards refer to. Since cards like HATS are routinely regarded as sentimental, the origins of this concept, and how it fits into card culture, merit examination.

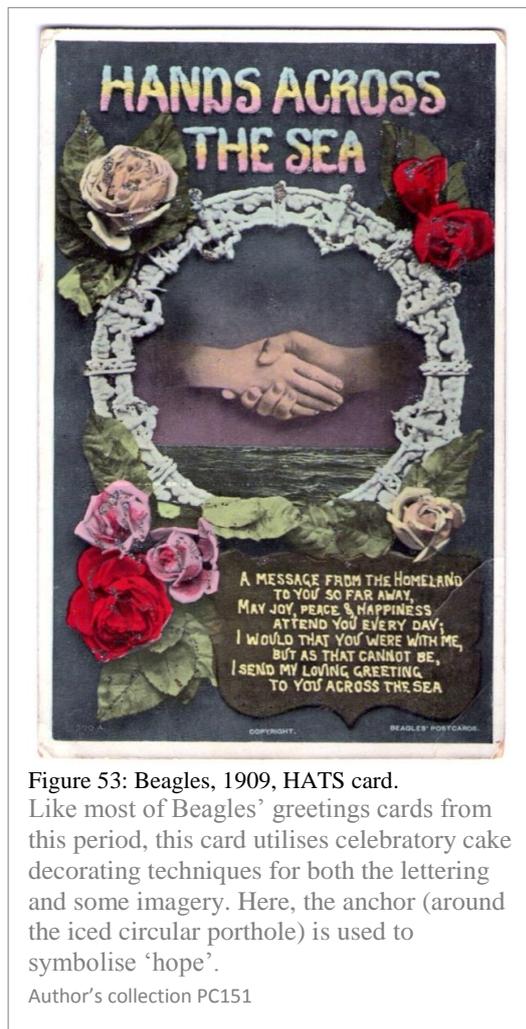


Figure 53: Beagles, 1909, HATS card.
 Like most of Beagles' greetings cards from this period, this card utilises celebratory cake decorating techniques for both the lettering and some imagery. Here, the anchor (around the iced circular porthole) is used to symbolise 'hope'.
 Author's collection PC151

Moral Sentiment Philosophy and its Relationship to Taste

In exploring the Romantic sensibility, Colin Campbell discusses sentimentality's properties, and the way that being "inner directed" leads towards the life of the imagination.³⁸⁰ He sees the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury as

³⁸⁰ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.144.

providing the basis for early eighteenth century sentimentalism through his concept of moral sentiments,³⁸¹ a theory which claimed that a good person's actions simply have to be directed towards others without reflection, and in accordance with their nature, thereby recognising the divine beauty inherent in the other. This operated via the innate mechanism of a 'moral sentiment', a concept that lead to 'feeling' becoming linked with morality.³⁸² In contrast to idealism and utilitarianism, moral sentiment philosophy linked knowledge and emotion,³⁸³ countering the competing ideas of empiricist

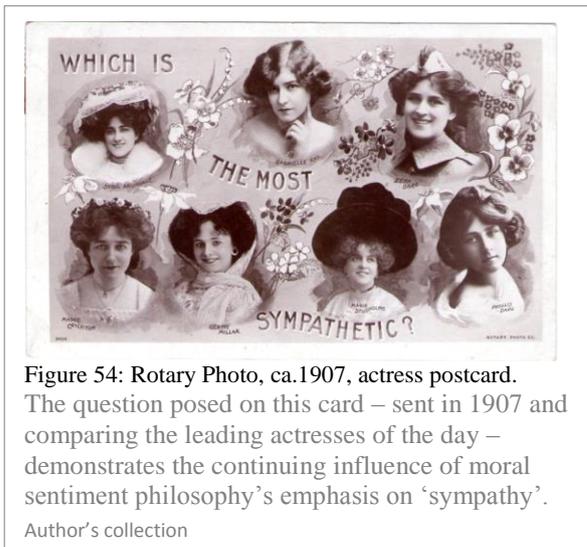


Figure 54: Rotary Photo, ca.1907, actress postcard. The question posed on this card – sent in 1907 and comparing the leading actresses of the day – demonstrates the continuing influence of moral sentiment philosophy's emphasis on 'sympathy'.
Author's collection

scepticism and Hobbesian self-interest with ethical concepts like "benevolence," and "sympathy" [e.g. Figure 54].³⁸⁴

These types of 'fellow feeling' were grounded in the ability of individuals to recognise that, as Hume put it, "the minds of men are mirrors to one another."³⁸⁵ Pure, Aristotelian, disinterested friendship, much beloved by the humanists but less overtly

emphasised by empiricists like Locke,³⁸⁶ was central to Shaftesbury's conception of morality,³⁸⁷ and would continue on – albeit sometimes minus the disinterest – in later moral sentiment philosophers like Adam Smith.³⁸⁸

³⁸¹ Ibid., pp.150-1.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Nancy Yousef, "Feeling for Philosophy: Shaftesbury and the Limits of Sentimental Certainty," *ELH* 78, no. 3 (2011): pp.609, 628. Research on the emotions has shown that the eighteenth century would see the emotions being emphasised more, albeit linked into a more disciplined framework. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, pp.7-8.

³⁸⁴ Yousef, "Feeling for Philosophy: Shaftesbury and the Limits of Sentimental Certainty," pp.611-12.

³⁸⁵ Hume, *A Treatise in Natural Nature*, quoted in Yousef, *ibid.*, p.612. Yousef notes, p.609, a recent resurgence in interest in moral sentiment philosophy. Hume's prediction of what are, in effect, mirror neurons makes this unsurprising.

³⁸⁶ Richard Yeo, "John Locke on Conversation with Friends and Strangers," *Parergon* 26, no. 2 (2009): p.15. Yeo notes that Locke's life shows a greater emphasis on friendship than his writing.

³⁸⁷ Yousef, "Feeling for Philosophy: Shaftesbury and the Limits of Sentimental Certainty," pp.618-19.

³⁸⁸ Hill and McCarthy, "Hume, Smith and Ferguson: Friendship in Commercial Society," p.46. For a discussion of eighteenth century loss of faith in sentimental friendship, see

Friendship was not the only concept central to this study to be emphasised in moral sentiment theory. So, too, was taste. Shaftesbury linked his ideas to aesthetics, where innate taste was seen as the faculty that allowed the intellectual recognition of beauty and an appreciation of beauty's divine origin.³⁸⁹ It was, however, Joseph Addison, who connected taste to the imagination, seeing taste as the ability to judge the pleasures offered by the imagination's visual representations of objects.³⁹⁰ Whilst Shaftesbury insisted that apprehension of Beauty through the moral sentiment was not a sense-oriented experience, for Addison, imagination was fed entirely by the sense of vision.³⁹¹ It was thus more inter-related with the material objects which it represented,³⁹² which is why, in tandem with his earlier discussed ideas about novelty, Addison's theories fit better with consumerism.

Addison's concept, together with the Romantic propensity towards individualism and emotion,³⁹³ helps explain the eighteenth century fashion for buying "fancy" painting, and the subsequent growth of the Fancy Goods store (see page 141). Fancy was another word for fantasy, or the imagination.³⁹⁴ Dr Johnson saw these terms as synonymous, interpreting the imagination as an "internal" sense.³⁹⁵ This connection to the senses helps explain why Kate Smith found that eighteenth century consumers regarded shopping as a fundamentally haptic experience, and not just a visual one,³⁹⁶

Richard Terry's analysis of the differences in Sarah Fielding's treatment of friendship in her two "David Simple" novels. Terry argues the Fielding lost faith in friendship as a transcending mode, opting latterly for "love, patience and faith [as] the only palliatives." Richard Terry, "David Simple and the Fallacy of Friendship," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 44, no. 3 (2004): p.541.

³⁸⁹ Shelley, James. "18th Century British Aesthetics." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer (2012), Edward N. Zalta (ed.) <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/aesthetics-18th-british/> [accessed December 12, 2012].

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Mavis Batey, "The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influence on Early Landscape Gardens," *Garden History* 33, no. 2 (2005): p.191.

³⁹² Shelley, James. "18th Century British Aesthetics," [accessed December 12, 2012].

³⁹³ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.32.

³⁹⁴ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.2.

³⁹⁵ Samuel Johnson, *The New English Dictionary, or Complete Library of Grammatical Knowledge*, New ed. (London: P. Williams, 1792). This work is unpaginated. Whilst the definitions of 'fancy' and 'imagination' regard them as synonyms, the idea of the imagination as an inner sense occurs under the definition of the word 'sense'.

³⁹⁶ Kate Smith, "Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of Design History* 25, no. 1 (2012): p.3.

[e.g. Figure 38]. They shared George Sturt's craftsman's opinion that "my own eyes know because my own hands have felt."³⁹⁷ The twentieth and twenty-first century "sensory bias" towards the visual mode was much less evident in the eighteenth century.³⁹⁸ Hence, linking consumption too closely to visual longing, as Campbell does, may overlook the broader sensory spectrum.

Interpreting Sentimentality

Philosophically, sentimentalism drew on both Shaftesbury's emphasis on feeling, and Addison's imaginative faculty of taste. Yet, as Lynn Festa rightly points out, philosophy is one thing, but the history of the "bastard form" of sentimentalism needs to be considered separately.³⁹⁹ If eighteenth century lexicographers like Dr Johnson (who prioritised sentiment's intellectual qualities)⁴⁰⁰ and James Berkeley (who prioritised its affective qualities) struggled with the derivation and definition of words like 'sentiment' and 'sentimental',⁴⁰¹ then it is not surprising that the concept might end up marrying imagination and affect when the word entered popular consciousness in the nineteenth century. Just how scattergun its connotations were, can be seen in an 1864 dictionary where definitions of the word 'sentimental' span thought, feeling and affectation.⁴⁰²

To help focus this very disparate discourse, Festa distinguishes between *sympathy*, which emphasises the interpersonal,⁴⁰³ *sensibility*, which highlights an individual's receptiveness to emotion,⁴⁰⁴ and *sentimentality*,

³⁹⁷ Quoted in Kleinberg-Levin, "The Invisible Hands of Capital and Labour: Using Merleau Ponty's Phenomenology to Understand the Meaning of Alienation in Marx's Theory of Manual Labour," p.55. Sturt was writing in 1924 about the loss of woodworking skills.

³⁹⁸ Smith, "Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London," p.5.

³⁹⁹ Lynn M. Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p.14.

⁴⁰⁰ Johnson, *The New English Dictionary, or Complete Library of Grammatical Knowledge*.

⁴⁰¹ Marie Banfield, "From Sentiment to Sentimentality: A Nineteenth-Century Lexicographical Search," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* no. 4 (2007): p.2.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁴⁰³ Edmund Burke says of this that sympathy is the "substitution by which we are put into the place of another man, and affected in many respects as he is affected." Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, p.44.

⁴⁰⁴ Jonathan Simon presents an extreme example of this in the fascination felt towards the (to us) gruesome eighteenth century public displays of flayed corpses, ostensibly as anatomy, but treated as objects demanding an affective response. He particularly notes the

which locates sentiment in the types of applied contexts (such as literature) where the structure of the medium ensures that possessor and receiver of feeling are designated – thus embedding underlying social and power relationships.⁴⁰⁵ She then applies these definitions to examine how imperialist attitudes towards conquered peoples were reinforced by the process of defining who was the object of sympathy, and who had the luxury of responding sentimentally.⁴⁰⁶ These power relationships operated despite sentimentality using a language of universal brotherhood in order, as Condorcet put it, to “offer some friendly hand to deliver them.”⁴⁰⁷ Festa uses Edmund Burke to personify the peculiarly Liberal British desire to castigate British imperial expansion, not for its subjugation, but rather for not doing more to support the material well-being and liberty of its conquered subjects, thereby implicating the sentimental voice in legitimising the imperial project.⁴⁰⁸ Liberal icons, like Wedgwood’s “Am I not a man and brother” abolition medallion [Figure 206] are similarly interpreted not as genuinely sympathetic (in getting the viewer to place themselves in the slave’s place) but rather as sentimental in that the viewer tacitly identifies with what Festa calls the “community of moved souls.”⁴⁰⁹ The emphasis is thus moved away from sympathetic pity, which would place a moral obligation to act, to self-congratulation – a by-product of individualism’s self-interest.⁴¹⁰ Vivasvan Soni, in looking at literary sentimentalism’s relationship with happiness, therefore argues that

way that trappings like blue ribbon reins on a preserved horse and rider cued such an approach. Jonathan Simon, "Honoré Fragonard, Anatomical Virtuoso," in *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*, ed. Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and Christine Blondel (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate), p.155.

⁴⁰⁵ Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, p.3. She uses the term ‘assign’ rather than ‘apply’.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.239-40.

⁴⁰⁷ Marquis de Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Spirit*, 1795, quoted in Festa, *ibid.*, p.238.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.235-6.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.170. While I wrote this, a Christmas e-mail arrived from a local design agency saying that this year they would not be sending out lavish gifts but would be sponsoring four third world children. As corporations create transnational economic empires, the “community of moved souls” appears to be alive and well.

⁴¹⁰ Vivasvan Soni, "The Tragedies of Sentimentalism: Privatizing Happiness in the Eighteenth Century," in *Individualism: The Cultural Logic of Modernity*, ed. Zubin Meer (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011), p.190. Edmund Burke was aware that the starting point of dealing sympathetically with others’ distress was the “degree of delight” we experience in it happening to someone else. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, p.45.

sentimentalism takes away tragedy's earlier view of happiness as a cumulative life-time's work, and replaces it with a series of 'trials' in which happiness becomes a fleeting affective quality.⁴¹¹ It is this series of 'trials' which is fundamental to the affective 'situations' of melodramatic genre.

Festa's focus is on sentiment and empire, and she locates this discourse within a world of hugely disparate spatial spheres. Whilst some people lived in a world defined by a four mile radius, increasingly large numbers of people were encountering the full expanse of the globe,⁴¹² experiencing levels of distance and separation that neither their ancestors nor their less adventurous neighbours could have imagined.⁴¹³ If sympathetic identification proved difficult with peoples far removed from European culture, simply communicating the emotional force of such encounters to those back home proved similarly difficult, and it was often the small details rather than the grand narratives that enabled sympathy to be evoked.⁴¹⁴ Sonia Solicari emphasises that for the Victorians, the key quality of sentiment was that of sharing emotions.⁴¹⁵ In an environment that increasingly valued this quality, ensuring that the correct emotional nuance was conveyed across distance or time to another person required the participants to agree on a common set of conventions and tropes that enabled the emotional intent to be recognised and decoded.⁴¹⁶

It is exactly at this point that sentiment seems doomed. Within the Romantic-oriented middle class world view, with its emphasis on originality

⁴¹¹ Soni, "The Tragedies of Sentimentalism: Privatizing Happiness in the Eighteenth Century," p.195. Soni's point is that happiness is thus moved from being a quality of a "good life" to one of immediate emotional gratification. This is paralleled in Peter Bailey's comment that the nineteenth century saw a move from the injunction "be virtuous and you will be happy" to Grant Allen's notorious "be happy and you will be virtuous." Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, p.28.

⁴¹² Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, p.1.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* This was why, for example, Elizabeth Gaskell described the lives of Manchester workers so painstakingly – she hoped to evoke sympathetic identification in middle class readers for whom Manchester slums might as well have been South America. Voskuil, "Feeling Public: Sensation Theater, Commodity Culture, and the Victorian Public Sphere," p.268.

⁴¹⁵ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.1.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

of expression, creativity, and authenticity of emotion,⁴¹⁷ anything like a standardised artistic language of emotion immediately begins to look commodified and insincere.⁴¹⁸ In conforming to a preordained pattern, the individuality of the producer is negated, and the resulting products become, as Susan Stewart says, in her discussion of kitsch, “souvenirs of an era and not a self.”⁴¹⁹ And since sentimentality is so routinely equated with ‘kitsch’, it is worth briefly noting the key points of the latter debate before continuing with the former.

Kitsch

Originating in the 1870s, the German word ‘Verkitschen’, meaning ‘to make commercial’ was quickly associated with ‘plebeian’ work of no aesthetic value,⁴²⁰ and by 1899 Gustav Pazaurek had defined it as one of five classes of taste error in objects.⁴²¹ For Clement Greenberg, Kitsch represented a mechanically-reproduced parasite on a mature culture, which adopted that culture’s forms and strategies without its generative ethos.⁴²² Such mass cultural objects elicited multiple objections. The political left highlighted its anaesthetic effects on revolutionary politics,⁴²³ while Adorno lamented how the “swarming forms of the banal” dulled the “progress of freedom.”⁴²⁴ Most damningly, Kitsch, according to people like Greenberg,

⁴¹⁷ David Z. Saltz, "Editorial Comment: Popular Culture and Theatre History," *Theatre Journal* 60, no. 4 (2008): p.xi. Charles Guignon’s study of the subsequent implications of this authenticity debate is of particular interest in showing how this emphasis on authenticity has continued through to today. Charles Guignon, *On Being Authentic* (London: Routledge, 2004).

⁴¹⁸ Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *On the Margins of Discourse: The Relation of Literature to Language* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp.59-62. She discusses here the issues around “prefabricated utterances” such as greetings card verse, which appear insincere and lacking in specificity.

⁴¹⁹ Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, p.167-8.

⁴²⁰ Paul Duro and Michael Greenhalgh, *Essential Art History* (London: Bloomsbury, 1992), p.171.

⁴²¹ A museum curator, Pazaurek, following in the step of Henry Cole’s “Chamber of Horrors,” put together a collection of 900 objects to make his case about errors of material, design, decoration, kitsch, and misunderstanding the contemporary. Stephen Bayley, "Henry Cole, Craft and Coat-Hangers," *Crafts*, no. 233 (2011): p.64.

⁴²² Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1961), p.10.

⁴²³ Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization*, p.30.

⁴²⁴ Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, pp.30, 52.

is high art degraded:⁴²⁵ following taste rather than creating it.⁴²⁶ It is precisely this objection that David Prochaska noted in 1990s art historical attitudes to postcards, which were seen as “degraded versions of “high” art photography.”⁴²⁷ Bourdieu, whose project was to reveal taste as a marker of an elitist *habitus*,⁴²⁸ suggested that the revulsion high culture feels for the facile, shallow and cheap could be traced back to Schopenhauer’s distinction between the ‘sublime’ and the ‘charming’.⁴²⁹ Writing from within a sentimental culture, Schopenhauer maintained that ‘charming’ objects, by stirring the appetites, were not appropriate for real art, which needed to maintain an aesthetic distance⁴³⁰ – a call echoed by such key modernist thinkers as Roger Fry.⁴³¹ In tandem with modernism, from the 1920s onwards, the emotionalism of Victorian culture would be replaced by a more “disengaged” ‘cool’ demeanour which held emotional excess at bay.⁴³² It was primarily this ‘cool’ culture that made kitsch such a byword for bad taste.

As modernism’s star waned, however, new approaches to kitsch started to develop. Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik tried to rescue the ‘low’ arts of advertising, graffiti, caricature etc. by showing that “within this realm artists can be found who made work of originality and intensity.”⁴³³ This, however, essentially reinforced ‘high’ approaches, by only rescuing those works that conformed to middle class values. Sam Binkley, on the other hand, tried to move the debate away from taste, arguing instead that kitsch represents an aesthetic that deliberately prioritises convention over

⁴²⁵ Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1991), p.262.

⁴²⁶ Duro and Greenhalgh, *Essential Art History*, p.171.

⁴²⁷ Prochaska, "Fantasia of the Photothèque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal," p.40.

⁴²⁸ Savage, "Status, Lifestyle and Taste," p.558.

⁴²⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, pp.486-7.

⁴³⁰ Shapshay, Sandra. "Schopenhauer's Aesthetics." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer (2012), Edward N. Zalta (ed.)

<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/schopenhauer-aesthetics/> [accessed December 12, 2012].

⁴³¹ Christopher Reed, ed. *A Roger Fry Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p.400.

⁴³² Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, pp.1-2.

⁴³³ Varnedoe and Gopnik, *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture*, p.16.

creativity, and repetition over the unique.⁴³⁴ He saw such work as having its own sense of rhythm, one which cultivates continuity and is not afraid of sentiment.⁴³⁵ Countering critiques of kitsch on aesthetic grounds is, however, still interpreting it in terms of style, which thus misses the point. Even philosopher Robert Solomon, who tries to defend sentimentality and kitsch from the charge of expressing or evoking the superficial, does not challenge the assumption that the role of an artwork is to “express” or “evoke” emotion.⁴³⁶ Both are vague terms which disguise the process of emotional transfer. Louis Mink got closer to this process when he rejected the expressive model in favour of understanding art as a symbol, which presents and exhibits what it symbolises.⁴³⁷ Ultimately, however, I would argue that both kitsch and sentimentality aim for maximum ease in the transfer of affect, preferring certainty of interpretation over expressive or symbolic originality – or, indeed, rhythmic conformity. Subject, as Sonia Solicari says, takes priority over style.⁴³⁸

Communicating Emotion

Sentimentality, then, focuses on the communication of emotion. Emily West argues that a communicative focus is typical of those with lower cultural capital.⁴³⁹ Festa, however, is interested in the way sentimentality can create the appearance of closeness and of similarity, whilst maintaining a fundamental cultural distance between conquerors and conquered, by creating an ‘other’ we can feel sorry for. Such an ‘othering’ process does

⁴³⁴ Sam Binkley, "Kitsch as a Repetitive System: A Problem for the Theory of Taste Hierarchy," *Journal of Material Culture* 5, no. 2 (2000): p.133.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁴³⁶ Robert C. Solomon, *In Defense of Sentimentality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.246. Solomon is most effective in exposing the dubious rationale for our contemporary unease with “sweet sentiment” whilst we are voyeuristically attracted to the “sour” variety of negative sentiment.

⁴³⁷ Vann, "Louis Mink's Linguistic Turn," p.6.

⁴³⁸ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.12.

⁴³⁹ Emily West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 5 (2010): p.456. Bethan Carney notes that criticism of Dickens for excess sentimentality coincides with middle class fears about its political effect on working class readers. [Bethan Carney, "Introduction: ‘Mr Popular Sentiment’: Dickens and Feeling," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 14 (2012), p.11.] Carney’s point is that the emotive nature of Dicken’s portrayal of the poor, particularly his deathbed scenes, could be inflammatory, and that criticisms of Dickens coincide precisely with the point when the working class began to read novels.

not, however, necessarily operate when the sentimental action involves attempting to emotionally connect two people (usually on equal cultural terms) who happen to be physically separated. Nicola Brown makes this point in relation to sentimentality's ability to link us with the people of the past across the divide of time.⁴⁴⁰ This is also a condition of the HATS postcard, or indeed any type of greetings card which attempts to unite people across space. Here, the sentimental intent is not about exclusion. Rather, it is about maintaining and amplifying emotional ties which happen to be spatially fractured. As Joyce C. Hall, founder of Hallmark would later remark: "intense relationships require sentimental language."⁴⁴¹



Understood in these terms, the sentimental seems a natural mode for a greetings culture, but inevitably opposes any aesthetic that desires distance.⁴⁴² Schopenhauer was justified in saying that the "charming" stirred appetites,⁴⁴³ as was Roger Fry when he said that sentimental art aims to bring us close to the action.⁴⁴⁴ On this level, sentimentalism can be seen as a clear attempt to counteract distance – one of the key indicators of the modern world. Michel de Certeau's discussion of the difference between the "modes of separation" implicit in rail and a porthole, captures the underlying issues effectively:

The [porthole] creates the spectator's distance: you shall not touch; the more you see, the less you hold – a dispossession of the hand in favour of a greater trajectory for the eye. The [rail] inscribes, indefinitely, the injunction to pass on; it is its order written in a

⁴⁴⁰ Nicola Brown, "Introduction: Crying over Little Nell," *ibid.*, no. 4 (2007): p.11.

⁴⁴¹ Kathy Merlock Jackson, "Psychological First Aid: The Hallmark Company, Greeting Cards, and the Response to September 11," *Journal of American Culture* 28, no. 1 (2005): pp.18-19.

⁴⁴² Peter Stearns argues, however, that the Victorians' enjoyment of emotional closeness was itself a way of psychologically distancing the self from the body – which had earlier been seen as entwined with the emotions. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, pp.66-7.

⁴⁴³ Shapshay, Sandra. "Schopenhauer's Aesthetics." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer (2012), [accessed December 12, 2012].

⁴⁴⁴ Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader*, pp.399-400. Fry's concern is that art remains far enough from life not to get "entangled in the conflict of our desires and vanities."

single but endless line: go, leave, this is not your country ... [it is] an endless imperative of separation which obliges one to pay for an abstract ocular domination of space by leaving behind any proper place, by losing one's footing.⁴⁴⁵

Spatial domination notwithstanding, it was de Certeau's "dispossession of the hand" that emigrants found most difficult.⁴⁴⁶ "I cannot reach her, she cannot reach me!" said Ellen, of separation from her mother, in Susan Warner's 1850 novel *The Wide, Wide World*.⁴⁴⁷ Elizabeth Barrett Browning, writing about Letitia Elizabeth Landon (who committed suicide when away from England),⁴⁴⁸ similarly highlighted the haptic, saying "To touch, across

the waves, friends left behind. 'Do you think of me as I think of you?'"⁴⁴⁹

In a situation where people were physically separated by geography – an increasingly common experience by the end of the nineteenth century – the material objects that act as intermediaries are inevitably going to be called on to negate the sense of sensory deprivation and evoke both the memory and the physical

presence of the absent person [Figure 56]. Indeed, this mnemonic function of objects already permeated eighteenth century culture, where gifts, as

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

It can be accessed at:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/11156>

Figure 56: Harriet Goodhue Hosmer, 1853, Clasped Hands of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

Cast from life, this sculpture, by a pioneering female sculptor, evokes marriage symbolism, and the haptic, freezing an actual moment of touching which then acts as a memento in the absence of either one or both of the poets.

© Metropolitan Museum of Art: www.metmuseum.org

⁴⁴⁵ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p.112. He goes on to argue that it is the detachment from the everyday that creates the conditions for speculative thinking.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Quoted in Sara E. Quay, "Homesickness in Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World*," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 18, no. 1 (1999): p.39.

⁴⁴⁸ Lucasta Miller, "Sex and the Woman Writer: Charlotte Brontë and the Cautionary Tale of Letitia Elizabeth Landon," *Bronte Studies* 36, no. 1 (2011): p.41. Miller points out that there are multiple possible causes for the suicide.

⁴⁴⁹ The poem is entitled *L.E.L.'s Last Question*. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Poems* (London: Smith, Elder, 1899), p.251.

Amanda Vickery puts it, “prompted pleasant memories of the donor and the moment of giving, ‘with his own dear hands’.”⁴⁵⁰

‘Touching’ is a stock phrase for the sentimental effect. It evokes the haptic experience literally, or refers to affective experience metaphorically.⁴⁵¹ Eva Illouz points out that our emotions, most particularly romantic love, are intertwined with the body,⁴⁵² and Nicola Brown sees the strength of sentimental art as being its ability to make our bodies experience.⁴⁵³ Whilst the true aesthete might derive aesthetic pleasure from the contemplation of unimaginable distance,⁴⁵⁴ the aim of the average mortal, when separated from loved ones, is to do their level best to narrow the haptic gap and (where possible) evoke physical contact and the presence of those they are divided from – something the HATS card symbolises particularly effectively. In using such means, they seek what Krzysztof Konecki calls “emotional community,”⁴⁵⁵ and John Heeren, “emotional simultaneity.”⁴⁵⁶

Peter Stearns has argued that the Victorians were, in many ways, remarkably emotionally open,⁴⁵⁷ and delighted in “appropriately targeted emotional intensity.”⁴⁵⁸ Memory plays a key role in such activity, [e.g.

⁴⁵⁰ Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," p.286. The quote was written in 1779 in the diary of Elizabeth Shackleton, the “Lancashire Consumer” of the title.

⁴⁵¹ Samantha Matthews, "'O for the Touch of a Vanished Hand': The Touching Testimony of a Victorian Epigraph," *British Association for Victorian Studies Yearbook and Directory of Members* (2009): p.25.

⁴⁵² Illouz, *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*, p.75.

⁴⁵³ Nicola Brown, "Tender Beauty: Victorian Painting and the Problem of Sentimentality," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16 (2011): p.220.

⁴⁵⁴ Casper David Friedrich's 1818 *Wanderer Over the Mist* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle gives perhaps the best visual evocation of this.

⁴⁵⁵ Krzysztof Tomasz Konecki, "Touching and Gesture Exchange as an Element of Emotional Bond Construction. Application of Visual Sociology in the Research on Interaction between Humans and Animals," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9, no. 3 (2008): p.42. This is used in the context of describing the role of touch in communication between different species (e.g. human to chimpanzee).

⁴⁵⁶ John W. Heeren, "Emotional Simultaneity and the Construction of Victim Unity," *Symbolic Interaction* 22, no. 2 (1999): p.16. He is specifically discussing the bonds shared by fellow victims of trauma.

⁴⁵⁷ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.21. Stearns' linking in the title to constructivism, America and the twentieth century has probably resulted in the book receiving less subsequent attention in the Victorian British context than its research warrants. There is a detailed section on the Victorians, and although some later elements are specific to America, his discussion of the Victorian emotional style appears broadly applicable throughout the Anglo culture, and provides a base for my subsequent discussions around emotional style.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.29.

Figure 55]. It was Rousseau that first realised the extent to which affect was a mnemonic trigger, arguing that it created a “chain of emotions,” or what Aleida Assmann terms a “memory anchor.”⁴⁵⁹ Thus, one sentimental tactic for preserving links was to find shared memories, or to create a sense of closeness through locating an ‘other’ object – like a puppy, a child, or a cottage – about which one could share sympathy. Nevertheless this could only function if there was an agreed mnemonic or cultural definition as to the appropriate emotional response.⁴⁶⁰ To communicate or evoke more detailed and specific emotions, one needed an appropriate set of agreed conventions. The emblem had allowed seventeenth century scholars to create a semiotic form to embed complex thought within a non-linguistic framework,⁴⁶¹ and nineteenth century sentimental culture created an analogous, if simpler, form for conveying emotion, which the HATS postcard would later embrace [e.g. Figure 196]: a language of flowers.⁴⁶²

The Language of Flowers

Flowers were not new to visual culture when they started to be used in this way. They had been used symbolically in mediaeval times,⁴⁶³ and the influence of the Dutch,⁴⁶⁴ and of Rousseau’s emphasis on nature,⁴⁶⁵ had

⁴⁵⁹ Aleida Assmann, "Three Memory Anchors: Affect, Symbol, Trauma," in *Dark Traces of the Past: Psychoanalysis and Historical Thinking*, ed. Jürgen Straub and Jörn Rüsen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), p.23. It was Assmann that made the connection to Rousseau.

⁴⁶⁰ June Howard, "What Is Sentimentality?," *American Literary History* 11, no. 1 (1999): p.76.

⁴⁶¹ Wollock, "John Bulwer (1606-1656) and the Significance of Gesture in 17th-Century Theories of Language and Cognition," pp. 243-5. I continue the discussion of the wider language of emotion in the Modern and Nostalgic section of chapter five (p.425).

⁴⁶² This is not the only such language. Jespersen argues that ornament, as set out by Owen Jones, constitutes a pictorial language, with Jones formulating its grammar. Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' the Grammar of Ornament of 1856," p.8.

⁴⁶³ For example, see Paul Battles, "In Folly Ripe, in Reason Rotten: The Flower and the Leaf and the 'Purgatory of Cruel Beauties'," *Medium Aevum* 72, no. 2 (2003): p.238.

'Florilegia', or books of flowers, were a vehicle for conveying the moral teachings of the church. [Mecklenburg-Faenger, "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks," §13.] Gardens were important metaphors for knowledge. Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.274.

⁴⁶⁴ In Britain, this drew on the vogue for flower painting that arrived from Holland with William and Mary. Birmingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.203. Designs submitted for a British Royal Society textile design competition in the mid eighteenth century show that flower iconography was already a well-established part of design discourse. Puetz, "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," pp.221-2.

made flowers popular ornamental elements. The impetus for using material objects as a language of love did not originate with flowers, however. It has been ascribed to the *Turkish Embassy Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, which were published in 1763, describing the *sélan*, a practice whereby harem women communicated with outside lovers through apparently innocuous gifts with hidden symbolic meanings.⁴⁶⁶ It was not until 1819, however, that the first book to use flowers as a love code, Charlotte de la Tour's *Le Langage des Fleurs*, was published, mingling Montagu's material symbolism with Linnaean Botany's fascination with floral modes of sexual reproduction.⁴⁶⁷

Ann Bermingham notes that in the years prior to this development, flower painting had provided a rare venue for women to approach art with some degree of professionalism,⁴⁶⁸ a cultural sphere where they could display a degree of independent genius and taste.⁴⁶⁹ The 'language of flowers' was patronised by the same upper-class youthful clientele that painted flowers, bought Ackermann's paste papers, created albums and enjoyed Letitia Elizabeth Landon's poems. And if one were to accept Dinah Maria Mulock Craik's dictum that for women "the heart was the key to the intellect,"⁴⁷⁰ then the language of flowers, like sentimentality, would remain defined as a feminine predilection. However, to work in communicating the discourse of heterosexual love, the language of flowers required participation from both genders. In view of Stearns' above-mentioned point about the more open Victorian emotional culture,⁴⁷¹ it would be a mistake to uncritically accept later critiques of sentimentality and assume that it was a purely gendered

⁴⁶⁵ This shows up, for example, in French wallpaper designs: Bernard Jacqué, "Luxury Perfected: The Ascendency of French Wallpaper 1770-1870," in *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p.59.

⁴⁶⁶ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.208.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. Erasmus Darwin's 1791 poem *The Loves of Plants* was one particularly popular example that examined sexuality through the vegetable metaphor. Bewell, "Erasmus Darwin's Cosmopolitan Nature," p.30.

⁴⁶⁸ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, pp.202, 215.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.155-6.

⁴⁷⁰ Dinah Maria Mulock Craik, *Mistress and Maid* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1862), p.46.

⁴⁷¹ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.21.

discourse. Just as the emerging fern craze would fascinate both genders,⁴⁷² when the compiler of *Flora and Thalia* framed her book as “not a scientific work but one of moral amusement, which may possibly lead the reader to the study of botany,”⁴⁷³ she was linking flowers to interests that were shared by men and women.

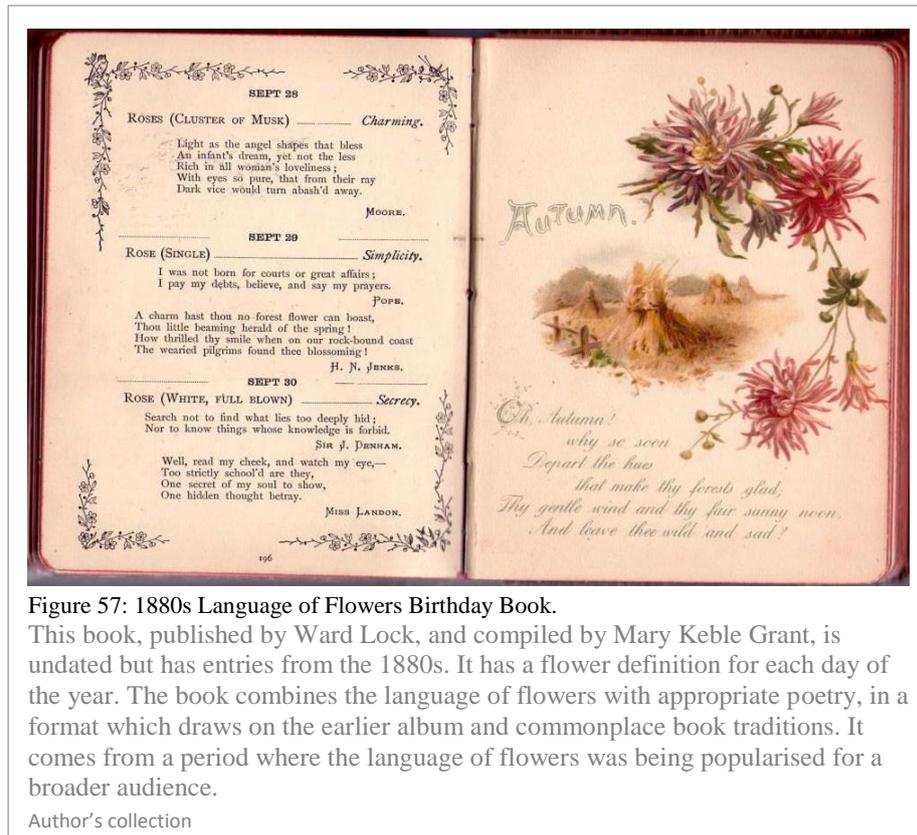


Figure 57: 1880s Language of Flowers Birthday Book.

This book, published by Ward Lock, and compiled by Mary Keble Grant, is undated but has entries from the 1880s. It has a flower definition for each day of the year. The book combines the language of flowers with appropriate poetry, in a format which draws on the earlier album and commonplace book traditions. It comes from a period where the language of flowers was being popularised for a broader audience.

Author's collection

The language of flowers enjoyed a similar lifespan to the Friendship Book, diminishing in vogue amongst its genteel demographic during the latter part of the century, roughly in tandem with its adoption into the mass-produced greetings culture of the 1870s. By this time, however, the meanings associated with flowers had become the commonplaces that would be inherited by the postcard [e.g. Figure 58]. When someone received a Christmas card with an appliqué rose, forget-me-not, ivy or fern, not to mention a heliotrope or heather, they probably knew its meaning. If not, they could always look it up in the book [Figure 57]. However, if it was

⁴⁷² In the Language of Flowers, the fern symbolised ‘fascination’. Whittingham, *Fern Fever: The Story of Pteridomania*, p.219.

⁴⁷³ A Lady, *Flora and Thalia; or, Gems of Flowers and Poetry: Being an Alphabetical Arrangement of Flowers, with Appropriate Poetical Illustrations* (London: Henry Washbourne, 1835), p.vii.

books that provided the grammar for the language of flowers, its syntax was played out in a myriad of sentimental settings, prominent amongst which were greetings cards like the Valentine.



The Development of a Greetings Culture

Letters, Cards and the Valentine

The word 'sentiment' is often used to describe greetings card verse, something that has not aided the card's academic respectability. Like ornament, sentimentality provided modernism with one of its easiest targets. As Emily West points out, the use of "pre-printed sentiments" runs directly counter to the middle class values of authentic, original self-expression that, well before modernism, were important to the type of middle class person who valued letterwriting as an art,⁴⁷⁴ and who equated sending a ready-printed card with laziness. With its packaged sentiments, the greetings card could be seen as another of those Bourdieuesque battlegrounds over taste in which the possessors of cultural capital, should they deign to use it, utilise the item symbolically to distinguish their expressively individualistic taste,

⁴⁷⁴ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.452.

whilst those with more modest cultural capital use the object at face value, as a convenient prop to assist with their communication.⁴⁷⁵ This analysis certainly explains why so much middle class academic vitriol has been aimed towards the greeting card over the years.⁴⁷⁶ West therefore argues for a focus on the ritual aspects of card exchange; rather than indexing taste, she believes that the practice instead references the emotional and physical effort invested in choosing and sending the greeting.⁴⁷⁷

The Letter

Highly ritualised substitutes for greetings were hardly necessary in stable, rural societies. Seventeenth and eighteenth century advances in travel and communication technologies simultaneously increased the spatial gaps between people, whilst enabling these to be bridged, primarily through the medium of the letter. And since the letter seems to have been the measure that the postcard struggled to live up to, its history needs to be understood. Letters were originally reserved for the state,⁴⁷⁸ but as this form of communication began to spread to a wider catchment, letter-writing was initially perceived as lacking in the credibility and trust that direct contact engendered.⁴⁷⁹ This is useful to remember, given the way that, as the *Evening Post* put it nostalgically in 1907, “English writers have bewailed the popularity of the post-card because it has tended to destroy the letter proper.”⁴⁸⁰ In fact, letter-writing was not quite the broad based and essential tradition that its protagonists believed.

Later traditions of using letter-writing in structured ways to maintain contact with distant friends and family built upon conditions that were already in place amongst eighteenth century gentry, government, court, and

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., p.456.

⁴⁷⁶ Perhaps the most influential critique of greeting cards has been Stephen Papsen, "From Symbolic Exchange to Bureaucratic Discourse: The Hallmark Greeting Card," *Theory, Culture & Society* 3, no. 2 (1986).

⁴⁷⁷ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.453.

⁴⁷⁸ Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, p.31. Siegert's study primarily focuses on letter-writing within literary contexts, so is of less relevance to an examination of the spread of letterwriting into 'low' rather than 'high' culture.

⁴⁷⁹ Lindsay O'Neill, "'Speaking Letters': Epistolary Networks, Communication, and Community in the Wider British World, 1660-1760" (Ph.D., Yale University, 2008), p.396.

⁴⁸⁰ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Life's Fitful Fever," January 12, 1907, p.9.

trading circles.⁴⁸¹ Within a burgeoning British Empire, these were the people most likely to have long distance relationships, and most able to afford expensive postal charges – with a substantial letter costing a shilling or more to post.⁴⁸² Granted, those of lesser means were not completely precluded from letterwriting,⁴⁸³ but, as Peter Wosh has pointed out, it was not until the 1840s' Penny Post, and the roughly simultaneous introduction of cheap metal pens, that letterwriting spread to a broader segment of the population, only developing much beyond the formulaic by around the 1870s.⁴⁸⁴

Part of the letter's appeal was that it acted as a symbol of leisure, since letterwriting was in effect a gift of the writer's free time.⁴⁸⁵ This demonstrative function may explain why, in the early days of its increased popularity, the letter was treated as public, rather than private, to be circulated and read aloud amongst family and friends,⁴⁸⁶ and potentially printed in newspapers.⁴⁸⁷ Writing letters was therefore rather more ritual, and rather less expressive than later writers might assume. And it was not, as Wosh noted, considered inappropriate to base one's letters on models.⁴⁸⁸ The prevalence of that middle class staple, the self-help book,⁴⁸⁹ offering model letters for every situation [e.g. Figure 59],⁴⁹⁰ attests to the fact that it

⁴⁸¹ Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, p.61.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

⁴⁸⁴ Wosh, "Going Postal," p.237.

⁴⁸⁵ Ricia Anne Chansky, "Time to Shop: Advertising Trade Card Rhetoric and the Construction of a Public Space for Women in the United States, 1880-1900," *Atenea* 29 (2009): p.163.

⁴⁸⁶ David A. Gerber, "Epistolary Ethics: Personal Correspondence and the Culture of Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 4 (2000): p.12. Another interpretation is provided by David Vincent, who notes that amongst people with high degrees of illiteracy, the public reading of letters was in part an exercise of collective decipherment. David Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2003): p.423.

⁴⁸⁷ Sue Middleton, "'Emigrants of the Labouring Classes': Capital, Labour and Learning in Wellington, 1840-45," in *Australian Association for Research in Education Conference* (Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane 2008), p.11.

⁴⁸⁸ Wosh, "Going Postal," p.237.

⁴⁸⁹ Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*, p.10.

⁴⁹⁰ Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, p.ix.

was still Weber's "formal correctness" of expression,⁴⁹¹ and the rhetorical appearance of sincerity (rather than the originality of heartfelt expression), that dominated at this period.⁴⁹² And it is at the level of ritual form that early greetings card practice is best understood.

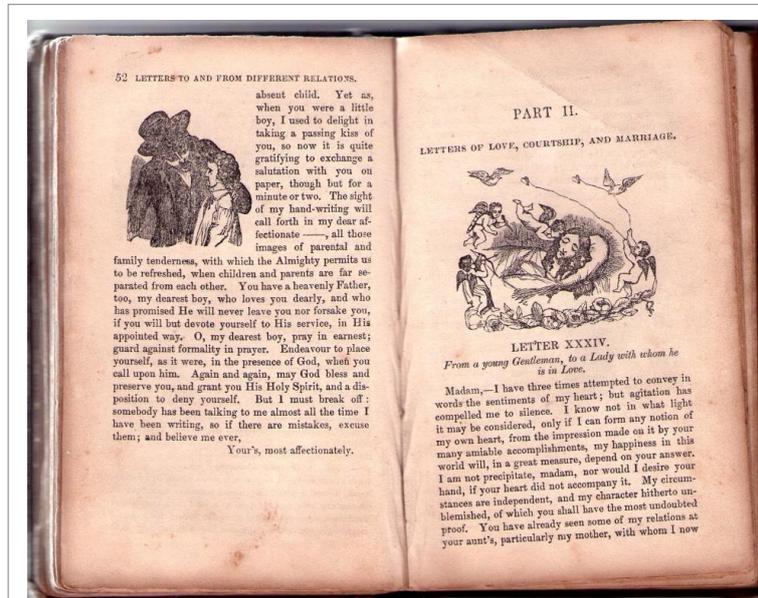


Figure 59: Cooke's Universal Letter Writer, 1843 edition.

A late edition of a much reprinted Letter Writer. The flowers, birds and cupids in the illustration resemble Valentine iconography, and this edition included advice on writing Valentine poems, Compliment cards, and Toasts.

Author's collection

Early Greetings Cards

The custom of asking visitors to leave their names on the back of a playing card apparently provided the origin for the eighteenth century visiting card, an engraved and often illustrated card to be left by the leisured when calling on friends:⁴⁹³ the earliest use of cards for greeting. It became common during the latter part of the eighteenth century to use such cards, known as

⁴⁹¹ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, pp.180-1. Monica Cure points out that socially this correctness was a "synecdoche for an ordered society," arguing that the postcard's challenge to etiquette was seen as symbolic of the changes that allowed such threats as the New Woman. Cure, "Text with a View: Turn-of-the-Century Literature and the Invention of the Postcard," p.66.

⁴⁹² Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, p.69.

⁴⁹³ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.10. By the middle of the eighteenth century these were being manufactured with room for a greetings message. *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.27.

“cards of compliment,” rather than letters, for arranging meetings.⁴⁹⁴

Edward Long, in his 1774 satirical book *The Sentimental Exhibition*, gave a contemporary, if perhaps exaggerated, picture of the place that cards already occupied in assisting the formal courtesies of late Eighteenth century sentimental culture:

I rejoice that Cards, which used to be reckoned the Bane of Mankind,⁴⁹⁵ are now become of real Utility, as the Vehicles of Compliment, Message, and Direction; printed Cards, with proper Blanks, adapted to most Occurrences, Enquiries, and answers in the polite Circles; Condolences in Sickness, Congratulations on Health, Arrival in Town, Marriages and Divorces, Dining, Tea-drinking, Dancing, or Rout, Invitations; Hopes, Fears, Wishes and even Challenges,⁴⁹⁶ with suitable Answers, may all be had, ready cut and dried, by the dozen....⁴⁹⁷

Cards were already functioning as a stand-in for a far wider range of social rituals than just visiting, and Long went on to propose, rather unsentimentally, the concept of the greeting card, arguing that it could drastically streamline the rituals of courtship:

[The cards’] use may still be more extended by engraving a well-chosen Assortment of Enamorato, or Love-Cards, suited to the general Circumstances of Addressors and Addressees; which, instead of unmeaning Festoons, Foliage, and Flourishes, might be ornamented, ... according to the subject. By this easy method, a courtship, which now blots whole Rheams of Paper, and is spun out through two or three long tedious Years, might be reduced (by the omission of all Superfluities, and coming to the point,) to about a Dozen Cards on each Side, and concluded in a Dozen Hours.⁴⁹⁸

Although Long was suggesting this tongue firmly in cheek, by the time he was writing, greeting cards, and even greeting postcards, were being made.

⁴⁹⁴ Eve Tavor Bannet, *British and American Letter Manuals, 1680-1810*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), p.xix.

⁴⁹⁵ He is referring here to playing cards, and games of chance.

⁴⁹⁶ A later example of the use of the term ‘card’ in a challenge is found in the State Archives of Florida. It shows that on June 7th 1839, 2nd Lieutenant N. Darling issued a broadside demanding satisfaction of Judge Smith. This was entitled ‘A Card’ and was evidently distributed widely enough to be collected by someone – and annotated, noting that Lt. Darling gave Judge Smith ‘a thorough thrashing’. Florida Memory. “A Card... N. Darling, Lt 2d Dragoons, June 7, 1839.” (Undated) <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/212341> [accessed November 28, 2012].

⁴⁹⁷ Edward Long, *The Sentimental Exhibition; or, Portraits and Sketches of the Times* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), p.11.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.12-14. The omitted section is quite long. He describes the proposed ornaments in more satirical detail than space here warrants.

Staff cites a French engraver, Demaison, as having made engraved cards to be sent through the post in 1777.⁴⁹⁹ Apparently this prototype postcard did not fare well, as people feared, in the words of the *Almanach de la Petite Poste de Paris*, that the practice would fuel “the insolence of the serving man, in that it gives him an unwonted insight into the secrets of a class not his own.”⁵⁰⁰ Frank Staff also alludes to “continental” New Year’s greetings cards,⁵⁰¹ which developed from the 1770s,⁵⁰² involving a custom where people gave friends their cards at New Year, with seasonal greetings added.⁵⁰³

The Valentine

A similar set of practices is associated with Valentines. Valentine’s Day was an ancient ritual that derived ultimately from the Roman fertility festival of Lupercalia, where people drew partners by lot.⁵⁰⁴ Although Christianised, St Valentine’s celebration as a festival of love on February 14th probably relates to this period’s northern hemisphere associations with the mating of birds.⁵⁰⁵ Already referred to in Chaucer,⁵⁰⁶ during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the folk tradition of drawing a Valentine partner by lot was extended by the expectation of giving that person gifts. According to the 1684 edition of *Poor Robin’s Almanach*,

⁴⁹⁹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.10.

⁵⁰⁰ Quoted in T. J. Brady, "Postcards and History," *History Today* 19, no. 12 (1969): p.849. If correct, this implies that the ‘serving man’ was assumed to be literate. I suspect that this is a convenient quote papering over a more complex situation, but this cannot be pursued in the current research.

⁵⁰¹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.10.

⁵⁰² *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.29. Steffen Riis illustrates a commercial new year’s card from the Danish engraver G. L. Lahde, from around 1771, showing a landscape, a monument, flowers, and cupid’s bow, whilst under a flap there is an eight line poem pasted in. The sender would apparently buy, along with the card, a sheet printed with several generic poems, and then cut out an appropriate one and stick it into the card. [Steffen Riis, *Danske Brevkort og Postkortets Historie 1871-2006* (Værløse, Denmark: Forlaget Ryget Skov, 2006), p.10.] This is earlier than in Britain. Cary Nelson says that such pre-printed poetry appears on English cards from around 1820. [Cary Nelson, "Only Death Can Part Us: Messages on Wartime Cards," *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies*, no. 8/9 (2006): p.26.] It is worth noting that Rudolph Ackermann, who would later popularise paste papers in Britain, could realistically have encountered such card practices in his homeland when he was growing up.

⁵⁰³ Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.27.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁵⁰⁶ Leigh Eric Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 4 (1993): p.210.

milliners did a roaring sale in gloves and ribbons on the day,⁵⁰⁷ and in court circles, rings worth hundreds of pounds might be given.⁵⁰⁸ Others chose simply to address their chosen Valentine via letter or poem.⁵⁰⁹

The earliest English Valentine writer, a self-help book to allow people to create their own Valentine poems, was published in 1783.⁵¹⁰ And, as the lavish gift-giving died down,⁵¹¹ it was supplanted by an increasing appreciation of what Amanda Vickery calls the “time, labour and affection made concrete” in the practice of giving home-made items.⁵¹² Often incorporating elements of the riddle,⁵¹³ the Valentine developed a visual practice, with sometimes intricate love tokens being made – emblems of romantic love containing imagery that would become a staple of the genre, such as flowers, hearts, cupids, birds and hands.⁵¹⁴ These referred to the established emblems of the festival, or were drawn from the wider celebratory and emblematic visual cultures discussed earlier.

By the start of the nineteenth century, these handmade puzzle cards, and scissor-cut tokens were evolving into manufactured Valentine cards and writing papers using embossing, and imitation lace.⁵¹⁵ Firms such as Rudolph Ackermann and H. Dobbs & Co. started to exploit the commercial potential of the Valentine,⁵¹⁶ profiting from the cultural move away from Valentines drawn by lot, to a more Romantic form where Valentine cards

⁵⁰⁷ Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.23.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁵⁰⁹ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.215.

⁵¹⁰ *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.56. Staff notes a French proto-example of the genre from 1669. Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.22.

⁵¹¹ *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.25.

⁵¹² Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81," p.286.

⁵¹³ The practice of collecting riddles is alluded to in Jane Austen's *Emma*. Austen, *Emma*, Chapter 9, p.61.

⁵¹⁴ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.233. I have found no examples of Valentines including hands, but Schmidt lists hands as among the common Valentine emblems.

⁵¹⁵ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.19-20; *The Valentine & its Origins*, pp.28-30.

⁵¹⁶ *The Valentine & its Origins*, pp.41, 135. Staff lists Ackermann as being one of the dealers, but does not reproduce any of his cards. Nevertheless, given Ackermann's influence, his involvement in the Valentine industry is telling, and again may help to explain the overlaps between German and British card practice and iconography.

were sent to people of one's own choice.⁵¹⁷ The anonymous delivery of such cards to nearby lovers was assisted by the development of extensive local penny post arrangements in the early years of the century.⁵¹⁸ This helped to drive the popularity of the custom and during the 1820s it was reported that over 200,000 Valentines, of one form or another, were posted in London.⁵¹⁹ Nevertheless, as long as it remained normal for the recipient to cover the cost of postage,⁵²⁰ there was a natural damper on the use of the post for sending any kind of gift.

By the 1840s the card had joined the tendency towards standardisation and mass production which would ultimately allow card manufacture to grow into the major enterprise it became during the latter part of the century.⁵²¹ The advent of a uniform national rate of prepaid cheaper postage,⁵²² in combination with innovations like letterboxes,⁵²³ and new advertising techniques, allowed the Valentine to become a very successful expression of the power of marketing.⁵²⁴ In line with changing Victorian emotional culture,⁵²⁵ Romantic love was an easy sell.⁵²⁶ As Schmidt puts it, "like the magical aphrodisiacs of fortune tellers and chapmen, Valentines were presented as fast, affordable, and unending; as sure to hit their mark as Cupid's magical arrows."⁵²⁷ And, over time, the range of people who could be sent a Valentine expanded from a single beloved to anyone agreeable

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p.47. Staff does not remark on this development, but a move away from drawing lots is implicit in his discussion of nineteenth century Valentine practice.

⁵¹⁸ England and Wales had 356 different local Penny Post arrangements by the 1830s. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.6.

⁵¹⁹ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.49.

⁵²⁰ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.7.

⁵²¹ Mark Casson and John S. Lee, "The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective," *Business History Review* 85, no. 1 (2011): p.35; Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.58.

⁵²² Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.19.

⁵²³ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.53. I am assuming this relates to private letter boxes. Post Office pillar boxes only began to be introduced gradually from the 1850s. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.44.

⁵²⁴ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.224.

⁵²⁵ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.69. Stearns argues that this change, often seen as part of Romanticism, comes from the emotions being increasingly equated with the spiritual rather than the physical.

⁵²⁶ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," pp.224-5. See also Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.227.

⁵²⁷ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.225.

from one's wider family and social networks,⁵²⁸ thus drastically increasing the numbers of recipients, and the profits for manufacturers.⁵²⁹ Drawing on the success of Addenbrooke's 1844 development of lace paper [Figure 60],⁵³⁰ during the 1840s the commercially produced card established itself as the expected Valentine gift within middle and upper class circles.⁵³¹



Figure 60: Lace paper Valentine, ca.1850.
This photograph shows the card with flaps open, and a scrap saying "believe me true" on it. Such cards, with their many separate elements, were largely handmade and therefore expensive, their use thus restricted to the reasonably well-off.
Author's collection

⁵²⁸ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.50. As Buday notes, there were also comic Valentines to send anonymously to the less agreeable. I have chosen to omit the comic Valentine from this discussion. These were widely sent, and provide an origin for later comic postcards, however are not relevant to the current study of greetings culture.

⁵²⁹ Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.227.

⁵³⁰ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.134.

⁵³¹ One has to contextualise Schmidt's description of Valentines as "affordable." [Schmidt, "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.216.] This still relates primarily to the better off. The T. W. Strong advertisement Schmidt reproduces on p.226 has cards from as little as one cent, but the majority cost over fifty cents each. A similar range occurs in New Zealand, where an Auckland stationer advertised Valentines at between a penny and eight shillings. *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," February 11, 1865, p.6. Staff highlights the increase in the number of people able to send Valentines as a result of the penny post's introduction. Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.58. He does not, however, contextualise this in terms of the post still being a practice for those with leisure and disposable income – primarily the middle classes. It would not be until the development of the lithographic tradition, particularly in Germany, during the 1870s [Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*, p.10], that Valentines fully moved into the mass-market, carrying the emblematic visual tradition of the late eighteenth century through, so that it became a part of the postcard vernacular.

Holiday Ritual

Schmidt's overall argument regarding the Valentine is that it represents the first occasion whereby an ancient folk tradition was reinvented through the mechanisms of the marketplace as "a red letter day for private exchanges, loving intimacies, and consumer pleasures."⁵³² His point is similar to that of Ronald Hutton, who documents the way that the community-based ritual calendar gave way to "a celebration of private relationships and the individual lifecycle."⁵³³ And it is in this emphasis on privacy that it is possible to see the practice as one strongly related to the liberal middle classes.⁵³⁴ The ability to correspond in private, without recourse to a secretary, was one of the benefits offered by early letter-writing manuals targeted to the liberal classes,⁵³⁵ and this focus explains why Roy Rosenzweig found a tendency among the Victorian middle classes to celebrate holidays privately, amongst the family, rather than publicly, in a group.⁵³⁶ Schmidt sees a link between this type of privatisation and the spread of consumerism.⁵³⁷ Increasingly, celebrations would be linked with acquiring *things*.⁵³⁸ Perhaps lavish gift giving, already a characteristic of patrician Valentine's celebrations,⁵³⁹ was more easily justifiable within the private holiday rituals of the middle classes' family environment, and this explains the focus on expensive and complex cards [e.g. Figure 60].

⁵³² Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.103.

⁵³³ Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.123, 427.

⁵³⁴ Chris Otter, *With the Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp.47, 123-4.

⁵³⁵ Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, p.3. She also takes issue with Habermas and Foucault, saying pp.226-7 that, far from being a panoptic or public sphere society, the workings of eighteenth century power was all about manoeuvring in private, and putting on a show in public. Letterwriting manuals thus gave detailed instructions on how to carry on a private dialogue within the potentially public discourse of the letter. Hence this liberal desire for privacy has a long history. Raymond Williams points out that at this period, the 'liberal' classes referred to the socially and financially secure. Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, p.179.

⁵³⁶ Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.67.

⁵³⁷ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.103.

⁵³⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.162-3.

⁵³⁹ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.31. Samuel Pepys diaries document gifts worth hundreds of pounds. "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870," p.212.

Although there were still public dimensions to holiday ritual – notably the increased emphasis on shopping – the focus of the holiday moved from the collectively structured to a private and individualised form of greeting, with collectible commercial cards as a central component.⁵⁴⁰ Thus West’s argument (about the importance of ritual to the greetings card) largely holds up.⁵⁴¹ Valentines had always been associated with ritual, but commercial Valentines changed a ritual of love into a more general ritual around maintaining networks. Although the Valentine might still be interpreted as a marker of taste, it would appear to be the ritual functions that dominated these Valentine developments. This is not surprising. It was an offshoot of the same increase in middle class leisure that paved the way for the rituals of network maintenance implicit in letterwriting. And both letterwriting and card sending were part of a growing set of ritual activities related to what Micaela di Leonardo calls “kin work”: the organisation of family networks and celebratory culture, usually by women,⁵⁴² in which gift giving and Christmas greetings would eventually come to play a central role.

From Gift to the Mass Market: Christmas Ritual and the Christmas Card

Up to this point, the developments I have been discussing have been largely centred in Britain. However, as I begin to examine the increasingly global market for greetings cards, I focus more on New Zealand. The modest size of the immigrant population in New Zealand, and the extensive range of New Zealand newspapers now searchable, makes New Zealand a useful case-study for tracking mass-market trends that are unwieldy to research in the British market as a whole. And, much more than the Valentine, the Christmas card emerges from this research as the immediate precursor to the postcard.

⁵⁴⁰ *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.103. Buday notes that fancy stationers expropriated the commercial element of Valentine gift giving from glove makers – who had earlier monopolised the Valentine gift trade. Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.48.

⁵⁴¹ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.453.

⁵⁴² Micaela di Leonardo, "The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship," *Signs* 12, no. 3 (1987): p.442.

The earliest New Zealand reference found relating to Christmas cards is from 1862 – the year in which Charles Goodall made a concerted attempt, in Britain, to introduce a viable commercial Christmas card.⁵⁴³ An advertisement for an auction of “assorted stationery,” includes only two types of greeting cards: Valentines and Christmas cards.⁵⁴⁴ Christmas cards were, however, rarely advertised in the 1860s,⁵⁴⁵ first becoming more prevalent during the next decade. An 1871 advertisement, which included Christmas Cards in a list of possible “Christmas Presents,”⁵⁴⁶ shows that, unlike today, the card was not then necessarily given in addition to a Christmas present. Like the Valentine, it could very well be *the* present; a gift in its own right.

The Card as Gift

Such Christmas gifts might simply have been “an expression of family emotion.”⁵⁴⁷ Jerome K. Jerome noted that, in theory, presents were the “outward and visible symbol of an inward and spiritual graciousness – an expression of kindly feeling and affection.”⁵⁴⁸ However, ever since Marcel

⁵⁴³ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, pp.55, 61. Gleeson White describes the introduction of the card in the 1860s as “the chance experiment of tradesmen.” White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.9. Nevertheless, White credits Goodall on p.12.

⁵⁴⁴ Daily Southern Cross (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” September 10, 1862, p.2. Other types of cards were introduced later. Easter cards were reported as being introduced in London in 1875 [New Zealand Tablet (Dunedin, NZ), “News in Brief,” July 2, 1875, p.12], whilst Birthday cards appear first in New Zealand in 1870, [Wellington Independent (NZ), “Advertisements,” February 17, 1870, p.5]. However, the next such reference does not occur until 1877. It is described later as the fashion between Valentines and postcards, [Marlborough Express (Blenheim, NZ), “Through a Woman’s Specs,” February 13, 1909, p.5], and *The Times* reported it as developing concurrently with the Christmas card. [The Times (London, UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 25, 1883, p.5.] Otherwise I have found no other evidence relating to this. The history of birthday cards appears to be thoroughly under-researched, particularly since it is the first non-holiday related greeting card, thus having a year-round market like the scrap.

⁵⁴⁵ An 1864 stationer’s advert for E. Wayte in Auckland is more typical in not mentioning Christmas cards, and instead focusing on books and fancy goods as being the appropriate Christmas gifts. Daily Southern Cross (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” November 1, 1864, p.3.

⁵⁴⁶ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” December 19, 1871, p.3.

⁵⁴⁷ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.58.

⁵⁴⁸ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Jerome K. Jerome on Giving Presents,” December 30, 1893, p.1. reproduced from *The Idler’s Club*. This wording indicates that gifts were being read in sacramental terms – being essentially the Anglican Book of Prayer’s definition of a sacrament as an “outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.” The same sacramental wording was applied to the aesthetic movement by Walter Hamilton, who used it about “Chippendale furniture, dados, old-fashioned brass and wrought iron work, medieval lamps, stained glass in small squares, and old china,” saying that they were “all

Mauss pointed out the significance of reciprocity in gift-giving, and the extent to which an unrequited gift – as in charity – is demeaning to the receiver,⁵⁴⁹ the relationship of the gift and the commodity has intrigued theorists of consumption.

In gift giving, a power relationship is created that, according to Roland Barthes, operates within the “delicate mechanisms of social exchange,” creating guilt on the part of the recipient,⁵⁵⁰ a guilt which has to be assuaged by reciprocal action. Central to this type of gift exchange is formal ritual, which, Bourdieu maintains, transmutes the raw commodity into an item of “symbolic capital” capable of sustaining its power-inflected relations.⁵⁵¹ Today, such a ritual might take as straightforward a form as encasing an object in wrapping paper, thus emphasising both the surprise of the exchange, and its difference from the straightforward commodity.⁵⁵² To give an item unwrapped is to emphasise its similarity to a commodity, and doing so bespeaks a lack of care and appreciation on the part of the giver, since the gift necessarily prioritises the intentions of the giver rather than the receiver.⁵⁵³ A simple envelope, with a name written on it, is ritual enough to counteract this effect. Indeed, this may explain the alacrity with which both manufacturers and consumers embraced the envelope once the pricing disincentive to its use was removed by the 1840 Penny Post regulations,⁵⁵⁴ and the fact that these envelopes were heavily decorated [e.g. Figure 19 and Figure 20].⁵⁵⁵ A decorated envelope was able to emphasise the gift factor of its contents. Letters must have had a similar gift quality. Early immigrant correspondence contained frequent complaints about lack

held to be the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace and intensity.” [Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882), p.34.] The word ‘intensity’ is the one ‘aesthetic’ addition here.

⁵⁴⁹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. W.D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990 [1954]), pp.12,83.

⁵⁵⁰ Barthes, "Lecture in Inauguration of the Chair of Literary Semiology, Collège De France, January 7, 1977," p.4.

⁵⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.194-5.

⁵⁵² Jean-Christophe Agnew, "The Give-and-Take of Consumer Culture," in *Commodifying Everything: Relationships of the Market*, ed. Susan Strasser (New York: Routledge, 2003), p.29.

⁵⁵³ Stebbins, *Leisure and Consumption: Common Ground / Separate Worlds*, pp.3-4.

⁵⁵⁴ Brady, "Postcards and History," p.849. Prior to 1840, letters were charged per sheet. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.6. Envelopes were regarded as a separate sheet – thus doubling the price of sending a simple message.

⁵⁵⁵ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.31.

of reciprocation,⁵⁵⁶ attesting to letters carrying an obligation to reply, laced with guilt-producing undertones if neglected.

These ideas can be applied to both Valentines and Christmas cards. As Schmidt notes, New Year's and Valentine's day gift giving were the



Figure 61: Reverse of 1880s Christmas card. This is the reverse of an unsigned decorative 'Xmas' card. The front has a plush window, and another similar image to this beneath it. The silk fringe is typical of the most expensive cards. Cards like this were being advertised in Auckland in 1883. Author's collection

precursors of later developments towards holiday consumption,⁵⁵⁷ and Valentine's cards developed into the recognised gift for the holiday. Nevertheless, nineteenth century Valentines, by being sent anonymously,⁵⁵⁸ play with the one-to-one obligations of reciprocity. A good deal of the enjoyment of the tradition must have come from the tension between the obligation created by being given a card, and the uncertainty created by not knowing to whom one was obliged – even if some spoilsports did sign their cards, to ensure the obligation was clear. In doing so, however, users of Valentines, and later of Christmas cards, negated one of the fringe benefits for receivers of the highly

decorated but non-specific commercial cards: their ability to be reused.

The question of signing cards presented manufacturers with a dilemma. The increasingly intricate detail of the Valentines of the 1840s and 1850s made them expensive and generic, and therefore able to be treated – and priced – as gifts. However these same qualities left them, if unwritten on, open to being recycled, thus dampening sales potential. It would take quite some time for this contradiction to be resolved. Early Christmas cards would similarly vacillate between dual identities as utilitarian objects of greeting and *objets d'art* which would be spoiled by any inscription [e.g. Figure 61].

⁵⁵⁶ Gerber, "Epistolary Ethics: Personal Correspondence and the Culture of Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," p.11.

⁵⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.32.

⁵⁵⁸ Staff, *The Valentine & its Origins*, p.44.

Artistic cards were often highly decorated on both sides, fringed, and too three-dimensional for pasting into scrapbooks like the less expensive flat, single-sided cards. Even amongst these, a December 1880 example inscribed from Aunt Emma to Ethel is atypical [Figure 63].⁵⁵⁹ Not until the early 1880s, if the following newspaper comment is to be believed, were errant consumers able to be schooled into the single-use approach:

An innovation upon the practice of former years, which was evidently the happy thought of a Christmas card dealer, has become fashionable this time; it is now *en règle* for the sender to inscribe his or her name or initials upon the cards, and the card which formerly would have done duty half-a-dozen times has now to rest after one transmission through the post.⁵⁶⁰

This is suggestive of a firming of the links between gift culture and commodity culture. In a pure gift culture, recycling would not matter, since it would be the giving that was important. Commodity culture however demands novelty, and this single use of cards fits with a solidifying of gift etiquette, emphasising what Schmidt saw as the “respectability and sophistication” associated with it.⁵⁶¹

Commercialising Christmas Ritual

In retrospect, given the way that the Valentine blossomed in tandem with middle class culture, it seems strange that it took until well into the 1870s for the Christmas card to make its presence felt at a wider cultural level.⁵⁶² Thirty years earlier, in 1843, when Henry Cole published something over a thousand copies of a Christmas greeting [Figure 62],⁵⁶³ he ought to have been initiating a highly profitable commercial trend. The commercial Valentine was taking off, and Art manufacture was a hot topic. Charles Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol*, the book that would sweep aside lingering puritan censure of the holiday, had been published that year,⁵⁶⁴ building on

⁵⁵⁹ The lack of dated Christmas cards from this period makes studying the Christmas card craze particularly difficult. As such, from a research point of view, the development of habits of inscription was helpful.

⁵⁶⁰ Hawke’s Bay Herald (Napier, NZ), “Melbourne Gossip,” January 14, 1884, p.3.

⁵⁶¹ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.32.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.96-7.

⁵⁶³ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.6.

⁵⁶⁴ John Storey, “The Invention of the English Christmas,” in *Christmas, Ideology and Popular Culture*, ed. Sheila Whiteley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p.20.

the popularity of the Christmas sections in Dickens' earlier *Pickwick Papers*.⁵⁶⁵

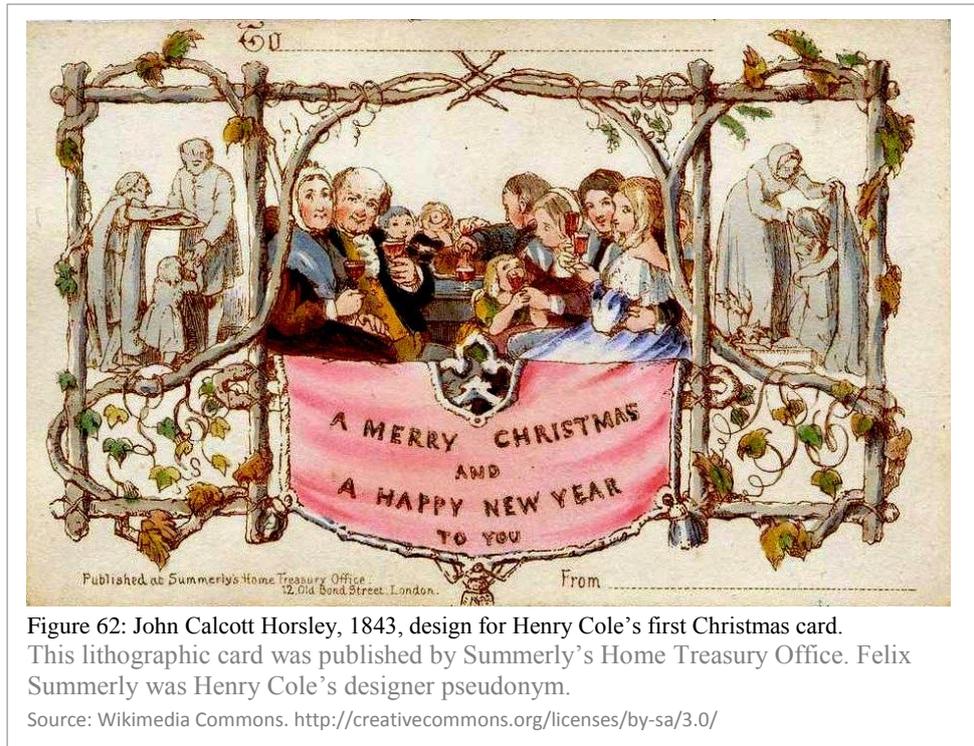


Figure 62: John Calcott Horsley, 1843, design for Henry Cole's first Christmas card. This lithographic card was published by Summerly's Home Treasury Office. Felix Summerly was Henry Cole's designer pseudonym. Source: Wikimedia Commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

Prior to the 1840s, although by no means extinct, Christmas celebrations had been waning, but Ronald Hutton credits Dickens, the growing influence of the Oxford movement's emphasis on ritual and symbolism, and an increased middle class focus on the family and family rituals with laying the groundwork for the holiday's 1840s revival.⁵⁶⁶ To this, John Storey adds both the period's 'Merrie England' nostalgia and the linking of Christmas cheer with an emphasis on charity – the element that assuaged guilt about the increasingly consumerist focus.⁵⁶⁷ On virtually every level Cole's card fits with this prescription. The design has no obvious religious elements, instead depicting a jovial family feast, surrounded by images of feeding and

⁵⁶⁵ Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, p.113. Hutton notes that it was the *Pickwick Papers* from 1837 that initiated the revival, but that the *Christmas Carol* was the work that broke through the puritan reluctance.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.113-4. See also White, "Making Time for Family: The Invention of Family Time(s) and the Reinvention of Family History," p.9. Another White discussing Christmas (Gleeson White) in 1895 would credit Dickens for the revival of Christmas sentiment, along with Prince Albert's introduction of the Christmas tree. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.9.

⁵⁶⁷ Storey, "The Invention of the English Christmas," pp.29, 23.

clothing the poor, within a rustic frame,⁵⁶⁸ with text on a banner. Rationally, it ought to have been a success, yet the commercial Christmas card sank with barely a trace, not to be reprised effectively until Goodall's cards in the 1860s.

It seems particularly strange that the commercial opportunities of that first Christmas card were not exploited, given that, as Storey maintains, "Christmas was invented first and foremost as a commercial event."⁵⁶⁹ At a shilling each,⁵⁷⁰ Hutton argues that Cole's cards were too expensive,⁵⁷¹ but since middle class consumers would soon happily pay similar prices for Valentines and cartes-de-visite,⁵⁷² this explanation would only hold water if consumers were distinguishing between what they were prepared to pay for a gift and a card.⁵⁷³ On such a reading, Cole's error may thus have been inserting a line for the sender to sign on, thereby emphasising the card's role as a communication and diminishing its potential as a gift.

Whatever the ultimate cause, the Christmas card did not initially figure in the developing Christmas ritual of gift giving and conviviality which the commercialisation of the holiday inspired,⁵⁷⁴ and would have to wait a generation for the idea to properly take root.⁵⁷⁵ By this time, the family Christmas that Cole depicted had become firmly embedded.⁵⁷⁶ Indeed, the holiday had now taken on an established role as a time of peace, friendship, charity and reconciliation. In this context, handshaking increasingly began

⁵⁶⁸ Gleeson White describes the style of its trellis as "Germanesque," White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.9. This was a style that would have had positive connotations given Prince Albert's background.

⁵⁶⁹ Storey, "The Invention of the English Christmas," p.20.

⁵⁷⁰ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.6.

⁵⁷¹ Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, p.115.

⁵⁷² Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.43.

⁵⁷³ One of the particularly aggravating things about collecting *cartes-de-visite* is that they were almost never labelled, so one cannot normally determine who is represented. Thinking of such cards as a gift helps explain why family and friends giving *cartes-de-visite* did not autograph them whilst stage performers (who used them as advertising, not gifts) did. On such theatrical cards, see Maria-Elena Buszek, "Representing "Awarishness": Burlesque, Feminist Transgression, and the 19th-Century Pin-Up," *TDR* 43, no. 4 (1999), and Kelly, "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia."

⁵⁷⁴ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.32.

⁵⁷⁵ On the cards of the 1840s and 1850s, such as they are, see Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, pp.42-3.

⁵⁷⁶ Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, p.115.

to play a role in Christmas ritual, as can be seen in the following beginning to an 1871 poem advertising Jameson's Co-operative store:

Christmas! Holy Christmas! It comes but once a year,
With sympathies so blessed – with memories so dear;
It comes to cheer our spirits, so let us greet it now
With every kindly feeling, with peace on every brow;
And **let kind hands in friendship join**, and cheerful voices greet
The friends and neighbours round our board who in re-union meet.⁵⁷⁷

In this emphasis on the hand of friendship, Christmas can be seen assimilating rituals from the New Year, a festival which had traditionally been centred on friendship rather than family,⁵⁷⁸ and where part of the process of starting the New Year amicably and with equality involved shaking hands.⁵⁷⁹ As mentioned on page 97, by 1890 the Christmas handshake would be sufficiently established for the phrase 'hands across the sea' to be applied metaphorically to the process whereby New Zealanders sent "seasonable greetings" along with "tokens of love and goodwill for transmission by post" back from the Antipodes to "Friends at Home."⁵⁸⁰

Given the apparent strength of this association, it makes sense that hands would appear early in the symbolism of the Christmas card. Wellington's *Evening Post* reported in 1882:

We have received from Messrs. Whittaker Brothers some exceedingly artistic specimens of hand-coloured photographic Christmas and New Year's cards. Year by year these pretty *souvenirs* seem to become more and more "things of beauty," if not exactly "joys for ever." In one of the specimens before us the latest craze at Home – hand-photography – has been utilised in a very effective manner, a photograph of clasped hands, surrounded by roses, and surmounting

⁵⁷⁷ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Christmas! Christmas!!" December 20, 1871, p.3.

⁵⁷⁸ Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, p.122. Note, however, that there were significant variations in how these holidays were celebrated. Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, pp.14-15. John Story also argues that it was the "working man's holiday of preference." Storey, "The Invention of the English Christmas," p.20.

⁵⁷⁹ Clarke quotes Mary Taylor as attending a Church service at New Year and recalling "the cordial shake with all, native alike so hearty & genuine." Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.92. And an 1806 New Year poem has the chorus "In friendship then our hands let us join, And love one another As brother and brother, Still true to Old England and Brunswick's great line." Ipswich Journal (UK), "A Bumper Song," February 22, 1806, [no page].

⁵⁸⁰ *Star* (Christchurch, NZ), "Seasonable Greetings to Friends at Home," December 24, 1890, p.3

the motto, “Should auld acquaintance be forgot?” forming about as pretty and appropriate a Christmas card as it is possible to conceive.⁵⁸¹

Cards from this period are difficult to date, and this is therefore the only indubitable example of clasped hands symbolism in Christmas cards before the 1890s. It is significant that the writer deemed “appropriate [as] a Christmas card” a card that uses an image drawn from traditional New Year ritual, and a text that comes from a Robert Burns poem that to this day is still associated with New Year hand clasping. The festival of Christmas seems to have been omnivorous,⁵⁸² and the Christmas card benefitted from this. Nevertheless, other factors also underpinned its rapid rise in popularity.

The Beginnings of the Christmas Card Craze

In addition to increasingly settled Christmas rituals, Buday points to both the technical capacity to mass-produce quality cards, and the propensity for “hoarding beauty” in albums as being amongst the reasons that helped the Christmas card develop into a craze by the end of the 1870s.⁵⁸³ Several of the laws that had previously kept the price of paper-related objects high had also been repealed, allowing a broader culture of literacy to develop.⁵⁸⁴ On the other hand, there were still potentially limiting factors. Christmas was seen as being too close to Valentine’s day,⁵⁸⁵ and cards tended towards the expensive. For example, when in 1879, Wellington firm Dinwiddie, Walker & Co. took possession “from London, [of] four cases of goods suitable for Christmas presents,” the cards ranged from a pricey threepence to five shillings.⁵⁸⁶ Christmas cards during the 1870s were increasingly large and complex,⁵⁸⁷ with the relative expense allowing the card to be seen as a gift on its own. Most crucially for the card’s growth, however, was the

⁵⁸¹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” October 4, 1882, p.2.

⁵⁸² This is probably explained by the fact that the twelve days of Christmas (December 25-January 5) includes the New Year.

⁵⁸³ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.42.

⁵⁸⁴ John Springhall, “The ‘Penny Dreadful’ Publishing Business in the City of London from 1860,” *Historian*, no. 103 (2009): p.15. He specifically notes the 1853 removal of advertisement duty, the 1855 demise of newspaper stamp duty, and finally the 1861 removal of paper excise duty. Newspapers and books were the immediate beneficiaries.

⁵⁸⁵ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.58.

⁵⁸⁶ Hawke’s Bay Herald (Napier, NZ), “Advertisements,” December 20, 1879, p.3. The goods came by the steamer Opawa, a NZ Shipping Co. steamer launched in November 1876. Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “By Telegraph,” January 17, 1877, p.2.

⁵⁸⁷ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.89.

significant improvement in the speed of postal services that occurred between the 1830s and 1860s,⁵⁸⁸ facilitating the posting of cards and gifts to friends and family anywhere in the world.⁵⁸⁹

The first intimations of a tipping point for the Christmas card can be seen at Christmas 1876. For the first time the British Postal Service was reported as being stretched by the unexpected volume of cards, resulting in much of the mail from Edinburgh and London missing the boats to New Zealand.⁵⁹⁰ Businesses were not best pleased. While they routinely mixed personal and business communications in the course of their network maintenance,⁵⁹¹ they had traditionally considered the postal service as primarily an organ of government and business⁵⁹² (a point that needs to be factored in when discussing the relationship between the Post Office and postcards).⁵⁹³ The *Otago Daily Times* complained that “it seems absurd that important business communications should be detained for a fortnight for such things as these.”⁵⁹⁴ Such a reaction suggests that Barry Shank may be overstating his case in arguing that “Christmas cards were able to merge the sensuous social actions of holiday gift exchange with the process of evaluating

⁵⁸⁸ Yrjö Kaukiainen, "Shrinking the World: Improvements in the Speed of Information Transmission, c.1820-1870," *European Review of Economic History* 5, no. 01 (2001): p.1. Kaukiainen argues that it was primarily the introduction of coastal steamers that improved delivery times, with this supported later by the railways.

⁵⁸⁹ Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.63.

⁵⁹⁰ *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin, NZ), “News From Home,” March 6, 1876, p.3.

⁵⁹¹ Gordon Boyce and Simon Ville, *The Development of Modern Business* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002), pp.60-1.

⁵⁹² Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*, pp.9-10. This was overtly stated in the 1838 report of a Commission examining the Postal Service, which said that “the safe and speedy conveyance of letters, for the benefit of trade and commerce, was the primary consideration with the Government on the first establishment of the General Post Office.” Quoted in Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.17.

⁵⁹³ Gillen and Hall’s calculation that 74% of the British Civil Service in 1914 were employed by the Post Office, for example, needs to be contextualised in relation to the Post being the primary conduit of business, as well as of personal communication. [Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.45.] Daunton documents changes between 1875-1900 with letters dropping from 80.4% to 66.9% of the total post, and postcards and printed papers rising from 19.6% to 33.2%. He believed that most post before 1840 was business related, but private usage grew thereafter. [Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, pp.72,79.] Nevertheless, since postcards before 1900 were extensively used by businesses, and there is no way of distinguishing between business and personal use of letters and postcards in the statistics, I have found no clear way of establishing how much of the Post Office’s activity revolved around private communications, but it is likely that it was well under half of the total.

⁵⁹⁴ *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin, NZ), “News From Home,” March 6, 1876, p.3.

kinship and business networks.”⁵⁹⁵ Admittedly, America embraced the chromolithographic trade card and business card far more than England,⁵⁹⁶ but although there are occasional references in the 1880s and 1890s to New Zealand firms sending Christmas cards,⁵⁹⁷ discussion in the press at the time treats the card as social phenomenon between individuals and not businesses. It therefore seems reasonable to argue that the networking rituals that clogged the 1876 mails were more those of the greetings card than the business card.

The numbers that caused this initial glut were small by later standards.⁵⁹⁸ The next year, it was reported that 700,000 cards were delivered in London,⁵⁹⁹ showing that by no means all Londoners had yet caught the Christmas Card bug. One such sceptic was a correspondent to *The Times* who characterised the Christmas Card as a “social evil,” and said it was an inconvenience “like the ‘Boat-race’, and the ‘Harrow and Eton match’, and will, I trust, disappear as suddenly as “spelling bees” and most of the [roller-skating] rinks.”⁶⁰⁰ After proclaiming the demise of two institutions that have continued to this day, he proceeded to paint the sending of Christmas cards as a female practice by arguing that “when Mary Ann the maid can boast of as many Christmas cards as her mistress or the young ladies, it will soon go out of favour.”⁶⁰¹

Grinches notwithstanding, over the next few years, the Christmas card would further enrich the Postal Department at the expense of business communications.⁶⁰² Initially, as indicated by the 1877 *Times* correspondent, Christmas card users were those who *had* servants, rather than those who

⁵⁹⁵ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.96.

⁵⁹⁶ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.97.

⁵⁹⁷ In 1882, the fact that a business man was giving a Christmas card to all his customers was news enough to be noted in the paper. Marlborough Express (Blenheim, NZ), “Local and General News,” December 16, 1882, p.2.

⁵⁹⁸ For example, the Te Aroha News (NZ), “Our London Flaneur,” March 12, 1887, p.3 notes an increase of four million Christmas cards on the number sent the year previous, but irritatingly does not give totals.

⁵⁹⁹ West Coast Times (Hokitika, NZ), “General News,” April 9, 1878, p.3.

⁶⁰⁰ The Times (London, UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 28, 1877, p.5.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid. p.5.

⁶⁰² *The Times* reported in 1883 that the Christmas post at London’s chief post office alone was worth £58,000 to the Post Office. The Times (London, UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 25, 1883, p.5.

were servants. And, as a primarily middle class phenomenon,⁶⁰³ it received a level of press coverage from *The Times* and other society mouthpieces far beyond what the postcard would be accorded 20 years later.

An 1883 article is useful in summing up the state of the card at this point. It remarks on the prevalence of the Christmas card custom and then notes that

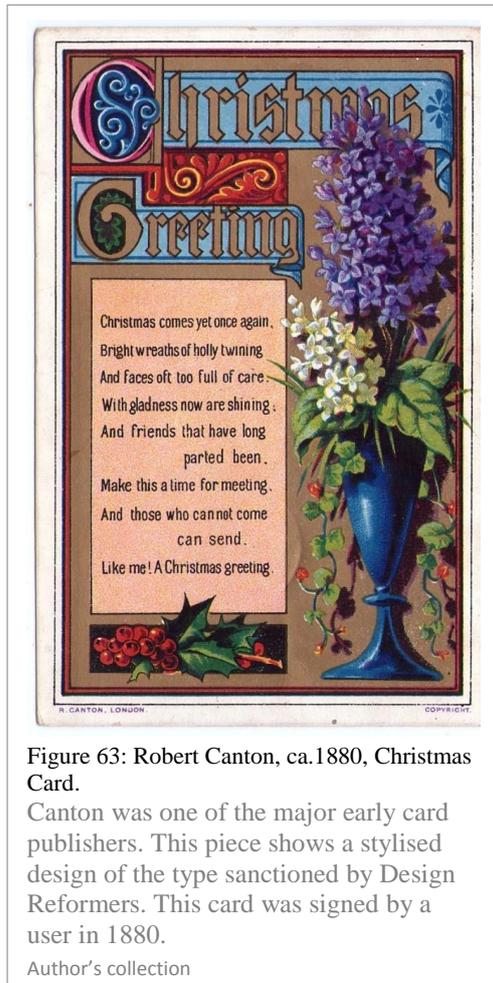


Figure 63: Robert Canton, ca.1880, Christmas Card.

Canton was one of the major early card publishers. This piece shows a stylised design of the type sanctioned by Design Reformers. This card was signed by a user in 1880.

Author's collection

“the simple and inexpensive trifles that did their duty well enough some 30 years ago are fast passing away and surrendering their position to the higher claims of art.”⁶⁰⁴ Acknowledging that some will find the cards to be “so much worthless sentiment,” it makes a case for the card’s “moral benefits” as well as its “development of a new department of art.” If German cards were cheap, the writer believed that “all the more artistic and highly-finished cards are the result of English workmanship.” Christmas card usage was seen as a universal custom, with cards “sold at a range of prices calculated to meet any pocket.” Nevertheless, the writer concluded, with a degree of unacknowledged patriotic intent, that “at the present time the more artistic and highly finished cards, and consequently more expensive, find

even a more ready sale than those of a cheaper description.”⁶⁰⁵ It is clear that, at this point, Art was providing the central discourse for driving Christmas card manufacture. Henry Cole may have retired in 1873,⁶⁰⁶ but

⁶⁰³ A good indicator of the period during which the Christmas Card held high cultural capital is provided by the firm De La Rue. The only firm to still be trading under its original name, (now concentrating on security printing for areas like banknotes), De La Rue seem to have consistently stayed close to political patronage, and their period of activity in Christmas cards of 1875-1885 matches the period when it was a fashion of the upper echelons. On the firm, see Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, pp.67-8.

⁶⁰⁴ *The Times* (London, UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 25, 1883, p.5.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p.5.

⁶⁰⁶ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.194.

his project of merging art and manufacture for moral uplift was still alive, albeit now under challenge from differing views on art.⁶⁰⁷

Art for the Leisured Masses: Aesthetic Reform and the Christmas Card

In 1884, the Auckland Society of Artists organised a competition for Christmas Card designs. After reviewing the resulting exhibition of entries, the *New Zealand Herald* recommended that the exhibition run for longer, and be opened free from 4-6pm. Following the lead of Mechanics Institutes, and like other Arts Societies, they believed in the educational benefits of art,⁶⁰⁸ and hoped that:

the working classes might have the opportunity of availing themselves of the free admission. This step could not fail to popularise Art among the masses,⁶⁰⁹ which is one of the objects the society is endeavouring to achieve.⁶¹⁰

Here, three discourses overlap: those of class, art and leisure. As Jim McAloon points out, class was central to the social organisation of New Zealand colonial society,⁶¹¹ and the middle class assumption in the above quote is that the “masses” would want to take the opportunity to see the

⁶⁰⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.76-7.

⁶⁰⁸ Warren Feeney, "The Establishment of the Canterbury Society of Arts: Forming the Taste, Judgement and Identity of a Province, 1850–1880," *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 2 (2010): pp.176-8. Feeney concludes, p.186, that for its proponents, the progress of art was seen as an indicator of New Zealand's progress. Michael Smythe echoes this, noting that the design reform agenda of using art to improve manufacture was prevalent within the colonial government. Michael Smythe, *New Zealand by Design: A History of New Zealand Product Design* (Auckland, New Zealand: Godwit, 2011), pp.52-3.

⁶⁰⁹ An article in the *Auckland Star* the next year, explaining why “Auckland does not appear to have roused much enthusiasm” for the Mackelvie bequest to the Auckland museum is useful for seeing the extent to which art was seen as irrelevant by self-professed “philistines.” According to the author, “art, you see, is so unpractical, so wanting in utility....What we want in the colonies is something to make money out of.” *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Random Shots,” August 8, 1885, p.4.

⁶¹⁰ *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Auckland Society of Arts,” November 7, 1884, p.5. First prize in the competition was won by a man, but all other winners were women. *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Auckland Society of Arts,” November 10, 1884, p.3.

⁶¹¹ Jim McAloon, "Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation," *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, no. 1 (2004): p.21. This article examines historiographical arguments about the extent to which class was a fundamental construct in nineteenth century New Zealand. There are competing views about this but McAloon's position is convincing. Please note that the pagination given here relates to the online version of this article, which contains material omitted from the original printed copy.

artwork. However, only workers with an eight hour day would have had the leisure to attend an exhibition at these hours during the week.

The Role of Leisure

New Zealand had, from the start of its settlement, a relatively benign set of principles in the relationships between masters and servants,⁶¹² and the eight hour day provided its ideal. Otago workers were lured to New Zealand on a promised reduction of the working day from ten to eight hours, and they rigorously observed an eight hour day from the beginnings of settlement in the 1840s.⁶¹³ It appears elsewhere over the next few years, but implementation was ad hoc and neither universal, nor consistent.⁶¹⁴ Two years prior to the Society of Arts' competition, there had been large-scale eight-hour day demonstrations in Auckland [Figure 64], but although definitive eight-hour day legislation remained elusive,⁶¹⁵ workers could increasingly expect to have leisure time.



Leisure seems to have held a particularly key role in New Zealanders' identities.⁶¹⁶ Tanja Buelmann, for example, after an extensive study of Scottish immigrants, concluded that their cultural cohesion was primarily gained through leisure (as opposed to American Scots who found identity through philanthropy), citing institutions

like Caledonian games.⁶¹⁷ In spread-out rural communities, leisure activities like dances, helped to cement social and friendship networks,⁶¹⁸ and

⁶¹² Jon Henning, "New Zealand: An Antipodean Exception to Master Servant Rules," *New Zealand Journal of History* 41(2007): p.71.

⁶¹³ Bert Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present* (Wellington, New Zealand: Reed, 1973), p.4.

⁶¹⁴ *Days of Action: May Day, Eight Hour Day, Labour Day* (Wellington, New Zealand: Tade Union History Project, 1990), pp.8-9.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.10-16.

⁶¹⁶ As Caroline Daley points out, this goes beyond Rugby. Caroline Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp.4, 257.

⁶¹⁷ Tanja Buelmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p.206.

Caroline Daley found communal leisure activities to be a constant of the small-town social life she studied.⁶¹⁹ Roy Rosenzweig's classic study of working class leisure in industrial America found a similar emphasis on collective leisure activities, highlighting such activities as the saloon, the cinema, the picnic and the park as venues for shared free-time.⁶²⁰ In the early stages of the Industrial revolution, workers tended to opt for increased opportunities for collective socialisation ahead of working longer hours to pay for additional consumer items.⁶²¹ Leisure and consumption, therefore, did not initially overlap, but increasingly connected over time.⁶²² The leisure consumption that Rosenzweig concentrates on, however, relates largely to liquor.⁶²³ Such preferences were where working class and middle class attitudes to leisure diverged,⁶²⁴ even as Friedrich Engels was despairing over the increasing conflation of the British bourgeoisie and the proletariat.⁶²⁵ Pleasure, for the middle classes, was deeply suspect,⁶²⁶ and working class pleasure had the potential to be loud, boisterous and public.⁶²⁷

For most of the century, the middle classes subscribed to a doctrine around leisure described as "rational recreation," a set of ideas which emphasised physically disciplined and morally improving activities in the place of the earlier lax practices associated with street games, drinking, gambling and

⁶¹⁸ Emma Dewson, "Off to the Dance: Romance in Rural New Zealand Communities, 1880s-1920s," *History Australia* 2, no. 1 (2004): p.05-1.

⁶¹⁹ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, p.92.

⁶²⁰ Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, p.222. Peter Bailey notes the tendency for historians of leisure to concentrate on collective public recreation rather than private, feminised forms. Bailey, "The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: A Late Twentieth-Century Review," p.150.

⁶²¹ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.38.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, pp.46-9.

⁶²⁴ One tactic was to regard working class preferences as remnants of a more barbaric past. "Fireworks are a survival of our pre-Adamite instincts, just as are picnics and camping-out and the love of the drum as a musical instrument," argued the Nelson Evening Mail (NZ), "Weekly Whispers," May 12, 1900, p.2. On Pre-Adamite thinking as it struggled to integrate religion and Darwinism, see David N. Livingstone, *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp.137-61.

⁶²⁵ Engels 1858, quoted in Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970*, p.68.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., p.73.

⁶²⁷ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p.173.

festivals.⁶²⁸ Pleasure and leisure had to be separated,⁶²⁹ and attractive alternatives provided to supplant sensually degraded forms.⁶³⁰ This led to an increased emphasis on such activities as holidays (justified on health grounds),⁶³¹ physical fitness,⁶³² sport, and educational tourism.⁶³³ The idea was also applied to hobbies like collecting, whose educational aspects were noted on page 132. Studying nature, through such activities as the hugely popular fern-collecting craze, perfectly fitted the rational recreation prescription.⁶³⁴ Reading fiction had similarly been justifiable to eighteenth century puritans like Hannah More (whose ideas helped mould this middle class mind-set), only when it could “teach good principles.”⁶³⁵

Where the working classes were concerned, moral guardianship around leisure activities like reading (a prerequisite for later postcard practice) was even stronger.⁶³⁶ Libraries that catered to this demographic were particularly slow to supply fiction and concentrated their collections on religious texts.⁶³⁷ In any case, British working class reading at this point remained the exception rather than the rule. Although the 1830s poor laws stressed education as a means of eradicating pauperism,⁶³⁸ it was not until 1870 that the Elementary Education Act, by providing universal public primary schooling, started to counteract the inequities in British education which had seen only half of British children attending school in 1850.⁶³⁹

⁶²⁸ Ibid.; Rachel Vorspan, "'Rational Recreation' and the Law: The Transformation of Popular Urban Leisure in Victorian England," *McGill Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (2000): p.894.

⁶²⁹ Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, p.5.

⁶³⁰ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*, p.170.

⁶³¹ Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970*, p.73.

⁶³² Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, p.6.

⁶³³ Vorspan, "'Rational Recreation' and the Law: The Transformation of Popular Urban Leisure in Victorian England," p.894.

⁶³⁴ Whittingham, *Fern Fever: The Story of Pteridomania*, p.26.

⁶³⁵ Brantlinger, *Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*, p.6.

⁶³⁶ Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, p.4.

⁶³⁷ Jonathan Rose, "A Conservative Canon: Cultural Lag in the British Working-Class Reading Habits," *Libraries & Culture* 33, no. 1 (1998): p.98.

⁶³⁸ Brantlinger, *Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*, p.69.

⁶³⁹ Jason Long, "The Socioeconomic Return to Primary Schooling in Victorian England," *The Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 4 (2006): p.1028. Long points out that Prussia,

Between 1870 and 1900 working class illiteracy rates fell from almost 30% to under 5%.⁶⁴⁰ Through increased working class literacy, the British government hoped to increase levels of informed opinion in future voters, after franchise had been granted in the 1867 Reform Bill.⁶⁴¹ They inadvertently created a much larger market for postcards.

In addition to the Education Act, 1870 would herald a Bank Holiday's Act, substantially improving working class holiday making,⁶⁴² and it also saw the Married Women's Property Act which gave women some rights over their own money, rather than keeping them beholden to their husbands.⁶⁴³ This may explain why, from the 1870s onwards, women of all classes would be assiduously courted by British manufacturers trying to cope with the twin impacts of increasing mass production and steeper overseas tariffs.⁶⁴⁴ Middle class women made up just over 10% of the population, whilst working class women accounted for almost 40%.⁶⁴⁵ And since the working classes were highly segregated from the rest of society,⁶⁴⁶ for manufacturers, the working class female consumer must have represented

which had had compulsory education since 1763, could boast 97% school attendance. The military success of the Prussians in the late 1860s was one of the drivers for the Gladstone government's decision to focus on improving literacy through this Act. They also needed to deal with the quality of teaching. In 1851, seven hundred teachers in working class schools, when sent a survey, signed with a cross. [Porter, "'Empire, What Empire?' Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It," p.260.] Assuming that Porter's figure – that the working classes made up around 80% of the population at the time – is correct, and that middle class children would have been going to school, that means that of the remaining working class 80% of the population, only 20-30% (around a quarter) were going to school.

⁶⁴⁰ David Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," *ibid.* 45, no. 3 (2003): pp.413-4. This statistic related to both genders.

⁶⁴¹ On the Liberal debates behind this see Robert Saunders, "The Politics of Reform and Making of the Second Reform Act, 1848-1867," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 03 (2007): pp.577-8. David Vincent notes that rates of literacy were being used as an indicator of the progress of political citizenship. [Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," p.411.] On the ability of the working classes to vote after franchise, and the effect of the "householder/occupier" criteria, see Marc Brodie, "Voting in the Victorian and Edwardian East End of London," *Parliamentary History* 23, no. 2 (2004): pp.228-9.

⁶⁴² Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970*, p.88. By the 1880s the ubiquitous comic *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday* was highlighting such leisure practices. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, pp.47-79.

⁶⁴³ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.104-5. She notes that this process was tentative, but considerably improved through additional 1882 legislation.

⁶⁴⁴ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, p.6.

⁶⁴⁵ This is based on Porter's figure of the working class making up 70-80% of the British population. Porter, "'Empire, What Empire?' Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It," p.256.

⁶⁴⁶ Porter argues that the classes at this period were "distinct nations, entirely separated from one another." *Ibid.*, p.257.

something of an unknown quantity. Nan Enstad notes the trend to initially target reading and fashion as areas of working class female leisure that could be exploited through dime novels and inexpensive clothing.⁶⁴⁷ And large hats, she argues, became emblematic of working women's aspirations.⁶⁴⁸ Symbolising the desire to be treated as a 'lady', such material items functioned "as powerful representations of female workers' dignity."⁶⁴⁹ In this new consumer environment, the shop girl would come to symbolise what Erika Rappaport describes as "a new feminine ideal that stressed youth, style, and performance."⁶⁵⁰ Young women were targeted because, in leisure terms, before the advent of labour saving devices, working class women with both job and children had precious little leisure time at all.⁶⁵¹ When available, however, Enstad suggests that consumer leisure, allowed female workers to dream, albeit within tight social constraints.⁶⁵² The question is: how much was Art involved in those dreams?

Art and Improvement

Within middle class leisure, Deborah Cohen has argued that Art, with all the moral overtones that design reformers had bequeathed it, helped to provide a very compatible argument for consumption.⁶⁵³ Whilst the middle classes in general distrusted the commercialisation of leisure, Peter Bailey has noted that entertainments like the theatre were regarded as legitimate.⁶⁵⁴ Cohen sees Art in the same way, arguing that the middle class home during the later nineteenth century developed into a veritable "haven for art."⁶⁵⁵ This formed part of what Ann Bermingham characterises as the modern period's "aestheticisation of the self and the things of everyday life."⁶⁵⁶ By

⁶⁴⁷ Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p.14.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁶⁵⁰ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, p.203.

⁶⁵¹ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp.416-17.

⁶⁵² Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*, p.206.

⁶⁵³ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.65.

⁶⁵⁴ Bailey, "The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: A Late Twentieth-Century Review," p.134.

⁶⁵⁵ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.65.

⁶⁵⁶ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, p.ix.

the 1880s, this attitude had reached sufficiently ubiquitous levels to warrant home-improvement newspaper advice columns.⁶⁵⁷

Art itself, however, was no longer a single discourse. During the decade, ‘art for art’s sake’ broke from art for the sake of morality and religion, with aesthetes like Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde treating beauty as a religion in its own right.⁶⁵⁸ Aesthetic apologist Walter Hamilton defined the ‘aesthetic movement’ as follows:

The essence of the movement is the union of persons of cultivated tastes to define, and to decide upon, what it to be admired, and their followers must aspire to that standard in their works and lives. Vulgarity, however wealthy it may be, can never be admitted into this exclusive brotherhood, for riches without taste are of no avail, whilst taste without money, or with very little, can always effect much.⁶⁵⁹

Taste had become an end in itself. Cohen notes, however, that although the elitist discourses of William Morris, Oscar Wilde and the aesthetes had a major influence on a limited portion of the upper-middle classes,⁶⁶⁰ it was the more popular (and distinctly anti-aesthete) “lady art advisor” newspaper columnists that played a central role promoting the dominant middle class approach.⁶⁶¹ The home, under their prescription, would come to be seen an expression of the individual “personality” of its owner.⁶⁶²

If Wilde and the Aesthetic movement proved too extreme for mainstream middle class propriety,⁶⁶³ let alone the working classes, John Ruskin’s version of taste would remain a major inspiration for those who wanted to introduce beauty, morality and spirituality into working class leisure.⁶⁶⁴

Lucinda Matthews-Jones sees Ruskin as the philosophical inspiration behind the Whitechapel Fine Art Exhibitions,⁶⁶⁵ which were staged annually

⁶⁵⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.109.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.79.

⁶⁵⁹ Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England*, p.vii.

⁶⁶⁰ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.77-8.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.64, 109-16.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.111, 136-7. Peter Bailey sees this tendency as part of a move towards hedonism, seeing it as the triumph of self-development over self-sacrifice. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, p.28.

⁶⁶³ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.79-80.

⁶⁶⁴ Lucinda Matthews-Jones, "Lessons in Seeing: Art, Religion and Class in the East End of London, 1881-1898," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, no. 3 (2011): p.390.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

between 1881-1898 by the Reverend Samuel Barnett and his wife Henrietta – exhibitions which aimed to mediate East London’s “spiritual poverty” through exposing the working classes to art.⁶⁶⁶ Like the 1884 Auckland Society of Arts exhibition, the Barnetts were probably drawing on Henry Cole’s approach at the South Kensington Museum, where, by opening the museum to the whole public, he envisaged earnest workers taking refuge from their mundane everyday toil in the experience of Beauty.⁶⁶⁷ Cole had subsequently, and with considerable support from East Enders, opened the East London Museum at Bethnal Green.⁶⁶⁸ This had proven popular, though Lara Kriegel argues that the working class discourse about the museum’s use supports Peter Bailey’s earlier contention that the nineteenth century working classes were prepared to accommodate the middle classes through “respectability,” but only on their own terms, and without relinquishing traditional pleasurable pastimes.⁶⁶⁹

It is, however, necessary to understand that the working-classes in the East End cannot be seen as a single entity, and that this has implications for the working class discourse of Art. In his grim 1894 novel *A Child of the Jago*, Arthur Morrison made it clear just how wide the cultural divisions were that the Barnetts were dealing with.⁶⁷⁰ He mercilessly parodied the efforts of the nominally fictional “East End Elevation Mission and Pansophical Institute” which, like the Barnetts, borrowed pictures to exhibit to East Enders, with resulting “revelations to the Uninformed of the morals ingeniously concealed by the painters.”⁶⁷¹ However, the demographic for this mission was made up of “tradesmen’s sons, small shopkeepers and their families,

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., p.385.

⁶⁶⁷ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, p.167.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p.181.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., p.187 discussing Peter Bailey, “Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?” Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability,” *Journal of Social History* 12, no. 3 (1979): p.348.

⁶⁷⁰ Arthur Morrison, *A Child of the Jago* (New York: Duffield, 1906 [1894]). In this novel, the child is unable to escape the cultural vortex of the East End, despite the best efforts of the only good character in the novel, the local priest. Although from Poplar in the East End himself, Morrison’s work was criticised for exaggerating the brutality of the Nichol (the area he modelled the Jago on), which was an enclave of the East End. Diana Malz, “Arthur Morrison, Criminality, and Late-Victorian Maritime Subculture,” *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011): pp.2-5.

⁶⁷¹ Morrison, *A Child of the Jago*, pp.21-30.

and neat clerks, with here and there a smart young artisan.”⁶⁷² Morrison’s point was that the self-congratulatory reformers were actually dealing with an aspirational subset, the ‘petty bourgeois’ element of parts of the East End,⁶⁷³ and they completely missed the sordid realities of some of the working class people living in the “Jago.” Marc Brodie makes much the same point in analysing East End voting patterns, finding that the much vaunted “slum conservatism” in fact occurred in areas with strong artisanal and trade-based residents.⁶⁷⁴

Yet even amongst this aspirational subset of East Enders, taste was not easy to mould. As Gleeson White noted in relation to Cole’s earlier South Kensington “Chamber of Horrors” project, faced with examples of good and bad design, “the public eagerly accepted new vices they had hitherto shunned only from ignorance of their existence.”⁶⁷⁵ Despite their bowdlerised selection of artworks, the Barnetts would discover something very similar, through having their Whitechapel audience vote for favourite pictures.⁶⁷⁶ Much to the organisers’ mortification, the voting demonstrated that, given the opportunity to choose between ‘good’ art and work of somewhat lesser merit, it was frequently the latter that was preferred, with sentimental and genre paintings being selected for reasons far from those of moral uplift.⁶⁷⁷ The Barnetts reported some of the voters’ idiosyncratic reasoning:

‘Because I liked him’, answered a big lad who voted for [General] Gordon’s portrait against the remonstrance of his women friends who thought it a ‘dull’ picture. ‘Because they’re lovely’, the elder sister said, who voted for ‘The Two Sisters’ (a picture with less artistic

⁶⁷² Ibid., p.22.

⁶⁷³ Morrison’s description fits with Peter Bailey’s categorisation of the archetypal lower middle-class or ‘petty bourgeois’ occupations being the shopkeeper and the office clerk. [Bailey, “White Collars, Grey Lives? The Lower Middle Class Revisited,” p.276.] This is the same group that was earlier identified as the audience of melodramas and members of Friendly Societies. This group was very keen to promote itself as typical of the area, and this is why Lara Kreigel found such a strong reaction amongst the artisanal group to negative newspaper coverage about the locals at the opening of the Bethnal Green Museum in 1872. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, pp.185-7.

⁶⁷⁴ Brodie, “Voting in the Victorian and Edwardian East End of London,” pp.245-8.

⁶⁷⁵ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.18.

⁶⁷⁶ Matthews-Jones, “Lessons in Seeing: Art, Religion and Class in the East End of London, 1881-1898,” p.387.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p.401.

merit than almost any other)... ‘Because it is a comfort to mothers’
‘Because it speaks likeness, and his eyes are so kind and friendly’
‘because the dove’s flying straight’.⁶⁷⁸

Much the same occurred in literature, where legislative attempts to ‘better’ working class literature at best resulted in a conservative appreciation of the classics (which were out of copyright and thus cheaper),⁶⁷⁹ and more often saw working class readers gravitate to the ‘Penny Dreadful’ (or ‘Dime Novel’) variety of sensational crime novel.⁶⁸⁰

Art and the Christmas Card Craze

This dichotomy – between the poles of artistic ideals on the one hand and individual and class-based preference on the other – appears to play out similarly in the arena of the Christmas card, which, like the later postcard, utilises Art to justify a commercialised leisure activity.⁶⁸¹ Gleeson White, whose study of Christmas cards was by far the most extensive contemporaneous discussion of card aesthetics, firmly situated himself on one side of the debate,⁶⁸² but is nonetheless important. His work can serve as an overview of the substantive part of the Christmas card craze, as well as pinpointing several issues affecting Art Publishing in the years just prior to the postcard craze, and which would subsequently affect the dynamics of that trade.

White started with a meditation on whether the card had managed to merit the term “artistic,” concluding that whilst not yet at the level of coins or terracottas,⁶⁸³ the designs were decidedly more artistic than postage stamps

⁶⁷⁸ Samuel Barnett, quoted in Matthews-Jones. Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Rose, "A Conservative Canon: Cultural Lag in the British Working-Class Reading Habits," pp.99-101. Rose notes that the first generation of English teachers following the 1870 education act tended to promote these classics, whilst not examining the more expensive modern literature. It seems likely that a similar propensity to promote the 1870s agenda would occur in art and design teaching.

⁶⁸⁰ Brantlinger, *Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*, p.170.

⁶⁸¹ This is just one aspect of what Rozenzweig calls “the gradual spread of commercialised leisure between 1870 and 1920,” though he frames this through more public forms, such as amusement parks. Rozenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, pp.180-1.

⁶⁸² He hints at being under editorial orders when he says “I am forbidden to illustrate here too many popular specimens which supply the antithesis to the Marcus Ward ideal.” White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.18.

⁶⁸³ This sense of an upper tier of collecting practices identifies some of the same genres that Mahoney locates as the discourses that would be dealt with in *The Connoisseur*. Mahoney,

and playbills, however in its poetry “the sentiment, though excellent in itself, is worn threadbare by repetition.”⁶⁸⁴ Within the art world, the Christmas card trade was significant because, during its glory years between 1878 and 1888, it became a significant patron of artists, with one publisher alone spending £7,000 in a single year on designs – thus providing work for Royal Academicians and aspiring younger artists alike.⁶⁸⁵ After 1888, however, White noted that the bulk of designing was “supplied by those who habitually work for colour printers,” and suggested that “instead of being almost wholly of British origin...the very large proportion of cards today are not merely “manufactured in Germany,” but designed there also.”⁶⁸⁶ Although he acknowledged that it was the introduction of cheap German embossed chromolithography that helped create the card’s popularity,⁶⁸⁷ White’s narrative is cast as one of progress and decline, noting that “Germany begins and ends the great period of popularity. Once cheapness is set against quality, the English are beaten.”⁶⁸⁸ He saw the decline as implicit not only in the card’s production values and price, but also in the fact that the volume of cards being sent turned it from a carefully personalised greeting to a formulaic one, a move from “amity” to “etiquette,” with the result that by 1895 the “practice is by no means so universal in “Society” as it was ten years since.”⁶⁸⁹

For White, the basic problem of conducting a survey of such a substantial trade as the Christmas card was one of “deciding where the borderline is to be drawn between the worthy effort and sheer inanity.”⁶⁹⁰ He wanted nothing to do with those mercenary manufacturers who “from the very first set themselves the one task of selling,” or those “who delight in producing

"Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Collecting in *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors*, 1901-1914," p.178.

⁶⁸⁴ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.3.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5. In arguing this, White must be assuming that anonymous card designs – and most of those I have encountered have been unsigned – were likely to be of German origin. This assumption is suspect – as I note below (page 228), anonymous work could equally relate to female and working class British artists.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.45. It is important to note the word “Society.” His comments do not relate to the numbers of sales – which appear to have grown during the 1890s, as the demographic base widened.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.13.

imitations of unlovely objects.”⁶⁹¹ Publishers who “withstood the vulgar demand for novelty at any price” and got out of the business rather than publish “meretricious rubbish” were to be praised,⁶⁹² whilst the followers of vulgar novelty were blamed for not utilising people like Aubrey Beardsley and keeping up with the “taste of the moment.”⁶⁹³ Novelty, it would appear, was acceptable to White as long as it conformed to educated rather than popular taste.⁶⁹⁴



Figure 65: Marcus Ward, mid-1880s, Christmas Card.
 This quite simple two-coloured chromolithograph is the type of card that Gleeson White praised.
 Author's collection

For White, beauty was at its best in the aesthetically inspired cards of Thomas Crane,⁶⁹⁵ which had a “certain simple treatment, obviously printed and aiming to be decorated pasteboard – no less and no more”⁶⁹⁶ [e.g. Figure 65]. Underpinning this view was the ‘fitness of purpose’ of Morris

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., p.14. Note White’s Design Reform-like use of the word “imitation” – thus harking back to Young’s distinction between the original and the imitation. Dix, "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category," p.388. (See above, p.124).

⁶⁹² White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.22.

⁶⁹³ Ibid., pp.41-2.

⁶⁹⁴ This would play out very similarly in the fashion arena, through condemnation of “mashers” who dared to try and challenge middle class dress codes. Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.234.

⁶⁹⁵ According to White, Thomas Crane was the Brother of Walter Crane. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.17.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., p.8.

and of Cole.⁶⁹⁷ Indeed, he described the latter as “one of the best-abused men of the century.”⁶⁹⁸ He contended that the strength of such British work – contra the excesses of German colour printing – was its “simplicity, dignity, and absence of imitation.”⁶⁹⁹ White also followed Pugin in arguing that “an architectural, not a pictorial, aim was the correct one.”⁷⁰⁰

While the Christmas card had the potential to become more artistic, there were structural obstacles, and White thought that he could identify the fly in the ointment that had stymied the card’s aesthetic progress.⁷⁰¹ It was, surprisingly, not the manufacturer. The art editor in a Christmas card firm had most to fear from a different quarter, and White’s comments on this, in relation to class and organisation are significant enough to quote in full:

[The art editor] also has to face the prejudice and vulgar taste of a very important factor in the whole matter, the buyer for the trade. This personage, unlike an editor – the middleman for black-and-white art – usually meets his customers face to face and exchanges direct opinions with them. The ordinary buyer, drawn as a rule from the lower bourgeois class, has absolute ignorance of the traditions of art, but a very decided belief in his own ill-formed taste. He is ready enough to tell you, in unasked confidence, “that he knows nothing about art, but he knows what will sell.” Fancy yourself a manufacturer bent on improving your wares, be they carpets or cards, whose every effort to attain a higher standard in design is snubbed by the men whom you employ to sell them to the retail tradesmen, and you will criticise his actions less sharply! For it is evident that some such individual, whether called buyer or commercial traveller, comes between the manufacturer and the retailer in almost every instance. Not only has this personage to reckon with the taste of shopkeepers, which varies from the best to the worst, with a tendency to the latter, but he has also his own standard to defend. Hence he sells most readily not only those goods the average retail trader is most likely to choose for himself, but a great many others which, since they approve themselves to the vendor, he can recommend with sincerity.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁷ This idea of fitness for purpose, generally seen as utilitarian, goes at least as far back as Edmund Burke who argues that the beauty of nature stems from its “fitness for any determinate purposes.” Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, p.93.

⁶⁹⁸ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.10.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.18.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

White therefore regarded the salesman as the “needle’s eye, through which so much Applied Art has to pass ere it reaches the public,”⁷⁰³ arguing that neither the public (which got presented with predominantly weak wares) nor the manufacturers were ultimately to blame for the lack of artistic progress.⁷⁰⁴ Whether correct or no, White’s analysis is significant in identifying the strong strain of independent taste amongst the lower-middle class, one which prioritised individual preference, over historically-legitimated ideals. And although he refused to acknowledge that the buyer might actually understand the taste of the market rather better than any itinerant art critic, White’s characterisation of the manufacturer as being caught on the horns of an aesthetic dilemma appears largely correct.

When the public appreciate good design [the manufacturer] is delighted to give it them; but if they will have nothing but petty trifles, unless he can retire entirely from the manufacture, or turn his energies to other subjects — he must, for a while, like “Brer Rabbit,” lie low, and hope for new allies to rout the champions of the commonplace, who never cease their endeavour to drag down everything to their eminently respectable, but dull level of mediocrity, minute and uninteresting finish, and generally “pretty” ideal.⁷⁰⁵

This dilemma – whether to be artistically credible, or commercially viable – would result in the White’s two favourite firms, Ward and De La Rue, taking the high road out of the business.⁷⁰⁶ The choice between art and the “pretty” commonplace favoured by the ‘respectable’ petty bourgeoisie would still face manufacturers of the picture postcard a few years later, but to a lesser degree.⁷⁰⁷ As will become apparent in the next section, by the time White was writing, manufacturers had very largely understood which side their bread was buttered, though the most skilful had managed to butter up both sides. Learning how to market the Christmas card effectively had

⁷⁰³ Ibid., p.12.

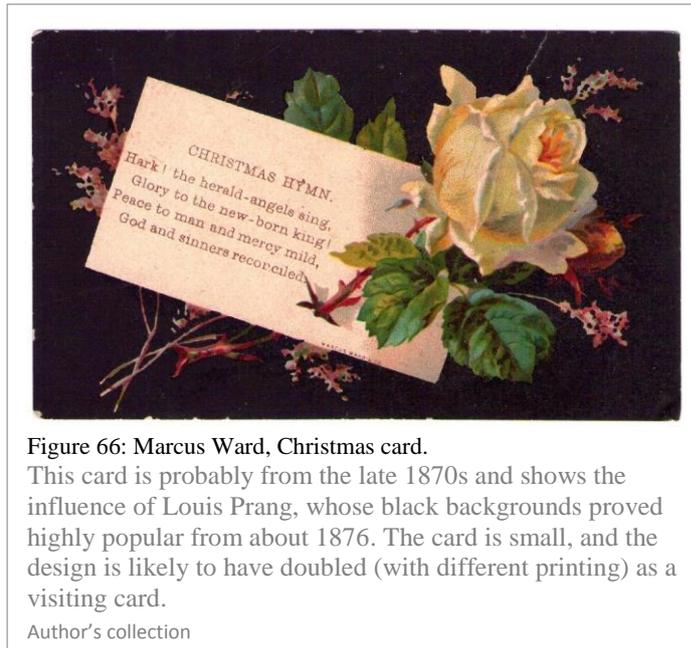
⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., p.35.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.16, 21. He notes that Ward had largely abandoned the market, while De La Rue had left it completely.

⁷⁰⁷ “Pretty” was already a lesser form of praise. In 1882, the *Timaru Herald* noted that “the Christmas cards which at last Christmas were unanimously voted beautiful are now considered only pretty.” [Timaru Herald (NZ), “Display of Christmas Cards,” December 23, 1882, p.2.] By 1913, it had acquired decidedly negative connotations. The *Evening Post* quoted the *Times* as saying that “the fatal quality of an advertisement is “pretty-pretty,” which is always a platitude to the eye, and sends it to sleep, as a platitude thought sends the mind to sleep.” *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Pretty-Pretty,” August 1, 1913, p.7.

not, however, come easily, still less when the increasing focus on colonial trade was factored in.



A Postcard Precursor: The Christmas Card Business

During the early days of the Christmas card trade, prior to 1880, New Zealand stationers' advertising indicates that Christmas cards were imported as part of cases of generic Christmas goods or consignments of stationery, suggesting that the trade in cards was scattergun rather than specific, with New Zealand merchants engaging an external dealer to source goods.⁷⁰⁸ Hence, whilst British printers like Charles Goodall and Marcus Ward had been printing Christmas cards for some years, they seem to have used intermediaries to help them expand into the colonial market. There is no sense from the stationers' advertising that these companies were recognised as a brand that could assist stationers in selling Christmas Cards – although from as early as 1862 the Marcus Ward name had been used to add value to other products such as ledgers.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁸ On this, see Andrew Popp, "Building the Market: John Shaw of Wolverhampton and Commercial Travelling in Early 19th Century England," *Business History* 49, no. 3 (2007): p.342.

⁷⁰⁹ Lyttleton Times (NZ), "Advertisements," September 27, 1862, p.6. Ward first started Christmas card production in 1866, and Gleeson White regarded their productions as the best amongst the early manufactures. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, pp.15-21.

Branding, at this point, was still an ad hoc affair in Britain, with no national registry of trademarks until 1876, and it would not be until the 1880s that businesses started to understand the benefits that branding brought.⁷¹⁰ This may explain why retailers for the most part failed to advertise company names, relying instead on product descriptions. Equally, the companies themselves may not have defined the Christmas card as a separate or significant business category, with Ward's wares often being described as simply "Marcus Ward's fancy goods."⁷¹¹ The only New Zealand 1870s retailer found promoting a specific brand of Christmas cards was Samuel Cochrane & Sons, who announced "a consignment of choice Christmas Cards, from the well-known house of De la Rue & Co."⁷¹² Roy Church notes that this period's entrepreneurs often struggled to locate their arena of business,⁷¹³ and this could explain why there was a lack of specific brand awareness around an area like the Christmas card, which the manufacturers had little reason to assume would ever be more than a short-term fad. Thus, on the basis of the evidence available, it is reasonable to conclude that prior to 1880, in New Zealand at least, Christmas cards were treated as a sub-category of general stationery, that there was no clear strategy with regard to importing or marketing them, and that there were no companies that were specifically trying to corner this particular niche market. This would change during the 1880s.

By December 1880, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was able to list the names and addresses of fifteen principal Christmas card manufacturers,⁷¹⁴ headed by Charles Goodall, the firm that had first mass-produced Christmas cards in 1862, and Thomas de la Rue.⁷¹⁵ All of these firms were based in London,

⁷¹⁰ John Mercer, "A Mark of Distinction: Branding and Trade Mark Law in the UK from the 1860s," *Business History* 52, no. 1 (2010): p.20.

⁷¹¹ Press (Christchurch, NZ), "Advertisements," August 8, 1873, p.1.

⁷¹² New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," November 29, 1878, p.4. De La Rue was well known owing to printing playing cards, bank notes and stamps prior to entering the Christmas Card market around 1872. Warrington, Malcolm. "De La Rue & Co." (2012). <http://www.scrapalbum.com/xmasp7.htm> [accessed December 9, 2012].

⁷¹³ Roy Church, "New Perspectives on the History of Products, Firms, Marketing, and Consumers in Britain and the United States since the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 52, no. 3 (1999): p.417.

⁷¹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, UK), "Christmas Cards," December 7, 1880, [no page].

⁷¹⁵ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.61. Gleeson White places De La Rue alongside Marcus Ward as one of the pre-eminent firms, although their period of activity in

and the advertisement suggests cooperation between the manufacturers and a number of major retail outlets, which were also listed. This collective approach can perhaps be explained by the fact that German business had, since the mid-1870s, become fascinated with the cartel model.⁷¹⁶ Such an influence from Germany is credible, since, as previously noted, a high proportion of Art Publishers had German roots – indeed five of the fifteen listed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* advert appear to be of German origin.⁷¹⁷

Germans had an affinity for cultural forms that played to the domestic, rather than the public sphere,⁷¹⁸ and Andrew Stephenson, discussing a slightly later period, has argued that Anglo-German art and design networks were stronger than previously believed.⁷¹⁹ Certainly German bourgeois émigrés played a significant role in British manufacture, bolstered in no small part by Prince Albert's German heritage.⁷²⁰ The largest 'foreign' minority group in England and Wales until 1891,⁷²¹ they shared many of the cultural values of non-conformist manufacturers, with whom they found considerable common Anglo-Saxon ground.⁷²² Cartel or no, the sense of a coherent group of card manufacturers would continue through to the postcard era, when the majority of the major postcard producers could be found located within a square mile in London's East End,⁷²³ forming professional groups aimed at improving collective efficacy.⁷²⁴ Card

the field only lasted between 1876-1885. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.21.

⁷¹⁶ John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Company: A Short History of a Revolutionary Idea* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), p.91.

⁷¹⁷ These are: Raphael Tuck, Hildesheimer & Faulkner, Bernhard Ollendorff, William Luks and Herman Rothe.

⁷¹⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.137.

⁷¹⁹ Andrew Stephenson, "Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912," in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010), p.278.

⁷²⁰ Jonathan Westaway, "The German Community in Manchester, Middle-Class Culture and the Development of Mountaineering in Britain, c.1850-1914," *The English Historical Review* 124, no. 508 (2009): p.581.

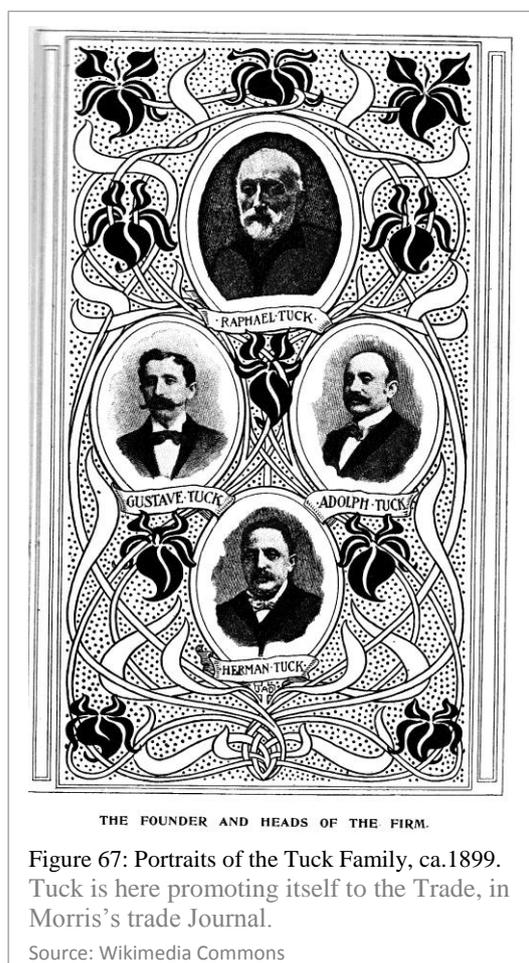
⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, p.575.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, pp.573-4. Westaway notes, on p.583, that the German Jewish influence was particularly large, and that these groups both inter-married, but also married into the commercial middle classes – with inter-marriage providing a particularly strong way of cementing ties within the manufacturing community.

⁷²³ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.318-9.

⁷²⁴ Carline notes that the Association of Publishers of Picture Postcards was founded in 1906. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.36. Byatt mentions

manufacturers thus appreciated what Veblen saw as the inevitable consequence of mechanisation: interdependence.⁷²⁵



This cosy set of publishing relationships evidently entailed social and religious ties as well. In 1883, Sigmund Birn married Minnie Tuck, daughter of Raphael Tuck, at the Great Synagogue in London.⁷²⁶ The wedding joined together two of the major Jewish Art Publishing firms, Birn Brothers and Raphael Tuck & Sons – who, as noted earlier, were already the leading producers of scraps,⁷²⁷ and would go on to be major HATS postcard producers [Figure 67]. Records that might have documented the conditions that these companies worked under are unfortunately non-existent, owing to the ‘postcard mile’ having been razed during the second world war,⁷²⁸ but during the Edwardian period, the East End was, according to George Sims, notorious for unscrupulous manufacturers,

sometimes Jewish, exploiting immigrant Jews as “sweated” labour.⁷²⁹ This was particularly prevalent in the tailoring and furniture businesses,⁷³⁰

that the “Postcard Publishers’ Association” was wound up during the First World War, Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.104. Daniel Gifford quotes one of the objectives of the 1908 US Post Card Importers Publishers and Manufacturers’ Protective Association being “to promote harmony of feeling between the members which will lead them to work as a unit.” Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.79-83.

⁷²⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp.16-17.

⁷²⁶ The Peerage. “Person Page – 35948.” (Undated). <http://thepeerage.com/p35948.htm> [accessed December 6, 2012].

⁷²⁷ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.285.

⁷²⁸ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.14. This applies to virtually every publisher who was still in business at that time. The records of almost all the other firms had disappeared by the 1920s, leaving a dearth of company archival material. Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.36.

⁷²⁹ George R. Sims, "Sweated London," in *Living London: Its Work and its Play, Its Humour and its Pathos, Its Sights and its Scenes*, ed. George R. Sims (London: Cassell, 1902), pp.49-50. David Feldman’s study of the issues around this notes that by the turn of

however I have found no evidence to suggest that the British card trade was involved in such blatant practices. There was some early exploitation of women – but within the small-scale photo-tinting and hand-made card areas respectively.⁷³¹ And whilst some photographers used outsourced labour to colour their images, others, like Cynicus, had workers doing such work in-house.⁷³² Overall, it was only hand-colouring and design which could be outsourced locally, since larger manufacturers like Raphael Tuck, as already discussed on page 149, tended to outsource their chromolithographic printing to Germany.⁷³³

A Christmas Entrepreneur: Raphael Tuck & Sons

Raphael Tuck & Sons was listed fifth on the Pall Mall Gazette's list of Christmas card publishers. They had started publishing Christmas cards in 1871,⁷³⁴ but had only received their first national press coverage for their cards in England in 1879,⁷³⁵ having previously been better-known for publishing other art-related items such as *Birket Foster's Portfolio of Gems*.⁷³⁶ Nevertheless, by 1908, they were long established as perhaps the pre-eminent Art Publishing firm.⁷³⁷ Their letterhead from this year included an engraving of the factory and reviews of Tuck's cards.⁷³⁸ They also listed offices in Paris, Berlin, New York and Montréal, and board members

the century, there were over 100,000 Jew living in the East End, most of them on low wages. [David Feldman, "Jews in the East End, Jews in the Polity, 'The Jew' in the Text," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011): p.5.] He notes p.20 that, contrary to many of the other East Enders, the Jewish community were renowned for their "work ethic, their responsiveness to the market in general and the profit motive in particular, their cohesive communal life, their piety, sobriety, and purposefulness."

⁷³⁰ Sims, "Sweated London," pp.49, 55. For a full discussion on sweating in the clothing trade, see James A. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

⁷³¹ Timaru Herald (NZ), "Sweating in Art," January 15, 1889, p.4; Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Queer Advertising Dodges," September 1, 1894, p.4.

⁷³² Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.27.

⁷³³ This may be a case of Nike-like 'out of sight out of mind' outsourcing. Part of the reason that German cards were so cheap, according to the press at the time, was that wages in Germany were low. Hawke's Bay Herald (Napier, NZ), "Boycotting Cheap Labour," October 31, 1891, p.2.

⁷³⁴ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.288.

⁷³⁵ Pall Mall Gazette (London, UK), "Christmas Presents," December 22, 1879, [no page].

⁷³⁶ Sheffield and Rotherham Independent (Sheffield), "Literary Notes," December 19, 1878, [no page].

⁷³⁷ Rosslyn Joan Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea: A Study of the Colour Print Products, Printers, Technology and Markets in New Zealand, 1830-1914" (Doctoral Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, 2002), p.635.

⁷³⁸ It is reproduced in Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.47.

including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Alfred Parsons ARA. Their product lines were given as:

Christmas & New Year Cards, Birthday Cards, Wedding Text & In Memoriam Cards. Menu & Ball Programmes. Picture Postcards. Proof Postcards. Post Card Albums, Illustrated Books, Calendars, Toy Books, Engravings, Etchings, Photogravures, Photochromes & facsimiles, Studies of Flowers, Fruit Landscapes, Animals & Figures, Reliefs, Art Novelties, Artistic Stove Screens, *Special Department*: Artistic Show Cards, Posters, Cigar Labels &c &c.⁷³⁹

It would, on reflection, be economic suicide to build a business around a seasonal product like the Christmas card or the Valentine. Art Publishers did not make that mistake. Judging by references to them in newspaper advertising, companies of the 1870s and 1880s like Ward, Goodall and De La Rue all maintained a diverse set of stationery offerings – no doubt as insurance against changes in fashion, but also because specialisation required a large enough market to sustain it.⁷⁴⁰ The Christmas card clearly had not reached such a threshold. This is why Marcus Ward was marketing their generic stationery, rather than Christmas cards alone.

Because the literature tends to discuss products such as Christmas cards, scraps or postcards in isolation, the business ramifications of this multifarious Art Publishing manufacture seem to have gone unremarked. Nevertheless, it was precisely the ability of large companies like Raphael Tuck to offer a wide spectrum of products that allowed them to effectively market themselves overseas, and Tuck appears to have been the market leader in tapping the potential of the colonial market.⁷⁴¹ Over 200,000 people had emigrated from Britain to New Zealand during the 1870s,⁷⁴² providing a substantial pool of people who carried British rituals and traditions overseas, and could be expected to communicate home. For the purposes of understanding how Christmas card makers tapped into this

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Casson and Lee, "The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective," p.9.

⁷⁴¹ I base this on their being by far the most reported company in New Zealand and Australian newspapers.

⁷⁴² Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2008), p.41.

market, and thereby established the international economic networks that paved the way for the international postcard trade, I particularly concentrate on Raphael Tuck, the most visible of the companies, rather than attempting a larger portrait of the business as a whole.

Tuck's first marketing coup is well known, enhancing its reputation, as Byatt puts it, "to unassailable levels for sixty golden years,"⁷⁴³ and providing the Auckland Society of Artists with inspiration.⁷⁴⁴ In 1880 Tuck arranged a competition, judged by the most eminent academicians that they could involve,⁷⁴⁵ to find the best Christmas card designs. Nine hundred and twenty five entries were received, and the winners were exhibited at the fashionable Dudley Gallery.⁷⁴⁶ The monetary prize winners were of impeccable taste and consequently sold badly – as Gleeson White noted, sourly blaming the power of the "middle-man."⁷⁴⁷ Tuck, however, also purchased a large number of other non-prize winning entries, which sold much better,⁷⁴⁸ and which may also, along with the winners, have been promoted as "prize designs" – a term widely used by manufacturers whose wares had won prizes at the various international Exhibitions.⁷⁴⁹ At all events, by 1881, with Tuck's sample books offering one hundred and eighty

⁷⁴³ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.288.

⁷⁴⁴ Also in 1880, Louis Prang, of Boston, announced a Christmas card competition, which allowed him to leap to the forefront of the American market. [Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.99.] The next year, John Sands ran a similar competition for Australian-themed cards [Bay of Plenty Times (Tauranga, NZ), "Fine Art Competition in Sydney," June 16, 1881, p.2], with somewhat less success. Neither affected the New Zealand market, however, as much as Tuck's.

⁷⁴⁵ These included Sir Coutts Lindsay and Academicians H. Stacy Marks and G. H. Boughton. Pall Mall Gazette (London), "Reuter's Telegrams," August 18, 1880, [no page].

⁷⁴⁶ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.25. Byatt says five thousand entries were received, but White had access to Tuck in 1895, and is unlikely to have got facts like this wrong. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.288.

⁷⁴⁷ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.25.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.25-6. For an example of what White lists as the sixth prize winning card by K. Terrell "after the style of Kate Greenaway" and showing that the phrase "prize design" was printed onto the card itself, see Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau* (London: Ferndale, 1981), Fig.110.

⁷⁴⁹ Jennifer Black notes how this is often associated with companies visually displaying medals won at exhibitions on their advertising cards. [Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," p.301.] 'Prize Design' appears regularly in the New Zealand press, relating to designs that had won prizes in the various exhibitions that had been held from 1850 onwards. In this context, prize winning designs were a sign of international recognition.

sets, incorporating seven hundred designs,⁷⁵⁰ New Zealand retailers were for the first time advertising Christmas cards with Tuck's prize designs.⁷⁵¹

The competition was thus the prelude to a marketing push. Tuck had understood that with the Christmas card there are two points of consumption: the purchaser and the receiver. Most of the 1880s Christmas cards I have collected have no publisher's details on them because they were originally sold in packets, and the packets themselves were branded. Manufacturers who used this approach were thinking only about the initial purchaser. Tuck, along with Marcus Ward and Hildesheimer & Faulkner,⁷⁵² were the British companies who most regularly seem to have put their brand name onto the card itself.⁷⁵³ This allowed the receivers of Christmas cards to become aware of the Tuck brand, and thus reinforced the "prize design" marketing strategy. It is therefore no coincidence that Tuck applied for a trade mark at the end of 1880.⁷⁵⁴ In the light of their approach to the competition, it comes across as part of a considered push to create a defined brand, probably reflecting the influence of Raphael's son, Adolph, who took over management of the firm in 1881, on his father's retirement.⁷⁵⁵

Tuck was the third company, after Ward and De La Rue to be examined by Gleeson White in his monograph. White was much more ambivalent in his treatment of Tuck compared to the first two. He noted the huge volume of Tuck's output,⁷⁵⁶ and praised the company for attempting to involve Royal Academicians, as it had done in the 1880 competition, and when commissioning works during the 1882-83 period – though these were again

⁷⁵⁰ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.25.

⁷⁵¹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Advertisements," October 31, 1881, p.3; Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ), "Advertisements," December 12, 1881, p.1.

⁷⁵² Hildesheimer and Faulkner also followed Tuck in putting on a competition, in 1882, which had £5,000 in prize money. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.31.

⁷⁵³ This observation is only based on my non-comprehensive collection of around two hundred cards and on internet searching. The area needs further, more detailed research. Louis Prang, for example, was including copyright and publisher's name on cards by 1876. See New York Historical Society Museum and Library, PR31, Bella C. Landauer Collection, shown in Marybeth Kavanagh, "Louis Prang, Father of the American Christmas Card," *From the Stacks: The N-YHS Library Blog*, December 19 (2012). <http://blog.nyhistory.org/> [accessed December 26, 2012].

⁷⁵⁴ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.288-9.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.289.

⁷⁵⁶ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.25.

not well received by the public.⁷⁵⁷ He concluded that this experience demonstrated that “to commission an artist to go out of his way and prepare a scheme for work outside his sympathy is nearly always fatal,”⁷⁵⁸ and summed up the relatively short section on Tuck with a barbed comment:

The collector will find more of Raphael Tuck’s publications essential to complete his selection of typical cards, than any other single firm can offer; and at the same time, he will find those “he has no use for,” to employ an American idiom, are as likely to bear the well-known trademark of Raphael Tuck & Co. than that of any less known firm.⁷⁵⁹

Part of the reason that White kept the section short was that his focus was on Christmas card artists, and with the exception of the competition cards and the Royal Academy commissions, very few of Raphael Tuck’s cards can be attributed to an artist. Whilst increasingly they carried the Raphael Tuck brand name prominently, they were artistically anonymous. White noted that “if two designs of equal merit [were] offered, the public preferred the work of the outsider to that of the honoured member of the Royal Academy,”⁷⁶⁰ and this perhaps gives a clue to the company’s thinking. The cultural capital associated with the Royal Academy had exchange value only within a limited section of the population, and this segment was being catered for by companies like Ward and De La Rue. Tuck’s particular skill seems to have been in broadening its market base, utilising the commercial vernacular to offer cards which suited popular taste [e.g. Figure 68], whilst at the same time projecting themselves as “artistic.” Nor did they have to go to Germany, as White implies,⁷⁶¹ to find a pool of artists prepared to work anonymously. As Mirra Bank put it, in the title of her 1979 book, “anonymous was a woman.”⁷⁶²

The Anonymity of the Greetings Card Artist

Dawn and Peter Cope, examining the artists who created children’s postcards, note that competitions, such as those run regularly through the 1890s by *The Studio*, encouraged many young female artists to try

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., p.26.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., p.27.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.28-29.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., p.26.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., p.5

⁷⁶² Mirra Bank, *Anonymous Was a Woman* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

commercial art.⁷⁶³ Women had increasingly been entering the arts during the second half of the nineteenth century,⁷⁶⁴ finding it a socially acceptable alternative to governessing,⁷⁶⁵ and one that could be undertaken from home.⁷⁶⁶ Tuck later reported paying its unnamed top female artists between £700-£1000 per annum, with even their female in-house artists paid up to £3 per week.⁷⁶⁷ It thus seems likely that it was this mix of middle class professional women along, perhaps, with the working class students being turned out of Cole's new design schools, that would have provided a group of artists willing (or obliged) to work on the publisher's terms.⁷⁶⁸ Ellen Mazur Thomson observed that advertising artists of both genders were usually anonymous at this period,⁷⁶⁹ while John Hewitt noted the same tendency amongst publishers of posters (also often chromolithographic), as it suited these publishers to have images as part of their stock which could then be reused with modifications without recourse to the artist.⁷⁷⁰

Contracting work to artists who worked speculatively from home was not restricted to the card industry. Wood engraver, John Whitfield Harland, complained in 1892 that freelance engravers were being exploited through capitalist employers always finding people prepared to undercut current

⁷⁶³ Dawn Cope and Peter Cope, *Postcards from the Nursery: The Illustrators of Children's Books and Postcards 1900-1950* (London: New Cavendish, 2000), p.25. Alan Young points out that the term 'commercial art' itself was only popularised in the twentieth century. Alan S. Young, "A Genealogy of Graphic Design in Victoria" (PhD, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, 2005), p.78. This is supported by its occurrences in the New Zealand press.

⁷⁶⁴ Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design," in *Design History: An Anthology*, ed. Dennis P. Doordan (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1995), p.63.

⁷⁶⁵ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: Women's Press, 1987), p.40.

⁷⁶⁶ Thomson, "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design," pp.80-1.

⁷⁶⁷ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Art and Artists," January 27, 1898, p.46. This is around three times a good labouring wage.

⁷⁶⁸ An article on advertising design within the lithographic printing trade gives the normal payment for a poster design at 7s 6d, and mentions that some of the best advertisement designs had been submitted by a clergyman. [Tuapeka Times (NZ), "A Curious Industry. Advertisement Designing," June 28, 1893, p.3.] The same process of concept submission and 7s 6d payment are reported in 1899. Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.100.

⁷⁶⁹ Thomson, "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design," p.78.

⁷⁷⁰ John Hewitt, "Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (2007): p.63.

prices.⁷⁷¹ Such “outworking” could be used to isolate workers from any form of Union support.⁷⁷² It is common to criticise the anonymity of commercial art in Marxist terms as being an example of commodity fetishism, with artists, in Drucker and McVarish’s words, having their “identities swallowed or erased by the system of production.”⁷⁷³ The signing of cards by companies, such as Tuck, rather than the artist, supports such an interpretation.⁷⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is important to be aware that, in arguing this, our prioritising of individual identity is, in itself, a reflection of a set of middle class values that prioritise individual identity over collective contribution. Nowadays, Ben Highmore is probably correct to say that we regard art as leading the viewer “towards the authoring subject,” whereas anonymity is a property of the “document,” which leads us towards its subject matter rather than the author.⁷⁷⁵ Yet Rachel Buurma points out that nineteenth century print culture was much more comfortable with anonymous, non-individualistic, approaches than we are today.⁷⁷⁶ In literature, anonymous authorship, which had originated in “gentlemanly reticence,” remained relatively common throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁷⁷ Steven Papsion’s contention, that mechanised card production involves a move from authorship to anonymity,⁷⁷⁸ may therefore be overstated. Anonymous authorship within the card industry is not consistent between publishers, and when used may have allowed some artists to work commercially without affecting their social roles. It would also potentially have allowed publishers like Raphael Tuck to publish good ideas regardless

⁷⁷¹ Quoted in Beegan, "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimile, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving," p.270.

⁷⁷² Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*, pp.186-7.

⁷⁷³ Drucker and McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*, p.158.

⁷⁷⁴ The signing of cards by companies rather than individuals is similarly noted within the photographic genre by Rosalind Krauss. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, p.140.

⁷⁷⁵ Ben Highmore, "Walls without Museums: Anonymous History, Collective Authorship and the Document," *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 2 (2007): pp.4-5.

⁷⁷⁶ Rachel Sagner Buurma, "Anonymity, Corporate Authority, and the Archive: The Production of Authorship in Late-Victorian England," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2007): p.19.

⁷⁷⁷ John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), pp.286-7.

⁷⁷⁸ Papsion, "From Symbolic Exchange to Bureaucratic Discourse: The Hallmark Greeting Card," p.100.

of where they came from. Nevertheless, whilst one may argue as to whether individual instances are necessarily exploitative, the potential for manufacturers in such a system to impose their commercial priorities at the expense of the subjective needs of its employees, to control them by keeping them unknown,⁷⁷⁹ cannot be denied.

Raphael Tuck and the Colonial Trade

Peter Bailey, somewhat unkindly, describes the emerging nineteenth century popular culture industry as “a rogue branch of liberal capitalism whose operations may at one and the same time match or surpass the Fordist or Taylorist aspirations of manufacturing industry, while retaining a populist address akin to the pseudo-gemeinschaft of the publican and the

prostitute.”⁷⁸⁰ The card industry may indeed have exploited its artists – albeit whilst providing them with opportunities – but this industry’s mode of address was almost the direct opposite of Bailey’s familiarity. Buday, discussing the period’s advertising, said that “if the words “Christmas card” were replaced by the name of some more decisive human achievement, these essays would still sound rather pompous today! They quoted Ruskin and spoke of art with a capital A.”⁷⁸¹ Tuck were particularly successful at getting their cards reviewed in newspapers, becoming the go-to company for journalists wanting to discuss the trade,⁷⁸² and in the 1890s particularly, relative to other manufacturers, they received disproportionately large numbers of copy-inches



Figure 68: Raphael Tuck Christmas card. This was one of Tuck’s more expensive cards, with images printed on both sides. It is probably from the late 1880s and is the sort of image which hints at Kate Greenaway, but in a much more realistic style that would appeal to a wider market.

Author’s collection

⁷⁷⁹ This was the complaint of the *Magazine of Art*. Quoted in the Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), “The Artist, ‘Pure’ and ‘Applied’,” April 12, 1889, p.5.

⁷⁸⁰ Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, p.10. He defines this popular cultural industry as “the new pub, the music hall, the theatre, and the popular press.”

⁷⁸¹ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.92.

⁷⁸² This is the reason it has been possible to determine something of Tuck’s tactics. No other company has left a similar record in the press.

reviewing their oeuvre.⁷⁸³ Although a German Jewish refugee, Tuck was blessed with the Christian name Raphael, and had altered his surname from Tuch to Tuck,⁷⁸⁴ thus referencing a character from Robin Hood. As a result Tuck's brand came across as artistic (their trade mark was an artist's easel and palette) and British. They added an additional cachet of respectability in 1893 when they were granted the Royal Warrant of Appointment,⁷⁸⁵ and the effect was completed when Raphael's son, Sir Adolf Tuck, was created a baronet in 1910.⁷⁸⁶

Tuck's success showed an early understanding of the power of branding, but it also required practical application. Of particular interest here, is how Tuck responded to the New Zealand market during this period when New Zealand was moving in British minds from being a periphery to a 'hinterland'.⁷⁸⁷ A key prerequisite for Tuck's ability to expand into this market appears to have been the post. By 1881, the *Evening Post* was carrying an advert for the Wellington firm of Lyon and Blair who were pleased to announce the forthcoming "arrival by incoming Suez mail, [of] a shipment of Christmas cards, comprising a large and varied assortment, selected from proof copies received by us from the best London houses. Prize designs are the predominating feature of the shipment."⁷⁸⁸ Numerous other adverts attest to cards arriving by mail. A thousand pasteboard cards will fit into a shoebox, so it was viable for publishers to utilise the post.⁷⁸⁹

The *Post* advert also talks of "proof copies," suggesting that the retailers had received individual samples or a sample book. Gleeson White refers to

⁷⁸³ My comments in this section are based on extensive database searching. I have not tried to turn search results into statistics, owing to the high numbers, repeat adverts, and references not always relating to Christmas cards. Such a study, though possible, is beyond the scope of the present research. Nevertheless I have only included assertions where the evidence gathered is clear enough that I am confident that the results could easily be replicated.

⁷⁸⁴ Byatt says that this change occurs in 1873. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.288.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.289.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.300.

⁷⁸⁷ Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, p.8.

⁷⁸⁸ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Advertisements," October 31, 1881, p.3.

⁷⁸⁹ The alternative would have been sending bulk stationery consignments via 'forwarding agents', whose focus was on volume rather than speed. Forwarding agent prices were given by the ton – in the cited case, the normal cost is seen as 20s per ton. *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin, NZ), "The Lake Trade," June 12, 1871, p.3.

Tuck's use of sample books, and while lamenting the company's not having kept a full set, he was able to view one from 1881.⁷⁹⁰ What is less clear is how Tuck had accessed the company details of a significant number of New Zealand retailers. Andrew Popp notes that branded British companies actively sought to cut out the middleman,⁷⁹¹ and there is some evidence to suggest that Tuck used travelling salesmen rather than a local agent. An 1892 article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* gives an insight into Tuck's methods at that time, and is probably indicative of earlier practice.⁷⁹² A Tuck's representative states that the colonial market accounted for half of their trade – which at this stage meant over 10 million cards sold overseas – and that travelling salesmen started soliciting orders in May. The use of travellers is clearly demonstrated here, though whether they visited the retailer each year, or established contacts which then allowed Tuck to send its sample book by post, is unclear.

The article is also useful in establishing how Tuck framed its business in the early 1890s. Making cards for all pockets was something they were proud of,⁷⁹³ but they reiterated that “if the public wants a good card it must pay for it. The public knows this, and the greatest run is on our sixpenny cards.”⁷⁹⁴ They positioned themselves as fashion conscious publishers, who did not have a large staff of artists and poets to create the designs. Rather, as with magazine publishers, contributions were submitted to the company, who then selected those they wished to use, and utilised their in-house artists to finalise the designs ready for printing.⁷⁹⁵ With 4500 different designs on offer that year, the company were processing an average of well over a

⁷⁹⁰ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.23.

⁷⁹¹ Popp, "Building the Market: John Shaw of Wolverhampton and Commercial Travelling in Early 19th Century England," p.342.

⁷⁹² *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, UK), "The Christmas Card 'Craze' Increasing," November 3, 1892, [no page].

⁷⁹³ In 1883, Tuck had been able to boast that they had “brought within reach of all artistic productions of a character that, but a few years ago, could only have been found in the portfolios of the wealthy.” *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (UK), “Messrs Raphael Tuck & Co.’s Christmas and New Year Cards,” November 28, 1883, [no page].

⁷⁹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, UK), “The Christmas Card 'Craze' Increasing,” November 3, 1892, [no page].

⁷⁹⁵ A 1906 article quotes Adolph Tuck saying that at that point they had around a dozen in-house artists, and that they commissioned much of the art, J. Kennedy Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity," *Quiver* 220, January 1 (1906): p.170. This shows a development of their earlier policy of having work submitted.

dozen designs a day. And since most of these cards remained unsigned, the artists that submitted designs must have been working for money rather than glory. The company was evidently interested in unearthing new talent and fresh ideas, saying specifically that “novelty in form, arrangement, and even in material counts nowadays for almost as much as the artistic merit of the design.”⁷⁹⁶ Hence they were happy to encourage people with good ideas to submit them – even if they lacked technical facility – since the in-house artists could execute the final work.⁷⁹⁷

The New Zealand Christmas Card

Raphael Tuck & Sons would prove correct in their contention – made prominently in the article – that the Christmas card craze was not finished. If anything, it grew in scale during the latter part of the 1890s.⁷⁹⁸ During it, other publishers, too, would develop international sales networks that included New Zealand, with several different approaches to the business evident. Most seem to have been less proactive than Tuck, relying instead on the retailers themselves. I examine the mechanisms behind this trade, and the competition between British, U.S. and German companies in Appendix 3. However, whilst large Art Manufacturers seem to have supplied the bulk of the cards for the Colonial trade, consumers in places like New Zealand could also purchase locally, where the competition between Art Manufacture and its main rival, photography, can be clearly seen.

A number of New Zealand manufacturers engaged in Christmas card designing, none more determinedly than Whanganui’s A. D. Willis, the only local company during the nineteenth century to compete head on with companies like Tuck by creating chromolithographic Christmas cards [Figure 69]. From 1882, Willis heavily promoted his productions – which

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ This process of designs being executed in-house was widespread, as evidenced in this article on advertising design. Tuapeka Times (NZ), “A Curious Industry. Advertisement Designing,” June 28 1893, p.3.

⁷⁹⁸ Gleeson White credit/blames drapers for offering large volumes of good cards at lower prices than stationers, and ultimately pushing prices down. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.44. This was a major factor in making the cards more widely available, and increasing the craze, but it also reduced their social distinction.

included playing cards and a variety of other print media – through his newspaper connections,⁷⁹⁹ and such newspaper advertising allows something of a picture of the trade to be reconstructed.⁸⁰⁰

The earliest reference to a New Zealand card, however, is to one by J. Wilkie who, in 1880, submitted “some admirable specimens of Christmas

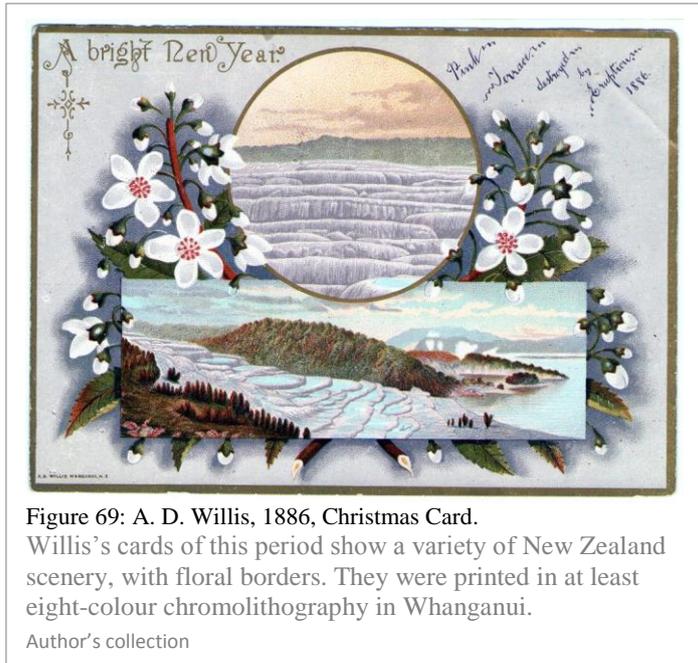


Figure 69: A. D. Willis, 1886, Christmas Card.
Willis’s cards of this period show a variety of New Zealand scenery, with floral borders. They were printed in at least eight-colour chromolithography in Whanganui.
Author’s collection

cards, consisting of photographs of choice bits of New Zealand scenery, tastefully mounted” to the *Otago Witness*.⁸⁰¹ The critical moment for the local industry, however, came two years later, when a large comet was visible in New Zealand during September 1882. This was late enough for images of it not to be able to be sent back to England, turned into Christmas cards and re-exported to New

Zealand. Local publishers put this advantage to good effect, with no fewer than four different comet cards being created.⁸⁰² The most widely distributed of these, [Figure 70], was described in glowing, if inaccurate, detail by a *Wanganui Herald* advertorial.⁸⁰³

⁷⁹⁹ Willis has been the subject of an extensive study by Rosslyn Johnston, which, given that local chromolithographers will not play a role in the later discussion of the Hands across the Sea postcard, renders further discussion unnecessary here. Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," pp.287-366.

⁸⁰⁰ What follows is a brief summary of research into New Zealand Christmas cards which I intend to publish separately.

⁸⁰¹ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “News of the Week,” September 18, 1880, p.18.

⁸⁰² The three not discussed further here, all photographic, were by the Wilkies, W. Brickell Gibb, and Thomas Muir. I intend to publish my research on New Zealand Christmas cards separately. For the purposes of this study, only a brief overview is necessary.

⁸⁰³ It reads: “We have seen a new Christmas card brought out at Dunedin, and on sale by Mr Joseph Paul, in the shape of an artistic photograph embracing a picture of the comet taken from a beautiful view at Dunedin, with two of the most picturesque scenes of the wild grandeur of Otago, Parakanui Bay and Mound Caversham. Anything more tastefully got up it would be difficult to conceive, as characteristic of New Zealand scenery, and no more pleasing reminder of the festive season could be sent to friends at Home. Mr Paul is the sole agent for the firm of Saunders McBeath & Co., who have brought out these cards, and he now offers 1000 of them for sale at one shilling each. We have never seen anything



Figure 70: Saunders McBeath, 1882, Comet Christmas card.

The artwork was by N. Leves whilst the vegetation and labels are collaged before being photographed. Although many were sold as cabinet cards, this example was apparently sold loose and then pasted into an album.

Author's collection

Joseph Paul, the draper who advertised the card, was sole agent in Whanganui,⁸⁰⁴ but the card was advertised by agents in most centres, and must have been created in large numbers, if the thousand on sale in Whanganui are in any way typical, and its price of a shilling was the same as that of the Cole card, whose structure it mimics [see Figure 62].⁸⁰⁵

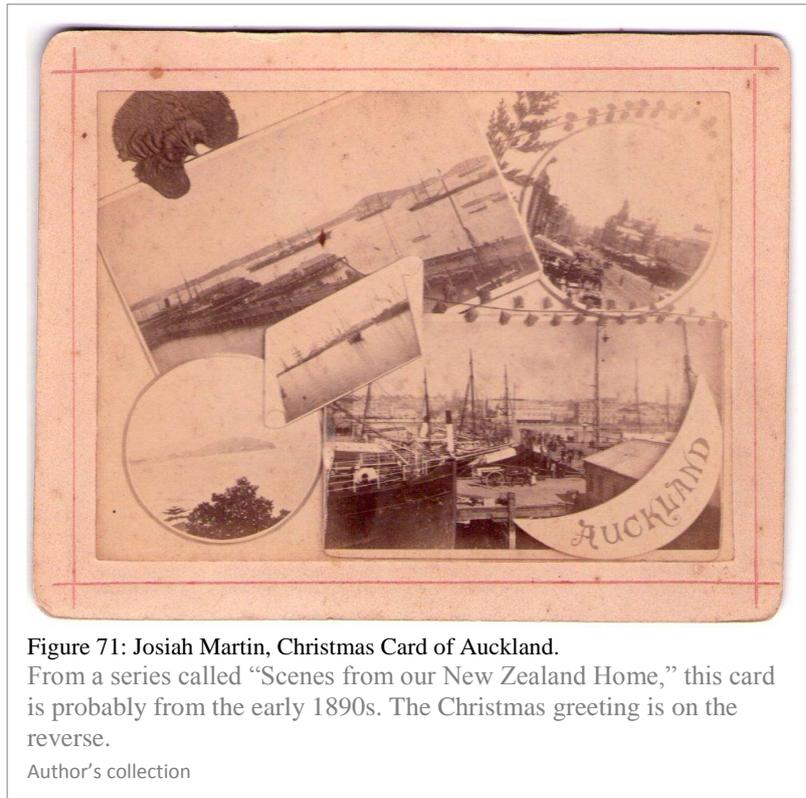
From this point on, a succession of local cards were produced, though judging from their advertising, only Willis and Auckland photographer Josiah Martin [Figure 71] appear to have produced them on a more than occasional basis. More typical are the various artists who submitted work to

of the kind so well got up, and these cards are sure to have a ready sale.” Wanganui Herald (NZ), “Wanganui Herald,” October 28, 1882, p.2.

⁸⁰⁴ Gleeson White credited drapers with being the first group outside stationers to stock Christmas cards, noting that one British draper, Botten and Tidswell, had stocked £10,000 worth of cards. He regarded this as responsible for introducing a demand for cheap cards. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.44. Drapers also had a relationship with theatres, and helped popularize *carte-de-visite* images of actresses. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, p.154. Thus Joseph Paul was following a British trend in moving into this area.

⁸⁰⁵ Gleeson White notes that the 1843 Horsley/Cole card had been reissued by De La Rue in 1881, so although the triptych is a common format, it is possible that Saunders McBeath was consciously quoting its structure. White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.10.

the Auckland Society of Artists competition, who seem to have created one-off cards for the local tourist market.



With the exception of Willis, none of the local producers tried to beat the large Art Publishing companies at their own game. Rather, their Christmas cards were an offshoot of the trade in photographic views. Companies like the Burton Brothers and the company that took them over, Muir & Moodie,⁸⁰⁶ created Christmas cards sporadically [Figure 72], but by 1900 they had established a substantial market for tourist-based imagery that could help promote New Zealand.⁸⁰⁷ This photographic tourist tradition was the precursor to the tradition of tourist postcard views. Such views were not tied to Christmas celebration and were collected in their own right. Indeed, purpose-made albums for New Zealand views were available from the late 1870s.⁸⁰⁸ However, following the introduction of the simpler gelatino-bromide dry plates in 1882, photographs of New Zealand's scenic beauty

⁸⁰⁶ William Main, "Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie," *Postcard Pillar Annual* 1(2009): p.6.

⁸⁰⁷ William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present* (Auckland, New Zealand: PhotoForum, 1993), pp.19, 24.

⁸⁰⁸ Alan Jackson, *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards* (Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 1985), p.3.

had become popular gifts for family “at home,”⁸⁰⁹ and these were often sent at Christmas. Some overlap with greetings cards was inevitable.

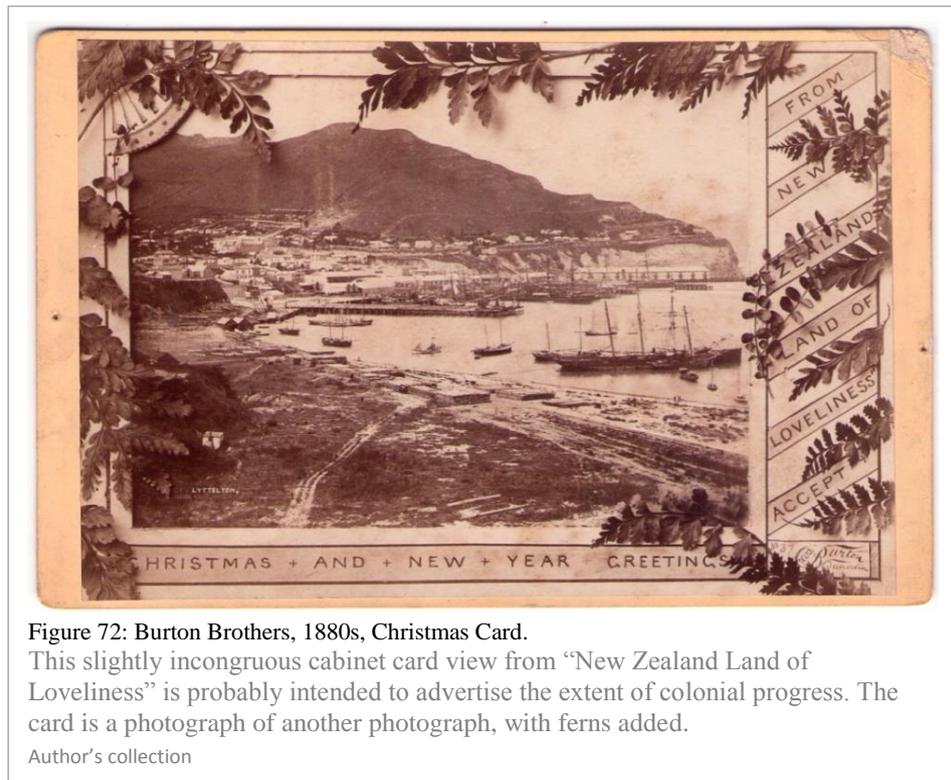


Figure 72: Burton Brothers, 1880s, Christmas Card.

This slightly incongruous cabinet card view from “New Zealand Land of Loveliness” is probably intended to advertise the extent of colonial progress. The card is a photograph of another photograph, with ferns added.

Author’s collection

The Card’s Material Format

These New Zealand photographic and lithographic cards provide a useful comparison in terms of considering the genre’s material format. Willis’s card, typical of the lithographic tradition, is flat, flexible and thin enough to be pasted into an album. Burton Bros, and Martin’s photographs were mounted on the thick card mounts customary for cabinet cards and *cartes-de-visite*. This solid format allowed the thin photographs to be displayed standing up in a cabinet or on a mantelpiece. Although also put in albums [e.g. Figure 42], their bulk made these relatively cumbersome. Their format seems primarily aimed at stand-alone display.

The 1890s would see the emergence of folding lithographic Christmas cards. Although we might assume this also relates to display in the modern sense, their frequent use of text inserts suggests they were more styled as miniature books [Figure 73].

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

Many images of Victorian interiors attest to the public display of cards, but those shown are usually photographic portraits. I have yet to discover any image of an interior depicting the display of Christmas cards on the



Figure 73: Davidson Bros., 1890s, clasped hands Christmas card.

This highly embossed concertina card includes a paper insert with Christmas greetings. Although this card can be displayed in this manner, the insert functions better if the card is treated, and read, as a booklet. Davidson was one of the few companies making clasped hands cards to include publisher's details on their cards during the 1890s. Tuck does not appear to have used the motif.

Author's collection

mantelpiece or elsewhere in the period up to 1920. According to stationers' advertising, which made a point of distinguishing between folding and flat cards, the majority of Christmas cards from this period were still flat pieces of card, like Willis's. From a twenty first century perspective it seems counterintuitive, but the dominant expectation of a Late Victorian Christmas card was that it consisted of a flat piece of flexible card with an image on one side, which could be pasted into an album. And this material aspect is crucial to understanding the relationship between Christmas cards and postcards. Ultimately the only way of distinguishing between the two is the printing of guidelines for

placement of stamp and address, and the printed term 'Post Card'. The move from one format to another was therefore much less of a jump than a glide.

Summary

The picture postcard's development into a craze in the early years of the twentieth century did not occur in a vacuum. The role of the photographic tradition, which expanded the *carte-de-visite* into a tourist trade in 'views', is well known. Less well known are the lithographic Art Publishers that forged vital trading networks for greetings cards which would subsequently benefit the postcard. For companies like Raphael Tuck, the postcard would have been just another variation on a set of existing practices which had already been well rehearsed through genres such as Christmas cards. Constant renewal of their offerings helped these firms build fad-proof stationery businesses. However, the predisposition of Art Publishers to subcontract work to Germany created a ticking bomb that the postcard industry would inherit.

Not only did consumers of postcards benefit from advances in production, they also drew on a tradition of collecting commercially-printed 'fancy goods' in albums and scrapbooks. Poetry (a major element of greetings cards) was similarly collected: in commonplace, friendship, and autograph books. The album as a material receptacle, I argue, connects a wide range of ostensibly discrete collecting practices. Albums of fashionable ephemera had long allowed youthful collectors to become familiar with consumer culture and its rituals, with cards functioning as greetings, gifts and collectibles. And album culture's consumer base had, by the end of the century, extended out from the middle classes to include the expanding border territory between lower and middle classes – people who now had the leisure and disposable income to enjoy the exchange of miniature, mass-produced items of art: Valentines, *cartes-de-visite*, birthday cards, Christmas cards, and a range of other items of printed and collectible ephemera. Such items contained many of the components, both visual and literary, that occur later in HATS postcards.

Cards, however, had to tread a delicate path through the minefield of taste, drawing on a visual language that could evoke sentimental nostalgia for some, and celebratory continuity for others. The dividing line between the

reprehensible commercial vernacular and worthy artistic endeavour was perilously thin, and depended considerably on demographic factors. Taste was intricately intertwined with middle class identity and its markers. The postcard, therefore, did not suddenly arrive in a neutral and uncontested environment. Debates that would later be theorised as High and Low were already well underway before the picture postcard emerged. I consequently suggest that the greetings postcard's elements cannot simply be explained away as pass-me-down sentiment, or interpreted via the liberal discourse of privacy. By bringing together the self-contained visual traditions of the trade unions (examined in chapter 1) with the idea of a celebratory culture, I suggest that it is not appropriate to write off deeply-rooted vernacular traditions, in both visual art and poetry, under the patronisingly middle class definition of 'folk'. Such assumptions lead to the pre-emptive side-lining of this vernacular as nostalgic, instead of understanding its vital role within a living tradition.

The Christmas card provided a particularly fertile battleground for taste, as artistic standards conflicted with the commercial realities of popular culture and taste. Despite the ministrations of design reformers, the lower classes seem to have retained a strong preference for realism and imitation (clashing with the middle-class preference for graphic simplification). Any aspiring postcard manufacturer at the turn of the twentieth century was thus faced with a series of difficult decisions about the potential audience, and how to harness its mercurial fashion sensibility. Not that this problem was in any way unique. As Michael Epp has pointed out in a study of popular humour, nineteenth century publishers ideally wanted a predictable and reliable audience.⁸¹⁰ It was here that novelty, the driver of consumption, sat uncomfortably with originality, the icon of romantic individualism: originality is deeply unpredictable. The challenge for card producers seeking the next craze would be to harness novelty to that wellspring of the predictable, the commonplace.

⁸¹⁰ Michael H. Epp, "The Traffic in Affect: Marietta Holley, Suffrage, and Late-Nineteenth-Century Popular Humour," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): pp.108-9.

Hands Across the Sea

Situating an Edwardian Greetings
Postcard Practice



Peter Gilderdale

Volume II: The Postcard

Chapter 3: The Postcard Craze

As shown in the previous chapter, the Christmas card was the card craze of the 1880s and 1890s. It was to be superseded in the following decade by the ‘postcard craze’. Although the postcard literature tends to treat this event as discrete, the phrase itself has two parts. Therefore, before examining the more obvious postcard element, the contextual connotations of the craze phenomenon itself warrant some consideration.

The Infectious Craze

The application of social pressure to inflate prices far beyond an object’s intrinsic use-value can be traced back at least as far as the Dutch ‘tulip mania’ of the 1640s,¹ one of the earliest examples of a middle class collecting craze.² Such ‘manias’ became a regular and necessary aspect of the market economy through subsequent centuries. ‘Mania’ was also applied to social phenomena like “balloonomania,” especially when critics wanted to emphasise the spectacular and irrational aspects of a particular activity.³ The term ‘craze’, however, only became widespread – at least in the New Zealand press – during the 1870s.⁴ Over the fifteen years prior to the postcard craze taking hold in 1903, thirty seven other different ‘crazes’ were noted in the pages of one provincial New Zealand newspaper, the *Ashburton Guardian* (see Appendix 8).⁵ Such constant replacement of one

¹ Peter M. Garber, "Tulipmania," *Journal of Political Economy* 97, no. 3 (1989): pp.535-6.

² Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p.35.

³ Keen, "The "Balloonomania": Science and Spectacle in 1780s England," p.524.

⁴ My working hypothesis, formed from searching these terms in newspaper databases, is that using ‘mania’ primarily emphasises the speculative aspects of an activity, whereas the terms ‘craze’ and ‘fad’ relate to its leisure and consumer aspects. The increasing use of ‘craze’ could be linked to changes in consumer culture, and the broader audience for newspapers. Nevertheless, this is not totally consistent – there are four NZ examples in the *Papers Past* database of the term “postcard mania,” although there are eighty-seven “postcard crazes.” “Postcard fad” occurs only once. Exploring this in detail, however, is beyond the scope of the present study.

⁵ Many of these ‘crazes’ were spurious, and the tendency was for the overseas ones, particularly those from Paris, to be presented as weird (glass bonnets, diamond studded teeth, photo transfer tattoos or yoga) whereas the New Zealand crazes seem to have been primarily physical – roller skating, barn dancing, cycling, golf, football challenges and walking. However some wider social crazes, such as making presentations, motoring and spiritualism do occur in New Zealand. The only collecting craze given a local context is the collecting of first numbers of newspapers, though autographs, engravings and stamps are mentioned overseas.

fad for another is seen by Peter Stearns as a standard indicator of mature consumerism.⁶

Metaphors of disease and infection, like “epidemical madness,” had been applied to such phenomena from the early eighteenth century onwards.⁷ Valentines were a “social disease,”⁸ whilst those who caught the postcard bug had “postal carditis.”⁹ Writers discussed “the virulence with which the picture-card mania is raging,”¹⁰ and how “the illustrated postcard craze, like the influenza, has spread to these islands from the Continent, where it has been raging with considerable severity.”¹¹ Turn-of-the-century writers on social psychology, interested in the effects of such mass phenomena within the “sub-waking social self,” came to regard crazes as a form of mass hypnosis.¹²

Daniel Gifford highlights the role of network-related transmission in the spread of social ‘diseases’ like the postcard, noting that this informs us about the communities involved.¹³ Nevertheless, the historical concern about the delusional and abnormal qualities of crazes is also significant. It alerts us to the perceived threat which the irrational pressures from mass culture posed to Locke’s “sovereign individual,” a conception which, from the start, created an incompatibility between self-interest and common-interest.¹⁴ It was this tension that Adam Smith’s ‘hidden hand’ theory had

⁶ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.18. Rajendra Sharma, following Kimball Young, discusses the difference between a fashion, a craze, and a fad, arguing that a fashion represents a disposition to change away from a contemporary behaviour to something new, becoming a fad once that change is prolonged. It becomes a craze once the rate of transmission is sufficiently accelerated to behave like a contagion. Rajendra K. Sharma, *Social Change and Social Control* (New Delhi, India: Atlantic, 1997), pp.111-2.

⁷ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.21.

⁸ Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, p.35.

⁹ John Walker Harrington, 1906, quoted in Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.155.

¹⁰ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “The Nation’s Postbag,” October 8, 1904, p.5.

¹¹ *The Standard*, August 21, 1899, quoted in Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.60.

¹² David A. Zimmerman, "Frank Norris, Market Panic, and the Mesmeric Sublime," *American Literature* 75, no. 1 (2003): p.70.

¹³ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.156.

¹⁴ Nancy Armstrong, "The Other Side of Modern Individualism: Locke and Defoe," in *Individualism: The Cultural Logic of Modernity*, ed. Zubin Meer (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011), p.146.

sought to ameliorate, arguing that self-interest worked, on balance, for the common good.¹⁵ His theory, which aimed to minimise government interference in the markets, had sowed the seeds for mid-century industrial expansion but had, as noted earlier, been challenged by those who believed government intervention – particularly protectionism – was both inevitable and necessary.¹⁶ Within this debate, the postal service, a public institution that facilitated private enterprise, played a delicate role. Yet, it is precisely this set of tensions, between the public and private sectors, and between rational service and commercial contagion that inhabit the genesis of the postcard craze.

The Early Official Postcard

In 1874, in Berne, Switzerland, the countries of Europe, the United States and Egypt finally came to an agreement as to how to transport post internationally,¹⁷ forming the General Postal Union.¹⁸ David Vincent argues that, for the people of the period, the achievement of ensuring safe, standardised, and cheap postal delivery across national boundaries represented the triumph of the public sector, since neither single countries alone, nor private enterprise, could have accomplished what this group of government bureaucrats did.¹⁹ It seemed that these new postal and telegraphic systems were ushering in the era of international peace and cooperation that liberals, like Elihu Burritt, had dreamt of.²⁰ The brainchild

¹⁵ Medema, *The Hesitant Hand: Taming Self-Interest in the History of Economic Ideas*, p.25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.2.

¹⁷ Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," p.405. This process had begun with an earlier conference in 1863, which had produced only non-binding recommendations. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.149.

¹⁸ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.44. It became the Universal Postal Union in 1878, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," p.411. This fact supports Casson and Lee's contention that the creation of better standards was an area in which governments actively facilitated market growth. Casson and Lee, "The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective," p.35.

²⁰ Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," p.406. The *Evening Post* reported that some people looked on the Postal Union as "the first step towards the Federation of the world and the firm establishment of a universal reign of peace." [Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "The Postal Union," October 2, 1891, p.2.] This article signalled New Zealand's entry into the Union. New Zealand, Australia and South Africa had previously refused to join owing to fears over loss of revenue. North-Eastern Daily Gazette (Middlesbrough, UK), "An International Penny Post," March 31, 1886, [no page].

of German Postmaster General, Dr. Heinrich von Stephan,²¹ the Berne agreement, amongst other things, standardised the international charge for sending a relatively new postal accoutrement, the postcard, at half of the letter rate, costing a penny farthing in English currency.²²

Although there are several contenders for the title of inventor of the picture postcard,²³ it is generally agreed that Dr. von Stephan first mooted the concept seriously at an 1865 Austro-German postal conference at Karlsruhe.²⁴ Initially the idea was not implemented, the convoluted regulations of pre-unification Germany proving an insuperable problem.²⁵ In 1869, however, at the behest of Dr. Emanuel Herrmann, Austria instituted the first government-sponsored postcard, with lines for the address on one side and space for a message on the other – selling over two million cards in the first three months.²⁶ Its success saw Germany, Switzerland and Britain introduce the postcard during the next year,²⁷ and it spread across most of Europe and the United States by 1873.²⁸ In Britain, with the cards priced at a halfpenny²⁹ (albeit only for internal usage),³⁰ over half a million sold on the first day of sale in 1870, and 75 million went through the post in the first year.³¹

²¹ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.53.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ On these see Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.23.

²⁴ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.44. Staff, p.83, notes that an American patent for a private post card had been obtained by John P. Charlton in Philadelphia in 1861, and whilst these cards do not appear to have ever been used until 1870, the United States was nevertheless the first country to allow such a card.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.46-7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.49. New Zealand did not introduce it until 1876. Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.2. These cards were probably printed by Waterlow and Sons, who in 1886 were reported as having been contracted “for many years past” by the New Zealand Telegraph Department. [Evening Post, (Wellington, NZ), “Building Stone,” July 1, 1886, p.2.] Although this article reports Waterlow losing the contract, Main notes that it was this company that printed New Zealand’s first official picture postcard in 1897. Main and Jackson, *“Wish You Were Here”: The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, p.7 [see Figure 76].

²⁹ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.73. He notes that this low rate was not supported by the Government, but was passed after a vote in the House of Commons.

³⁰ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.49.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.48.

Inevitably, there were discussions about privacy.³² If the message was public, then it opened the sender to charges of libel,³³ and the *Star* reflected this debate when it queried whether Mr. Gladstone, a well-known user of the medium, would like to have his cards read out at a public meeting, and noted that people were offended by his use of what was regarded as a business medium [Figure 74].³⁴

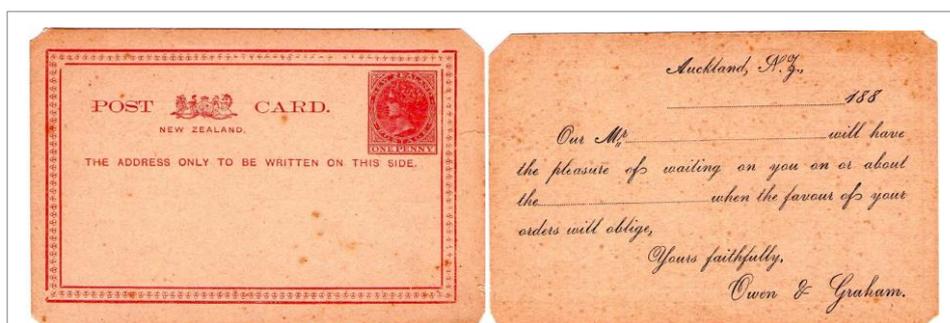


Figure 74: Obverse and reverse of an 1880s New Zealand Post Card.

This postcard was printed for the Auckland drapery firm of Owen and Graham, and remained unused when the firm wound up in 1888. This type of business application is typical of how the postcard was used during the nineteenth century.

Author's collection

Introducing postcards also put the government at loggerheads with the stationery industry, since the British Post Office now had a monopoly on the cards, and was selling them at the face value of the stamp.³⁵ Printing was exclusively contracted to De La Rue,³⁶ meaning that it was virtually impossible for other manufacturers to compete, since any postcards they produced would have to have a stamp added to the price of the printed object, thus making them inevitably more expensive.³⁷ This was eventually resolved when the government raised the price of postcards and established

³² Ibid., p.47. For a contemporaneous discussion of the implications of this “postal novelty of a very remarkable kind,” including the use of cyphers, see the Hawke’s Bay Herald (Napier, NZ), “Post-Cards v. Envelopes,” December 30, 1870, p.3 (quoted from *Chambers’ Journal*). In another paper there is a report of a servant whose excuse for delivering the post late was that there were too many postcards to read. Wellington Independent (NZ), “Untitled,” January 19, 1872, p.3.

³³ Gillen and Hall, “Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities,” p.58.

³⁴ Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Home Gossip,” November 24, 1876, p.3. This article emphasises that whatever was written on the postcard was considered ‘public’, and points out that Gladstone’s practice was seen as a “slight” by some of his correspondents, thus emphasising the contempt that the postcard was held in by those who valued postal etiquette. Richard Carline notes that the Victorians only regarded the postcard as appropriate for business correspondence. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.30.

³⁵ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.48.

³⁶ Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.24.

³⁷ Ibid., p.25.

protocols whereby private manufacturers could have printed stamps added to their cards.³⁸

It is not necessary here to detail the entire history of the ‘official’ postcard. Suffice it to say that the first thirty years of the postcard’s history are defined by fluctuating government regulations.³⁹ Its size, the positioning of its elements, its thickness, its colour, its wording, and its mode of cancelling were all debated, and all differed at times between the various postal union countries.⁴⁰ Such changes required constant negotiation and lobbying, and perhaps the best known British postal lobbyist, and the most important in relation to HATS and the colonial post, was the conservative politician Sir John Henniker Heaton. His arguments finally convinced the British government, in 1894, to rescind the regulations banning the use of postage stamps on private cards, thereby removing De La Rue’s monopoly on officially adding the stamp on behalf of the Post Office.⁴¹ These regulations had discouraged private production of postcards, leaving British picture postcard manufacture years behind that of other European countries.⁴² In terms of international communication, however, another of Heaton’s long-fought-for changes had more impact. The introduction of a “Universal Penny Post” in 1898, championed by Joseph Chamberlain in the cause of colonial unity,⁴³ marked the culmination of twelve years’ agitation by

³⁸ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.48.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ On what was involved in negotiating this, see Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," pp.407-8.

⁴¹ Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.30. It is worth noting that De La Rue’s policy of staying close to government (they never issued picture post cards) has left them the only manufacturer dealt with in this thesis to still be in business under their original name – now specialising in banknotes and, according to their website the “trusted partner of governments, central banks, issuing authorities and commercial organisations around the world.” <http://www.delarue.com/> [accessed January 14, 2013].

⁴² Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.56. The United States did not alter this regulation until 1898. Steven Dotterer and Galen Cranz, "The Picture Postcard: Its Development and Role in American Urbanization," *Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 1 (1982): p.44.

⁴³ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.136-40. It was universal in name, but far from universal in reality, remaining largely confined to the British Empire, though the United States joined it in 1908.

Heaton, though his pleasure was tempered by the refusal of New Zealand and Australia and South Africa to join.⁴⁴

The rhetoric of colonial politics and business was, in Heaton's arguments, closely entwined with that of improved private communication.⁴⁵ And he drew on the HATS metaphor when arguing that "it is on behalf of this mighty Empire, this greater Britain across the sea, that we plead for free communication."⁴⁶ HATS would be regularly invoked by others talking about international penny post – as when the *Nelson Evening Mail* prophesied the following:

When Colonial Ministers of the Crown are prepared "to face the music" and show that the Imperial bond of ocean penny postage is worth forming in spite of local anomalies, Australasia too will enter into the new compact, and join 'hands across the sea'.⁴⁷

Heaton had particular reason to be frustrated by Australasian recalcitrance.⁴⁸ It had been his experience as a settler in Australia that gave him an understanding of "how much these letters from the Old Land meant to the recipients – voluntary exiles as they were," and how much hardship was created by the sixpenny cost of postage.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.152.

⁴⁵ He believed, for example, that cheaper postage would insulate British trade in the colonies from foreign competition, and that better communication would help the defence of the empire. *Ibid.*, p.151. The tenor of his argumentation for this type of international post demonstrates the extent to which he was indebted ideologically to Elihu Burritt: "What we want is some cheap and ready means of bridging over the chasm of distance between our people and the millions of their colonial kindred, of restoring the broken arch in their communications and the severed link in their sympathies, of weaving the innumerable delicate threads of private and family affection into a mighty strand that shall bind the Empire together, and resist any strain from our foes or the Fates." J. Henniker Heaton, *Postal Reform: Ocean Penny Postage and Cheap Imperial Telegraphs*. p.46. Quoted in Thomas, "Racial Alliance and Postal Networks in Conan Doyle's "A Study in Scarlet", " p.16.

⁴⁶ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.151.

⁴⁷ *Nelson Evening Mail* (NZ), "Nelson Evening Mail," February 20, 1899, p.2.

⁴⁸ Richard Seddon eventually agreed to New Zealand joining the universal penny post in 1901, arguing – correctly as it turned out – that the £88,000 of lost revenue would be made up for by increased volume. [Wanganui Herald (NZ), "The Financial Statement," August 18, 1900, p.2.] Australia entered a penny post agreement with the UK in April 1905 [Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.142], but did not enter the full Union until 1911, *ibid.*, p.150.

⁴⁹ Quote from the *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Obituary," September 10, 1914, p.2. See also Staff, *ibid.*, pp.127-8. It was also Australia that had involved Heaton in postal legislation, through an appointment as Tasmanian delegate to a postal Congress in Berlin in 1883. Percival Serle, *Dictionary of Australian Biography* (Sydney, Australia: Angus &

Crucial as the international penny post would prove for colonial communication as a whole, however, it does not rate a mention in Staff's *The Picture Postcard and Its Origins*. Having discussed it in an earlier book,⁵⁰ Staff was here more concerned with the fact that even after 1894's



Figure 75: Cynicus, ca. 1897, court-sized comic card. The tight composition of this card shows why publishers disliked the 'court' format. Cynicus was the pseudonym for Scottish cartoonist Martin Anderson (see page 116), who became a major postcard publisher, and whose later offerings included some HATS cards. This card was sent to Germany from London. Author's collection

relaxation of the rules, few British publishers had been interested in creating picture postcards, owing to legislation insisting on an idiosyncratically-sized "court" card that was smaller than those used in other countries,⁵¹ and which did not fit into albums intended for Continental cards [Figure 75].⁵²

Overseas the picture postcard was more developed, with the German craze peaking around 1900, just as it was launching in Britain.⁵³ By

1897, even the New Zealand Government had jettisoned the court card size, issuing 250,000 copies of a highly pictorial continental-sized tourist card [Figure 76],⁵⁴ and then lining up their regulations to allow private companies to print similarly sized cards.⁵⁵ British manufacturers understandably felt they were missing out.

Robertson, 1949). <http://gutenberg.net.au/dictbiog/0-dict-biogHa-He.html#heaton1> [Accessed January 10, 2013].

⁵⁰ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*.

⁵¹ *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.57-8.

⁵² Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.29.

⁵³ Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.17. Comments in the New Zealand press, however, suggest that the German craze continued to grow through the 1902-3 period, with over a billion cards sent in a year. Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Philately," April 30, 1902, p.56. See also the Auckland Star, (NZ), "From Far and Near," July 29, 1903, p.9.

⁵⁴ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, pp.6-7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.7.



Figure 76: New Zealand Government Postcard, 1898.
 This card was printed by Waterlow and Sons, showing New Zealand tourist attractions. It loosely follows the German ‘Gruss aus’ format, and the Rococo style used in the borders was very fashionable during this decade. The message is in some kind of shorthand or code – a not uncommon ploy, like using Latin or Greek, to ensure privacy.
 Author’s collection

The Early Picture Postcard

Whilst official postcards were designed with the same gravitas that accompanied stamps and banknotes, within a very few years of postcards being allowed, private pictorial postcards of more varied design were produced in some numbers.⁵⁶ This occurred particularly in those countries where legislation was less restrictive than in Britain, such as Germany, Switzerland, France, and Austria.⁵⁷ Often, the pictures were unofficial additions on the reverse of the official cards, as was also the case with the small number of early British examples.⁵⁸ Most commonly such cards contained pictures of places,⁵⁹ and this type developed into a recognisable genre by the 1890s. Like some 1880s Christmas cards [e.g. Figure 69 and Figure 212], it collaged multiple images of places into an album-like design, integrating views, decorative elements and text. It is known as the “Gruss

⁵⁶ Knowing what to regard as a postcard is a problem. For example, George Webber argues that the 1871 card that Staff regarded as the first pictorial postcard was sent as a registered letter. George Webber, "Early Austrian "Dragon" Pictorial Card," *Picture Postcard Monthly*, no. 372 (2010): p.19.

⁵⁷ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.49-50.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.51.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.49.

aus” (Greetings from) card after its most typical text [Figure 77].⁶⁰ Carline argues that it was the 1889 Paris Exhibition, where cards could be sent from the Eiffel tower, that helped popularise the card across Europe.⁶¹ Certainly this inspired some of the earliest British official pictorial cards, which commemorated exhibitions, or were sent from a model of the newly renovated Eddystone Lighthouse – part of what George Webber describes as the “top of” fashion.⁶²

It is perhaps the prominence given to these commemorative souvenirs that has caused other implications of the ‘Gruss aus’ genre to have been

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

It may be accessed at

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gruss_aus_Biebelsheim_1899.jpg

Figure 77: 1899 Gruss aus card from Biebelsheim. This card contains the typical elements of the Gruss aus card – vignettes arranged like elements in an album with foliage and the text “Gruss aus...” or ‘Greetings from’. Source: Wikimedia Commons: from the Wolfgang Mohr postcard collection. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

overlooked. Because these are early pictorial cards, writers have focussed on their role as tourist mementos, with their views, vistas and resorts, seeing them as a forerunner to the photographic view postcard. But they were not only souvenirs. Their communicative intent and their medium are also significant. The earliest British colour postcard, from 1870, was a chromolithographic

“Christmas Greeting,”⁶³ and similarly the work of these largely chromolithographically illustrated German ‘Gruss aus’ cards is to *greet*.

This needs stressing. The largest genre of nineteenth century pictorial postcards actually advertises itself as a greetings card, and was published by chromolithographers, facts that surely connect it to other types of greetings card and the practices associated with them. Such connections have, however, been resolutely ignored in the postcard literature. This is to some

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.56. It should be noted, however, that French cards of a similar design used the French word ‘Souvenir’, *ibid.*, fig.72.

⁶¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.25. Willoughby lists earlier commemorative cards, but agrees with Carline that Paris was the defining event. Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, pp.39-40.

⁶² George Webber, "The Myth of a Tuck 1894 Snowden PPC?," *Picture Postcard Monthly*, no. 309 (2005): p.19.

⁶³ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.49.

extent understandable from a British perspective. Given its thirty years of largely non-pictorial history, it is not surprising that writers like Frank Staff felt comfortable assuming that the postcard had become a discrete genre by the end of the nineteenth century, and therefore felt no compulsion to link it to other forms of commercially available card. Even the fact that the company responsible for popularising the pictorial postcard in Britain was a greetings card manufacturer – chromolithographic ‘Art Publisher’ Raphael Tuck – could not shake the desire to regard the postcard as something entirely distinct.

Staff acknowledges that the credit for properly initiating the craze in Britain – by getting the British Post Office to adopt continental sizing – belonged to Tuck,⁶⁴ but fails to contextualise this.⁶⁵ If it was the court card’s irregular size that was holding up postcard usage, then this suggests that the card was already thought of primarily as a collectible, not as a decorative or utilitarian object. A 1906 interview with Tuck’s managing director Adolf Tuck, however, provides a fuller insight into the specific thinking behind their move.⁶⁶ Tuck said that the firm had watched the development of the picture postcard overseas for some years (being German, they would have been aware of the popularity of ‘Gruss aus’ genre), and were convinced that it had potential in Britain. Nevertheless the regulations, they believed, put British manufacturers at a distinct disadvantage: the small ‘court’ size allowing inadequate space for both image and message, and fostering a sense of the local card being a mean thing.⁶⁷ After negotiating with the Post Office for four years, arguing the financial implications of the imbalance of overseas cards being sent to the UK compared to British cards being sent

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.60.

⁶⁵ Staff spends half a sentence on Tuck’s greetings cards. Ibid., p.60.

⁶⁶ Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity," p.169.

⁶⁷ This was the view formed by a young Evelyn Wrench, holidaying in Germany, who felt that German cards were much better than their English counterparts. [Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.336.] In this objection to the card’s size, Tuck may have been talking from experience, having arguably put their toes in the market in 1894, with a postcard view of Mt Snowdon. [Ibid., p.289.] The existence of such a card is accepted in most literature, but none has been found, and George Webber raises some legitimate concerns – most particularly that in 1906 Tuck’s own manager, Frederick Corkett, did not list Tuck as amongst the originators of the craze. Webber, "The Myth of a Tuck 1894 Snowden PPC?" p.18.

overseas,⁶⁸ the necessary change was finally agreed on.⁶⁹ Tuck, having been given prior warning in November 1898 of the regulation's date of introduction six months hence, was able to print cards of the new size to be available on the day.⁷⁰ What is important about Tuck's account is that, in detailing the teething problems associated with introducing the postcard, it becomes clear that the postcard's success was in no way automatic, and that Tuck was utilising their existing greetings card and other business contacts to try and promote the new type of card:

We had the conservative instincts of the trade to contend with, and, honestly speaking, I do not know of any other firm that could have managed it in anything like the time we did, for this reason, that we do possess a certain reputation with the dealers, who know that we generally make a success of a thing. We have thousands of customers, and yet only fifteen or sixteen percent of them would take post-cards up. After three or four months of discouraging experience, I found that something drastic would require to be done in order to quicken the sales. So we instituted a prize competition, offering thousands of pounds in prizes to ladies making the best collection of picture post-cards. That set the ball rolling, and the demand has gone on increasing ever since.⁷¹

The Tuck recipe for invigorating a market (a competition) was once again applied, with a defined female target audience. Advertised on the back of their packets of cards,⁷² and doubtless assisted by Tuck's established reputation with consumers, it succeeded. When the competition was judged in 1901, the winner had collected over 20,000 cards.⁷³ The postcard craze in Britain was under way.

The change of allowable size almost immediately evoked press comment, demonstrating that collectors understood the multimodal qualities of the latest craze, and recognised how it related to previous collecting practices:

Postcard albums are for the moment ousting both stamp and autograph albums from favour, and have the advantage in both

⁶⁸ Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity," pp.169-70.

⁶⁹ De La Rue retained the rights to the official cards, which were similarly altered in size. Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.32.

⁷⁰ Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity," p.170.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, pp.65-6.

⁷³ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.40. The winner of a second Tuck collecting competition in 1904, again a woman, had amassed 25,000 cards.

respects, inasmuch as they supply the stamp of various nationalities as well as the autograph of some friend or distinguished individual – and, furthermore a dainty bit of scenery.⁷⁴

By November 1899, “pictorial postcards, stamped for use,” had joined “sweetmeats, cigars, cigarettes, matches [and] scents” in London’s penny-in-the-slot machines.⁷⁵ Patriotic cards, capitalising on the Boer War, were on offer,⁷⁶ and companies like Valentine and Sons, and George Stewart, who had been amongst the companies to experiment with postcards between 1894-8,⁷⁷ upped their presence in the market.⁷⁸

George Stewart had been a publisher of pictorial notepaper,⁷⁹ a genre that had long incorporated views of places.⁸⁰ Valentine had expanded their original engraved stationery business, which had worked for Elihu Burritt [Figure 19 and Figure 21],⁸¹ to become one of the leading manufacturers of photographic views.⁸² One might thus have expected Valentine, in particular, to have sensed that the postcard had the potential to integrate their stationery and photographic operations. New technical innovations were appearing from the late 1880s, such as photogravure and the lithographically-based collotype.⁸³ Both of these could mechanically reproduce photographs, which had previously, and expensively, been printed individually. Letterpress halftone, on the other hand, although in

⁷⁴ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Ladies’ Gossip,” June 15, 1899, p.52. The article relates to Britain. The omission of the photograph album from this list is significant. It shows that the postcard was not yet seen as photographic.

⁷⁵ Star (Christchurch, NZ), “London Penn’orths,” November 18, 1899, p.1.

⁷⁶ The Times (London, UK), “The War,” 25 November 1899, p.9, col. 5. An article the following year ascribes the German craze’s “gaining a foothold” to the military cards, and notes particularly Faulkner & Co. Auckland Star (NZ), “Literary Notes,” June 23, 1900, p.10.

⁷⁷ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.58. George Webber cites an article by Mr. Corkett, Tuck’s manager, crediting Blum & Degen, George Stewart and the British Photographic Publishing Company as being the earliest British picture postcard companies. [Webber, “The Myth of a Tuck 1894 Snowden PPC?” p.18.] However, on the basis of postmarks, Webber now believes that the company E.T.W. Dennis of Scarborough were the earliest. Webber, George. “The First GB PPC’s.” (Undated). <http://www.webber-postcard.me.uk/firstgb.htm> [accessed April 28, 2013].

⁷⁸ The Times (London, UK), “The War,” 25 November 1899, p.9, col. 5.

⁷⁹ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.273.

⁸⁰ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.17.

⁸¹ Like Raphael Tuck, this was a family business. James Valentine, who worked with Burrit, was the son of the founder, and James’s sons also joined the Dundee-based business. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.301-2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.302. On their associations with New Zealand, see below, page 468.

⁸³ Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008), pp.230, 244. Both techniques were well established by the end of the 1880s.

development,⁸⁴ was still a few years away from providing a level of quality that could compete with people's expectations of a photograph.⁸⁵ Staff dates Valentine's experimentation with collotype postcards to 1895,⁸⁶ whilst Webber more recently argues for 1897.⁸⁷ It is therefore surprising that many of Valentine's early postcards are illustrated, rather than photographed, and based on the German 'Gruss aus' multi-vignette format.⁸⁸

Valentine had perhaps yet to see postcards as a direct competitor for their quality larger photographic views. Rather, as the obituary of W. D.

Valentine would later state, he "saw in [the postcard] great possibilities for

the extension of his business."⁸⁹

The postcard was still being treated as postal stationery – an additional few pence that could be squeezed from the pockets of tourists after they had bought proper photographic views, of greater size, detail and expense, for their albums.

E. M. Forster used the idea of the 'view' as emblematic of a particular mode of Edwardian experience.⁹⁰

Tourist consumers of views

certainly seem to have provided the early market for the picture postcard and, as the 'infection' spread from the continent, portrayals of fanatical German tourists depicted them barely looking at the actual views on offer in their frenzy to send off cards from desirable sites like the tops of

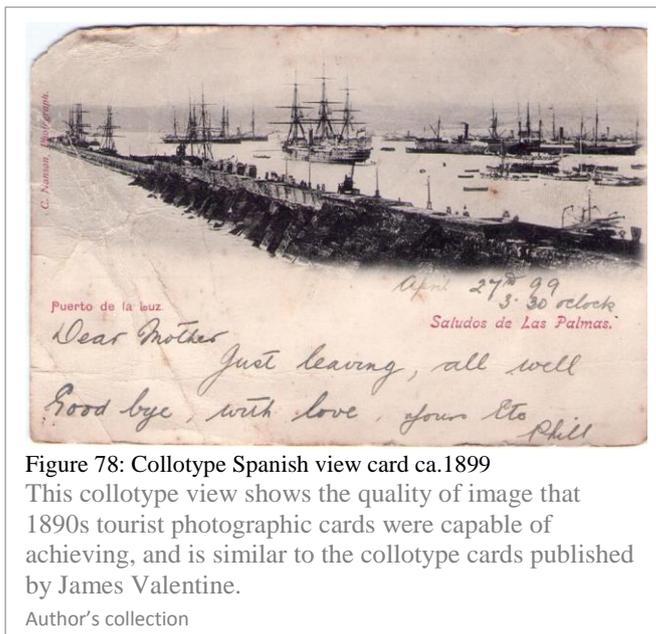


Figure 78: Collotype Spanish view card ca.1899
This collotype view shows the quality of image that 1890s tourist photographic cards were capable of achieving, and is similar to the collotype cards published by James Valentine.
Author's collection

⁸⁴ It had started around 1888. Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.16.

⁸⁵ Benson notes that it did not have a major impact until around 1900. Benson, *The Printed Picture*, p.222.

⁸⁶ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.58.

⁸⁷ Webber, George. "Earlier Claims to be the First British PPC Publisher." (Undated). <http://www.webber-postcard.me.uk/prevclaims.htm> [accessed April 28, 2013]. He argues here that the earliest known Stewart card is from early 1895.

⁸⁸ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.302.

⁸⁹ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), "The Late W. D. Valentine, Dundee," 7 November, 1907, p.6. The obituary also notes that Valentine was married to a cousin of Joseph Chamberlain.

⁹⁰ Forster, *A Room with a View*.

mountains.⁹¹ Such tourist souvenir cards tacitly acted as markers of conspicuous consumption, and early collectors reinforced this by only being interested in cards that had the correct postmark for the place viewed. Without this proof of authentic experience the card was deemed worthless.⁹²

All of this posed something of a problem for manufacturers interested in expanding the potential market. The period between 1897-1900 saw a major improvement in the British Post Office's delivery services through rural areas,⁹³ meaning that for the first time relatively speedy delivery could be guaranteed throughout the country.⁹⁴ Yet middle class tourists and a coterie of pernickety collectors could only take picture postcard sales so far. For mass sales to occur, people needed to send cards because they were interesting items in themselves rather than as authenticators of travel – to move, in Susan Stewart's terms, from "souvenirs of exterior sights" to something more like "souvenirs of individual experience."⁹⁵ Manufacturers might have needed the tourist postcard to initiate the craze, but they would have to sacrifice some of its early collecting approaches to develop its full sales potential. Achieving this sacrifice would turn out to be surprisingly easy, since the postcard faced some considerable social obstacles.

Despite its early rise in popularity amongst travellers, the postcard struggled from the start to be regarded as a legitimate form of communication.⁹⁶ As a collectible, early on, there was a push to equate it with the poster,⁹⁷ which had been heavily collected during the 1890s by wealthy collectors of fine art

⁹¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.40. He was quoting an article by George Sims.

⁹² The *Melbourne Argus* quoted in the Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), "Untitled," January 19, 1906, p.2. This is the same information which Sims is quoted as saying in the above quotation from Carline, p.40.

⁹³ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.44.

⁹⁴ No connection has been made in the postcard literature between this improvement in delivery and the start of the postcard craze, but their concurrent occurrence suggests that certainty of delivery may have acted as one of the contributing contextual drivers for the craze.

⁹⁵ Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, p.139.

⁹⁶ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.31.

⁹⁷ Hewitt, for example, mentions a shortlived magazine, published between 1903-4, called the *Poster and Postcard Collector*. Hewitt, "Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914," p.70, note 65.

prints.⁹⁸ Specialist postcard collecting journals aiming to promote the card's "respectability" appeared,⁹⁹ and the *Picture Postcard Magazine* portrayed postcard collectors as part of "an artistic, cultured and wealthy class."¹⁰⁰ It was also made known that the Duchess of York was collecting postcards.¹⁰¹ But despite these moves to increase its cultural capital, the picture postcard brought with it some unwelcome baggage: the official postcard. As noted earlier, issues of privacy dogged this card, resulting in a clear consensus within 'Society' that postcard communication was inappropriate, a breach of etiquette. Thus, although Mark Simpson has legitimately described postcard exchange as a "ritual practice,"¹⁰² postcard ritual was omitted altogether from most etiquette books.¹⁰³ Even well into the twentieth century, these gave detailed instructions on the use of visiting cards, and on letter-writing, but were at best lukewarm about postcards:

Despite the ever-increasing popularity of the post-card, it is still considered a rather unceremonious, hasty mode of communication, at any rate between acquaintances, and its proper sphere is supposed to be confined to business.¹⁰⁴

'Society' was well acquainted with the postcard and, Duchesses notwithstanding, regarded it as a quotidian instrument of business.¹⁰⁵ The objection to the postcard among the leisured set stemmed less from its levelling features, which, according to the *Star*, allowed people from

⁹⁸ Posters were able to make a case to be collected as a version of the fine art print. Bradford R. Collins, "The Poster as Art: Jules Chéret and the Struggle for Equality of the Arts in Late Nineteenth-Century France," in *Design History: An Anthology*, ed. Dennis P. Doordan (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1995), p.25. On poster designing, see Hewitt, "Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914."

⁹⁹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, pp.32, 40.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.41. Although they accept this picture of collectors as accurate, the Holt's do note that this may be a "partisan" view.

¹⁰¹ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Ladies' Gossip," June 15, 1899, p.52. Her collecting is reported to relate to cards sent from German relations.

¹⁰² Simpson, "Archiving Hate: Lynching Postcards at the Limit of Social Circulation," p.21.

¹⁰³ There is no mention, for example, in the Ward Lock, *Complete Etiquette and Letter-Writer* (London: Ward Lock, n.d.). This undated work can be ascribed through its style of illustration to the 1890s.

¹⁰⁴ E. M. Busbridge, *Letter Writing and Etiquette* (London: Collins, 1909), p.9.

¹⁰⁵ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.30. As late as 1919, the postcard is not mentioned in Edward Summers Squier, *Etiquette Made Easy* (New York: Edward J. Clode, 1919). By 1926, however, Lady Troubridge was allowing that postcards could be used to invite friends to small gatherings, but that it would be inappropriate, and would cause confusion, if used for larger parties. Lady Troubridge, *The Book of Etiquette* (Kingswood, UK: The World's Work, 1926), pp.125-6.

different classes in different countries to correspond with one another on an equal basis,¹⁰⁶ or indeed from worries about privacy, which Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall argue was less of an issue by Edwardian times.¹⁰⁷ It came from a sense that the meagre allocation of one's available leisure implicit in postcard communication amounted to an insult.¹⁰⁸ As Emma Gad would later tell Danes, "one ought not to make do with sending postcards to those one cares about."¹⁰⁹ Such strictures might, perhaps, be relaxed to allow the sending of a "friendly greeting" during a holiday, but not otherwise.¹¹⁰

Such reservations may explain why, by comparison with their earlier Christmas Card competitions, which boasted four Royal Academicians as judges, Raphael Tuck could only find a single associate academician willing to judge their 1901 postcard competition.¹¹¹ As is quite clear from the following satirical 1904 poem, written as the craze was taking off in New Zealand, the postcard was socially tainted:

Kelburne Well-bred held high his head
And cast the girl aside,
Whilst down his cheek a damp tear sped,
And frantically he cried:
"Thou hast deceived me, Angeline,
And we must go our ways,
And often think what might have been,
By accident had I not seen
You had the post-card craze."¹¹²

The stigma attached to the card was not helped by the opposition of the real Society collectors, philatelists. They had, admittedly, embraced the official

¹⁰⁶ Star (Christchurch, NZ), "Woman's World," March 28, 1908, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," pp.56-7.

¹⁰⁸ "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.7 of transcript.

¹⁰⁹ Emma Gad, *Takt og Tone: Hvordan vi Omgaas* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Gyldendal, 1918), p.66. [my translation].

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, pp.6-7. Carline notes that Tuck had had a second competition in 1890, which boasted Millais and Marcus Stone as judges. As mentioned earlier, Joseph Pennell believed that the products of commercial firms were *ipso facto* not art. 1906 edition of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, quoted in *ibid.*, p.8. The drop in Academicians' interest in the postcard suggests this was no isolated viewpoint.

¹¹² New Zealand Free Lance (Auckland), "Entre Nous," April 30, 1904, p.12. Kelburne (now spelt Kelburn) is an upper middle class Wellington suburb. New Zealand lacks an upper class in the British sense.

postcard as an extension of the stamp, because the limited supplies of certain issues made such postcards collectible.¹¹³ Indeed, Stanley Gibbons had introduced postcard albums as early as 1888, seeing them as a counterpart to the stamp album.¹¹⁴ Such collectors, however, strenuously objected to being compared with pictorial card collectors, with one saying that “a postcard to my mind implies a card issued by the Post Office, and to apply this to pieces of card issued by a lithographer is clearly a misnomer.”¹¹⁵ A stamp dealer, quoted in an early article on postcard collecting, regarded the picture postcard craze as a “nuisance,” seeing the picture as “a disfigurement of the card,” and pointing out that the large numbers being printed meant they would be worthless.¹¹⁶

The same article asked the “firm that first introduced the idea into England” (i.e. Raphael Tuck) to respond to the philatelist’s objections.¹¹⁷ Though Tuck was the only company to experiment with limited edition postcards,¹¹⁸ their expertise with Christmas cards and scraps gave them considerable experience with items that were collected in their own right rather than for rarity value or as souvenirs. They responded by saying that, regardless of any sceptics, demand was rising constantly and that although cards were currently largely sold in stationers (thus by implication used by a more bookish set),¹¹⁹ they expressed the hope that the postcard would soon be

¹¹³ Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), “Collecting Picture Post-cards,” June 12, 1900, p.7.

¹¹⁴ Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, p.101.

¹¹⁵ From a letter written by “A Specialist” in 1903 to *The Stamp Collector’s Fortnightly*. Quoted in Dûval and Monahan, *ibid.*, p.9. Note the assumption here that pictorial cards are the province of ‘lithographers’ rather than photographers.

¹¹⁶ Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), “Collecting Picture Post-cards,” June 12, 1900, p.7.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹¹⁸ Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, pp.92-3.

¹¹⁹ The alternative venues, according to Gleeson White, included drapers, tobacconists and toy shops. White followed Ruskin’s views in saying that while “it would be invidious to attempt to estimate the amount of “culture” possessed by the various traders, but ... we “might” argue a man who sells books ought to be more enlightened than one who disposes purely material products.” [White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.44.] A 1906 advertisement reproduced in Breward probably reflects the descending order of status when it says that the company’s theatrical postcards can be bought from “Art Dealers, Stationers and Drapers.” Tobacconists and Toy shops were evidently of too low status to merit mention. Christopher Breward, ““At Home” at the St James’s: Dress, Decor, and the Problem of Fashion in the Edwardian Theater,” in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010), p.161, fig.44.

adopted by “all classes.”¹²⁰ Tuck aided this cause materially in 1902 by giving away 100,000 commemorative postcards at the Coronation of King Edward VII, noting that “most of the recipients being poor people [had] never before had a postcard given to them or realised its interest or significance.”¹²¹

It would, however, only be a subset of the ‘poor’ that could have been inspired to start frequenting stationers and sending and collecting postcards. Real wages at the time had started to fall, with, for example, 78.7% of women employed in the printing industry in 1906 earning under 15 shillings a week.¹²² Seebohm Rowntree, five years earlier, had conducted a detailed study of British poverty, concluding that the average labouring wage of 21 shillings a week was insufficient to maintain a family of two adults and three children at even the most basic level. On his figures, at least 20% of the British population would have been quite unable to afford to post a letter.¹²³ With a pint of milk costing 1½d, and oatmeal 2d per pound,¹²⁴ it is not hard to see why a postcard, even priced at a penny and sent for a halfpenny, would have been beyond such a family’s means. Users needed to

¹²⁰ Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), “Collecting Picture Post-cards,” June 12, 1900, p.7. Philatelic schadenfreude resonates through the previously quoted 1906 comment on postcards that “when collectors came to sell their collections they found no market,” but went on to note that there was no such problem with stamps. Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Philately,” April 4, 1906, p.81.

¹²¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.43.

¹²² Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*, p.62.

¹²³ B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 2nd ed. (London: MacMillan, 1908), pp.132-4. The book was originally published in 1901, and the following details of what the working classes could afford are unlikely to have changed much between editions. “[The working class labouring family] must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join a sick club or Trade Union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no pocket money for dolls, marbles or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco, and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for her children, the character of the family wardrobe as for the family diet being governed by the regulation, ‘nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health, and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description.’” Overall rates of poverty for “male-headed working-class urban households in Britain” at the turn of the century have recently been calculated as being even higher than Rowntree’s figure, at 26%. Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell, “Poverty in Edwardian Britain,” *The Economic History Review* 64, no. 1 (2011): p.69.

¹²⁴ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p.104.

have more disposable income, which is why more women stayed in work longer, or started working again after having children in order to supplement the family income.¹²⁵ It has already emerged that theatregoers were portrayed as those “shop assistants, typists and clerks, on 18-30 shillings a week.”¹²⁶ Thirty shillings was enough for someone with dependents to afford leisure activities which were otherwise only available to those at the lower end of the pay scale with either two incomes, or few dependents. Whilst the upper classes and those aspirational enough to read etiquette books may have been hostile to the postcard, postcard manufacturers applying an emulative model would have felt they needed to cement middle class approval, knowing that it could then expand to the broader base of the leisure-ready petty bourgeois.

Tuck, and the other manufacturers must, by now, have developed considerable experience in the dynamics of consumer behaviour. They had seen how sales of an item like the Christmas card had increased as it moved from being a plaything of the elite to achieving mass recognition. They had used their sample books, with their constantly changing designs, to prime the public with the idea that cards were a fashion item, but that one could have cards for all pockets. It was this apparatus which was now brought to bear on the postcard. Whilst their initial public was infatuated with the idea of tourist cards, they needed to be presented with other novelties that could sustain and extend the craze.

All this explains why, initially, through 1899 and the early 1900s, the types of card that Tuck offered were targeted to an affluent taste. Heraldic cards,¹²⁷ paintings by Turner, and prize images from the Paris exhibition did better than the work of popular cartoonist Harry Payne, which did not sell particularly well.¹²⁸ The Queen, the South African War, and an “Empire

¹²⁵ Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*, p.61.

¹²⁶ Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans*, p.xii. This group, with shopkeepers added, would neatly fit with Peter Bailey’s description of the ‘petty bourgeois’ or lower middle-class. Bailey, “White Collars, Grey Lives? The Lower Middle Class Revisited,” pp.275-6.

¹²⁷ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, pp.62-3.

¹²⁸ The material used for this and the next sentence is given below in note 129.

Series” catered to the patriotic, whilst views of the large cities, London and Edinburgh, ensured a broad catchment of both tourists and locals for these views.¹²⁹ By early 1902, the date when the craze is generally regarded as being established,¹³⁰ British annual postcard use was up 6.2%,¹³¹ and the postcard’s potential was attracting new companies. One of the best known was created by aristocratic teenager Evelyn Wrench,¹³² and it exhibits all the characteristics of a dotcom boom and bust enterprise.

Wrench utilised German printing to produce his cards, whilst family contacts allowed him to dovetail his operations with government-run tourist attractions and railways.¹³³ Wrench’s initial cards were tourist views and fine art reproductions, followed by series on Captain Scott and the Empire, and he broadened out to include cartoons from Punch, illustrations from Dickens and images of footballers, cricketers, railways and ships.¹³⁴ Between 1900 and the end of 1903 the company grew to have 12 travelling salesman and over 100 staff,¹³⁵ a production of 50 million cards a year and over 4000 customers.¹³⁶ Then, in early 1904, it went into receivership, ostensibly owing to poor accounting.¹³⁷ The company had ridden the boom relating to view cards and art reproductions, which were both popular with

¹²⁹ The list of series is from Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.290-1. The material on Payne is from Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.48.

¹³⁰ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, p.67.

¹³¹ These figures are quoted for the year to the end of March. Wanganui Chronicle (NZ), “Dead Letters,” September 22, 1902, p.4.

¹³² Wrench wrote an autobiography, called *Uphill* in 1934, which provides the only detailed account of a postcard enterprise. Peter Backman has written a very full, but as yet unpublished, account of Wrench’s business based on a number of previously undocumented diaries and other family material which goes beyond the published version. I have been fortunate to read his work in manuscript, and it brings to life the detail of running a postcard business. Nevertheless, as the product of an inexperienced youth, learning the business on the fly, it is difficult to be sure how typical Wrench’s operation was. I do not want to pre-empt Backman’s work, so have opted to omit his conclusions, relying instead on other accounts drawn from the elusive autobiography.

¹³³ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.65.

¹³⁴ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.337-8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.336.

¹³⁶ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “Boy Fortune-maker,” November 21, 1903, p.3.

¹³⁷ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.337. The company tried to carry on, largely selling existing stock, but wound up in 1906.

women,¹³⁸ but as it developed out from this, the stock seems to reflect the taste of a young, public-school educated male. The attributes that helped Wrench to establish the business were not necessarily those best suited to maximising the postcard's initial demographic – women.

What helped to disguise this flaw, allowing Wrench's business to grow anyway, was the escalation of the craze itself during the first years of the century. This is normally ascribed to a change of legislation in 1902.¹³⁹



Figure 79: Wrench, ca.1903-4, postcard of Otira Falls. Most Wrench cards related to Britain, but they did publish some New Zealand cards, which were sold in NZ. This card was both sent and received in the country, around 1906. Author's collection

Until this point, the Post Office had regarded the address and stamp as being the important part of the postcard, viewing the area they inhabited as the front.¹⁴⁰ Any message had to be placed on the 'back', along with any pictorial content. This is why on the 'Gruss aus' type of card, the printed image never filled the whole back. From 1902 onwards, however, British cards could use what is now called a 'divided back', which allowed the sender to write a message beside the address, thus freeing the reverse entirely to the creativity of the manufacturer, whilst giving consumers a larger space in which to compose their message.¹⁴¹

Gillen and Hall argue that this change led to "a cultural shift in every day communications practices,"¹⁴² but this appears somewhat at odds with Anthony Byatt's

observation that few publishers moved immediately to the new format, and that, because other countries did not yet recognise it, cards using the divided back could not immediately be sent overseas,¹⁴³ thus negating some of the

¹³⁸ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.42. In *Room with a View*, E. M. Forster has a character, Mr. Emerson, say "women like looking at a view; men don't." Forster, *A Room with a View*, p.4.

¹³⁹ Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, p.21. Dûval notes that this had been particularly driven by the publisher F. Hartmann.

¹⁴⁰ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.11.

¹⁴¹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.66.

¹⁴² Gillen and Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.2 of transcript.

¹⁴³ Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.20.

change's other benefits.¹⁴⁴ The increased area for the message did increase the card's communicative potential, but this was a local rather than an international boon. And, if Raphael Tuck is in any way typical, there was no immediate rush by manufacturers to fill the entire front of the card. Most of Tuck's cards from 1902 and 1903 left room for messages on the picture side, even when a divided back had been applied.¹⁴⁵ Companies would, in fact, have to go on hedging their bets for some time. International postal rules were not finally altered to allow the international transmission of divided back cards between member countries until June 1906, and the United States did not implement it until October 1907.¹⁴⁶

Although Byatt may be correct in arguing that the divided back was less of an immediate game-changer than most writers assume,¹⁴⁷ Gillen and Hall's argument that the confluence of cheaper printing and communication technologies created a 'tipping point' around 1902 is credible.¹⁴⁸ The craze certainly developed apace after 1902, helped by a British postal network delivering ever speedier communication.¹⁴⁹ Calibrated as it was to the needs of businesses, the postal service provided much of London with twelve deliveries a day, and between six and eight in other large cities.¹⁵⁰ Divided back or no, and despite attempts to rationalise the cards as educational,¹⁵¹ it was probably the card's ability to function as both a rapid communicative

¹⁴⁴ From a collecting standpoint, moving the area for communication to the address side meant that any message written on the card would no longer be as publicly viewable when displayed in an album, as it had hitherto. This is listed as a major improvement by the writer of a long 1904 article about post-card collecting. [Star (Christchurch), "The Collecting of Pictorial Post-Cards," October 1, 1904, p.3.] References to legislation that fits Britain rather than New Zealand suggest that this article was reproduced from an English source. Other benefits for users related to the potential length of text and some increased privacy. With the additional space available, it became possible to write more substantial messages (especially if one reduced the size of one's handwriting), and the range of possible non-intended readers was reduced to post office employees, family and, perhaps, servants. One's friends, however, need not be privy to them via the album. And for manufacturers, being able to use the full face of the card meant fewer restrictions in terms of having to resize or retouch photographic images.

¹⁴⁵ This research was done using the largest online database of Raphael Tuck postcards, TuckDB Postcards. "Search." (2013). <http://tuckdb.org/> [accessed January 17, 2013].

¹⁴⁶ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.66.

¹⁴⁷ Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.20.

¹⁴⁸ Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.44.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.49.

¹⁵⁰ Daunt, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, pp.47-8. The London statistic relates to 1908, whilst the chart of other cities is from 1914.

¹⁵¹ William Main, *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell* (Nelson, New Zealand: Craig Potton 2007), p.7.

medium and as a collectible item that encouraged its increasingly broad usage – and its collectible aspects demanded novelty.

Developments in postcards were strongly featured in a 1904 exhibition of the stationery trades in Edinburgh, with Valentine & Sons prominent.¹⁵² Manufacturers were continually testing which cards appealed to the public and which did not. Colour played an important role in this, as the craze moved across class lines. Working class Edinburgh cook Christina Campbell's album shows that, on average, during 1904 she received a card (mostly coloured) almost every third day.¹⁵³ Her album, gathered between 1904-8, is broadly typical of a taste formed during this period, containing 42% landscapes, 25% buildings, 16% cityscapes, 8% people and 9% miscellaneous – with 80% of the album thus being views.¹⁵⁴ Gillen and Hall calculated that three quarters of the 1500 cards they used in their study were of buildings,¹⁵⁵ and overall, penny views became the predominant genre throughout the early period, with artists and photographers vying to extend the range of places portrayed.¹⁵⁶ However, as has been seen, larger companies like Tuck and Wrench were in no way restricted solely to this type of card.

Daniel Gifford argues that postcards had now acquired power – not only from their imagery, or from the display involved in sending and receiving cards, but from the way they associated users with an enormous social phenomenon.¹⁵⁷ The craze had developed to the point where postmasters complained about the numbers of people writing cards in their offices.¹⁵⁸ Yet despite the power of the phenomenon itself, some subject matter proved distinctly more popular than others. For example, Tuck discovered a huge

¹⁵² The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), "Latest News," May 2, 1904, p.7.

¹⁵³ Becker and Malcolm, "Suspended Conversations that Intersect in the Edwardian Postcard," p.176.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.175, 180.

¹⁵⁵ Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.51.

¹⁵⁶ Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, pp.72-3.

¹⁵⁷ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.171.

¹⁵⁸ Manchester Guardian (UK), "The Picture Postcard Craze," April 25, 1905, [no page]. The article quotes one postmaster as saying that the craze cost at least three shillings a week in ink and stolen pens.

desire for a particular type of view: images of ‘Rough Seas’. They introduced this theme in 1901,¹⁵⁹ and it was already popular enough to be found in pavement art the next year.¹⁶⁰ By 1903 Tuck had thirty “Rough Sea” series in print,¹⁶¹ while the *Wanganui Herald*, reviewing Tuck’s cards, noted that “a speciality has been made of the rough sea series.”¹⁶² In 1906, Frederick Corkett, Tuck’s postcard departmental manager, saw it as defining this period of Tuck’s postcard production.¹⁶³ Carline observed that the genre’s appeal was exclusively British, with European buyers uninterested in it. He believed that its appeal lay partially in the additional drama, but saw its emotional qualities as more crucial, providing the illusion of dash and danger from a safe distance.¹⁶⁴

Artist and anthropologist Susan Hiller, who utilised her collection of hundreds of ‘rough sea’ cards in a 1976 work entitled *Dedicated to the*

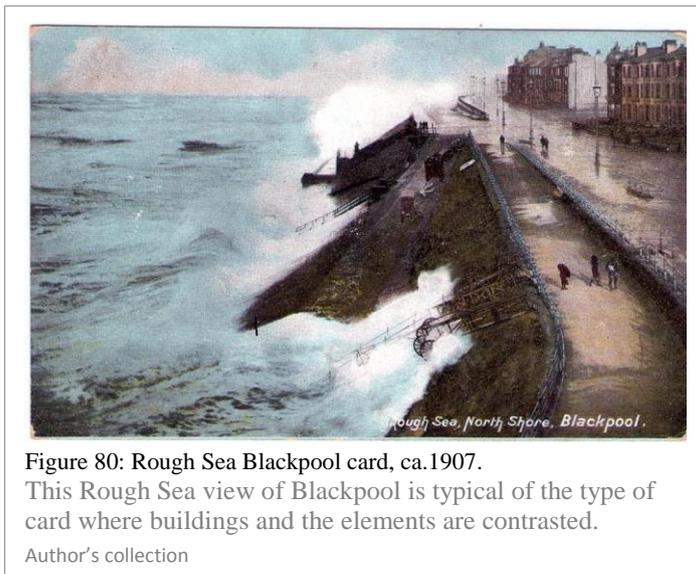


Figure 80: Rough Sea Blackpool card, ca.1907.
This Rough Sea view of Blackpool is typical of the type of card where buildings and the elements are contrasted.
Author’s collection

Unknown Artists, highlighted the role of bystanders in the cards.

They are, she suggested, “standing like voyeurs watching some sexual act,” sea and land acting as male or female, depending on one’s perspective [Figure 80].¹⁶⁵ She saw the cards as metaphors for the collision of nature and culture.¹⁶⁶ Whether sublime or sexual, these

¹⁵⁹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.53.

¹⁶⁰ Gilbert Burgess, "Artistic London," in *Living London: Its Work and its Play, Its Humour and its Pathos, Its Sights and its Scenes*, ed. George R. Sims (London: Cassell, 1902), p.123.

¹⁶¹ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.293.

¹⁶² *Wanganui Herald* (NZ), “About Pictorial Postcards,” November 15, 1904, p.6.

¹⁶³ The idea for ‘rough seas’ came from an 1898 photograph which Corkett took, and then adapted to the postcard in 1901. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.53.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.53-4.

¹⁶⁵ Barbara Einzig, ed. *Thinking About Art: Conversations with Susan Hiller* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.27-8.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.137-8.

explanations are, however, unlikely to fully explain the Edwardian predilection for these cards. Cohen’s observation of the importance of religion is pertinent here.¹⁶⁷

Sunday schools were attended by three quarters of turn-of-the-century New Zealand children,¹⁶⁸ and teaching in them had focused on utilising the visual to express religious concepts.¹⁶⁹ Education had had a pictorial turn,

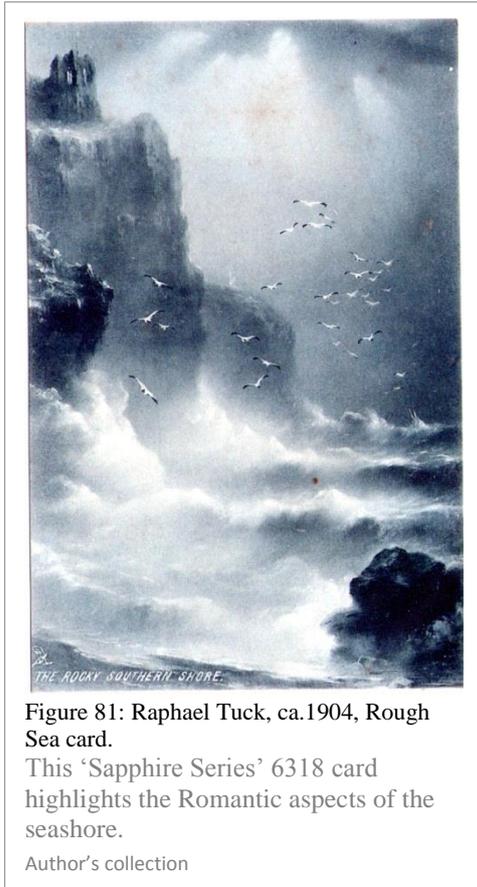


Figure 81: Raphael Tuck, ca.1904, Rough Sea card. This ‘Sapphire Series’ 6318 card highlights the Romantic aspects of the seashore. Author’s collection

rediscovering seventeenth century educator Johann Amos Comenius, who had argued that understanding needed to be accessed via the senses, using images to embody complex abstract concepts.¹⁷⁰ It was therefore educationally fashionable to use blackboard visuals to communicate ideas, with, for example, the contrast between rough and calm seas used in emblematic blackboard drawings to symbolize the biblical quote, “He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.”¹⁷¹ It is likely that most people during the period were familiar with Psalm 107 and would have recognised its symbolism in the ‘rough seas’ cards. Such a sense of divine interaction with nature is certainly hinted at in cards like Figure 81, with its beams of light piercing through from the heavens.

At all events, for British Edwardians, increasingly used to travel, mobility and emigration, the power of the sea must have had the potential to evoke not only awe and passion, but also prayer to providence. The sea represented a liminal space, symbolising the barrier between Edwardians

¹⁶⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, pp.3-4.

¹⁶⁸ Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.99.

¹⁶⁹ Frank Beard, *The Black-Board in the Sunday-School: A Practical Guide for Superintendents and Teachers* (New York: Excelsior, 1877), p.14.

¹⁷⁰ Moseley, *A Century of Emblems*, p.7. Comenius was the subject of an 1889 talk to teachers in Auckland. Auckland Star (NZ), “Educational Institute,” May 13, 1889, p.3.

¹⁷¹ Psalms 107:29. Robert F.Y Pierce, *Blackboard Efficiency: A Suggestive Method for the Use of Crayon and Blackboard* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922), pp.69, 220.

and absent loved ones – a gulf to be spanned if communication was to occur. While CDV's and photographs provided a virtual mnemonic substitute for someone's lack of presence, images of the sea, like Greetings cards, provided an emotional charge to compensate for absence.

Nevertheless the ambiguity evident in interpreting such a genre, and the necessity for a detailed understanding of the social contexts that informed just one postcard genre's popularity, makes it prudent to examine further the changes in Edwardian society before continuing the exploration of the postcard craze, and the way that the Rough Seas' successor, the HATS card, developed the concept within the wider Greetings genre.

Speed, Space and Emigration: Edwardian Society

The previous chapters have already introduced key changes which would define the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. These bear recapping. The broadening of the demographic base for postcard collecting stems from facts like compulsory schooling's improvement of literacy, the incorporation of design into the school curriculum, and the increased interest in all things 'artistic'. The push towards the eight-hour day meant that more people had leisure time to engage in hobbies such as collecting. These factors, with minor variations, apply across the British diaspora. As increasing numbers of Britons emigrated, a market was created for greeting cards that could link the inhabitants of an Empire that was trying to create a more overtly unified set of cultural and political relations. Improvements in colour printing had rendered complex items of technological virtuosity affordable to most, whilst the consumer economy had proved increasingly efficacious at blending the discourses of novelty, originality and taste into a desire to consume expressively. The result of all these factors was that collecting and album practices – whilst they may have become less common in the upper echelons – became widely understood in the middle and lower ends of the social spectrum. Collectively, factors such as these had resulted in a market that was receptive to new developments, yet none of these elements, singly,

is sufficient to account for picture postcards becoming such an enormous craze during the first decade of the twentieth century. They all played their part, in association with several other features which need to be explored now. As will become apparent, the Edwardians, like the Victorians,¹⁷² had a strong sense of the increasing pace and complexity of their society, but it would be profoundly un-Edwardian to look for a singular cause. The “entangled” postcard phenomenon resulted from the intersection of many separate factors.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the sense of increasing pace is, in itself, a useful starting point.

Much as we ourselves imagine that we are hitting unheard of levels of change, the Edwardians had the strong sense that “haste is the watchword of our age.”¹⁷⁴ Frederick Corkett, of Raphael Tuck, for example, said that the postcard was “part and parcel of the busy, rushing, time-saving age we live in.”¹⁷⁵ Popular entertainment courted this quality of speed, idolising people like “Percival Mackenzie, the art-humourist and crayon artist, [who] draws ‘impression’ pictures in record time.”¹⁷⁶ Singer Madame Chaminade complained that singing students now wanted instant results saying “there is too great haste to get to the end of things without much thought of the beginnings.”¹⁷⁷ Advertisers also understood haste, and simplified posters to attract the hurrying passer-by.¹⁷⁸ Scientists reported personality changes

¹⁷² Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, p.154. She points out that this was the period in which the “most profound transformation of time and space the world has ever known” occurred. The appreciation of the quickening of modern life was evident early in the Victorian period, as shown by an 1836 poem about Picadilly by Letitia Elizabeth Landon, published in *Fisher’s Drawing Room Scrap Book*: “All hurry on – none pause to look, Upon another’s face; The Present is an open book, None read, yet all must trace. The poor man hurries on his race, His daily bread to find; The rich man has yet wearier chase, For pleasure’s hard to bind.” Mark Ford, ed. *London: A History in Verse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), p.375.

¹⁷³ Rogan, “An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication.”

¹⁷⁴ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Old Saws that will not Re-Set,” May 22, 1907, p.65. This is a particularly detailed contemporary discussion of the sense of speed, taking as its starting point the aphorism “more haste, less speed.”

¹⁷⁵ Frederick T. Corkett, “The Production and Collection of the Pictorial Postcards,” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 54, (April 27, 1906), p.625, quoted in Klich and Weiss, *The Postcard Age: Selections from the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, p.38.

¹⁷⁶ Auckland Star (NZ), “Amusements,” October 20, 1908, p.3.

¹⁷⁷ The New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland, NZ), “For the Ladies,” January 1906, Home and Household Supplement, p.v.

¹⁷⁸ Hewitt, “Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914,” p.64.

amongst cyclists and motorists who were ‘intoxicated’ with speed,¹⁷⁹ and there was widespread reinforcement in the press of the view, summed up by the promoters of John Philip Sousa’s band, that this was an age “of hurry, steam and electricity.”¹⁸⁰

Increasing sources of energy,¹⁸¹ such as electricity, would enable first the telegraph and then the telephone to generate a sense of temporal simultaneity,¹⁸² though in places like New Zealand this was understood as fragile. As the *Bay of Plenty Times* commented:

The extreme slenderness of the thread which binds us to the rest of the world ... is again emphasised in unpleasant fashion by a sudden cessation of all news from beyond Australia... It is all very well to talk of ‘hands across the sea,’ ‘silken bonds which bind us to the Motherland,’ ‘the thin red line which encircles the globe,’ etc., but the real, visible emblem of all this is the telegraphic cable.¹⁸³

Business benefitted from this, and from improved road, railway and ocean networks.¹⁸⁴ In monetary terms, distance now posed less of a barrier to international trade.¹⁸⁵ Steamship travel became 350% faster between 1838 and 1912,¹⁸⁶ with the introduction of steel-hulled steamships, in 1880, allowing for both greater speed and size.¹⁸⁷ Increasingly powerful ocean liners not only carried commodities to expanding markets, they also became

¹⁷⁹ The New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland, NZ), “Speed Mania,” November 1903, Home and Household Supplement, p.iv. Dr Hachet-Souplet, at a meeting of the Societé de Hypnologie et de Psychologie, noted symptoms including boastfulness, combativeness and violence.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in the Palace Theatre of Varieties programme notes, “Sousa and his Band,” (1901), p.5. Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, Shelfmark: Musicians and Opera Singers (17).

¹⁸¹ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.xii.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p.314.

¹⁸³ *Bay of Plenty Times* (Tauranga, NZ), “Bay of Plenty Times,” July 4, 1900, p.2. The completion of the “All-Red Cable” to New Zealand in 1902 therefore drew the following excited comment, saying that it was of greater importance than New Zealand’s involvement in the Boer War: “That was a transitory excitement. This is a permanent joining of hands. The British Empire has engirdled itself with a cincture of steel. It is a tie stronger than adamant, and pulsating with life and the constant inter-change of thought between kindred peoples.” *Free Lance* (Wellington, NZ), “The All-Red Cable,” November 8, 1902, p.8.

¹⁸⁴ Casson and Lee, “The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective,” p.35.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.13.

¹⁸⁶ Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographics*, p.107.

¹⁸⁷ Frances Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c.1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.4.

“the great colonising agency,” with each new migrant acting, according to the *Poverty Bay Herald*, as a “link that binds us to those of our blood.”¹⁸⁸ As spatial barriers collapsed for these migrants, they found new ways of imagining the spaces they had encountered.¹⁸⁹ Simultaneity was developing not only temporal but spatial dimensions – helped in no small measure by what Stephen Kern terms “the sweeping ubiquity of the camera eye.”¹⁹⁰

Speed played a large part in this sense, as the mechanised transport of the car and bicycle met the mechanised vision of the camera.¹⁹¹ Earlier leisurely enjoyment of picturesque panoramas now began to be replaced by the sense of a frenetic succession of views.¹⁹² The term “hyperstimulus” was coined in 1909 as a response to modernity’s sensory overload, and this was preceded by a marked ‘sensationalization’ within both the media and entertainments such as melodrama.¹⁹³ The succession of dramatic ‘trials’, which Vivasvan Soni sees as characterising sentimental culture’s quest for instant affective gratification,¹⁹⁴ had translated into a desire for the ‘situations’ of melodrama.¹⁹⁵ The visual experience from the motorcar, with its succession of discrete and photographically envisioned views,¹⁹⁶ provided an extension of this melodramatic mind-set. Understood in this way, the relentless Edwardian quest for views, so well encapsulated by

¹⁸⁸ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “New Blood,” December 9, 1907, p.4.

¹⁸⁹ Tamson Pietsch, “A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 03 (2010): p.423.

¹⁹⁰ Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918*, p.315.

¹⁹¹ Bicycles both unlocked spatial constraints and offered a realistic, and faster alternative to walking. *Ibid.*, p.111.

¹⁹² Nead, “The Age of the “Hurrygraph”: Motion, Space and the Visual Image, ca. 1900,” p.101. Nead argues, on p.106, that the move from a panoramic to a cinematic mode of vision, as posited by Baudrillard, (she cites Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, but I have been unable to locate any reference in that work to this idea) properly belongs to the post-war period, with the Edwardian age being characterised by multiple means of engaging with both city and countryside – the cart coalescing with the car.

¹⁹³ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.8. Singer notes, p.120, the prevalence of the disease ‘neurasthenia’ which related to nervous overstimulation. At the turn of the century it was one of the most common diagnoses. David G. Schuster, “Personalizing Illness and Modernity: S. Weir Mitchell, Literary Women, and Neurasthenia, 1870-1914,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 79, no. 4 (2005): p.696.

¹⁹⁴ Soni, “The Tragedies of Sentimentalism: Privatizing Happiness in the Eighteenth Century,” p.195.

¹⁹⁵ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.41.

¹⁹⁶ Nead, “The Age of the “Hurrygraph”: Motion, Space and the Visual Image, ca. 1900,” pp.100-1.

E. M. Forster,¹⁹⁷ fits not only with modernity, but also with both the melodramatic and sentimental cultures examined previously. Indeed, an album of postcard views provided a virtual gallery of situations – stimulating substitutes for the sensations of travel.

Recently, Ryan Vieira has argued that accelerating change was not necessarily viewed in rosy terms, and that the speed of economic and political change also engendered pessimistic responses.¹⁹⁸ However, whether optimistic or pessimistic, both viewpoints prioritise a progress-oriented narrative of the Edwardian period. It is therefore easy to forget that speed and space were not all-defining during this period. As Morna O'Neill points out, the simultaneous desire for continuity created an inevitable tension between tradition and change.¹⁹⁹ Baudelaire had recognised that “the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent” aspects of modernity were the flip side of “the eternal and the immutable.”²⁰⁰ Thus, if the economy was increasingly predicated on the novelty of change, behind it lay powerful forces like nationalism, which looked to the past for legitimacy.²⁰¹ Tony Ballantyne frames this tension between the “fixity celebrated by nation-builders and the hyperactive movement that was at the heart of the economy and culture,” as fundamental to understanding nineteenth century New Zealand.²⁰² Britons became aware of this tension as they realised that the economy – reliably expansionist for most of the century – was starting to stagnate, and that the nation’s future could conceivably involve a step backwards rather than forwards.²⁰³ As Foss observed in 1898, “foreign competition is expanding with rapid strides, whereas many of our industries

¹⁹⁷ Forster, *A Room with a View*.

¹⁹⁸ Ryan Anthony Vieira, "Connecting the New Political History with the Recent Theories of Temporal Acceleration: Speed, Politics, and the Cultural Imagination of Fin de Siècle Britain," *History and Theory* 50, no. 3 (2011): p.389.

¹⁹⁹ Morna O'Neill, "Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians," in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010), p.8.

²⁰⁰ Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter in Modern Life* (1863) quoted in Linda Sandino, "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: Transient Materiality in Contemporary Cultural Artefacts," *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 3 (2004): p.284.

²⁰¹ Ballantyne, "On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," p.66.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Vieira, "Connecting the New Political History with the Recent Theories of Temporal Acceleration: Speed, Politics, and the Cultural Imagination of Fin de Siècle Britain," p.387.

are, comparatively or actually, at a standstill.”²⁰⁴ This substantially fits with Gazeley and Newall’s conclusion that, sceptics notwithstanding, there was a genuine economic slowdown from 1899.²⁰⁵ Real wages for workers, having for decades risen relative to prices, now started to decline.²⁰⁶ This slowdown affected places unevenly, with Scotland particularly hard hit. Between 1898 and 1901, the worth of major Scottish companies fell from £20.2 million to £6.5 million, with the number of these top companies reduced from 387 to 201 over the same period.²⁰⁷

Thorsten Veblen explained such drastic occurrences through what was effectively a network theory, arguing that the closely interwoven sets of business relationships within an increasingly international industrial system created the conditions for major disturbances, as problems reverberated through spreading networks.²⁰⁸ The potential for individuals to profit from events that were collectively detrimental was, he argued, at the heart of economic instability,²⁰⁹ though, echoing Adam Smith, he believed that the “sentimental” desire to help others acted as a regulator.²¹⁰ For those caught up in such larger forces, change started to acquire negative connotations. Even those not already given to Blake-like pessimism (about ‘dark satanic mills’) were attracted by either nationalist, nostalgic visions of historical rural England,²¹¹ or visions of a future in some other, better, land.

The opportunity for renewal provided by emigration to somewhere like New Zealand is well described in these lines from the last verse of Thomas Bracken’s poem *The Immigrants Welcome*:

²⁰⁴ Kenneth Mackenzie Foss, *Why Your Business Does Not Increase!: British Trade v. Foreign Competition* (Bristol: The Mercantile Guardian, 1898), Pamphlet, p.1.

²⁰⁵ Roy Church alludes to this scepticism when he refers to the “alleged failure.” Roy Church, “Salesmen and the Transformation of Selling in Britain and the US in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 3 (2008): p.696. On the slowdown itself, see Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell, “Poverty in Edwardian Britain,” *ibid.* 64, no. 1 (2011): p.52.

²⁰⁶ Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*, p.60.

²⁰⁷ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Company Promoting in Scotland,” December 30, 1905, p.4.

²⁰⁸ Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, p.26.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.28.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.41.

²¹¹ Paul Readman, “The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914,” *Past and Present* 186, no. 1 (2005): pp.149-50.

No wretched dens, nor crowded lanes,
 Where squalid starvelings hide,
 Disgrace our pure untainted plains.
 The road to wealth is wide.²¹²

New Zealand needed to play on factors like wealth and health.²¹³ With fares costing four times as much as the journey to the United States, the New

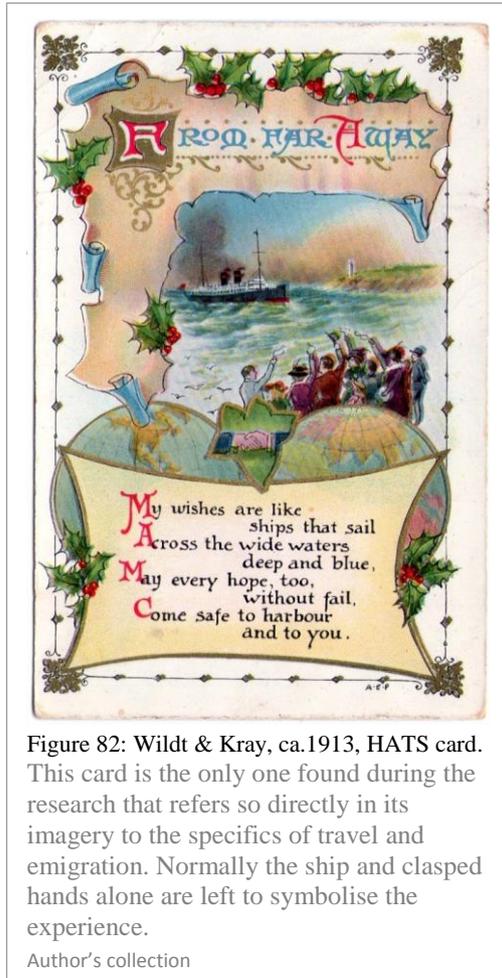


Figure 82: Wildt & Kray, ca.1913, HATS card. This card is the only one found during the research that refers so directly in its imagery to the specifics of travel and emigration. Normally the ship and clasped hands alone are left to symbolise the experience.
 Author's collection

Zealand Government would, at various points, provide assisted passages as enticement, notably between 1871-90 and from 1904-39.²¹⁴ In the early years of the twentieth century more than a quarter of a million people emigrated annually from Britain and, between 1900 and 1915, New Zealand attracted nearly 300,000 of them.²¹⁵ This meant that during the Edwardian period, the proportion of New Zealanders wanting to communicate with family overseas was exceptionally high.

These turn-of-the-century immigrants contributed to a New Zealand population that was becoming noticeably more skewed towards the middle classes and the aspirational upper end of the working class – precisely the postcard's optimal demographic.²¹⁶ They were more white-collar, and more likely than the

British average to be from rural or craft backgrounds rather than industrial towns.²¹⁷ In earlier phases of immigration, the New Zealand population,

²¹² North Otago Times, (Oamaru, NZ), "The Immigrant's Welcome," November 9, 1895, p.5.

²¹³ Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, p.25.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.22.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45. James Belich notes that it was first at this point that the Dominions attracted more British emigrants than the United States. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939*, p.459.

²¹⁶ Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.7.

²¹⁷ Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, pp.83, 87.

relative to Britain, had been much less English, with higher Scottish and Irish representation.²¹⁸ The 1904 wave, however, saw higher numbers from the North of England.²¹⁹ And British immigrants often had stronger ties to regional rather than national identity,²²⁰ something that would subsequently encourage HATS postcards to be targeted regionally [e.g. Figure 83 and Figure 86].

New Zealand's appeal to British migrants in the early twentieth century lay

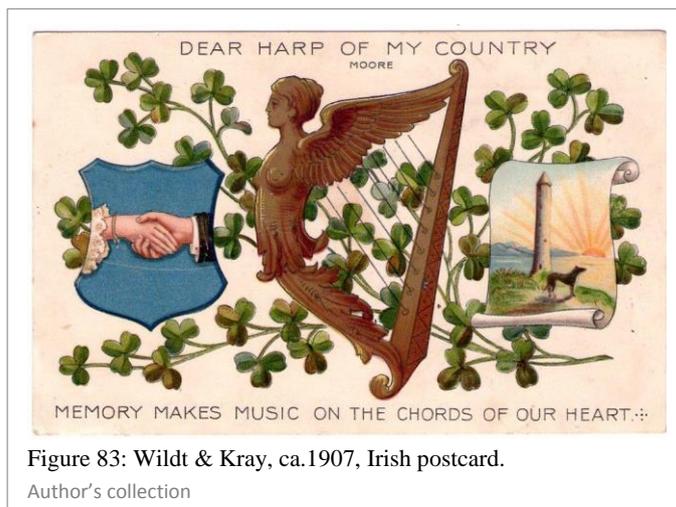


Figure 83: Wildt & Kray, ca.1907, Irish postcard.

Author's collection

in the sense that here, as Ian Hunter puts it, "growth, not retrenchment, was the order of the day."²²¹ New Zealand's standard of living would head world rankings by 1913.²²² It represented a place of opportunity where, even with limited initial capital, entrepreneurship could bring success.²²³

A 1907 article discusses New Zealand's "easy optimism," arguing that it led to "the poorest cottage no less than the Treasurer's office, getting into debt to-day in order to 'develop' to-morrow." Households, according to this article, were living totally up to their means, and the notion of "self-denial" was non-existent. Instead they were driven by the motto "how to get all that we want without giving up anything we have."²²⁴

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp.66-7.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p.74.

²²⁰ Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.8.

²²¹ Ian Hunter, "Making a Little Go Further: Capital and the New Zealand Entrepreneur," *Business History* 49, no. 1 (2007): p.55.

²²² David Greasley and Les Oxley, "The Pastoral Boom, the Rural Land Market, and Long Swings in New Zealand Economic Growth, 1873-1939," *The Economic History Review* 62, no. 2 (2009): p.324.

²²³ Hunter, "Making a Little Go Further: Capital and the New Zealand Entrepreneur," p.68.

²²⁴ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Old Saws Re-Set," January 23, 1907, pp.72-3. A 1904 piece, however, complains that extravagance was a gendered attribute, with boys encouraged to be generous, whilst girls were taught self-denial. Auckland Star, (NZ), "Women's Realm," November 16, 1904, p.10.



Figure 84: Schwertfeger, ca.1910, New Year card. This card emphasises luck and material success as ideals for the New Year. Author's collection

The late Victorians, Miles Orvell has observed, found great joy in material abundance [Figure 84 and Figure 85], with increasing industrial capacity providing a burgeoning supply of new products.²²⁵ Beyond pure greed, one can speculate as to the origins of this optimistic embrace of consumerism in New Zealand. It is perhaps inevitable, given the ‘can-do’ attitude necessary to decide to uproot,²²⁶ that those seeking Bracken’s ‘road to wealth’ might measure success in consumer terms. Equally, amongst immigrants, consumer spending could be interpreted as a therapeutic response to the trauma of relocation.²²⁷

The decision to emigrate involved an affirmation of change and of the future, one requiring an inversion of the norm



Figure 85: Millar & Lang, ca.1910, HATS card. Sent between a NZ couple parted by 80 kilometers at Christmas 1910, this card graphically links the idea of festive abundance with the rituals of maintaining contact at a distance. Printed by a Scottish firm, the prominence of Scottish whisky reinforces the link to a Scottish ‘home’ without precluding other uses. Author's collection

which sees movement, mobility and change as an aberration of geographical permanence.²²⁸ Regaining the normal and ordinary, however, in the wake of displacement could take multiple forms. Apart from finding material justification for the decision to relocate via the trappings of consumerist success, another major way of regaining the balance between continuity and change involved re-asserting the links with one’s past. This desire for a stable axis explains the intensity with which the imaginary concept of ‘home’ is treated during the Edwardian period.

²²⁵ Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*, p.42.

²²⁶ Writers like Alan Mulgan have argued that New Zealand attracted a ‘better’ type of immigrant. Quoted in Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, p.7.

²²⁷ Laura Berlant argues that such disruption to the “sensorium of everyday life” causes people to subsequently become “absorbed in a new ordinariness.” Lauren Berlant, "Intuitionists: History and the Affective Event," *American Literary History* 20, no. 4 (2008): p.858. Such ordinariness might very well involve such things as shopping.

²²⁸ Thurlow, Jaworski, and Ylänne, "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards," p.92.

In tandem with that other imaginary construct, the ‘nation’, ‘home’ has recently had a bad press. Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, for example, takes

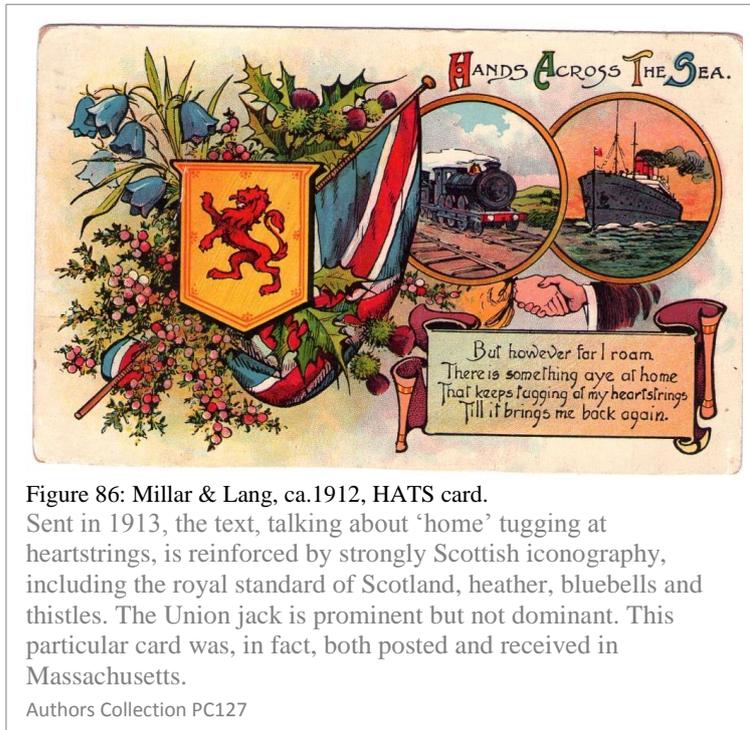


Figure 86: Millar & Lang, ca.1912, HATS card. Sent in 1913, the text, talking about ‘home’ tugging at heartstrings, is reinforced by strongly Scottish iconography, including the royal standard of Scotland, heather, bluebells and thistles. The Union jack is prominent but not dominant. This particular card was, in fact, both posted and received in Massachusetts. Authors Collection PC127

issue with nostalgic Scottish views of a highland ‘home’, seeing it as the psychologically soft front for an ideologically driven nationalism underpinning the hegemonic interests of the ruling classes [e.g. Figure 86].²²⁹ As a poetic figure, the collectively understood ‘home’ is indeed open to the charge of being a fundamentally fraudulent construct, as is the English

nationalist equivalent, the ‘rural myth’. For first-generation immigrants, however, ‘home’ would have resonated with specific places, and specific people, as well as being a broader “sustaining idea.”²³⁰ For Edgar Wallace, fighting in South Africa, home meant “kin.”²³¹ On the other hand, for immigrants’ children, through the contagious force of their parents’ sense of identity, ‘home’ might still be Britain.²³²

For these children, however, this was a purely imaginary concept. Nevertheless, every imaginary home was different, so any poetry or postcard that tried to collectively communicate the affective concept of ‘home’ was likely to opt for a synthesis of the concept, rather than the

²²⁹ Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, *Scotland as We Know It: Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), p.30, 58.

²³⁰ James G. Watson, "'My Father's Unfailing Kindness': William Faulkner and the Idea of Home," *American Literature* 64, no. 4 (1992): p.742. Watson discusses the idea of home as a “sustaining idea” in the context of the author William Faulkner’s letters, which display a constant preoccupation with home, with home gaining a huge imaginative force when he was away. It seems an appropriate image in relation to immigrants.

²³¹ Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Pro Patria,” January 9, 1902, p.2.

²³² Lyndon Fraser and Sarah Dwyer, "'When Rolling Seas Shall No More Divide Us': Transnationalism and the Local Geographies of Ulster Protestant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Canterbury," *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 2 (2009): p.191.

specifics. And like any commercial attempt to communicate affect via a mass-produced intermediary, as I will argue in the final chapter, the material message carrier is open to the classic criticisms of being ‘sentimental’ [e.g. Figure 87]. This term had itself migrated – from upper class approbation at the start of the century, to being associated with inferior items, and the lower classes by the end.²³³



²³³ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.14.

Edwardian Visuality

The devaluing of sentiment was not the only change occurring within turn-of-the-century culture. In reviewing the 1896 Berlin Trade Exhibition, Georg Simmel referred to the “the shop-window quality of things,” as they strove to overcome any deficit in utility with a surplus of visual stimulus.²³⁴ The application of this visually frenetic version of the ‘artistic’ to large numbers of cheap products encouraged high-end retailers to remove the term ‘artistic’ from their advertisements, preferring instead to evoke the stylish through pared-down copy and visual references to the modish ‘art nouveau’.²³⁵ Their elegant clientele thus eschewed “loud” elements because they evinced, in Veblen’s words, “an undue desire to reach and impress the untrained sensibilities of the vulgar.”²³⁶ This tendency threatened further fragmentation of visual culture. As discussed in Chapter Two, Victorian culture had created different taste categories in design, with moral ornament opposed to facile imitation, the handmade opposed to the commercial vernacular, and the typographic ‘art printing’ opposed to the illustrative ‘art publishing’. The late 1890s would see a hardening of these differences, as art increasingly found business wanting. The art market’s preference for collectible dead masters over the living compelled artists to take on commercial work, but this very necessity to relinquish ‘art for art’s sake’ to pay the butcher’s bill made such work seem sordid.²³⁷ James Pryde and William Nicholson, two artists doing commercial work under the pseudonym of the ‘Beggarstaff Brothers’, reported a frosty meeting with an advertiser whose protestations of ignorance about art echo Gleeson White’s contemporaneous description of philistine middlemen.²³⁸ Pryde and Nicholson refused to shake the man’s hand,²³⁹ thereby symbolically denying

²³⁴ Simmel, “The Berlin Trade Exhibition,” p.122.

²³⁵ Christine Woods, “Proliferation: Late 19th Century Papers, Markets and Manufacturers,” in *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p.169.

²³⁶ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p.187.

²³⁷ See Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ) “The L.S.D. of Modern Art,” October 6, 1899, p.8.

²³⁸ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, pp.11-12.

²³⁹ Colin Campbell, *The Beggarstaff Posters: The Work of James Pryde & William Nicholson* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), pp.23-4. This is not the same Colin Campbell as the sociologist who writes on consumption.

equality between themselves, as gentleman artists, and the advertiser as petty bourgeois businessman.

At its heart, these disputes related to class identity, with artists feeling demeaned when they found themselves “the servant of the manufacturer,” who found it “commercially convenient to keep him in that position.”²⁴⁰ Percy Hughes reveals the ideological issues that made such gentlemen artists uncomfortable with working commercially, when detailing how a *technical* and a *liberal* education diverged. Doing something for utility, like the ‘art’ of business, differed from doing something for its subjective fulfilment, like ‘art for art’s sake’.²⁴¹

The technical aim is to fit the individual to take his place in the social scheme of toil through efficiency in some art, whether it be teaching or engineering, medicine or “business.” The liberal purpose is the realisation in each individual of the highest manhood, of those ideals of character and personality which alone make the toil and sacrifice of society meaningful and worthwhile.²⁴²

From its own utilitarian standpoint, meanwhile, business found the discourse of art wanting. Although convinced of the utility of the “picture habit,” American advertisers like Charles Bates discovered that whilst French posters might be good art, a little less art, and a bit more advertising sold the product better.²⁴³ If, during the 1890s, artists had been effective at publicising the poster medium, the realisation that without some design, art did not sell the product, led to a greater focus on design in the new century.²⁴⁴ And with manufacturers increasingly advertising directly to the customer, the planning and coordination of different types of print campaign required a specialist’s approach to the integration of text and image, message and medium.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ The *Magazine of Art* quoted in the Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), “The Artist, ‘Pure’ and ‘Applied’,” April 12, 1889, p.5.

²⁴¹ Percy Hughes, “The Distinction between the Liberal and the Technical in Education,” *The Popular Science Monthly* LXXVII, no. 22 (1910): p.379.

²⁴² Ibid. The idea that individuality equates to “manhood” emphasises the underlying gender inequalities of the period.

²⁴³ Charles Austin Bates, “The “Picture Habit”,” *Billboard Advertising* VI, no. 9 (1896): p.1.

²⁴⁴ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, p.100.

²⁴⁵ Hewitt, “Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914,” pp.63-4.

Graphic design history, as Ellen Mazur Thompson pointed out a quarter of a century ago, has a tendency to overemphasise the role of printing, at the expense of advertising.²⁴⁶ The literatures relating to the two diverged at the start of the twentieth century, yet, as Johanna Drucker noted, it was not printing but rather advertising that most discussed the graphic design element.²⁴⁷ Obviously, the technical innovations that allowed mass produced images to be printed in newspapers and magazines belong to the history of printing. However, advertising provided the context for realising the power of text combined with image – most notably when the increasingly popular mail order companies discovered that advertising catalogue pages could act as a virtual shop window for rural consumers.²⁴⁸ Cities had long been plastered with text-based advertising, but it is hard to underestimate the extent to which catalogues, along with 1880s and 1890s chromolithographic posters and coloured magazine inserts, expanded the entire population's visual familiarity.²⁴⁹ The "picture habit" as Bates called it,²⁵⁰ was effective at selling to a mass market precisely because it was, for a significant demographic segment, new. While education had, as noted on page 267, discovered the utility of the visual, advertising must take considerable credit for much of this popular cultural 'pictorial turn'.²⁵¹

The turn of the century world, that the pictorial postcard inhabited, was thus one in which the pictorial could both excite and divide. When a billboard appeared on the White Cliffs of Dover, it caused outrage,²⁵² but it was

²⁴⁶ Thomson, "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design," p.64. As a whole, surprisingly little seems to have changed since her comment.

²⁴⁷ Johanna Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1903-1923* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp.98-9.

²⁴⁸ On its background, see Woodham, *Twentieth Century Design*, pp.16-17. On the rural companies, see Wosh, "Going Postal," p.234. Although Wosh does not make the connection, it seems inconceivable that the motivation for department store mogul John Wanamaker's elevation to Postmaster General, and his campaign to establish a reliable postal network throughout the United States, was not largely related to the business opportunities that this would facilitate.

²⁴⁹ Hudson, *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*, pp.97-9.

²⁵⁰ Bates, "The "Picture Habit"," p.1.

²⁵¹ I suggest this, despite there being no hint of this in the literature, because other studies appear to conflate middle class and popular cultural modes of printing, owing to a focus on production. Once one examines the impact of these development on, in particular, working class consumers, the lack of availability of quality imagery before the 1880s is striking.

²⁵² Readman, "The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914," pp.195-6.

symptomatic of the ubiquity of the medium. Pears Soap (a company that, through its purchase and subsequent use of Millais' painting *Bubbles*, had early embraced the marriage of art and commerce) maintained provocatively that "we personally can do more good for the spread of art and culture than your Royal Academy or your endless galleries."²⁵³ Commercial art was democratising ownership of the visual, whether through advertising or Christmas cards, trade union emblems or letterheads, newspapers or magazines, street posters or their interior counterparts, show cards.²⁵⁴

High art would soon complete the Bourdieu shuffle towards the stylish, the spare and the flat, but, as the postcard craze took hold, popular culture's



Figure 88: Haggars's Biograph Show, ca.1900. The lavish visual language of the fairground attraction exemplifies the taste for the rich and ornate that was part of working class celebratory culture. Courtesy of the National Fairground Archive, University of Sheffield Library

appreciation of visual sensation was still maturing. The lavish decorations at the hugely popular fairgrounds, which have a similar aesthetic to that of the greetings card, are a case in point [Figure 88]. Modernist restraint was hardly going to appeal to people for whom the Victorian "aesthetic of abundance," found in mail order catalogues, department stores and industrial exhibitions, was representative of their only

partially fulfilled material aspirations.²⁵⁵ And, as more consumers discovered the joys of the increasingly complex visual activity of shopping,²⁵⁶ it is hardly surprising that retailers would be prepared to battle for a share of this market.

²⁵³ Quoted in Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," pp.13-4.
²⁵⁴ Showcards came into their own in the 1890s. Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.297. On their formal overlap with the poster, see Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*, p.3.
²⁵⁵ Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*, p.42.
²⁵⁶ Garvey, "Dreaming in Commerce: Advertising Trade Card Scrapbooks," p.67.

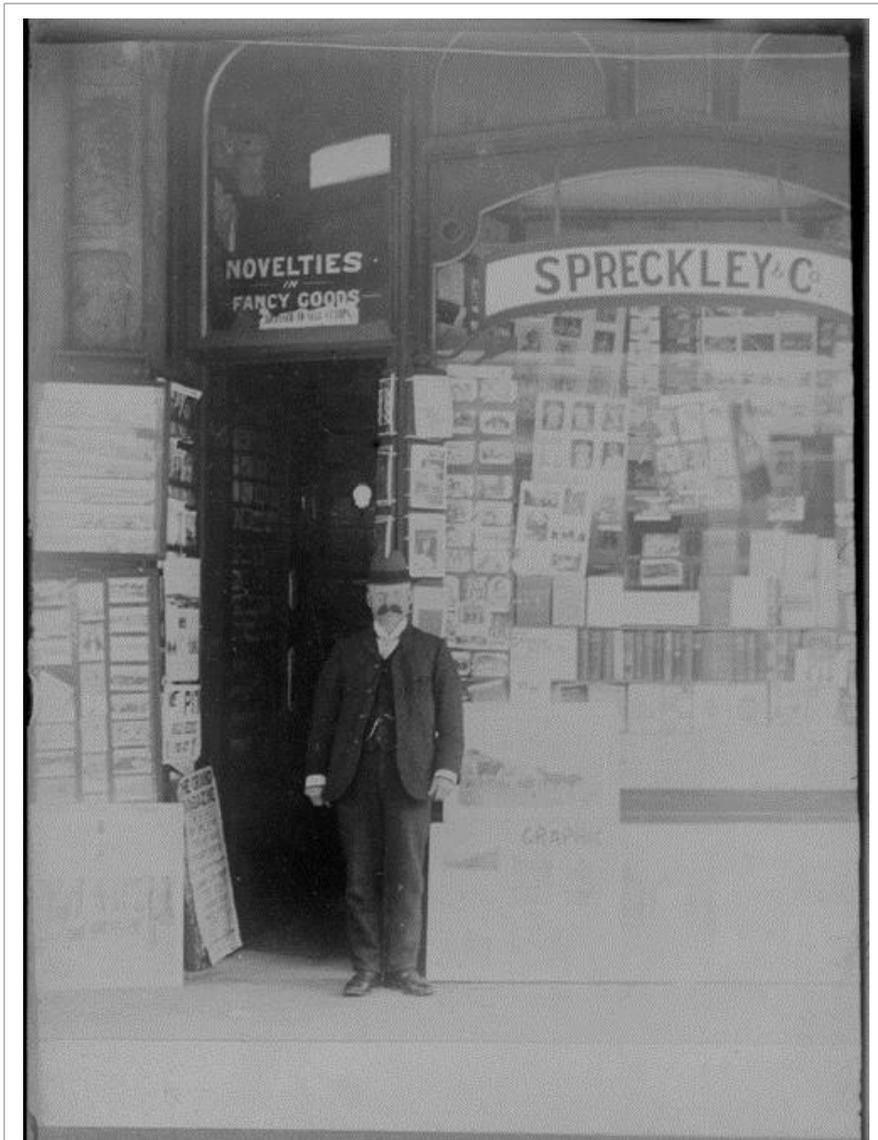


Figure 89: Robert Spreckley in front of his 'Novelties in Fancy Goods' store, ca.1906. Spreckley's store was not much wider than the photo shows. His window display has many Maori and Actress postcards, suggesting a date around 1906. The packed windows are typical of the 'abundant' displays of the period, and postcards seem to have been particularly suited to attracting close scrutiny from passers-by.

Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 31-60850.

Though the Eyes of the Sellers: The New Zealand Postcard Craze

As he stepped out of his 'Novelties in Fancy Goods' store, onetime stationer, Robert Spreckley [Figure 89],²⁵⁷ would have looked diagonally

²⁵⁷ Spreckley was born in 1861. The census that year shows him as a newborn in Leicester, but by 1881 was in Southampton. He therefore must have emigrated to New Zealand as an adult, first showing up on shipping records after travelling steerage (i.e. without having made a fortune) to Auckland from Sydney in 1891. New Zealand, Immigration Passenger Lists, 1855-1973," index and images, FamilySearch

across Shortland Street, to where Wildman & Arey's much larger Stationery and Fancy Goods store sat strategically on the corner of Auckland's prime thoroughfare, Queen Street, in a building called the Victoria Arcade [Figure 90].²⁵⁸ There was an old rivalry which even extended to sport – with Messrs Spreckley and Arey playing for opposing bowling clubs.²⁵⁹ Ever since Spreckley had established his original stationery business in 1894,²⁶⁰ the two firms had competed over certain commodities. In particular, the flurry of popularity that the Christmas card enjoyed during the late 1890s would see both businesses conducting veiled advertising warfare in the pages of the local press.²⁶¹ A levelling off of the Christmas card craze around 1900 saw a reduction in these adverts, and Spreckley's bankruptcy in early 1901 created a temporary lull in their public skirmish for

[<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/F3MM-LPN>: accessed 14 July 2012]. Spreckley's obituary said that prior to going to Sydney he had worked for the Auckland Gas Company. His wife was noted as the daughter of the collector of customs [Auckland Star (NZ), "Personal," August 26, 1909, p.6], a decidedly useful contact for an importer. The marriage to Minnie Rose occurred in 1894, just after he had started his Auckland business. Star (Christchurch, NZ), "Marriage," August 17, 1894, p.2.

²⁵⁸ This company has a more complex genesis, with three names and multiple personnel changes before it finally became Wildman and Arey. It began life in 1886 as Kidd and Wildman, at which time it was already based in its Victoria Arcade premises, [Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Men of our Time," April 3, 1887, p.17]. In 1894, Mr. Wildman moved to become editor of the *Thames Advertiser*. [Observer (Auckland, NZ), "They Say," April 6, 1895, p.10]. Kidd had departed, and the company became Wildman and Lyell, with a Mr. Arey as manager. They were able to claim by this time to be Auckland's largest book store. [Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Chats with our Business Men," November 24, 1894, p.19]. The Lyell who appears in the name was James Arbuthnott Lyell, who was, according to census data, born around 1841, and who appears to have emigrated in the 1860s. He and his brother started as brewers, going bankrupt at the start of 1872. [Daily Southern Cross (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," January 11, 1872, p.1]. It is not clear when he joined Wildman but by 1896 he had admitted the manager William Ewbank Arey to the partnership, albeit still trading as Wildman and Lyell. [Auckland Museum Deed, MS 360]. They became Wildman, Lyell and Arey by 1902. [Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," December 27, 1902, p.22]. Notice of the dissolution of the company was announced in November 1904, with Arey to continue under the name Wildman and Arey. Auckland Star (NZ), "Public Notices," November 17, 1904, p.2.

²⁵⁹ Their earliest bowling green battle occurs in 1895, as members of opposing fours. [Auckland Star (NZ), "Our Bowlers," December 2, 1895, p.5]. A 1927 article records that William Ewbank Arey had been an Auckland representative bowler in 1908, and president of the Carlton bowling club for fifteen years. [NZ Truth (Wellington, NZ), "Books and Bridge," September 22, 1927, p.4]. Spreckley played regularly for the Auckland Bowling Club. Auckland Star (NZ), "Auckland Provincial Bowling Association," February 1, 1906, p.4.

²⁶⁰ The business was announced in the *Star*, noting that Spreckley already had contacts in the stationery industry. [Auckland Star (NZ), "Untitled," March 28, 1894, p.4]. Spreckley's first advert appeared in the *Auckland Star* just below one for Wildman and Lyell, as the firm was known at that time. [Auckland Star (NZ), "Booksellers," July 14, 1894, p.3].

²⁶¹ Wildman and Lyell found the Christmas trade strong enough to open a "Special Christmas Cards and Fancy Goods Room" annually from October 1895. Auckland Star (NZ), "Advertisements," October 26, 1895, p.7.

supremacy.²⁶² Once Spreckley revived his business, choosing the start of 1906 to place a sustained emphasis on postcards,²⁶³ their tussle recommenced.

Wildman & Arey countered Spreckley by setting up a postcard depot, promising New Zealand's "largest and most up-to-date" selection,²⁶⁴ and



Figure 90: Henry Winkelmann, 1921, Looking west from Shortland Street across Queen Street. This slightly later photograph shows the view from in front of Robert Spreckley's shop across to the Victoria Arcade, on the right, where Wildman and Arey's sign saying 'Fancy Goods' and 'Booksellers and Stationers' is visible.

Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 1-W1735

employing, by 1909, "six lady attendants."²⁶⁵ They had long stocked Raphael Tuck's Christmas cards, and the access to Tuck's network would have made achieving volume relatively straightforward.²⁶⁶ Spreckley responded claiming, with some justice, to be the "first in the field, first ever since" and asserting that his postcard business was the "largest and most up-to-date."²⁶⁷ For the next few years the two companies vied with one another for the attention of the postcard-smitten public, with advertisements appearing regularly, updated three or four times a year. Wildman & Arey were the better advertisers.²⁶⁸ Spreckley, however, understood his public.²⁶⁹ Postcards had become his major line, whilst his opponents had a much wider stationery

²⁶² Auckland Star (NZ), "In Bankruptcy," January 5, 1901, p.2.

²⁶³ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," January 13, 1906, p.6.

²⁶⁴ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," May 5, 1906, p.11.

²⁶⁵ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Christmas Greetings," December 22, 1909, p.4.

²⁶⁶ In 1895 they could say that all of their "Xmas card packets are from Tuck." Auckland Star (NZ), "Advertisements," October 26, 1895, p.7.

²⁶⁷ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," October 27, 1906, p.22.

²⁶⁸ They initiated several changes of layout for their adverts, which Spreckley copied within a week.

²⁶⁹ The pricing of his adverts, as will become apparent below, shows an understanding of seasonal fluctuations, whilst W & A's adverts maintain uniform prices year round.

and fancy goods stock-list to manage. The rivalry came to an abrupt end in 1909, with Spreckley's premature death.²⁷⁰

The reason that this minor business battle matters, is that it provides a unique and detailed insight into the operations of postcard retailing in the period between 1906 and 1909, precisely the years when the Hands across the Sea postcard came of age. The British postcard collectors' magazines, which provided Richard Carline with much of his hard information, had all ceased to function by late 1906,²⁷¹ and there appear to be no other equivalent sources to show the relationship between businesses and consumers.²⁷² As a result, subsequent histories have simply not attempted any detailed chronological analysis of this phase of the postcard craze. Grace Lees-Maffei has highlighted the importance of considering the channels of mediation that connected producer and consumer,²⁷³ and Spreckley's and Wildman & Arey's adverts provide a new window into that retail part of the postcard business where the card is still a commodity, in the process of becoming a piece of communication or a gift.²⁷⁴

As far as I know, there are no equivalent series of adverts, nationally or internationally. Other retailers advertised postcards, but only sporadically with full lists of prices and the available genres. Cards must have been inviting material for window displays in a period where visual attractiveness was increasingly important for shops,²⁷⁵ and displays were changed frequently.²⁷⁶ Most companies, however, could simply point out through generalised advertising that they had postcards, and allow the product to do the rest. The sustained nature these two sellers' advertising in part reflects

²⁷⁰ Probate: Series 1569, Box 243/7266. A short obituary was carried in the *Auckland Star*. *Auckland Star* (NZ), "Personal," August 26, 1909, p.6.

²⁷¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.41.

²⁷² It should be possible to get a sense of the state of how the British trade saw itself from stationery trade journals. I have been unable to find any of these in New Zealand libraries, owing to collecting policies that do not insist on retaining overseas journals, however there is further research potential for gaining a clearer picture of the British craze via such journals as well as copyright records at Stationers' Hall. To date, such a study has not been published, and falls outside the scope of this present study.

²⁷³ Lees-Maffei, "The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm," p.354.

²⁷⁴ On this distinction see Alexandra Jaffe, "Packaged Sentiments: The Social Meanings of Greeting Cards," *Journal of Material Culture* 4, no. 2 (1999): p.117. She makes the point that "cards are neither pure gift nor pure commodity."

²⁷⁵ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, p.11.

²⁷⁶ Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.49.

direct competition for rural postal orders,²⁷⁷ but it was nevertheless highly unusual.

As a resource, however, this information must be approached with some caution. The advertisements do not give the retailers' full price lists. Rather, a conscious decision had to be made to include a particular item on the advertising list. This raises potential questions as to whether the prices were intended as typical, or were intended to be attractive to the consumer. Nor can one be certain about how representative this information is for the trade in the rest of New Zealand, and it is almost certainly not exactly representative of the trade worldwide. New Zealand had a particular set of cultural factors that affected the card's development, and even where there is a connection with Britain, New Zealand traders were probably following trends some months old there. Nevertheless, whilst what the advertisements provide must be treated with caution, if their evidence is compared with those of other stationers and cross-referenced against comments in a press which was prepared to report across the 'high/low' divide,²⁷⁸ collectively the three sources of information become more reliable. The account that follows is inevitably incomplete, and nor is it intended to be fully fleshed out. However the advertisements help strip away the huge amount of detail that otherwise gets in the way of trying to work out fashion shifts from the cards themselves, and present instead what two dealers considered the cards most likely to sell, and which could command the highest prices. It therefore offers a first overall description and analysis of the postcard craze as a cohesive fashion phenomenon – a necessary contextual prelude that will allow the HATS card to be situated within the overall trajectory of the craze.

The Early Craze in New Zealand

Spreckley was correct in his assertion that he championed the postcard before other Auckland sellers. Although in bankruptcy, and trading under his wife's name, in December 1901 the firm started to advertise "Pictorial

²⁷⁷ Both companies appear to have acted as wholesalers, offering attractive rates for rural stationers wanting to stock postcards.

²⁷⁸ Alisa Miller, "Rupert Brooke and the Growth of Commercial Patriotism in Great Britain, 1914-1918," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): p.147.

Postcards N.Z. Scenery.”²⁷⁹ At this point the postcard would not have looked a particularly attractive option.²⁸⁰ The introduction of the penny post to New Zealand meant that for some time letters and postcards both cost a penny to post overseas,²⁸¹ and postcard usage consequently dropped between 1900-2, only regaining its 1900 level by 1904 [see Figure 111].²⁸² There was, at this time, no price incentive for those writing ‘home’ at Christmas to use postcards rather than putting a Christmas card in an envelope, perhaps with a letter. This explains why Spreckley’s initial postcard advert first ran in mid-December. It was aimed solely at the local market, and interestingly suggests that, contrary to those who see postcards as primarily tourist cards,²⁸³ in Spreckley’s mind, at least, view cards were part of the Christmas trade. The following October, this time with the overseas Christmas “home mail” in mind,²⁸⁴ he was advertising the newly issued New Zealand Tourist Department postcards [Figure 91].²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” December 13, 1901, p.2.

²⁸⁰ William Main notes, with some surprise, that despite a couple of regional offerings, larger companies like Muir and Moodie were initially reticent about entering the postcard market, a reticence he tentatively ascribes to “forbidding” postal regulations. Main, “Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie,” p.7.

²⁸¹ Main and Jackson, “*Wish You Were Here*”: *The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, p.10. By 1906, however, Sir Joseph Ward was claiming that “New Zealand has a wider range of penny postage than any other country in the world.” Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ), “The Postal Congress,” January 31, 1906, p.2.

²⁸² The drop, between 1900-2, is shown in the New Zealand Post Office Annual reports quoted in Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.23. Statistically, more cards were sent in 1904, but New Zealand had major immigration at this period, and once one adjusts these figures to include population, as was done in the New Zealand Yearbook figures for the period, the 1900 and 1904 figures of 2.43 postcards per head are identical. Statistics New Zealand. “Digital Yearbook Collection.” (1893-2010). http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx [accessed January 30, 2013].

²⁸³ For example, Willoughby, *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*, p.77.

²⁸⁴ The text of the advertisement said: “Pictorial Postcards. – New Zealand scenery, new designs just received for the home mail.” Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” October 30, 1902, p.6.

²⁸⁵ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” October 25, 1902, p.23. Printed by Whanganui chromolithographic Christmas card specialist, A. D. Willis, these cards were intended to promote New Zealand through being sent overseas. The Department of Tourist and Health Resorts had just been set up, and the 100,000 postcards printed represented one of its first initiatives to publicise New Zealand tourism. [Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2004), p.57.] The *Wanganui Herald* praised these cards at length, noting that “we have not seen anything neater and prettier in the post-card line, and as the price is one penny each we feel certain the sale will be enormous.” Wanganui Herald (NZ), “Business Notes,” September 24, 1902, p.2.

At a penny, these government-sponsored, high-quality, coloured postcards represented good value, and the *Feilding Star*, in summing up that year's Christmas trade, noted that "there is no doubt... that the many varieties of

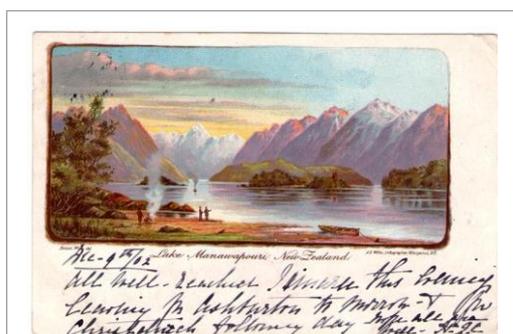


Figure 91: 1902 New Zealand Government Tourist Card of Lake Manawapouri. Sent in December 1902, this card, designed by Benoni White and printed by A. D. Willis, is designed to have the message on the 'back' whilst the address is on the front. At this point cards were postmarked at point of departure and receipt.

Author's collection



pictorial postcards have affected the sale of the ordinary Christmas cards."²⁸⁶ It was not, however, only the Tourist Department cards that Spreckley had on offer. He mentioned a series of 24 cards by Dunedin company Muir & Moodie [see Figure 92],²⁸⁷ the last time a postcard publisher would be named in his adverts.²⁸⁸ In this first advertisement to detail prices, Spreckley was selling some Christmas greeting postcards and views of Auckland and New Zealand at a penny each.²⁸⁹ This was more expensive than his cheaper Christmas cards, some of which were offered at between a farthing and halfpenny. Postcards of Maori sold at a premium of 1½d,²⁹⁰ with some of these being cards that Spreckley had published himself.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ *Feilding Star* (NZ), "Christmas Trade," January 3, 1903, p.2.

²⁸⁷ This established photographic firm had started issuing postcards in early 1901 [Main, "Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie," p.7], though postcards were not a large enough element of their production to warrant inclusion in the company's 1901 catalogue. Jackson, *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards*, p.14.

²⁸⁸ Muir & Moodie were a major New Zealand postcard company, but they did not issue HATS cards, so play little role here. On the company, see (in addition to the two sources referred to in the previous note) Main and Jackson, *"Wish You Were Here": The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, pp.44-7.

²⁸⁹ *Observer* (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," November 15, 1902, p.8.

²⁹⁰ For any reader unfamiliar with the conventions of British currency abbreviation, 1d = one penny, while 1s = 1 shilling. Any item separated by a diagonal line shows both shillings and pence (the plural of penny). Hence 10/6 = ten shillings and sixpence, as does 10/6d. I have followed the advertisements as to which form is used.

²⁹¹ Spreckley applied to patent six designs on October 9th 1902, paying ten shillings per item. Registering designs was atypical. With the exception of Harding and Billing, who registered designs the next year, no other early publishers registered their designs. AtoJ's Online. "Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives," 1903 Session I, H-10: Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks: Fourteenth Annual Report of the Registrar, p.58 & p.v. More work needs to be done on this area, but it would appear that photographs were also registered, but not as designs. The Photographic Copyright Act of 1897 was responsible for

If Spreckley had embraced the postcard, Wildman, Lyell and Arey's advertisements for Christmas 1902 concentrated solely on Raphael Tuck's Christmas cards,²⁹² and they were typical of most stationers of this period in

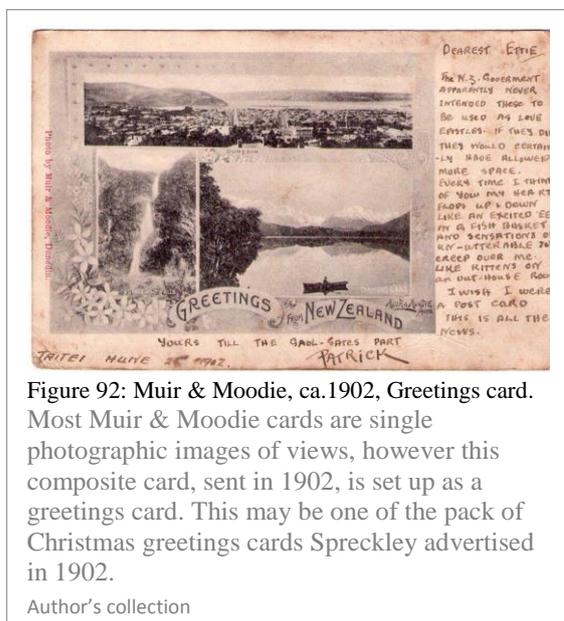


Figure 92: Muir & Moodie, ca.1902, Greetings card. Most Muir & Moodie cards are single photographic images of views, however this composite card, sent in 1902, is set up as a greetings card. This may be one of the pack of Christmas greetings cards Spreckley advertised in 1902.

Author's collection

not highlighting postcards. Nevertheless, postcards were evidently being consumed avidly because, by March 1903, teenage Rita, writing to *The New Zealand Farmer's* children's pages, was asking about her 'cousins' collecting habits, and noting that she already had 500 postcards.²⁹³ It was not until August 1903, however, that the local craze attracted press attention. The *Evening Post* noted that "the latest craze is collecting picture post-cards. One Gisborne stationer states that he has recently put

through 5000 of these cards."²⁹⁴ New Zealanders were, by now, aware of the British craze, if not through the press, then through the letterbox. This hit home in the lead up to Christmas 1903, when the *Free Lance* commented that this "latest and rather reasonable rage" meant that "instead of the deluge of Christmas cards hitherto received from the old home, already the stream of post-cards are trickling in."²⁹⁵ In England, if not in New Zealand, the Christmas card was "grappling in a death struggle with its younger rival the Christmas postcard."²⁹⁶

New Zealand cards using copyrighted photos often carrying the word "Protected." [Jackson, *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards*, p.21.] One of Spreckley's Maori cards is reproduced by Alison Clarke. Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, p.29.

²⁹² Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," December 27, 1902, p.22

²⁹³ New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland, NZ), "Older Cousin's Circle," March 1903, Home and Household Supplement, p.vi. Alan Jackson also concludes that the New Zealand craze did not start until between 1902-3, and suggesting that these early collectors were largely "well-to-do." [Alan Jackson, "Who Published the First New Zealand Postcards," *Postcard Pillar*, no. 100 (2013): p.65.] This article is a reprint of one from Postcard Pillar, Issue 61, February 2003.

²⁹⁴ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Interprovincial Items," August 29, 1903, p.12.

²⁹⁵ Free Lance (Wellington, NZ), "Afternoon Tea Gossip," December 19, 1903, p.10.

²⁹⁶ Manchester Guardian (UK), "Christmas Cards," December 12, 1903, p.9. It noted that the difference between the two was that the latter tended towards humour and the former sentiment.



Figure 93: Muir & Moodie, ca.1903, card showing cabbage trees.
 This card was sent to England in 1903 by a visitor to New Zealand.
 Author's collection

By now, Wildman, Lyell and Arey had realised that the postcard represented an opportunity, and were advertising, hyperbolically, “a splendid assortment of over 60 different views,” sold in five different packets at a penny per card.²⁹⁷ Postcards intended “for the home mail,” were the headline for this advertisement, but a much wider selection of other cards is mentioned.²⁹⁸ Once W,L&A began advertising for the local market, however, postcards initially disappeared, with the focus moving to “Our Special Xmas Card Department” which carried cards “ranging from 1d to 10/6, to suit all tastes.”²⁹⁹ A few days later, however, the adverts added “our New Series of 36 Postcards of Auckland showing the Electric Cars running in the streets, views of Rotorua and General Scenery; price 1d each.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” October 10, 1903, p.7. These numbers put in perspective Bill Main’s contention that “after 1902 postcard production in New Zealand grew enormously.” Main, *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell*, p.7.

²⁹⁸ These included cabinet card photographs of Maori by Arthur Iles, a Rotorua photographer whose work they had stocked since at least 1895 and costing 1/6d. Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” October 26, 1895, p.7. On Iles, see Main and Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, p.23.

²⁹⁹ Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” November 28, 1903, p.6.

³⁰⁰ Auckland Star (NZ), “Advertisements,” December 1, 1903, p.3.



Figure 95: S. M. & Co., ca.1903, "Some Glimpses of New Zealand." With photography by Denton, this postcard employs both Maori and Scenic imagery. Author's collection

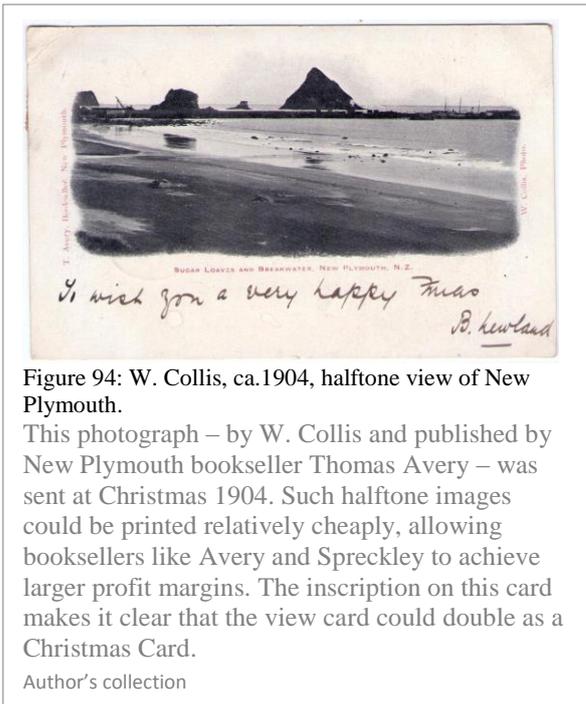


Figure 94: W. Collis, ca.1904, halftone view of New Plymouth. This photograph – by W. Collis and published by New Plymouth bookseller Thomas Avery – was sent at Christmas 1904. Such halftone images could be printed relatively cheaply, allowing booksellers like Avery and Spreckley to achieve larger profit margins. The inscription on this card makes it clear that the view card could double as a Christmas Card. Author's collection

What characterises these early postcard advertisements is an assumption that customers would buy locally produced – or at the least locally themed – postcards. Although Wildman, Lyell and Arey stocked and promoted Raphael Tuck's Christmas cards, they certainly did not promote that company's postcards.³⁰¹ Tuck's cards during this period were not limited to views, but both Auckland retailers concentrated on scenic cards. This conceivably relates to the early bombardment of tourist imagery in the Tourist Department postcards, but the concentration of postcard adverts prior to Christmas makes it clear that the retailers thought of these cards as a continuation of the twenty-year-old tradition of sending New Zealand scenes as

Christmas cards [compare Figure 70 and Figure 71 with Figure 94].

Oddly, neither firm placed much emphasis on the postcard during 1904. View and Maori cards at a penny are included in W,L&A's "Home Mail" advert,³⁰² but they stopped advertising under that name after November 19th,³⁰³ and the revamped firm Wildman and Arey's advertisements did not mention postcards, concentrating instead on other Christmas lines.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Tuck's cards were the only overseas postcards to be promoted by Adelaide's W. C. Rigby, who was selling Tuck's "views, heads, figures, humorous etc." for a penny. The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), "Advertisements," December 9, 1903, p.3.

³⁰² Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," October 29, 1904, p.18. Muir & Moodie reflected a trend to increasingly focus on Maori imagery between 1902-4. Main, "Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie," p.7.

³⁰³ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," November 19, 1904, p.7.

³⁰⁴ Auckland Star (NZ), "Booksellers," December 13, 1904, p.6. Another advertisement in the same column, for the Queen Street stationer Upton & Co., similarly omits postcards. Although a fierce competitor in the Christmas card business, Upton, a former mayor of

Perhaps, like some others, they regarded the card as one of the “hobbies for children,”³⁰⁵ but equally the lack of postcard advertising in 1904 could relate to an assumption that the postcard was the craze of 1903, and that the public would be looking for other things this year. Even by late 1903 one major Wellington retailer was arguing that “the post-card craze has been

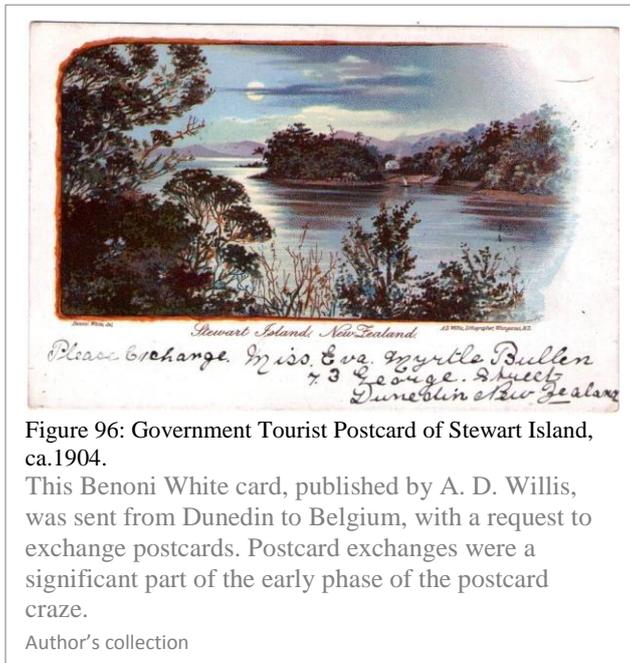


Figure 96: Government Tourist Postcard of Stewart Island, ca.1904.

This Benoni White card, published by A. D. Willis, was sent from Dunedin to Belgium, with a request to exchange postcards. Postcard exchanges were a significant part of the early phase of the postcard craze.

Author's collection

almost done to death, and it's time to think of something new.”³⁰⁶ This situation may have been exacerbated by consumers not being aware of the postal regulations that allowed postcards with a short message to pass as “printed matter” at a halfpenny.³⁰⁷

At a penny, sending a postcard was not financially advantageous.

Whether any of these factors played out in Spreckley's thinking, however, is unclear, since his

advertising between 1902-1905 was thoroughly parsimonious, giving little or no detail – presumably a consequence of his financial woes.

Auckland, never advertised with postcards, suggesting that the social stigma relating to the card was understood in New Zealand, Cyclopaedia Company, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: Auckland Provincial District* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Cyclopaedia Company, 1902), pp.126-7.

³⁰⁵ The Christchurch *Star* published a long article on postcard collecting under the headline “hobbies for children.” [Star (Christchurch), “Hobbies for Children: The Collecting of Pictorial Post-Cards,” October 1, 1904, p.3.] Similarly, New Plymouth stationer Thomas Avery would include “Postcards and postcard albums” within the section headed “Boys’ and Girls’ Books.” Taranaki Herald (New Plymouth, NZ), “Advertisements,” February 18, 1908, p.8.

³⁰⁶ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “The Premier Obstructionist,” October 3, 1903, p.4. It continued by suggesting a replacement: “Kirkcaldie and Stains (Ltd) have a splendid showing of autograph books at 1s each.” Autograph albums were hardly new, but the advert is representative of the tussle between the two genres.

³⁰⁷ An article early the next year advised readers of this, reporting that most of the cards posted could have been sent as printed matter, and were thus overpaid. Hawera & Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), “Local and General,” January 12, 1905, p.2.

Overall, the most plausible primary cause for this dropping off in the promotion of the New Zealand postcard craze was an assumption on the



Figure 97: Marcus Ward, ca.1904, “The Romantic Girl.”

This chromolithographic card was sent from Auckland to Wellington, showing it was probably available in New Zealand. Marcus Ward had sold stationery there for many years, so evidently utilised existing channels to export their cards. Ward’s design is typically current, using flat colour and outline rather than attempting to model form. And the prominence of ribbons in this characterisation of the ‘Romantic girl’ suggests that there may have been some perceived link between ribbons and the Romantic movement.

Author’s collection

part of stationers that the postcard, in itself, was the ‘novelty’, and that the fad would fade, as fashions did. There is little sense in the early adverts that there could be ‘postcard novelties’. The profusion of genre experimentation that characterised the period after 1902 in Britain (and earlier in Germany) is much less evident in New Zealand – probably because, with the rapidly expanding craze, British companies were able to sell their production at home, without worrying about the colonial trade. Despite some companies like Wrench publishing New Zealand views [Figure 79], and evidence that Marcus Ward postcards were available [Figure 97], there appears to have been comparatively little overseas competition for New Zealand manufacturers like Muir & Moodie, who thus had little reason to consider the card as other than a continuation, albeit cheaper, of the pre-existing trade in photographic views,³⁰⁸ with an occasional foray into montaged greetings [Figure 92].

Revitalising the Trade: From Views to Actresses

Despite the retailers’ apparent assumption that the craze for collecting view postcards of New Zealand had run its course, consumers were hearing that the postcard situation internationally was quite different, and that overseas “perhaps no hobby has ‘caught on’ of late years to a greater extent than

³⁰⁸ With the exception of the chromolithographic Tourist Department cards, and some early commemorative cards, all of the 1900-1906 cards reproduced in *Wish You Were Here* are either photographic views or Maori related. Main and Jackson, *“Wish You Were Here”: The Story of New Zealand Postcards*.

this.”³⁰⁹ As the *Wanganui Chronicle* pointed out, “the post card craze at Home seems to have reached a degree at present unknown in this colony.”³¹⁰ This translated to New Zealand letterboxes, with five times as many postcards arriving from overseas in 1904 as in 1903, and more than doubling the next year.³¹¹ New Zealanders’ own usage went up by 58% between 1903-4, and the same percentage the next year.³¹² By late 1905 the Otago Witness’s children’s page was reporting “that the ‘post-card craze’ has once again caught on,”³¹³ a comment which reinforces the perception, if not the reality, of an earlier lull.

The driver for this revival would appear to be the realisation that the postcard had much more to offer. In 1904, a reader’s receipt of a “giant postcard” had been regarded as newsworthy.³¹⁴ During the following year papers increasingly reported on novelty items like leaves being used as postcards,³¹⁵ “talking postcards” being played on the gramophone,³¹⁶ and comic cards with the nose area cut away to fit over the receiver’s nose.³¹⁷ “The Post Card Hobby. Something New and Novel,” proclaimed an advert in the *Taranaki Herald*, where Bartlett’s Studio – for eight-pence apiece – offered to make postcard portraits of the sender.³¹⁸ These simply reprised the *carte-de-visite* portrait, but the rhetoric is telling. The postcard was new again. Whanganui’s H. I. Jones imported 2000 “new rotary postcards of actors and actresses,”³¹⁹ and Dannevirke’s Thomas Bain added that these “real photo postcards....are being sold at the low price of 3d each.”³²⁰ In Wellington, for four-pence, Thomas Pringle was offering a series of cards

³⁰⁹ Star (Christchurch), “Hobbies for Children: The Collection of Pictorial Post-Cards,” October 1, 1904, p.3.

³¹⁰ Wanganui Chronicle (NZ), “Untitled,” October 25, 1904, p.2.

³¹¹ The figures are 75,476 received in 1903, 257,188 in 1904 and 708,074 in 1905. Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.23.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Multum in Parvo: Dicitur,” October 4, 1905, p.81.

³¹⁴ Wanganui Chronicle (NZ), “Untitled,” October 25, 1904, p.2.

³¹⁵ Ashburton Guardian (NZ), “Local and General,” January 23, 1905, p.2. The sending of such cards to the UK was banned in 1906, and the NZ Post Office proscribed them altogether in 1912. Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.14, 20.

³¹⁶ Ohinemuri Gazette (Paeroa, NZ), “Notes from London,” April 19, 1905, p.3.

³¹⁷ Free Lance (Wellington, NZ), “All Sorts of People,” May 27, 1905, p.3.

³¹⁸ Taranaki Herald (New Plymouth, NZ), “Advertisements,” December 12, 1905, p.4.

³¹⁹ Wanganui Herald (NZ), “Business Notes,” February 1, 1905, p.7.

³²⁰ Bush Advocate (Dannevirke, NZ), “Advertisements,” August 11, 1905, p.5.

“a little more artistic than the ‘usual thing’” which differed “entirely in subject from the usual picture post card.”³²¹ And in the lead up to Christmas, there were predictions that the postcard would supersede the Christmas card:

The pictorial post card has come to stay and it is nearly certain that at some time or other it will displace all other season’s pictorial cards, Christmas as well as others, entirely. In a word the one thing will serve for all, and it will merely remain to make dear cards as well as cheap ones and to adapt the designs to the circumstances.³²²

These opinions were not unique. A Tasmanian dealer said that such Christmas cards as he had on display were old stock, and that the public wanted postcards instead, with sales of these up twentyfold on 1903.³²³ He was then asked if rising prices would harm the trade and answered:

That is not our experience. The better the card, the more eager people are to buy it. Especially at this time of the year...They don’t rush the penny cards. They require something a good deal better. But the price of cards is not ascending. It is the quality you must regard. The cards now being issued are of such better quality as to be really cheap at the price they are sold.³²⁴

In Auckland, Wildman and Arey, true to form, had not read the signs. Although they did mention packets of penny postcards, the focus of their Christmas 1905 advertising remained on their wide range of Christmas card packets.³²⁵ Spreckley similarly ignored postcards for the overseas mail, but advertised postcards of “the finest variety in New Zealand” for the local Christmas trade, detailing both penny views and some “charming novelties

³²¹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” November 4, 1905, p.11.

³²² Southland Times (Invercargill, NZ), “Christmas Cards and Postcards, December 23, 1905, p.3.

³²³ Examiner (Launceston, AU), “The Passing of the Christmas Card,” December 23, 1905, p.9. It is worth recalling that this battle between the two genres was already evident in Britain in 1903. Manchester Guardian (UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 12, 1903, p.9.

³²⁴ Ibid, p.9. The discussion relating to the public desire for good quality rather than cheap cards becomes visible much later in the United States, with Daniel Gifford quoting sources in the US stationery trade from 1909-10. [Gifford, “To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America’s Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910,” pp.88-9. It occurs, however, retrospectively, once German cards were effectively removed from the market by tariffs.

³²⁵ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” October 29, 1905, p.11.

in postcards for the Christmas season” which included name cards, flowers, comic cards and good luck cards.³²⁶

Evidently these “charming novelties” sold. Starting in mid-January, Spreckley ran weekly advertisements devoted solely to postcards, which



Figure 98: Large Letter ‘name cards’ by Philco (above) and Beagles (below). Such cards allowed companies to simultaneously tap both the existing tourist greetings market and the new actress craze, by filling the lettering with multiple images of actresses. Almost every large New Zealand town has its own such cards, created by both British and local firms. The Philco card (top) was an early co-production with local firm S. M. & Co, and sent in 1905. It thus retains room for inscription on the front to allow it to be sent internationally. By 1907, when the Beagles card was sent, international acceptance of the divided back meant that the image was able to take the whole of the card’s front.

Author’s collection



reveal that the novelties previously listed cost three-pence, or sixpence if hand coloured [Figure 100].³²⁷ Many were ‘real photographs’, with place names [Figure 98], Christian names, actresses and children as the main categories. View cards remained a penny, but when coloured could double in price. Comic cards were not priced, but promoted as “up-to-date.”

Spreckley’s advertisement is a reflection of the trends that had been developing during the last year, and closely mirrors prices earlier advertised by Dunedin stationer Braithwaite’s.³²⁸ The craze in New Zealand was fuelled by the greater variety of cards being made available, and ‘real photographs’ seem to be at the heart of this. These were dry plate gelatin-based photographs, mass-produced via rotary plates.³²⁹ Although recent scholarly work

³²⁶ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” December 16, 1905, p.17. This advert still prioritised Christmas card packets over postcards.

³²⁷ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” January 13, 1906, p.6.

³²⁸ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Advertisements,” November 1, 1905, p.38. The only major difference was Braithwaite’s offering Japanese cards, something neither Auckland stationer ever advertised with. Braithwaite was a former Mayor of Dunedin, whose store had a large horseshoe shaped entrance – showing his appreciation for the type of popular symbolism used in postcards. Jackson, *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards*, p.33.

³²⁹ Benson, *The Printed Picture*, p.122.

on these has highlighted the subjective “authenticity” of the medium,³³⁰ focussing on home-made domestic postcard photographs,³³¹ New Zealand photographers with Kodak cameras were not capable of supplying cards to the huge range of local stationers who, like Spreckley, Jones, Braithwaite, Bain and Pringle, started to supply such cards during 1906. The real photo’s sudden arrival is therefore evidence of a very considerable increase in postcard importation.

The companies most likely to be behind this push were the British firms Rotary Photo and J. Beagles & Co.³³² These two, with Adolph Tuck, were interviewed in 1906 by *The Quiver*,³³³ showing that by that time they were considered amongst Britain’s leading postcard publishers. Rotary’s manager, Mr. Haenel, claimed that they had introduced real photographs in 1901, and that after a slow uptake these had become very popular.³³⁴ Beagles, it was noted, had adapted a pre-existing business – taking cabinet card photographs of celebrities – to the postcard.³³⁵

Beagles’ earlier business was just one of many that had catered for photographic images of theatrical celebrities, drawing on, as Veronica Kelly puts it, “a half-century’s tradition of skilful collusion between stars, photographers, card publishers, and theatre publicists.”³³⁶ These celebrity

³³⁰ Todd Alden, "And We Lived Where Dusk Had Meaning," in *Real Photo Postcards: Unbelievable Images from the Collection of Harvey Tulcensky*, ed. Laetitia Wolff (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), p.8.

³³¹ Rachel Snow notes that the 3A Folding Pocket Kodak was capable of producing real photo postcards from 1903 [Snow, "Correspondence Here: Real Photo Postcards and the Snapshot Aesthetic," p.2.] Rebecca Preston puts the Box Brownie even earlier at 1900, Preston, "'Hope You Will Be Able to Recognise Us': The Representation of Women and Gardens in Early 20th Century British Domestic 'Real Photo' Postcards," p.782.

³³² Dûval and Monahan list these two companies as being the main publishers of images of theatrical personalities. Dûval and Monahan, *Collecting Postcards in Colour*, p.84.

³³³ *The Quiver* article focuses largely on questions about the popularity of cards showing (mainly male) Society figures. It therefore does not mention these companies’ popular actress cards. Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity."

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.171.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.172. In the 1899 Post Office Directory, Beagles was listed as Beagles & Co under the heading “Photographic Publishers.” Their address was 9 Rockley Road, Shepherd’s Bush. [London Post Office, *The Post Office London Directory for 1899* (London: Kelly’s Directories, 1899).] They moved their postcard operation in 1903 to 9-10 Little Britain, and thus within the ‘postcard mile’. [Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.40.] Shepherd’s Bush would have been a better location for celebrity cabinet cards, but the new address was closer to printers.

³³⁶ Kelly, "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia," p.101.

images translated easily to the postcard. Richard Carline, using material from various postcard magazines, claims that whilst Rotary and several other early companies did generic pictures of unnamed actresses from 1901, it was Beagles that started, in 1904, to put the actresses' names on the cards, making figures like Edna May, Ellaline Terris, Marie Studholme and Girtie Miller household names, and setting off the craze for 'actress' cards in earnest.³³⁷



Figure 99: Beagles, ca.1907, Marie Studholme postcard. Sent in mid-1907, this Beagles real photo card would have cost nine-pence at Wildman & Arey. It is hand coloured, jewelled (with glitter) and is also padded to make the surface three dimensional. The suggestive red spangles at the points of highest relief indicate that this card was not entirely innocent. Author's collection

Beagles also started to add spangles to their cards, as well as the powdered tinsel 'jewelling' pioneered by another early entrant to the New Zealand market, Philco.³³⁸ These hand-done elements, as later adverts would show, could push the price of such cards to nine-pence [Figure 99]. And the market for these cards was huge. By the time the actress craze had subsided, Rotary Photograph's company manager "Miss P." was telling the press that they had done over a thousand different cards of the actress Gabrielle Ray [e.g. Figure 108], and sold conservatively between 7-10 million of these.³³⁹

We know from H. I. Jones's earlier quoted advertisement that Rotary cards were imported during 1905.³⁴⁰ The likelihood of Beagles also having entered the New Zealand market at this time is high, because an Australian stationer, Samuel Wood, had started a business in Sydney in 1905,

³³⁷ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, pp.60-1. Unpublished research by Peter Backman shows that Evelyn Wrench's 1903 exhibition of "Art in Picture Postcards" at the Grafton galleries included many labelled cards of the theatre personalities. [Peter Backman, e-mail message to the author, March 16, 2013.] I have subsequently purchased such a Wrench card, dated to 1903. It would appear, therefore, that Carline was wrong, and that Wrench, rather than Beagles should be credited with this innovation.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.61. It will be recalled (see above, page 161) that tinselling has a much longer history in popular culture, so Philco were simply the company that adapted a pre-existing popular form to the postcard.

³³⁹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Untitled," March 28, 1912, p.9.

³⁴⁰ Wanganui Herald (NZ), "Business Notes," February 1, 1905, p.7.

gaining the agency for Beagles.³⁴¹ Wood had previously managed a bookshop in Cheapside, close to where Beagles was based,³⁴² and this is probably where the contact between the two firms originated. With Australia having finally entered a penny post agreement with Britain in April 1905,³⁴³ the Australasian market would have become considerably more attractive to British postcard companies like Beagles, and it is likely that the boost in postcard imports to New Zealand relates, at least in part,³⁴⁴ to this legislative change spurring on the activities of agents like Wood,³⁴⁵ and of wholesale companies like the Regal Postcard Company [see Figure 117], who targeted the rural market in competition to retailers like Spreckley.³⁴⁶

Real photos provided substantially finer detail than the collotype or halftone processes otherwise used to reproduce photographs. This was the novelty element of such cards, with the quality and cost qualifying them as gifts.³⁴⁷

³⁴¹ State Library of New South Wales. "Samuel Wood, 1876-1957." *Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures*, (undated).

<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemdetailpaged.aspx?itemid=446625> [accessed January 24, 2013]. It is worth noting that photographic firms like Valentines had utilised the agency model in New Zealand, so Beagles is here using a business approach known to photographers, but not generally used by lithographers.

³⁴² Beagles' premises at Little Britain were approximately 100 meters up St Martins Le-Grand from Cheapside. Owing to the Blitz, the map of this area retains few of the original streets, with Little Britain being one of the casualties.

³⁴³ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.142.

³⁴⁴ Alternatively, stationers' own initiatives to import cards by postal order in response to consumer demand could also explain such growth.

³⁴⁵ Unlike firms like Raphael Tuck, Valentines or Marcus Ward, newer photographic companies like Rotary and Beagles had neither pre-existing business networks in New Zealand, nor the scale to mount advertising exhibitions such as where Raphael Tuck won a Gold Medal at the Christchurch exhibition in 1906-7 for their display of postcards. [Main, "Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie," p.9.] They would therefore have relied on either trade advertising, press publicity or agents' travelling salesman to establish contacts in New Zealand. Rotary, for example, garnered worldwide press attention in 1904 for having exhibited the world's largest photograph at the Dore Gallery in London. It was 39 x 5 feet large, costing in excess of a thousand pounds to produce. Ashburton Guardian (NZ), "Largest Photograph in the World," May 20, 1904, p.4.

³⁴⁶ This Sydney-based company began targeting rurally-oriented newspapers in February 1906, with an advertisement promising free jewellery to people who sold twelve packets of their cards and returned the money to them. [Hawera & Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), "Advertisements," February 3, 1906, p.6.] Variants of this advert appeared in the *Poverty Bay Herald*, *Wanganui Chronicle*, *Feilding Star*, *Taranaki Herald*, *NZ Truth* and the *Otago Witness* until early 1908. This must have got a good supply of trinket-addicted salespeople, as almost no further adverts occur before late 1912 – by which time, presumably, the novelty had worn off, and they needed a new catchment of (almost) free labour.

³⁴⁷ Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.54.

The subject matter of the cards in Spreckley's advertisements [e.g. Figure 100], however, relies heavily on variants of existing staples. Actress

SPRECKLEY AND CO
PICTORIAL POST CARDS

Largest Variety in New Zealand. Latest Novelties, Real Photograph Post Cards. Good Luck, Good Wishes, Best Wishes, Greetings, Welcome, Kisses, Hearty Greetings from Auckland, From New Zealand, 3d each card.

Christian Name and Initial Series. Real Photographs, 3d; hand-coloured, 6d each.

Actresses—Immense Variety of all the popular favourites in black and white. Real Photographs and hand-coloured.

Children — Real Photograph, etc. Many charming subjects.

Comic Post Cards.—Up-to-date Variety.

Post Card Albums, to hold from 100 to 1000 cards. Splendid Stock on hand. Pretty designs. Lowest prices.

Packets of 12 Views of Auckland, Hot Lakes, Maori Belles, N.Z. Scenery, etc., each Packet 1/- post free.

12 Charming Coloured Post Cards of N.Z. Scenery, 2/- post free.

New View Book, N.Z. Illustrated, 76 Photographic Reproductions of all parts of the Colony, 2/6; posted, 2/9. Finest View Book issued.

Forty Views New Zealand. Descriptive and Illustrative, 1/6; posted, 1/7.

S P R E C K L E Y A N D C O .
NEXT THE POST OFFICE,
SHORTLAND-ST., AUCKLAND.

Figure 100: Spreckley Advertisement, *Observer*, January 13, 1906.
The unevenness in detailing prices is typical of postcard adverts at this period.
Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand

postcards were a development from the celebrity *carte-de-visite* and cabinet cards, discussed earlier. Pictures of children were the most common motif on late nineteenth century American trade cards,³⁴⁸ and appear prominently prior to their postcard iterations in publications such as *The New Zealand Farmer*,³⁴⁹ a reflection of how, in sentimental culture, the treatment of children, animals, and the poor was seen as emblematic of an individual's ethical character.³⁵⁰ One need only think of "Peter Pan" to appreciate the continuing Edwardian fascination with childhood.³⁵¹ And comic cards built on a long tradition of humorous cards that began with comic Valentines,³⁵² but also played into the period's fascination with caricature.³⁵³ The one new postcard genre was 'name' cards, which photographically

collaged images of actresses or views into the names of places or people, thereby linking the consumer's individual identity with the most popular genres of card [Figure 98]. One such card, from a young Australian man, carried the following message, which sums up the changing fashion in cards, with views being eclipsed by actresses:

³⁴⁸ Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," p.298.

³⁴⁹ E.g. *New Zealand Farmer Bee and Poultry Journal* (Auckland, NZ), "Twin Queens of May," June 1900, Home and Household Supplement, p.v. The two images of children shown here were sent in by the Waikato photographer Ellerbeck. Several other such images, some full page, were printed in other issues of this publication. At this stage, the images would have been created as cabinet cards – a larger format than *cartes-de-visite*.

³⁵⁰ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.152.

³⁵¹ Gillian Beer, "George Frampton's Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens," in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010), p.205.

³⁵² Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*, pp.80-1.

³⁵³ Fraser, "Propaganda on the Picture Postcard," p.40.

Would you try and send me a better class of PC? I never send an actress PC that cost less than 4d. This one cost 6d, but I have a good lot of exchanges just at present of actresses, good cards that is. That is why I have given up collecting views.³⁵⁴

By May 1906, Wildman and Arey must have become aware of the quickening postcard sales across the street, and set about redressing the gap Spreckley had clearly opened up on them.

We beg to advise our friends and the public generally that, owing to the enormous demand for Picture Post Cards, we have opened a special Shop inside the Victoria Arcade, to be devoted entirely to the sale of Post Cards, Mounted Views of N.Z. Scenery, View Books, Post Card Albums, all sizes and prices, etc. Having this large Show Room, we are enabled to stock and show every known variety of Post Cards, and new lines will be added daily, thus making our stock the largest and most up-to-date in New Zealand.³⁵⁵

This copy cannily comes across as though W&A had the largest stock of postcards, when in fact they only promised to build up to it. However, the major innovation of this advert lay in the format of its body. Detailed prices were provided for each item,³⁵⁶ meaning that it now becomes possible to see nuances not previously visible – especially since Spreckley responded the next week with a new advert that emulated W&A’s layout, and that both companies subsequently retained this detailed format.

The data for this study was gathered by examining all of the advertisements from both companies in order to ascertain when new ones, with new pricing, had been printed. Most of the advertisements were repeats, but for this research it was only necessary to record a price when a new price list was advertised. These changes did not occur regularly, but collectively, Spreckley ran sixteen differently priced advertisements over a nine year period (fourteen of them between 1906-9), whilst Wildman and Arey, over eight years, changed prices fifteen times (nine of those in the four years before 1910). Overall, between 1901 and 1909, Spreckley listed 98 different

³⁵⁴ Quoted in Kelly, "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia," p.108. P.C. was the common abbreviation for 'postcard' at this time.

³⁵⁵ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," May 5, 1906, p.11.

³⁵⁶ At this stage, cards are listed under prices, so one can see what types of card cost a penny or cost sixpence. This format was new in the Auckland market, but not nationally. Dunedin stationer Braithwaite's had used a similar, fully priced, format in November 1905. Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Advertisements," November 1, 1905, p.38.

types of priced card, whilst Wildman and Arey, between 1903 and 1910 advertised 113.³⁵⁷ Some of these lines occur only once, and are of little help in drawing a broader picture of the craze, but certain types appear recurrently (see Appendix 9). Those that are of most use to this discussion are those which demonstrated longevity, and those which, when introduced, commanded high prices. These reflect both the new and enduring trends.

Only one theme spans the full duration of the advertisements, and that is the New Zealand view card. Local cards were ubiquitous, but the prices for the standard black and white Auckland and New Zealand views were consistently low. Wildman and Arey retained these at a penny throughout the period, however Spreckley's unit price for these cards (they were usually sold by the dozen) dropped to three farthings in early 1908. Other than in Spreckley's very early advertisements, the same pricing applied to cards of Maori themes, with Spreckley's price dropping in 1908 and W&A's remaining constant at a penny.

On the face of it, these prices seem reasonable. Frank Staff says that "the usual price of the picture postcard was a penny," going on to note that competition often meant companies were prepared to sell at even cheaper prices.³⁵⁸ It does not appear that anyone has queried this conclusion, because the majority of both collectors and academics studying postcards are interested in postcard views for which such pricing is substantially accurate. However the Auckland advertisements show that for the Edwardians, standard black and white view cards were regarded as cheap. Whilst black and white view cards remained popular, the addition of colour to a card meant that it could initially be sold for two-pence, showing that the emotional efficacy of colour carried a premium.³⁵⁹ This added value

³⁵⁷ These refer to markedly different types of card. Where adverts have different wording for cards that are clearly of the same type, these cards were recorded as a single category. Maori scenes were predominantly categorised as portraits of 'Chiefs' or 'Beauties', the more generic scenes of 'Maori life' and 'Comic Maori'. Prices in all of the above categories differentiated between black and white, colour, and real photographs, and here each variant has been counted as a separate entity.

³⁵⁸ Raphael Tuck at one point apparently sold their coloured 'Oilette' cards at five for a penny, Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.66.

³⁵⁹ On this, in a contemporary context, see Donald A. Norman, *Emotional Design: Why We Love (or Hate) Everyday Things* (New York: Basic, 2004), pp.9-10.

dwindled in mid-1907 when Spreckley discounted these to 1½d, subsequently dropping them to a penny in 1908. Even Wildman and Arey, who were generally more averse than Spreckley to dropping prices, did the same thing.

View cards were one of the two staples that provided the bedrock of the stationer's catalogue. The other was the comic card. These appeared on lists from 1905 onwards, priced at a penny for black-and-white cards, and tuppence for colour (although this, like coloured view cards, dropped to 1½d in mid-1907).³⁶⁰ On their own, however, it is debatable whether they could have sustained the craze. Printed view and comic cards were consistently cheap, and their profit margins cannot have been large. Both manufacturers and retailers, like the Tasmanian stationer quoted on page 296, had a strong vested interest in raising postcard prices, and 'real photos' helped to achieve this. They were sold at a minimum of three-pence, and if hand coloured and jewelled could achieve nine-pence. This made business sense. In 1907, the *Washington Post* commented of postcard retailing that "instead of being a fad of the hour, [postcards] have shown themselves worthy of serious consideration. The cards cost next to nothing, and are sold at up to 10 cents apiece."³⁶¹ And over and above the profits for manufacturers, retailers expected to apply a 100% mark-up.³⁶²

One conclusion stands out from an analysis of both Spreckley's and Wildman and Arey's pricing. From 1906 the average of the advertised prices rose dramatically [Figure 101 and Figure 102]. It will be recalled that in 1892, Tuck had noted that Christmas card buyers wanted sixpenny cards in preference to penny ones.³⁶³ There was thus a pre-existing sense of what 'better' cards were, and postcard customers were prepared to pay in order to

³⁶⁰ Although first appearing in the Auckland stationers' adverts in 1905, comic cards relating to drinking are mentioned as being used as Christmas cards at the end of 1903. *Free Lance* (Wellington, NZ), "Town Talk," December 12, 1903, p.22.

³⁶¹ *Washington Post* (WA), "Retail," February 24, 1907, p.55.

³⁶² Adelaide retailer G. & R. Wills & Co. quoted in *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, AU), "The Postcard Craze," October 26, 1906, p.8. They estimated that the Adelaide postcard trade involved twenty companies, mostly small, importing cards worth around £25,000. They imported £5000 worth themselves.

³⁶³ *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, UK), "The Christmas Card 'Craze' Increasing," November 3, 1892, [no page].

marry better quality with the latest craze. And since higher priced cards allowed for better margins, the retailers were more than happy to oblige. The continuation of the postcard craze beyond 1905 can therefore be seen as predicated on the thoroughly capitalist ability of new types of cards to drive higher prices.

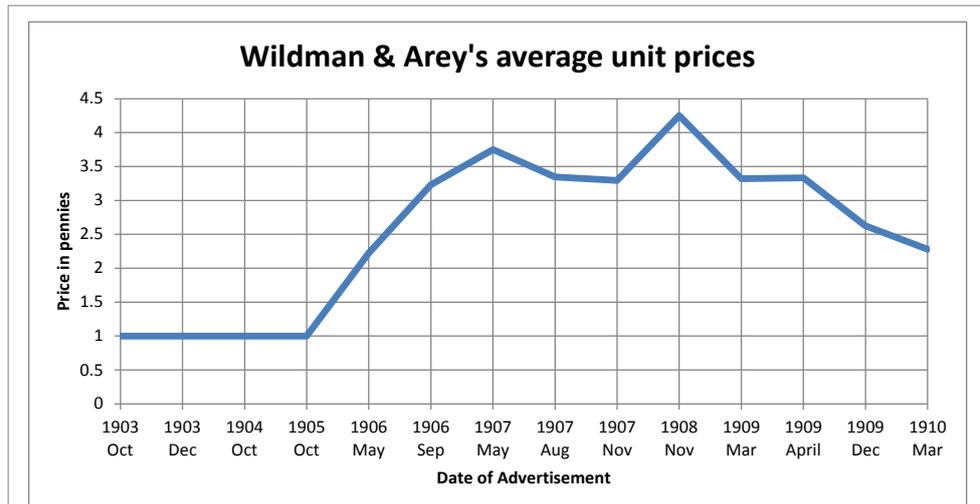


Figure 101: Chart showing the average price of the cards in W&A's advertisements. The chart does not show even units of time – representing instead each time a new advertisement occurred. The assumption here is that the average price is a measure of confidence in the market.

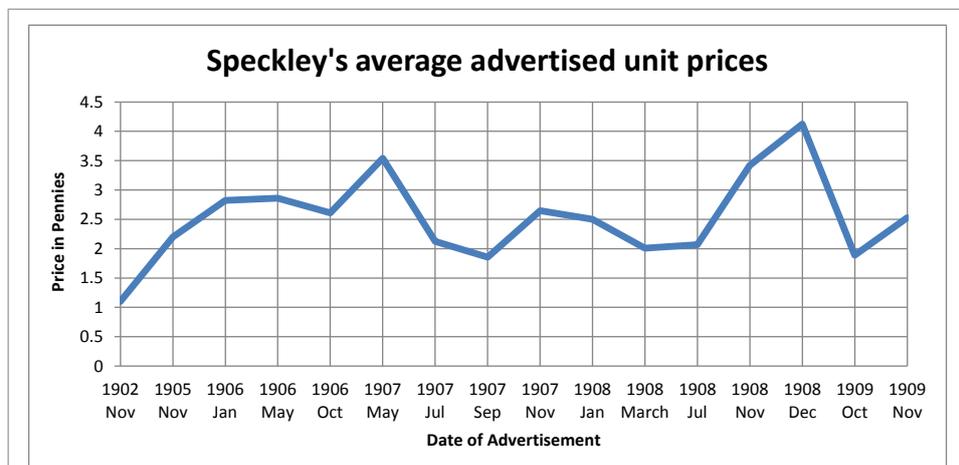


Figure 102: Chart showing price variations in the average postcard price at Spreckley's. It is noticeable that Spreckley's prices vary much more than W&A's, with changes reflecting more seasonal awareness, with prices generally higher around Christmas and lower mid-year.

While the early success of the postcard was driven by the printed view card, its next wave had focused around the real photograph and saw the rise of the real photo actress card, which was promoted more heavily than real photographic view cards. Wildman and Arey maintained high prices for

these actress cards from late 1905, but in mid-1907 they reduced the price for coloured, non-real-photo actresses from tuppence to 1½d. Spreckley, whose pricing seems to have been more pragmatically market driven, made the same change, but dropped all of his actress prices at the same time, along with the pictures of children and animals that seem to have been associated with the same fashion phase. In Britain, Carline saw the heyday of the actress card as 1904-6, but the conclusion from the advertisements is that these cards peaked in New Zealand between late 1905 and late 1907.³⁶⁴ This is borne out by newspaper articles.

The *Bush Advocate*, looking in 1906 at the development of the postcard, highlighted the problems of trying to “feed man’s insatiable desire for ‘some new thing’.”³⁶⁵ Having initially found suitable subject matter, like views and art reproductions, it noted that:

Having exhausted the elevating and intellectual fields, the publishers felt it their business to cater for another section of the public, and to appease the still unsatisfied desire for change, they produced a series of cards portraying [sic] actors and actresses in various stages of dress and undress. To make these more attractive they were decorated with gaudy tinsel.³⁶⁶

The article then went on to note that there had been a tendency towards extremely immoral cards, and the 1905 Post Office annual report similarly drew attention to their importation.³⁶⁷ The cards in question were probably not the strongly pornographic variety, which would never be offered over the counter, but rather cards that, in removing elements like nipples and pubic hair were allowed to pass in other countries [e.g. Figure 104].³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.42. This is an example of the time lag in fashions between Britain and New Zealand.

³⁶⁵ *Bush Advocate* (Dannevirke, NZ), “Post Cards,” May 7, 1906, p.4.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid* p.4.

³⁶⁷ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.15. The 1905 report was delivered in June 1906.

³⁶⁸ Sigel, “Filth in the Wrong People’s Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914,” p.861. Sigel’s otherwise thorough account treats all such images from 1880 as postcards, not distinguishing between the photograph and picture postcard traditions. It is worth noting that women mimicking classical statues by wearing skintight body suits – a staple of the theatrical *tableau vivant* since the 1840s – had been, according to Edith Hall, one vehicle that allowed the working classes to develop familiarity with the classics. [Edith Hall, “Classical Mythology in the Victorian Popular Theatre,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5, no. 3 (1999): p.365.] However, if this could be argued as a positive, Lynda Klich argues that the various

These cards became the subject of much bourgeois outrage in the New Zealand and Australian press during 1906, as authorities tried to draw the line as to what was art and what was objectionable [Figures 103 and 104], resulting in several prosecutions of retailers.³⁶⁹ Such moral scruples, however, did not materially affect the postcard's popularity with the *Press* saying that "the Actress post-card holds the record for the largest sales."³⁷⁰



Figure 103: Rotary Photo, ca.1906, postcard of Lord Leighton's *Bath of Psyche*.

It was much debated in the press as to whether this reproduced painting was indecent when shown as a postcard rather than in a gallery. The court decided it was art, but should not be displayed in windows where children could see it.

Author's collection

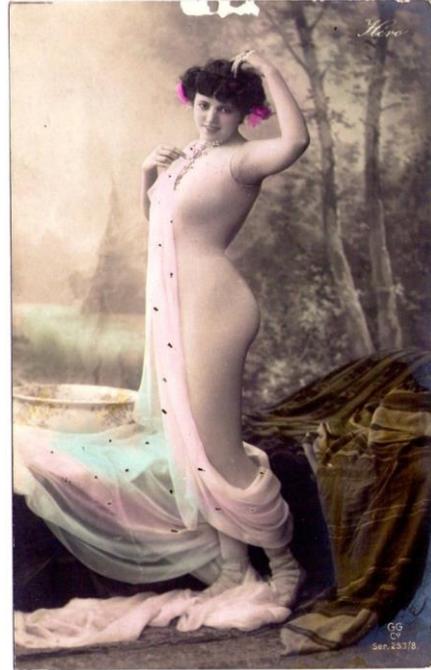


Figure 104: French Actress Postcard.

This photographic card's references to the classical are intended to make it artistic, however the body suit, typical of burlesque shows, marks this as the type of card that could have been considered objectionable in 1906. Damage to the top of the card suggests that it was initially taped, pin-up style, to a wall, rather than immediately going into an album.

Author's collection

treatments of women in these postcards, both pornographic and fashionable, tend to reinscribe traditional bourgeois attitudes to gender in the face of the New Woman. Klich, "Little Women: The Female Nude in the Golden Age of Picture Postcards," pp.446-7.
³⁶⁹ This is a significant discourse, revealing a good deal about Edwardian values and attitudes to art. For an overview of the battles around postcard decency, see: Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, p.88. I am largely omitting it here because, whilst these obscene cards may have generated much heat, they were not a dominant element in the popular craze. For an example of the equivalent discussion in Australia, see: The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), "The Postcard Craze," August 25, 1906, p.6.

³⁷⁰ Press (Christchurch, NZ), "Topics of the Day," September 8, 1906, p.8.

One possible explanation for the change of focus is that it related to demographics. Early on in the craze, it was women that were the primary collectors, and who had a decided preference for view cards.³⁷¹ By the second phase, with actresses and comic cards on offer, many more men had become interested.³⁷² As the *Wairarapa Daily Times* put it, “this craze is not only prevalent amongst the gentle sex, but gentlemen have been seized with



Figure 105: Rotary Photo, ca.1905, postcard of Mabel Love. This card was sent in early 1906. It is not coloured but is in relief.
Author's collection

it.”³⁷³ Lionel Miles (son of the Alice Miles who as a girl had painted flowers around her friend’s photographs in the 1870s – see page 141) had a “picture gallery” of such cards, which were taken down before his Mother visited.³⁷⁴

Nevertheless, many women collected actress postcards,³⁷⁵ such as “Lady Lilius,” who wrote regularly to the *Otago Witness*’s children’s page.³⁷⁶ Jerome K. Jerome ascribed the female collecting of such cards to a paucity of postcards of actors,³⁷⁷ but my own collection suggests that young women were comfortable sending these photos, sometimes using them to experiment with their own identities.³⁷⁸ “Do you think this is a good photograph of my noble self,” asked Elsie playfully of her cousin Miss

Hill in 1906, beneath a photograph of Mabel Love [Figure 105]. This supports Veronica Kelly’s point that actress cards referenced the “desirable beauty” of the actresses, rather than having any direct relationship with their actual theatrical work.³⁷⁹

³⁷¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.41.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p.42.

³⁷³ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, (Masterton, NZ), “Carterton Notes,” January 7, 1907, p.3.

³⁷⁴ Miles, *Every Girl's Duty: The Diary of a Victorian Debutante*, p.174.

³⁷⁵ Rebecca DeRoo argues that women were also collectors of more edgy material such as harem scenes, allowing them a rare opportunity to view the sexuality of other women. DeRoo, “Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales,” p.154.

³⁷⁶ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Letters from the Little Folk,” October 30, 1907, p.83. This correspondent’s name was actually Lillian Holden.

³⁷⁷ Jerome K. Jerome in the *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “The Story-Teller,” July 15, 1905, p.10.

³⁷⁸ One can compare this to the way that young people enjoyed inventing pseudonyms when writing to newspapers like the *Otago Witness*.

³⁷⁹ Kelly, “Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia,” p.111.

A Second Revitalisation: From Actresses to Greetings

Until 1907, the postcard industry would have been able to rely on both market dynamics and Postcard Collectors' magazines for consumer feedback to its offerings. After 1907, the latter channel disappeared,³⁸⁰ leaving manufacturers to rely on the market alone. Beagles, for example, between 1906-7, tried to expand their range away from celebrities by importing and marketing genre scenes from Holland, Belgium, Germany and the United States, as well as experimenting with images of the ever popular children, animals (with one series by the popular Louis Wain),³⁸¹ and large letter cards.³⁸² They produced views of Australia for their Australian agency, and published both comic cards, and a new line of greetings cards with 'everlasting perfume'.³⁸³ The scattergun quality of their designs during this period is suggestive of a company that has realised that the actress card would succumb to the same stylistic stationery vagaries that would see "the shape and fashion in notepaper change almost as often as those of boots or gloves."³⁸⁴

Beagles' activities point to a change in the dynamic of the craze, something alluded to by the British Postmaster General, who blamed sluggish growth during the 1906-7 on the fact that "the picture postcard is on the wane."³⁸⁵ He ascribed this to the growth in the telephone network, which could well have affected businesses' use of official postcards, but picture postcard

³⁸⁰ Richard Carline gives the date as 1906. Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.41. Monica Cure lists two that went into 1907. Cure, "Text with a View: Turn-of-the-Century Literature and the Invention of the Postcard," p.201.

³⁸¹ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.40. Wain's cards feature regularly in both Auckland stationer's adverts from 1907, usually costing 2d, but occasionally up to 3d.

³⁸² These conclusions are based on my having collected and dated over 1500 Beagles cards. On this, see Appendix 7.

³⁸³ Although this sounds like advertising hype, I have found one such card which remains scented a hundred years on.

³⁸⁴ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Notepaper," December 7, 1907, p.13. This experimentation by Beagles occurs immediately after the death of John Beagles which, according to genealogical researcher John Bland, occurred on January 8th 1907, with Beagles only able to leave a very modest estate. [John R. G. Bland, e-mail to the author, October 10, 2011.] Shortly after this, the company became limited liability. [Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.40.] These factors, along with the genre experimentation, suggest that new management felt that it was time to expand the range away from reliance on the theatrical genre which had clearly been John Beagles' passion, but had not made him a fortune.

³⁸⁵ The Irish Times (Dublin, IE), "Untitled," May 10, 1907, p.4.

sales were more likely to have been affected by a market saturated with view and actress cards, and consumers waiting for the next big thing.

Both of the trends that had dominated until 1907 – actress cards and view cards – were derived from the nineteenth century photographic traditions of

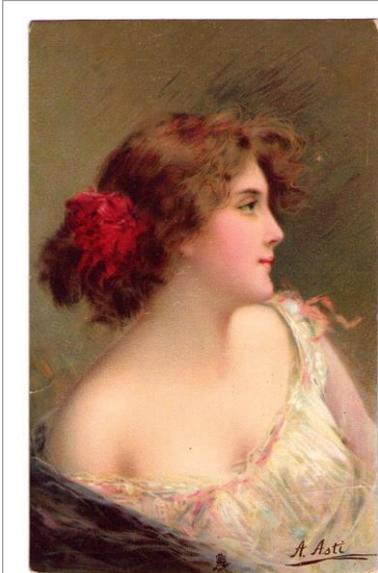


Figure 106: Raphael Tuck, ca.1906, Angelo Asti's *Irene*, issued as a postcard.

This is from a series that was introduced in England in late 1905. It first shows up in the Auckland stationers' advertising from mid-1907, when it was being sold for three-pence. The addition of colour to figures reminiscent of the actress genre helped to make these cards desirable at a point that photographic actress cards were losing their market share.

Author's collection

the tourist view and the celebrity portrait. Despite the dominance of photography in the early years, lithographic companies like Raphael Tuck had been active in initiating the postcard craze, and were able to grow the market in art reproductions and comic cards.³⁸⁶ The ease with which entrepreneurs like Wrench could enter the new industry,³⁸⁷ and the sheer number of new companies entering the postcard market (Rotary being one of the largest) inevitably diminished the large Art Publishers' market share. Tuck had adapted to the view card via their 'Rough Seas' series, and their 'Oilette' illustrated landscapes. They then added colour to the actress card through an extremely popular synthesis of art reproduction and beauty via reproductions of Italian painter Angelo Asti's ideal women [Figure 106].³⁸⁸ This series was introduced in England at the end of 1905,³⁸⁹ sporting gold fore-edges. However, while the initial phases of the craze were conducted primarily on the photographer's terms, these next iterations would shift the focus to territory more favourable to the

³⁸⁶ By 1907 Tuck's Christmas media package was informing papers that they had 50,000 distinct postcard designs – even though postcards were still not their main Christmas line. *The Register* (Adelaide, AU) "Christmas and New Year Souvenirs," October 26, 1907, p.12.

³⁸⁷ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.13.

³⁸⁸ In the Auckland stationers' advertisements, Asti, along with a painter of similar works called Marco, two illustrators of fashionable women, Philip Boileau, and Earl Christy, and the comic cat artist Louis Wain were the only artists whose names were used as selling points.

³⁸⁹ TuckDB dates the cards' introduction to December 1905. TuckDB Postcards. (2013). <http://tuckdb.org/> [accessed January 17, 2013].

lithographers. And it was a shift that was as much forced on lithographers as not, since by Christmas 1907 the Christmas card market was in decline – the one notable feature of the Christmas trade that year:

There appear to be no features of particular importance in the trade; the public is buying the same old things in general. In one respect only is there a marked change; the picture postcard has killed the Christmas card. A few years ago before the postcard craze swept over the Empire, created new problems in post-offices, and lifted Miss Zena Dare to the topmost pinnacle of fame, almost everybody bought Christmas cards, and the shops had to provide huge stocks. To-day the demand is comparatively small, while the market for the picture postcard grows.³⁹⁰

The *Evening Post* had already remarked on this shift more moderately in an earlier piece, where they also emphasised consumers' desire for quality cards:

The volume of trade in ordinary Christmas cards is diminishing slightly," said the head of one large wholesale firm, "but only for the benefit of Christmas picture postcards." Again, the people have a fondness for buying specimens of good quality. They would rather pay 6d or 9d than 1d or 2d to please a friend or relative.³⁹¹

By the following Christmas, the Art Printers and the photographic publishers were locking horns over which brand of card would dominate this lucrative Christmas trade. In November 1908, the *Evening Post* reviewed the cards for the overseas trade thus:

If the people's fortunes can be told by post-cards, the community is well enough. The masses still have funds for post-cards, especially the Christmas brand, but their fancy has developed along special lines which the manufacturers have to meet. The people now like their cards to serve a practical purpose.³⁹²

Whilst the actress, according to the article "has lost much of her post-card charm for the populace," animals and photographic names of geographical areas were still popular as Christmas cards. However the key change lay in the revival of Christmas card imagery that was the traditional territory of the lithographers:

³⁹⁰ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Damp, but Smiling. The Christchurch Shopkeeper," December 24, 1907, p.3.

³⁹¹ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "The Christmas Season," December 11, 1907, p.8.

³⁹² *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Christmas Cheer and Otherwise," November 30, 1908, p.8.

In the early days of the post-card craze, the old-fashioned Christmas-card (the angels, the violets, the gilt, the floral harps, the clasped hands, the glowing hearts) had a set-back, but it has re-established itself.³⁹³

This article represents just one person's reading of the trends, but much the same is visible in both Spreckley's and Wildman & Arey's advertising (see Appendix 9), where major changes in the market appear by July 1907. While Spreckley offered some new, highly priced lines, including Asti's cards and some greetings cards, other genres were put on 'special', presumably in an attempt to sell static stock. Prices of printed colour actress and view cards were cut by 50%, whilst real photos and coloured views of children were reduced by a halfpenny – a smaller reduction showing that these were in a less perilous situation than actresses and views.

Spreckley's pricing tended to reflect fluctuating seasonal demand, with prices lowest in the middle of the year, but the 1907 dip was larger than before [Figure 102]. The reversal was even more pronounced with Wildman & Arey, whose average advertised postcard price had risen progressively from a penny in October 1905 to almost four-pence in mid-1907 [Figure 101]. Although they did not offer specials like Spreckley, or drop prices on single items to the same extent,³⁹⁴ the slump is very clear in their overall average price. Indeed, W&A appear to have lost confidence in the postcard's expansion and created no new advertisements until Christmas 1908.³⁹⁵ This is strange, given that the postal rate for sending a card in NZ had been reduced to a halfpenny on December 16th 1907,³⁹⁶ supposedly "further fuelling use of pictorial cards."³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the *Evening Post* backed up the perception of decay, saying in September 1908 that "the postcard craze seems to be gradually dying down,"³⁹⁸ and adding in

³⁹³ Ibid p.8.

³⁹⁴ Unlike Spreckley, W&A maintained their actress prices well into 1909.

³⁹⁵ This does not mean that they did not advertise at all, but simply that they simply repeated their existing advertisement with no change in prices.

³⁹⁶ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.17.

³⁹⁷ *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards*, p.20. In fact Jackson's own figures, drawn from Post Office reports, only show a 2% additional increase on previous trends in postcard usage between 1907-8, suggesting that these postal pricing changes had only limited effects within the market. *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.23.

³⁹⁸ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Native Lands," September 16, 1908, p.8.

November that, “it is said that the post-card “craze” has been on the decline lately, but efforts are being made to keep the little squares of card-board popular.”³⁹⁹

POST CARDS.
WILDMAN AND AREY,
XMAS SERIES.

6 Coloured Enamelled N.Z. Scenery ...	3 0
6 Tinselled Xmas Greeting Postcards ...	3 0
6 Real Photo Xmas Greeting Postcards ...	1 6
3 N.Z. Fern Xmas Greeting Postcards ...	1 6
12 Children's Series Xmas Greeting Postcards ...	2 0
6 Children's Series Xmas Greeting Postcards ...	1 0
6 Real Photos, N.Z. Greetings ...	1 6
6 Real Photos, N.Z. Greetings, coloured ...	3 0
12 N.Z. Stamp Postcards ...	2 6
6 Coloured Photos, Hands Across the Sea ...	3 0
6 Floral Xmas Postcards ...	1 0
6 Raised Flowers, Do. ...	1 6
6 Hand-coloured Real Photo Floral Postcards, Xmas ...	3 0
6 Raised Floral Xmas Postcards ...	3 0

PACKED XMAS CARDS.
Direct from Tuck's London Depot,
The Children's, containing 20 pretty cards ... 6d
" Record, " 12 folding cards 1/-
" Exquisite, " 6 artistic cards 1/-
" Splendid, " 40 beautiful cards 1/-
" Excellent, " 20 choice " 1/6
" Special Value, " 20 high-class " 2/-
" Gem, " 12 superior " 2/-
" Extra Special " 20 of the best " 2/-
" Welcome, " 12 New Year cards only ... 1/-

POST CARDS—GENERAL SERIES.

12 Lovely Tinted Views Auckland ...	1 0
12 Lovely Tinted Views Rotorua ...	1 0
12 Lovely Tinted Views, N.Z. Scenery ...	1 6
6 Real photo hymns, with music ...	1 6
12 Real Photos, N. Island Scenery, glossy ...	2 6
12 Dana Gibsons Heads ...	1 6
12 Popular Songs ...	1 6
12 Louis Wain's Cats ...	1 6
12 Maori Men and Women ...	1 6
12 Scottish Tartans ...	1 6

All Cards sent Post Free.
THE TRADE SUPPLIED.
CORNER SHORTLAND STREET,
AUCKLAND.

Figure 107: Wildman and Arey advertisement, November 7, 1908. This advert from the *Observer* shows HATS as a defined genre, but one interpreted as having Christmas connotations. At three shillings for six cards, HATS cards are here four times the price of the Louis Wain cat cards that were also being advertised. In today's market the Wain cards would fetch twenty times the price of a HATS card.

Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand

These clearly worked. The prices for both company's cards rebounded to their highest peak for Christmas 1908. And their listings confirm the opinion of the *Evening Post* article, quoted above, that the “old fashioned Christmas card” had “re-established itself.”⁴⁰⁰ The new entries to Spreckley's list were Muir & Moodie's stamp cards at 2½d,⁴⁰¹ a range of floral greetings at 2d and 3d, NZ fern cards at 6d, and Hands across the Sea cards at 3d.

Wildman & Arey had offered the New Zealand fern and stamp cards at these prices in 1907, but added the floral and Hands across the Sea cards at 6d in 1908 [Figure 107].

The implications of this timing for the Hands across the Sea card itself will be examined in the next chapter. Here it is enough to note that HATS, and floral greetings cards were the major new trend of late 1908,⁴⁰² strong enough to suggest that this greetings postcard revival constitutes a third – and hitherto unacknowledged – fashion wave within the postcard craze.

The reason for this change is suggested in an article from Adelaide newspaper the *Advertiser*, which had

early on spotted the move towards using postcards for Christmas. It pointed

³⁹⁹ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” November 7, 1908, p.4.

⁴⁰⁰ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Christmas Cheer and Otherwise,” November 30, 1908, p.8.

⁴⁰¹ On these, see: John Watts, *Muir and Moodie Stamp Cards* (Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 2001).

⁴⁰² This was also the case in Australia where HATS cards were highlighted by Brisbane's McWhirter & Son: *Brisbane Courier* (Australia), “Advertisements,” December 17, 1908, p.1.

out that although Christmas cards might end up in children’s scrapbooks, they had not been seriously collected by adults. Postcards, however, were avidly collected, and sending a postcard for Christmas meant it would add to the recipient’s collection.⁴⁰³ Relating to Christmas 1905, this article is alluding to tourist-type cards being substituted for Christmas cards, but the point was reinforced by the *Adelaide Register* in 1909, arguing that Christmas cards were “too pretty to burn and too cumbersome to keep, they gradually find their way to the nursery,” whereas postcards were collectible, and had the sender’s name on the card, rather than – as apparently often occurred with Christmas cards – on the envelope.⁴⁰⁴ By moving the historically variably-sized Christmas cards into the standardised postcard format, Christmas card manufacturers could capitalise on the postcard

collecting ‘mania’. Sending view cards for Christmas would only continue whilst they were popular, and with photographic view cards and actresses losing their gloss, lithographers were able to fill the void by supplying a broad range of familiar Christmas and other greetings imagery in the more collectible format.

The evidence for a revival of the greetings postcard in 1908 is consistent, and not only in New Zealand. By 1908, British publisher Beagles had largely stopped experimenting with different genres, and were producing large numbers of Greetings cards, including Hands across the Sea ones. They even overprinted some increasingly unfashionable child, animal and actress cards with Christmas, Birthday and New Year greetings messages [Figure 108]. Whilst they retained their line of view cards, their



Figure 108: Beagles, ca.1907, actress postcard of Gabrielle Ray.

Beagles printed Christmas and New Year messages over a number of their actress, animal and child cards in the period around 1908. Earlier dated examples without overprinting attest to these being later additions to outdated cards.

Author’s collection

⁴⁰³ The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), “The Postcard Craze,” January 3, 1906, p.6.

⁴⁰⁴ The Register (Adelaide, AU), “Christmas Post-Cards,” December 7, 1909, p.9. This article describes the wide range of designs available under the Christmas banner.

experimentation narrowed drastically as they became confident of the next emerging trend: greetings cards.⁴⁰⁵ Other publishers similarly re-aligned their offerings to the new trend by printing HATS imagery over older rough seas cards [Figure 109].

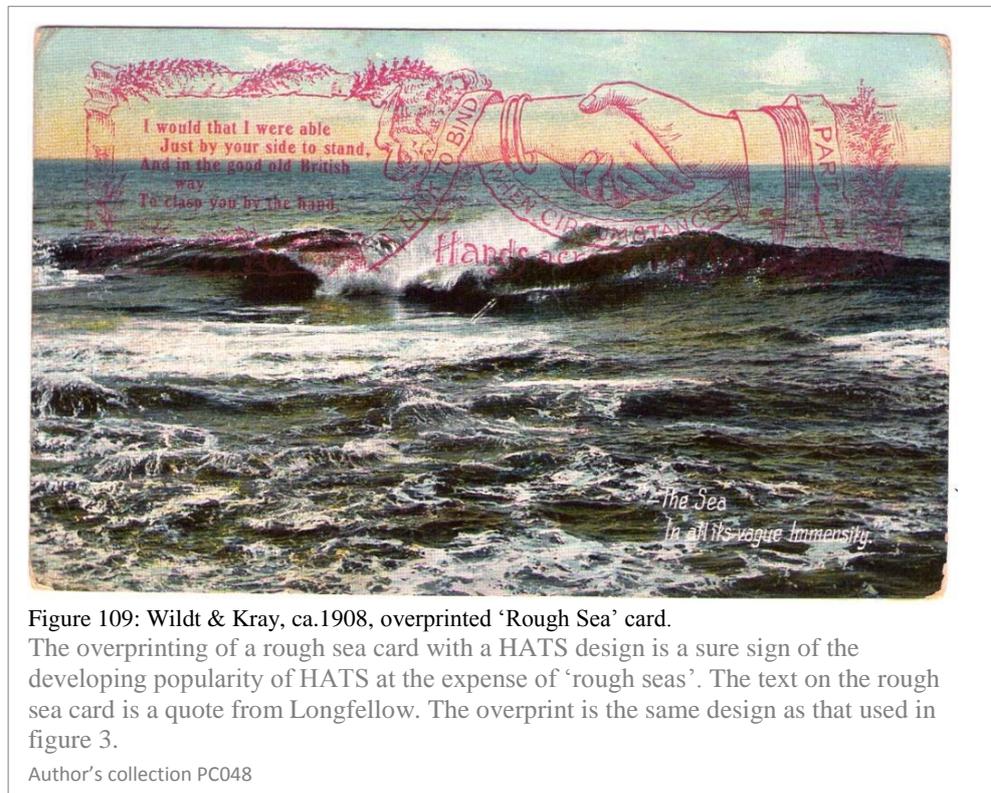


Figure 109: Wildt & Kray, ca.1908, overprinted 'Rough Sea' card. The overprinting of a rough sea card with a HATS design is a sure sign of the developing popularity of HATS at the expense of 'rough seas'. The text on the rough sea card is a quote from Longfellow. The overprint is the same design as that used in figure 3.
Author's collection PC048

Interpreting how this phase developed through 1909 and subsequent years is less straightforward. Given that 1909 was the year in which, according to Post Office statistics, the largest number of postcards were sent within New Zealand [Figure 111],⁴⁰⁶ one might expect considerable interest amongst stationers and the press. There were still interest-pieces published – mostly in the postcard-friendly *Evening Post* – about people falling in love via the postcard,⁴⁰⁷ or about Dr Truby King's concerns about the effect of comic cards satirising marriage on the desire of young men to enter the institution,⁴⁰⁸ but there was no repeat of the detailed reviewing of card trends that had occurred in previous years. Perhaps reports, starting in late

⁴⁰⁵ As mentioned above, these are conclusions derived from a study of over 1500 Beagles cards that I have collected and analysed. Appendix 7 documents the processes used in this study.

⁴⁰⁶ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.23.

⁴⁰⁷ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "A Post-Card Romance," September 4, 1909, p.12.

⁴⁰⁸ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Topics of the Day," October 15, 1909, p.6.

1908, of the postcard craze's decline in France and Germany created a sense that this was a phenomenon that had already peaked.⁴⁰⁹

The stationers' advertisements, too, become less reliable as a source because Spreckley did not run postcard advertisements for much of 1909, and then died in August. Although the shop placed advertisements in November and December of that year, the continuity of the advertisements as a series reflecting Spreckley's reading of the market was inevitably broken. His wife presumably took over the business, and later advertisements reprise view cards, although greetings cards also remained prominent. Wildman and Arey were aware of the need to advertise, but their advertisement in the *Observer* for much of 1909 was, in fact, one that they had used since August 1907, so it cannot be used to try and interpret trends. Nonetheless, they did create a new advert in December 1909 in which, once again, floral and Hands across the Sea cards were the featured highly-priced genres, suggesting either that they had retained popularity through the year or had spiked again for Christmas. A September advertisement from A. A. Pratt in Palmerston North is perhaps most indicative of the 1909 trends, announcing new cards "including new airship, new birthday, new animals, new tinsel, new Hands Across the Sea, new flowers, new views, new Palmerston cards, 2d each, real photos."⁴¹⁰ The prices are the attractive mid-year ones, not those one could command at Christmas, but despite the timing, at least half of these categories are greetings-related, and suggest that this is still the dominant new feature of the trade, supported by perennials like animals and views. And the capitalisation of 'Hands Across the Sea' clearly demarcates it as a significant and recognisable genre.

1910 would see Wildman & Arey cease advertising in the *Observer*, running only sporadic adverts in the *New Zealand Herald* – mostly in the

⁴⁰⁹ Wanganui Herald (NZ), "Wanganui Public Library," October 20, 1908, p.7; New York Times, "Postcard Craze is Dying," December 27, 1908, p.9. The latter reported that German exports to the United States were down to thousands instead of millions, presumably as a result of instability in the market created by the US postcard industry's intense lobbying for a tariff, which would arrive in 1909: the Payne-Aldrich Act. On this see Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.79-83.

⁴¹⁰ Manawatu Standard (Palmerston North, NZ), "Advertisements," September 25, 1909, p.1.

lead-up to Christmas.⁴¹¹ Without the competition from Spreckley, the necessity to advertise was perhaps diminished. Business remained strong, but their department was now reported as being “specially devoted to Christmas and New Year Cards, picture postcards, New Zealand view books, and fancy calendars.”⁴¹² Christmas cards were making a comeback, and reports from Britain also indicated that during the 1909/10 year, “the increase in postcards was very small – in Scotland there was a distinct falling off – and the figures suggest that the picture postcard craze has about reached its zenith.”⁴¹³

Postal Statistics and Envelopes

One might expect the Post Office statistics to give a clear indication of the overall trends but although the reported statistics look highly detailed, they need to be treated, at least in New Zealand, with caution. An *Otago Witness* journalist spent time with the Dunedin post office employees over Christmas 1907 and wrote a detailed account of the operations. Rather crucially he reported that:

In previous years an accurate record has been kept of the number of articles handled; this has not, however, been done in detail this year. Last year some 632,000 articles were handled in the Christmas period, and old hands at the Post Office estimate the increase varying, some going as high as 50%, others lower.⁴¹⁴

The postal ‘articles’ mentioned, as the article goes on to make clear, included postcards. As such, even if Dunedin was the only post office not to count the Christmas post accurately, the reported statistics for 1907 were already inaccurate. Given the extreme pressure that post offices came under at the height of the craze – particularly around Christmas – it is reasonable to assume that there was similar skimping elsewhere, and that the statistics reported were estimates and not strictly accurate. The same article notes that “post-cards are the bugbear to the entire staff. They are wretched things to

⁴¹¹ These advertisements include views, comics and greetings. *Hands across the Sea* is the only specific genre named. *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Advertisements,” November 24, 1910, p.3.

⁴¹² *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Wildman and Arey’s Display,” December 17, 1910, p.10.

⁴¹³ *Hawera & Normanby Star* (Hawera, NZ), “A Huge Post-Bag,” December 19, 1910, p.2.

⁴¹⁴ *Otago Witness* (Dunedin, NZ), “Christmas Correspondence,” January 1, 1908, p.27.

handle. And they are increasing daily.”⁴¹⁵ Such a dislike would not encourage lovingly detailed reporting. Alan Jackson was puzzled by the fact that, during the height of the postcard craze in New Zealand, the number of postcards sent per head of population did not rise above seven, whilst in Britain the level was three times as high.⁴¹⁶ Inaccurate reporting may account for some of this, but another factor also comes into play: the use of envelopes.

Both Howard Woody and William Main point out that cards sent inside envelopes show up in the Post Office statistics as letters, and not as postcards – meaning the statistics only show postcards sent with stamp attached.⁴¹⁷ Strangely, in his study of American holiday cards, Daniel Gifford entirely misses this point, stating that “postcards were different from items like stationery or greeting cards that were mailed inside envelopes because postcards never left the public display.”⁴¹⁸ Barry Shank similarly treats postcards as open, and cites envelope usage as something encouraged by greetings card publishers in opposition to the postcard.⁴¹⁹ Whilst Shank has some evidence of this practice, the distinction is not so clear cut. Tom Phillips omitted American holiday postcards from his book precisely because they were either sent in envelopes or had “scant messages.”⁴²⁰ Postcards were, in fact, sent in envelopes, and the potential for this to muddy our understanding of the postal statistics was actually noted during the craze. The Hobart *Mercury*, in 1905, lamented that “many of the better specimens [of postcard] are injured in travel and by the post marks.”⁴²¹ In 1907 the Adelaide *Advertiser* was sufficiently alert to argue that, although the postal statistics were saying the craze was slackening, in

⁴¹⁵ Ibid p.27.

⁴¹⁶ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.9. Daunton shows that in Britain the rate rose from 10.2 postcards per head in 1900/1 to 20.1 in 1913-14. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.81.

⁴¹⁷ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.42; Main, *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell*, p.8.

⁴¹⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.167.

⁴¹⁹ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, pp.133-4.

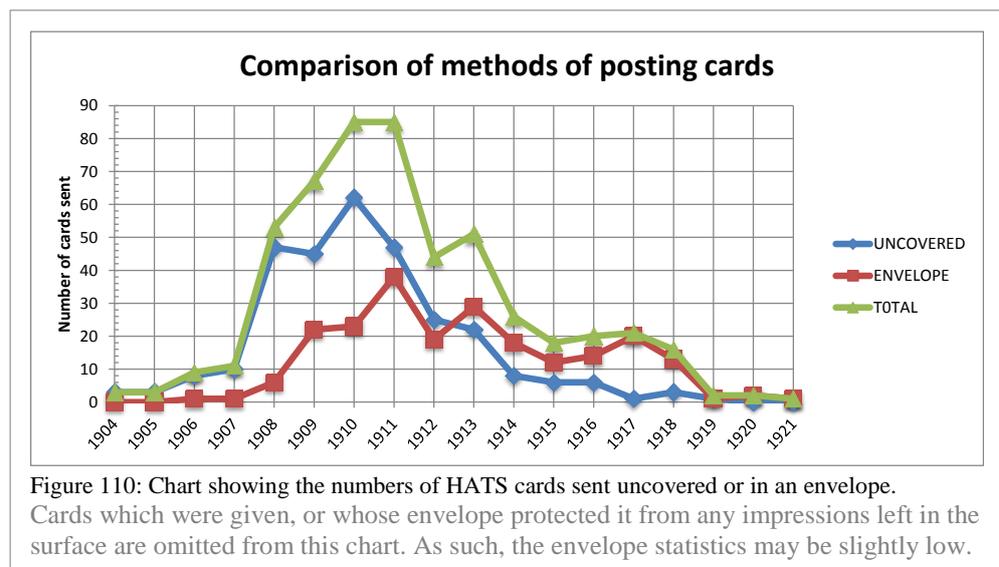
⁴²⁰ Phillips, *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages*, p.27.

⁴²¹ The Mercury (Hobart, AU) “Our Sydney Letter,” August 5, 1905, p.10.

fact it was “developing rather than dwindling,” and it ascribes the anomaly of dropping numbers in the official statistics to the fact that:

The missives are now being sent under cover of envelope, their chief value now being their beauty, which can be preserved only by the safety which an envelope affords. What has happened is that the taste of the public has undergone (or is undergoing) a change, and the cards are dispatched for their artistic merits, as well as a means of carrying messages.⁴²²

Figure 110 tracks the sending of both stamped and uncovered HATS postcards through the post.⁴²³ What the chart demonstrates is that during the initial stages of the craze all HATS cards were sent uncovered, but envelope use started in 1908, accelerated in 1909, and by 1911 – another year of steep growth – almost as many cards were posted in envelopes as were sent uncovered. After 1913 more than half were in envelopes.



The gap increased during the war, and almost the entire postcard bulge during the First World War would have gone undetected in the Post Office records, because, being sent in envelopes, they would have been counted as letters. Bjarne Rogan speculated that “there is reason to believe that the

⁴²² The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), “Picture Post-Cards,” September 16, 1907, p.9.

⁴²³ Overall, 517 cards of the 601 in my study were posted, being either stamped, or not stamped but showing dents and impressions on the surface of the card caused by the automatic stamping and sorting machines (something one cannot ascertain from an online image). These could thus be confidently said to have been sent in an envelope. The remainder – not included in this chart – were either given by hand or had gone through the post without damage. This means that whilst the ‘uncovered’ statistics are certain, if anything, envelope usage on this chart is conservative and could have been higher.

number of cards bought but not mailed was not very much lower than the enormous numbers that were put in the mail.”⁴²⁴ My study confirms Rogan’s surmise, showing that amongst HATS cards at least, there are slightly more cards unposted than posted, with 49.42% cards posted uncovered, 36.61% posted in envelopes, and 13.97% either given by hand or in envelopes. And my study does not include cards which were bought to be put directly into the purchaser’s album. The fact that the phenomenon of envelope use is not symmetrical, predominantly affecting the latter end of the craze, casts additional doubt on the reliability of Post Office statistics as a measure of the craze.⁴²⁵

There were several reasons why such a change of practice might happen. It was not simply, as the *Adelaide Advertiser* had suggested, a way of protecting the card.⁴²⁶ Firstly, as argued on page 195, giving something in an envelope, like putting it in wrapping paper, heightens its gift quality.⁴²⁷ Indeed, the envelope ensures that the receiver is the first person to see the card, meaning that gift culture, and not just privacy,⁴²⁸ needs to be considered when thinking about envelope use. For an expensive card to be understood as a gift, it needed a more ritualistic treatment than a postage stamp could provide.

The rise in envelope usage, however, may not relate to a single factor, and privacy does provide another possible explanation. After 1906, for example, there was an increase in questionable cards (see page 306), and thus some cards may have been sent under cover because of objectionable subject matter such as pornography or (in America) lynching.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.4.

⁴²⁵ I argued earlier (page 317) that Post Office record keeping after 1906 may have been inaccurate.

⁴²⁶ The *Advertiser* (Adelaide, AU), "Picture Post-Cards," September 16, 1907, p.9.

⁴²⁷ Agnew, "The Give-and-Take of Consumer Culture," p.29.

⁴²⁸ For example, Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.30. Daniel Gifford also frames the difference between letter and postcard as one of private versus public. Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.167.

⁴²⁹ Kim, "A Law of Unintended Consequences: United States Postal Censorship of Lynching Photographs," p.184. And what was then seen as risqué might be, to our eyes, very innocent. For example, on one large-letter card, which depicted the word 'Mizpah'

More crucial, however, was the role of the Post Office itself. The addition of glitter to actress postcards around 1904 (see page 299) coincided with an outbreak of “tinsellitis” which affected “dress, millinery, notepaper, and picture postcards.”⁴³⁰ By 1907, the New Zealand Post Office had become heartily sick of glitter, issuing an edict stating it was a health hazard to sorters, and that any cards with glitter had to be sent under cover, at letter rate.⁴³¹ Post Offices elsewhere banned uncovered glitter-cards at different times,⁴³² but since the study of stationers’ advertising has shown that glitter cards were expensive, the ruling would have helped to encourage the idea that expensive cards should be sent in an envelope. Additionally, in 1909 the Post Office ruled that when it was overwhelmed (such as at Christmas) letters would be given priority.⁴³³ If senders wanted their Christmas postcards to arrive on time, sending them as letters was therefore a way of ensuring they were not held back. These were significant incentives, and it is thus best to conclude that a combination of both specific practical and broader cultural factors caused the increasing prevalence of envelope usage, but that it was more user-driven than writers like Shank allow.⁴³⁴ Once one factors in the increasing sending of cards under cover, it becomes clear that the postcard craze continued longer, and with more intensity, than the official figures indicate. The latter relied only on posted cards which (if the pattern detected amongst HATS cards was indeed general) would have had a bias towards the earlier stages of the craze.

filled with figures of actresses, the unnamed writer told Jim “I hope you like this card. You remember the one you had on your glass like it,” and went on to add “I did not wish to send this open because, you know, I thought it wasn’t nice.” Clearly it was acceptable to send a slightly salacious card for a friend to ogle in private, but not to be seen to! The card quoted is a Beagles 897M card, sent in 1906.

⁴³⁰ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ) “Woman’s Desire to Glitter,” June 15, 1907, p.2.

⁴³¹ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.17. This ban was not entirely effective. A third of the twelve heavily glittered cards like Figure 3 in the study passed unremarked through the post.

⁴³² Australia banned it in 1909. The Advertiser (Adelaide, NZ), “Fashions in Postcards,” December 17, 1909, p.6. It was banned in the United States before February 1908. Lewiston Evening Journal (ME), “A Thousand Picture Postal Cards Are Mailed in Lewiston Every Day,” February 7, 1908, p.9.

⁴³³ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.18.

⁴³⁴ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, pp.133-4.

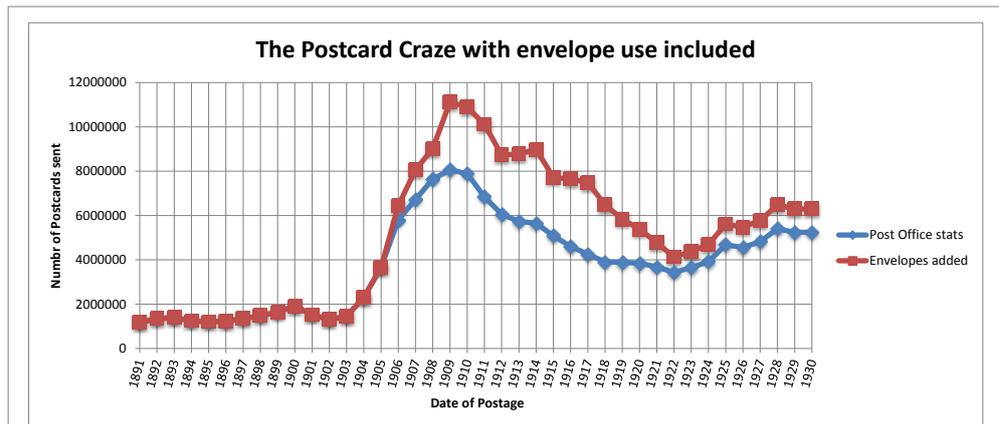


Figure 111: Chart showing New Zealand Post Office statistics with projected envelope use. The blue line of the Post Office statistics is not affected by envelopes until around 1906, but, if the overall craze behaved similarly to the HATS craze, then its period of substantial popularity is extended. Figures for envelopes after 1920 are set at an arbitrary 20%, as HATS cards do not help during this period.

Figure 111, which overlays HATS envelope usage onto the Post Office’s reported statistics,⁴³⁵ shows that there can be no dispute that the craze peaked in 1909-10 in New Zealand, but that rather than dropping below 1906 levels by 1913, the craze could have continued at that 1906 level well into the war.⁴³⁶

The Postcard’s Decline

All things considered, the exact point when the postcard lost its fashionable frisson is unclear, but the statistics point to 1910, and this is supported by an article in the *New Zealand Herald*:

The great post-card craze, which rose to a dizzying height some years back, has gradually fallen to very much of a side-line with the big shops. In Auckland during the past year there has been a very perceptible slackening off in the demand. A leading bookseller, who still stocks fairly large quantities of postcards, informed a Herald reporter that only in a few instances did the trade warrant big window displays. The public taste had been caught by some other novelty.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*. p.23. This data is only indicative. A similar study using a representative cross-section of all genres is needed in order to ensure that the HATS data is typical.

⁴³⁶ The chart figures are not adjusted to the NZ population, which rose 23.8% from around 908,726 in 1906 to 1,192,665 in 1920. Factoring this in, the 1906 level was reached in the 1915-17 period.

⁴³⁷ *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Postcard Predilections,” January 9, 1912, p.5. Written at the start of 1912, the “perceptible slackening” would thus date to the end of 1910. The article goes on to note that view cards remain popular for the overseas mail. By the end of the year Wildman and Arey were making a “pretty [window] display” of

The bookseller quoted here was probably Mr. Arey, whose Christmas card adverts for 1910 reverted to highlighting the non-postcard versions,⁴³⁸ and the article shows that although the quantities of cards available were still substantial, perceptions had changed and there was a sense that the postcard was no longer the primary craze – something that applies internationally as well as nationally. Postcard historians have tended to remain coy as to the causes of the postcard’s decline during the second decade of the twentieth century. Richard Carline and Frank Staff avoided offering any explanation whatsoever. Anthony Byatt noted a dropping off just prior to the First World War, which was partially reversed during it, but similarly offers no explanation.⁴³⁹ Tonie and Valmai Holt remained ambivalent. In one book they argued that the first world war was the postcard’s “zenith.”⁴⁴⁰ In another they identified 1910 as the peak of the craze, but argued that “the picture card was now a product for the masses, and standards began to decline as quantity displaced quality,” particularly blaming “imported cards” for this drop.⁴⁴¹ Quite apart from the ‘high art’ assumptions embedded here, this explanation, as I will show on page 384, runs counter to the evidence of the cards, which shows some of the most highly sophisticated work was being done in Germany just prior to the war [e.g. Figure 163 and Figure 184]. The Holts do, however, pick up on the factor that would be the final nail in the postcard’s coffin: the 1918 raising of the price of posting a postcard to one penny.⁴⁴² Another contributing factor was isolated by Steven Dotterer and Galen Cranz who pointed to the effects of the Kodak camera.⁴⁴³ Their argument assumes postcards and view cards are synonymous, but if one looks at album practice, it is clear from the way that the photograph album ousted the postcard album for pride of place by the 1920s that the photograph was implicated in the postcard’s demise.

Christmas cards rather than postcards. New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “Wildman and Arey” December 17, 1912, p.9.

⁴³⁸ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “Advertisements,” November 22, 1910, p.8.

⁴³⁹ Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.20.

⁴⁴⁰ Tonie Holt and Valmai Holt, *Till the Boys Come Home: The Picture Postcard of the First World War* (London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1977), p.9.

⁴⁴¹ *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.41.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Dotterer and Cranz, "The Picture Postcard: Its Development and Role in American Urbanization," p.47.

More recently, scholars have provided further explanations. Although William Main repeats the Holt's arguments around mass-production, he notes both the increased use of the telephone after the war, and the loss of trade with Germany – since the war cut off many manufacturers from their printers.⁴⁴⁴ Both of these relate to the postcard's ultimate decline, but they do not explain the pre-war slackening. Howard Woody highlights a reduction of quality after 1912, but points to other possible factors too, such as a glutted market, a reduction in new subject matter, fewer postcard clubs, publishers focusing on other product lines, and the extent to which magazines had taken over the role of distributing images.⁴⁴⁵ Again, all are feasible, but relate primarily to the United States.⁴⁴⁶ Daniel Gifford develops another credible argument (backed up with evidence from stationers), based on the premise that in the United States there was a drop in postcard quality when German cards were effectively removed from the market by the 1908 Payne-Aldrich tariff.⁴⁴⁷ American manufacturers, he says, struggled to achieve similar quality to the Germans, particularly with embossing, and this resulted in a dropping off of sales.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the patriotic unwillingness of later U.S. writers to acknowledge the superiority of European imports over American cards is, Gifford believes, the reason subsequent explanations for the decline have been inadequate.⁴⁴⁹ He thus disagrees with Fred Bassett, who had argued that the problems stemmed from retailers having stockpiled German cards prior to the tariff, thereby causing a glut,⁴⁵⁰ and with Barry Shank, who quoted contemporary

⁴⁴⁴ Main and Jackson, *"Wish You Were Here": The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, p.8.

⁴⁴⁵ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.43. He also argues that paper shortages resulted in postcard production being halted, however, if correct, this only applies to the United States. I have found no evidence to suggest that this occurred in Britain.

⁴⁴⁶ The ones that seem most applicable to the New Zealand market are the issues of glut, and magazines. Journals like *The New Zealand Farmer* increasingly carried sections of postcard-like images. This area will, however, be picked up in a later study.

⁴⁴⁷ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.84-6.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.91. He lists the genealogy of this view, from a single 1950s memoir, on p.71.

⁴⁵⁰ Fred Bassett, "Wish You Were Here!: The Story of the Golden Age of Picture Postcards." *New York State Libraries*, (2010) <http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/msscfa/qc16510ess.htm> [accessed March 28, 2012].

stationers as saying that too many U.S. manufacturers had entered the business in search of easy profits, and created an over-supply resulting in low prices and undercutting.⁴⁵¹ For Gifford, it was not retailers who were responsible for the end of the postcard craze. Rather, it was a case of consumers rejecting an inferior product made in the United States.⁴⁵²

These factors may apply in the United States, but in the British Empire the quality German cards denied to the Americans were still available at competitive prices. One must therefore seek other reasons for this initial drop in the craze, and although Woody's point about a glut causing a diminishing of variety has merit, ultimately the *New Zealand Herald's* argument that "the public taste had been caught by some other novelty" seems credible.⁴⁵³ Fashions change, and it is not necessary to assume that the reason behind the drop was internal to the postcard market itself. The reason could just as well relate to some other social factor.

By 1910 the demographic using the postcard was broad, but arguably most prevalent across the spectrum of those earning thirty shilling a week or below – a group with limited funds. It is also significant that the bookseller did not specify which new novelty had replaced the postcard,⁴⁵⁴ suggesting that the replacement might not be found in a bookshop. Although the camera is one option, Sandra Ferguson suggests moving pictures as a phenomenon that changed the focus of users away from the postcard.⁴⁵⁵ It is significant that the "moving picture craze" had hit New Zealand by 1909,⁴⁵⁶ with New Zealand's first purpose-built permanent cinema opening in 1910.⁴⁵⁷ Judging by advertisements, this new craze expanded hugely during

⁴⁵¹ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, pp.131-2.

⁴⁵² Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.94.

⁴⁵³ Grey River Argus (Greymouth, NZ), "Slump in Postcards," January 13, 1912, p.6.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, p.6.

⁴⁵⁵ This is an uncited, one sentence suggestion on Ferguson's part. Ferguson, "'A Murmur of Small Voices': On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research," p.172.

⁴⁵⁶ Marlborough Express (Blenheim, NZ), "The Fullers, the Successful Showmen." July 13, 1909, p.7. Bioscope showings had appeared in New Zealand in 1898, however these lacked the storytelling of the later cinema. Auckland Star, (NZ), "Bioscope Entertainment," December 22, 1898, p.2.

⁴⁵⁷ Barry Hancox, "Postcards, Moving Pictures & the New Zealand International Exhibition of 1906-7," *Postcard Pillar*, no. 79 (2007): p.8. Hancox notes that the first purpose-built

1911. By this time 1.5 million mainly working class people attended the movies weekly in the United States.⁴⁵⁸ If this trend was mirrored in New Zealand, then it would certainly have accounted for a reduction of disposable spending on cards. Ben Singer argues that the early cinema also targeted the female audience,⁴⁵⁹ another demographic factor that would impact heavily on postcards. Hence, in the absence of clear documentary evidence, the cinema seems a likely social contributor to the postcard decline during 1911.

Within the card industry itself, there are only two potential competitors for the postcard, neither of which is particularly convincing. Cigarette cards had been around since the 1880s, but would not reach their full potential as a collectible until the 1920s.⁴⁶⁰ However, when the self-adhesive stamp was trumpeted as the latest craze in 1914, it was the postcard and cigarette card that were seen as most threatened by it,⁴⁶¹ suggesting that it was a substantial craze by that time. In the United States, 1912 saw the mass introduction of French-folded greetings cards, and Fred Basset argues that this resulted in postcard dumping to make way for the new style of card.⁴⁶² Regardless of whether this is true in the United States, I have found no evidence of such an abrupt change in New Zealand. Folded cards had been available, albeit not in dominant numbers, since at least the 1890s [Figure 73], so they would not have been any particular novelty. Their introduction thus seems to be part of a more gradual swing towards greetings cards that had started within the postcard itself in 1908, and resulted in a gradual reassertion of the old order [e.g. Figure 112].

temporary cinema was constructed by West's Modern Marvel Company at the New Zealand Exhibition at Christchurch in 1906.

⁴⁵⁸ Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*, p.162. By 1920, working class families would attend the movies on average once a week. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, p.53.

⁴⁵⁹ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.5.

⁴⁶⁰ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.96.

⁴⁶¹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Newest Collecting Craze," May 9, 1914, p.12.

⁴⁶² Fred Bassett, "Wish You Were Here!: The Story of the Golden Age of Picture Postcards." *New York State Libraries*, (2010)
<http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/msscfa/qc16510ess.htm>

By 1914, a report on Wildman and Arey's Christmas offerings barely referred to postcards at all, putting all the emphasis on Christmas cards.⁴⁶³ Nevertheless, Raphael Tuck was still claiming that "of the making of Christmas postcards there is no end," though the focus of their 1914 offerings was also on Christmas cards proper, boasting 5000 new designs, as well as 500 for personalised "Christmas Auto-Stationery."⁴⁶⁴ It was these items that led an article that demonstrated that Tuck had regained the Christmas market and were secure enough to be able to re-position themselves in relation to Christmas cards or postcards as fashion dictated. Tuck had indicated in late 1910 that they believed that the postcard "boom" was over but that there was still money to be made in the manufacture of quality postcards.⁴⁶⁵ Their loud complaints at threats to cut the halfpenny rate on postcards in 1915 demonstrated that they believed they still had something to lose if the postcard trade was legislatively neutered.⁴⁶⁶

One has to keep the idea of a postcard decline in perspective. The numbers of postcards sent in 1914 were still at 1905-1906 levels,⁴⁶⁷ and enough for the postcard craze to be blamed, along with competition from "illustrated papers," for the 1914 failure of Christchurch photographer E.R. Wheeler's

⁴⁶³ Postcards are mentioned right at the end as one of the "smaller gifts." [New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Christmas in the Shops," December 21, 1914, p.4.] They reappear, very briefly in one 1915 advertisement. [New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," December 14, 1915, p.6.] Similar three line adverts continue between 1917-1920. A comment in 1917 that "the Christmas postcards ... are lovely, and yet the prices are very low" is indicative of the decline in the postcard's status. New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Christmas in the Shops," December 19, 1917, p.9.

⁴⁶⁴ The West Australian (Perth), "Raphael Tuck and Sons' Christmas Card Collection," November 18, 1914, p.5. Autograph Stationery was described as a "new department," at Wildman and Arey's in 1912, New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Wildman and Arey" December 17, 1912, p.9.

⁴⁶⁵ "As Mr. Adolph Tuck Sees It," Novelty News, September 1910, p.122, quoted in Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.89.

⁴⁶⁶ Ashburton Guardian (NZ), "War Budget," November 12, 1915, p.3.

⁴⁶⁷ 5,109,574 postcards were sent in 1906, whilst 5,646,784 were sent in 1914. Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.23. However Jackson's rates do not factor in population growth. New Zealand Yearbook figures show postcards per head rates of 3.38 in 1905, 5.71 in 1906 and 4.36 in 1914 thus indicating that the 1914 level sits between 1905-6 rates. Statistics New Zealand. "Digital Yearbook Collection." (1893-2010). http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx [accessed January 30, 2013].

business.⁴⁶⁸ This overlap between the postcard and greetings card was the subject of little comment in the press, and without the help of detailed stationer advertisements, unravelling its implications requires a different approach.



Figure 112: HATS Celluloid Christmas Card, ca.1911.
This anonymously published folding card was used in 1911. Although the use of celluloid in Christmas cards dates to the 1890s, such very three dimensional cards are typical of this period, and shows one of the ways that Christmas cards could differentiate themselves from postcards.
Author's collection

The Hands across the Sea postcard, which spans this period, provides a hitherto untraced thread which, in the next two chapters, helps tease out these issues. Before moving to that, however, it is necessary to recap the points from this chapter that relate to the HATS postcard craze.

⁴⁶⁸ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), "Advertisements," June 13, 1914, p.7. The point about 'illustrated papers' provides contextual support for Woody's contention that magazines were damaging to the postcard craze.

Summary

Underpinning the HATS postcard phenomenon were patterns of early twentieth century emigration that left many families separated by the seas. Economic instability had cast enough doubt on Britain's ability to sustain growth into the new century to motivate large numbers of Britons to seek a better life in the colonies, frequently measuring their success in consumer terms. In New Zealand, these immigrants were predominantly from those parts of the British social spectrum most given to card usage and susceptible to the sensational. The postal service, along with new technologies like the telegraph, encouraged a desire for immediacy and connection – if only virtual – and worked to mitigate emigrants' sense of distance. At the same time, in a spatially dispersed environment, the tourist trade in 'views' gave an almost emblematic role to images of places in Edwardian culture. These disembodied images helped sentimental connections to be forged across space.

Certain business patterns were also important. The business world was increasingly connected during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and more aware of its own mechanisms – which included the fashion-ramping craze format itself. Whilst mail order companies had demonstrated the importance of the visual, the idea that art automatically benefited business had come under scrutiny, with advertising agencies developing industry-specific expertise. Nevertheless, for many consumers – particularly those less well-off – the busy late-Victorian sensation graphics retained an appeal even as high culture sought refuge in style. And despite the importance of the period's rampant capitalism, the postcard's success was predicated on a network of international postal alliances forged by bureaucrats, and postcard history would remain intimately tied to government legislation throughout the postcard craze.

This type of contradiction is typical of the period. As Edwardian politicians teetered between the poles of free trade and tariffs, Edwardian culture juggled a deep sense of the accelerating pace of change, with a nationalism rooted in history. The old and the new seemed able to coalesce, something

that applies across many facets of culture, and shows up strongly in the postcard. Despite a significant pre-history, picture postcards represented an opportunity for companies to renew their offerings. However, just as the previous chapter demonstrated that postcard album practice was inherited from earlier iterations, this one showed that the principal genres of postcard drew squarely on tried-and-true elements of the existing market. Tourist views, actress portraits, images of children and animals and latterly greetings cards were all well-established market favourites before the postcard craze occurred. Nevertheless, the extent of this continuity has, I have argued, been downplayed in attempts to promote the cards' 'modernity', as has the role of the greetings card trade in establishing and promoting the craze. I questioned, in relation to this, why the most popular early picture postcard type, the German 'Gruss aus' (or 'greetings from') card has been treated solely as a tourist card, without reference to its greetings function.

The misunderstanding of the postcard has been furthered by a lack of appreciation of the dynamics of the postcard craze itself. This huge and amorphous event has hitherto been uncharted territory, but new digital sources provided two parallel sources for examining it. The advertisements of two Auckland stationers and parallel press coverage relating to the postcard enabled the dominant trends to be isolated. It turned out that the postcard craze began significantly later in New Zealand than in Britain, with an initial flurry in 1903, but only reaching epidemic levels in late 1905. Australia's 1905 agreement with Britain around the penny post probably encouraged British manufacturers to become more involved in an Australasian market that had hitherto been predominantly left to the locals. And whilst local views provided the staple for the craze, the variety provided by imports helped the postcard market to expand massively during the 1905-1907 period, driven by the introduction of real photographs, notably of popular actresses. This phase faltered in the middle of 1907, with prices of actress, comic, and view cards all dropping. The trade was able, however, to continue growing until around 1910 on the back of a renewal of interest in the greetings postcard, with HATS cards plainly playing a

prominent role. These cards were expensive, and users acknowledged this by increasingly subverting the postal function of the cards and sending them instead in envelopes – a practice that acknowledged the cards’ gift qualities, and would ultimately help revitalise the greetings card trade at the expense of postcards. The postcard craze subsided after 1910, probably as a result of competition from the cinema, but it still retained a significant presence until the price of postage was raised at the end of the First World War.

Chapter 4: The Hands Across the Sea

Postcard – The History

Given the almost constant use of the clasped hands symbol documented in chapter 1, one might expect that images of hands would play an important role in the postcard craze. But, despite handmade HATS cards having been sent by unionists as early as the 1890s (see page 89) the length of time it took for the format to spread demonstrates that the connection of phase and symbol was in no way automatic. It came as a result of an iterative process which had separately allowed these elements to become increasingly familiar through the nineteenth century, but which first merged fully some way into the postcard craze. The central theme to emerge from the preceding study is that the initial postcard craze was maintained by at least two later fashion changes, and that HATS belonged to the last of these. These re-inventions allowed postcard retailers and manufacturers to make and sell highly-priced cards on the back of a public that was prepared to pay for what were considered ‘good’ examples.

Today’s collectors also look for what they consider to be ‘good’ cards, and HATS cards do not figure at all. It is easy to assume that this situation also pertained during the Edwardian craze, but the data from both Spreckley and Wildman and Arey demonstrates otherwise. Between 1908 and 1909, New Zealand consumers wanting to send Hands across the Sea cards were willing to pay up to six times the price of a standard printed view card to do so. It is thus necessary to begin any consideration of the Edwardian Hands across the Sea phenomenon with a realisation that the evidence from the previous chapter shows that HATS was not an incidental and minor genre, but rather one important enough to attract a premium at the high point of the postcard craze, and that it helped sustain the craze for at least two years beyond the demise of the previous driving force, the actress card. This chapter therefore takes up the task of examining the HATS card more thoroughly.

The Study: Logistics and Demographics

Whilst mediating channels such as newspapers provide considerable historical material on the HATS craze, there is much information relating to production and consumption which remains opaque. The cards themselves provide additional evidence. Singly, cards can be frustratingly unspecific, so it is first when large numbers are analysed, that patterns emerge that go beyond what can be gleaned from newspapers. As a result, parts of the following sections draw on material gathered through a detailed study of 601 dated HATS cards, as well as a larger group of 2111 HATS cards, both dated and undated, collected between June 2006 and June 2012. This sample represents almost every card that came on the market in New Zealand during that time.¹ However, such a statistical study inevitably involves quantitative research, and this needs some justification.

As mentioned on page 37, amongst sociologists and social historians, quantitative research fell out of fashion when it became apparent that social categories – such as class, occupation etc. – were not fixed but fluid, and thus studies which attempted to statistically map such categories over time were inherently flawed.² In choosing a quantitative approach to study holiday postcards, Daniel Gifford argued that the brief period of time involved in the postcard craze meant that this criticism of the quantitative approach need not apply in this case.³ He therefore felt justified in using a quantitative approach for very similar subject matter to that studied here, seeing it as analogous to the less contentious academic use of surveys and samples, both of which deal well with non-archival sources.⁴ Published after the current work was underway, Gifford's study did not influence the choice

¹ About seventy cards were missed, mainly due to their having imagery that pushed their prices beyond my means. First World War cards, particularly, have attracted some evidently wealthy collectors and thus, if there is a slant in the statistics caused by these missed cards, it is to underestimate the numbers of cards in the 1914-18 era. The potential for other slanting of the data, caused by what was initially selected by Edwardian collectors, and themes which may have been entirely mined by other collectors prior to 2006 must add a note of caution to any statistics gained through this study.

² Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, p.7.

³ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.44-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.30.

of method, but has provided a useful point of comparison for aspects of my research.

One notable similarity was that Gifford also opted to exclude institutional collections as atypical, arguing that a more representative sample could be found on auction sites.⁵ His study had a strongly demographic focus, allowing him to ultimately conclude from his work that “the 1907-1910 phenomenon was driven primarily by rural, white women of Anglo-Saxon or German backgrounds from the northern half of the country.”⁶ He was able to achieve this level of demographic certainty because his study concentrated on cards which had been posted, and had the names of both senders and receivers.⁷ He could then cross-reference these with census data.⁸ As he put it, “largely ignored by collector and scholar alike, the verso of the card is rich in demographic information.”⁹ However it is this focus that explains Gifford’s error, noted on page 318, of not recognising that postcards were also sent in envelopes, because the ones he studied were, by definition, not. Gifford also studied cards seen online without purchasing them, as he was able to find the postal information from the images provided on eBay, where sellers often photograph both sides of the card. His study of six different types of Holiday cards, including Christmas cards,¹⁰ also meant he had a huge selection of cards available for analysis.

The present study, however, had to respond to different factors. With fewer HATS cards – relative to the overall greetings genre – there were not 2000 dated cards readily available online. And, having opted for a more New Zealand focus,¹¹ my main resource was the New Zealand auction site

⁵ Ibid., p.26. My decision to exclude institutional collections came partially from similar reservations to Gifford’s, but was confirmed when the National Library of New Zealand put most of its ephemera collection into inaccessible storage between 2009-12, whilst renovations were being done. This lack of access, for the substantive part of the duration of the research, to one of New Zealand’s largest institutional collections of postcards meant that any institutionally oriented research would have been seriously hampered.

⁶ Ibid., pp.69-9.

⁷ Ibid., p.34.

⁸ Ibid., pp.44-5.

⁹ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.34.

¹¹ This was initially done to try and assemble a more demographically coherent sample than I would get on eBay, however this was somewhat counteracted by a couple of dealers who, it became apparent, were sourcing cards overseas for on-selling.

TradeMe, where dealers do not normally scan the verso of the card. This meant I had to purchase all the cards in order to access their information. Thus, to get a statistically viable sample size, I could not restrict the study to cards with stamps and addresses. The criterion for inclusion became simply that the card's date of use could be established, meaning that *both* cards sent through the post uncovered, *and* cards that were dated but sent in an envelope were included. The loss of detail resulting from this choice was less demographically detrimental than one might think, since penny-pinching New Zealand bureaucrats at some point discarded the census forms for the period, meaning that census data is not available in relation to New Zealand residents.¹² Gifford's method of cross-referencing with the census was thereby automatically precluded.

Nonetheless, if Gifford's study had differing logistics to mine, it confirmed the viability of the sample size used. My sample related to 601 cards that carried dates. Gifford undertook four separate studies using samples of 500 American holiday cards in each. The results of these were sufficiently consistent to confirm Neuendorf's ranges regarding sampling errors, which would, for example, see a study of 665 items achieve a +/-5% error rate, with a 99% level of confidence.¹³ This means that the current study can, with some confidence, interpret larger trends, but can only provide indicative rather than reliable data relating to the finer detail. The intention was always to use the data gained from this study to supplement the history rather than for the study to be driven by data. And because of this wider focus, involving production, consumption and mediation, the study also involved attempting to date the production of the cards – something that becomes feasible when the dates of posting of larger numbers of a publisher's offerings are cross-referenced. This has therefore allowed the design development of the craze to be reconstructed with some confidence, although the uncertainties around the time it took for a card to move

¹² Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, p.7.

¹³ Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), p.89.

through the stages of design, manufacture, distribution, retail and usage mean that any such dating achieves, at best, an accuracy of +/- six months.

The study itself was much fuller than can be reported in here. Some aspects will be published elsewhere, whilst for reasons of space I have moved two relatively discrete detailed sections, which nevertheless relate to other aspects of this study, into the appendices. Appendix 5 develops the themes of card publishing, confirming the tensions between lithography and photography, the problems of German printing, and showing how these played out in New Zealand. Appendix 4 examines the demographics of senders and receivers. Demographic data gathering was not the primary focus of this study, and the information garnered tended to support the existing literature on postcard users rather than adding anything startling to it. Appendix 4 concludes that HATS card exchange to and from New Zealand was a strongly Anglo phenomenon, with the English and Scots most involved. Contrary to the imagery (where female hands clasping male hands predominated, and female/female combinations were rare), women were the primary users. And although both genders sent HATS cards to one another, women were much more likely to send them to other women, whilst few men sent them to other men. Recipients were more often family members than not. Sisters and aunts were the most common correspondents, and such intra-familial card practices are a testament to the solidity of the Edwardian family unit. Friends also sent one another cards frequently, but the small number of couples identified points to a predominantly youthful and unmarried demographic, most typically in the later teens or early twenties. Unlike Britain, the typical users were not in service, but were likely to work. And whilst city-dwellers were more apt to send HATS cards than their rural counterparts, the most statistically precocious card senders resided in the smaller rural centres, where crazes could mature to epidemic levels quickly.

Consolidating the HATS Meme: 1898-1904

The previous chapter provided a bird's-eye view of the broader dynamics of the postcard craze, but the HATS postcard constitutes its own mini-craze. It

emerged as a popular postcard phenomenon in 1908, but before returning to its role at the height of the craze there is a gap to be accounted for between where chapter one left off its narrative about the developing awareness of HATS as a concept, and where the postcard retailers studied in chapter three decided it was worth advertising. The decade between 1898 and 1908 therefore needs to be addressed in order to understand why, amongst the many possible postcard themes that were floated in the early part of the craze, HATS proved so infectious.

Crazes like the postcard became epidemics through sustained person-to-person replication. The similarity to sickness, noted on page 243, has led to analogies with evolutionary biology, through both ‘social contagion theory’ and Richard Dawkins’ thoroughly infectious term, the meme.¹⁴ Memes have not been universally accepted. Some scholars regard the concept as a more ideologically loaded iteration of previous labels such as ‘trait’ and ‘motif’.¹⁵ Nevertheless, others argue that provided the analogy between culture and genes is kept loose,¹⁶ and the meme is treated purely as an “element of cultural transmission,”¹⁷ then it can become a useful tool. Limor Shifman, for example, used it to analyse contemporary popular culture – albeit with the proviso that one needs to factor in the role of human agents, rather than treating memes as conceptually discrete.¹⁸ Treated this way, memes become the “building blocks of complex cultures,”¹⁹ and the process of dissemination, and ultimate synthesis, of the HATS and the clasped hands ‘building blocks’ can therefore usefully (if not definitively) be framed in memetic terms.

John Paull proposes that memes have a “development zone,” during which they are not widely known but the ground work is developing, a “birth

¹⁴ Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.192.

¹⁵ Gregory Shremp, "Taking the Dawkins Challenge, or, The Dark Side of the Meme," *Journal of Folklore Research* 46, no. 1 (2009): p.98.

¹⁶ Joseph Henrich, Robert Boyd, and Peter J. Richerson, "Five Misunderstandings About Cultural Evolution," *Human Nature: An Interdisciplinary Biosocial Perspective* 19, no. 2 (2008): p.134.

¹⁷ John Paull, "Meme Maps: A Tool for Configuring Memes in Time and Space," *European Journal of Scientific Research* 31, no. 1 (2009): p.11.

¹⁸ Limor Shifman, "An Anatomy of a Youtube Meme," *New Media & Society* 14, no. 2 (2012): p.189.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

point” where one can say the meme is established, and a “gestation zone” where it matures.²⁰ Following this logic, one can probably regard the period up until 1885 as being the ‘development zone’ of the HATS meme. Until this point, the phrase had existed in multiple, competing formulations and, although these do not entirely cease after 1885, it was Byron Webber’s poem (see page 93) which seems to have decisively established the meme in the British popular consciousness. The years until the turn of the century can thus be seen as the ‘gestation zone’, as the meme’s increasing familiarity resulted in greater rates of transmission, across multiple competing discourses.

In 1898 Germany committed itself to becoming a naval power.²¹ As shown in chapter 1, this was also the year in which Anglo-American relationships

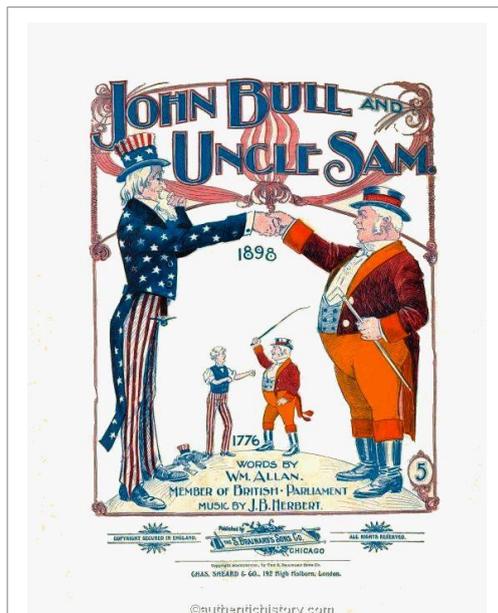


Figure 113: Sheet Music Cover, 1898, *John Bull and Uncle Sam*. With text by William Allen, and music by J. B. Herbert, this image utilises handclasping imagery, but without the ‘Hands Across’ text.

Image courtesy of the Authentic History Centre: www.authentichistory.com

thawed, amidst a flurry of HATS headlines and imagery [Figure 113].²² It was no accident that the White Star Line commissioned Linley Sambourne to design their 1898 Christmas calendar, showing “Europa and Columbia joining hands across the sea.”²³ Improved bi-lateral relations might be expected to increase trans-Atlantic traffic. 1898 also saw the Universal Penny Post introduced in Britain, with the backing of one of the architects of Anglo-Saxon unity, Joseph Chamberlain,²⁴ and one finds the emerging HATS meme called on to reference these issues. A Canadian Anglo-Saxon League private postcard, published by J. C. Wilson, selected the clasped hands symbol,

²⁰ Paull, "Meme Maps: A Tool for Configuring Memes in Time and Space," p.12.

²¹ James R. Reckner, *Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet* (Annapolis, MD: Bluejacket Books, Naval Institute Press, 1988), p.2.

²² In addition to the examples given earlier in this thesis (page 105) the phrase occurs in an illustration of American Officers, about to embark for Cuba, shown toasting and with caption given in the following reference: The Graphic (London, UK), “‘Hands Across the Sea’: The Anglo-Saxon Alliance.” June 18, 1898, [no page].

²³ The Times (London, UK), “The White Star Line Calendar,” December 10, 1898, p.15.

²⁴ Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, p.136-40.

along with other patriotic imagery, to promote Anglo-Saxon sentiment [Figure 114].²⁵ This card does not, however, use the phrase ‘hands across the sea’.



Figure 114: J. C. Wilson, 1898, “One Aim, One Goal” Anglo-Saxon League postcard.
Author’s collection

The reverse occurred the next year. A company called Beechings published an envelope, apparently designed with an eye to the market created by the newly implemented Universal Penny Post.²⁶ It depicted a two-funnelled steamboat, with a message below it saying, “A Greeting from the Old Country,” whilst above, a ribbon emerged from the steam saying “RMS.... Hands across the Sea.”²⁷ This envelope included a ship, globe, flags and ribbons – all elements of what would later become the classic HATS card – but it omitted the clasped hand emblem. Thus, whilst the emblem and phrase had already been integrated within trade union iconography (see page 88), that combination had not migrated from its initially defined social arena. The push towards its ultimate wider dissemination was instead provided by the political cartoon.

²⁵ On these cards, see: Patriotic Postcards. “The J. C. Wilson & Co. Limited Patriotic Postcards and Envelopes.” (Undated). http://www.jcwilson.ca/J.C._Wilson_Patriotics/Home.html [accessed February 5, 2013].

²⁶ Beechings was one of the first stationers to publish postcards, doing so by 1895. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.40-1. This design, aiming at the international market, however, was only issued as an envelope. It is reproduced in Staff, *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*, plate 17a, opposite p.129.

²⁷ RMS stands for ‘Royal Mail Ship’.

Luther D. Bradley's 1889 cartoon, "*Hands Across the Sea*" [Figure 31], had interpreted the subject literally by showing multiple stretching hands. To date, the earliest HATS-captioned political cartoon I have found depicting two figures clasping hands across the sea is one by George Yost Coffin, published in the *Washington Post* in 1893.²⁸ President Cleveland and British Prime Minister Gladstone stand on either side of the Atlantic, shaking hands with distinctly elongated arms.²⁹ The cartoon is less formal than traditional *concordia* images [e.g. Figure 23], with the figures shown in perspective and Cleveland closer than Gladstone. Nevertheless, the *concordia* derivation is clear. By 1898 this pattern was apparently familiar enough to be used more symbolically by Victor Gillam, who adapted it to predict that Uncle Sam and John Bull would be able to "boss the whole world" [Figure 115].



Figure 115: Victor Gillam, 1898, "Hands Across the Sea." This cartoon was published in Judge Magazine, on June 11th 1898. It was subtitled "John Bull: Shake, and we will boss the whole world."

Image courtesy of the Authentic History Centre:
www.authentichistory.com

The last fifteen years of the nineteenth century had seen a burgeoning print culture, with exponential increases in the numbers of both newspapers and magazines.³⁰ With well-developed transatlantic networks for both the circulation and consumption of such items,³¹ there is no reason to think that there was not an equally vital set of networks operating between America, Britain,

and its colonies. This increase in shared graphic culture must have allowed cartoonists to be aware of what other cartoonists across the English-

²⁸ This cartoon was published on September 3rd, and is reproduced in the Library of Congress Prints Division; digital ID, acd 2a07288.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/acd1996001868/PP/>

²⁹ They were congratulating one another over the success of, respectively, the Home Rule Bill and the Silver Repeal Act.

³⁰ Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, "Introduction," in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.1. Newspapers, during the Victorian and Edwardian periods were, as David Finkelstein puts it, "the spaces where local and regional identities were forged." David Finkelstein, "'Jack's as Good as His Master': Scots and Print Culture in New Zealand, 1860-1900," *Book History* 6 (2003): p.105.

³¹ Ardis and Collier, "Introduction," p.4.

speaking world were doing, and to use overseas material to source ideas. Amongst all these (mostly inaccessible) publications, there are probably more HATS cartoons to be found. At all events, by 1900, HATS was widespread enough as a visual meme for a New Zealand cartoon to broadly mimic the design of Coffin's 1893 cartoon in order to visualise the San Francisco mail's role in New Zealand's economic relations with the United States [Figure 116]. Although this visual schema was not so entrenched as to preclude other variations,³² its *Concordia* references help distance it from the trade union-based *fides* clasped hands emblem.



Figure 116: Cartoon from the *Free Lance*, 1900, “Hands Across the Sea – A Question of Fostering Trade.”

This cartoon, from August 11, p.7, accompanied an editorial article discussing concerns some people in Australasia had with the subsidy paid to the shipping line that ran the San Francisco mail service, and arguing that the benefits of trade outweighed the costs of the subsidy. The cartoon is unsigned.

Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand

Whatever concerns there may have been in New Zealand about the San Francisco mails and relationships with the United States, by 1901 new ships such as the *Sierra* were promising a mere 24 days for the London mails to arrive in Auckland,³³ thereby increasing the perception of the service's speed at precisely the time when the postcard craze in Britain was beginning.³⁴ Nevertheless, any advance in communications was just as useful

to other trading nations – such as the Germans – as it was to the British. On his return from an ‘Imperial Tour’ that included New Zealand, the Prince of Wales made this danger clear. In two speeches he firstly “bade the British

³² A 1901 cartoon entitled “Hands Across the Sea,” for example, shows the Prince and Princess of Wales crossing arms to link hands with allegorical figures representing Britannia and the colonies, and thus evoking New Year “Auld Lang Syne” handclasping. The cartoon relates to the Royal couple's visit to Australasia. Judy: The London Serio-Comical Journal (UK), “Hands Across the Sea,” November 6, 1901, p.223.

³³ Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “The San Francisco Mail Service,” January 9, 1901, p.21. This claim would prove an exaggeration. Although a correspondent to the *Auckland Star* also regarded San Francisco as being faster than the alternative routes via Suez (36 days) or Vancouver (39 day), he claimed ‘Frisco’ took 28 days. *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” August 10, 1903, p.2.

³⁴ The *Sierra* and sister ships did not live up to the promise and by 1907 the Frisco route was downgraded to one that had a 35 day journey for the London to New Zealand post. Gavin McLean, *The Southern Octopus: The Rise of a Shipping Empire* (Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 1990), pp.79-80.

Merchant ‘wake up’” before applauding “the strengthening of ‘the grip of hands across the sea’ through increased facilities of [telegraphic] inter-communication.”³⁵ The Prince clearly enjoyed the HATS phrase, using it repeatedly,³⁶ and he was later credited with, if not originating, then having given “increased currency to the fine phrase, ‘Hands across the sea’.”³⁷ By 1902, however, the phrase was already flourishing without the Prince’s help. Although Joseph Chamberlain seems to have been careful not to use it in relation to the colonies,³⁸ Chamberlain’s policies around tariffs brought a different set of relationships to the fore – ones that also suited the HATS metaphor.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, British Tories and Liberals had been united in following the *laissez-faire* economic doctrine of free trade.³⁹ By the turn of the century, as Thorstein Veblen pointed out from an American perspective, many business people were seeing the advantage in aggressive nationalism.⁴⁰ Faced with competition from an increasingly buoyant American and, more particularly, German business apparatus, Britain’s free-trade economy looked decidedly vulnerable. As tariff reformer John Beattie Crozier put it, “the ghost of a dead and superannuated political economy has forbidden the erection of defences against the wolves.”⁴¹ Ryan Vieira argues that this sense of threat invoked a narrative

³⁵ Auckland Star (NZ), “Topics of the Day,” April 19, 1902, p.1.

³⁶ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Reciprocity: Colonial Institute Banquet,” June 17, 1908, p.4.

³⁷ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “The King to His People: His Majesty’s Collected Speeches,” November 8, 1911, p.8.

³⁸ This is probably because he saw it as associated with Anglo-American relationship. He was heavily involved with American Ambassador Choate, who gave a very widely reported, and carefully vague speech, saying “Let England and America clasp hands across the sea, and the peace of the world is absolutely secure.” The Times (London, UK), “Mr Chamberlain’s Speech,” December 2, 1899, p.7.

³⁹ Ian McDonald, “Postcards and Politics,” *History Today* 44, no. 1 (1994): p.5. Bernard Attard argues that there was a general tolerance from British government and business for the more marked protectionism of many settler colonies. Bernard Attard, “From Free-Trade Imperialism to Structural Power: New Zealand and the Capital Market, 1856-68,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35, no. 4 (2007): p.521.

⁴⁰ Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, p.391.

⁴¹ John Crozier, “How to Ruin a Free Trade Nation,” *Fortnightly Review* 78 (July 1902), pp.34-35, quoted in Vieira, “Connecting the New Political History with the Recent Theories of Temporal Acceleration: Speed, Politics, and the Cultural Imagination of Fin de Siècle Britain,” p.382.

of British decline in the face of accelerating change,⁴² change that started to be viewed pessimistically.⁴³ In Darwinian terms, this meant adapt or perish. During the 1880s and 1890s, a new school of “fair trade” economic thought had developed, arguing that historical ties with certain countries and colonies gave Britain a greater moral responsibility for the colonial, than for the foreign marketplace.⁴⁴ Chamberlain became the political voice of this approach, arguing that the trade with the colonies must be promoted, “even at some present sacrifice.”⁴⁵ It was only through changes such as increased technical education and fair trade that Britain could be saved from inevitable decline.⁴⁶

What was being proposed was something not unlike the German method of promoting commercial links between states,⁴⁷ and at its heart lay reciprocal ‘preferential’ tariffs.⁴⁸ New Zealand implemented preferential tariffs in 1903,⁴⁹ boosting British hopes of arresting increasing ‘foreign’ incursions into colonial markets.⁵⁰ For New Zealand, which sent over 80% of its exports to Britain,⁵¹ there was a strong vested interest in preferential access to Britain: “Drawing closer the silken ties that bind us to the Motherland” was, for New Zealanders, a case of “patriotism and hard cash.”⁵² Indeed, when Chamberlain resigned his Colonial Secretary position in 1903 (the year that New Zealand instituted “Empire Day”),⁵³ his loss was deeply felt, and Prime Minister’s Seddon’s remonstrations in favour of Chamberlain

⁴² Ibid., p.382.

⁴³ Ibid., p.389.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c.1880-1932*, p.84.

⁴⁵ From a 1903 speech by Joseph Chamberlain on “Imperial Union and Tariff Reform.” Quoted in Thompson, *ibid.*, p.81.

⁴⁶ Vieira, “Connecting the New Political History with the Recent Theories of Temporal Acceleration: Speed, Politics, and the Cultural Imagination of Fin de Siècle Britain,” p.387.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c.1880-1932*, p.86.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.90.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.91.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.106.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.91.

⁵² Nelson Evening Mail (NZ), “Patriotism and Hard Cash,” February 19, 1902, p.2.

⁵³ E. P. Malone, “The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (1973): p.13.

and the preferential tariff were quoted in the New Zealand press under the heading “hands across the sea.”⁵⁴

It is unclear whether such tariffs had any marked effect on small-scale imports like postcards, which could generally expect to avoid paying duty

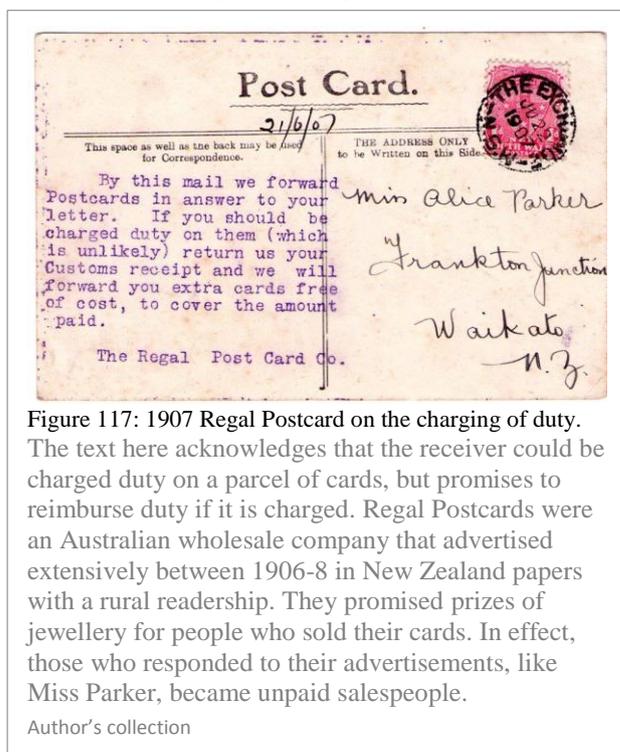


Figure 117: 1907 Regal Postcard on the charging of duty. The text here acknowledges that the receiver could be charged duty on a parcel of cards, but promises to reimburse duty if it is charged. Regal Postcards were an Australian wholesale company that advertised extensively between 1906-8 in New Zealand papers with a rural readership. They promised prizes of jewellery for people who sold their cards. In effect, those who responded to their advertisements, like Miss Parker, became unpaid salespeople.
Author's collection

by use of the postal system [Figure 117]. Nevertheless, as a rhetorical driver, preferential tariffs made Joseph Chamberlain a postcard favourite,⁵⁵ and created opportunities for ‘hands across the sea’ debate. Lord Hugh Cecil, for example, was quoted as saying that “he did not relish the metaphor of “Hands Across the Sea” because “hands” suggested “pockets,”⁵⁶ whilst the Unionist MP for Edinburgh displayed, at an election meeting, a large coloured lithograph with the motto, “Hands Across the

Seas. The Empire’s Trade for the Empire’s People.”⁵⁷

Despite such instances, it would be overstating the case to say that the tariff debate directly sparked the HATS postcard. There is little other evidence of its being used overtly to support the tariff cause, and other previously discussed factors, such as communications,⁵⁸ union iconography, the long-running Pettit melodrama,⁵⁹ and HATS associations with Christmas

⁵⁴ Wairarapa Daily Times (Masterton, NZ), “Hands across the Sea,” November 10, 1903, p.7.

⁵⁵ McDonald, “Postcards and Politics,” p.5.

⁵⁶ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Anglo-Colonial Notes,” December 27, 1904, p.6.

⁵⁷ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Election News: West Edinburgh Sir Lewis McIver Adopted as Unionist Candidate,” December 23, 1905, p.11. It continued: “The picture in the centre showed Britannia wrapped in the Union Jack clasping the hand of a colonial, while around were representative bales of British and colonial produce.”

⁵⁸ A picture of Marconi on the cover of Harper’s Weekly’s illustrated section carried the poem “Signor Marconi, A zephyr scarcely stirs the air but that, unconsciously, He looks for wireless telegrams from hands across the sea.” Harpers’s Weekly (New York), “Signor Marconi,” March 28, 1903, Illustrated Section: cover.

⁵⁹ The play “Hands Across the Sea” was still getting headline billing in Auckland in 1903. Auckland Star (NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” August 24, 1903, p.2.

handshaking all played their part.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the focus on colonial relationships engendered by this debate must have furthered familiarity with the meme, and informed the thinking behind a manufacturer entitling a 1905 box of Christmas cards, sold at Spreckley’s Auckland store, as “Hands across the Sea.”⁶¹

It is hardly surprising that one should find Hands across the Sea cards being sold at this stage as Christmas cards. As discussed on page 288, postal



Figure 118: Davidson Brothers, ca.1897, Christmas card. This example is typical of a number of 1890s decorative Christmas cards. Author’s collection

regulations still precluded postcards from being sent internationally at less than letter rates. Similarly, the early phases of the postcard in Britain had tended to move away from greetings cards, and towards views. There was also a prior tradition of sending cards with clasped hands on them for Christmas. One photographic example from the 1880s has already been noted on page 200,⁶² but it is probable that it

was inspired by even earlier printed cards [e.g. Figure 43]. Given that printers were creating scraps in the 1880s showing clasped hands (see appendix 2), it is hard to believe that larger cards were not created with that motif, even if dated examples have eluded my researches. It will be recalled, too, that printers sent one another cards with clasped hands and “hands across the sea,” on them during the early 1890s (see page 89).⁶³ Certainly, during the 1890s, clasped hands designs were found on enough Christmas cards [e.g. Figure 118 and Figure 119] for the motif later to have been regarded as typical of the “old-fashioned Christmas card,”⁶⁴ and for

⁶⁰ John Court’s exhibit at a 1904 floral festival consisted of “a representation of Christmas at Home and in New Zealand [with] two figures, representing summer and winter, which stand with clasped hands, illustrating ‘Hands across the Sea.’” *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “The Floral Fete,” December 10, 1904, p.6.

⁶¹ *Observer* (Auckland, NZ), “Advertisements,” December 16, 1905, p.17.

⁶² *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Advertisements,” October 4, 1882, p.2.

⁶³ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, AU), “The Advertiser,” January 15, 1892, p.4.

⁶⁴ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Christmas Cheer and Otherwise,” November 30, 1908, p.8.

Spreckley to be selling a “handclasp” series of such greetings cards in 1902.⁶⁵



Figure 119: S. Hildesheimer, ca.1898, Christmas card. Sent in 1898, this card uses a longstanding emblem of clasped hands inside hearts. The hands here are flaps that open out.
Author's collection

It makes sense, then, at this stage, for the HATS concept to exist in Christmas cards to be sent internationally, and for postcards only to employ handclasping imagery for cards that could be sold on the local market, such as those created at the end of the Boer war [Figure 120]. Nevertheless, by the time Spreckley was selling Hands

across the Sea Christmas cards in 1905 – the first time the phrase is used in advertisements for cards in New Zealand – at least four British companies were already selling postcards using the HATS theme.

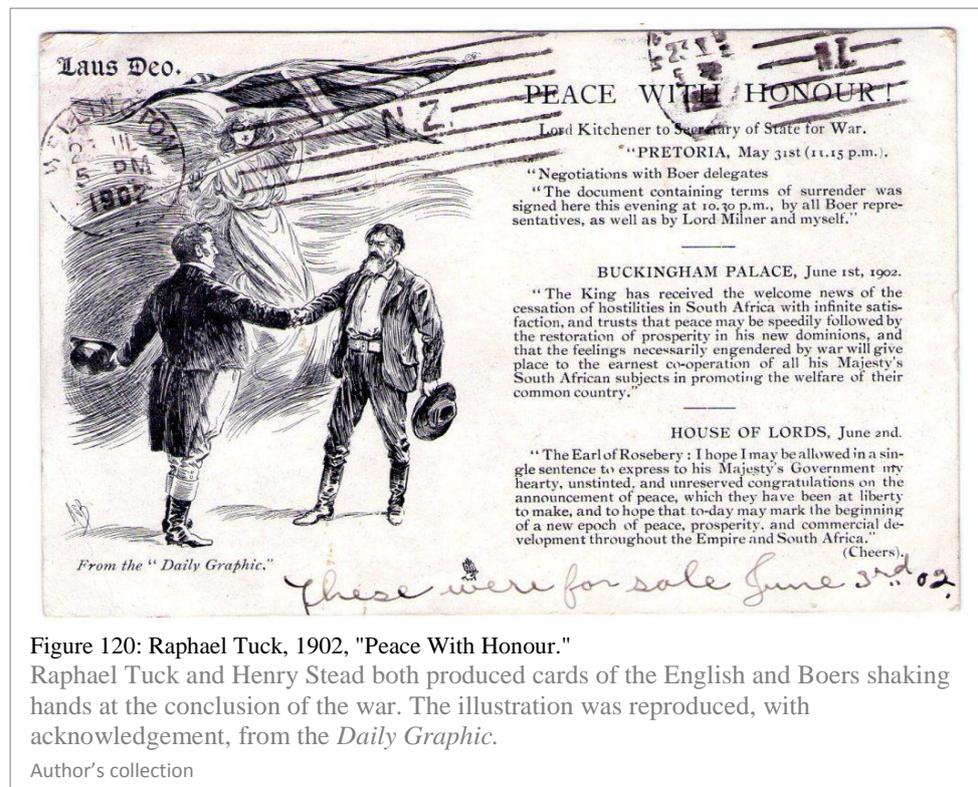


Figure 120: Raphael Tuck, 1902, "Peace With Honour." Raphael Tuck and Henry Stead both produced cards of the English and Boers shaking hands at the conclusion of the war. The illustration was reproduced, with acknowledgement, from the *Daily Graphic*.
Author's collection

⁶⁵ Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," December 6, 1902, p.9. Adelaide's W. C. Rigby sold a "Tender Greetings" box of Christmas cards in 1903 which had cards with "embossed jewelled heart and clasped hands." The Advertiser (Adelaide, Aus), "Advertisements," December 9, 1903, p.3.

Early Hands Across the Sea Postcards

The companies that initially introduced the HATS card were evidently banking on the concept being strong enough to survive in spite of the inhibiting international postal regulations that obliged people to write on the

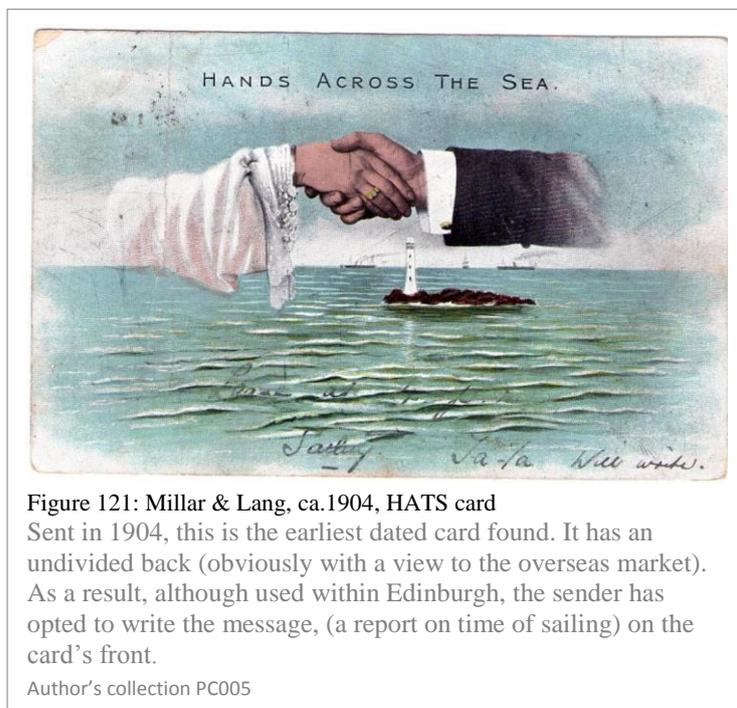


Figure 121: Millar & Lang, ca.1904, HATS card
Sent in 1904, this is the earliest dated card found. It has an undivided back (obviously with a view to the overseas market). As a result, although used within Edinburgh, the sender has opted to write the message, (a report on time of sailing) on the card's front.

Author's collection PC005

front of any cards sent overseas [Figure 121]. And although, with its imperial connotations, one might have expected a strongly English derivation for the concept, the two earliest companies involved were Scottish. Given the difficult economic situation in Scotland, and the very strong tendencies for Scots to migrate overseas (see pages 273 and 275), the

Scottish link becomes less strange – and still less so when one recalls the strong Scottish patriotic attachment to handclasping stemming from Robert Burns and *Auld Lang Syne*.

Because HATS cards from this period are scarce, one cannot ascertain with any certainty which company first introduced the HATS postcard. An obscure company called D. & F.L.T. and a much larger firm, Millar & Lang, both published cards which were posted in 1904 [Figure 121 & Figure 123]. Gabriel Coxhead realised how well this particular Millar & Lang card encapsulated the HATS theme, using it to lead off his article – though he incorrectly dated it to ca.1907.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.107. This card has a divided back, and Coxhead was evidently confused by the fact that 1907 was the date when America introduced the divided back. This is an easy mistake to make. Most internet histories of the postcard use the American date for the divided back, and omit the different ways it was implemented elsewhere. However British cards can have divided backs from 1902 onwards. Coxhead is aware of this distinction, p.110, but does not apply it to this dating.

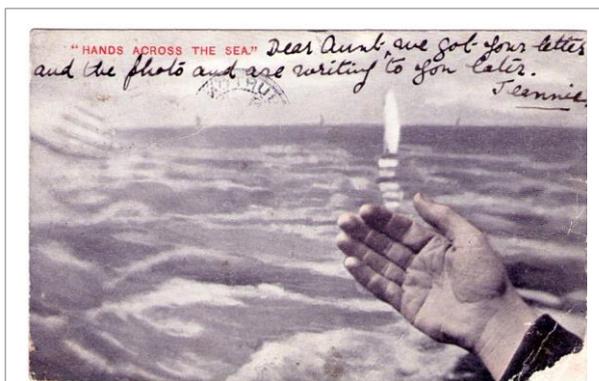


Figure 123: D. & F.L.T., ca.1904, HATS card. This card displays a mix of illustration and photography that plays off the 'Rough Sea' genre. The 'hands apart' variation was used infrequently throughout the craze.

Author's collection PC020

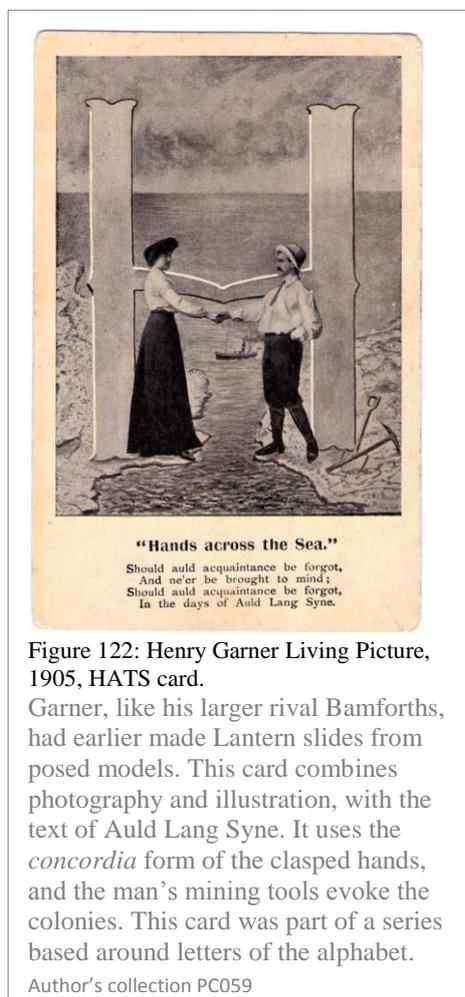


Figure 122: Henry Garner Living Picture, 1905, HATS card.

Garner, like his larger rival Bamfords, had earlier made Lantern slides from posed models. This card combines photography and illustration, with the text of Auld Lang Syne. It uses the *concordia* form of the clasped hands, and the man's mining tools evoke the colonies. This card was part of a series based around letters of the alphabet.

Author's collection PC059

The two cards' interpretation of the HATS theme is significant. The larger amount of arm shown in the M&L card, and the divided hands in the other suggest some initial reluctance to emulate the union-related emblematic form of the clasped hands. The next year, the English company of Henry Garner created a card, using a *concordia* design [Figure 122]. Like Figure 123, its use of "hands across the sea" in quotation marks emphasises the sense that this was a novel use of an idiomatic phrase.⁶⁷

The fourth company was the leading producer of silk pictures and postcards. Thomas Stevens had its roots in 1850s ribbon-weaving,⁶⁸ but had started to manufacture pictorial bookmarks in the 1860s as a response to the decline in the silk ribbon trade.⁶⁹ This led the company to ultimately manufacture many types of woven silk pictures, including Christmas cards, and Stevens also occasionally ventured into Art Publishing.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ This card appears with some regularity on eBay, mostly dated, like the example here, to 1905, and with none from 1904. This dating is therefore reasonably secure.

⁶⁸ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.256.

⁶⁹ This was caused by overseas imports and a fashion swing which saw feathers displace ribbons in hats. Geoffrey A. Godden, *Stevengraphs and Other Victorian Silk Pictures* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1971), p.17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.349.

By the early twentieth century, Stevens had a wide portfolio, including a stock series of HATS designs [e.g. Figure 124], which used a well-established version of the *fides* emblem. Stevens cards were sold for 3d at



Figure 124: Thomas Stevens, ca.1909, woven silk HATS postcard.

Although this is a later example, Stevens produced cards to this design from around 1905. Designed to be sold on the liners that sailed between Britain and the United States, the cards's transatlantic symbolism is unmistakable.

Author's collection PC580

places like the Crystal Palace,⁷¹ and they were thus expensive enough to primarily attract people who were more familiar with the patriotic and ritual uses of the clasped hands than their Trade Union connotations. Nor would the cost of overseas postage have been an issue for such consumers.

Although Stevens began producing postcards in 1903,⁷² and Coxhead believes theirs were the first HATS

cards,⁷³ Byatt asserts that it was a couple of years before they started to publish cards of ships, and that the HATS cards appear subsequent to that.⁷⁴ Certainly, they do not figure in the 1903 trade advertising that Geoffrey Godden cites.⁷⁵ The evidence is more suggestive of Millar & Lang having preceded Stevens into the market. Apart from publishing the earliest HATS card I could find [Figure 121], M&L continued to issue HATS cards through most of the period covered in this study, and were still listing them for sale in a 1922-3 sample catalogue.⁷⁶ They also later re-issued some of the early designs. Both of these factors are suggestive of their having a sense of ownership of the genre.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.358. Godden notes, p.356, that these early cards were sold and marketed by the London firm R. T. Morgan & Co.

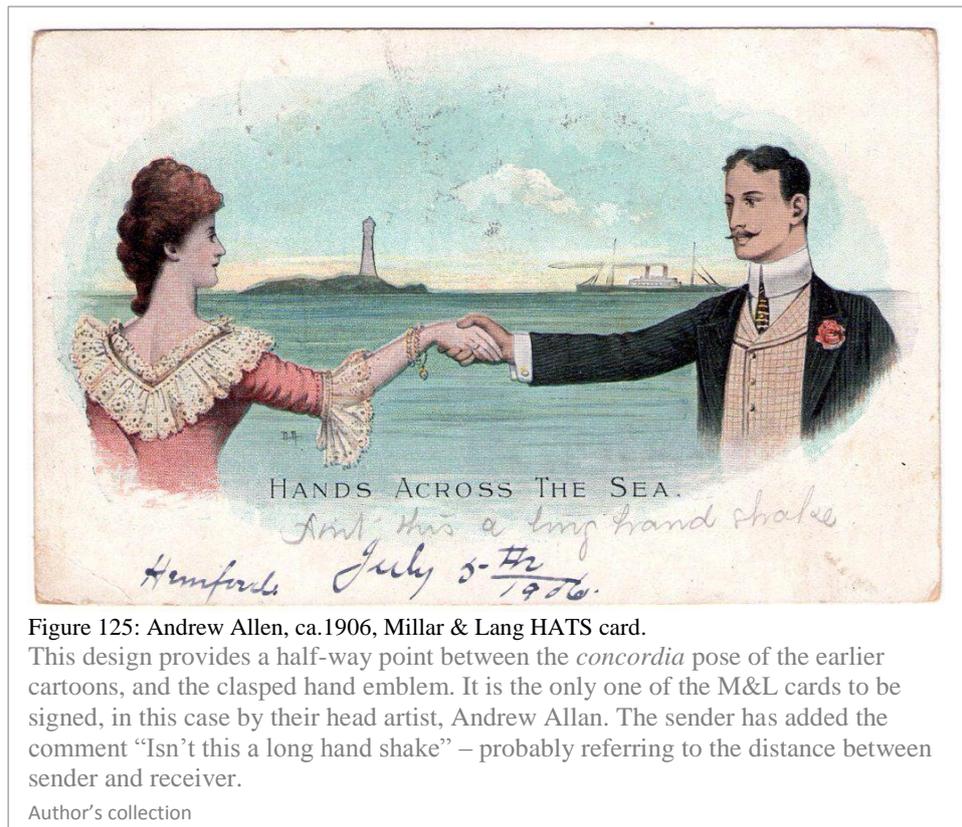
⁷² Ibid., pp.356-7.

⁷³ Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.110.

⁷⁴ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.273. Stevens cards are avidly collected and extremely expensive. I have thus not been able to access many of their cards and am grateful to Dr Mark Cottrill, Malcolm Roebuck and Dave Murray of the Stevengraph Collectors Association for their assistance in this research. They were also unable to find any Stevens HATS cards from before 1905.

⁷⁵ Godden, *Stevengraphs and Other Victorian Silk Pictures*, p.358.

⁷⁶ William Main, "Millar & Lang, Ltd., Art Printers and Publishers Darnley Works, Darnley St., Glasgow," *Postcard Pillar*, no. 82 (2008): pp.14-15.



Millar & Lang are an important firm to understand, being one of the largest producers of HATS cards, and one where, unusually, some detail of their operations can be gleaned. They were already established as “manufacturing stationers, Robertson Lane, Glasgow” in 1898.⁷⁷ By 1905, the company was claiming to be the “largest publishers of view postcards in Britain,” and became a Limited Company.⁷⁸ At this point, they floated £100,000 of shares, and the accompanying description of the company in *The Scotsman* helps explain what a large manufacturing stationer might look like.⁷⁹ They described themselves as “entirely wholesale,” with the business consisting of “the Manufacture of all kinds of Art Publications produced by fine printing, embossing, and kindred processes.” A new factory had been built in 1901, and doubled in size by 1903. Their customer base consisted of 1000 wholesale stationers and 3500 retail stationers. Net profits for 1904 alone were given at over £14,000, indicative of the expansion M&L were

⁷⁷ This was when the partnership between George Grandison Millar and Alexander Campbell Lang was dissolved, with Millar continuing alone: *Edinburgh Gazette* (UK), “Notice,” March 14, 1899, p.282.

⁷⁸ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.186.

⁷⁹ *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, UK), “Display Advertisement,” March 8, 1905, p.5. Subsequent quotes in this section are from this detailed advertisement.

experiencing.⁸⁰ The directors were named as Millar, along with the chief artist, Andrew Allan [see Figure 125], the head traveller,⁸¹ and the works manager. Their salaries were given at £400 per annum – a very comfortably upper-middle class income, though Millar himself was earning sufficient for his estranged wife to claim £3000 a year in alimony.⁸²

Although the in-house directorships suggest a slightly insular firm, with capital of £100,000, Millar & Lang counted as being “among the larger public companies” in Scotland, being a quarter of the size of the largest Scottish company, the “Bank Line of Steamships.”⁸³ It was still tiny compared to the £17.5 million worth of Britain’s largest company, Imperial Tobacco,⁸⁴ and minuscule compared to the \$1.4 billion value of the United States Steel Corporation.⁸⁵ Indeed John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge argue that it was the British preference for smaller and more personal or family-oriented firms that would subsequently disadvantage British business in relation to the United States.⁸⁶

In its own context, however, M&L was a substantial firm. Whilst it is important to be aware that, like Raphael Tuck, postcards were only one arm of a much broader publishing operation, the prominence of Art Publishing within the contemporary business world meant that when such a firm placed emphasis on a genre like the postcard, this must have carried weight. Millar & Lang certainly had the reputation, impetus, and means of distribution to ensure that any new postcard idea, such as a HATS card, was taken note of.

⁸⁰ Only £9720 of M&L’s assets were tied up in designs, with £3500 in copyrights and patents, and the bulk of the £100,000 relating to materials, property, machinery, and “goodwill,” the last of which, at £33,745 was said to be “less than the profits of the last three years.”

⁸¹ His address is listed as London – indicative of the focus of the company’s sales.

⁸² *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, UK), “Wife’s Heavy Claim for Alimony,” June 6, 1907, p.11.

⁸³ *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, UK), “Company Promoting in Scotland,” December 30, 1905, p.4.

⁸⁴ Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *The Company: A Short History of a Revolutionary Idea*, p.82.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.82.

The spread of a new idea was, however, subject to the limitations of copyright. What could be copyrighted, and what could not, had been heavily contested since the 1840s,⁸⁷ and remained ambiguous enough for Millar to



Figure 126: Millar & Lang, ca.1907, National Series HATS card.

This card incorporates the three British nationalities (Wales was then part of England). Having defined the genre early on as personal, M&L here try to move the design out to broader national and patriotic themes via emblematic design.

Author's collection

engage in strenuous legal battles during 1907-8, as he tried to assert ownership of his designs.⁸⁸ Whilst the HATS term itself was generic, and could be transmitted, meme-like, complete, for the Hands across the Sea postcard to develop beyond the clutches of a litigious single manufacturer, the designs would necessarily have to differ between companies.

By 1906, with international transmission of divided back cards newly sanctioned by the

Postal Union,⁸⁹ the prospects for cards celebrating international connection had improved. While HATS postcards had yet to appear in New Zealand newspapers, Australia's Hobart *Mercury* published an advertisement for a

⁸⁷ Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, pp.73-82.

⁸⁸ He took two cases to court over the unauthorised reproduction of some Christmas cards which he appears to have personally designed. The first related to a stationer who retailed designs from a German company that had copied M&L's designs – items the Scottish judge ruled to be “really of no value at all.” [The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Court of Session,” February 14, 1907, p.11]. Millar appealed this to the High Court. [The Times (London, UK), “High Court of Justice,” December 21, 1907, p.3]. The case hinged on the defendant trying to justify his importation of cards which were copied from Miller's designs by claiming that Millar & Lang had incorrectly registered the designs for the cards that had been copied. They had been registered under the Fine Arts Copyright Act of 1862, when they should have come under the Patents, Designs &c., Act, 1883. The judge came to the conclusion that the card designs could count as drawings under the Fine Arts Act, despite the fact “that their value consists not in the use of the originals for exhibition, but in their use for multiplying copies.” [Ibid, p.3]. Having won this case, Millar then claimed that five British manufacturing stationers, principally Macniven & Cameron, had copied his Christmas card designs, which had been “registered under the Fine Arts Copyright Act, 1862.” [The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Christmas Card Designs,” March 21, 1908, p.12]. Like the previous case, the contested designs related primarily to “gold foil designs” many involving intricate interlinked letterforms. The Scottish judge ruled that the cards should have been registered “under the patents act of 1883 as designs for manufacturers,” and that “the designs complained of were not “original drawings” or fit subjects for copyright within the meaning of the act of 1862. [Ibid p.12]. What an Art Manufacturer could call art, and what was design, was thus legally in limbo, but these conflicting rulings clearly demonstrated how arduous it was to uphold copyright, even when an item was reproduced exactly, as in these cases. Once an item was modified there was little protection to be had.

⁸⁹ Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.66.

further with largely Scottish and Irish themed “Christmas and New Year Postcards” that included HATS cards.⁹⁰ The manufacturer of these cards could have been one of several firms which had now produced their own versions. Glasgow’s Art Publishing Company printed photographs of ships, with clasped hands and the HATS phrase, whilst the theatrically-oriented Rapid Photo Printing Company, which had recently moved to London,⁹¹ produced a version which placed popular actresses as characters in Pettit’s melodrama [Figure 127].

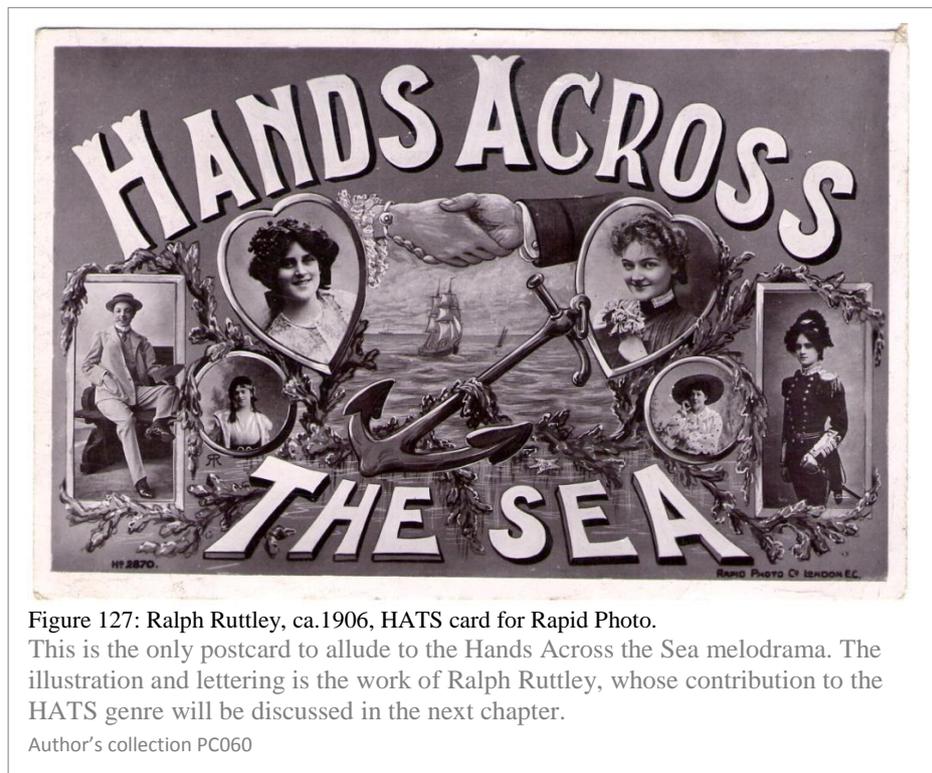


Figure 127: Ralph Ruttle, ca.1906, HATS card for Rapid Photo.
 This is the only postcard to allude to the Hands Across the Sea melodrama. The illustration and lettering is the work of Ralph Ruttle, whose contribution to the HATS genre will be discussed in the next chapter.
 Author’s collection PC060

Although expanding, both of these companies were small players in the industry and unlikely to have yet established strong colonial connections. The same applies to D. & F.L.T. and Henry Garner. A larger firm, Wildt & Kray, produced its first clasped hands cards in 1906, but although their designs would prove highly influential in establishing the ultimate design pattern for HATS cards [e.g. Figure 128 and Figure 22], none of their early cards use the HATS phrase.

⁹⁰ The Mercury (Hobart, AU) “Advertisements,” December 19, 1906, p.1.

⁹¹ It had previously been based in Middlesex. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.228.

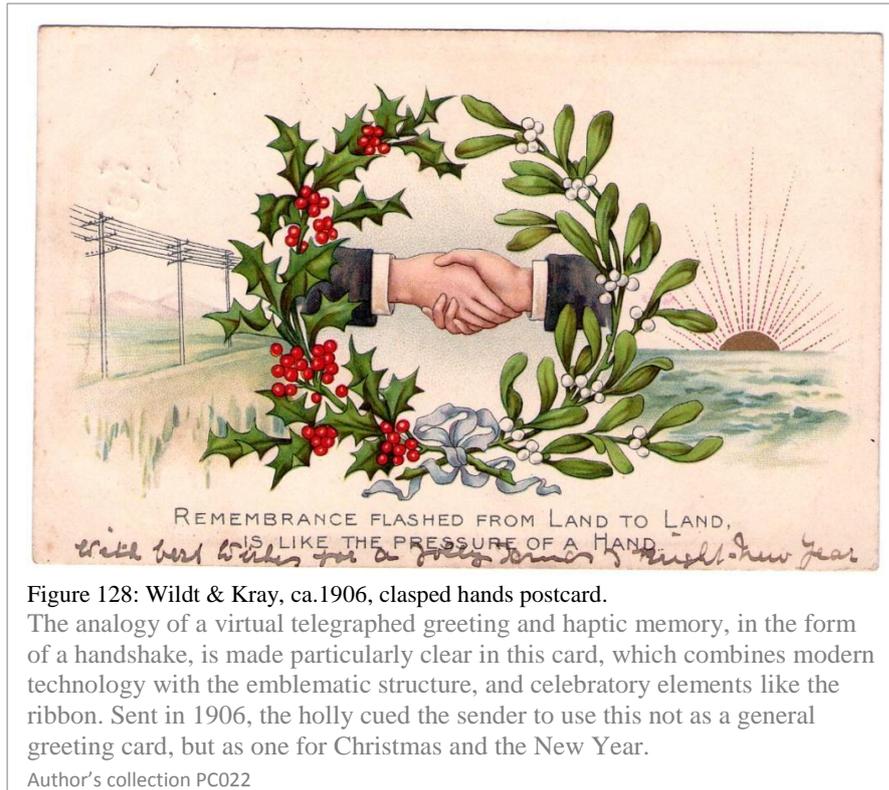


Figure 128: Wildt & Kray, ca.1906, clasped hands postcard. The analogy of a virtual telegraphed greeting and haptic memory, in the form of a handshake, is made particularly clear in this card, which combines modern technology with the emblematic structure, and celebratory elements like the ribbon. Sent in 1906, the holly cued the sender to use this not as a general greeting card, but as one for Christmas and the New Year. Author's collection PC022

The same applies to patriotic American cards showing the clasped hands above the Stars and Stripes and another country's flag that were published in the United States by the National Art Company and by Frederik Peterson in the same year.



Figure 129: Anonymous German Card sent in 1906. This card carries the emblematic language of hearts, hands and flowers into the postcard. It is typical of a large number of such cards which were imported into New Zealand and personalised to the locality – using glitter to write with. Author's collection PC112

German publishers such as Paul Finkenrath, and some other anonymous firms, marketed Victorian-style clasped hands greeting postcards for Birthday, Christmas and general greetings usage [Figure 129], but with no HATS label. Gabriel Coxhead incorrectly dates cards lacking transport and distance references to the end of the HATS period, saying that this is “an indication of the eventual fate of HATS—absorption into the Valentine’s genre.”⁹² In fact this type of card existed prior and then parallel to the transport-related cards. This is

important to appreciate. Although, later in the craze, contemporaries routinely classified all cards with clasped hands as HATS cards, this cannot

⁹² Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.111.

have been the case whilst the genre was still establishing itself. At this stage, the identity of the genre must have related to the phrase itself, and it is probably better to see cards with clasped hands from this period as relating to a somewhat distinct ‘friendship’ model of greetings card, which companies like Wildt & Kray were expert in, but which became subsumed as HATS subsequently took over.

A similar issue of genre applies to a card by Rotary Photo [Figure 130]. This uses the HATS phrase, but fits more comfortably inside the large letter genre, not least through its failure to include clasped hands.

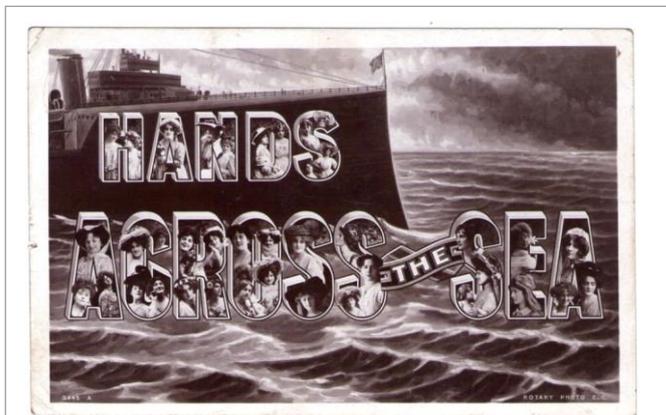


Figure 130: Rotary Photo, ca.1906, HATS card.
This card was sent in late 1906. It plays to the popularity of ‘large letter’ cards with photographs of well-known actresses in them.
Author’s collection

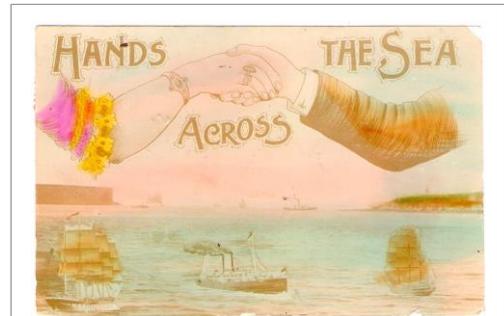


Figure 131: Star Photo, ca.1906, Australian HATS card.
Although this card, sent in January 1907 is anonymous, other copies of the design had the Star Photo company’s logo on them. The Card shows the entrance to Sydney harbour.
Author’s collection PC459

Therefore, if the HATS card being sold in Australia was indeed British, it is by default likely to have come from Millar & Lang. That firm had already used the phrase on multiple cards, and their generic brand for all their cards was known as the ‘National’ series, and they produced patriotic cards with both Scottish and Irish subject matter [Figure 126].⁹³ They could therefore have provided all the cards with national subjects that the furrier was offering. More importantly, their cards were apparently familiar enough in Australia for them to influence local companies. A Star Photo card [Figure 131] for instance, uses two arms that seem to derive from Millar & Lang’s Figure 125.

⁹³ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, pp.186-7.



Figure 132: 1907 Sharpe Brothers ginger beer flask. The image of two hands holding a drink, referencing the toasting aspects of HATS, is also found in a small number of postcards. Here, the two arms are labelled 'Aust' and 'NZ'.
Author's collection

Australian production of HATS cards in 1906, alongside an Australian retailer simultaneously featuring the genre in advertising, is significant. As noted in Chapter One, the final act of Pettit's play had been set in Sydney harbour, and Australian unionists had helped expand the usage of the phrase. It is therefore not surprising that a HATS postcard would resonate with an Antipodean audience. By 1907, ginger beer maker, Sharpe Brothers, had created a HATS flask [Figure 132] aimed at the trans-Tasman market,⁹⁴ whilst the WTP company created a sophisticated Australian HATS postcard design [Figure 133].

The placement of the clasped hands within its vignette seems intended to reference a synecdochal relationship to actual people, helping to differentiate it from the union

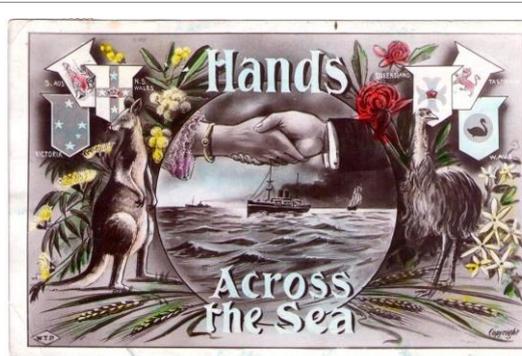


Figure 133: WTP, ca.1906, Australian HATS card. Sent for New Year 1907, this card pulls together the symbols of the Australian states with various other national symbols. This card influenced a number of later cards by New Zealand publishers.
Author's collection

emblem. And, like most other early cards, its use of male and female hands distinguishes it from the Union emblem's resolutely male hands.⁹⁵

1906 had seen a major setback for tariff reform in Britain, with the election of a pro-free-trade Liberal government, which had convinced British workers that protectionism and preferential tariffs for the colonies would inflate the prices of essential items.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this did not

⁹⁴ David Sharpe, *Remember that Heavenly Ginger Beer? A History of Sharpe Bros.* (Melbourne, Australia: Sharpe, 1992), pp.52-3.

⁹⁵ Within the broader study, just 13% of the cards used two male hands, whilst 61% showed hands of both genders. Early cards are more likely to represent gender, whilst later cards tended to show hands without clothing, so that they could fit any combination of users.

⁹⁶ Ian Packer, "The Great Liberal Landslide: The 1906 General Election in Perspective," *Historian*, no. 89 (2006): p.12.

affect the growth of the HATS meme, perhaps because British companies were seeing its popularity overseas. Having an Australian agent (see page 299), Beagles, for example, would have known of the favourable Australian reaction, and they became the next major company to introduce a HATS card. They used it to bring a new twist to their pre-existing line of actress and large-letter cards [Figure 134], with this card probably figuring amongst the “Xmas and New Year postcards” they advertised that year.⁹⁷



Figure 134: Beagles, ca.1907, HATS card.

This hand-coloured card was probably the company’s earliest HATS design. It has a very strange set of clasped hands, which was altered in a later printing, where a more standard handshake was substituted. This is also one of the first times that hands are shown where gender cannot be determined – an approach that became increasingly common in later cards.

Author’s collection PC210

Nevertheless, they were apparently still unsure about its potential, as it was just one card in a larger greetings series, which included a clasped hands card accompanying the well-established ‘Mizpah’ text from Genesis 31:49, “The Lord will watch between us now, though we be far apart.”⁹⁸ Relating overtly to absence, ‘Mizpah’ was HATS most serious competition for the colonial card market. It was used widely enough for the *Australian Women’s Weekly*, looking back a quarter of a century later, to backhandedly imbue it with emblematic status, saying of 1933 Christmas cards that

⁹⁷ Sydney Morning Herald (AU), “Advertisements,” December 7, 1907, p.10.

⁹⁸ Mizpah cards often included a pillar (or watchtower), which could arguably be linked to the popularity of lighthouses in postcards.

“Mizpah,” “Hands across the Sea,” forget-me-nots and golden bells have been relegated to things long past.”⁹⁹ However, despite such initial overlapping, Mizpah and HATS imagery generally remained distinct, with clasped hands relating to the latter.

Sales of Beagles’ HATS card must have been sufficiently strong for the company to reissue it the next year – with a less idiosyncratic set of clasped hands. Its popularity can also be seen from its blatant plagiarism by German firm, Theodor Eismann, which created a full-colour version of Beagles’ design under their own name [Figure 135].



Figure 135: Beagles design plagiarised by Theodor Eismann in 1908. Unlike the Beagles design which it copies, this Eismann card is in full colour, with gold lettering – decidedly more lavish than the original.
Author’s collection PC553

By mid-1908, Beagles were running a strongly worded advertisement in the Australian press:

It having come to our knowledge that certain infringements of copyright postcard designs are being offered for sale in Australia and New Zealand, we hereby respectfully warn our friends against dealing in these goods, as all persons offering such cards for sale are liable to heavy penalties under the Copyright Act.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Australian Women's Weekly (Sydney), “Changing Fashions in Christmas Cards,” December 16, 1933, p.36.

¹⁰⁰ Sydney Morning Herald (AU), “Advertisements,” July 4, 1908, p.2.

The card that Eismann copied did not have ‘copyright’ written on it. Subsequently, Beagles was rigorous about adding the word ‘copyright’ to their cards. It seems likely, therefore, that their copyright threats relate to the blatant plagiarism of another of Beagles’ HATS cards by New Zealand firm Collins Bros – photographing, it appears, directly from purchased cards [Figure 136 and Figure 137].

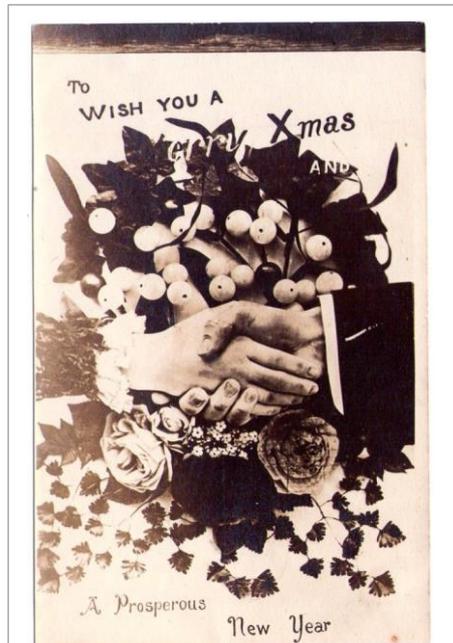


Figure 136: Collins Brothers, ca.1908, plagiarised card.

The photographer has simply cut off the Beagles copyright statement at the bottom, not even bothering to remove the gap left at the top. Compare with figure 137.

Author's collection

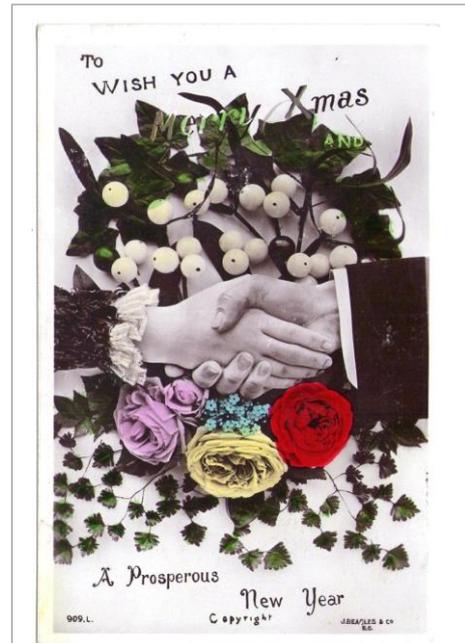


Figure 137: Beagles, ca.1908, floral clasped hands Christmas card.

This series 909L handcoloured card is a very early example of Beagles’ foray into greeting card designs, and typical of the majority of their clasped hands card designs.

Author's collection

If this reveals the seamier and more cut-throat aspects of the trade, the existence of such opportunistic business practices simply underscores the extent to which, by 1908, HATS postcards were becoming the flavour *du jour*.

The Pivotal Year: 1908

It is debatable whether the HATS card would have been able to edge out more established competitors like the Mizpah card, without the phrase’s escalating usage elsewhere. The Prince of Wales had been widely quoted

using it in another speech,¹⁰¹ and a “hands across the sea marriage” now designated the mercenary “barter of a title and a fortune” inherent in rich American heiresses marrying into poor but noble European families.¹⁰² When, in 1907, William Inglis entitled an article on trade “Hands across the Counter,” he was in effect acknowledging that the idiom was sufficiently common knowledge for him to be able to play on it.¹⁰³ The article, however, was serious, relating to a British push into parts of the Japanese trade that the Americans regarded as their own – a push made possible by a crisis in America’s relations with the Japanese.¹⁰⁴ Inglis noted ambiguous rhetoric amongst the “English Press in Japan,” saying:

The funny thing is that the editors who publish it are just as full as ever of “**hands across the sea**,” “blood is thicker than water,” “our dear cousins over the pond,” and all the other pretty sentiments with which we are so often regaled. But the fact is that Great Britain and America are rivals for the trade of Japan and the Far East.¹⁰⁵

Quite apart from competing with the British, the Americans wanted stronger relations with the fast-emerging Japan for strategic reasons, to help exclude German influence from the Pacific.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, President Roosevelt decided to display American strength and cement relations with countries in the region by announcing, in July 1907, that he would send the U.S. Atlantic Fleet to the Pacific.¹⁰⁷ The very first country to formally extend an invitation was federally-structured Australia.¹⁰⁸ Their overture to America reflected Australasian concerns about the British withdrawal of naval forces after a treaty with Japan.¹⁰⁹ By March 1908, both Australia and New Zealand were on the itinerary – to the irritation of the British.¹¹⁰ Roosevelt’s

¹⁰¹ Marlborough Express (Blenheim, NZ), “Imperial Reciprocity,” July 2, 1908, p.3.

¹⁰² Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Inauspicious Marriages,” May 26, 1908, p.2. This is a reprint of an article in the *New York Mail*.

¹⁰³ William Inglis in Harper’s Weekly (New York), “Hands Across the Counter: How the Thrifty English in Japan are Utilising the San Francisco Affair to Promote Trade with their Oriental Ally,” March 30, 1907, p.464.

¹⁰⁴ Reckner, *Teddy Roosevelt’s Great White Fleet*, p.9.

¹⁰⁵ William Inglis in Harper’s Weekly (New York), “Hands Across the Counter: How the Thrifty English in Japan are Utilising the San Francisco Affair to Promote Trade with their Oriental Ally,” March 30, 1907, p.464.

¹⁰⁶ Reckner, *Teddy Roosevelt’s Great White Fleet*, p.7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.21, 76.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.76.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.92.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.77-8.

intention in extending the visit to both countries was “to show England – I cannot say ‘renegade mother country’ – that those colonies are white man’s country.”¹¹¹

Until this point, what the *New York Times* called the “venturesome metaphor” of “hands across the sea” had primarily been used to denote either Anglo-American or Anglo-Colonial relationships.¹¹² The ‘Great White Fleet’, as it came to be known, however, now opened the spectre of mutual US/Colonial handshaking. As the *Auckland Star* said after the visit:

Some of the American newspapers are inclined to exploit the visit of the fleet to Australia politically, in the sense that it is hostile to the Anglo-Japanese treaty. The “New York Sun” remarks that Australia says, “Hands across the sea,” meaning the sea to America, and not to the Motherland.¹¹³

Certainly, it would have taken no great political genius to realise that in the latter part of the year there would be a veritable orgy of ‘hands across the sea’ rhetoric in the Pacific, as indeed occurred in Japan when the American Admiral “declared that no two countries ever clasped hands across the sea so warmly.”¹¹⁴ With the visit announced in March, but not happening until August and September, postcard companies were provided with more than enough time to prepare. Ironically, one of the most elaborate of these offerings came from the German firm of A. Sala [Figure 138]. Sent from Auckland with the message “keep this in memory of the Fleet,” the sender had clearly not registered that the battleship was not flying an American flag.

¹¹¹ Quoted in Reckner, *ibid.*, p.78.

¹¹² *New York Times*, “Hands Across the Sea,” 24 February, 1908, [no page].

¹¹³ *Auckland Star* (NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” August 24, 1908, p.5.

¹¹⁴ *Marlborough Express* (Blenheim, NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” October 26, 1908, p.4.



Figure 138: A. Sala, ca.1908, HATS card.
 This card was printed by German publisher A. Sala. Its sentimental imagery of swallows, ornate typography and bright colours disguise the menace of the warship. It is from the same series as the cards used on the title page and to introduce each volume.
 Author's collection PC543.

Local manufacturers in both Australia and New Zealand were evidently aware of the opportunity they had been given. Designs for fleet souvenirs varied. Many photographic postcards simply depicted the fleet itself, but a significant number were patriotic, with handshaking imagery prevalent. Australian company WTP created a more elaborate variant on their 1907 design, specifically to commemorate the visit [Figure 139].

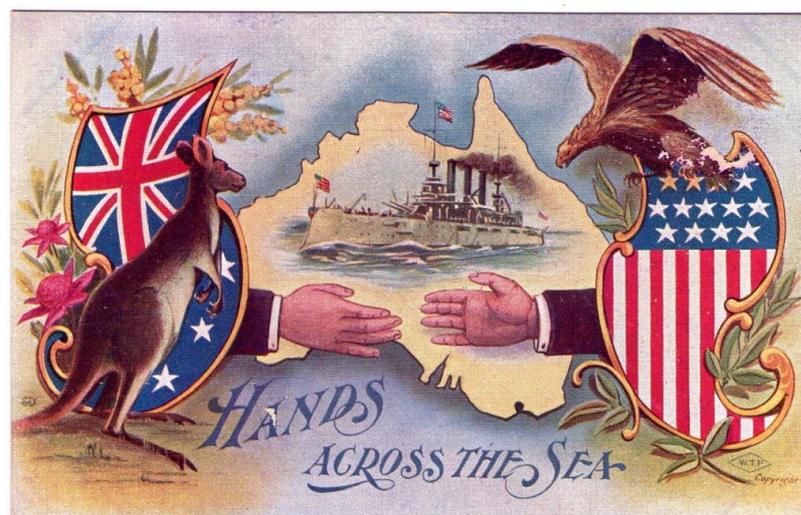


Figure 139: WTP, 1908, HATS card.
 According to the seller of this card, the ship was drawn by Gregory Dickson and the rest by Norman Lindsay. These fit with the initials on the card, but I have not been able to verify the attribution.
 Author's collection

In New Zealand, one anonymous company had large numbers of blank cards printed with patriotic frames including *concordia* figures of Columbia and Zealandia, so that it could quickly add photographic images of the decorations to print and sell during the visit [Figure 140].



Figure 140: Anonymous postcard commemorating the American Fleet's visit to Auckland, 1908. The small vignette on this anonymous card shows the figures of Columbia and Zealandia clasp hands. Author's collection PC121

Another local entrepreneur spotted the potential of a section within an *Auckland Weekly News* cartoon by Auckland cartoonist Trevor Lloyd, [Figure 141], modifying it – perhaps with Lloyd's permission – into a 'real photo' postcard, and changing the caption to 'hands across the sea' in the process [Figure 142].

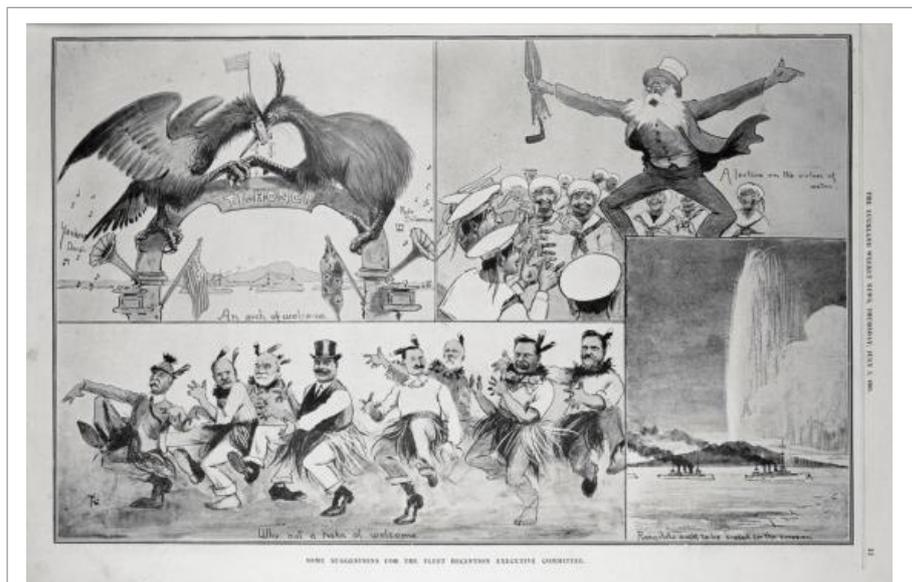


Figure 141: *Auckland Weekly News* cartoon by Trevor Lloyd, 1908. Entitled "Some suggestions for the Fleet Reception Executive Committee" this was published on July 2nd 1908, p.11. The Kiwi and Eagle are here subtitled "An Arch of Welcome." Courtesy Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19080702-11-1

It was not uncommon for newspaper cartoons and illustrations to migrate into postcards [e.g. Figure 120], and in this case, the profile of the cartoonist meant that the card was, unusually, signed.

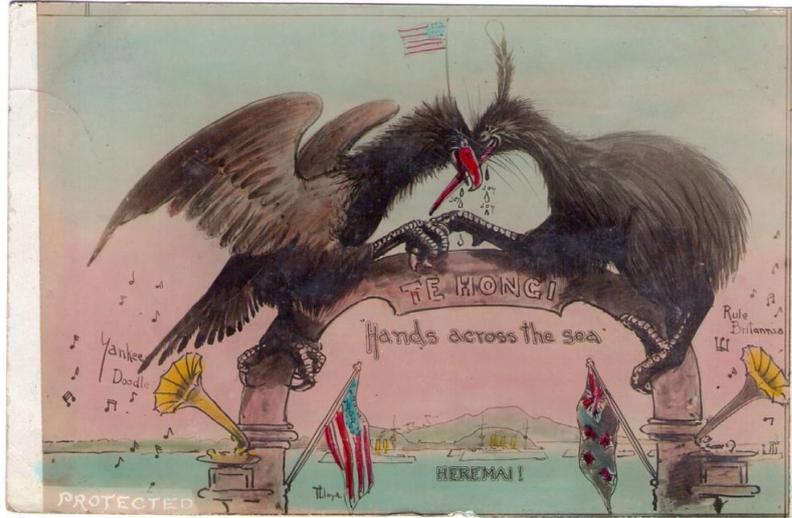


Figure 142: Trevor Lloyd, 1908, cartoon HATS postcard.
 This card was handcoloured, and had the terms “hands across the sea” and “heremai” (a Maori greeting) added. This is a tinted real photograph, but a full-colour version was also printed.
 Author’s collection PC120

Such postcards are typical of the enthusiastic commercialism around the visit. As one paper commented:

The number of fleet souvenirs, fleet emblems, and fleet postcards displayed in the shop windows is quite amazing. There are probably enough to supply every man, woman and child in the Dominion with at least one clasped hands and “welcome” badge (sure to be a popular pick...).¹¹⁵

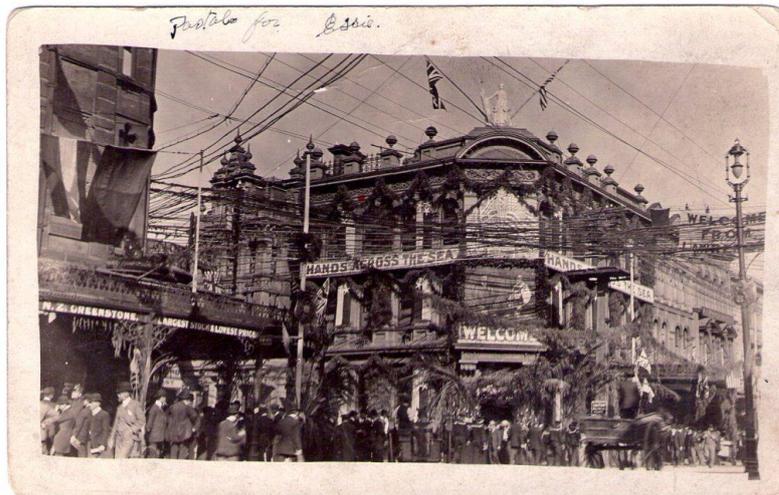


Figure 143: Postcard showing the South British Insurance Building's Fleet Week decorations.
 “Hands Across the Sea” is emblazoned down both sides of the building.
 Author’s collection

¹¹⁵ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “An Impressive Sight,” August 8, 1908, p.5.

The patriotic pageantry associated with the visit can be seen from the decorations that lined Auckland during the visit. As the American troops marched up Queen Street they would have encountered the South British Insurance Building, carrying both the HATS phrase and clasped hands imagery [Figure 143 and Figure 144].¹¹⁶



Figure 144: South British Insurance Building, Auckland 1908.

This is a detail from a photograph by Hubert Earle Vaile. Apart from the text ‘Hands Across the Sea’ on both faces of the buildings, on the central illuminated transparency there is a pair of clasped hands beneath two flags – somewhat obscured by telephone lines and reflected light.

Courtesy Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries 2-V13

This building was, coincidentally, situated next to Spreckley’s shop and opposite the Victoria Arcade, which contained both Wildman and Arey’s shop and the American Consulate.¹¹⁷ Therefore, during August 1908, both the postcard buying public of Auckland and its chief merchants were as exposed to HATS as they possibly could be. Spreckley had, prior to the visit, advertised in the *New Zealand Herald* with “picture postcards, new varieties, fleet postcards, greetings cards, hands across the sea etc.”¹¹⁸ Then, in the November following the visit, HATS cards made their

¹¹⁶ The building’s decorations are described in detail in the *New Zealand Herald* which clarifies why the clasped hands image is unclear in the photo: it is on a transparency, that is intended to be lit at night. *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Auckland’s Welcome. The Decorations,” August 10, 1908, p.12.

¹¹⁷ Gordon M. Winder, "Seafarer's Gaze: Queen Street Business and Auckland's Archipelago, 1908," *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 1 (2006): p.58.

¹¹⁸ Spreckley’s adverts for the *Herald* were usually three-liners which lacked prices, so are largely excluded from this study, but he highlighted HATS cards earlier in the *Herald* than in the *Observer*. *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), “Advertisements,” July 27, 1908, p.7.

appearance in both companies' Christmas advertising (see page 313). The Fleet alone could virtually account for the initial spike in HATS popularity in Auckland. However the HATS postcard was not just an Auckland phenomenon. In Wellington, the *Evening Post* framed it within the larger greetings card revival:

In the early days of the post-card craze, the old-fashioned Christmas-card (the angels, the violets, the gilt, the floral harps, the clasped hands, the glowing hearts) had a set-back, but it has re-established itself. The same old hands are still clasped over the same old sea, and the same old poets still sing more or less out of tune on the front, or back, or inside.¹¹⁹

This writer regarded the greetings revival as the re-establishment of an existing tradition, and implied that the HATS image is traditional. Whilst clasped hands cards existed earlier, I have not found any older cards with the sea indicated, and suspect that this was said for literary reasons. Its being highlighted within a review of postcard fashions is, however, significant – another indicator of the push towards hands imagery that occurs in this year. And it was not just local cards. British manufacturers were also heavily engaged in manufacturing HATS cards, with eight more companies adding their versions during 1908 (see Appendix 6). Judging from the designs, however, they were not focussed on the Fleet, responding rather to larger market dynamics.



Figure 145: A. & G. Taylor, ca.1908, HATS card.
This design would later be heavily borrowed by
New Zealand publisher, de Tourret.
Author's collection PC381

A. & G. Taylor created a HATS card early in the year [Figure 145], but with no fleet-oriented features. Rather, the fashion swing towards greeting cards accounts for most of the clasped hands designs created by these new entrants to the market. Davidson produced HATS Christmas cards (by definition too late for the Fleet) and Birn Brothers offered clasped-hand friendship cards. Novelty

¹¹⁹ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Christmas Cheer and Otherwise," November 30, 1908, p.8.

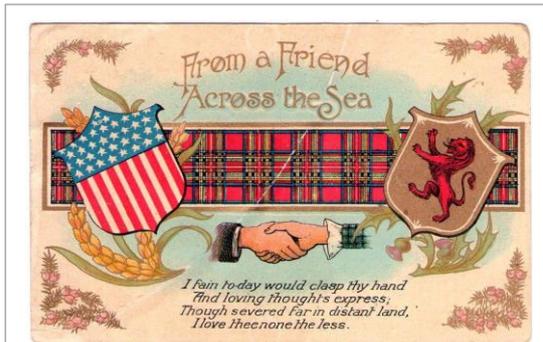


Figure 146: Valentine & Sons, ca.1908, patriotic HATS postcard.
 This card by the well known Dundee firm, Valentine, used patriotic imagery to capitalise on Scottish ties with the United States.
 Author's collection PC422

Postcards' cards were patriotic, whilst Crown, Geison Brothers and William Ritchie all marketed the same design – having probably imported this particular floral card from the same German company.

Valentine & Sons also entered the HATS market. Despite a long association with New Zealand (see page 468), their new clasped hand cards, like Figure 146, were also all-purpose, being as appropriate for the large

numbers of Scots with family in America, as for Australasians sending a memento of the fleet back to Scotland. And a series of *concordia* cards highlighted the Anglo-Colonial aspects of the HATS discourse [Figure 147], without reference to the United States.



Figure 147: Valentine & Sons, ca.1908, HATS cards.
 These cards have a strongly *concordia*-based HATS design, with John Bull and a Scotsman shaking hands with a 'digger'. The body language makes John Bull appear keener than the digger in one card, whilst in the other, the digger is more enthusiastic when it comes to the prospect of Scottish whisky.
 Valentine's were Scottish.
 Author's collection PC423

By the end of 1908, it had become clear where the HATS discourse would blossom, and despite the hype around the Fleet, it was not in America. For the Americans, New Zealand and Australia remained a subset of Anglo-American relations, and high profile British lobbyists were keen to maintain this two way focus. Particularly prominent was a group called the Pilgrims which had been formed in London in 1903 “for the express purpose of furthering the ‘hands across the sea’ policy which, it is hoped, will

eventually bring about an Anglo-American alliance.”¹²⁰ Prominent coverage of their formal events helped to promote this HATS agenda. A 1909 Pilgrims’ banquet honouring an English admiral, for example, charmed guests, including J. P. Morgan, with decorations including “two clasped hands outlined in electric lights, and over them an arrangement of electric bulbs [that] spelled “Hands Across the Sea.”¹²¹ This may have been associated with Masonic politics. “Hands Across the Sea” was the founding motto of the 1906 Anglo-Colonial Masonic Lodge, and the British, Canadian and American Lodges seem to have promoted an Anglo-Saxonist agenda.¹²² Increasingly, however, Americans would come to see any Anglo-American alliance as something that was holding them back. Theodore Roosevelt, who early in his career had been strongly influenced by the same ideas that led others to Anglo-Saxonism,¹²³ would target HATS twice in his 1916 book, one which presumably reflects thinking that evolved during his time in the presidency. Responding to people such as the Pilgrims he said:

You are asking Americans to proclaim themselves Anglo-Americans, and to sympathize with England on the ground that England is the mother-land, and in order to make what you call ‘hands across the sea’ a matter of living policy. I do not believe that this is the right attitude for Americans to take. England is not my mother-land any more than Germany is my father-land. My mother-land and father-land and my own land are all three of them the United States.¹²⁴

After this re-iteration of national independence, he later returned to the phrase saying:

I have never used in peace or in war any such expression as ‘hands across the sea’, and I emphatically disapprove of what it signifies save in so far as it means cordial friendship between us and every other

¹²⁰ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Mr Lyell’s Home Rule Delusions,” March 4, 1913, p.9.

¹²¹ New York Times (New York), “Admiral Seymour Guest of Pilgrims,” October 5, 1909, p.1. The Pilgrims used the image regularly, with one dinner where Mark Twain spoke being described as “a ‘hands-across-the-sea affair.” New York Times (New York), “Ambassador Reid the Pilgrim’s Guest.” February 20, 1908, [no page]. See also the New York Times (New York), “Pilgrims Pay Honor to Envoy Hammond,” May 25, 1911, [no page].

¹²² Harland-Jacobs, ““Hands across the Sea”: The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World,” p.249.

¹²³ Lake, “The White Man under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia,” p.41.

¹²⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* (New York: Cosimo, 2005 [1916]), p.143.

nation that acts in accordance with the standards that we deem just and right.¹²⁵

Roosevelt was keen to emphasise America as a “distinct nationality,”¹²⁶ and whilst most overt American media hostility to the HATS term postdates Roosevelt’s book, had HATS enjoyed popular support, one might have expected it to appear in U.S. postcards. In fact, I have yet to see an American postcard relating to the Fleet that uses the phrase,¹²⁷ and whilst the Americans created patriotic clasped hands cards early on (see page 354), they produced few HATS cards. Those that used the clasped hands motif generally did so in a broader friendship context, and most such cards used in America were German imports. Whether it was the historical associations with Unionist politics, memories of Horace Greeley (see page 76), or resentment against wealthy Anglophiles, it seems ‘hands across the sea’ simply failed to appeal to Americans, who were more inclined to apply Roosevelt’s “Eleventh Commandment” that “thou shalt not slop over.”¹²⁸ Away from ambassadorial dinners, England remained the old enemy – something that people started to realise once America entered the First World War. As Herbert Corey pointed out in *Everybody’s Magazine*:

It sounds as though all these years that we have been talking about the ties of blood and hands-across-the-sea we have really been disliking each other. Come to think of it, the peoples have not been talking about these things. Only professors and editors and that form of exportable commodity known as diplomats have been talking them. Away back home in Abilene, Kansas, and Wimbledon Common, London, the sturdy taxpayer has used the mother tongue to lambast the other fellow of nights.¹²⁹

In Britain itself, however, the phrase was gathering momentum as a cypher for the colonial relationship. The Prince of Wales’ June 1908 speech, in proposing a toast to “the British Dominions Beyond the Seas,” helped

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.145.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.146.

¹²⁷ An extensive range of these can be found on: Stewart, William. “The Cruise of the Great White Fleet.” (2013). <http://www.greatwhitefleet.info/index.htm> [accessed February 13, 2013].

¹²⁸ Roosevelt’s commandment was quoted in a 1925 speech by Lord Lee, advising the English-Speaking Union that British politicians needed to dampen down the HATS rhetoric because it provoked the Americans. The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Anglo-American Relations: Lord Lee on ‘Gush’,” June 17, 1925, p.9.

¹²⁹ Everybody’s Magazine (New York), “Allies – or Friends,” Vol. 38, No.4, April 1918, p.28.

cement HATS in Britain as a simultaneously nostalgic and futuristic mechanism of colonial maintenance:

If we hold hands across the sea we shall preserve for future generations a noble heritage, founded upon the highest patriotism and knit together by the ties of race and of mutual sympathy and regard.¹³⁰

Such speeches were evidently effective in spreading the HATS meme. Nevertheless one has to ask whether this was the primary cause of so many people across the British diaspora buying and sending cards, or for manufacturers to make them. When the royalty-conscious Raphael Tuck belatedly acknowledged that HATS cards were a real competitor to their preferred Rough Seas, it is possible that the Prince's speech played a part. Tuck had already published a patriotic card incorporating formal clasped

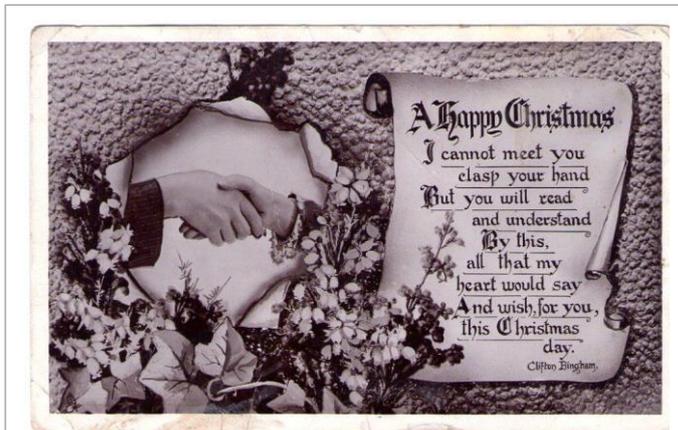


Figure 148: Raphael Tuck, 1909, Christmas postcard. Whilst the clasped hands are visually dominant, they support the text, filling in the promise of future handholding even though the text acknowledges its present absence.

Author's collection PC393

hands for the 1908 Franco-British exhibition,¹³¹ but in 1909 they created a clasped hands Christmas postcard [Figure 148] before, in 1910, finally adapting their rough sea imagery into the HATS craze [Figure 149].

Nevertheless, Tucks did not here, or later, use the HATS phrase,¹³² and this suggests that, rather than patriotism, commercial imperatives were at play. With so

many manufacturers entering the HATS race, and with prices in the 3d or 6d range, Tuck could not afford to be left behind. Whilst HATS was a good slogan, and had provided a focus that unified both the distance and friendship connotations of the clasped hands, its political aspect did not get to the heart of why the hands imagery had proved so popular. Clifton Bingham's poem for Tuck's card [Figure 148], does:

¹³⁰ Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ), "Imperial Reciprocity: Colonial Institute Banquet," June 22, 1908, p.6.

¹³¹ PC392 (see Appendix 10).

¹³² Leonard, "Hands across the Sea," p.6.

I cannot meet you, clasp your hand,
 But you will read and understand
 By this, all that my heart would say,
 And wish, for you, this Christmas Day.

If it was the public discourse of the HATS phrase that helped knit together a unified genre, it was, as Tuck evidently understood, the private emotional

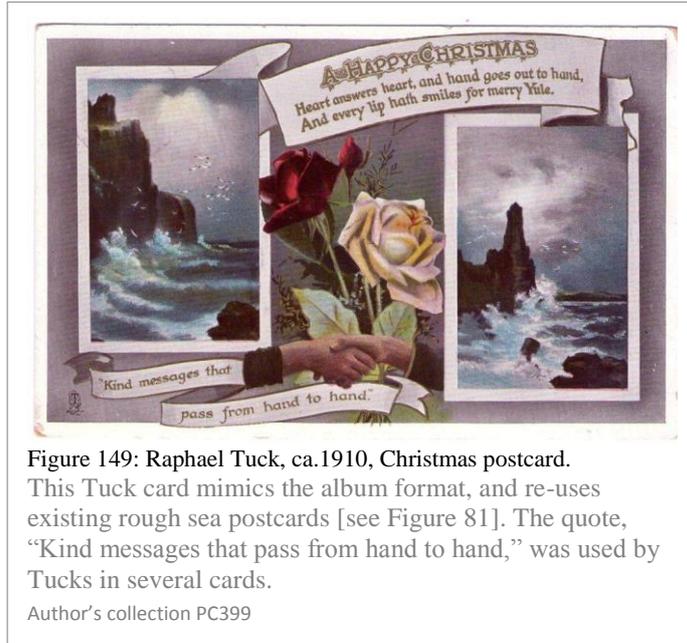


Figure 149: Raphael Tuck, ca.1910, Christmas postcard. This Tuck card mimics the album format, and re-uses existing rough sea postcards [see Figure 81]. The quote, “Kind messages that pass from hand to hand,” was used by Tucks in several cards.
 Author’s collection PC399

drivers of distance, absence and relationship maintenance that would account for the genre’s ultimate popularity. As Alan Leonard put it, the clasped hands symbolised “maintenance of love and friendship, whatever the distance across the oceans between the correspondents.”¹³³

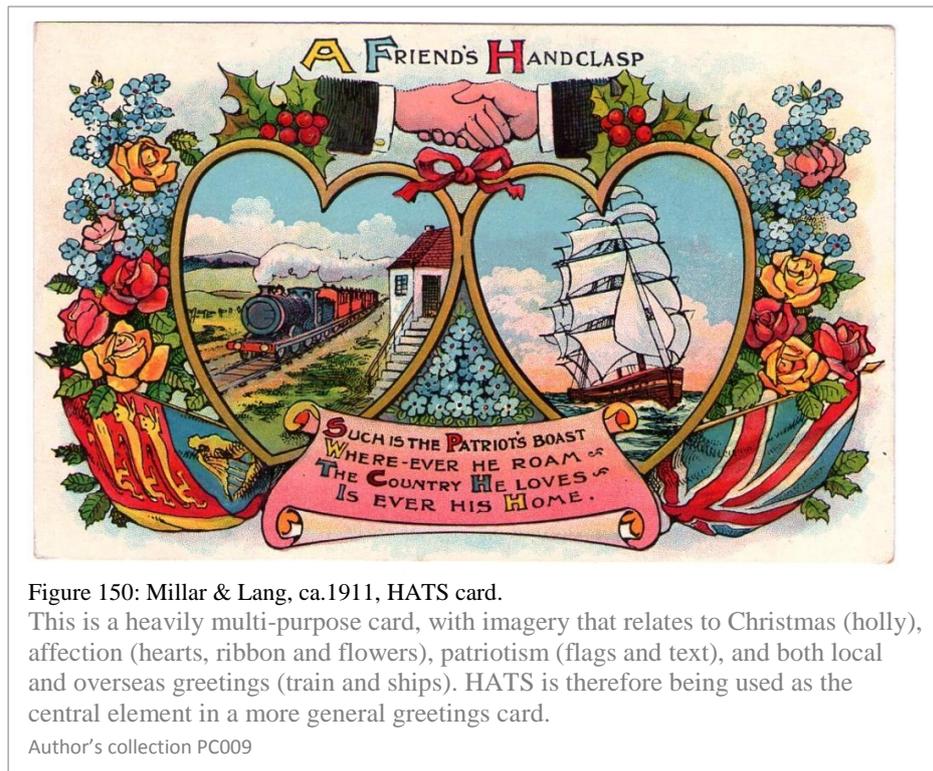
Peter Stearns described the Victorian emotional style as being one where “intense

emotions served as a desirable part of life and, ultimately, an enhancement of human ties,”¹³⁴ and this style carried through until at least the 1920s.¹³⁵ When the cards evoked strong affective responses to absence, therefore, this was no nostalgic throwback. The clasped hands served as a visual promise of future relief for the present situation. This linking of distance and emotional style provides the final strand that knitted HATS into the veritable craze it would become over the next few years. And the level of its popularity renders further detailed analysis impractical. The next section therefore focuses on certain broader dynamics of the craze and how its popularity inevitably contained the seeds of its demise.

¹³³ Ibid., p.4.

¹³⁴ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, pp.39-40.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.95.



From Craze to Cliché: HATS 1909-20

The Auckland retailers' advertising studied in the last chapter demonstrated that, having come to prominence in late 1908, the HATS craze was sustained through 1909. Despite less frequent advertising subsequently, Wildman and Arey were still promoting HATS cards at 3d for Christmas 1910 and 1911.¹³⁶ Shops in smaller centres similarly highlighted HATS. Maggie, writing from Kaikohe in 1910 on a Vertigen HATS card [Figure 6], asked her friend Pheamia: "How do you like this sort of card, they are stuck in all the shop windows up here." The following year, Brisbane stationers McWhirter & Sons were still headlining new HATS cards for 2d, 3d and 4d each,¹³⁷ showing that HATS was still commanding an (albeit reduced) premium three years after it came to threepenny and sixpenny prominence. These prices could only be sustained if the cards still resonated with the public, and the high production values of many cards at this period [e.g. Figure 150 and Figure 153] demonstrate that manufacturers were anxious to

¹³⁶ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," November 22, 1910, p.8; New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," October 14, 1911, p.7. HATS and NZ flowers are the only two genres specified amongst the limited range of Christmas postcards advertised in the 1910 advert.

¹³⁷ Brisbane Courier (AU), "Advertisements," December 18, 1911, p.1.

maintain the genre's popularity. Nevertheless, given the heavy exposure to the HATS concept during this period, it is unsurprising that it is at this point that one encounters the first indications of HATS being regarded as clichéd.



Figure 151: Millar & Lang, ca.1911, comic HATS card.

In addition to views and greetings cards, Millar & Lang were also a large producer of comic cards. This example shows that HATS was now expected to be recognised by the postcard-buying public, at least, and that Millar & Lang were not above parodying one of their popular genres.

Author's collection

It was not simply that HATS was recognisable enough to be punned on affectionately [Figure 151].¹³⁸ The phrase had, as the *American Journal of Philology* pointed out, become one of the “pat mottoes” of modern life,¹³⁹ and Jack Collings Squire reflected the negative aspects of this when he entitled one of his poetic parodies “*Hands-across-the-sea wish wash.*”¹⁴⁰ The *El Paso Herald* echoed this a little more kindly:

¹³⁸ Other puns included ‘hens across the sea’, and ‘hans across the sea’, which would later morph into ‘huns across the sea’. [Auckland Star (NZ), “Our American Letter,” April 29, 1910, p.6; Star (Christchurch, NZ), “The Week,” September 4, 1909, p.4; Auckland Star (NZ), “Huns Across the Sea,” September 30, 1916, p.15.] Later, a golf match between the British and American Press would be called “hands across the tee.” [New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “A Modest Violet,” March 27, 1922, p.3.] And the durability of the ‘hands across the see’ pun is shown by a very similar cartoon image to Figure 151 being reproduced in the *Auckland Star* in 1933, credited to the *London Opinion*. [Auckland Star (NZ), “Hands Across the See,” February 25, 1933, p.4.]

¹³⁹ American Journal of Philology, “Brief Mention,” *The American Journal of Philology* 32, no. 4 (1911): p.481.

¹⁴⁰ Jack Collings Squire, *Imaginary Speeches and Other Parodies in Prose and Verse* (London: Stephen Swift & Co., 1912), p.87. The book was presumably written in previous years.

A trite and time-worn saying, but how cheerful!
 When some great orator moves you and me
 To moods at once both brotherly and tearful
 With his remarks on “**hands across the sea.**”
 But, oh! when from our cash we have been sundered,
 Could anything more gay and festive be
 Than when we ask a friend to lend a hundred,
 To note with joy he **hands across the C?**¹⁴¹

A good many publishers and retailers had benefitted, between 1908 and 1911, from HATS’ capacity to sunder willing victims from their hard-earned cash, its marketability encouraging many more companies, like Tuck, to add a range of HATS cards to their list of offerings, (see Appendix 6.1).

The Trajectory of the Craze

Figure 152, which tracks the development of the HATS craze, shows just how exponentially exposure to HATS must have increased during that three year period.

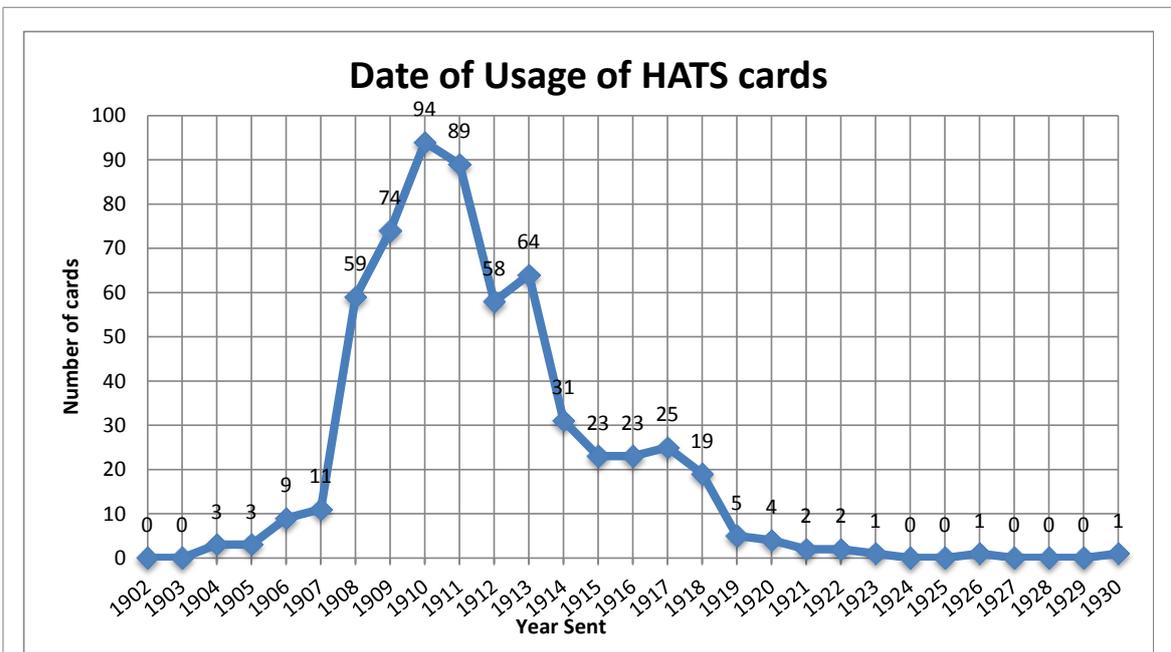


Figure 152: Chart showing the usage of the 601 dated HATS cards in the study.

Based on the study of 601 dated HATS cards, it becomes immediately possible to see how the demand for cards meant they were still commanding

¹⁴¹ El Paso Herald (TX), “Hands Across,” April 5, 1912, p.12.

good prices in 1911. Overall, too, the data accords with what has already been shown about the early period. While HATS card usage grew at a modest rate between 1904-7, 1908 saw its popularity soar – in keeping with the evidence from Spreckley and Wildman & Arey’s adverts. Nevertheless, it grew only marginally less through 1909 and 1910 before dropping somewhat in 1911, but still retaining a level similar to 1908 until 1913. It thus lasted as a significant phenomenon for over five years, following, albeit slightly later, the pattern that Gifford found with US holiday cards, which started their rise in 1907, peaking in 1909-10 before beginning “a steady march back into obscurity by 1920.”¹⁴²

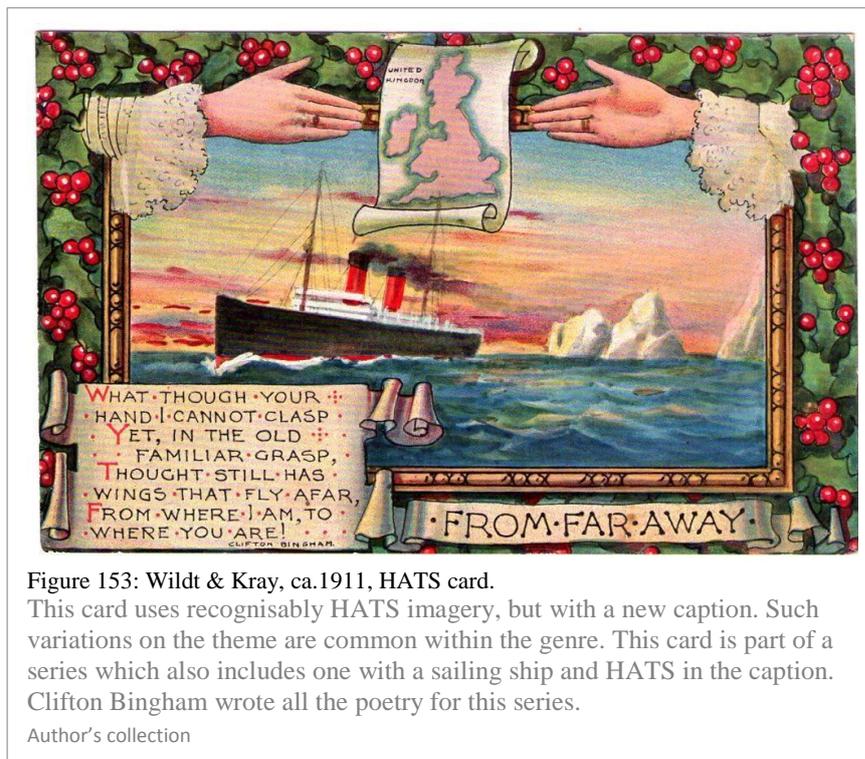


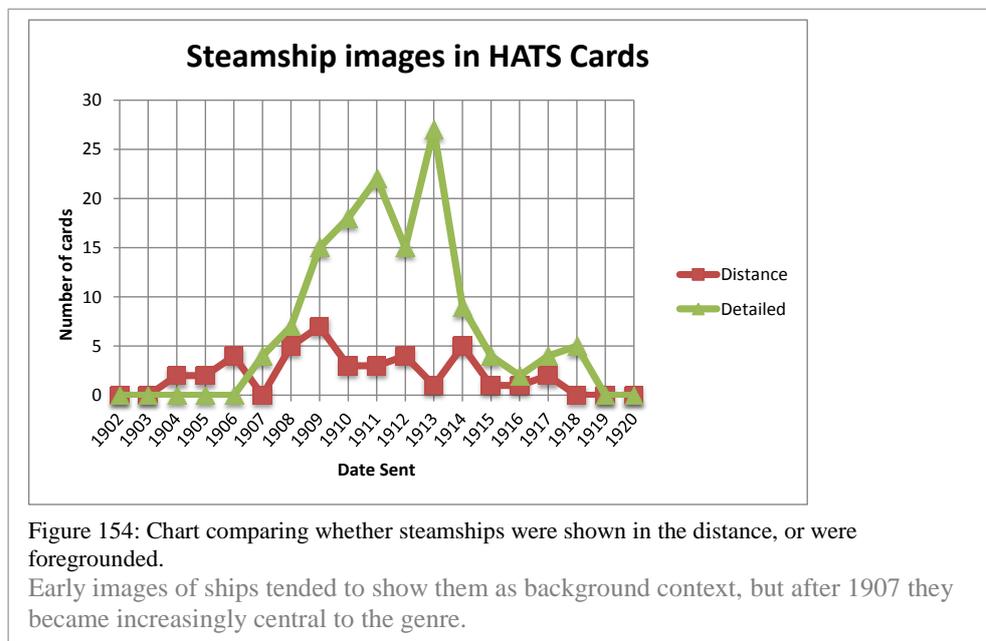
Figure 153: Wildt & Kray, ca.1911, HATS card.
 This card uses recognisably HATS imagery, but with a new caption. Such variations on the theme are common within the genre. This card is part of a series which also includes one with a sailing ship and HATS in the caption. Clifton Bingham wrote all the poetry for this series.
 Author’s collection

There are, however, two anomalies in what might otherwise have been a perfectly symmetrical graph of the rise and fall of a craze. Firstly there was an abrupt drop and partial rally in 1912/13, and secondly a partial rally peaking during 1917.¹⁴³ The latter coincides with the deployment overseas

¹⁴² Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.69.

¹⁴³ This rally may have been larger than the statistics given here. Of the small number of cards which I was not able to purchase during the time that I was collecting, most were from this period. Military collectors seem to have very deep pockets. With them, the bulge that appears in Figure 152 during the war years could have been more marked.

of large numbers of soldiers during the First World War. The earlier dip is less straightforward, but the evidence points towards a dropping off in usage of cards depicting ocean liners immediately after the sinking of the Titanic. This theory was suggested by the patterns of use of cards depicting steamships. 38.7% of the cards in the study had steamships on them [Figure 153], and these emblems of modern transport became increasingly prominent within the designs [Figure 154]. The very marked drop in use of cards with close-up images of ocean liners in 1912, and a rebound in 1913 (quite possibly showing the delayed posting of cards that had been bought in early 1912) strongly suggest that the collective trauma in relation to the Titanic's sinking led to a significant drop in the sending of such cards.



The Titanic's demise seems to have been instrumental in reviving the popularity of images of sailing ships (which overall appeared in 27% of the cards, but had been being outstripped by the steamship after 1908). There was also a spike, in 1913, in the sending of HATS cards depicting trains [Figure 155]. Publishers must have increased images of these during the latter part of 1912 in response to images of liners having abruptly moved from emblematic money-spinners to liabilities.

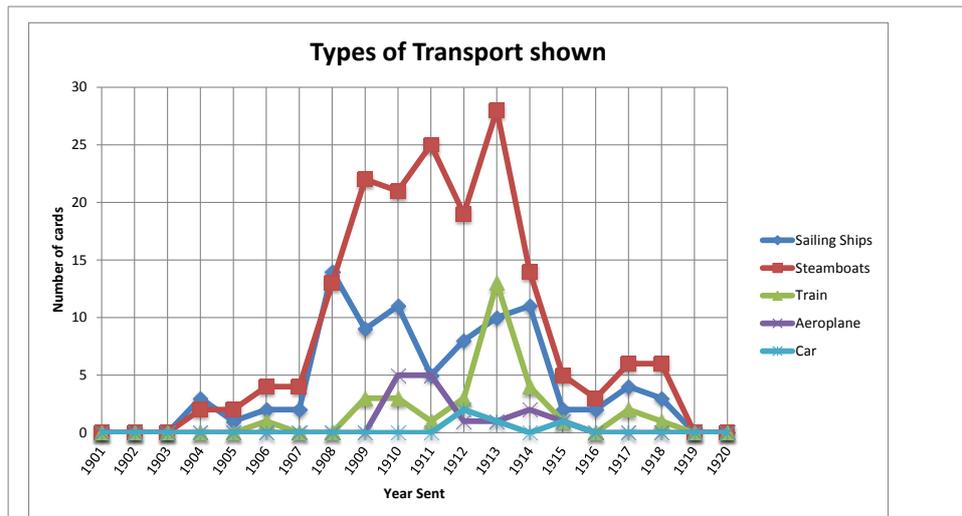


Figure 155: Chart showing the usage of cards depicting different types of transport. Sailing ships appear to have gone out of fashion after 1908, but revived after the Titanic knocked something of the gloss off images of ocean liners. The revival of steamship imagery in 1913 probably had something to do with people finally using cards bought before the Titanic and deemed inappropriate in its aftermath.

Prices of HATS cards also dropped during 1912, perhaps another ripple-on from the disaster, with Sydney firm Horderns advertising both a “Clasped hands series” and a “Greetings Across the Sea” at only a penny.¹⁴⁴

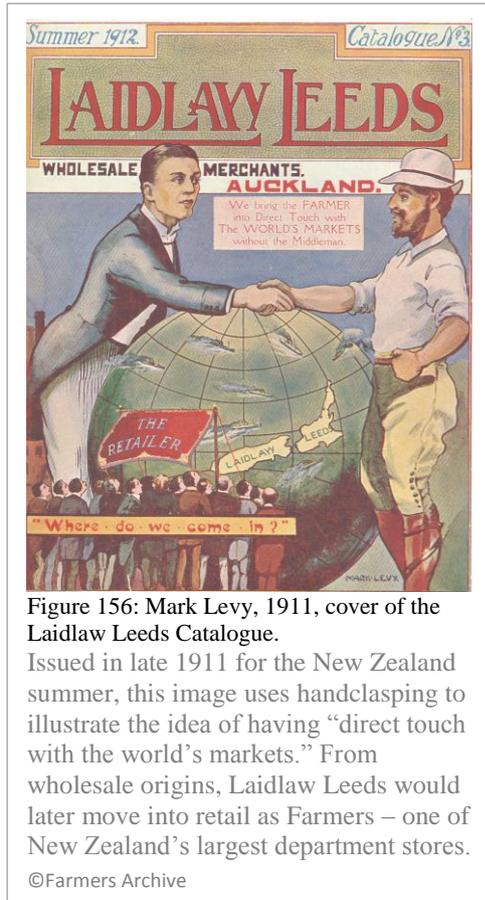
Nevertheless, in Nelson, bookseller Alfred Robinson was still highlighting their “grand selection of Hands Across the Sea cards” as a major feature of their overseas Christmas offerings.¹⁴⁵ 1912 would also mark the start of British photographic firm Rotary Photo’s extensive foray into HATS cards [Figure 219], after having previously published only a small number of such cards during 1906-9 [Figure 197 and Figure 130]. That one of the largest photographic publishers entered the HATS race seriously at this point, shows that they believed there was still life in the genre.

Ubiquity Beckons: The Decline of HATS Postcards

By 1911, HATS imagery had already started to be appropriated into the commercial vernacular of advertising [Figure 156], a good indicator, like the joking references mentioned previously, of its having crossed the ubiquity threshold.

¹⁴⁴ Sydney Morning Herald (AU), “Miscellaneous,” 2 November 1912, p.30.

¹⁴⁵ Nelson Evening Mail (NZ), “For Your Friends At Home This ‘Xmas,” November 8, 1912, p.6.



Indeed, the more familiar it became, the more publishers seem to have discovered that they could evoke the concept with ever subtler references. Figure 157 shows graphically how, during the initial phases of the HATS craze, the clasped hands motif was normally the dominant iconographic feature of the card. From 1909 onwards, however, it was progressively relegated to a supporting role, so that by 1915 fewer than half of the cards used HATS as the main feature.

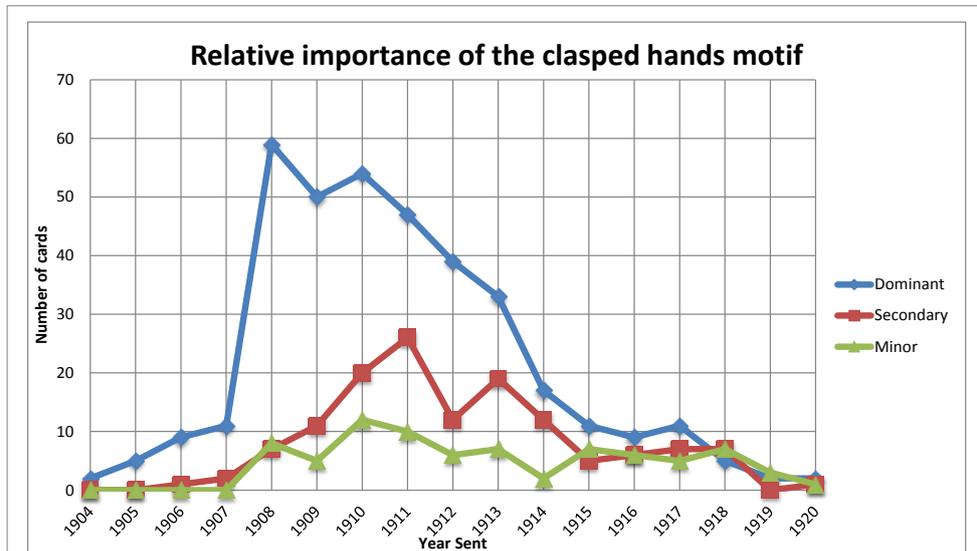


Figure 157: Chart showing the importance of the clasped hands motif in HATS cards. ‘Dominant’ here relates to cards where the clasped hands are the predominant symbol – not counting images of the sea. ‘Secondary’ is where the clasped hands play a secondary but still important iconographic role. ‘Minor’ relates to cards where the clasped hands supply a third or lower tier or iconographic reading. Some of the secondary cards must have had ships as the major motifs – which is why the Titanic effect in 1912 is more visible in these than in cards emphasising clasped hands.

Physical size, however, does not necessarily equate to conceptual significance. A 1915 article on Christmas cards in the *Manchester Guardian*

suggests that by then the term had become synonymous with the greetings genre. After talking about the revival of Christmas greetings in 1915, following a dropping off during the previous year, the writer went on to say:

Cards adorned with the national flags in colours, and especially those lettered with cheery greetings in verse – “Hands across the Sea’ cards,” the dealer called them – are also being ordered pretty freely by the retailers.¹⁴⁶

This shows that, for one British dealer at least, HATS had become a generic term for the entire overseas greetings genre. Whilst this may not have been true for everyone, it reveals, at the very least, that the concept was in no way forgotten. Indeed, the same newspaper later provides the best evidence of HATS imagery continuing into the 1920s, saying in 1920 that:

This is going to be the most decorated Christmas since the war... It is by Christmas cards that one sees best how unchanging the festival is. The same phrases of greeting, the same bindings of cord or pale, thin ribbon, the same black cats on scarlet roofs, maidens at sundials, hands clasped across billowy seas. No social revolution has muddled the trays which keep rigidly apart the twopenny and sixpenny and shilling varieties.¹⁴⁷

Two years later it would report that:

The tendency in cards for the colonies is to overdo the Colonial aspect. Linked hands across the sea is a favourite device in the twopenny trays and Britannia’s Lions for the more exclusive varieties. Our colonies must grow very weary of these simple notions.¹⁴⁸

HATS was therefore still widespread, if clichéd, but its place was now clearly within the cheapest price range, indicative of its slide from sixpenny status fifteen years earlier. However, these 1920s references relate not to postcards but to Christmas cards, with the HATS genre generally having migrated into the broader Christmas greetings genre by 1920 [Figure 158]. The fact that Millar & Lang were still offering HATS postcards in a 1922-3 sample catalogue,¹⁴⁹ does not prove that these cards were still being manufactured. It is more likely that they were old stock.

¹⁴⁶ Manchester Guardian (UK), “Coming of Christmas,” December 15, 1915, p.3.

¹⁴⁷ Manchester Guardian (UK), “Christmas Cards and Crackers,” December 20, 1920, p.5.

¹⁴⁸ Manchester Guardian (UK), “The Colonial Christmas,” October 13, 1922, p.6.

¹⁴⁹ Main, “Millar & Lang, Ltd., Art Printers and Publishers Darnley Works, Darnley St., Glasgow,” pp.14-15.



Figure 158: Rotary Photo, ca.1920, HATS Christmas card. The turquoise and pink colours used on this Christmas card are typical of 1920s hand colouring. Rotary finally ceased trading in 1922, making an early 1920s date plausible. Author's collection



Figure 159: Wartime Embroidered HATS Card. Embroidered cards were frequently sent as postcards from France, but HATS appeared on relatively few of these, and there were still fewer folding cards, such as this. Author's collection

The Effects of the War

There is a telling change in tone between earlier and later *Manchester Guardian* references. The move from cheery greeting to tired iconography is in many ways defined by an event that both revived and ended the HATS postcard – the First World War.

HATS constituted the perfect cypher for colonial solidarity, and the war had barely begun before patriotic poets like C. Spencer Compton started putting it to work:

“**H**ands across the sea,” my boys,
 When the empire sends its call –
 We are ready with men, in thousands ten,
 And more if the foremost fall;
 We’ll show the world, when our flag’s unfurl’d,
 New Zealand’s Sons are true –
 When war’s alarms call to “Shoulder Arms!”
 We’ll show what our boys can do.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Wairarapa Daily Times (Masterton, NZ), “Hands Across the Sea,” September 22, 1914, p.2.

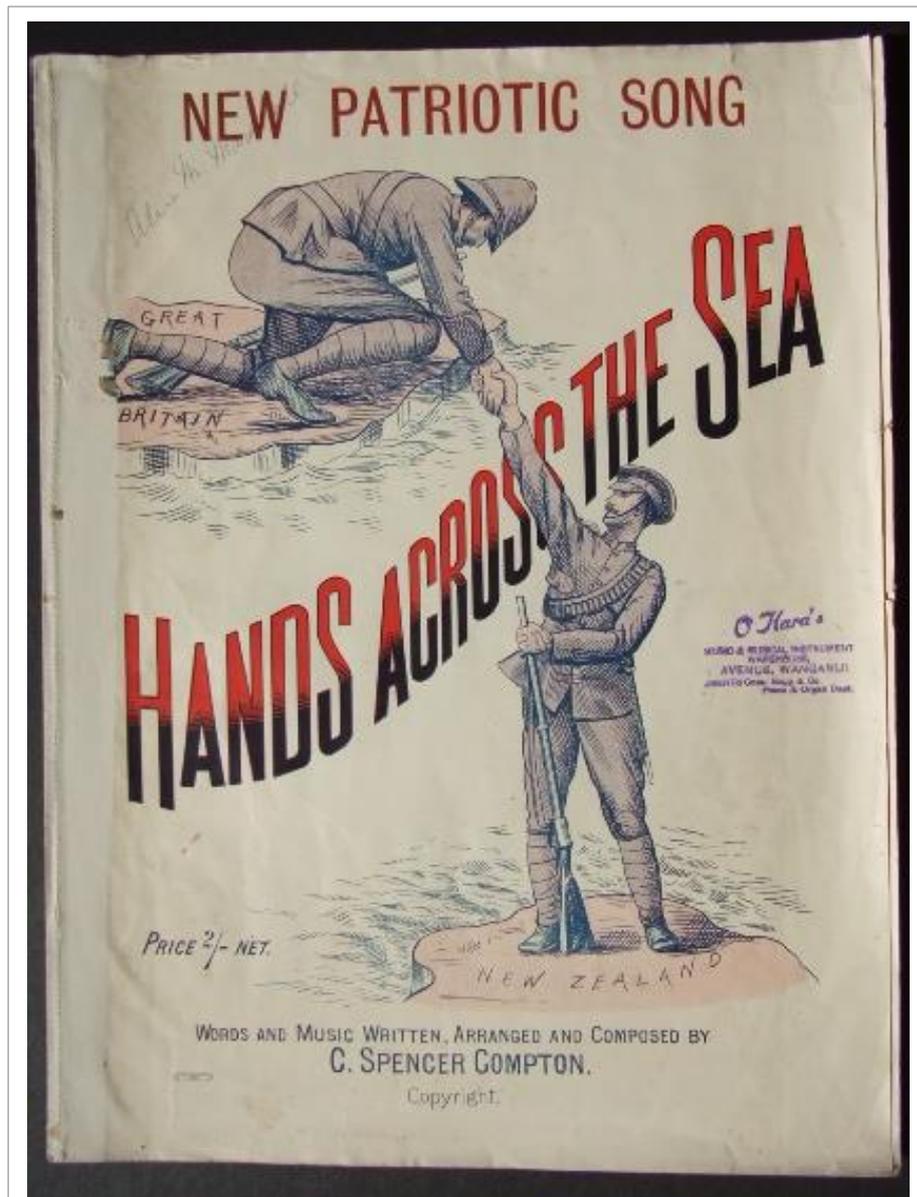


Figure 160: Cover of the 1914 song “Hands Across the Sea.”

C. Spencer Compton’s song was published by Whanganui’s A. D. Willis, and shows the use of a *concordia* design appropriate to its political intent.

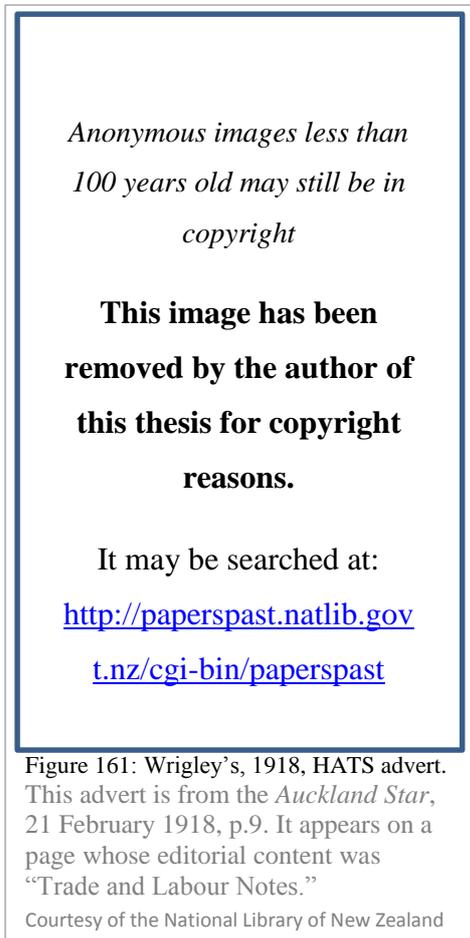
Image courtesy of Alistair Gillkison, Archive of New Zealand Sheet Music

According to the *Dominion*, Compton’s song “embodies the spirit of lusty strength and firm resolution to do one’s duty in the hour of need” [Figure 160].¹⁵¹

HATS retained its power during the war. British prisoners of war sent a published message to German counterparts imprisoned in Scotland saying “reaching hands across the sea to you, we will both cry together ‘Damn this

¹⁵¹ *Dominion* (Wellington, NZ), “Patriotic Songs,” October 3, 1914, p.8. It notes A. D. Willis as the publisher.

barbed wire’.”¹⁵² HATS imagery was also used in 1918 advertising [Figure 161]. Although the emotional imprint of trench warfare would lead to broader post-war disillusionment,¹⁵³ it did not stop soldiers, once enlisted,



from sending significant numbers of HATS-related postcards,¹⁵⁴ resulting in a wartime spike in HATS card usage [Figure 152]. This was particularly noticeable in 1917-18, the years when most New Zealand soldiers were stationed overseas.

The immediate beneficiaries of this increase in HATS postcard usage were the large photographic companies Rotary and Beagles. They were the only two companies whose production continued unbroken through the 1914-15 period (see Appendix 6).¹⁵⁵ The tourist market had been an immediate casualty of the war,¹⁵⁶ and publishers scrambled to find alternatives to tourist-oriented postcards. War-related greetings such as HATS were an obvious choice. The war stimulated a similar renewal of interest in the HATS card on

the part of lithographers, but the complete absence of cards from the lithographic firms in 1914-15 (see Appendix 6.3) shows that implementation was delayed, probably owing to these companies' heavy dependence upon the suddenly inaccessible German printing.

¹⁵² Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Humour in Prison," January 17, 1934, p.4.

¹⁵³ Michael Roper, "Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War," *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 02 (2011): p.430.

¹⁵⁴ One Canadian soldier, for example, pasted his photo over a pre-war Wildt & Kray HATS card, and added his own updated war-related HATS verse. This card, albeit not credited to W&K, is reproduced in Holt and Holt, *Till the Boys Come Home: The Picture Postcard of the First World War*, p.123.

¹⁵⁵ Rotary appears to have been a casualty of the extreme competition amongst real photo producers. Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.236. They went into liquidation in 1916, before finally ceasing trade in 1922. [London Gazette (UK), "The Rotary Photographic Company," April 28, 1916, p.4299.] Between 1917-22, although it would trade under the name Rotary, it was run by a new company. [London Gazette (UK), "Rotary Photographic Company (1917) Limited," March 3, 1922, p.1874.]

¹⁵⁶ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," pp.6-7.

The war would ultimately end Germany's dominance as a postcard producer,¹⁵⁷ but it posed British lithographers with three problems: how to sell stock already printed in Germany, where to print cards of an equivalent quality, and how to hide their German links. German immigrant firm Wildt & Kray, for example, found this an opportune moment to only use the acronym W&K on their cards.¹⁵⁸ The newspapers were making people aware of "how wide was the hold the German octopus had on the business life of the British Empire," pointing out that many German firms were still trading in Britain courtesy of the Joint Stock Companies Act.¹⁵⁹ The same

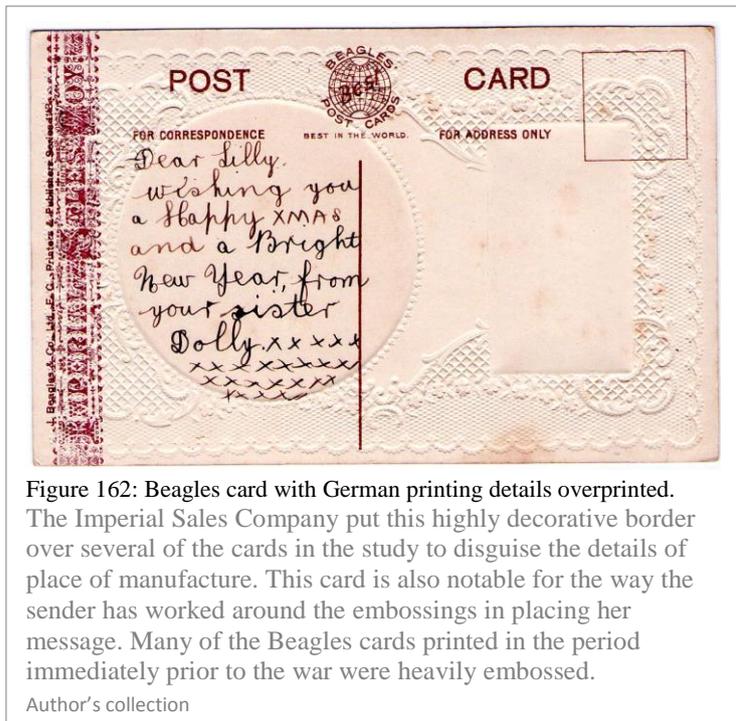


Figure 162: Beagles card with German printing details overprinted. The Imperial Sales Company put this highly decorative border over several of the cards in the study to disguise the details of place of manufacture. This card is also notable for the way the sender has worked around the embossings in placing her message. Many of the Beagles cards printed in the period immediately prior to the war were heavily embossed.
Author's collection

article also revealed German-printed postcards being sold door to door at much cheaper prices than equivalent English cards.¹⁶⁰

Discounting was evidently one strategy for moving stock, but other companies adopted deception. The Imperial Sales Company took to overprinting cards that bore the dreaded 'Printed in Germany' mark [Figure 162], leading to

patriotic complaints.¹⁶¹ The Regal Post Card Company similarly salted some German-printed cards through bundles of British cards, overprinted others with the words "Arrow Brand," and elsewhere guillotined the place of origin off.¹⁶² Seeing their cards sold by such methods must have been

¹⁵⁷ Fraser, "Propaganda on the Picture Postcard," p.43.

¹⁵⁸ Byatt's dating of W&K's cards suggests they were creating about a thousand series of cards every three years. [Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.331.] With card numbers in the high 3000s when this change (and a change of trademark) occurs, using Byatts' system, the change can be dated with some confidence to 1915.

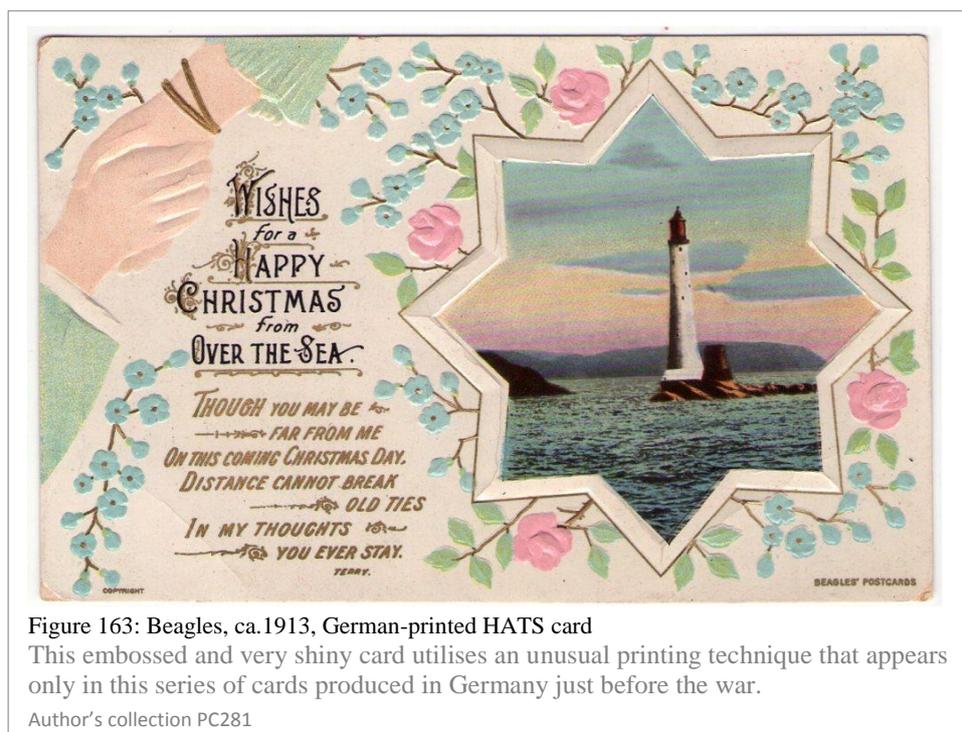
¹⁵⁹ Ohinemuri Gazette (Paeroa, NZ), "Trading with the Germans," November 15, 1915, p.2.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ The Register (Adelaide, AU), "Watch for German Goods," December 20, 1915, p.6, Ashburton Guardian (NZ), "Local and General," May 30, 1917, p.4.

¹⁶² Hawera & Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), "Local and General News," May 26, 1917, p.4. This item was also run by the *Fielding Star*. The appearance of this news in the two

particularly galling for manufactures like Beagles and Birn Brothers – British firms that contracted German printers, and which had produced some of their most sophisticated cards during 1912-13. It was especially ironic for Beagles, a photographic firm, to have inherited a problem borne of having to use lithography for colour printing [Figure 163]. Nevertheless, as had happened in the 1890s (when, as noted on page 151, German printed Christmas cards had also attracted patriotic ire), there were users prepared to prioritise card quality over place of production, sending ‘Printed in Germany’ cards during the war without apology.¹⁶³



Raphael Tuck faced the reverse problem, with calls in the German press for Tuck's German arm to be boycotted, and its subsequent sequestering by the German government.¹⁶⁴ Without access to their German contacts, Tuck and other printers were obliged, they complained, to spend “thousands of

newspapers that first carried adverts for Regal Postcards in 1906 (see p.300), suggests that it retained a high level of visibility in these communities. The company's tactics would lead to the banning of importing their cards, unless sanctioned by customs – thus effectively ending their method of using amateur salespeople [see Figure 117]. Dominion (Wellington, NZ), “Local and General,” August 30, 1918, p.4.

¹⁶³ None of the messages on the cards in my study allude to the issue of place of origin. In a couple of cases, attempts had been made to scratch out the printing information with a knife – though whether this was done by the retailer or purchaser is unclear.

¹⁶⁴ Barrier Miner (Broken Hill, AU), “German Methods,” November 7, 1915, p.4.

pounds in laying down new machinery for printing coloured postcards of the kind hitherto obtained from Germany,” and were therefore much perturbed in 1915 when it emerged that the halfpenny charge for postcards might be raised in the upcoming budget.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, by early 1916, *The Times* was reporting on a Trade Fair where:

The most noticeable feature is the large number of firms which can do quite good colour printing at cheap rates. We are referring not solely to the many lively and original designs for advertising; it seems that the makers of Christmas cards and picture postcards, producers of calendars and souvenirs can all do printing in colour which is neither crude nor clumsy.¹⁶⁶

The implication here is that British lithography in these areas had previously been “crude and clumsy,” and it evidently took the lithographers some time to revive their production. This was not helped by a climate in which printing cards could be regarded, according to *The Times*, as “indefensible from a utilitarian point of view, even a wanton waste of material and labour according to strict war-time standards.”¹⁶⁷ Tuck, at an AGM in 1916, listed the major issues facing the company as a contracted market, and the scarcity and increased cost of both materials and labour.¹⁶⁸

Verse and the Move to Folded Cards

Despite pressures that would ultimately further weaken the postcard craze as a whole, by 1916 there was a marked revival in the usage of HATS cards [see Figure 152]. Jones’ Postcard Emporium in Nelson advertised them,¹⁶⁹ while lithographers now joined photographers in creating cards targeted to troops, as even more of those troops were being sent overseas. And the *Manchester Guardian*’s description of these HATS cards as being “lettered with cheery greetings in verse”¹⁷⁰ accords with the findings of this study.

The average number of words in the cards’ printed texts increased over time [Figure 165] as the expectation of a HATS card moved from being

¹⁶⁵ The Times (London, UK), “To-Day’s Debate,” September 23, 1915, p.9.

¹⁶⁶ The Times (London, UK), “A Trade Fair in London,” February 22, 1916, p.6.

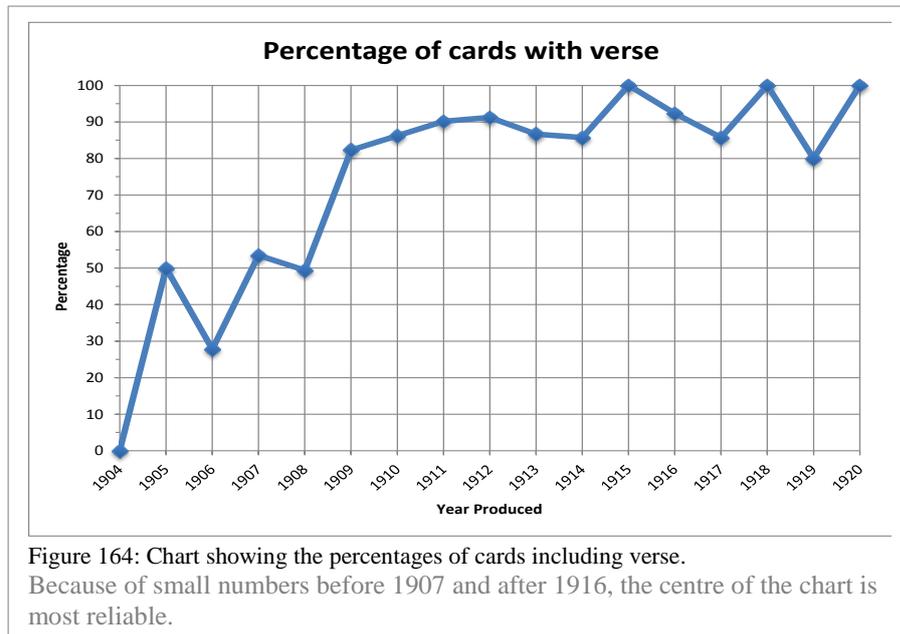
¹⁶⁷ The Times (London, UK), “Christmas Cards,” December 19, 1917, p.9. It added that the Christmas card nevertheless “persists as a token of good fellowship.”

¹⁶⁸ The Times (London, UK), “Company Meetings,” August 4, 1916, p.12.

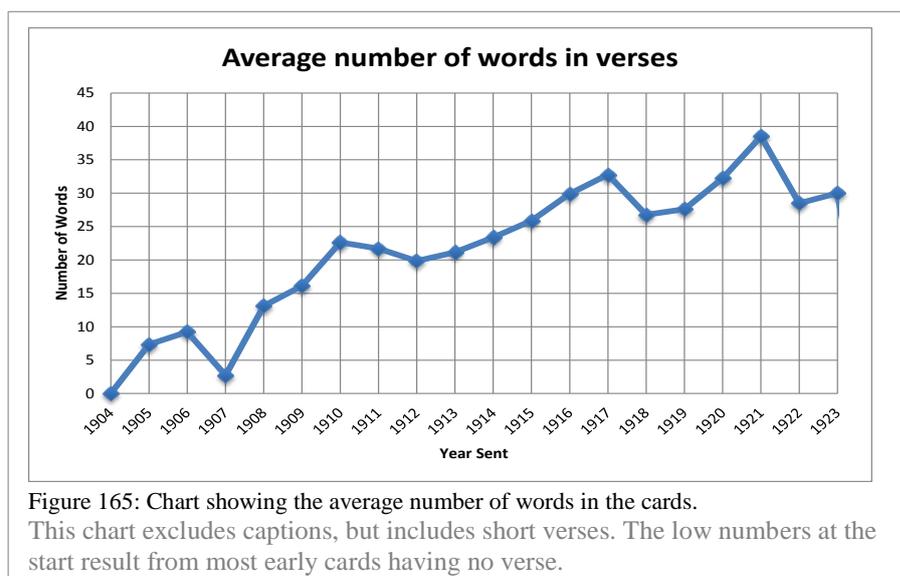
¹⁶⁹ Nelson Evening Mail (NZ), “Advertisements,” December 16, 1916, p.1.

¹⁷⁰ Manchester Guardian (UK), “Coming of Christmas,” December 15, 1915, p.3.

primarily a picture with the label ‘Hands across the Sea’ to normally including a poem.



Not only did more of the later cards have verses, but the average length of the verse increased [Figure 165]. Texts had been shortest in 1907, with texts averaging just 15 words [e.g. Figure 128].¹⁷¹ They remained fairly stable at the four-line norm of 25 or 26 words between 1908-14, but increased on average to 29 by 1915, rising to 35 in 1917. Wartime cards were particularly verse-heavy.



¹⁷¹ This low average is largely a result of the large proportion of Wildt & Kray cards which had two-line verses.

Figure 166 is typical of this tendency in wartime cards. The amount of space given to the texts is greater than in W&K's earlier cards.

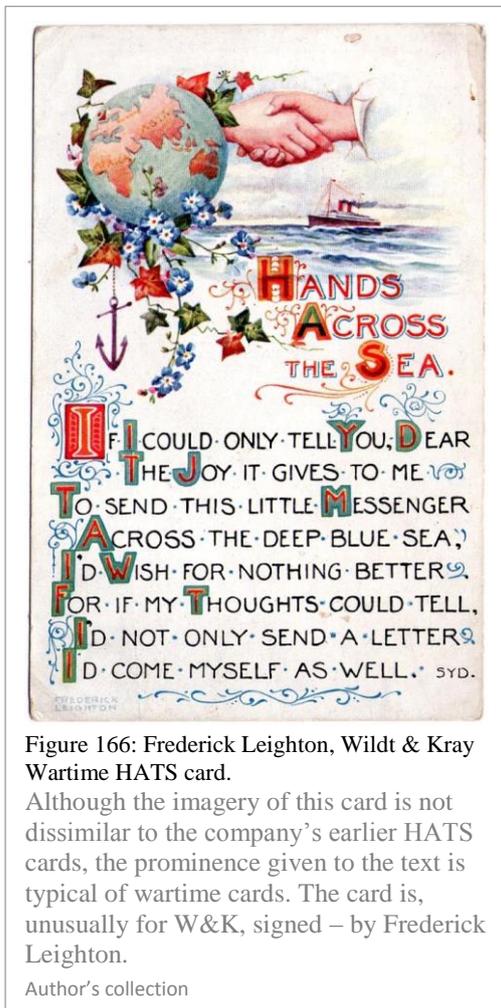


Figure 166: Frederick Leighton, Wildt & Kray Wartime HATS card. Although the imagery of this card is not dissimilar to the company's earlier HATS cards, the prominence given to the text is typical of wartime cards. The card is, unusually for W&K, signed – by Frederick Leighton. Author's collection

This trend towards longer verses, seen also in publishers like Beagles [e.g. Figure 167], will be discussed later in relation to a frenetic brand of modernism, but it is also important for understanding the transition between postcards and greetings cards, and the trajectory of cards like the HATS genre towards becoming Christmas cards. In America, Joyce Hall, the founder of Hallmark, argued that:

Postcards were not really a means of communication between people. Most of them were either humorous or simply decorative and lacked a from-me-to-you sentiment; they were sent because it was the thing to do.¹⁷²

Given that there is no reference to highly text-based postcards in either Gifford's or Shank's studies, they would probably accept Hall's comments as broadly typical of the American situation. Nevertheless, this distinction is less clear within the British postcard industry. Later

postcards like Figure 4, Figure 167 and Figure 188 do articulate more clearly the precise "me-to-you" relationship of sender to receiver,¹⁷³ with consumers like the husband who sent Figure 4 clearly wanting the cards to index their specific context.

¹⁷² Quoted in Ellen Stock Stern, *The Very Best from Hallmark: Greetings Cards through the Years* (New York: Abrams, 1988), p.7.

¹⁷³ This specificity showed up as a very marked trend within my analysis of Beagles' wartime and post-war greetings cards, with family relationships, and friendship status being made clear in the captioning.

Hall's comments underestimate the importance of the verses that consistently appear on British greetings postcards from at least 1908 onwards. Companies like Bamforth had long specialised in poetic cards, and

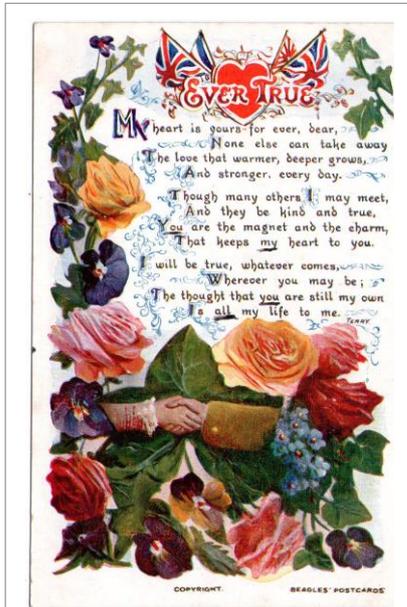


Figure 167: Beagles, ca.1916, Wartime HATS card. This card shows the soldier's sleeve, patriotic and sentimental imagery, long text, and a quality of printing much below Beagles' earlier German printed work. Author's collection

such cards came into their own during the war.¹⁷⁴ They expressed very effectively “the sentiments of parted families,” as Anthony Byatt put it.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, the Clifton Bingham verse quoted on page 371 has a clear ‘from-me-to-you’ quality. British consumers and greetings card companies appear to have already appreciated the importance of textual sentiment well before companies like Hallmark would appropriate both the approach and the credit. It is precisely this textual element which was shared by the friendship book and autograph album, as well as many nineteenth century Valentines and Christmas cards. Nevertheless, as the desire for longer and stronger verses intensified during the war, cards like Figure 166 and Figure 167 struggled to balance the pictorial and literary content. Folded greetings cards like Figure 158 and Figure 168

allowed more space for both elements. The HATS meme's migration from postcard to folded greetings card is understandable in this context. Although postcards could accommodate longer verses, the greetings card could house them more effectively. It also made financial sense to move the popular greetings genre away from the progressively lower priced postcard into a new format that could thus attract higher prices. Manufacturers a decade earlier had used the postcard to revitalise the greetings card. The roles were now reversed.

The decline of greetings postcards was matched by an intensification of card usage elsewhere. In a 1939 article, looking back, the writer noted that:

In my small world Christmas cards didn't become a real habit till about 1915, and I'll never forget the first greeting card my family sent

¹⁷⁴ Holt and Holt, *Till the Boys Come Home: The Picture Postcard of the First World War*, p.116.

¹⁷⁵ Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.38.

out, engraved very properly but brightened with a sedate sprig of holly. Before then there were Christmas postcards but no one sent them out in any numbers.¹⁷⁶

His point about not previously sending cards “in any numbers” points to the growing ritual obligation of sending cards to all one’s friends. It is here that Barry Shank’s overall thesis – about greetings cards becoming a crucial element of business network maintenance – starts to make sense.¹⁷⁷ After the war, as Shank shows, both greetings card use and greetings card companies flourished. But the tendency for manufacturers to change their emphasis away from postcards and towards greetings cards began earlier than that. Although Shank cites the founding of the National Association of Greetings Card Manufacturers in 1913 as emblematic of this change,¹⁷⁸ New Zealand retailers had started prioritising Christmas cards over postcards as early as 1910 (as noted earlier in the discussion on pages 323 and 326), and this was reinforced in Raphael Tuck’s advertising.¹⁷⁹ It is therefore necessary to take issue with Shank’s argument that the clichéd imagery and texts of greetings cards derive from the “conditions of large-scale business” that came from the evolution from small postcard businesses into large greetings card firms.¹⁸⁰ The post-war generation would take to sending Christmas cards in bulk, but, in Britain at least, the preceding discussion should have shown that much of this trend had been rehearsed earlier through the postcard and its predecessors.

¹⁷⁶ Barrier Miner (Broken Hill, AU), “Christmas Card Greetings,” December 9, 1939, p.25.

¹⁷⁷ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.9.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.142.

¹⁷⁹ The West Australian (Perth), “Raphael Tuck and Sons’ Christmas Card Collection,” November 18, 1914, p.5.

¹⁸⁰ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.170.

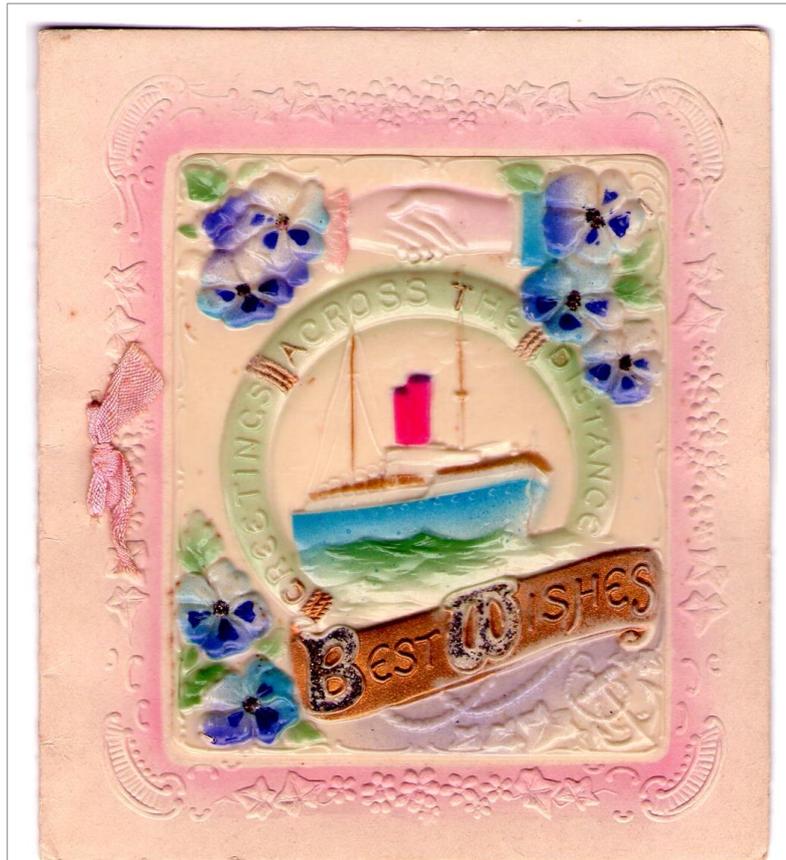


Figure 168: Raphael Tuck, ca.1913-20, celluloid HATS Christmas card. This undated folding card shows Tuck transferring and adapting the HATS pattern, but, like many later cards, varying the phrase – in this case to Hands Across the Distance. The verse was now contained on an inserted page, held by a ribbon.
Author's collection

The Afterglow

As this chapter explored HATS' somewhat haphazard development into a recognisable genre, it has also shed light on some broader postcard trends. It is possible, for example, to conclude that the postcard craze as a whole did not so much fade as segment. By the twentieth century's second decade the card's fashion status had been eroded by other practices such as cinema-going. Illustrated magazines superseded its function of disseminating views and theatrical imagery, whilst the Kodak helped the photograph album – now with snapshots rather than CDV's – to oust the postcard album and regain its central place as the parlour conversation piece.¹⁸¹ Similarly, the greetings postcard, having revitalised the fortunes of the Christmas card,

¹⁸¹ Naomi Schor mentions this relegation of the postcard album from sitting room to attic. Schor, "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900," p.239.

now progressively morphed back into the broader greetings card category, as greetings cards moved out of the album and onto the mantelpiece.



Figure 170: Beagles, ca.1927, postcard for the Indian market. This card was sold by the Rawalpindi firm Hukam Chand & Bros, commissioned from Beagles. The SS Rawalpindi, shown in the card, was built in 1927. This is the only 1920s HATS card that Beagles produced. Author's collection

These trends were perhaps hastened by the rising price of postage, but they also related to wider social trajectories which perhaps made them somewhat inevitable. What was left for the postcard was its established role as holiday souvenir, and as light comic relief for holidaymakers. Companies like Beagles struggled on with ever more specific Birthday postcards and greetings postcards for those still inclined to use the older form. Beagles' only 1920s HATS postcard, printed for an Indian firm [Figure 170], underlines how rare it now was to touch base with a form that had seemed so ubiquitous in the previous decade.

Although, by 1920, the HATS meme had all but moved on from the postcard, and would not

last much longer within greetings cards, that is not to say that, as separate elements, either HATS itself or the clasped hands symbol were spent.

While the phrase declined in the 1920s, it remained a subheading perennial within newspapers,¹⁸² and would enjoy a second wind coinciding with Noel Coward's short play

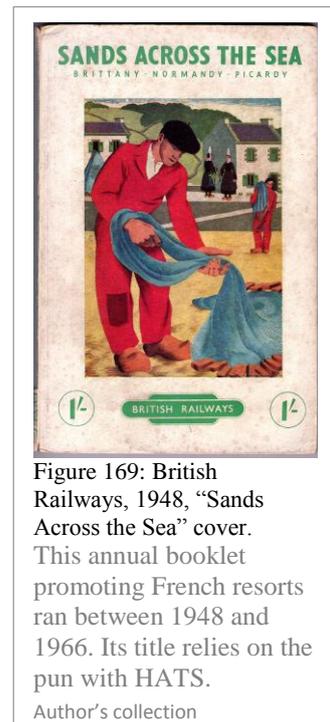


Figure 169: British Railways, 1948, "Sands Across the Sea" cover. This annual booklet promoting French resorts ran between 1948 and 1966. Its title relies on the pun with HATS. Author's collection

¹⁸² A sample of these: New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Hands Across the Sea," October 14, 1924, p.12. Auckland Star (NZ), "Hands Across the Sea," September 8, 1934, p.2.; Irish Times (Dublin, IE), "Hands Across the Sea," May 18, 1960, p.4; Irish Times (Dublin, IE), "Hands Across the Sea," October 21, 1978, p.13.

“Hands Across the Sea.”¹⁸³ Although some wartime Americans reiterated that “the time for vague compliments, empty generalities, and “hand across the sea” slogans ...is past,”¹⁸⁴ this did not stop them using it for a wartime poster [Figure 171].



Figure 171: American Emergency Management War Production Board poster, 1942-3.
Identification number 179-WP-735
Image courtesy of US National Archives

New Zealand’s Minister of Internal Affairs also drew on the phrase’s established power, saying:

That old phrase ‘hands across the sea’ receives new force from the present state of the war.... Thousands of the folk here will be eager to stretch out hands to British children and draw them to safety in the brighter Britain of the South.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Noel Coward, *Tonight at 8.30: Ten One-Act Plays* (London: Methuen Drama, 2009 [1936]). “Hands Across the Sea” was one of the ten plays.

¹⁸⁴ The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), “Men and Affairs,” May 30, 1942, p.4. This is a quote from an American educationalist, Chester S. Williams.

¹⁸⁵ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), “Homes in Dominion,” June 29, 1940, p.13.

Indeed, if Google’s Ngram is to be trusted, HATS returned to almost the same peak level of usage during the Second World War.¹⁸⁶ This popularity, however, translated into just a single attempt at postcard reprisal, [Figure 172].

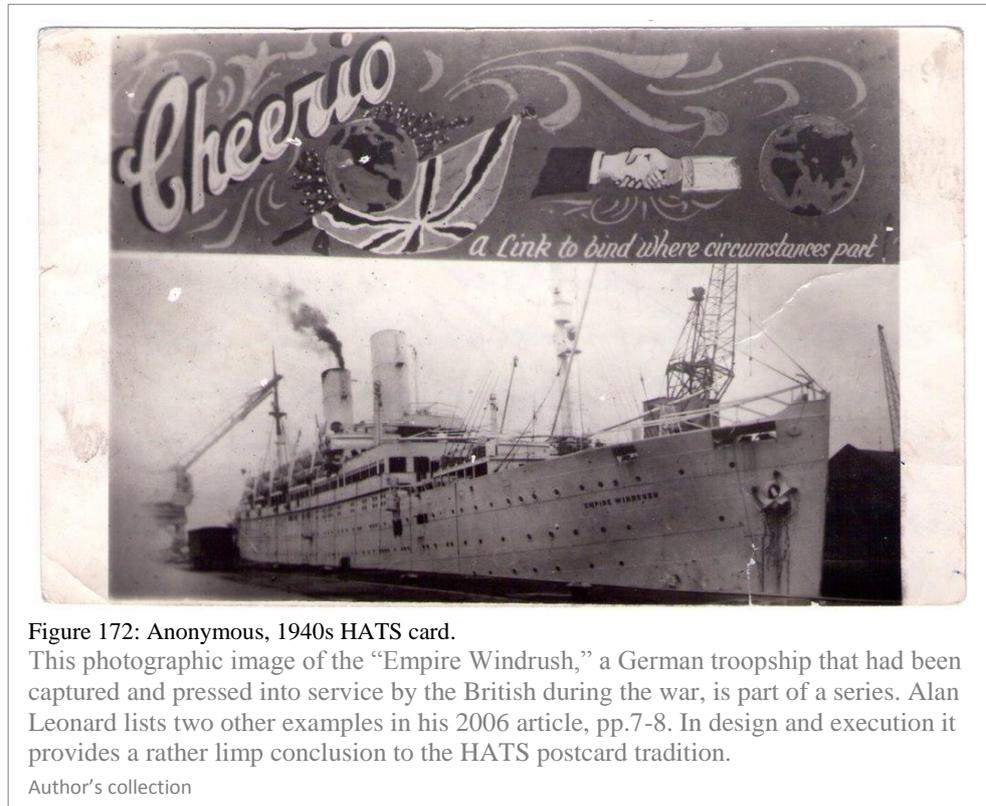


Figure 172: Anonymous, 1940s HATS card.

This photographic image of the “Empire Windrush,” a German troopship that had been captured and pressed into service by the British during the war, is part of a series. Alan Leonard lists two other examples in his 2006 article, pp.7-8. In design and execution it provides a rather limp conclusion to the HATS postcard tradition.

Author’s collection

HATS similarly retained its cachet within the Union movement until at least the 1950s. Versions of it have periodically reappeared in popular culture – as for example in British Railways’ long-running “Sands Across the Sea” catalogue [Figure 169],¹⁸⁷ and the 1986 anti-hunger event, where almost seven million Americans formed a human chain across the USA: “Hands Across America.”¹⁸⁸ It also resurfaced in a variety of postal and telecommunications contexts, such as when it was used during the 1930s as

¹⁸⁶ Ngram collates all usages within Google Books, and its trajectory shows the Hands Across the Sea term peaking in 1918, troughing in 1929, before building to a second peak in 1943, followed by a sharp decline. Google Books Ngram Viewer, [n.d.], http://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=hands+across+the+sea&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share= [accessed July 11, 2013].

¹⁸⁷ British Railways. “British Railways Publicity.” (Undated). <http://www.spublicity.co.uk/brs/page1.htm#t6> [accessed April 28, 2013].

¹⁸⁸ USA for Africa. “Hands Across America.” (2013). http://www.usaforafrica.org/Hands_Across_America/momentsinhistory_HAA.html [accessed 5 May, 2013].

part of the imagery on a new type of New Zealand greetings telegram [Figure 173].

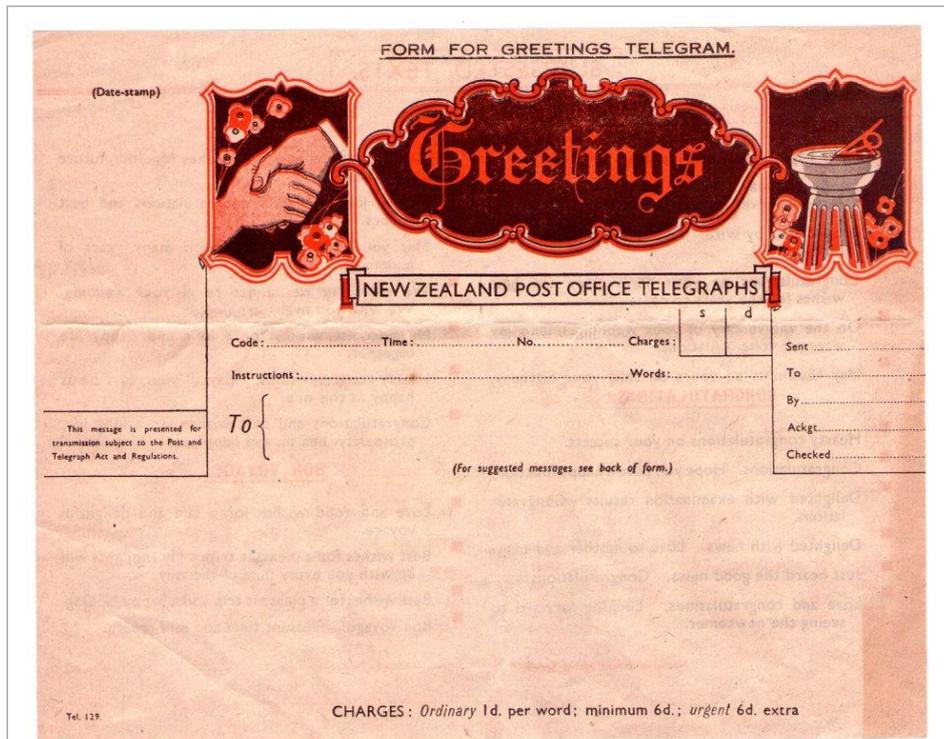


Figure 173: New Zealand Post Office, 1935, Greetings telegram.
The HATS quality of this post 1935 telegram form is reinforced in the suggested messages on the back, one of which reads “A handclasp by wire.”
Author’s collection

Overseas, it appeared in such contexts as a Pitcairn Islands envelope, and a widely used private rubber stamp added to Australian envelopes.



Figure 174: 1938 Australian envelope with HATS stamp added.
Author’s collection.

Figure 174 was carefully personalised by its sender who used this HATS rubber stamp, adhesive flags and a drawn hand pointing to the Koala bear on the Australian stamp, along with the handwritten label “Teddy Bear.” Since Teddy bears were named after Teddy Roosevelt, whose distaste for HATS was noted above (page 375), and whose forthright views on the subject in part contributed to the unravelling of the HATS meme, this envelope carries an unintended level of bricolaged irony which somehow seems an appropriate place to draw this more historical discussion to a close, and to move, in the next chapter, to some of the broader issues that have surfaced.

Summary

In New Zealand, the HATS card coincided with a major period of British immigration, during which the number of people recently parted from friends and family grew considerably. However, HATS postcard popularity stemmed from multiple issues. The phrase ‘hands across the sea’ became increasingly popular, thanks notably to the legacy of Henry Pettit’s widely performed melodrama, and associations with tariff reform and the penny post. It served as an all-purpose cipher for both colonial and international relationships – assisted by its widely reported use by the Prince of Wales, and its association (in Australasia) with the Great White Fleet. Given the potent symbolism of the hand, and that of the pre-existing genre of ‘rough seas’, it is not surprising that these cards were able to develop, from small beginnings in 1904 to prominence by 1908. At their height, between 1908 and 1911, HATS cards were amongst the most desirable cards to send and receive, commanding significantly inflated prices, and encouraging many publishers to produce increasingly lavish variations on the theme.

My study of 601 dated HATS cards helps to elucidate these trends by clearly dating the HATS craze. The craze followed a clearly defined path, which varied from a predictable bell curve in only two significant ways. The data suggests that the card’s decline occurred in tandem with the folded greetings card revival, but may have been hastened by the Titanic disaster (after which imagery of large ships on cards became a liability). And, due to

their overuse, by 1911 people had started to regard the HATS card and the phrase itself as clichés. The clasped hands were relegated to a progressively more secondary role on the cards, while lengthier postcard poems vied for space with the images. British greetings postcard manufacturers, it appears, appreciated the demand for prefabricated poetic sentiment earlier than their American counterparts. In combination with the tendency for consumers to protect their cards inside envelopes, this altered set of priorities encouraged card manufacturers to revive the folded greetings card format, which had greater multimodal potential. Thus, the things that created the success of HATS and the greetings postcard contained the seeds of their undoing.

Although HATS cards had a brief revival after 1916, when significant numbers of troops were deployed overseas, the greetings postcard genre barely survived the war. This did not, however, mean that the HATS phrase died away, and it has been utilised sporadically ever since, with a particularly strong reprisal during the Second World War.

Chapter 5: The Hands Across the Sea

Postcard – Tying Together the Threads

Clasping hands can mean many things: a greeting, a flirtation, a farewell, a deal. On a postcard, clasped hands can be at once descriptive and metaphorical, nostalgic and predictive, specific and universal. Such ambiguity is intrinsic to a self/other relationship. As hand clasps hand, it touches or is touched but can never, according to Maurice Merleau-Ponty, do both simultaneously.¹ Touching links our intent to the world that lies at our fingertips. It is the hand that writes a message on a postcard. It is a hand that posts it. Another hand (the hand of labour) takes a letter from the post box, and loads it on a ship – crewed by hands. Hands unload the letter and deliver it. A hand takes up the card, feels its substance, feels the indentations of the pen, and is touched by the intent of the sender, recalling the last time hands clasped, hoping for a renewal of that contact.

The HATS postcard clearly spoke to the Edwardian condition. The preceding chapters have situated HATS, the contexts in which it operated, and the factors that led to its popularity. This final chapter develops several strands relating to HATS, but also links these back to some of the key discourses that emerged from the earlier discussion. The anonymity of card producers and apparently nostalgic connotations of greetings cards imagery emerged as significant issues in chapter two, and they act as a locus for drawing together some of the other themes that grew out of the initial chapters. Underlying much of the discussion in chapters three and four has been the ambiguity of function inherent in greetings postcards, and it is to this key point that I turn now.

Greetings or Communication: Letters or Cards

Until Daniel Gifford's work, scholars regarded the greetings card and the postcard as generically different. Granted, similarities were acknowledged between the two forms, such as their prefabrication, compression,

¹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible* [Le Visible et l'invisible], trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), VI, 148.

multimodality and blending of commodity and gift status.² Nevertheless, the two were seen as fundamentally different, and any fraternisation was viewed with distrust. Shank, for example, entitled the section of his study of American greetings cards dealing with postcards as “the post card interruption.”³ In a narrative about greetings cards, this is understandable, particularly in the light of Shank’s view that small-scale, chaotic postcard publishing and the large-scale manufacture of greetings card were quite distinct.⁴ It may be true that manufacturers were segregated in this way in the United States – certainly, Gifford accepts this view.⁵ Nevertheless, as I have already shown, many of the major British postcard companies were also greetings card manufacturers, and both postcards and greetings cards were subsets of their larger stationery portfolio. Manufacture therefore cannot account for the generic differences.

Gifford’s work demonstrates that these boundaries are more porous. He argues that postcards are not inherently linked to travel,⁶ and that the holiday greetings postcard was not peripheral to the postcard, being instead “crucial to the overall phenomenon.”⁷ Despite this, however, there are two areas in which both Gifford’s and Shank’s analyses are inadequate as a basis for understanding HATS cards. Gifford regards the image as being the primary feature of the card,⁸ whilst Shank views verse as symptomatic of the greetings card, but not the postcard.⁹ This isolates another apparent generic distinction. As noted on page 387, American postcards appear to use less verse than their English counterparts. Over three-quarters of the HATS cards studied contained verse,¹⁰ a trend that intensified over time, with text in many ways dominating the imagery by the war years. The

² Thurlow, Jaworski, and Yläne, "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards," p.120.

³ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.134. He notes on p.129 that, between 1905-10 in America, greetings card manufacture became a subset of postcard production. Nevertheless, this still maintains the sense of a distinction between the two.

⁵ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.153.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.156-7.

⁹ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.144.

¹⁰ 76.9% had four lines or more of verse.

generic distinction between the supposedly image-based postcard and textually-dominated greetings card becomes decidedly more slippery in relation to HATS.

Nor are these the only places where the boundaries blur. Shank argues that whilst postcards have the potential to be used year round, holiday greetings cards are part of specific holiday rituals.¹¹ Gifford applies this idea to his subject, showing that holiday postcards follow the same holiday patterns.¹² But he appears to regard holiday cards as a straightforward subset of greetings postcards,¹³ and they are not. Some types of greetings postcards (like HATS or 'good luck' cards) are not intrinsically tied to specific dates and can be used for year-round, all-purpose communication.

This means that HATS cards hover between competing communicative and ritual functions.¹⁴ Gifford frames holiday postcards as pared-back substitutes for the holiday kinwork duty of writing letters,¹⁵ so that the ritual aspect becomes a retreat from the communicative. However, this assumption lacks historical support. Letterwriting may have been a middle-class holiday tradition for some, but it was not necessarily the only communication associated with holidays. At Christmas, for example, there was already a well-established custom of sending Christmas cards, which, as noted on page 197, were either unsigned, or simply carried a short greeting. The divided-back postcard therefore made *more* room for communication than was expected on traditional Christmas cards. Gillen and Hall's argument that the divided back significantly altered everyday communication is worth considering here.¹⁶ Postcards, as a whole, might

¹¹ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.132.

¹² Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.164.

¹³ For example, *ibid.*, pp.11, 153.

¹⁴ Emily West, in talking about greetings texts, argues that there is an implicit class bias between communication and ritual, with the middle classes preferring communicative authenticity, and lower classes preferring to utilise existing ritual. West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.454.

¹⁵ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.164.

¹⁶ Gillen and Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.2 of transcript.

encourage brief, informal communications,¹⁷ but it is a matter of interpretation as to whether this represented a contraction of previous epistolary practice (as it was for some of the middle class), or a stepping stone into the realm of written communications for people who were either first or second generation literate.¹⁸ Gillen and Hall note that writers often made reference to letters in their messages, and thus interpret the postcard as providing a venue for a more relaxed form of communication, free of the intimidating formal expectations that surrounded the letter.¹⁹ This informality allowed a different approach to communicating with, and organising, one's networks.²⁰ Given what we know about the broad demographic of the postcard, it seems likely that, for many, the short messages on postcard communications represented an expansion of earlier practices (see discussion on page 184). They also facilitated more frequent contact – albeit not the lengthy correspondence so valued by those for whom a letter acted as a symbol of conspicuous leisure.

One of the major benefits that postcard manufacturers had identified was that postcards, like Birthday cards, could potentially be used year-round.²¹ The greetings postcard allowed them to apply this thinking to a greetings genre that had hitherto been limited by its ties to defined ritual occasions. HATS offered a particularly high degree of flexibility – being able to be utilised both as a Christmas, New Year, Wedding, and Birthday card,²² as well as for year-round staying in touch [e.g. Figure 150].

¹⁷ Gillen and Hall, "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.43.

¹⁸ Julia Gillen notes that the content of postcard messages tends to be more diverse than that of greetings cards. Julia Gillen, "Writing Edwardian Postcards," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, no. 4 (2013): p.504.

¹⁹ Gillen and Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.6. of transcript.

²⁰ "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities," p.43.

²¹ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.8.

²² I have not found the HATS genre applied to Easter or overt Valentine cards.

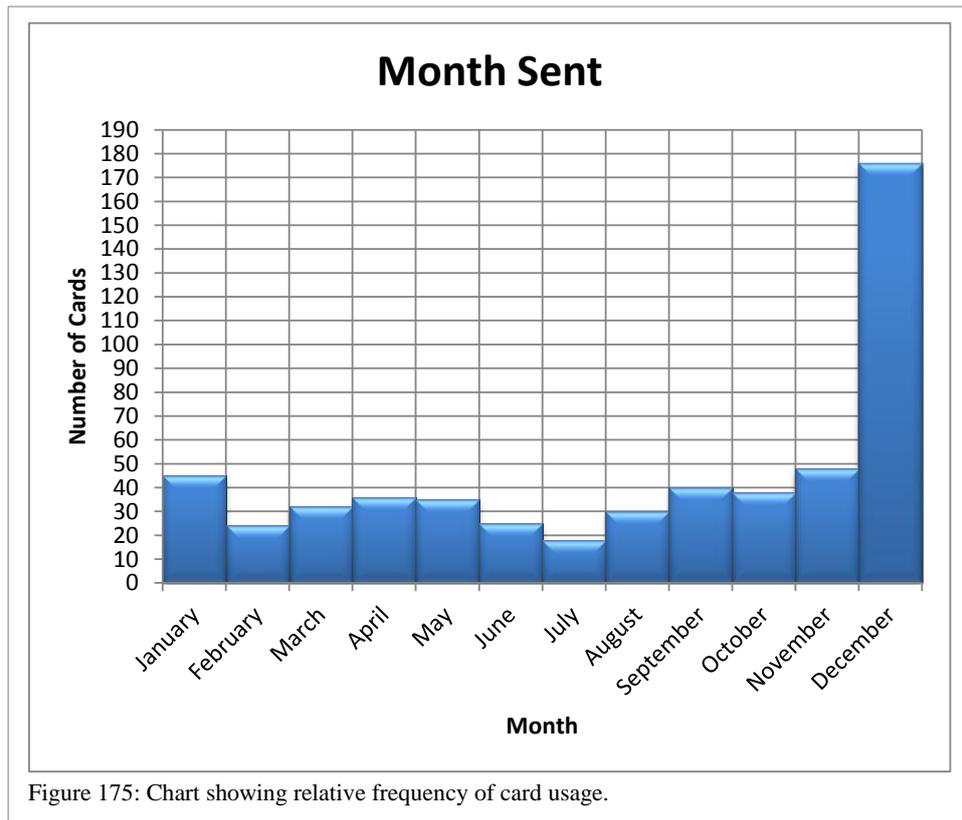


Figure 175: Chart showing relative frequency of card usage.

If all-purpose flexibility was the dream, however, it did not fully eventuate. Wildman and Arey were advertising HATS cards as “Xmas Picture Postcards” by 1910,²³ and by far the heaviest use of HATS cards was in December [Figure 175]. Consumers responded to the cards’ new flexibility by reasserting their ritual connotations, and repurposing all-purpose HATS cards for specific holiday use.²⁴ This repurposing occurred most particularly in relation to New Year, suggesting that users still strongly associated HATS with *auld lang syne* hand-clasping [Figure 176]. Sometimes such adaptations were pragmatic. As J. P. P. told Lilly, “although it is a Birthday card the handshake greetings are mine just the same. I only wish I was able to take hold of your hand now.”²⁵

²³ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “Advertisements,” November 24, 1910, p.3.

²⁴ Bjarne Rogan noted this type of widespread repurposing of cards, so it evidently extends beyond the HATS genre. Rogan, “An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication,” p.7.

²⁵ This was on a Beagles 933U card.

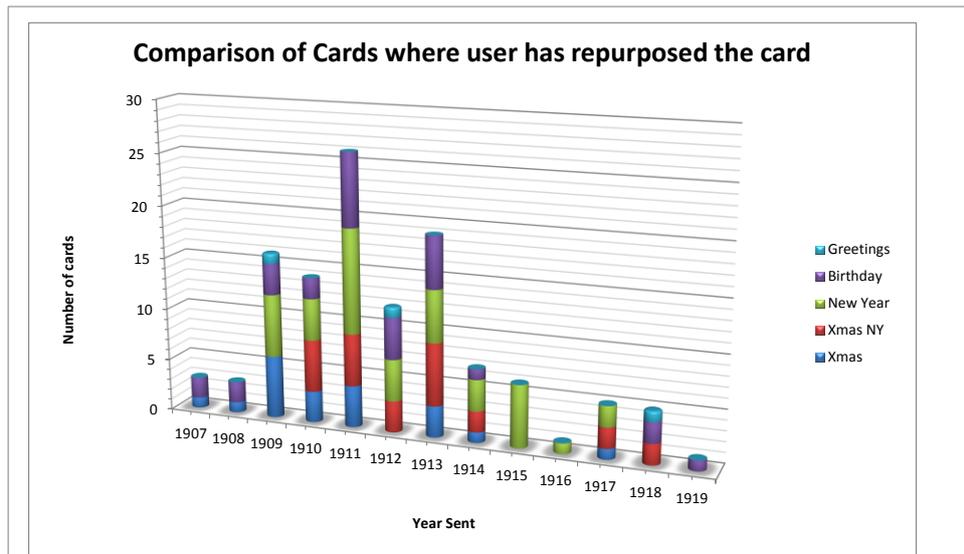


Figure 176: Chart showing HATS card re-purposing.

The coloured segments of each stack represent the proportion of cards given a new function. So, for instance, the green segments show cards which were not pre-printed with New Year greetings, but where the user has, in their handwritten text, sent a New Year's message. 18.47% of the cards in the study were repurposed in some way. This chart shows the relative frequencies, with most relating to the adaptation of generic HATS cards for ritual occasions, though occasionally birthday or Christmas cards were adapted as general purpose greetings (the light blue segments on top).

Yet, despite this preference for holiday greetings, a third of the HATS cards in Figure 175 were sent between February and August, times which had nothing to do with Christmas or New Year, and by no means all of these related to Birthdays, which accounted for only 16% of the overall sample. A substantial minority of the cards were sent for other than holiday purposes.

An emphasis on communication also appears in the messages in the 601 card study. More cards carried messages of three or more communicative sentences, than relied on the purely formulaic greetings that one associates with rituals.²⁶ Some cards packed a great deal of information into the space, with fifty seven having more than one hundred words, five having more than two hundred with the longest cramming 303 words onto the card. This gives some perspective to the prevailing postcard wisdom, which says that the messages seldom contained any information,²⁷ being mostly “banal or

²⁶ 41.53% of the cards had three or more sentences, whilst 34.88% were short ritual messages. The balance is made up of short communicative messages of fewer than three sentences.

²⁷ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," p.2.

non-existent.”²⁸ Certainly, it would have been in manufacturers’ interest to persuade people to communicate frequently via postcards, rather than by longer letters, since the profit margins on cards were better than on paper. There was just one problem with this, and it shows up clearly in the comments of the users themselves. Although there were some users, like Ivy, who excused not writing on the grounds of being “out of PC’s” (thus showing that the postcard was her preferred mode of correspondence), the evidence supports Gillen and Hall’s contention that postcards often contain apologies for not writing letters.²⁹

This sense of the postcard as hurried stand-in is typified by a message on another card,³⁰ which Fred sent to Lizzie in 1911:

You will be wondering why I have not written but I have been going all the week [so] that I have had no time to myself. So again I have fallen back on this card which I had knocking around in my box, so am sending it to show you were remembered in the midst of bustle.

Lavinia was less circumspect, telling Maggie “I am too lazy to write a letter.”³¹ However this tendency to use cards as substitute letters turns out not to occur symmetrically through the period studied. In the 601 card study, of the 84 dated cards where the sender’s message promised a letter, less than a quarter were from the six years between 1904-9, whilst almost two thirds were from the equivalent period of 1910-15.³² By comparison, all the cards that mentioned collecting (along the lines of ‘another one for your album’) occurred in the pre-1910 period. The same split occurred in a sample of messages found on non-HATS greeting cards,³³ where none of the references to letterwriting predated 1910. This can be explained by examining the distribution of cards with lengthier messages [Figure 177].

²⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.172.

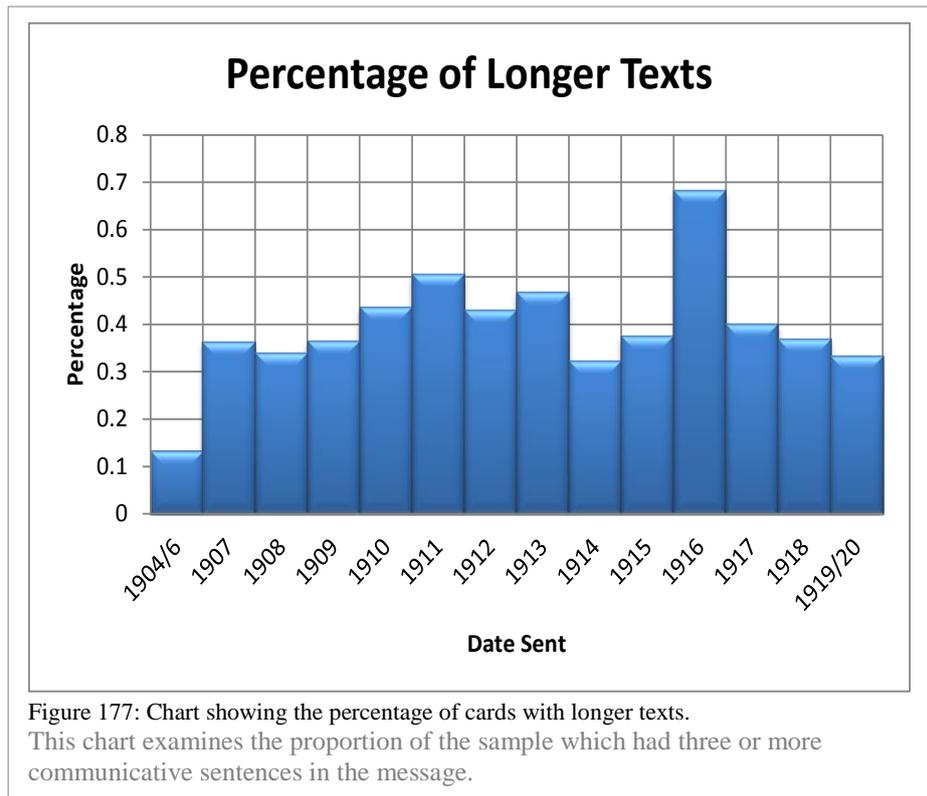
²⁹ Gillen and Hall, "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications," p.6 of transcript.

³⁰ This was a Beagles 900Z card.

³¹ The card was Millar & Lang, series 1835.

³² The exact percentages are 22.4% between 1904-1909 and 65.8% from 1910-1915.

³³ In this study the texts of 500 of the collected Beagles, Millar & Lang, Rotary and Tuck greetings cards were examined, and twenty six with texts referring to usage were isolated.



Messages on the earliest cards, affected by postal restrictions, were short, with little other than hasty greetings. This is congruent with them being primarily sent as collectibles. Between 1907-9 percentages of longer texts rose to being in the mid-30% range, and between 1910-13 they were consistently in the 40-50% range. They then dropped back to earlier levels with the exception of 1916, where almost 70% were longer messages.

There seems to be a pattern here, with cards moving from initially containing predominantly short greetings to latterly having longer communicative messages almost as often as not. However the subsequent regression suggests a change after 1914, whereby the card moved from being a greeting in its own right to being used more, in Gifford's terms, as a substitute letter. Whether this was the fate of postcard sub-genres as they progressively went out of fashion, or whether this was a general trend in the postcard genre as a whole, is beyond the scope of this research. At all events, when not being used as pure greetings cards, the higher number of cards which were used as stop-gap letters in the second decade of the twentieth century sheds light on an important reason often given for the postcard's later demise.

Quick communication is precisely the type of contact that a telephone could replace, and even by 1912, the telephone was shaping up to be a competitor for the postcard.³⁴ As Claude Fischer pointed out (in a study that strangely omits the postcard as a medium displaced by the phone), “the telephone did not radically alter American ways of life; rather, Americans used it to more vigorously pursue their characteristic way of life,” allowing them to better maintain their networks.³⁵ The telephone ultimately removed the postcard as a viable option for utilitarian communication,³⁶ however one needs to add a caveat to this. Although the telephone had the capacity to take over from the postcard, it was not until at least 1930 that one could say that most households had one, and even then many rural areas lacked the infrastructure.³⁷ The inroads into postcard use that occur in Post Office statistics from 1912 almost certainly refer to a drop in business usage of postcards, as businesses would have been the most substantial group of early telephone users. Among private users, if the postcard’s central demographic included substantial numbers of the telephone-less lower classes, then the displacement could not have been completed until well into the 1920s.

The telephone’s rise, then, does not fully account for the evidence around postcard use. It is thus worth returning to the use of letters. In 1909, New Zealanders sent more letters and postcards per head than anyone else, writing 97.1 per head, followed by Victoria at 92.9. The British sent a paltry 67.5.³⁸ Relatively speaking, statistics gleaned from the New Zealand Yearbooks show that letter-usage rose steadily during the first two decades of the twentieth century [Figure 178].

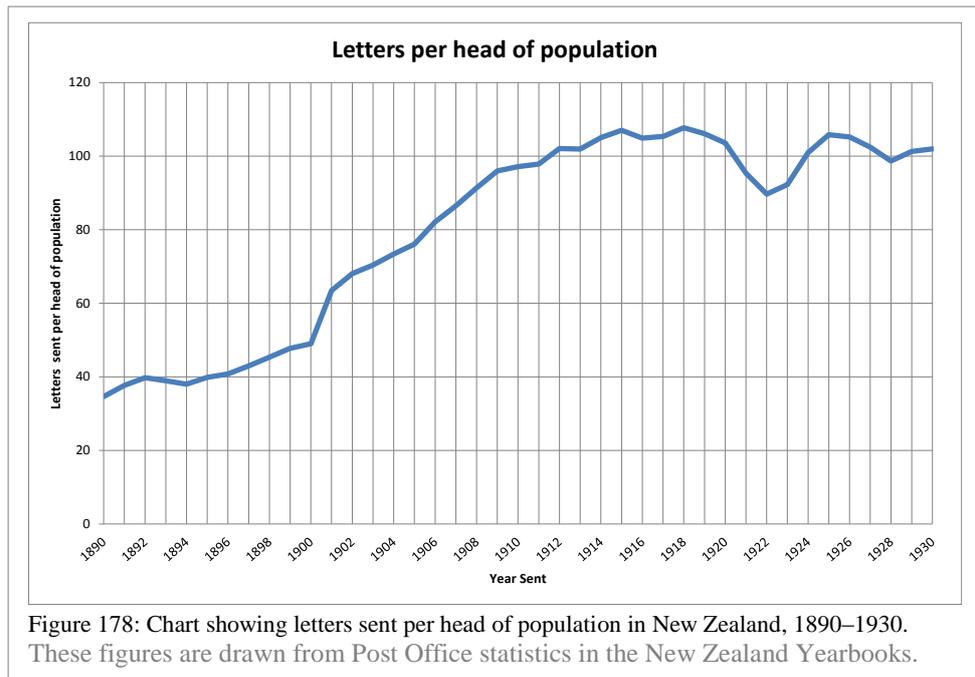
³⁴ Hawera & Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), “Local and General,” December 4, 1913, p.4 reports the British Postmaster’s report for 1912, where the telephone is given as a cause for a decline in postcard usage.

³⁵ Claude S. Fischer, *A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp.5, 226.

³⁶ Gifford, “To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America’s Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910,” p.174.

³⁷ Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographics*, p.133.

³⁸ Wanganui Chronicle, (NZ), “Parliamentary Pars,” October 11, 1909, p.7.



The sharpest rise in letter use coincided with the 1900 introduction of the Penny Post, whereas it was only marginally dented during the postcard's glory years. There was a clear dip after the war, but a revival of popularity later – a trend that is difficult to interpret, given that the statistics encompass both business and personal letterwriting. If the drop was caused only by the telephone, there should not be a rally in the 1920s. Further research is required, but I would hypothesise, on the basis of the preceding discussion, that there were two overlapping trends. Business correspondence dropped owing to the telephone, but there was an overlapping tendency amongst people who could not afford telephones to write more letters. This might be accounted for if the demographic that had got into the habit of frequent written communication via postcards discovered that letters were a preferable mode. It is this which the hurried apologies in postcards hint at. Such a conclusion may be counter-intuitive for those who have accepted the 1907 view of journalist James Douglas that the postcard had relieved people from the obligation of the letter,³⁹ but the evidence here suggests that any such process of change was more complex than hitherto appreciated.

³⁹ Cited, unreferenced, in Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.79. The tone of the full quote suggests satire rather than accurate social commentary.

Contrary to Tonie and Valmai Holt, who imply that the postcard was the preferred writing medium during the war,⁴⁰ with the exception of 1916 (when, as Figure 177 shows, postcards were indeed used extensively), the collective experience of people parted by the war appears to have been to value longer and more intimate communications instead of postcards.⁴¹ This is certainly the trajectory that is encountered in Beth Sutherland’s 2008 “*My Dear Chick*,” which reproduces many of the letters sent by Len Wilton, son of a successful Wairarapa farmer, to his future wife, Irma McLachlan, daughter of a neighbouring farming family.⁴² Len had left school aged 14,⁴³ and he alluded to his lack of literary finesse in 1916, saying “it is with pleasure I take this pencil to write to you but I regret that I am unable to express my feelings or put into words & write what I would like to be able to.”⁴⁴ Despite this, as the war went on, he wrote longer and longer letters, albeit punctuated with notes like “I wish I could write better it would be easy to write a book on what is going on. I never did like writing but now it is a case of writing.”⁴⁵ In January 1918 he wrote that “this letter writing is getting quite a bisseness [sic] and takes a lot of time to write to all.”⁴⁶ Looking back, in early 1919, however, he said “I knoe [sic] I have improved a lot & find it much easier to write a letter now than what I did at first.”⁴⁷ If the war failed to improve Len’s grammar, it made him appreciate a “nice long letter.”⁴⁸ Whilst he also sent postcards,⁴⁹ he made his preference for the longer form clear when he reprimanded his fiancé, saying “many thanks for the letter card you sent from Palmerston. I was expecting to get a letter from

⁴⁰ Holt and Holt, *Till the Boys Come Home: The Picture Postcard of the First World War*, p.9.

⁴¹ This is implied by the text of the Field Service tickbox postcards, in which one key option read “letter follows at first opportunity.” For such a card, see Peter Doyle, *British Postcards of the First World War* (Oxford: Shire, 2010), p.41. Doyle suggests, on page 40, that letters and letter cards were the normal postal stationery, with postcards being used by “some soldiers” who wanted an easier option.

⁴² Beth Sutherland, *My Dear Chick: A New Zealand Love Story 1911-1948* (Masterton, New Zealand: Fraser, 2008).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.80.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.95.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.118.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.226.

⁴⁸ He uses the phrase twice. *Ibid.*, p.137.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.216.

you so naturally I was dissapinted [sic] only getting a card.”⁵⁰ Although Len noted that some soldiers could not face the pressure of writing letters,⁵¹ and that he himself seemed to spend all of his spare time doing so,⁵² it is clear that his experiences had helped him determine the relative value of cards and letters as forms of communication. A similar picture emerges from the letters of other soldiers. Victor Christophers, for example, felt it necessary to apologise for sending a card, saying he was short of paper and asking his family to send him spare sheets of writing paper in their letters, as parcels tended to go astray.⁵³ Such factors may explain the abrupt but short-lived rise in longer messages on postcards that occurs in 1916 [Figure 177]. Certainly, letters, not cards, were what the newspapers exhorted families to send to the troops to keep morale high.⁵⁴ Unlike telephones, which were not yet available to poorer families, the war experience encompassed most of the population in the British diaspora by 1918. Although perhaps some people opted never to go near a pen again once they returned from France, it seems credible to suggest that the war facilitated an increase in epistolary confidence amongst people like Len Wilton, who otherwise might have remained happy to get around their discomfort with writing by means of the postcard.

The evidence examined above suggests that sending postcards purely as fashionable collectibles had largely run its course by about 1909, being progressively replaced by first the idea of the postcard as quick communication, and then, increasingly, the notion of the postcard as a substitute letter, or greetings – albeit one that remained collectible. This could explain the increasing demand for longer postcard texts, as noted earlier (page 386). By the end of the war, however, it appears that letterwriting had become more widespread. A change in epistolary practices

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.200. Letter cards actually had more space for correspondence than postcards, so Len would have been even less impressed with a postcard.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.187.

⁵² Ibid., p.198.

⁵³ Glyn Harper, ed. *Letters from the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home - 1914-18* (Auckland, New Zealand: HarperCollins, 2001), pp.38-9.

⁵⁴ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “Yearning for News,” March 14, 1918, p.5.

has not previously been suggested as a reason for the postcard's demise,⁵⁵ but I am suggesting it as one of the factors that progressively reduced postcard usage – in tandem with other factors like the telephone, the failure of the British Post Office to resume pre-war levels of delivery,⁵⁶ the 1918 raising of the price of sending a postcard,⁵⁷ and its inland rate then rising to 1½d – during 1920 in New Zealand,⁵⁸ and 1921 in Britain.⁵⁹ However, Figure 111 shows that after a nadir in 1922, and with the price of sending reduced back to a penny in 1923,⁶⁰ the postcard enjoyed a modest revival during the later 1920s. In New Zealand, at least, this coincided with a Government campaign to use postcards to promote the country.⁶¹ The tourist-ritual potential of the postcard remained vital, but its ritual greetings and communication aspects appear, to a large extent, to have evaporated after the war, superseded by telephones, letters and folded greetings cards. Ultimately the postcard and greetings cards did forge discrete generic distinctions. However HATS belonged to a period when they were by no means so neatly demarcated.

⁵⁵ While the evidence I found was consistent, a fuller study of the relationship between the use of cards and letters during the war is clearly called for, and until it is completed, my suggestions must remain a hypothesis. Such a full study is beyond the scope of the present study.

⁵⁶ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.48. This conscious decision by the Post Office to retain the substantially scaled-back delivery schedule implemented during the war must surely relate to the impact of the telephone. Daunton does not relate this observation to the postcard, and nor have I seen it referred to in the postcard literature. Nevertheless, such a reduction would have reinforced a sense among users that postcards were now a less reliable fast medium of communication.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁵⁸ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.21. Ironically, Jackson points out that the overseas rate, which was set internationally, was cheaper, at 1 penny.

⁵⁹ Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.69. He notes on page 152 that the British Post Office calculated that the international penny post ran at a loss, so the postwar changes were apparently intended to address long-standing concerns.

⁶⁰ Jackson, *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*, p.22. This occurred in 1922 in Britain. Daunton, *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*, p.69.

⁶¹ Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Postcards for Home," May 23, 1924, p.7.

The Often Anonymous Artists, Writers and Designers of Greetings

If HATS could straddle both ritual and communication, it also mixed modalities. Its characteristic blend of (HATS) text and (clasped hands) image meant it was a verbally defined genre within a pictorially defined medium.⁶² I want now to focus on the implications of this. The study has previously established that whilst ‘artistic’ cards provided users with the cultural capital related to art, this did not necessarily equate to the artists garnering glory – with an increasing tendency through the latter part of the century towards the anonymous creation of greetings card artwork (see page 228). This is a problem if one assumes that the artistic element of the cards is the image. The evidence, however, from my study suggests that the writers of such cards were seen as more important than the artists and designers, and that the users were often sending them more for their texts than their images. Although there were examples where attention was drawn to the image, such as when a user noted that “this is a pretty card with Scotch thistles on it. Hope you will like it,”⁶³ it was more common to find mentions of the sentiments. When, in 1910, Jack simply wrote on the back of a Tuck’s card like Figure 149 the inscription “with all the sentiments embodied on the reverse of this card,”⁶⁴ he may have been talking about the multimodal combination of text and image, but it is more likely that he was just referring to the text. Lavinia certainly was when she remarked to Maggie in another card, “don’t you feel like the words of this P.C. I often do.”⁶⁵

This emphasis on the texts is surprising, because although early greetings cards utilised a mixture of text and image, their lavish imagery tended to

⁶² By this, I mean that the genre is initially defined by the verbal phrase “hands across the sea,” whilst the postcard craze is defined by the “picture postcard.”

⁶³ The card was W&K series 1102.

⁶⁴ Tuck’s R2202, sent in 1910 by Jack to his sister Molly.

⁶⁵ The text she was referring to was on a Millar & Lang card, series 1835, which read: “But however far I roam There is something aye at home That keeps tugging at my heartstrings Till it brings me back again.”

dominate the textual elements.⁶⁶ And the Edwardians called their successors ‘Picture Postcards’. As noted earlier, this seems to have remained the case in America, where Daniel Gifford is probably correct to state that postcards were “image-based conversations.”⁶⁷ Given, then, that the defining feature of the pictorial postcard is the picture, it seems natural to expect that the visual element ought to dominate the textual, but this becomes less self-evident when one considers the HATS genre as part of a greetings postcard revolution. Just as spoken communication often involves a multimodal mix of speech and gesture,⁶⁸ both postcards and greetings cards are multimodal.⁶⁹ Increasingly, however, pure greetings cards would come to prioritise the verbal elements, so that today, as Emily West puts it, “the conventional industry wisdom [is] that while a card’s design might convince a consumer to pick it up, it will ultimately be the sentiment that sells it.”⁷⁰ None of the scattered user-texts in my sample that mention either the printed text or image mentions both, suggesting that Edwardian viewers understood the elements as distinct. Following West’s industry logic, the key element of the HATS card is the sentiment behind the phrase ‘hands across the sea’, while the designs and the clasped hands symbol have an indexical relationship to that sentiment.

This change in priorities shows up in several contexts, one of which relates to the visibility of the creators. When publishers, in my study, diverged from the standard approach of authorial anonymity,⁷¹ it was to acknowledge the writers of the sentiment. Just four illustrators and one photographer

⁶⁶ This also applied to acknowledgement. Buday’s largely nineteenth century focused book lists more artists than sentiment writers, though this may reflect his own interests – as an artist. Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, pp.213-61.

⁶⁷ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.156-7.

⁶⁸ Jan Peter de Ruiter, "Postcards from the Mind: The Relationship between Speech, Imagistic Gesture, and Thought," *Gesture* 7, no. 1 (2007): pp.25-6.

⁶⁹ Thurlow, Jaworski, and Ylänne, "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards," p.120.

⁷⁰ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.460.

⁷¹ Buday notes that although there was a phase after the 1870s where it became more common to acknowledge the authors of verse, with the exception of a few well known names, publishers found that the public preferred cards to be unsigned. Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, pp.200-1.

signed, or were credited on the cards,⁷² while 32 different writers were acknowledged amongst the 151 cards in the dated sample where texts were credited. Author, librettist, critic, performer, and lyricist for the Victorian sentimental classic “Love’s Old Sweet Song,” Clifton Bingham (one of whose verses was cited on page 371), was responsible for thirty-six cards.⁷³ The pseudonymous ‘Terry’ wrote thirty-five. Bingham, in particular, seems to have been regarded as the go-to poet of the genre, with his poems being used by the Birn Brothers, Beagles, Wildt & Kray, Tuck, and the German company Paul Finkenrath, as well as – probably without permission – by Auckland W. T. Wilson [Figure 2].⁷⁴ The Rev. W. Baumber appears to have articulated prevailing opinion about poetry when he listed amongst the great national services one could undertake, “the poet, who sings the truth that uplifts and purifies the nation's life.”⁷⁵

Given its pervasiveness, postcard poetry remains seriously understudied. This probably relates to a point Cary Nelson identified, in arguing that postcards were primarily sent by the working classes.⁷⁶ Nelson frames postcard poems as representative of the long-standing tradition of popular poetry,⁷⁷ a tradition found in earlier greetings cards,⁷⁸ and other areas such as autograph album entries and the newspaper poetry quoted in chapter 1. Jonathan Rose argues that the working classes tended to be politically radical but culturally conservative in their literary preferences,⁷⁹ and it is

⁷² The only two to create multiple cards within the dated sample were New Zealand cartoonist, Trevor Lloyd, and the little-known Ralph Ruttley, whose work is discussed below, page 415. Single cards were found by the Americans B. Hoffmann, and publisher and illustrator E. Nash. Amongst the undated cards a further three artists occur: Andrew Allen and Frederick Leighton, whose cards were purchased after the cut-off for the dated card survey, and two other monograms, neither for known illustrators.

⁷³ British Library. “Bingham, Clifton (1859-1913).” (Undated). [http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpsubject/literature/authors/cliftonbingham\(1859-1913\)/clifbingham.html#top](http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpsubject/literature/authors/cliftonbingham(1859-1913)/clifbingham.html#top) [accessed February 26, 2013]. Despite a huge reputation in his day, this modest British Library profile of Bingham is the most extensive I could find.

⁷⁴ The text on several of Wilson’s cards is by Bingham, but if acknowledged at all, it is only through initials.

⁷⁵ Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “Poverty Bay Herald,” March 19, 1904, p.2.

⁷⁶ Nelson, “Love Your Panzer Corps: Rediscovering the Wartime Poem Card,” p.178.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Some eighteenth century cards carried verse (see footnote on page 188), as did nineteenth century Valentines.

⁷⁹ Rose, “A Conservative Canon: Cultural Lag in the British Working-Class Reading Habits,” p.102. He adds on p.103 that as late as the 1930s modernist academics struggled to

thus not surprising that the postcard poem might be analogous to the “highly ritualised, conservative discourse” that can still be found in such venues as *In Memoriam* poems in the death notices.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, as a form of popular agency, postcard poetry could adapt itself to almost any political discourse,⁸¹ something which Nelson shows in relation to wartime poems.⁸² He notes that these almost certainly had a wider readership than academically sanctioned poets like Wilfred Owen⁸³ – something which becomes important if one examines the cultural influence of an item, rather than its canonical import.⁸⁴ Regardless of the quality of their rhyme, these cards played an important role in mediating relationships between soldiers and their families.⁸⁵

The greetings verse genre would attract ‘serious’ poets such as Sean O’Casey,⁸⁶ and Archibald McLeish who, during the second world war, allowed one of his poems to be published anonymously because he understood that that the author’s presence could actually detract from the ability of the poem to be experienced as a communal sentiment.⁸⁷ It is precisely this tension that early greetings cards manufacturers had to negotiate – whether the card was better served by referencing its creator, or whether it was better to allow the user to co-opt the creative elements of the cards to their own service, to provide them with sentiments that they may have otherwise struggled to compose themselves. Many of the users of these cards, like Len Wilton at the start of the war (see page 407), would have agreed with Ella, when she confided to Anna that she was “a proper duffer

produce the ‘great proletarian author’ because working class writers tended to prefer the classics to the moderns.

⁸⁰ Stephanie O’Donohoe and Darach Turley, "Till Death Us Do Part? Consumption and the Negotiation of Relationships Following a Bereavement," *Advances in Consumer Research* 32, no. 1 (2005): p.625.

⁸¹ Cary Nelson, "Martial Lyrics: The Vexed History of the Wartime Poem Card," *American Literary History* 16, no. 2 (2004): pp.274-5.

⁸² Nelson is particularly interested in the ways that users actively distributed texts that sanitised imperialism, nationalism and war: Nelson, "Love Your Panzer Corps: Rediscovering the Wartime Poem Card," p.180.

⁸³ "Martial Lyrics: The Vexed History of the Wartime Poem Card," pp.272-3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.275.

⁸⁵ "Only Death Can Part Us: Messages on Wartime Cards," p.26.

⁸⁶ Herbert Coston, "Sean O’Casey: Prelude to Playwriting," *The Tulane Drama Review* 5, no. 1 (1960): pp.106-7.

⁸⁷ Nelson, "Martial Lyrics: The Vexed History of the Wartime Poem Card," p.271.

at writing.”⁸⁸ Joyce Hall, of Hallmark, believed that many consumers lacked confidence in their own creative ability to do justice to what they wanted to say,⁸⁹ and Emily West argues that, for such users, “publicly available symbolic forms [are] capable of providing more impact than one’s own words.”⁹⁰ This is why a meme like HATS or an emblem like the clasped hands fitted so well in the greetings card format. They were precisely the ‘publicly available symbolic forms’ that sentimental culture needed for the accurate transport of emotion.

Understood thus, the poet, and even more the artist, of the HATS card were interpreting and amplifying the meme, and facilitating networks, not simply emphasising their own originality. And they did this not only to make propositional statements, but to effect direct change on a situation. It is this active function that Alfred Gell sees as central to art.⁹¹ Given the focus on results, originality is not essential, with such works operating with what Gell described as “the principle of least difference.”⁹² This is analogous to the point made by Darron Dean (see page 164) that popular cultural work relied more on the “imaginative interpretation” of existing imagery than on novelty.⁹³ For Gell, the creator’s aim is simply to do enough to distinguish the work itself from others of its kind.⁹⁴ This approach can be seen today in the promulgation of anonymous works on YouTube, suggesting that the role of the designer in a popular cultural setting sits comfortably with anonymous facilitation. Such anonymity only becomes an issue when we overlay the discourse with a middle-class value set (where originality and novelty trump variations on a theme). Art Publishing, in such a popular cultural context, involved publishing items that were recognisably ‘artistic’, but this did not mean that they automatically carried the ideology of romantic individualism to the masses. Nevertheless, although most HATS

⁸⁸ On a ca.1910 Beagles card, 834Y.

⁸⁹ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.460.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.464.

⁹¹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.217-8.

⁹³ Dean, "A Slipware Dish by Samuel Malkin: An Analysis of Vernacular Design," p.163.

⁹⁴ Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, p.218.

cards were anonymous, not all were – which begs the question of why certain artists signed their cards when most did not.

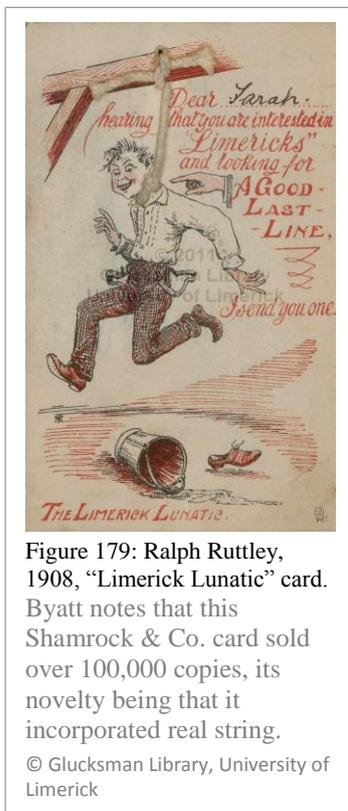


Figure 179: Ralph Ruttley, 1908, “Limerick Lunatic” card. Byatt notes that this Shamrock & Co. card sold over 100,000 copies, its novelty being that it incorporated real string. © Glucksman Library, University of Limerick

Apart from cartoonist Trevor Lloyd [see Figure 142 and Figure 223], who is well known in New Zealand for his comic postcards,⁹⁵ the only named artist to play a recognisably significant role in the HATS genre is the now little-remarked Ralph Francis Ruttley, whose distinctive mirrored RR monogram appears on several cards. Ruttley must have enjoyed some success in his own day, because Richard Carline was able to quote a source (probably one of the Postcard journals that he utilises elsewhere) that described some of Ruttley’s cards for Bamforth as “a significant sign of our times.”⁹⁶ Ruttley is also mentioned by Anthony Byatt

for comic cards he produced for Shamrock and Co. [Figure 179]. Nevertheless, apart from appearing in the 1911 census, aged 60 and living in Ilford, there is no other information about this artist’s career other than the record of his cards.

Ruttley was responsible for one of the earliest HATS cards [Figure 127], which he created for the Rapid Photo company, a firm he also did large letter cards for.⁹⁷ This work related to integrating illustration with

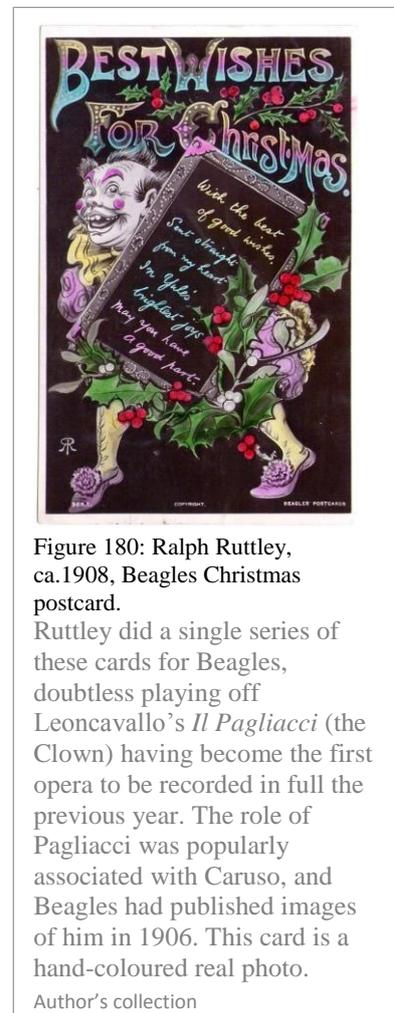


Figure 180: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1908, Beagles Christmas postcard.

Ruttley did a single series of these cards for Beagles, doubtless playing off Leoncavallo’s *Il Pagliacci* (the Clown) having become the first opera to be recorded in full the previous year. The role of Pagliacci was popularly associated with Caruso, and Beagles had published images of him in 1906. This card is a hand-coloured real photo.

Author’s collection

⁹⁵ Main and Jackson, “Wish You Were Here”: *The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, p.19. More of Lloyd’s cards are discussed in Appendix 4. Lloyd designed only two HATS cards, and the rest of his oeuvre does not contribute to the current discussion, being an extension of his newspaper cartooning [Figure 141].

⁹⁶ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.65.

⁹⁷ All such information is garnered from cards of Ruttley’s that I have collected (often unwittingly). It is, however, not necessary to illustrate all of them here.

photographs, involving a blackboard-like white-on-black illustrative style (widely used by photographic firms like Rapid and Rotary).

Ruttley made the chalk references more obvious for a series of Clown greetings cards for Beagles during the early stages of that company's

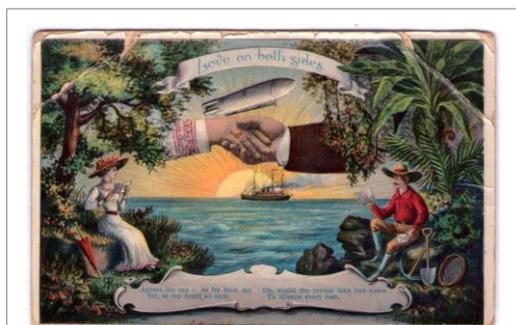
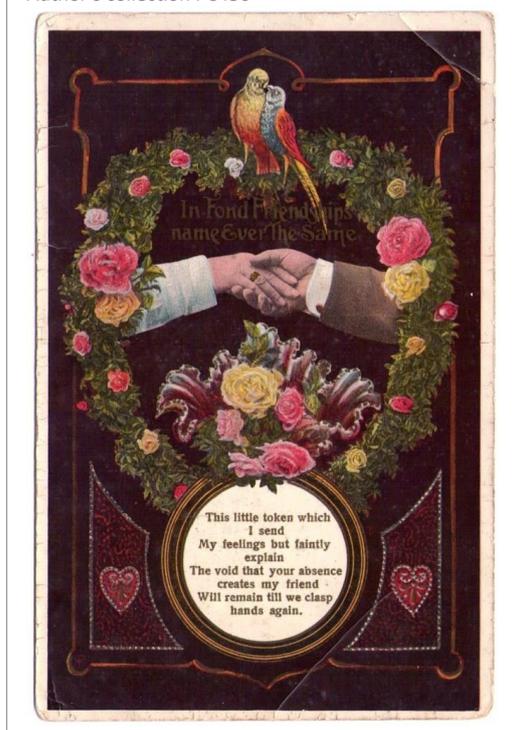


Figure 181: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1909, two HATS cards for H.Vertigen.

The cards are unified by something of a tropical theme.

Author's collection PC430



venture into greetings cards [Figure 180].⁹⁸

These are quite different from the union emblem-like quality that Ruttley adopted in one card for H. Vertigen, or his more designerly greetings card for the same publisher [Figure 181]. These differ, in turn, from the more decoratively rococo approach used for a series of cards done for Max Ettlinger [Figure 182].

The work shows Ruttley to be a versatile artist, obviously able to adapt his approach to the requirements of different publishers. In his fifties by the time the craze started, Ruttley must have had a prior career, and his use of the rococo – very much the flavour of 1890s graphics [e.g. Figure 76],⁹⁹ but somewhat dated by this time – hints at his having worked commercially during that period. One can but speculate as to his background. He does not appear in Buday's list of Christmas card artists,¹⁰⁰ so how he came to be designing for the postcard industry is unknown.¹⁰¹

By the early 1900s, however, Ruttley had

apparently established a reputation and a set of networks. This is clear when one looks at the location of the London publishers that commissioned him,

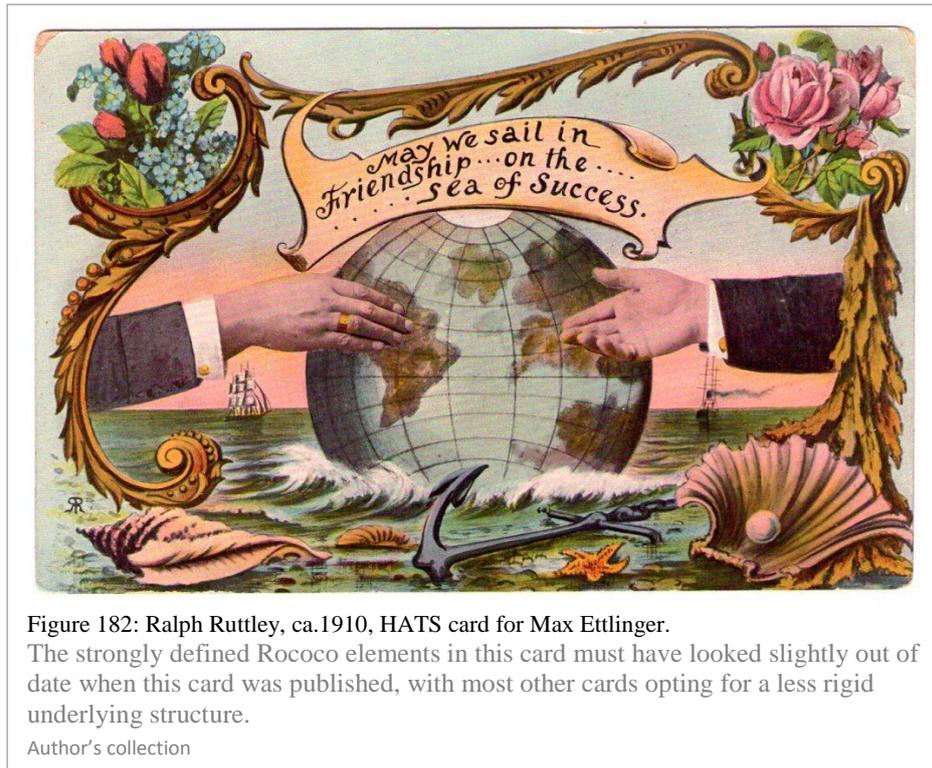
⁹⁸ This chalk-style probably intended to evoke the popular pavement art of the time.

⁹⁹ White, *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*, p.8.

¹⁰⁰ Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card*, p.243.

¹⁰¹ He may have had a design school training, but equally there were commercial artists like Australian Harry Weston who had no formal training, having found their way into the industry via designing jam labels, scene painting, teaching and a detour into sailing. Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Australian "Black and White" Men," June 27, 1906, p.80.

all of which were based in the south-western area of the postcard mile, within a few hundred meters of one another.¹⁰² And it was not just geography that linked these firms. When Felix McGlennan of Shamrock took another company to court, his expert witness was H. Vertigen.¹⁰³ Ruttley worked for both companies, suggesting that friendship networks between firms may have helped him to develop contacts.



Overall, Ruttley was old enough to have an established profile, and was well known enough for his work to be discussed in the postcard press. He was therefore in a position to be able to request that his signature be displayed, and well-known enough for it to help sell cards. Nevertheless, it is significant that the cards he seems to have been best known for were, as with Trevor Lloyd, within the comic genre. It was normal for comic artists like Harry Payne or Tom Browne to sign their work. Newspaper cartoonists were celebrated popular cultural figures who needed to be acknowledged, whereas specialist greetings card artists were not.

¹⁰² See the map of the quarter in Byatt, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, p.318.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.248.

Ruttley's signing of greetings cards may therefore have been an extension of a cartoonist profile that could increase the card's marketability. However, there is another common factor amongst all of the signed artists.¹⁰⁴ They were all men. Given that the vast majority of the postcard artists identified by Dawn and Peter Cope were women,¹⁰⁵ it is hard to believe that the gender mix of HATS artists was not broadly representative of this trend. It therefore seems most reasonable to conclude that the convention of anonymity seen earlier in relation to Christmas card design and advertising art (see page 228) continued into the postcard era. It was easier to have one's individual contribution recognised if one was male rather than female, a poet rather than an artist, had a recognised profile in a genre where authorship was normally acknowledged, or if one was in charge of the publishing process. Overall, however, it appears that the personality of the creator presented a potential threat to the ability of the card to act as a surrogate for the sender. Manufacturers thus had to make a judgement call as to whether the profile of the poet or artist was enough to counter-balance this effect.

The HATS Postcard's Aesthetic

HAT cards are easily recognisable, but the genre was clearly not defined by artistic authorship. It is therefore worth examining some of the other contributors that may have helped define the direction of the HATS genre. Even discounting the role of the printers, secretaries and salespeople that facilitated the postcard business, there were two other roles within the greetings card creative process (over and above artist and poet) that contributed significantly to the cards, but remained entirely anonymous: the lettering artist, and the editor who co-ordinated the artwork and texts.

¹⁰⁴ As mentioned in note 72 above, apart from Ruttley and Lloyd, the others were Millar & Langs's head artist, Andrew Allen, who had no-one to veto his signing of his work, and the Americans B. Hoffman and E. Nash, both of whom were artist/publishers who presumably did the artwork for their own cards.

¹⁰⁵ A tally of these shows that sixty-seven of the artists were women, and just fifteen were men. Cope and Cope, *Postcards from the Nursery: The Illustrators of Children's Books and Postcards 1900-1950*, p.5.

Although sometimes typographic texts were added to HATS cards by the printer, the majority utilised the prerogative of lithography to combine lettering and artwork on the same stone.¹⁰⁶ The lettering, when hand done, was very much akin to that created by the ticket writers who created the shop window mottoes and trade cards, and which Rickards says had their heyday between 1890 and 1939.¹⁰⁷ Raphael Tuck had their own ‘Artistic Show Card’ department,¹⁰⁸ and it is probable that these showcard artists contributed lettering to Tuck postcards. Ticket writing was another industry which utilised many women,¹⁰⁹ though a photograph of New Plymouth showcard writer, W. Lints, shows that men were also actively engaged [Figure 183].



Figure 183: Advertising Postcard, ca.1913, showing New Plymouth ‘show card’ writer W. Lints.

A number of the lettering styles and the airbrushed borders used in these ‘show cards’ appear in the postcards of this period. Lints would go on to have a controversial career as a patriotic beauty pageant organiser.

Author’s collection

¹⁰⁶ Specifically, 540 of the 601 cards used hand-lettering, whilst 126 used typography. 65 therefore used both – usually with a hand-lettered motto and the verse in typography.

¹⁰⁷ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, pp.207, 97. The terms show card and ticket writing are largely synonymous, however show cards are sometimes distinguished from normal commercial writing by their being like interior posters. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ This is in an advertisement reproduced in Byatt, *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*, p.47.

¹⁰⁹ Tuapeka Times (NZ), “A Curious Industry. Advertisement Designing,” June 28 1893, p.3.

Alan Young, in studying the curricula of Australian turn-of-the-century “Art and Applied Art” courses, found that lettering was part of “trade classes” and increasingly treated as a separate area, distinct from ‘Art’ painting or design.¹¹⁰ Whanganui’s “technical school” was thus typical in teaching “signwriting and lettering” within a broader course devoted to “house, sign and decorative painting,” and claiming that this class would be “useful to all engaged in any craft where a knowledge of lettering is required, such as lithography, ticket writing, etc.”¹¹¹ The assumption here was that the same decorative lettering would be applied within lithography and ticket writing, and this helps explain why much postcard lettering evokes sign and ticket

writing in its approaches. This association with a commercial trade, however, cannot have assisted the lithographers’ artistic standing, and perhaps explains why some of the later cards started to utilise gothic calligraphic forms, in conformity with Arts and Crafts standards [Figure 184].

The book-based lettering traditions of calligraphy and typography encouraged by the Arts and Crafts Movement aimed to bring “men of good education...back into the productive crafts.”¹¹² Unlike these, signwriting and ticket writing belong to a tradition that was inherently wedded to commerce, and was regarded as a trade rather than as art or craft – one therefore appropriate to the working rather than the middle classes.



Figure 184: Birn Brothers, ca.1913, HATS card. This unusually restrained design uses gothic calligraphy as a reference to Arts and Crafts. The embossing and gold and silver foiling is impossible to reproduce, but the card represents the high quality of work being produced by German printers just prior to the war. Author’s collection

¹¹⁰ Young, "A Genealogy of Graphic Design in Victoria," pp.88-91.

¹¹¹ Wanganui Herald (NZ), “Technical School,” June 6, 1905, p.5.

¹¹² W. R. Lethaby in Edward Johnston, *Writing & Illuminating, & Lettering* (London: Pitman, 1948 [1906]), p.vii.

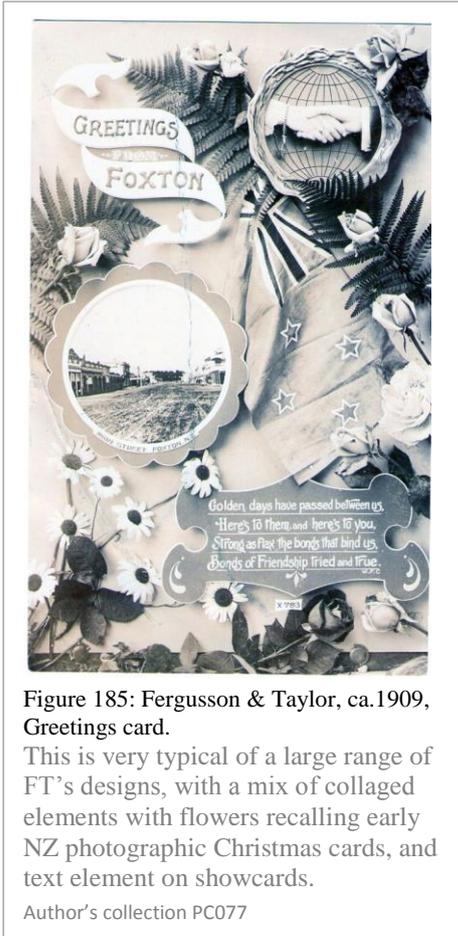


Figure 185: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1909, Greetings card.

This is very typical of a large range of FT's designs, with a mix of collaged elements with flowers recalling early NZ photographic Christmas cards, and text element on showcards.

Author's collection PC077

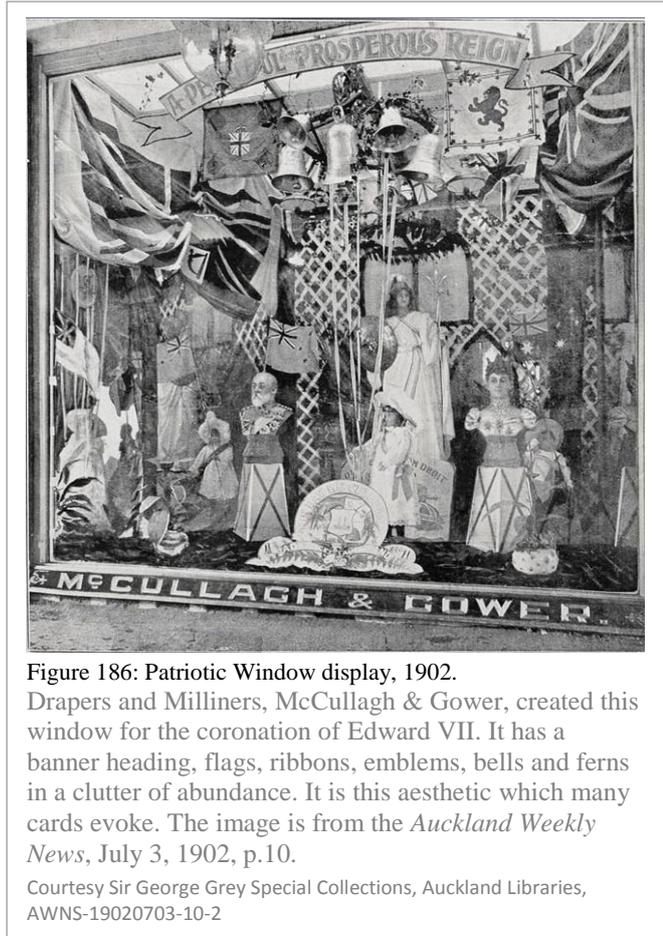


Figure 186: Patriotic Window display, 1902.

Drapers and Milliners, McCullagh & Gower, created this window for the coronation of Edward VII. It has a banner heading, flags, ribbons, emblems, bells and ferns in a clutter of abundance. It is this aesthetic which many cards evoke. The image is from the *Auckland Weekly News*, July 3, 1902, p.10.

Courtesy Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19020703-10-2

The similarities between postcards and the showcard tradition of the shop window dressing are evident if one compares the patriotic shop window in Figure 186 with the photographic postcard assemblage in Figure 185. Both card and window display what Orvell, as previously noted, describes as an “aesthetic of abundance,”¹¹³ in which the ‘fancy’ lettering plays its part, incorporated as a discrete element on banners/ribbons and display cards.¹¹⁴

This aesthetic could equally be interpreted as the static equivalent of the melodramatic situation – a moment of intense emotional concentration creating sensational affect. The card thus hovers ambiguously between the overall tendency of the melodramatic towards the episodic¹¹⁵ (where discrete sensational elements would be read sequentially) and the more

¹¹³ Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*, p.42.

¹¹⁴ In shop windows, lettered banners like Figure 186’s “A Peaceful Prosperous Reign” were known as “shop window mottoes.” Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.207.

¹¹⁵ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, p.41.

modernist emphasis on a ‘gestalt’ that tries to unify those elements into a single communicative moment [e.g. Figure 188 and Figure 190].¹¹⁶



Figure 188: Beagles, ca.1929, Greetings postcard. This Beagles card, sent in 1930, consciously integrates the text and heading with an overall single composition. There is thus a more unified gestalt at work in this piece than in earlier HATS cards. Author's collection

Although many postcard genres incorporated such a gestalt,¹¹⁷ most HATS card designs tended towards the sequential – thus appearing fragmentary. Yoke-Sum Wong discusses the way that the postcard medium rendered the empire as fragments,¹¹⁸ but this is different from the segmented structure of cards like Figure 187, where the separate elements provide a series of emotional

pulses. These extend and amplify the affective moment for the recipient, who progressively decodes the symbolism of first the hands, the globe and the flowers, and then the textual sentiment and verse.

Ultimately, many of the decisions regarding integration of sentiment, verse, and visual symbolism – and how they related to one another – must have been influenced by editorial decisions within the manufacturing firms, and these are the most anonymous contributions of all. Adrian Forty notes that the role of the entrepreneur in the design

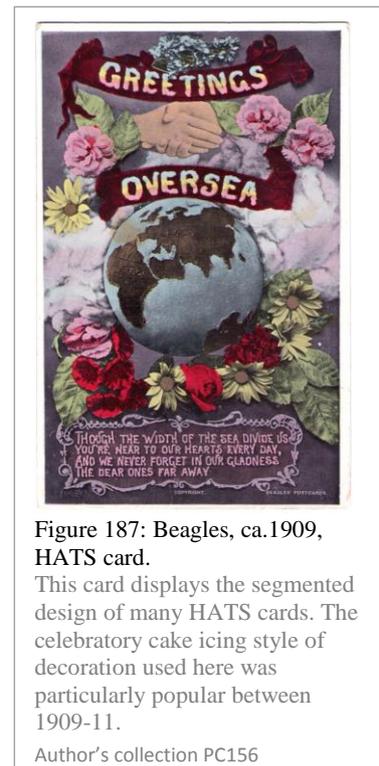


Figure 187: Beagles, ca.1909, HATS card. This card displays the segmented design of many HATS cards. The celebratory cake icing style of decoration used here was particularly popular between 1909-11. Author's collection PC156

¹¹⁶ Alan Liu, *The Laws of Cool: Knowledge Work and the Culture of Information* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.198.

¹¹⁷ In reality, as noted earlier (in a footnote on page 114) the gestalt approach was no new thing. John Kresten Jespersen sees it as being the key distinction that Owen Jones made between ornament and decoration (the latter relating to a collection of parts whilst the former co-ordinated an overall effect). Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' the Grammar of Ornament of 1856," p.9.

¹¹⁸ Wong, "Beyond (and Below) Incommensurability," p.356. Lázló Kürti makes a similar point, noting that postcard photos refer to something larger than what is in the frame. Kürti, "Picture Perfect: Community and Commemoration in Postcards," pp.65-6.

process is often downplayed in favour of valorising the creativity of the designer.¹¹⁹ This applies to the postcard, where scattered evidence points to manufacturers and editors playing a key role. American entrepreneurs like Paul Volland were heavily involved in driving all aspects of the business,¹²⁰ as was Adolph Tuck. He discussed the nature of his involvement when answering a question about the independence of the artists working for him, replying that “the photographers get definite instructions, but the artists are left to themselves to a large extent. All the designs are submitted to me, and require to be passed by me.”¹²¹ Tuck was responding to a Society journal, where it was in his interests to downplay the part the firm played in directing the artwork. In 1906, too, much of the artwork in Tuck’s postcards was of scenery. However Tuck’s cards do tend to be eclectic, so it is possible that their work was, as Tuck says, driven by the creatives, with subsequent editorial co-ordination. On the other hand, firms like Wildt & Kray, Beagles, Taylor’s and Rotary had distinctive house-styles, which means that their greetings cards are instantly recognisable. This suggests either the use of a coherent team of artists, clear editorial guidance, or a combination of both.

The reason that this is important, historically, is that it affects how one attributes responsibility for spreading the HATS meme. Was it a question of publishers realising that this particular genre was selling well for a competitor and commissioning a writer and artist to create their own version, or was it that artists like Ralph Ruttley, having done a successful card for one publisher, created similar artwork speculatively to take to other publishers? It has to be remembered, that the Victorian greetings card industry appears to have followed the German model of working co-operatively (see page 221), and that the close geographical proximity of these companies suggests something of a collegial approach within the British postcard community – despite periodic legal battles over copyright and quality of service. As creators of fashion, it was mutually beneficial to be able to respond quickly to new market preferences, and the way that

¹¹⁹ Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*, p.241.

¹²⁰ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.144.

¹²¹ Maclean, "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity," p.106.

HATS developed into a recognisable genre over the four years between 1904 and 1908 has provided a tantalising glimpse into the collective creativity of a popular cultural medium.

Similarly, it must have been editorial creativity that recognised that postcard poems provided the common ground that would allow the practices of the autograph album and the postcard to overlap. As mentioned earlier (page 136), by the time the postcard craze hit, autograph albums had migrated from the leisured to the working classes, and the practice of writing poems, and drawing pictures in one another's albums was the craze amongst

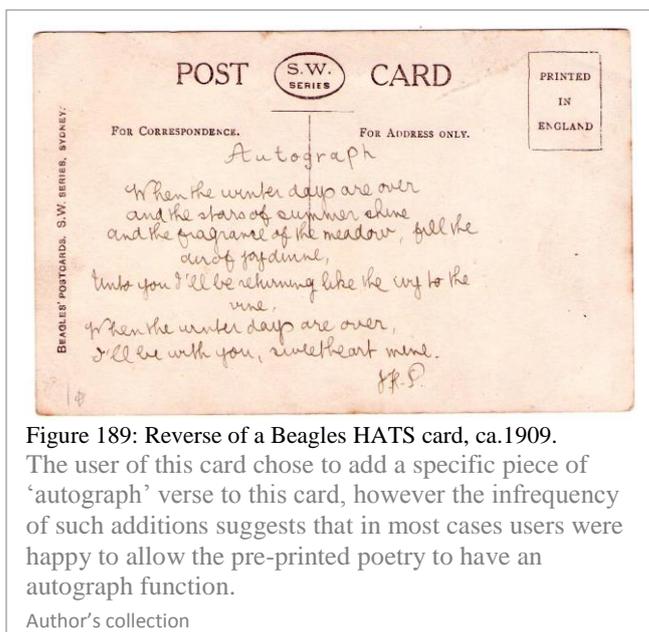


Figure 189: Reverse of a Beagles HATS card, ca. 1909. The user of this card chose to add a specific piece of 'autograph' verse to this card, however the infrequency of such additions suggests that in most cases users were happy to allow the pre-printed poetry to have an autograph function. Author's collection

children which the postcard had to oust (see page 137). The sending and receiving of verse was thus a recognised part of album practice, and just as postcard designs frequently referred to the structure of the album, so the presence of verse on cards is likely to have been understood as a hybridisation of the postcard and the autograph album [Figure 189]. It is hard for those schooled in the dour "less is more"

of twentieth century modernism to appreciate an aesthetic where two is better than one, yet in a culture defined by a desire to "get all that we want without giving up anything we have,"¹²² the hoarding of abundance was endemic. And if Simmel had railed against this,¹²³ the overall aesthetic in the cards shows that the Edwardians were still in its thrall. Thus it was that poems got longer, and visually HATS cards got more, not less complex.

As with much design, it is not possible to ascribe the qualities that makes a HATS postcard distinctive, to any single artist, or editor, or even writer,

¹²² Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "Old Saws Re-Set," January 23, 1907, pp.72-3. A 1904 piece, however, complains that extravagance was a gendered attribute, with boys encouraged to be generous, whilst girls were taught self-denial. Auckland Star, (NZ), "Women's Realm," November 16, 1904, p.10.

¹²³ Simmel, "The Berlin Trade Exhibition," p.122.

given that it drew on existing visual and literary tropes.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, within a few years those largely anonymous people had collectively fashioned a type of card that was understood by consumers as a ‘Hands across the Sea’ card. And the communicative success of this meme progressively rendered the original elements redundant.

Modern or Nostalgic: The Languages of Greetings Postcards

If the preceding sections have supported Emily West’s contention that greetings postcards utilised “publicly available symbolic forms,”¹²⁵ it remains to establish what such forms in the HATS card meant. In speaking about the postcard more generally, Barry Shank is representative of most academic writing when he says that:

Whereas post cards were flat celebrations of modern mobility, greetings cards were elaborate exploitations of the disruptions caused by this movement. Ambivalent to the core, early greetings cards were coated with nostalgia for an imagined premodern community of emotional abundance even as they built a language of clichés and stereotypes that exploited the blank affections accompanying individual mobility.¹²⁶

It should be clear by now that Shank’s neat distinction between the modern postcard and the nostalgic greetings card is fundamentally challenged by the greetings postcard. However, given the imagery involved, his sense of an opposition between the modern and nostalgic elements is understandable. Coxhead similarly highlights a perceived trend in HATS cards away from modern imagery of transport towards the nostalgic imagery of home and motherland as part of a “trajectory of ever-increasing emotionalism.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Gabriele Orapallo, for example, sees Italian post-war design as the product less of individuals than of a network of designers. Gabriele Orapallo, "Design as a Language without Words: A G Fronzoni," in *Writing Design: Words and Objects*, ed. Grace Lees-Maffei (London: Berg, 2012), p.209. The concept of anonymous design was initially explored, albeit generally, by Siegfried Giedion, who argued for design as an organic process rather than the result of heroic individuals. Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanisation Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948).

¹²⁵ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.464.

¹²⁶ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.134.

¹²⁷ Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.111. I have already noted in the introduction that my dating of the cards shows that this perceived trend is illusory – the greetings cards are amongst the earliest HATS cards, not the latest.

This final section of discussion therefore explores the contradictory relationship that the HATS card has to the binary modern/nostalgic divide, and to the “clichés and stereotypes” that Shank believes inhabit both the visual and verbal languages of the card. ‘Nostalgic’ is one of those argument-killing terms which, once applied to anything, renders it untouchable. ‘Cliché’ (“the bad side of originality,” as Lawrence Lerner called it) is another.¹²⁸ ‘Emotional’ is not much better. An understanding of the HATS phenomenon, however, requires one to move past such rhetoric.

The Melodramatic Connection

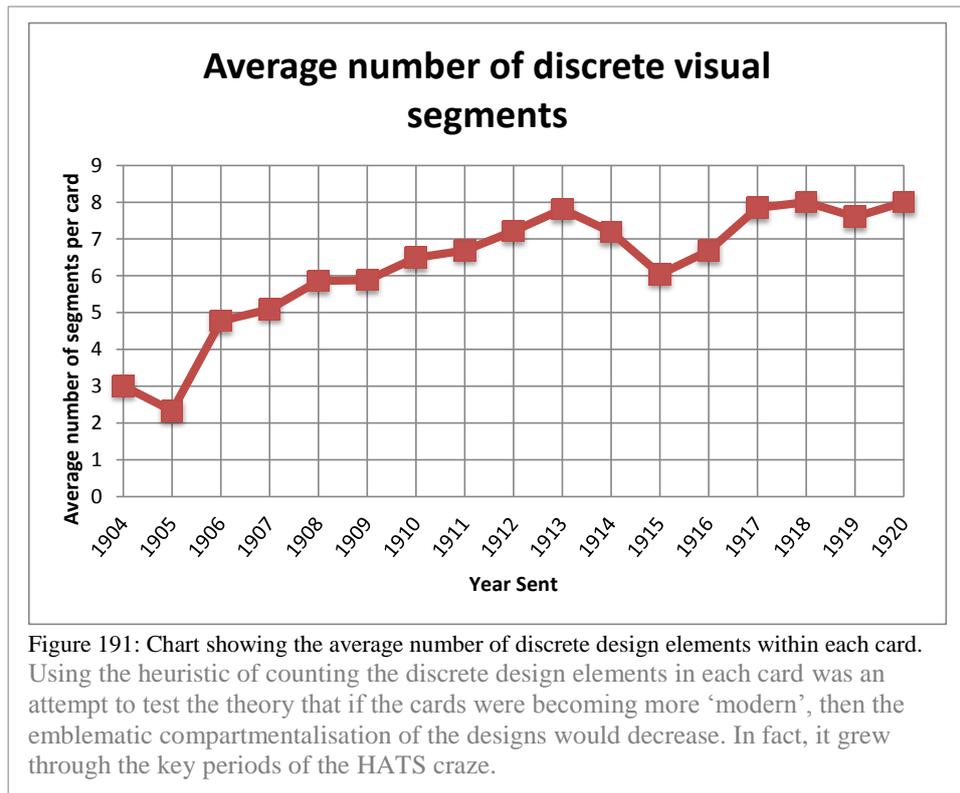


Figure 190: Lawson Wood, ca.1916, HATS postcard. This card (which has been slightly trimmed) was originally designed for a 1914 cigarette card, and was later turned into a postcard. Lawson Wood was a much published card artist and cartoonist, whose cards were normally signed. Author's collection

It is almost inevitable that any teleological history of the early twentieth century postcard will focus on the aspect of postcards which most closely resembles what we know came afterwards: modernism. By this token, over time, one might expect cards to follow the classic modernist stereotype and become more coherent, rather than more complex [e.g. Figure 188].¹²⁹ With the exception of a single card [Figure 190], such a move to a simpler, more coherent gestalt is the opposite of what happened in the HATS genre. Not only, as noted earlier, did cards get wordier, but the same tendency to elaboration is evident in the design of the cards that users chose to send, with a steady upward trend in the number of discrete segments [Figure 191]. This was broken only during the early war years, where the lithographic printers were less active, and the most available cards were those by Rotary, whose photographic cards contained somewhat fewer elements.

¹²⁸ Laurence D. Lerner, "Cliché and Commonplace," *Essays in Criticism* VI, no. 3 (1956): p.265.

¹²⁹ This is the direction that one finds, for example, in the illustrations of New York's *World on Sunday*, where the nineteenth-century album-like use of flowers to soften transitions between frames develops rapidly into design where frames contrast and overlap, and where illustration gets progressively more inclined to use line and flat colour. This move was probably driven, in part, by the effects of the comic book medium. Nicholson Baker and Margaret Brentano, *The World on Sunday: Graphic Art in Joseph Pulitzer's Newspaper (1898-1911)* (New York: Bullfinch Press, 2005).



This trend is counterintuitive, until one remembers that the postcard album's succession of 'situations' (as I argued on page 272) equated to melodrama's series of dramatic moments, and that single greetings postcards seem to have attempted to emulate this pulsating effect (see page 421). A similar development occurs in film. As Timothy Johns points out, film directors like D. W. Griffith and Sergei Eisenstein used montage-like juxtapositions in the editing of their films, borrowing from the melodramatic tradition of alternately layering the tragic and the comic, in order to mesh multiple elements into an emotionally cohesive whole.¹³⁰ Johns attempts to ascribe this tendency back to Dickens, but in doing so, largely sidesteps several decades of subsequent melodramatic and sentimental visual traditions which would surely have informed both filmmakers' work. Nevertheless, his linking of cinematic and melodramatic tropes provides useful support for my earlier suggestion that it was cinema that provided the great rival to the postcard in the second decade of the

¹³⁰ Timothy Johns, "Birth of a Medium: Dickens, Griffith, and the Advent of Sentimental Cinema," *Victorian Studies* 52, no. 1 (2009): pp.77-8.

twentieth century, with their appeal to the same demographic enhanced by the use of an analogous visual language.



Figure 192: ca.1912 anonymous Saxon-printed HATS card.
 Compared to simple early cards the montaged elements in this card make it one of the most visually complex cards in the survey. With two globes, two discrete pictures with two images of travel, an ivy leaf shape with an image of a cottage, floral elements, the clasped hands, a heading with engrossing and a text it has considerably more than the average of eight elements.
 Author's collection PC521

It will be recalled that in 1911 Pettit's "Hands Across the Sea" melodrama was turned into a film in Australia (see page 98).¹³¹ This made complete sense given the popularity of HATS postcards at the time. The link between cards and the melodramatic mode was made explicit in 1908, when the *Evening Post* noted that:

The fantastic era for Christmas cards began several years ago, and does not yet show signs of dying away, any more than any other form of melodrama is losing ground. Perhaps, in a year or two, the popular taste will swing back to simplicity, but in the meantime the cards of elaborate design, and generally highly coloured, are selling well.¹³²

There is, therefore, a melodramatic cord which connects the complex montaged Victorian greetings card with its Edwardian postcard descendant [Figure 192]. Between them, the simpler photographic views and portraits of the initial postcard fashions fit with the idea of

reductionist modernism.¹³³ Read in opposition to these, greetings postcards appears like a throwback – as indeed they did to the above-quoted writer in

¹³¹ This should not be confused with an American film from 1911, also called "Hands Across the Sea." Its plot, relating to the American revolution, was equally melodramatic, but had no connection to Pettit's play. It is historically significant, being the first to be made by French firm Éclair's American branch. Anthony Slide, *The New Historical Dictionary of the American Film Industry* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), p.63.

¹³² *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), "Christmas Cheer and Otherwise," November 30, 1908, p.8.

¹³³ Contemporaries were aware of some of the changes wrought by the postcard, but most fall short of casting it in purely modern terms. A small number of quotes have traditionally been used in the literature to support the idea of the postcard as a modern medium, such as one from Margaret Mead in the December 1900 issue of *Girl's Realm*, where she talks about the postcard as a 'sign of the times'. Quoted in Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*, p.20. Mead, however, does not use the word 'modern', it is the Holt's that interpret it in this way. Frank Staff similarly cites James Douglas, who casts the postcard as "the best guide to the spirit of the Edwardian age." Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, p.79. My interpretation of the primary material

the *Evening Post*, who entitled his section “Old-timers are popular.”¹³⁴ However, seen as a counterpart to the frenetic and sensational imagery of the early cinema, this tendency towards increasingly complex and montaged design makes perfect sense, and is in keeping with developments such as Cubism, Dada, or the early Bauhaus.

One need not assume, teleologically, that greetings card artists were aware of, or being influenced by, avant-garde movements like Cubism. Rather, these developments can be interpreted as an intensification of the melodramatic elements that were already evident in Victorian graphics, and as an attempt to pack multiple ‘situations’ into a single, visually abundant card. These are not intended to give up their meaning at a single glance, with understanding instead coming in waves. If the ‘Gruss aus’ genre started the work of incorporating album-like designs into the card itself, greetings cards like HATS increased the card format’s ability to co-ordinate multiple affective pulses. Granted, Timothy Johns argues that the way that D. W. Griffith utilises melodrama constitutes a “Victorian retreat.”¹³⁵ But if, as Ben Singer maintains, melodramatic cinema as a whole should be understood as part of the increased sensationalism of urban modernity,¹³⁶ a counterpart to the “sensational entertainments” that retailers like Selfridges offered to their customers,¹³⁷ where does that leave the Victorian-lookalike greetings postcard?

is that contemporaries were keen to see the postcard as reflecting the times, and being up-to-date, but that the ‘modern’ aspect is often overlaid. If the postcard is reflective of the Edwardian age, then one would expect its characteristic blending of tradition and novelty to be evident.

¹³⁴ *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ), “Christmas Cheer and Otherwise,” November 30, 1908, p.8.

¹³⁵ Johns, “Birth of a Medium: Dickens, Griffith, and the Advent of Sentimental Cinema,” p.84.

¹³⁶ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*, pp.59-99.

¹³⁷ Erika D. Rappaport, ““A New Era of Shopping”: The Promotion of Women’s Pleasure in London’s West End, 1909-1914,” in *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, ed. Jennifer Scanlon (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p.40.



In addition to the fragmented schema, both Figure 192 and Figure 193 utilise imagery which is typical of modernity. Tom Phillips maintains that “postcards have always, as one of their main functions, celebrated the new.”¹³⁸ Ocean liners and steam engines certainly fit this prescription, with Frances Steel describing liners as “defining images of modernity.”¹³⁹ The two sides of the globe are similarly emblematic of modern expansion. Nevertheless, the central images are, respectively a cottage and a church – both images heavily associated with the ‘nostalgic’ discourse of the rural myth, and which Coxhead remarked on when positing a tendency of HATS cards towards increased emotionalism.¹⁴⁰ If Steel sees steamships as the “symbolic expression of imperial kinship,”¹⁴¹ Linda Austin argues that the cottage was an “icon of public memory,” its tenanted status providing a metaphor for the “symbolic relation of citizen to fatherland.”¹⁴² But cottages were equally a mnemonic stimulus,¹⁴³ one that hinged not on the

¹³⁸ Phillips, *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages*, p.11.

¹³⁹ Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c.1870-1914*, p.47.

¹⁴⁰ Coxhead, "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part," p.111.

¹⁴¹ Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c.1870-1914*, p.48.

¹⁴² Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*, pp.126, 128.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.147.

psychological thrill of difference, but on the comforting reflex of familiarity – a phenomenon which Austin regards as physiological.¹⁴⁴

Nostalgia had, since the eighteenth century, been understood as the condition of emigrants.¹⁴⁵ It is therefore very easy to assume, as Shank does (in the quote on page 425), that a genre of card primarily intended to facilitate contact and communication between those at a distance – such as emigrants and their families – would adopt a nostalgic voice. Imagery of cottages and country life can certainly function nostalgically, but they appear only rarely in the study (in 5.15% of the cards), and Colin Campbell made the point that things that were nostalgic for one person might not be for another.¹⁴⁶ The complex emotions that a simple thing like a sunset could evoke (sunsets appear in 15.12% of cards) are well expressed in the following letter, written by an unsigned soldier to the father of a comrade, whose dying, as he explained, was referred to in “soldiers jargon,” as having “gone west:”

The full meaning came to me shortly after I heard about Bob. We had had a bad afternoon, though a lucky one. I had been detained at Battalion Headquarters and I was riding home alone. I had just got out of the danger zone and was riding along a ridge. Just behind me and alongside, the heavies were roaring out and I could hear the crash of the Hun shells coming in and occasionally the whine of a heavy going well back. In front I could see the country bathed in the golden light of the setting sun and away in the West was a beautiful sunset, with the spires of a town silhouetted against it like a golden city. It seemed such a desirable place and so fine a place to 'go West', away from the noise and din and strife, to 'go West' to the beautiful peace of the setting sun. It seemed to me then a beautiful sentiment and I thought of Bob 'going west'.¹⁴⁷

One could read this as a textbook example of a sentimental retreat from the realities of the modern world via an arcadian rural idyll. However, this interpretation applies only if one ignores the clear spiritual overtones. “Going west” is effectively going home, but spiritually this home lies in the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p.23.

¹⁴⁵ Kirsten Daly, "Return No More!": Highland Emigration and Romantic Nostalgia," *Literature & History* 9, no. 1 (2000): p.25.

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, p.143.

¹⁴⁷ Harper, *Letters from the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home - 1914-18*, pp.102-3.

future, not the past. As noted in the discussion of ‘rough seas’ on page 267, it is easy for twenty first century academics to overlook the extent to which religious symbolism plays a part in these cards, and it affects our reading of whether something was forward or backward looking. This tension between looking forwards and backwards occurred previously (on page 157) in relation to pasting cards into a scrapbook – something that could simultaneously preserve a memory, or prepare for future display to friends. It is therefore difficult to pin down activities as necessarily nostalgic. And even when they are, nostalgia and loss are, according to Mike Savage, intertwined with the “modern condition’s” diagnosis of change.¹⁴⁸

Given such interpretative instability, one can question the extent to which nostalgia is the primary affective stimulus in HATS cards. Within the 601 card study, it turned out that only 15.6% of the cards had references within their printed texts that could be broadly defined as nostalgic – that is, cards which made reference to home, *auld lang syne*, the good old days or the past in general. Slightly more (17.27%) referred to memory, but that was not necessarily the same thing. A good example of the difference occurs in a poem which said “Friends we still remain today, Trusty, tried and true, May you be the last to say – I’ve forgotten you.”¹⁴⁹ Memory here was located not in the past but in the future, and almost half (48.67%) of the cards made such future references. They represented by far the largest body of texts, followed by the 30.56% that referred to the present distance between sender and receiver, and the 24.25% that mentioned the state of being parted.¹⁵⁰ This is not surprising, since the function of such cards was surely one of network preservation, with an eye to a future where distance was replaced by proximity and haptic engagement – an alleviation of the present state of separation.

¹⁴⁸ Savage makes this point in relation to consumerism. Savage, "Status, Lifestyle and Taste," p.557. Paul Readman similarly argues that although this type of ostensibly nostalgic historicising helped to maintain a sense of continuity, it was not entirely nostalgic – being focused on preservation of these traditions for the future. [Readman, "The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914," pp.150, 195.] This idea is supported by Robert Venturi, who noted that “creating the new may mean choosing the old or existing.” Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, Revised ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), p.6.

¹⁴⁹ This is on PC596, an anonymous French printed card sent in 1918.

¹⁵⁰ Obviously, some cards had texts that fitted into more than one category.

Stephen Kern argued that the move towards increasing simultaneity is one of the defining features of the 1880-1914 period,¹⁵¹ and it is precisely this function that the clasped hands symbol so effectively encapsulates [e.g.



Figure 194: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1910, "Heartiest Greetings from Maoriland."

The zig-zag lines and lettering that link New Zealand and England relate to the phrase "sent in haste" in the text. They also reference the electric simultaneity of the greeting, evoking the highly charged emotions that underlay the clasped hands symbol. The estimated date of this card is the least certain of any of the illustrations, as I have not located dated examples from this series.

Author's collection

Figure 194),¹⁵² actively denying any separation, whether by time or by space. The handwritten messages on the cards support this overall interpretation. Only 2.49% make references that are in any way backward looking or nostalgic, whilst 4.65% wrote about hopes of reunion. By far the majority, however, fall under the category that Kathryn Dindia et al. describe as "relationship maintenance"¹⁵³ – such as one from Stella who told Susan that "I am just sending this to let you know I have not forgotten you."¹⁵⁴ Almost all of the messages functioned similarly in ways that reinforced the future strength of the relationship.¹⁵⁵

Sending a distinctive card with a future-oriented text can still be defined as nostalgic. Aurélie Kessous and Elyette Roux would categorise it as belonging to a type of nostalgia that either deals with the experience of discontinuity by symbolising the relationship

through a unique object (they mention jewels), or linking an object to habitual rituals of remembrance.¹⁵⁶ A one-off card would relate to the former, regular correspondence to the latter. However, Kessous and Roux

¹⁵¹ Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918*. p.xiii

¹⁵² Images of Maori, like that in figure 194, are not frequent in HATS cards.

¹⁵³ Kathryn Dindia et al., "The Function of Holiday Greetings in Maintaining Relationships," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 21, no. 5 (2004): p.578.

¹⁵⁴ This occurs on a Beagles 976x card

¹⁵⁵ In all, 94.68% of the cards could be interpreted as having this intention.

¹⁵⁶ Aurélie Kessous and Elyette Roux, "A Semiotic Analysis of Nostalgia as a Connection to the Past," *Qualitative Market Research* 12, no. 2 (2008): p.199. Their jewel illustration is interesting, given the greetings card tendency to use glitter and jewellery on the cards.

distinguish these two models of nostalgia from ones which attempt to return to “childhood bliss” or to reinforce tradition¹⁵⁷ – the two functions that are most associated with the negative meanings of nostalgia. Under these latter definitions of nostalgia, any act that attempts to engage with, or reprise, something from the past could be defined as nostalgic. Although HATS cards have such potential, for the most part they don’t seem to have been sent with such blissful or traditional intent. Nor did they primarily refer to bragging rights over tourist holidays, with travelling (on the part of either sender or receiver, and whether for work or recreation) featuring in under a quarter of the cards.¹⁵⁸

Sentimental Symbols and a Language of Emotion

The balance of the evidence suggests that the overarching purpose of the HATS cards’ elements was greetings related. However, if the texts are apparently focused primarily on the future, how do images of things like cottages and sunsets dovetail into the communicative scheme? It is here that the earlier discussion of sentimentality is important. If one understands the visual elements of the card as relating to a commonly understood set of tropes that communicated affect, as I argued on page 180, then the juxtaposition of elements of shared experience with symbols of future reunion makes more sense. And if Linda Austin is correct in arguing that we respond physiologically with pleasure to the sight of the familiar,¹⁵⁹ then this explains the affective effectiveness of the cards’ sentimental symbolism. The hidden ivy leaf in Figure 192, for example, is no idle designer whim. In the language of flowers (already a well-established component of Christmas cards – see page 183), ivy was associated with the phrase “I cling” [Figure 196], thus symbolising fidelity and the maintenance of friendship.¹⁶⁰ Ivy was the fourth most popular floral element within the

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.199-200.

¹⁵⁸ The exact figure is 22.26% of the cards.

¹⁵⁹ Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*, p.23.

¹⁶⁰ Kate Greenaway and Jean Marsh, *The Illuminated Language of Flowers* (London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1978 [1884]), p.36. The definitions for the next flowers mentioned in the text also come from this source. And Greenaway gives thirty two different options for roses on page 50, depending on type and colour. Love, however, was the overarching intent behind all of these. The definitions given for flowers appear to be standard across the ‘language of flowers’ literature for the main flowers, but can vary with the less common.

study, significantly behind roses, but close in popularity to forget-me-nots and ferns.¹⁶¹

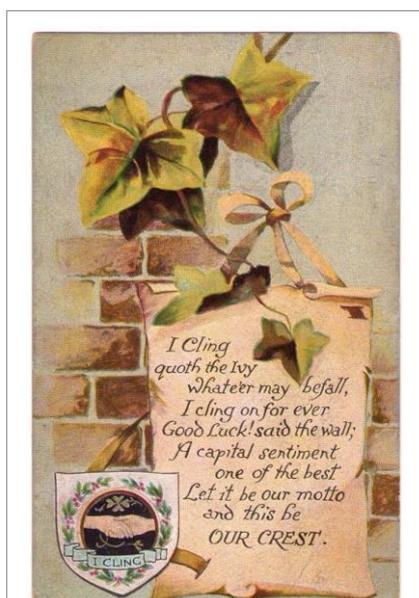


Figure 196: Birm Brothers, ca.1910, floral card incorporating heraldic clasped hands.

The text of this card stresses the association of ivy with ‘clinging’. The card therefore combines the language of flowers and clasped hands, thus linking the two most popular genres within greetings postcards at this time. Friendship, in this card’s heraldic symbolism, appears to be ennobled.

Author’s collection PC310

As mentioned earlier (page 180), such symbols operate as mnemonic links in Rousseau’s sentimental “chain of emotions,”¹⁶² and the ‘binding’ quality of links in a chain is referred to regularly within sentimental culture.¹⁶³ This continued into the Edwardian period, where it occurred in, amongst other contexts, Anglo-Saxonism, travel, communication, letters and postcards [Figure 195].¹⁶⁴



Figure 195: Aristophot postcard of children.

This card, created by the London office of German company Aristophot explicitly sees the family as links in a chain. Aristophot also produced a number of HATS cards.

Author’s collection

¹⁶¹ 18.3% of the cards included ivy, 42.52% included roses (symbolising ‘love’), 23.09% had forget-me-nots, 21.8% included ferns (symbolising “fascination” and referencing the hugely popular fern collecting craze). Ferns were particularly significant in the symbolism of New Zealand, with the fern being the second most popular emblem (after the Southern Cross, but ahead of the Kiwi) to appear in the entries for the 1906 and 1908 competitions for a New Zealand coat of arms. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington, New Zealand: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p.192.

¹⁶² Assmann, "Three Memory Anchors: Affect, Symbol, Trauma," p.23.

¹⁶³ The idea of a chain of union was used by eighteenth century Masons. [Beaurepaire, "The Universal Republic of the Freemasons and the Culture of Mobility in the Enlightenment," p.415.] Nevertheless, a more important driver for popularising the ‘links that bind’ image occurred in Thomas Moore’s 1823 poem “As Slow our Ship,” which included the lines “So loath that we part from all we love, From all the links that bind us.” Thomas Moore, *The Works of Thomas Moore: Comprehending All His Melodies, Ballads, Etc.* (Paris: Galignani, 1823), p.179.

¹⁶⁴ The Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), “New Blood,” December 9, 1907, p.4, described ocean liners as “the link that binds us to those of our blood who are settled in widely-severed lands.” The Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Woman’s World,” March 28, 1908, p.3, noted that, if the postcard had democratised international communication, “Esperanto is now the link that binds.” ‘Harry’, writing in the Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), “Our Little Folks,” January 25, 1900, p.61, thought that “letters are the link that binds.”

While only six of the HATS cards in the survey contained direct written references to links or chains, chains have discrete, linked sections, and they appear subtly in some key areas of HATS symbolism. Most of the 32.89% of cards showing women with bracelets showed them as chains (sometimes, as in Figure 197, with charm elements added), whilst cuff-links, which appeared in 33.88% of the cards, are so called owing to the two buttons being, until the end of the nineteenth century, linked by a chain.¹⁶⁵



Figure 197: Rotary Photo, ca. 1908, clasped hands card. This card is one of the few HATS-type cards Rotary produced before 1912. Like flowers, jewellery also carried symbolic meanings.
Author's collection PC349

Thus the farewell in Figure 197 is probably intended to be mitigated not only by haptic contact but also by the symbolic references to the idea of the links that would continue to bind. Figure 198 provides another example, adding rope to the linking symbolism [see also Figure 200], even using the join between the A and S in the lettering to reinforce the concept of binding.



Figure 198: Fergusson & Taylor, ca. 1915, HATS card. This card uses rope and links to reference both the chain metaphor and maritime uses of these elements. It exhibits the compartmentalised design approach, typical of later cards, that seems intended to create successive emotional waves.
Author's collection PC084

¹⁶⁵ Ron Dupuis, "Cufflinks with the Past," *Canadian Jeweller* 126, no. 3 (2005): p.106.

Lighthouses, swallows, doves, globes, hearts, horseshoes, and anchors were just part of the familiar symbolic repertoire, also used on celebratory items like wedding cakes [Figure 52], that users of HATS postcards were presumably expected to decode. Anchors, for example might be used as metaphor for the role of the Mother within a family,¹⁶⁶ but also symbolised ‘hope’, and many of these items similarly carried with them long-standing symbolic meanings. Hearts, for example, hark back to the pre-nineteenth century belief that hearts were literally the seat of emotion.¹⁶⁷

It is unnecessary to itemise all of the emblematic elements used in the cards,¹⁶⁸ since enough has already been said to make the point. Shank may

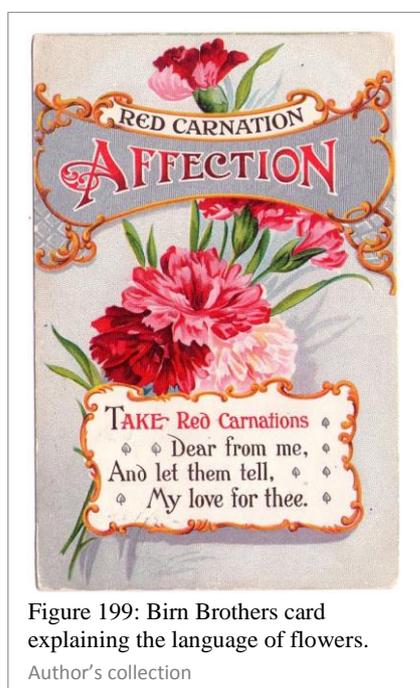


Figure 199: Birn Brothers card explaining the language of flowers.
Author's collection

call them ‘clichés’, but such “symbolic forms,” as Emily West labels them,¹⁶⁹ can equally be understood as continuing the language of celebration discussed earlier, and as harmonising with the rituals and symbolism so popular with turn of the century unionists (see pages 159 and 83). They drew on the emblematic form’s non-linguistic ability to convey complex thought – making visible what Barbara Marie Stafford describes as “the combinatorial process of agency.”¹⁷⁰ It is in this evocation of combinatorial psychology that the melodramatic design and the juxtapositions of emblematic iconography come together. However, rather than being intellectually

motivated, as emblems originally were, they appear here to be used as part of a basic language that aimed to communicate emotion. This, Sonia Solicari argues, is what Victorian sentimentalism aimed for.¹⁷¹ Although intellectuals had long since begun to treat symbolism and ritual as

¹⁶⁶ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*. p.80.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.66.

¹⁶⁸ The 601 card study identified fifty four different symbolic items used, not including flower symbolism, where twenty seven flowers were located. A botanist would have been able to identify considerably more species.

¹⁶⁹ West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.464.

¹⁷⁰ Stafford, *The Cognitive Work of Images*, p.52.

¹⁷¹ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.1.

antithetical to the ‘real’,¹⁷² within the emotive arena of popular culture such symbolism retained its efficacy as a discrete semiotic form. Indeed, there was an entire genre of postcards that taught users about the “language of” cards [e.g. Figure 58],¹⁷³ with not just flowers, but vegetables, rings, ribbons, stamp placement, and even cords allocated emotion-based definitions [Figure 196, Figure 199 and Figure 200].¹⁷⁴ Lawrence Lerner long-ago defined the cliché as “the use of commonplaces with sensational intent,”¹⁷⁵ and his definition fits these items. My objection is not to the definition, but to the automatic moral judgement that commonplaces and sensation (the flipsides of originality and vision) are necessarily bad things.

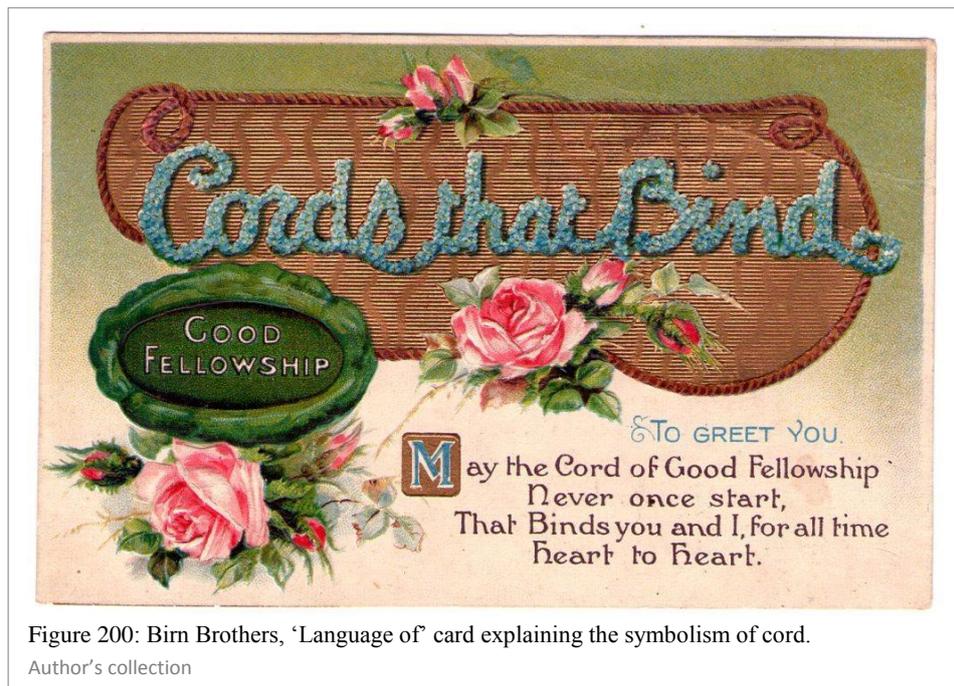


Figure 200: Birn Brothers, ‘Language of’ card explaining the symbolism of cord.
Author’s collection

Mieke Bal discusses how cultural objects are produced and interpreted inter-subjectively via commonly accessible codes.¹⁷⁶ Languages necessarily assign agreed conventional meanings to arbitrary sounds,¹⁷⁷ and any language of emotion would similarly have to rely upon the shared cultural

¹⁷² Ewan Morris, *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), p.2.

¹⁷³ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.57.

¹⁷⁴ De Roo shows that the language of stamps was operating in France in 1901. DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales," p.156.

¹⁷⁵ Lerner, "Cliché and Commonplace," p.254.

¹⁷⁶ Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," p.98.

¹⁷⁷ J. R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), p.12.

meanings of its signifiers.¹⁷⁸ Understood in these terms, accusing greetings cards of using nostalgic clichés, simply because they communicate through long-standing, commonplace emblems, makes as much sense as saying a piece of writing is nostalgic because the word ‘love’ has been used for centuries.

Whether emotional communication is an appropriate outcome for the linguistic process may be debated. Steven Skaggs’s interpretation of the symbolism associated with ribbons that are worn to support a cause is helpful in understanding how it can be. Using Peirce’s concepts of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness, Skaggs argues that, at a basic level, simply combining a material item like a ribbon with a quality like colour is enough for it to become communicative. Exact meaning (such as supporting cancer) can only be discerned, however, if it occurs within a specific context. Interpreting it therefore relies on cultural forms, such as the way the ribbon is tied.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the longstanding association of ribbons with celebrations, as well as their original function as a ‘tie’, is why ribbons (which appear in 26.08% of HATS cards) were so important in emphasising the concepts of both connection and gift-giving.

Neither Peirce nor Skaggs, however, discuss the emotional aspects of such a communicative process, largely because Peirce framed Thirdness as a process of what Skaggs calls “principles, habits, and laws – in short systems,” something he re-interprets as “argument.”¹⁸⁰ Skaggs’s example of such ‘argument’ imagines an encounter with a homeless child, where one moves from the premise “this child before me is homeless,” to “if a homeless child finds no shelter, it will die,” before concluding that “therefore, I ought to find shelter for this child.”¹⁸¹ The Cancer ribbon is similarly supposed to lead to a sympathetic conclusion that one ought to pay money to help prevent the disease. But such arguments are not solely

¹⁷⁸ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.1.

¹⁷⁹ Steven Skaggs, "Peirce's Sign Classes from the Viewpoint of a Graphic Designer," *Chinese Semiotic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2011): p. 271.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.271.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.273.

propositional,¹⁸² and it is hard to imagine that anyone's response to a homeless child would not, at least in part, be emotionally driven.

Rationality is often ascribed to the public sphere and emotion to the private.¹⁸³ On a theoretical level, this could be used to explain the differences between the *concordia* and *fides* versions of the clasped hands, and why it is the *fides* version that appears more within the private realm of the postcard. There is similarly a tendency to equate cognition with rationality and emotion with irrationality, but Donald Norman makes it clear that the two are inseparable.¹⁸⁴ Emotions are also particularly susceptible to visual rhetoric.¹⁸⁵ Although Skaggs, following Peirce, does not bring emotion into the argument, it is quite possible to use his model to get a sense of how an emotionally charged, visual/verbal, combinatorial item like a HATS card would have been read by its recipient.

- 1) The card in front of me has clasped hands on it.
- 2) I can't clasp hands with that person because they are so far away.
- 3) I feel sad that I can't touch them, but the fact that they are thinking of me makes me feel closer to them.

This stirring of emotions was then reinforced by subsequent waves of interpretive pleasure and frustration, as each symbolic reference in the card reiterated the sender's undying friendship, whilst simultaneously hammering home the reality of their absence. It is precisely this tension between unity and separation that Bourdieu located as giving symbolic objects their power.¹⁸⁶ Klein et al. proposed that episodic memories are a necessary part of the process of re-evaluating the past and making decisions on how to act in the future.¹⁸⁷ Following this approach, the melodramatically episodic HATS imagery could serve to stimulate memories of parting, thereby prompting the recipient to re-evaluate and

¹⁸² J. Anthony Blair, "The Rhetoric of Visual Arguments," in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, ed. Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), p.59.

¹⁸³ Illouz, *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*, pp.1-2.

¹⁸⁴ Norman, *Emotional Design: Why We Love (or Hate) Everyday Things*, p.7.

¹⁸⁵ Charles A. Hill, "The Psychology of Rhetorical Images," in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, ed. Charles A. Hill (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), p.35.

¹⁸⁶ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp.124-5.

¹⁸⁷ S. Klein et al., "Evolution and Episodic Memory: An Analysis and Demonstration of a Social Function of Episodic Recollection," *Social Cognition* 27, no. 2 (2009): p.316.

renew their relationship with the sender on the basis of the card's positive gift function.

Peirce's visual argument is intended to generate action. One of the criticisms encountered earlier of the sentimental mode is that it provokes not sympathy – which stimulates action – but instead promotes self-congratulatory wallowing in sentiment alone.¹⁸⁸ The emotions evoked by HATS cards, however, are hardly self-congratulatory. A postcard representation of ivy was not intended, as perhaps it had been in the eighteenth century, to flatter the receiver's sense of sensibility. Rather, it was intended to argue that the recipient should cling on to the relationship in absentia. The intended outcome was therefore psychologically instrumental. Indeed, this may help explain why 27.57% of the cards added embossing. Although more expensive, by highlighting what Jan-Ola Östman calls a “mutual touching surface between the co-participants,”¹⁸⁹ and accessing the “haptic memory” that Linda Austin argues constituted an alternate Victorian aesthetic mode,¹⁹⁰ embossing created an additional level of emotional rhetoric that, in its embodied materiality, and “sensory complexity,”¹⁹¹ reinforced clasped hand simultaneity.

Ultimately there was another possible response to the HATS card's emotional argument that did involve immediate action – and it was precisely this that made greetings postcards so profitable for manufacturers. One could substitute the negative emotional residue of being reminded of distance for the positive action of reciprocation, through the simple act of purchasing a card. Just as one can ameliorate one's emotional response to cancer through rituals of charitable donation, so could the ritual exchange of emotionally charged greetings cards allow the Edwardians to use economic

¹⁸⁸ Soni, "The Tragedies of Sentimentalism: Privatizing Happiness in the Eighteenth Century," p.190.

¹⁸⁹ Östman, "The Postcard as Media," p.439.

¹⁹⁰ Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*, pp.77-80, 201.

¹⁹¹ Scheffer, "Architectural Postcards and the Conception of Place: Mediating Cultural Experience," p.226.

exchange as penance for prolonged absence, a penance exacted through the labour of shopping.¹⁹²

The same arguments can be applied to the greetings card sentiments. According to Emily West, whose work on contemporary greetings cards translates remarkably well to the Edwardian period, card texts function so effectively because they utilise what she calls “a socially accepted and understood language for caring and thoughtfulness,”¹⁹³ which ritually indexes relationships rather than communicating authentic expressive individualism.¹⁹⁴ What matters, she argues, in such a ritual form, is the card’s efficacy in conveying feeling,¹⁹⁵ with users happy to trade originality for effectiveness.¹⁹⁶ All of this ultimately explains why greetings postcard imagery also uses the commonplace, the hackneyed and the stereotypical. If Shank observed a desire for “emotional abundance,”¹⁹⁷ that desire does not have to be seen as nostalgic, in the negative way he frames it. What he saw as clichés were, in fact, not backward-pointing signposts on the road to modernity. They were culturally specific,¹⁹⁸ and, in the case of HATS, functioned primarily as an emotional strategy relating to a present situation and a desired future. Mike Savage’s point – that nostalgia and loss are part of the broader modern condition’s relationship with change – is appropriate here.¹⁹⁹ Stripped of its teleological stigma, it is possible to appreciate the melodramatic mix of references – the clasped hands, the liners, the motor cars, the cottages, the flowers and the poetry – as a rounded response to the realities of an emigrant’s world. And it was so effective in symbolising the triumph of emotion over distance that 22.8% of the cards would be sent by people living less than twenty kilometres apart and a further 37.9% by people within the same country. Raphael Tuck’s ‘Hands across the

¹⁹² West, "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment," p.467.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p.454.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.453-4. She sees this distinction as being substantially related to class, with the lower classes more inclined to use ritual, and the middle classes wanting to assert their individuality.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p.464.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p.460.

¹⁹⁷ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.134.

¹⁹⁸ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.133.

¹⁹⁹ Savage, "Status, Lifestyle and Taste," p.557.

Distance' card [Figure 168] was therefore technically more accurate than 'Hands across the Sea' for more than half of the users. But whether sent nationally or internationally, HATS cards as a whole clearly succeeded in connecting the collective Edwardian desire for both speed and stability to the individual Edwardian's desire for reunion and a more socially replete future.

Summary and Synthesis

The HATS card's trajectory destabilises the triumphalist sense of modernist inevitability that underpins much of the literature in the field. By the First World War, attempts to use the postcard as a fast modern communication medium had stalled and the war did more to advance the letter than the postcard. If there was an epistolary revolution at this period, it relates to letter writing. Since most of the postcard's users were lower or lower middle class (few of whom had access to telephones during this period), the telephone can have had little effect on the postcard's demise. The cinema, on the other hand, was much more likely to reduce the amount of disposable income spent on cards. The cinema also proved useful in understanding the increasingly complex designs of HATS cards, which are typical of a strong current of frenetic sensationalism in Edwardian design. The later cards, I argue, had a format that provided recipients with multiple affective pulses: mimicking the melodramatic succession of discrete situations. They therefore defy a simplistic modern versus nostalgic binary. Card manufacturers were able to comfortably integrate both traditional and innovative elements into designs that evoked a culture which had yet to definitively divest itself from its past, but still saw itself, in all its guises, as being of its age.

This chapter therefore connected the HATS card to several of the key discourses identified earlier. One of these related to the issue of anonymity – which brings with it the spectre of the erasure of the subjective identity of the designer. Although graphic design history foregrounds charismatic individuals doing personal work, today's graphic designers still work largely anonymously and with prefabricated messages. The reasons why

greeting cards companies tended to keep their artists anonymous are complex, and by no means pure, but they relate to the card's ability to function as the voice of the sender. Fundamentally, the cards were functional rather than expressive of their creators. This is only a problem if one adheres to a Kantian conception whereby beauty only exists outside utility, or if art is understood as an expression of its author, rather than being of service to its user. Such debates still remain crucial to graphic designers' self-perception.

The discussion of postcard artists' anonymity highlights the way that tastes have different trajectories amongst different groups, and that although 'commonplace' or 'cliché' items may reference taste-patterns that differ from the subsequent (high cultural) narrative of design, they are nevertheless important to understand. Abandoning the requirement for middle class expressive 'authenticity' makes it possible to conceive of a greetings language, based on pre-existing elements, which could help consumers in a postal, pre-telephonic world to articulate their long-distance emotional needs. This, I argue, is what HATS cards aimed to achieve – but our antipathy to such emblematic, sentimental, pre-existing imagery and texts all too easily prevents us from realising how effective these items were. Appreciating HATS cards, in other words, requires a very fundamental questioning of today's commonplace assumptions about the roles of art and design.

Conclusion

Tim Ingold's notion of improvisational 'wayfaring', as opposed to planned 'navigation',¹ is not immediately amenable to outcome-oriented research, and adopting it for a PhD involves a calculated risk. Hypothesis-based research (akin to Ingold's navigation) predicts its destination and maintains a steady course towards it. A version of the conclusion is therefore implicit from the start. With wayfaring, by contrast, the destination is less clear, and the sum total of the improvisational decision-making along the way may give the completed journey a distinctly different complexion to what was initially imagined.

However, having arrived at the point where a conclusion of some kind is required, it is now possible, retrospectively, to make some sense of this thoroughly entangled topic. It is not necessary to repeat here the more specific material that occurs in the chapter summaries, as readers may use these to reacquaint themselves with the full spectrum of discoveries made under way. The research has destabilised many established ideas about card culture, and the summaries detail the various corrective aspects. Here, I want to reflect instead on what I regard as the most significant findings, acknowledging both the areas where my work supports existing interpretations and those where it contributes new insights. Since this study has traversed much little-travelled terrain, I also want to indicate some of the roads not taken – ones which could usefully merit further scholarly attention.

The question that initially emerged as central to this research is: "Why was the Hands across the Sea postcard able to attain such prominence within the culture of its time?" It might, on the face of it, appear that this question cannot stand up to the exacting measure of significance: "So what?"² Indeed, much as it pains the collector in me to admit it, HATS cards are not,

¹ Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History*, p.15.

² This measure appears to have wide academic currency. It was used by Peter Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, p.12. It also occurs in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research, Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*, 7th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.39, 51.

in themselves, earth-shatteringly important. However, what the HATS card does provide is a significantly different lens from those habitually utilised in examining the territory of the postcard. Using this new lens has allowed me to re-evaluate, re-conceptualise and re-situate the territories in which we conceive these pieces of designed, published, printed, traded, sold, written, posted, read, consumed and collected cardboard that we call postcards.

Early on in my research, it became apparent that HATS postcards fitted uncomfortably into existing discourse, and that, to accommodate them, the history of the postcard needed to be substantially reframed. My work does not generally invalidate existing emphases on postal history, photography and tourism, but rather aims to add to them. In connecting the card's origins to broader debates such as design reform, consumerism and gift culture, I hope to have expanded the contexts within which future discussions of the postcard's history can occur. However there are two areas in which my research makes an original contribution to the understanding of nineteenth century card practice and its relationship to the postcard – one relating to production and one to consumption.

I conceptualised the manufacture of greetings cards and greetings postcards as part of a broader trade in stationery and fancy goods. It was particularly practised by a relatively close-knit group of lithographic 'Art Publishers' who were heavily involved in starting both the Christmas card and postcard crazes, and who competed vigorously with the manufacturers of photographic tourist views. The postcard craze allowed these companies to refresh their businesses as the Christmas card craze waned, but they used pre-existing business networks, tactics and iconographic approaches to achieve this. In many cases this simply involved updating and adapting earlier types of lithographic or photographic card.

The process of looking more broadly at the postcard practices involved (e.g. situating HATS within the stationery trade, rather than simply framing it as a postcard genre) made room to forge a second set of previously unrecognised connections relating to card consumption – those between postcard collecting and earlier nineteenth century album practices. My

identification of the album as a coherent practice – pulling together many seemingly discrete strands such as scraps, ferns, stamps, photographs and cards – has, I believe, significant potential for further application in the study of nineteenth century collecting. And the propensity of HATS cards to draw on aspects of many of these types of collection provides strong evidence that such album practices were connected in consumers' minds.

Another major aspect that will assist in subsequent scholarship and, I hope, also encourage researchers to challenge and go beyond it, is my identification, within the postcard craze, of three distinct fashion phases: moving from view cards, to actresses, and then to greetings cards. Previous scholarship has uniformly treated the massive and amorphous postcard craze as a single entity. My analysis of the pricing of postcards therefore constitutes a first attempt to distinguish the craze's internal dynamics and to explain the mechanisms by which it could be sustained for so long. The importance of the greetings card revival provides strong evidence of the HATS card's significance within the final phase of postcard popularity. HATS cards remained highly priced between at least 1908 and 1911, a duration which demonstrates the genre's appeal to consumers. Some of the data I use, however, is presently of limited scope, and I hope to find equivalent sources elsewhere, in order to test whether the trends identified here are local, or can be applied definitively across the Anglo world. The same applies to my tentative suggestion that the cinema was probably the largest contributor to the postcard's decline after 1910.

The research processes adopted here also involve a degree of originality. Tim Ingold's notions of lines, and of wayfaring allowed me to connect my visual practice as a calligrapher with the narrative practices of the historian. Ingold's affirmation of the improvisational gave me the confidence to trace a path through the threads of evidence and to allow the narrative to evolve where it would. It also helped me not to panic when Daniel Gifford's 2011 work elegantly removed the basis for what I had believed would be the main argument (that the greetings postcard was more central to the craze

than hitherto realised).³ I accepted that the major original conclusions might not simply relate to the HATS card, but could engage with its broader context. My subsequent re-evaluation of the relationships between postcard and greetings card adds to Gifford's work, adapting it to the British and New Zealand contexts.

Obviously, like a proud parent, I found the story of HATS, as it emerged from this research, thoroughly fascinating. As a unit of culture, HATS was able to achieve widespread recognition, forming an increasingly popular and significant thread through the Victorian and Edwardian periods. And the narrative expanded the history of the New Zealand postcard and demonstrated the potential of using retailer advertising in postcard research. The data I had gathered from the HATS cards themselves, however, tended to support aspects of the existing literature rather than generating startlingly new material. Emily West's studies of contemporary greetings cards, for example, raised a whole series of questions concerning the role of originality within greetings card sentiments, and the discourse of middle-class authenticity.⁴ Her ideas proved very applicable to the Edwardian context, and I have expanded on them in my study, linking them to the recurring theme of the 'commonplace'. There was a sharp distinction between middle class expectations of originality and working class willingness to enjoy variations on a theme – what Alfred Gell calls the "principle of least difference."⁵ This helps to explain the lack of academic interest in an anonymously generated genre like the HATS postcard, despite its spanning several thousand postcard designs, evidently to a warm popular cultural reception. The distinction between original and imitation, creation and copy also helps explain why I have opted in this conclusion to profile the continuities within this research, and to emphasise the extent to which they affirm existing approaches. It makes little sense to critique the foundations of a discourse of originality, and then apply it, unquestioned, just because 'original contribution' is enshrined in academic dogma.

³ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910."

⁴ Emily West, "Greeting Cards: Individuality and Authenticity in Mass Culture" (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2004); "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment."

⁵ Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, pp.217-8.

Like Deborah Cohen and Lara Kriegel's work (which alerted me to the significance of design reform and taste),⁶ Emily West's writing on greetings cards played a major role in the initial orientation of this research. By contrast, I only discovered Peter Stearns' study of emotional culture towards the end of writing.⁷ It was, however, the missing piece that drew together the threads of sentimentality and melodrama that had emerged from linking the history of HATS to Ben Singer's work on early cinema.⁸ The openness towards emotion that Stearns identified within Victorian culture helped me to interpret how the modern and nostalgic, sentimental and sensational aspects of HATS cards could coalesce so seamlessly, and to argue that this ambivalence was part and parcel of the period. Similarly, it helped reinforce the viability of developing Sonia Solicari's ideas about sentimental imagery constituting a language of emotion.⁹ The attempt to overtly communicate emotional messages semiotically through clearly defined symbolism, rather than relying on romantic art's ability to mystically express feeling, makes sense in a culture more open to talking about emotion than our current 'cool' allows.

Twentieth century design has owed much of its power to the rise of 'cool',¹⁰ and this has made it difficult, within a design historical framework, to research into a decidedly downmarket, emotional and sentimental item of the commercial vernacular. Initially, I had hoped that this research would be able to act as a conversation between design history, history and material culture. Increasingly, though, the material cultural aspects gave way to more of a dialogue between history and design history – a broadly historical interpretation of a designed genre. Designed items like HATS postcards function in multifarious ways. In decentring the design aspect, and allowing the item the freedom to fraternise beyond the boundaries of design discourse, I hope that this research helps to model an approach in which

⁶ Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*; Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*.

⁷ Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*.

⁸ Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*.

⁹ Solicari, "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture," p.1.

¹⁰ On this, see Liu, *The Laws of Cool: Knowledge Work and the Culture of Information*.

design is woven back into the thoroughly entangled fabric of the wider cultural practice within which it properly plays its part.

Overall, then, this process of contextualising the HATS card has thrown new light on a range of discourses, but at its core it has demonstrated the need for further research into the history of the postcard and on collecting practice. It responded to a distinct need for a more engaged historical appreciation of the postcard phenomenon, one which could situate its practice more firmly into its historical, social and cultural contexts. Whilst the conclusions reached here are in no way definitive, I hope that the new perspectives I have developed contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon and will serve as a stimulus for further research. In addition to the obvious need for more research on the postcard, this study has identified other areas that can be developed much further. The autograph album, album practice, birthday cards, wider celebratory culture, the New Zealand Christmas card, working class epistolary practice and its relation to the telephone all have considerable potential as research arenas. Most pressing, however, is the need for a fully updated study of the postcard's broader history across the British diaspora – integrating the greetings postcard practices I have prioritised here with the photographic postcard tradition. This thesis has, I hope, prepared some of the groundwork for further, more comprehensive research and, in its re-interpretation of large parts of the postcard's history, significantly re-oriented the context within which that research will occur.

Epilogue

During 1904, missionaries in Britain mounted what was described as “the largest sustained protest against imperialism in the decades before the Great War,”¹¹ opposing the horrors being visited upon the people of the Congo by the agents of King Leopold of Belgium.¹² Amongst atrocities that would fuel Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*,¹³ the missionaries highlighted stories of sentries around the rubber plantations who were instructed only to shoot at people and not game. To enforce this, they had to produce a human hand for each cartridge they used. The sentries, however, liked hunting, and to cover up their poached game they took to cutting hands off the locals.¹⁴ The missionaries showed numerous lantern slides of mutilated children to enflame opinion against the Belgians, as well as images of other horrors. One of the most telling was a slide which showed a father staring at the hand and foot of his five-year-old daughter, after she had been hacked to pieces by sentries [Figure 201].



Figure 201: Alice Harris, 1904, Nsala of Wala in the Nsongo District with the hand and foot of his daughter.

This photograph was originally published in *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defence of His Congo Rule*, by Mark Twain in 1904, with a caption claiming that the daughter had been eaten.

Source: Wikimedia Commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

¹¹ Kevin Grant, "Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform Campaign in Britain," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 2 (2001): pp.52-53.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.33.

¹³ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London: Penguin, 1976 [1902]).

¹⁴ Grant, "Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform Campaign in Britain," p.33.

According to one of the missionaries, “the mute appeal of hand and foot will speak to the most sceptical.”¹⁵

1904 was the year when Hands across the Sea postcards came on the market. HATS was in the air. Images of disembodied hands would soon grace millions of cards with an altogether different affective intent. Nevertheless, none of the British press coverage about the missionaries’ campaign to highlight the limb-chopping sadism of the Belgian colonists appears to have drawn the obvious (if tasteless) connection by saying that these Congolese victims had suffered ‘severed hands across the sea’. HATS had already shown itself to be a remarkably versatile term, but quite clearly it had its limits. For the Edwardians, ‘hands across the sea’ simply could not be situated in the macabre. It may have ultimately become a cliché, and an arcane term for international relations, but its Edwardian emotional register would remain one of cheery positive celebration in the face of distance and absence, one that could make an optimistic case for future reunion.

On a certain level, the emotional needs of colonists seem dwarfed by the emotional wreckage of the colonised, and one can ask why a postcard that ministers to such needs is even worthy of study. However, in our sentimental desire to identify with victims and not perpetrators,¹⁶ and to court the sensational extremes of past injustice in order to put as much distance between ourselves and our colonising forbears as possible, are we so different? If one can argue that history is a case of the present colonising the past,¹⁷ does not the propensity of postcard studies to highlight the exploitative, the pornographic and the violent aspects of postcard iconography tell us as much about our present anxieties as it does about the Edwardians? It is, I would argue, only when we appreciate both the soft and the hard edges of colonialism, the ‘hands across the sea’ after-dinner aspects, as well as its venal commercial practices, that we can start to ask questions about our own blind spots. As long as colonialism is demonised

¹⁵ Ibid., p.27.

¹⁶ It is here that we risk becoming part of Lynn Festa’s “community of moved souls” which neatly distances us from the conditions that created the situation. Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, p.170.

¹⁷ Meikle, "A Paper Atlantis: Postcards, Mass Art, and the American Scene. The Eleventh Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture," p.284.

through exaggerated representations, we can remain smug in our own progress towards enlightenment. Yet, as academia leaps into the joys of transnationalism, for example, we seem remarkably oblivious to its potential to ideologically assist in denuding democratic systems, thus allowing transnational corporations unfettered free-trade licence.

If this study has shown anything, it is the porosity of the political/commercial, public/private, and rational/emotional binaries. Hands across the Sea's straddling of these discourses calls attention to the need for broadly contextual research, not just isolationist compartmentalisation. I had not expected an inquisitive hobby collecting greetings postcards to leave me much more politicised than when I started, but the realisation that genuinely nice people, in aesthetically expressing laudable emotional needs, were nevertheless linked to a bellicose nationalism and the free-trade debate has made me fundamentally re-evaluate my own position. Examining how ideas of taste, originality, individualism and consumerism played out within Edwardian design has made me appreciate how designer aesthetics can cover the ideological drivers of our current brand of commercial colonialism. Teasing out the implications of this must await another venue, but my developing awareness of these factors did play a part in how this study has evolved.

Equally, it seems significant that our current over-emphasis on the visual and the rational, with their fundamental cooling ability, helps us distance ourselves from the emotional consequences of our current ideologies. I am therefore inclined to agree with the increasing body of scholarship that argues that it is a fundamental error to relegate the haptic and material aspects of experience to the side lines. Staying in touch, with its emphasis on community rather than isolation has, perhaps, a symbolic resonance for the present. The very desire of corporate liberalism to entrap us within the simulacristic individual pleasures of the virtual may point to the need to rediscover the power of joined hands.

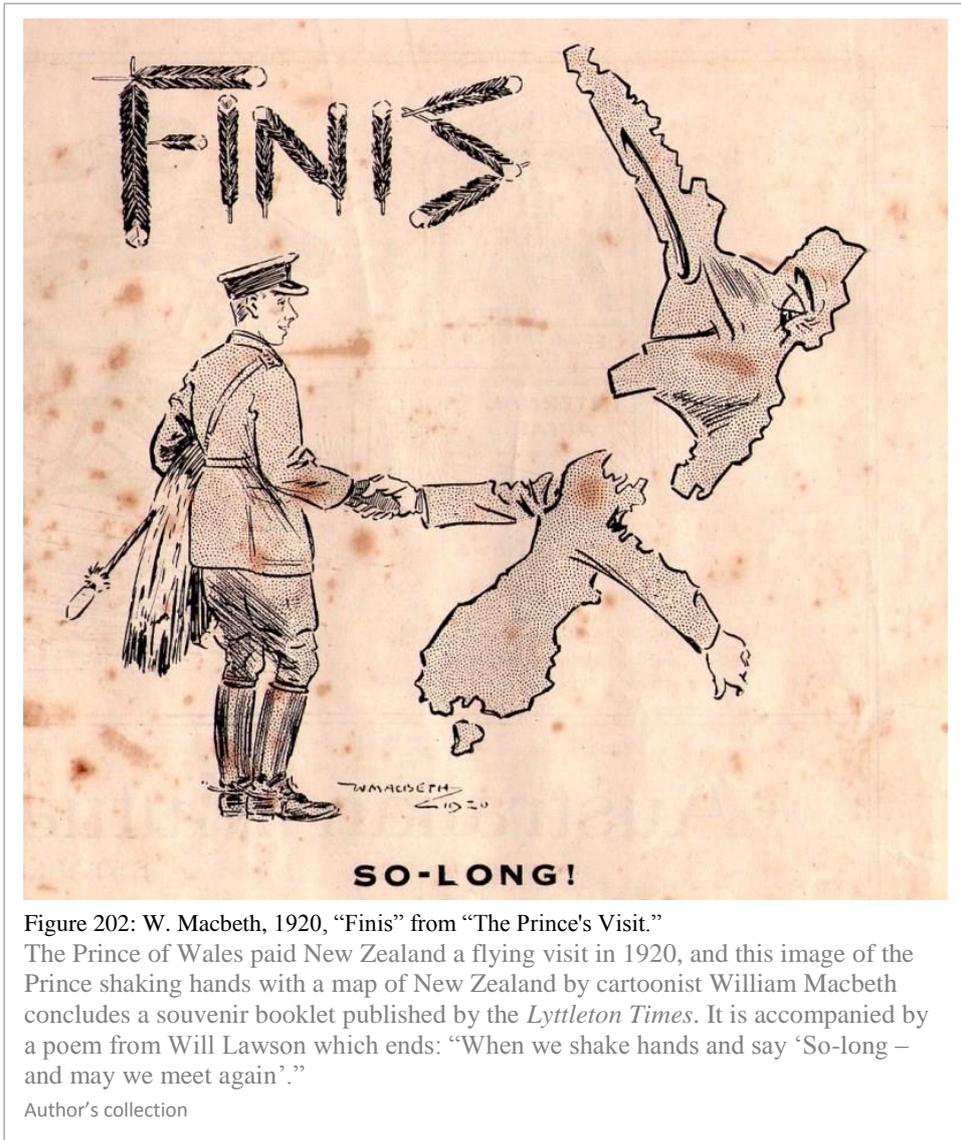


Figure 202: W. Macbeth, 1920, "Finis" from "The Prince's Visit."

The Prince of Wales paid New Zealand a flying visit in 1920, and this image of the Prince shaking hands with a map of New Zealand by cartoonist William Macbeth concludes a souvenir booklet published by the *Lyttleton Times*. It is accompanied by a poem from Will Lawson which ends: "When we shake hands and say 'So-long – and may we meet again'."

Author's collection

Hands Across the Sea

Situating an Edwardian Greetings
Postcard Practice



Peter Gilderdale

Volume III: Appendices & References

Appendices

The appendices in Part A (Appendices 1 – 5) contains the fuller versions of sections which have been summarised or referred to in the thesis text, but where the associated research was too complex for a footnote. Part B (Appendices 6 – 10) contains the more raw statistical material supporting conclusions drawn in certain sections.

Part A:

Appendix 1: The Origins of Shaking Hands

1.1: Handshaking as Greeting

This section explores how the handshake gained its ritual connotations through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the seventeenth century, shaking hands retained most of its original Roman legal character and was not at all the everyday greeting that it is today. When mentioned, for example in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, it was understood in such an emblematic and ritual way.¹ In their day-to-day lives, Early Modern people who understood etiquette used intricate rank related rituals of *civilité*.² These involved doffing hats, bowing, and curtseying, but shaking hands was entirely absent from the burgeoning corpus of sixteenth and seventeenth century etiquette books.³ In his study of the gesture in the Dutch Republic, Herman Roodenburg – although he does not make the connection to emblems – found handshaking described as ‘the hand of friendship’, ‘the hand of brotherhood’, and the ‘kiss of peace’, and used most commonly in relation to friendship, reconciliation, peace and brotherhood, as well as in “the still popular gesture of slapping hands to seal a business transaction.”⁴ In England, rather than hand slapping, handshaking

¹ Lynch, "What Hands Are Here?" *The Hand as Generative Symbol in Macbeth*, p.38.

² A classic study of the development of a culture of *civilité* is Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. He argues, pp.47-9, that the genesis of this idea is to be found in an etiquette manual by Erasmus.

³ Herman Roodenburg, "The 'Hand of Friendship': Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic," in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1991), p.171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.173-5.

was used to the same business ends.⁵ Roodenburg found little evidence anywhere of handshaking as an ordinary gesture of greeting before the nineteenth century, tentatively suggesting that its gradual adoption may originate in the English Quaker use – from the seventeenth century onwards – of handshaking as a gesture of equality.⁶ Quakers (properly known as The Society of Friends) were prominent in eighteenth century business life,⁷ and thus could have spread the custom in this way, but Roodenburg's hypothesis does not seem to have been tested further. Regardless of its actual history, however, handshaking subsequently came to be regarded as a gesture of equality, and one with an English origin.⁸ In 1845 Kohl's *English Sketches* was quoted to this effect in the press:

To us, indeed, this English hand-shaking, when immoderate, as it sometimes is, has a most comical effect. But it has its bright side also. For in this custom, hearty, strong, and sometimes rough, we see expressed the deep fraternal sympathy of these great nations. Bodily union, as far as the junction of the ten fingers can effect it, is a beautiful symbol of that of the soul, and almost all nations have adopted the two hands clasped together as an emblem of mutual brotherhood and aid. There is a language, silent indeed, but ever variously expressive in this custom.....When long-tried friends, who have been parted for years, again meet, with what haste and warmth of feeling do they not grasp the hand? How short but hearty is

⁵ Ambrose Heal, "Sale by Hand," *Notes and Queries* CLXII, March 26(1932): p.225. Heal later deduced that "sale by hand" related to a "direct form of sale at bargain prices." "Sale by Hand," *Notes and Queries* CLXX, May 9(1936): p.336. In Scotland, the term "Hansel" or "hand sale" is recorded as being money received as a first payment, and is also applied to a New Year's gift. John Mair, *Book-Keeping Methodised: Or a Methodical Treatise of Merchant-Accompts, According to the Italian Form*, 9th ed. (Dublin: H. Saunders, 1772), p.404.

⁶Roodenburg, "The 'Hand of Friendship': Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic," pp.176-7.

⁷ Geoffrey Cantor, "Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 51, no. 2 (1997): pp.186-7. As dissenters, Quakers were excluded from law, education, politics, the military and the traditional trades, which meant that with so many professions denied them, many turned to newer forms of business. David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business* (London: Frederick Muller, 1980), p.16.

⁸ A 1918 Danish etiquette book puts it as follows: "The custom of shaking people by the hand to say hello and farewell, for greeting or sympathy, in short on every imaginable occasion, is an English custom which, these days, has become universal whereas in the past it was only used for more formal occasions. There are still circles, especially amongst women, where it is only regarded as correct to shake hands with people in that layer of society to which one belongs and not, for example, to those one deals with in a shop or is served by in any way. It is the woman that initiates a handshake, and not the man." Gad, *Takt og Tone: Hvordan vi Omgaas*, pp.150-1. [My translation].

their salutation, “Well met?” They seem riveted together as the links of a chain, true and inseparable with hearts for any fate.⁹

This supports Roodenburg’s claim that the handshake in its modern form is a British custom, however Roodenburg’s dating for its introduction as a universally recognised form of greeting needs to be qualified. British newspaper reports from as early as the 1720s show the handshake in use – appearing both as a friendship custom,¹⁰ and a convention amongst duellists.¹¹ Two examples of highwaymen using the gesture are helpful in teasing out its social meaning at the time. In the earlier example, in 1750, a highwayman accosted his victims near Wimbledon by saying, “How is it Brother Farmer,” before shaking hands with them after the robbery.¹² Later, some highwaymen at Finchley-common “insisted on shaking hands” with the men they robbed.¹³ Both newspapers remark on the actions being “genteel” or “polite,” but the greeting must have been understandable enough for it to require no additional explanation for readers. Nevertheless its being remarked on at all suggests that the gesture had yet to become a universal custom. Thirty years later, in 1780, it was universal enough amongst equals for political canvassing by aspiring candidates to be described as ten days of “shaking hands with the Freemen, and kissing the Women,”¹⁴ whilst in 1795, George III underlined the British and democratic nature of the gesture by shaking hands with returning soldiers of the Guards.¹⁵ And well he might. Across the channel, the social undercurrents that had seen the above-mentioned highwayman assert his equality with “Brother Farmer” had erupted into revolution. Radical calls relating to “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,” already nascent well before the French Revolution [see Figure 203], clearly provided the ideological underpinning

⁹ Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland, &c. (UK) “Selected Anecdotes, &c,” 12 July, 1845, [no page]. Note the “links of a chain” in the quote, which is a prelude to the ideas discussed above in relation to Figure 195.

¹⁰ Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer (London, UK), “The Conclusion of the Tryal of John Lord Blamerino,” December 24, 1720. [no page].

¹¹ London Journal (UK), “London,” October 30, 1725, [no page].

¹² Read’s Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer (London, UK), “London,” November 24, 1750, [no page].

¹³ Craftsman or Say’s Weekly Journal (London, UK), “Thursday, July 13th London,” July 15, 1775, [no page].

¹⁴ St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post (London, UK), “London.” February 15, 1780, [no page].

¹⁵ The Sun (London, UK), “London,” May 11, 1795, [no page].

for handshaking to develop into a widely recognised “emblem of mutual brotherhood and aid.”¹⁶



Figure 203: Thomas Rowlandson, 1783, Two New Slides for the State Magic Lanthern. The second frame in the first row shows the politicians Fox and North shaking hands over a coalition, whilst the fourth shows the cap of Liberty on a pole. The end of the coalition is indicated by the Fox being dropped into the Pitt.

Registration number 1851,0901.157

© Trustees of the British Museum

1:2: Fraternity and the “Hand of Friendship”

The political career of Edmund Burke, a formative figure within Liberal thought, was effectively ended by the 1783 collapse of the Fox/North coalition [Figure 203]. Burke had been a strong advocate of the Cicero-derived idea that “honest connection,” or friendship, was a cornerstone of a civil society.¹⁷ A tangible sign of one such friendship can be seen in a tea set, which the porcelain maker Richard Champion presented to Burke in 1774.¹⁸ On the saucer, Champion used symbolism including the figures of Liberty, Plenty and a Phrygian cap of liberty on a spear (like that in Figure 203), while on the cup he placed an emblem of clasped hands holding a caduceus, probably intended as a symbol of prosperity in commerce. A similar image to this was used slightly later by Wedgwood [Figure 204].

¹⁶ Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland, &c. (UK), “Selected Anecdotes, &c.,” July 12, 1845, [no page].

¹⁷ Richard Bourke, “Liberty, Authority, and Trust in Burke’s Idea of Empire,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, no. 3 (2000): p.469.

¹⁸ R. T. H. Halsey, “A Bristol Porcelain Cup and Saucer,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11, no. 8 (1916).



Figure 204: Wedgwood cameo, ca.1787. Following the Roman model discussed above, this symbolism suggests peace and success in commerce. It shows clasped hands and a caduceus between two cornucopias.

British Museum number: 1887,0307,1.677

© The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 205: 1813 Coat of Arms of the “Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata” (Argentina).

This emblem remains the Argentinian coat of arms to this day.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

The clasped hands holding a vertical object are modelled on Roman *Pax* coins, and also occur in the 1813 design for the Argentinian coat of arms [Figure 19], and an earlier medal honouring William Pitt the Elder – one of Burke’s opponents – for his support of the American cause.¹⁹ In that medal, the Phrygian cap of liberty has been placed on top of a staff,²⁰ rather than a caduceus,²¹ an arrangement that would be utilised almost identically on the 1791 *trois sols* coin – the first French coin to be minted using revolutionary symbolism.²² The gap between these two forms – the commercial caduceus or the staff with a liberty cap – is nevertheless significant. They seem emblematic of the tug of war occurring within late eighteenth century politics between different versions of the liberal: about ideas of freedom and

¹⁹ A version of this medal sold at auction in 2009. Stack’s coin galleries sale, 09.12.2009, lot 1311. http://www.mcsearch.info/ext_image.html?id=214090 [Accessed July 16, 2013].

²⁰ Epstein notes that until the French Revolution, the cap of Liberty had no really seditious connotations in Britain, and was not seen as incompatible with patriotism. Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, pp.77-8.

²¹ A 1762 medal by Thomas Pingo, celebrating Queen Charlotte’s 18th birthday, similarly uses the clasped hands holding a rod with a cap on it.

²² Paul D. Van Wie, *Image, History, and Politics: The Coinage of Modern Europe* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999), pp.4-5. The clasped hands are included in the list of revolutionary symbols: Jack R. Censer, and Lynn Hunt. “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution.” (2001), p.11. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/chap12k.html> [accessed November 29, 2012].

liberty, and who should have it. Burke's free-market desire for liberty from state interference, when combined with his paternalism, differed sharply from the ideas of those who emphasised broader notions of human rights.²³ Whilst the latter soon abandoned the liberty cap, the plain clasped hand symbol they favoured would be employed not only by the post-revolutionary French,²⁴ but also by the revolutionary United Irishmen,²⁵ Thomas Jefferson, for his 1801 Peace medals,²⁶ and anti-slavery campaigners [Figure 206].²⁷ The figurative version of the *concordia* emblem was, however, employed on medals commemorating abolition in Britain in 1805 [Figure 207].



Figure 206: Halfpenny token issued ca.1790 by anti-slavery campaigners. A shortage of coinage led to private companies issuing tokens during this period. The words “Payable in Lancaster London or Liverpool” appear on the rim. The image of the slave in chains is a replica of Wedgwood’s medallion “Am I not a man and a brother.”
National Maritime Museum Greenwich, London, Michael Graham-Stewart Slavery Collection. Acquired with the assistance of the Heritage Lottery Fund. ID: ZBA2793.

²³ William Richey, "The French Revolution: Blake's Epic Dialogue with Edmund Burke," *ELH* 59, no. 4 (1992): pp.817-8.

²⁴ Clasped hands were regarded as one of the key revolutionary symbols used within the “Directoire Style” of the late 1790s, Gordon Campbell, ed. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.215.

²⁵ Mary Louise O'Donnell, "A Driving Image of Revolution: The Irish Harp and Its Utopian Space in the Eighteenth Century," *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010): p.266. O'Donnell notes that the 1798 book *The Irish Harp (attun'd to Freedom)* “employed a variety of imagery including a winged-maiden harp, an irradiated cap of liberty, and clasped hands beneath the phrase “erin go brách” (“Ireland forever”)” on its title page.

²⁶ Richard H. Engeman, "Research Files: The Jefferson Peace Medal: Provenance and the Collections of the Oregon Historical Society," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 2 (2006). Designed by John Reich in 1801, the medals were inscribed with the words “Peace and Friendship.” They were most famously handed out by Lewis and Clark on their 1804-6 expedition.

²⁷ Mary Guyatt, "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 2 (2000). Guyatt provides the background for the slave image but does not discuss these later coins. By 1828 it is reported as appearing on Irish banners: *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, UK), “Chairing of Mr O’Connell,” July 14, 1828, [no page].

It is within this set of debates about liberty and freedom that the direct origins of the phrase “hands across the sea” can be discerned. It has origins in the phrase “right hand of fellowship,”²⁸ which, during the eighteenth



Figure 207: Token by John Phillip and G. F. Pidgeon, ca.1807.

This token was distributed in Sierra Leone shortly after abolition in 1807, in order to discourage slave traders there. The symbolism of the English and African shaking hands and with the text “We are all Brethren” makes an unequivocal claim for inter-racial equality.

National Maritime Museum Greenwich, London, Michael Graham-Stewart Slavery Collection. Acquired with the assistance of the Heritage Lottery Fund. ID: ZBA2793.

century, acquired something of the Dutch usage, becoming the “right hand of friendship.” This is exemplified by radical philosopher Thomas Paine who, in a 1778 pamphlet about the crisis in America, wrote:

We live in a large world, and have extended our ideas beyond the limits and prejudices of an island. We hold out **the right hand of friendship** to all the universe, and we conceive that there is a sociality in the manners of France, which is much better disposed to peace and negotiation than that of England, and until the latter becomes more civilized, she cannot expect to live long at peace with any power.²⁹

Though he was not the first to use the “hand of friendship” thus, Paine was influential enough within Radical circles to have been instrumental in popularising it. Certainly, by the 1790s, it was being alluded to by associates like John Horne Tooke, who wrote to Paine (then living in France, closely involved with the Revolution, and opposing Burke):³⁰

We beheld your peaceable principles insulted by despotic ignorance: We have seen **the right hand of fellowship**, which you hold out to the world, rejected by those who riot on its plunder.³¹

²⁸ A proto-history existed for this phrase, which, from the first half of the seventeenth century, related to a specific ceremony of entry into Congregationalist and Baptist churches. See, for example: Daniel Dyke, *The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving: Or a Discourse and Discovery of the Deceitfulness of Mans Heart* (London: William Stansby, 1633), p.33. The phrase is still used in this way amongst these communities.

²⁹ Thomas Paine, *The Political and Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Paine*, vol. 1 (London: R. Carlile, 1819), p.88.

³⁰ Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, p.5.

³¹ Oracle and Public Advertiser (London, UK), “Trials for High Treason,” November 19, 1794, [no page].

Here, the idea of the hand of fellowship/friendship was doubly topical. It would inevitably have been read as referring to ‘fraternity’, one of the three catch-cries of the French revolutionaries and the reason that the clasped hand emblem appeared on revolutionary coinage [e.g. Figure 208].³²



Figure 208: Thomas Rowlandson, 1799, “Forgive and Forget or Honest Jack shaking hands with an old acquaintance.”

The text of this cartoon, published by R. Ackermann, suggests that the Dutch were sick of “fraternity” (the word is used twice) and willing to reconcile with England (the handshake is apparently used here in its old Dutch sense). The handshake appears rarely in British cartoons of the period, and no examples have been found of figures reaching across a geographical space.

British Museum number: 1868,0808.12554

© The Trustees of the British Museum

Despite some ambiguity in British attitudes, handshaking would evolve, on a personal level, into a “ritual of equality” for nineteenth century citizens.³³ Its literary parallel – the move from the “right hand of friendship” to “hands across the sea” – has analogies to the *fides* and *concordia* distinction within

³² Robespierre’s jailing of one citizen who had the temerity to try and shake hands with him shows the gulf between revolutionary theory and practice. [Oracle and Public Advertiser (London, UK), “France,” September 11, 1794, [no page].] The sense that the handshake was an acknowledgement of equal status ran deep. Over one hundred years later, it was similarly reported that a Prussian officer had killed a soldier who tried to shake hands with him. Star (Christchurch, NZ), “Why We Shake Hands,” October 24, 1903, p.5.

³³ April F. Masten, “Shake Hands? Lilly Martin Spencer and the Politics of Art,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (2004): p.349.

the clasped hands symbol. The ‘hand of friendship’, in its original sense is synecdochal.³⁴ Paine’s use of it, however, in linking the individual to the universe, is metaphorical. And in Took’s reworking, the metaphor becomes somewhat more spatially specific. It is but a short step from Took’s image of Paine shaking hands with the world to the idea of a handshake metaphorically bridging a real spatial divide and for its linguistic structure to achieve a similar compression of time and space to the visual emblem.³⁵

Appendix 2: Advertising Cards and Coloured Scraps Showing Hands

Trade cards are only obliquely part of the HATS story, but they did appear frequently in albums alongside Christmas cards and scraps. This section briefly outlines their significance, links them to scraps, and shows how the clasped hands symbol was utilised in these genres.

Often called trade cards [e.g. Figure 45],³⁶ advertising cards enjoyed a major period of popularity between 1879 and the 1890s,³⁷ after which they were largely replaced by advertising in mass circulation magazines.³⁸ They frequently utilised greeting-card visual rhetoric to encourage a sense of the advertiser being a friend,³⁹ with the extensive use of flowers reinforcing the

³⁴ Being more easily applied to the national rather than international, the “hand of friendship” is used more frequently in nineteenth century newspapers than “hands across the sea.” The phrase, in association with terms such as “stretching out” or “extending,” would also be used as a spatial metaphor, but one that related to more local spaces. Such later usage is, however, beyond the scope of the current study.

³⁵ Stafford, *The Cognitive Work of Images*, p.52.

³⁶ Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*, p.4. Last notes that the term ‘trade card’ is a twentieth century nomenclature, with the nineteenth century term having been either ‘advertising card’, ‘picture card’, or ‘Chromo card’.

³⁷ They were introduced to the United States by Louis Prang in 1879. Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," pp.291-2.

³⁸ Garvey, "Dreaming in Commerce: Advertising Trade Card Scrapbooks," p.67.

Magazines offered a fuller experience than cards. [Chansky, "Time to Shop: Advertising Trade Card Rhetoric and the Construction of a Public Space for Women in the United States, 1880-1900," p.164.] They had previously eschewed advertising revenues, concentrating rather on circulation. David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), p.30.

³⁹ Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," p.297.

sensation of the consumer being loved.⁴⁰ Key to this process was what Barry Shank describes as the “perfect prismatic synthesis” of art and industry that occurs in the rich and naturalistic chromolithographically-produced images.⁴¹ Printers like Prang often created cards which could serve as either greetings or advertising cards, depending on the overprinted message, and such giveaway cards helped to consolidate a broader base for card collecting,⁴² reinforcing the links between the visual language of the card, gift culture, and recreation.⁴³



Figure 209: 1890s advertising card for Prufrock’s furniture.

This is the only example I have encountered of a clasped hands card being used for advertising. The card appears to have been part of a greetings series that included the captions “engaged” and “wedded,” and which subsequently had Prufrock’s details added. Prufrock is best known as a result of St Louis native, T. S. Eliot, having used his name in a poem.

Author’s collection

The gift quality of cards is highlighted in another 1880s fashion, where, particularly in America, the visiting card was adapted into a ‘hidden name card’.⁴⁴ In these, the donor’s name was covered by a hinged, colourful,

⁴⁰ Chansky, "Time to Shop: Advertising Trade Card Rhetoric and the Construction of a Public Space for Women in the United States, 1880-1900," p.159.

⁴¹ Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, p.70.

⁴² Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*, pp.23-4.

⁴³ Black, "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890," p.293.

⁴⁴ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.11.

printed scrap – often depicting a hand holding a bunch of flowers [Figure 210] or, in more elaborate cases, clasped hands which opened in the centre.⁴⁵

Although this fashion appears less prevalent in England, it highlights the widespread use of hands, and clasped hands, within the scrap industry.

Chromolithographic scraps were bought in large sheets, containing multiple

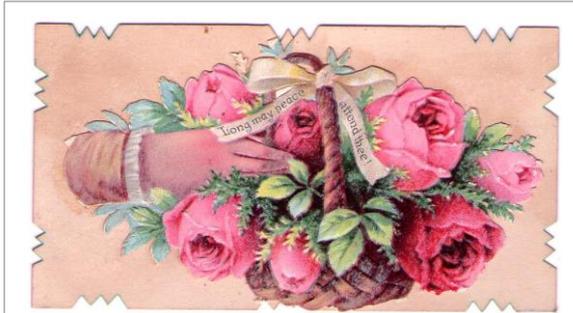


Figure 210: Hidden Name Card, probably from the 1890s.

This card has a scrap that covers the name of the card's donor. Note the addition of a ribbon that emphasises the gift element of the card, whilst the patterned edge similarly emphasises the card's difference from a standard visiting card.

Author's collection

variations of a particular theme. Allen and Hoverstadt reproduce one such sheet depicting forty hands holding flowers, each containing a short motto.⁴⁶ The hand holding a bunch of flowers is one of the most ubiquitous scrapbook staples, appearing in over half of the scrapbooks examined during this research. Scraps of clasped hands are found less commonly, but were certainly available [Figure 211].



Figure 211: Chromolithographic Victorian clasped hands scrap.

This scrap, judging by the lettering, dates from the 1880s or 1890s and the motto on the man's sleeve shows the clear link to the concept of 'friendship'.

Author's collection

⁴⁵ Rickards and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*, p.172.

⁴⁶ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.108 These include 'Remember Me'; 'a Tribute of Love'; 'True to Thee'; 'Souvenir of Friendship'; 'To One I Love' and three others, all of which are repeated five times within the sheet.

Appendix 3: Christmas Card Retailing in New Zealand

This section details a broader range of retailing strategies than could be accommodated in the main text. The involved nature of the practices documented here drives home the extent of the retailing networks that would subsequently be utilised to market postcards.

Compared to Raphael Tuck, most Art Publishers seem to have been less proactive in their marketing, relying more on the retailers themselves to generate business. For example, H. I. Jones in Whanganui reported, in 1885, that “my London Agent positively asserts that he has seen nothing equal to the Artistic Cards of this Christmas Season, and that he is sent me the Pick of the Sample Books of the Finest Art Publishers in the World.”⁴⁷ But in the same advertisement, Jones mentions that “Messrs Poulton & Son, London, have sent me their complete Sample Book of Photographic Coloured Cards.”⁴⁸ Manufacturers would, in fact, have needed to do some kind of cost benefit analysis to compare the relative value of assembling and posting out sample books speculatively, as opposed to either relying on agents to come to them, or maintaining a stable of travelling salesmen. Waiting for an agent to contact them (probably the dominant mode)⁴⁹ entailed the least effort in relation to profit, but did nothing to actively increase sales. Retailers similarly needed to consider whether it was better to go to England themselves, like the peripatetic Fancy Goods direct importer C. W. Goodson,⁵⁰ or engage – as did Auckland’s Wildman & Lyell – the services of “a gentleman of the trade who went Home on a visit some time ago, and he ransacked all the leading London houses to cull the best of their goods.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Wanganui Herald (NZ), “Advertisements,” November 28, 1885, p.3. Note the assumption here that cards are produced by ‘Art Publishers’ and not ‘Art Printers’.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ This is based on such (scant) evidence as can be gleaned from comments in advertisements.

⁵⁰ New Zealand Herald (Auckland), “Advertisements,” December 8, 1882, p.7. A number of companies were recorded as direct importers. See D. F. McKenzie and K. A. Coleridge, *Printing, Bookselling & their Allied Trades in New Zealand circa 1900: Extracts from The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand Compiled as Materials Towards a History* (Wellington, New Zealand: Wai-te-ata, 1980), pp.57, 101, 113, 123.

⁵¹ Observer (Auckland, NZ), “Christmas Novelties at Wildman & Lyell’s,” December 19, 1896, p.15.

While New Zealand retailers were happy to appoint agents in London, for the most part the Christmas card manufacturers did not reciprocate.

Valentines of Dundee – subsequently a major postcard seller – appear to



Figure 212: Anonymous ca.1886 Christmas card. This card, used in 1886, displays 'rural myth' images, of a cottage and country scene, designed to look like an album page. New Zealand Christmas card publisher A. D. Willis used a very similar approach in his cards.

Author's collection

have appointed local agents for their photographic business,⁵² but at the time they were not, as far as I can tell, exporting Christmas cards.⁵³ Agency, as a "co-operative structure," had been developing in the rural sector since the 1860s,⁵⁴ and stationers like Robert Spreckley advertised the agencies that they held for companies like the magazine publisher Gordon and Gotch.⁵⁵ A ca.1882 trade card for Christchurch company Whitcombe and Tombs shows that at that

time they held agencies for both Charles Goodall and Thomas Stevens' Christmas cards and other stationery,⁵⁶ something they did not advertise within the newspapers. This was, however, at an early stage in the business and, in general, had Art Publishers utilised the agency model extensively, one might reasonably expect more people like Spreckley to have advertised with it. On balance, the lack of evidence makes it seem likely that British manufacturers, at least, did not favour the agency approach for the card industry.

⁵² This is the same firm that supplied Elihu Burritt's envelopes [see Figure 21], but in the 1880s were primarily photographers, creating cabinet cards and lantern slides, and who did extensive photographing in New Zealand. The arrival of one photographer and the name of the local agent G.T. Chapman is recorded in the Taranaki Herald (New Plymouth, NZ), "Pungarehu," May 18, 1892, p.2. Valentines had particular contacts to New Zealand owing to one of James Valentine's sons, George, a photographer, living in the country from 1884 until his death in 1890. Main and Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, p.21.

⁵³ Writers on Valentines normally concentrate on their photography. One website says they produced Christmas cards from 1880, but I have not been able to verify this. <http://www.metropostcard.com/publishersv.html> [accessed January 16, 2013].

⁵⁴ Boyce and Ville, *The Development of Modern Business*, pp.132, 271.

⁵⁵ Auckland Star (NZ), "Advertisements," July 14, 1894, p.3. Spreckley also notes that he is the agent for "Madame Demaret's Cut Paper patterns."

⁵⁶ Waite, "The Octopus and Its Silent Teachers: A New Zealand Response to the British Book Trade," p.15. The card is held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

If retailers were relatively happy to acknowledge their contacts with British industry, the same cannot be said for cards from other countries. An article on Christmas cards in the *Star* in 1887 mentions strong competition between cards from England, the United States, France and Germany.⁵⁷ There is, however, little evidence as to how American cards, such as the significant production of Louis Prang,⁵⁸ might have found their way to New Zealand. Nor is there enough evidence to know how French or German cards were imported. Fancy goods dealers like Goodson, who also dealt with toys, noted visiting Germany, and Auckland booksellers Wildman and Lyell were quoted as saying that they imported from London, Paris, Germany and America,⁵⁹ but only one direct importer, G. F. Cremer in Whanganui, emphasised new German wares in their advertising.⁶⁰ Whilst there were considerable German business interests in New Zealand,⁶¹ none seem to have been working with stationery. Therefore, it may be that the business was able to operate primarily, as it would in the later postcard era,⁶² by postal orders via such publications as the *Address Book of German Export Firms*.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Star* (Christchurch, NZ), "Christmas Cards," November 28, 1887, p.2.

⁵⁸ For a detailed study of Prang, see Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*, pp.67-111. Shank mentions in passing on page 96 that Arthur Ackermann was Prang's English agent in the 1870s, and it was Ackermann's wife that had suggested that Prang's business cards could serve duty as Christmas cards. Whether Prang had agents in other markets is not stated.

⁵⁹ *Observer* (Auckland, NZ), "Chats with our Business Men," November 24, 1894, p.19. It is worth noting that the German consulate was situated only half a block away from Wildman and Lyell on Auckland's main thoroughfare Queen Street, whilst the American consulate was in the same building. Winder, "Seafarer's Gaze: Queen Street Business and Auckland's Archipelago, 1908," p.58.

⁶⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle* (NZ), "Advertisements," December 4, 1889, p.3.

⁶¹ These are documented in James N. Bade, *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁶² Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," pp.27-9.

⁶³ Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps*, p.29.

Appendix 4: The People Who Used HATS Cards

This section details the research done into the demographics of the HATS postcard.

The HATS craze's popularity was, necessarily, the result of a series of individual decisions by individual purchasers to press the HATS meme into service. Yet whilst the messages bring one close to a moment in these users' lives, single cards yield little material for understanding either who these



Figure 213: Josiah Martin, 1914, Clem Hewson and friend.

This photo-card was sent by Clem to Hilda in January 1914. It shows him and a friend, however which of the two is Clem is uncertain. This card appeared in William Main's 2006 *Facing an Era*.

Photo courtesy of William Main

people where, or why they sent the cards. Occasionally it was possible to determine more about the characters. Athletic NZ railways employee Clem Hewson, for example [Figure 213], sent cards to his schoolteacher girlfriend, NZ hockey representative Hilda Emms.⁶⁴ Hilda's was an important family in her area, and after her relationship with Clem faltered during the war, she would marry an undertaker and run a taxi service.

Fred Greenfield, on the other hand, comes closer to the petty bourgeois demographic which, it has been argued, particularly favoured these cards. His messages to his factory-girl fiancée (and subsequently wife), Hilda Bertaud, are the most overtly sentimental of all the cards collected [Figure 214]. However equally, Birmingham chocolate factory worker Elsie, writing in a robust vernacular to her friend Lily Martin who had emigrated to Auckland, represented working class users.

These users seemed to span a relatively broad spectrum of society, but not enough larger correspondences could be re-assembled to make a study of individuals anything more than anecdotal. I have therefore opted to explore

⁶⁴ The cards are only signed Clem, but of the over one hundred Clements who served in the first world war, Joseph Clement Hewson was the only one in the Railway Engineers, the unit with whom, as the texts of his cards show, he visited Auckland for a Military Tournament, where he had his photograph taken. Nominal Rolls of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Volume 1. Wellington: Government Printer, 1914-1919, p.327. [Accessed May 27th 2013].

http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/general/Cenotaph/45875.detail?Ordinal=56&c_firstname_search=clement&c_warconflict_search=%22world+war+i,+1914-1918%22

user demographics quantitatively, but there are some aspects of the study that require clarification.

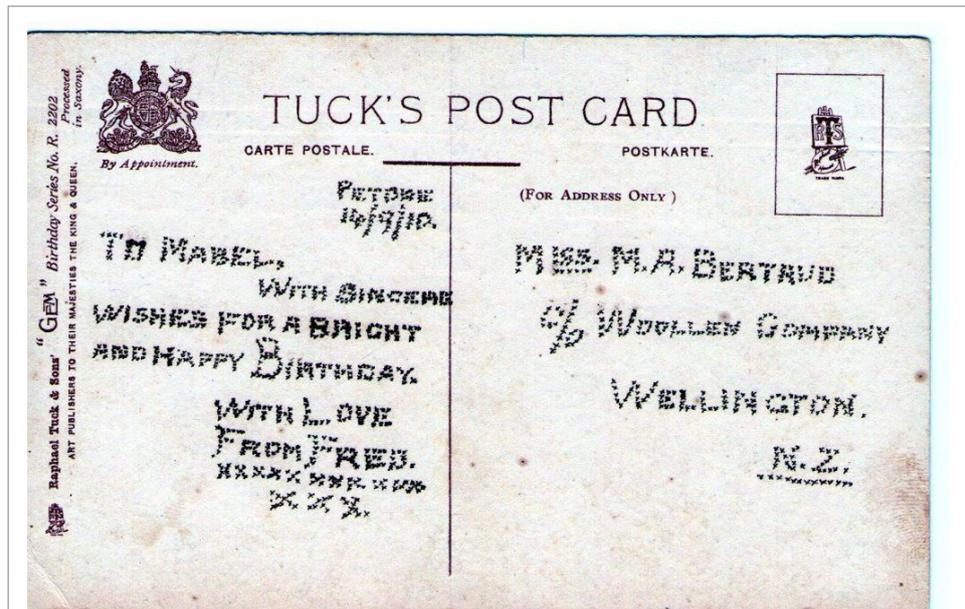


Figure 214: Message from Fred Greenfield, 1910.

This message, on the back of a Tuck's HATS Birthday card, was written entirely in x's. Whilst his cards became less rigorous in using this form over time, all Fred's messages were liberally sprinkled with such kisses. Writing to a girl's workplace was a way of avoiding parental perusal.

Author's collection PC588

Since the cards were selected primarily in relation to their genre (HATS), the demographic information for the whole sample was not isolated to a single national group. Although the sample was limited to cards purchased in New Zealand, those cards may have been sent to someone in New Zealand from overseas, transported to New Zealand at a later date with immigrants, or they may have been purchased overseas by a dealer for on-selling in New Zealand. This is fundamentally a transnational sample of cards primarily from the Anglo-world within which the cards travelled freely. I have not attempted to be consistent in dealing with this. Parts of this demographic section, such as gender, are transnational in nature. Others, like place and ethnicity, are narrowed down to the largest multiple data set – that from New Zealand.



LABOUR DAY CELEBRATIONS AT CHRISTCHURCH: THE HUGE CROWD IN WAINONI PARK DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE PUNCH AND JUDY SHOW.

Figure 215: 1910 Labour Day crowd in Christchurch watching a Punch and Judy show. The crowd's intense collective enjoyment as they watch this traditional and highly formalised type of entertainment helps contextualise the enjoyment felt – arguably by a similar demographic – of the similarly stylised HATS cards. This image was published in the *Auckland Weekly News*, October 10, 1910, p.8.

Courtesy Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19101020-8-1

4.1 Ethnicity

Daniel Gifford found only eight out of the two thousand American cards he studied were sent to African Americans.⁶⁵ Not one of the New Zealand-related cards I examined was to, or from, someone with a Maori or non-European surname, though as part of the wider research I did find non-HATS cards from the album of one person with a Maori surname. This may relate to Maori being less willing to sell their grandparent's treasured possessions, however it is most likely indicative of the card being, as in America, a North and Western European predilection.⁶⁶ Too few of the senders and receivers of HATS cards could be clearly identified, however, for detailed data on ethnicity to be isolated here.

⁶⁵ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.52.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.61.

Some idea of the ethnic origins of the New Zealand card recipients can, however, be deduced from the places that people were writing from. Of the 210 cards where this information could be established, the 25.86% from the ethnically disparate Australia can largely be discounted for these purposes. However, with 46.55% being from England, 18.97% from Scotland, and 5.17% from Ireland, the cards were almost exclusively sent from the British Isles or Australia, with all the remainder being sent from battlefields. Despite the clearly Welsh origins of Mr. Morgan, whose card led the introduction to this thesis, there were no cards from places in Wales. The United States, Canada, India, Asia, the Pacific Islands and continental Europe were similarly silent. If, in America, holiday card sending was an Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic phenomenon,⁶⁷ in New Zealand the HATS postcard traffic would appear to be an Anglo phenomenon with the percentages broadly mirroring the demographic mix of the period, discussed in chapter two, with a predominance of English and Scots, somewhat fewer Irish and very few Welsh. The heavy preponderance of English cards fits with the fact that whereas in New Zealand's earlier history, Scots and Irish immigrants were comparatively dominant, the wave of immigrants that occurred after assisted passages were reinstated in 1904 was largely from England.⁶⁸ It is this group that were most likely to be maintaining regular correspondence with family in Britain, and who were receiving the £244,000 in money orders sent from Britain to relatives in New Zealand.⁶⁹ So whilst the numbers of cards are too small to be statistically secure, the results are broadly what could have been predicted. This is supported by the fact that whilst there are considerable numbers of patriotic English, Scottish, and somewhat fewer Irish card designs, there are none relating to Wales.

4.2 Gender

Gender is one of the demographic areas that the study was able to get clear information about. Previous studies have all concluded that women were the primary users of postcards. Veronica Kelly, studying actress cards, found

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.139.

⁶⁸ Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, p.74.

⁶⁹ This figure for 1912 was attributed to Sir John Henniker Heaton. Hawera and Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), "Hands Across the Sea," January 8, 1913, p.5.

women to comprise the “vast majority,”⁷⁰ whilst Richard Wall, looking at comic cards (the genre Carline argues attracted men to postcards),⁷¹ still found more women than men using them.⁷² Daniel Gifford found a 70% female usage of American holiday cards.⁷³ Unsurprisingly this study found a similar, if less drastic, slant. Of the 525 cards where it was possible to tell the gender of the sender, 58.48% were women, whilst 37.33% were men, with 4.19% from couples (it is not possible to be sure whether a card from a couple was sent by the man or woman). This was an even lower percentage for couples than that found by Richard Wall, who reported that 5.95% of the comic cards he studied were sent to couples.⁷⁴ Of the 502 cards in which it was possible to ascertain the genders of both senders and receivers, 42.23% cards were sent between females, 18.72% were sent by women to men, 30.88% were sent by men to women, whilst only 8.17% were sent between two males. The disparity between same gender and opposite gender expectations is telling. Women were more than twice as likely to send HATS cards to women as they were to men, whilst men were four times as likely to send HATS cards to women as to other men. Both genders, it seems, thought HATS cards were going to receive a better reception from women than from men.

⁷⁰ Kelly, "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia," p.105.

⁷¹ Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, p.41.

⁷² Wall, "Family Relationships in Comic Postcards 1900-1930." His study of 84 cards had 32 female recipients, and 25 males, with 5 being couples.

⁷³ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.54.

⁷⁴ Wall, "Family Relationships in Comic Postcards 1900-1930," p.58.

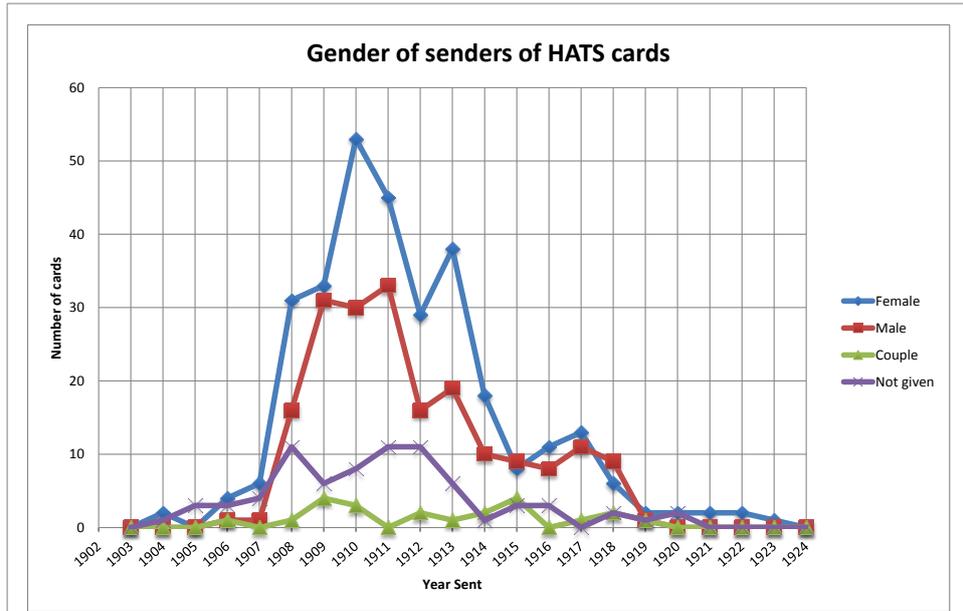


Figure 216: Chart showing the usage patterns of senders of HATS cards.

Figure 216 maps the gendered usage over the period of the craze. The data suggests that in the initial phases of the craze, women were the initiators, with male usage following the female taste a year later. This pattern is even clearer when one considers the gender relationships between senders and receivers.

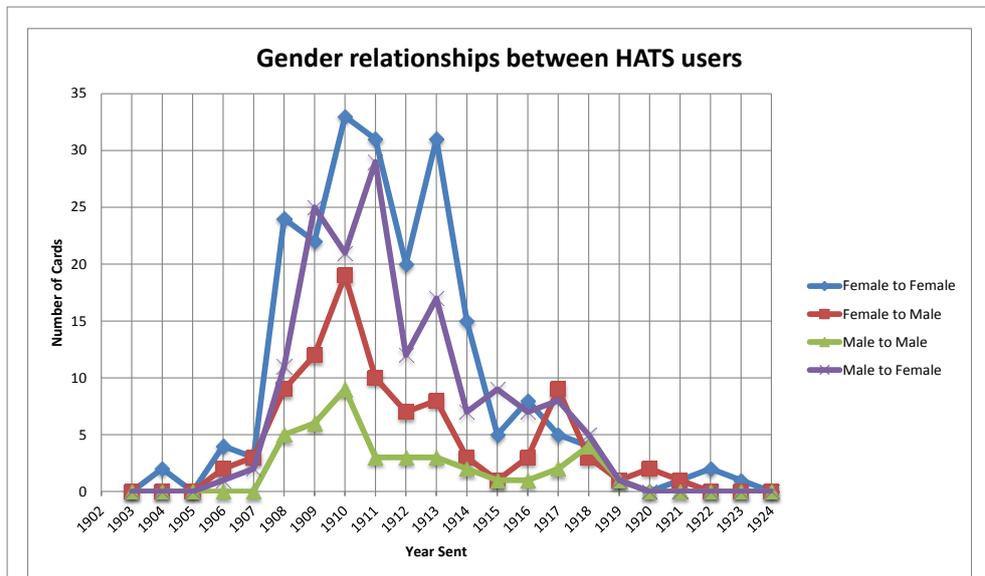


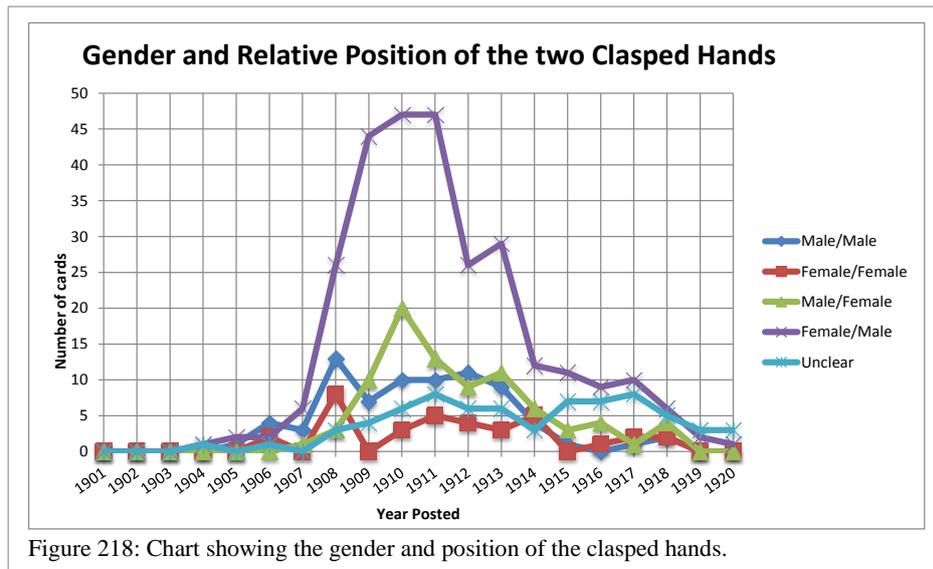
Figure 217: Chart mapping gender relationships during the HATS craze.

Figure 217 has the dubious distinction of putting into visual form what 50% of the population already know – that women are more closely attuned to men’s preferences than men are aware of women’s tastes. In 1909, women

appear to have thought that the HATS fashion had already peaked, sending fewer cards than in 1908 to other women. They sent more to men, however, thus aligning to the fact that male interest in the genre was still rising. Men, on the other hand, sent vastly more HATS cards to women in 1909 than they had in 1908, apparently playing catch-up for not having followed the degree of female interest in the genre during 1908. They then mimic the female disinterest a year later in 1910, by which time female usage has actually reignited, something the men then try to emulate in 1911, just as women's interest wanes – despite the fact that amongst themselves, male interest was waning as well. The 1912 Titanic related dip (see page 376) affected both equally. Subsequently, during the early part of the war, women's writing to men spiked in line with male usage, whilst towards the end of the war there is an increase in male to male correspondence. In fact, during 1918, there is no significant difference across genders in the rates of HATS postcard sending.

As far as I know, there has been no similar analysis of gender taste patterns in postcards, so there is no comparative material that can be used to corroborate these findings, which must remain somewhat uncertain, given that the individual data sets being looked at within the graph are based on relatively small numbers of cards. Nevertheless, the consistency of the findings is intriguing, and could merit a more detailed study in the future. In terms of the present study, it is probably best to regard these results about tastes as suggestive rather than conclusive. The overall statistics around gender itself, however, are clear-cut. Women were the primary users, with men mostly using the cards because they thought women would like them.

Given, then, that most of the users were women sending cards to women, it is telling that the predominant depiction of the hands in cards was one with mixed-gender hands, with the female on the left and a male on the right.



For some users, getting the hands right was a priority. Myrtle in PC244 commented “don’t mind the hands being odd. Just a mistake,” whilst “Gizzy” in PC419 says “Excuse Gent’s hand. Fancy it is mine.” For these two, the hands were a synecdochal substitute for themselves. Despite this, the majority of other senders appear to have been happy to allow the clasped hands symbol to function as metaphor, without worrying about the literal correctness of the gender representation. Nevertheless, the fact that the inclusion of male hands remained the norm is indicative of Edwardian attitudes to gender. Ultimately, manufacturers increasingly removed the problem, by showing hands without sleeves and jewellery – thereby removing any cues to a gendered reading of the symbol, an approach that came close to becoming the norm during the First World War.

4.3 Family Relationships

Almost a third of the cards were sent between family members – 192 in all. These are just the cards where the exact relationship between the writers was specified. It is probable that considerably more of the other cards were also from family members, but in these cases, the writer did not feel obliged to indicate the relationship, as it was self-evident to the receiver. This muddled the viability of analysing the 362 other cards which appear to be sent between peers, but could just as well be between family members. A bias towards the family is certainly evident in the content of the cards, where 27.24% of the messages refer to other family members, whereas only

13.45% refer to friends. The family were thus second only to descriptions of every day events (28.57%) in terms of providing the most common subject matter within the cards' messages, and well ahead of references to travel (22.25%).⁷⁵ It is still likely that considerable numbers of cards were sent between friends, but relative to today, the large numbers of inter-familial communications are striking. The family, at this period, represents a strong 'sphere', in Peter Sloterdijk's sense – one in which the participants "surround themselves in such close reciprocity that their intertwinement exceeds all external conditions."⁷⁶ The sense of the importance of family had increased during the Victorian period.⁷⁷ Caroline Daley's detailed study of family relations in Taradale found ample evidence of the "centrality of kin,"⁷⁸ and the close ties revealed by postcard interchanges are in keeping with this.

The full results of the study of the 192 family exchanges are given in Appendix 4.8, and are a useful supplement to the discussion of gender. Unsurprisingly the largest correspondence, nineteen cards in all, is that between sisters, but the next largest group was less expected. Fifteen of the cards were from nieces to aunts. Ian Pool et al. point out that official statistics tend to concentrate on the family in terms of people in the same dwelling, and are thus unhelpful for understanding relationships between family members who were geographically separated.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, they note that there was a large increase in "spinsterhood" by the 1900s, caused partly by later marriage.⁸⁰ The economic situation meant that women were opting to work for longer, with the age of marriage rising to, on average, over twenty five.⁸¹ This would have increased the pool of aunts with strong

⁷⁵ The categories mentioned here are not mutually exclusive. One card might in theory mention friends, family, travel and everyday events, though in practice few did.

⁷⁶ Peter Sloterdijk, *Bubbles. Spheres Volume 1: Microspherology* (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011), p.614.

⁷⁷ Hudgins, "A Historical Approach to Family Photography: Class and Individuality in Manchester and Lille, 1850-1914," p.569.

⁷⁸ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, p.159.

⁷⁹ Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam, and Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2007), p.33.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.49, 55-6, 73.

⁸¹ Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*, p.70.

emotional ties to their sibling's children. Eleanor Gordon and Gweneth Nair argue that Victorian families were more diverse than the traditional pater familias-headed stereotype might suggest, and their study of which wider family members were most likely to be living in another family member's household is telling.⁸² Female kin – sisters, aunts, and nieces – were more likely to be resident in this way, often living in households headed by other women.⁸³ Daley also notes that women were more likely to rely socially on female kin than on males – even their husbands.⁸⁴ This clarifies the close ties being maintained between female family members in this study, but the very high incidence found in the current research of Niece/Aunt ties was surprising – especially since there is no similar pattern in relation to uncles – and it suggests an avenue for further research. The strong representation of other female/female relationships, such as the bonds between mother/daughter and between female cousins in the cards also reinforced its extensive usage amongst female family members.

The third largest grouping, after sisters and nieces/aunts is that of cards between siblings, with sisters slightly more inclined to correspond with other sisters than with their brothers, but with brothers corresponding equally with siblings of either gender. Cousins similarly corresponded equally between genders. Mothers were much more likely to use postcards to correspond with their children than were fathers, who hardly sent postcards to their sons at all, but were more likely to use the form in writing to their daughters. This reinforces previous evidence that men were much less likely to utilise postcards in corresponding with other men, although amongst siblings and cousins this trend is much less marked. The final significant conclusion from this section is that the low incidence of postcards being sent by grandparents suggests that there was less willingness to engage with the postcard form amongst older people than amongst the young.

⁸² Eleanor Gordon and Gweneth Nair, "The Myth of the Victorian Patriarchal Family," *The History of the Family* 7, no. 1 (2002): p.131.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, p.159.

4.4 Age

The high number of siblings corresponding with one another, and the low number of cards in Figure 217 sent by couples are also good indicators that the postcard senders were primarily youthful and unmarried. Gifford concluded that the largest demographic of recipients was children between 6-14, and that 86% of recipients were women and children.⁸⁵ I was only able to ascertain, with certainty, the ages of ten senders and ten receivers of cards – either through birth records or through mention in the card. Of these, half were in their twenties, with more of the remainder younger than older. I tried to estimate the ages based on handwriting style and contextual factors, but with many differences in schooling between Edwardians and today I had to conclude that presenting these as conclusions would be misleading, as they are likely to reflect my contemporary assumptions. My impression was that senders were older than Gifford found, with most being in their late teens or early twenties – in accord with the later age for marriage at this period.⁸⁶ This would fit with an age group that had disposable cash to spend on postcards, but overall the most convincing argument for concluding postcards were used by a youthful demographic remains the lack of cards sent between couples.

4.5 Occupation and Class

In his study, Gifford found people in agriculture and manufacturing most likely to use holiday cards, followed by the trades, professions and fewer who were in service.⁸⁷ Without census data, I could only deduce occupations through addresses and the texts of the cards. For the most part these gave little clue as to professions, however when work was mentioned, Gifford's conclusions largely hold. I found no cards that could be tied to someone in service. Of the nineteen cards that had enough information to be able to deduce a person's occupations, over half were working in

⁸⁵ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.52-3.

⁸⁶ The median age for New Zealand women's marriage was 24, while for men it was 27.8. Pool, Dharmalingam, and Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History*. p.73.

⁸⁷ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," pp.54-5.

agriculture, whilst retail, manufacture and mining were the next largest groups, rounded out by labouring, missionary work and unemployment. Given the small sample, this is only worth including because of its general similarities to Gifford's findings, which contradict Phillips' assertion that cards were heavily sent by people in service.⁸⁸ Whilst this may have been the case in England, the New Zealand data suggests that card users, as in America, came from a different demographic. It was not, however, possible to be specific about where this placed users in relation to class. I used Google Maps to locate recipients dwellings, when the address was given, but whilst none lived in anything other than modest looking homes, the numbers were not large enough to draw any broader conclusions. The use of the (by then old-fashioned) long 's' in the text (often when writing 'Mifs') occurred in 2.65% of cards, suggesting these senders were either educated or aspirational, and there were enough references to overseas travel to show that some users were wealthy enough to treat holidaying as normal. However these were not prevalent enough to suggest that they were representative of users as a whole. And too few recipients could be positively identified, owing to lack of census data, to make it possible to generalise from these findings. This is why the contextual findings around the earlier usage of Christmas cards were so important. At this stage, they remain the best indicator as to the social status of the majority of users.

4.6 Location

Gifford found that the vast majority of American postcard users (69%) were in rural or small-town communities.⁸⁹ Whilst this largely matched the population, postcards were used at well above the national rate in small towns, and less in large cities of over 1 million (where 9% of the population lived and only 3% of postcards were from).⁹⁰ There were a number of reasons why this research could not entirely mimic Gifford's. He was relying solely on postal addresses to locate the receivers of the cards. Since only a third of the cards used in the study had been posted, I have been able

⁸⁸ Phillips, *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages*, p.13.

⁸⁹ Gifford, "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910," p.47.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.48-9.

to add to that number by utilising contextual references in the cards which often gave the location of either sender or receiver. And even the addresses were frequently unspecific, meaning it was sometimes not possible to tell whether the receiver lived in a small town, or in the countryside nearby. I was therefore not confident that it was possible to isolate the rural and small town categories. This was further complicated by the fact that New Zealand's whole population had only just reached the one million mark at the time of the 1909 census, but was growing rapidly. By using Gifford's mark of 10,000 as the distinction between a small and large town,⁹¹ it became clear that between 1901 and 1909, Whanganui, Napier, Timaru, and Palmerston North had all turned into large towns. Nevertheless, it was impossible to tell exactly when this occurred. This distinction was therefore one of the categorical moving goalposts which prove so detrimental to quantitative research.⁹² Bearing in mind, however, that the aim of this study was only ever to find indicative trends, I have taken 1909 as the closest census to the median point in the postcard craze, and drawn the line as to which towns were regarded as 'small' at that point. I have also restricted the study to New Zealand, on the pragmatic grounds that the usefulness of the data collected by a larger study did not justify the labour involved in gathering small-town population statistics for fourteen countries.

According to figures from the 1909 census, New Zealand had three cities with a population larger than Dunedin's 64,237, the largest being Auckland, at just over 102,676. The others were Christchurch at 80,193 and Wellington at 70,729. Collectively these four cities accounted for 317,835 of New Zealand's 1,008,468 inhabitants. Between them, the next five large towns had a population of only 64,567, ranging between Invercargill's 15,858 and Palmerston North's 10,991. Based on the 1909 figures, 37.92% of New Zealanders lived in one of the nine larger centres, whilst 62.08% lived in smaller towns or rural areas. However, of the 186 cards sent from places within New Zealand 45.7% were sent from the larger centres, and 54.3% from small towns and the countryside. This figure is substantially

⁹¹ Ibid., p.49.

⁹² Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, p.7.

supported by the figures from the 210 cards sent to destinations in New Zealand. Of these 43.8% related to the nine main centres and 56.2% to the rest. Hence, whilst the smaller sample size renders these statistics less certain, it suggests that postcard usage in New Zealand was skewed more towards the inhabitants of town than of the country.

The figures change somewhat when one looks within the larger town /city category. 76.12% of the people within this demographic lived in the four large centres, whilst 16.88% lived in the other five. Yet 23.53% of the cards from within this category were sent from these smaller centres, and 22.83% were sent to them. And this is despite the fact that Whanganui's 14,702 inhabitants barely contributed to the sample. This is not entirely surprising, given that Whanganui (then spelt Wanganui) was home to lithographer A. D. Willis, and residents had been exhorted since the 1880s to buy home grown cards – yet there are no Whanganui-published HATS cards. However, Whanganui notwithstanding, it would appear that the inhabitants of medium-sized centres were slightly more taken with the craze than the people in the large ones.

It should be added that since the principal dealers who supplied me with the cards were based in Hamilton, New Plymouth, Palmerston North and Christchurch, I had expected some skewing of the results towards the central areas of both islands of New Zealand. This proved not to be the case, with the numbers of cards sent to and from each centre, Whanganui excepted, conforming reasonably closely to what could be predicted from their populations.

4.7 Conclusion

Overall, what this section suggests is that while there was less of a rural slant in this New Zealand sample than Gifford found in the United States, the fact that the populace of smaller large towns were relatively greater postcard users than the inhabitants of the cities suggests that were it possible to distinguish the other smaller centres from the country, it is likely that small town usage would probably be more extensive. Smaller centres would appear to be good breeding grounds for crazes, with enough people for fast

transmission, and a smaller threshold at which it becomes difficult not to participate. And access to shops selling postcards was inevitably greater for townfolk than for country dwellers. This is underscored by the fact that the Imperial Sales Company (see page 383) targeted the rural market for its mail-order postcard service, placing adverts in the children's pages of *The New Zealand Farmer*.⁹³

If, from all of this data, one were to abstract a typical user of a HATS postcard, that person would most likely be a young, white female, with an English or Scottish background, living in or near a town of under 15,000 people. It is not possible to predict her occupation, but she would not be averse to working. She placed a premium on maintaining contact with the family, and most particularly the female members of it, but her album would also include cards from a circle of friends. And her use of HATS cards was most likely to have occurred between 1908-1912.

⁹³ New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland, NZ), "Home & House," July, 1911, Home and Household Supplement, p.xv. They advertised regularly after this date.

4.8 Fuller List of Family Relationships

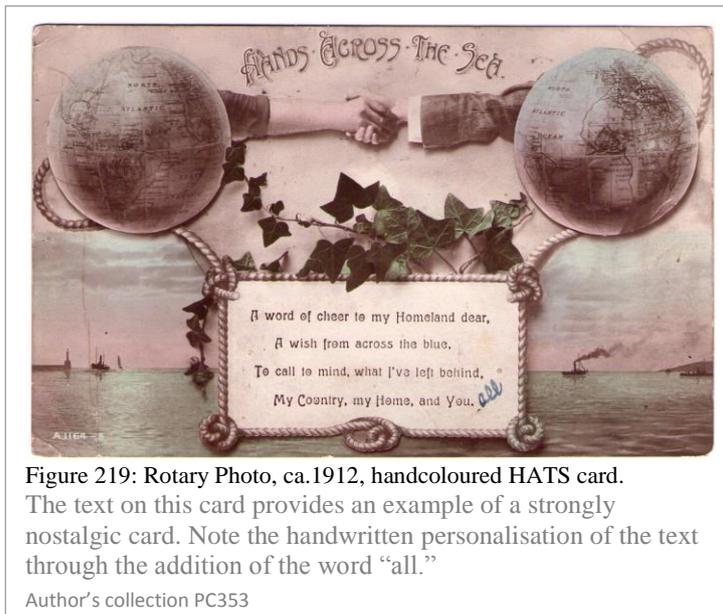
The list below shows the family relationships in the 601 card study, both alphabetically and in terms of which occurred most frequently.

Alphabetical		Numerical	
Aunt/Child	1	Sisters	19
Aunt/Nephew	4	Niece/Aunt	15
Aunt/Niece	9	Sister/Brother	14
Brothers	12	Brothers	12
Brother/Sister	12	Brother/Sister	12
Child/Mother	1	Mother/Daughter	11
Cousins F/M	6	Cousins F/F	10
Cousins M/F	6	Mother/Son	10
Cousins F/F	10	Aunt/Niece	9
Daughter/Father	4	Daughter/Mother	9
Daughter/Mother	9	Cousins F/M	6
Daughter/Parents	1	Cousins M/F	6
Father/Daughter	6	Father/Daughter	6
Father/Son	1	Husband/Wife	6
Grandchild/Grandmother	2	Son/Mother	6
Granddaughter/Grandmother	3	Nephew/Aunt	5
Grandmother/Granddaughter	2	Aunt/Nephew	4
Grandson/Grandmother	2	Daughter/Father	4
Husband/Wife	6	Granddaughter/Grandmother	3
In-laws	1	Nephew/Uncle	3
Mother/Child	1	Grandmother/Granddaughter	2
Mother/Daughter	11	Grandson/Grandmother	2
Mother/Son	10	Niece/Uncle	2
Niece/Aunt	15	Son/Parents	2
Niece/Uncle	2	Uncle/Niece	2
Nephew/Aunt	5	Child/Grandmother	2
Nephew/Uncle	3	Aunt/Child	1
Nephew/Uncle & Aunt	1	Child/Mother	1
Sister/Brother	14	Daughter/Parents	1
Sisters	19	Father/Son	1
Son/Father	1	In-laws	1
Son/Mother	6	Mother/Child	1
Son/Parents	2	Nephew/Uncle & Aunt	1
Uncle & Aunt/Child	1	Son/Father	1
Uncle/Niece	2	Uncle & Aunt/Child	1
Wife/Husband	1	Wife/Husband	1

Appendix 5: Publishing HATS Cards

This section explores in more depth the ways in which HATS cards were published, and the companies that were involved across both the lithographic and photographic traditions. It then relates this to the New Zealand context.

This study has already demonstrated that postcard publishing as a whole drew on two clearly demarcated graphic traditions, those of lithographic Art Publishing, and the sellers of photographic tourist views and portraits. Being a greeting card, HATS locates itself more naturally in lithographic territory, but it should be remembered that, from early on, photographers had also used montage and floral decoration to create greetings cards [e.g. Figure 70, Figure 71 and Figure 92]. It is therefore useful to examine the extent to which photographers like Rotary Photo [Figure 219] were able to make inroads into this lithographic stronghold.



Appendix 6 shows which publishers produced HATS cards over a number of years, as opposed to those that (mostly between 1909-10) produced a single series to add to their catalogues. Alan Leonard's survey of the Hands across the Sea genre identified a large number of publishers engaged in creating HATS

postcards.¹ My study has largely confirmed his findings about the major producers. Leonard, on the basis of a collection put together in England, identified Birn Brothers, Beagles, Millar & Lang, Rotary Photo, and Wildt & Kray as the major producers.

The table overleaf lists the manufacturers who produced the largest number of cards within the survey of 2111 HATS cards, along with the percentage

¹ Leonard, "Hands across the Sea," pp.4-7.

of the overall sample that they were responsible for, the predominant form of printing used for their HATS cards, and their location.

Company Name	Printing Type	Based in:	%
J. Beagles & Co.	Photographic	England (London)	31.64
Birn Brothers	Lithographic	England (London)	8.76
Wildt & Kray	Lithographic	England (London)	6.63
Rotary Photograph	Photographic	England (London)	6.02
Fergusson & Taylor	Photo & litho	New Zealand (Christchurch)	5.92
Millar & Lang	Lithographic	Scotland (Glasgow)	3.03
A & G Taylor	Photographic	England (London)	2.36
Raphael Tuck & Sons	Lithographic	England (London)	2.22
Philco	Lithographic	England (London)	2.08
E. A. Schwerdtfeger	Photographic	Germany (London branch)	1.37
Valentine & Sons	Lithographic	Scotland (Dundee)	1.36
NPO Belfast	Lithographic	Ireland (Belfast)	1.14
Tanner Brothers	Photographic	New Zealand (Wellington)	1.09
H. Vertigen	Lithographic	Germany (London branch)	0.9
Davidson Brothers	Lithographic	England (London)	0.85

It shows that it was the photographic firm Beagles (their dominance perhaps inflated by their strong presence in the Australasian market) that was responsible for by far the largest single proportion of the cards.

Lithographers, Birn Brothers, were the next largest, followed by a group of other significant companies.² The relative importance of two New Zealand firms is probably exaggerated by the sample being collected in New Zealand, but the numbers produced by Fergusson & Taylor, particularly, are nevertheless significant. Collectively these top fifteen companies created

² Millar & Lang's lower ranking in this study may relate to the quality of their cards making them among the more desirable collectibles. I suspect that many of their cards had disappeared from the market before my study began, whereas Beagles' cards seem to be comparatively little sought after.

75.37% of the sample, with anonymous German firms accounting for a further 5.92% and those marked as from the (perhaps more marketable) Saxony, 4.74%.³

The prominence of three large photographic firms, however, disguises the relative dominance of the lithographic firms within the overall sample. Almost twice as many lithographic firms are represented in the list, and most of the smaller companies not included in these figures used lithography. And the predominantly photographic companies, like Beagles, still tended to use the large German lithographic printing firms, if they wished to produce full-colour cards. The dominance of lithography is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that Valentine & Sons, and to a lesser extent Millar & Lang, which both normally published photographic cards, only utilised lithographically printed illustrations for their HATS cards.

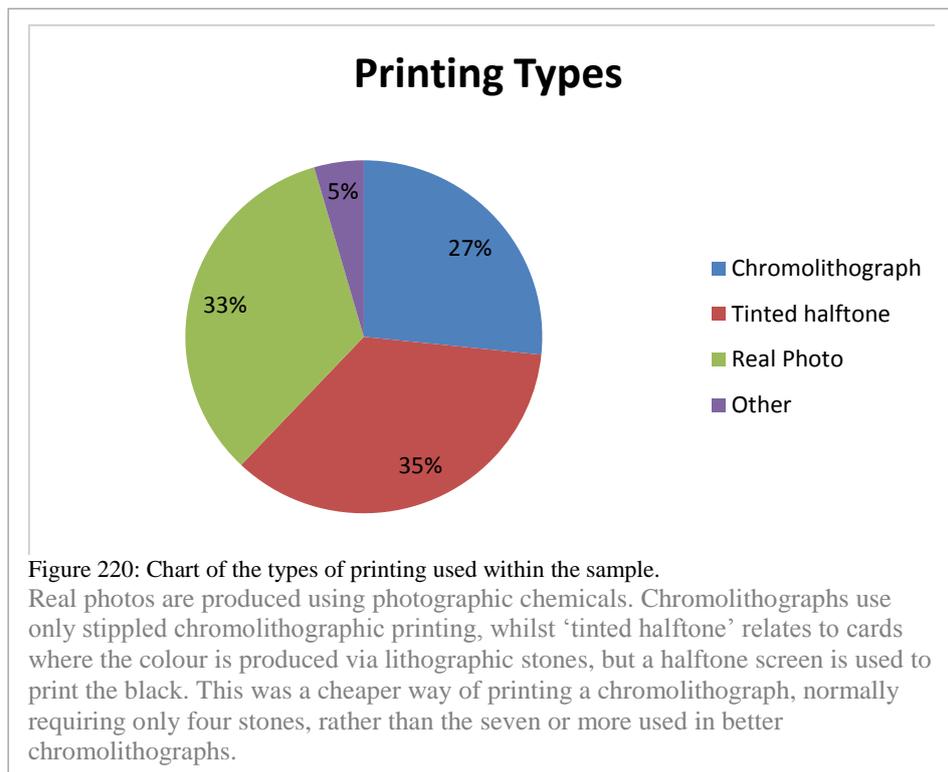
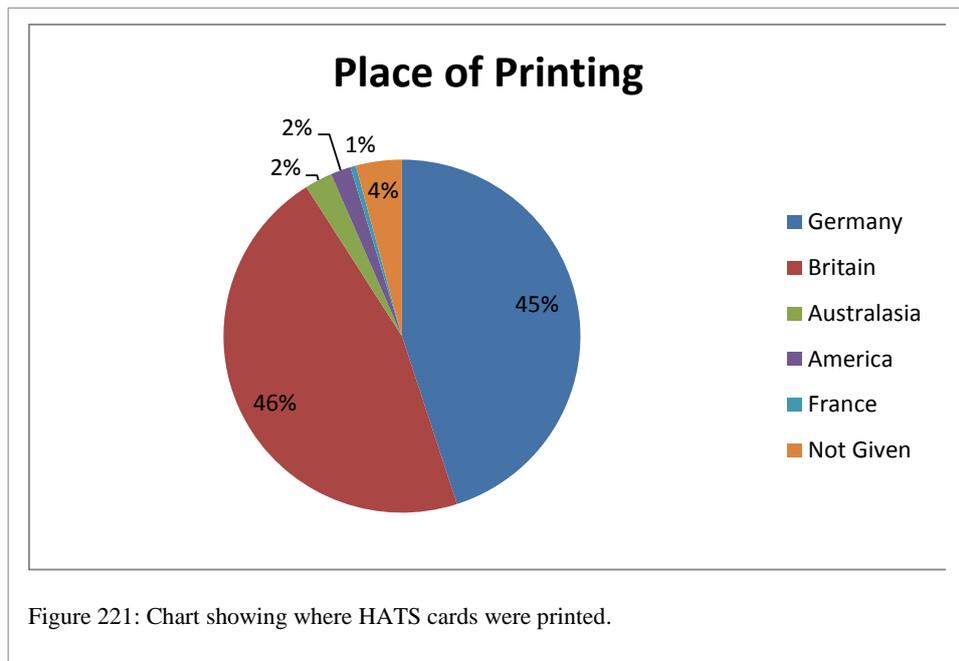


Figure 220 shows that the lithographic techniques of pure chromolithography and tinted halftone were used for 62% of the cards,

³ I have been unable to establish whether the tendency for cards to say “made in Saxony” or “printed in Bavaria” related to those states’ sense of self or whether Saxony, in particular, was less threatening – perhaps even a positive for those with ‘Anglo-Saxon’ leanings – than Germany.

whilst real photographs accounted for only 33%. Art Publishers and Photographers were, one can conclude, the driving forces in the HATS craze, with techniques favoured by other types of printer garnering only 5% support.⁴ A similar split occurs as to whether the cards would utilise illustrated or photographic images. Of the cards surveyed, only fifteen more were illustrated than photographed, meaning that the two techniques were evenly balanced, but significantly more (382 of the 601 cards) were printed in colour, with another 108 printed in black and white but then hand-coloured. Overall only just over one card in six went to the shop shelves uncoloured. The public's fascination with coloured greetings cards had by no means abated, and it was colour printing rather than the medium of illustration that gave overseas printers so much work.



It has already become apparent that Art Publishers had close ties with Germany. Whilst German firms (including those from Bavaria and Saxony) were responsible for only 12.92% of the sample, Figure 221 shows that 45%

⁴ The print techniques commonly associated with view cards like gravure and collotype appeared in only thirteen cards. Of the halftone techniques later favoured by Art Printers, there were only six cards using single-colour, one using three-colour and one using four-colour.

of the cards were actually printed in Germany, only fractionally less than the numbers from Britain.⁵

As with any large, mechanically-based industry, quality colour chromolithographic printing was able to be made cheap only when done on



Figure 222: W. T. Wilson, 1909, real-photo HATS card.
This card was able to be produced locally in New Zealand because it was photographic.
Author's collection PC118.

a large enough scale for the standardisation of processes and economies of scale to facilitate efficiency.⁶ Given the dominance exerted by large German and British printing companies, smaller firms such as those that set up in New Zealand had limited options. William Main comments that whilst illustration was typical of imported cards, New Zealand cards predominantly utilised photography.⁷ This can be explained by their focus on local subject matter, but it is also technical. Photography was inherently black and white, meaning that new entrants to the business could better avoid the problems of colour. They could sidestep the large printers by getting under way with single-colour halftone cards, which were low quality but could be printed locally, or by utilising local photographers to print the more expensive

real photographs. The latter was the approach adopted by Auckland entrepreneur W. T. Wilson, when he, like so many others, entered the HATS market in 1909, opting for an illustrative montage.

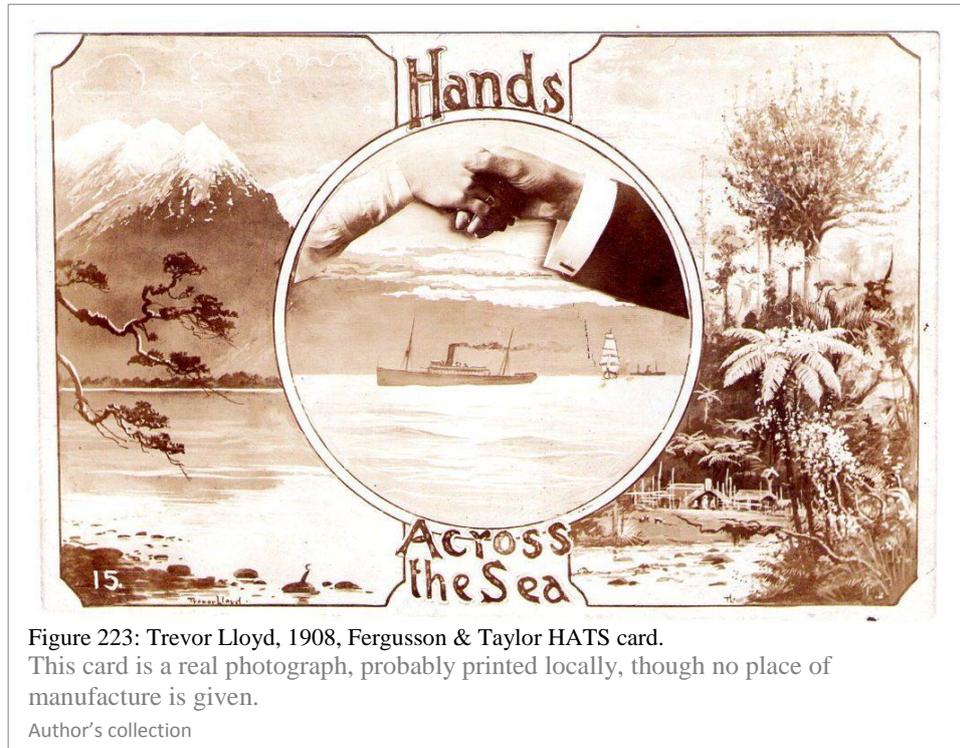
Figure 222 is Wilson's real-photographic reproduction of the locally-produced artwork. When Wilson wanted to produce a colour version, however, he was obliged to utilise the transnational business networks

⁵ Of the British cards, 189 were labelled as being from England, 67 from Britain, 13 from Great Britain, 5 from Ireland and just two early cards said they were from Scotland. Scottish and Irish publishers were more likely to use the term Britain. These cards are spread between lithographs and real photographs, whereas most German cards are lithographs.

⁶ Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *The Company: A Short History of a Revolutionary Idea*, p.64.

⁷ Main, *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell*, p.68.

which the postal service had enabled, and have them printed in Germany.⁸ Figure 2 was the result. Apparently, despite postal costs, it was cheaper for New Zealand postcard manufacturers to use large German printers than to patronise local chromolithographers like A. D. Willis.



The same approach had been taken by Fergusson & Taylor a year earlier when they had Auckland cartoonist Trevor Lloyd design what looks to be a New Zealand version of the Australian WTP card [Figure 133]. It was Lloyd's second foray into HATS cards that year, [cf. Figure 142]. The card was published as a real photograph [Figure 223], but they subsequently opted to use a German printer for a more sophisticated black and white collotype montage version that makes it look photographic, before finally opting for a colour version that appears more illustrative [Figure 224].

⁸ Howard Woody suggests that international contracts involved a supply chain that might include a "jobber" (travelling salesman), territorial wholesaler, regional supplier, national distributor, export distributor and then printer, but I have not been able to ascertain how many of these steps postcard manufacturers like Wilson would have had to go through. It is not helped by Woody giving no citations or sources for his information. [Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.31.] It is also clear that German publishers did work directly with retailers. Woody, on p.33, illustrates an advertising card for the German company Stengel, which was sent from Germany to New York with details on how to deal directly. Such a direct postal approach would have suited New Zealand manufacturers and retailers.

William Main reproduces the latter in *Send Me a Postcard*, assuming that the non-local printing indicates a non-local production,⁹ however the sequence of production,¹⁰ and Lloyd's signature, makes it clear that the artwork was generated in New Zealand, albeit probably adapted typographically by the German printers.

The fact that New Zealand publishers felt obliged to go to the expense of using overseas printers to provide quality coloured versions of illustrated cards, however, reinforces the sense that the public expected illustrated

work to be coloured. The expense and mail-order difficulties of this process, gave imported cards an advantage. Real photographs (which Penny Farfan sees as iconic of the modern)¹¹ may have been produced in black and white, but the premium paid by customers of Spreckley and Wildman and Arey for hand coloured photographs still suggests that colour was seen as higher quality.

Some New Zealand publishers opted to work closely with companies from overseas. Fergusson & Taylor, for example, were eclectic in their approach to printing their cards, forging relationships with at least three of the major English firms. Some of

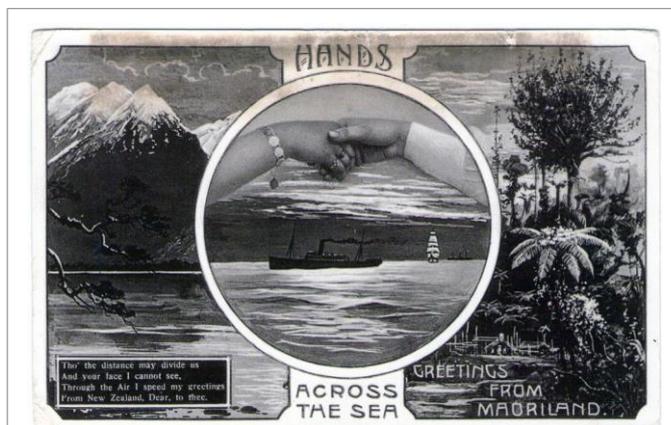


Figure 224: Fergusson & Taylor, HATS cards printed in Germany in 1910 (top) and 1911 (bottom).

These collotype images adapt the original design to allow stronger typography. The colour version moves still further from the original. Each design had several versions with different sets of clasped hands.

Author's collection PC086 & PC089



⁹ Main, *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell*, p.72. Main says the printing is from England. None of the six versions I have of the card were, but it is possible that F&T did have some printed in England as well.

¹⁰ The dating of these cards' production was done by cross-referencing the postage dates of multiple versions of each card.

¹¹ Farfan, "'The Picture Postcard is a Sign of the Times": Theatre Postcards and Modernism," p.110.

their non-HATS greetings cards were clearly designed for them by Beagles, and they opted to print their real photographic cards in England [Figure 185]. The publisher who assisted them with this type of card would appear to be the major British photographic firm of A. & G. Taylor, given that the same photograph of clasped hands appears in quite different cards published by Fergusson & Taylor and A. & G. Taylor [Figure 225].

Indeed, since little has been able to be discovered about the principals of Fergusson & Taylor, and the fact that Fergusson had initially traded without Taylor,¹² it raises the question of whether the Taylor in the name might be identical with A. & G. Taylor. Nevertheless, any relationship between the

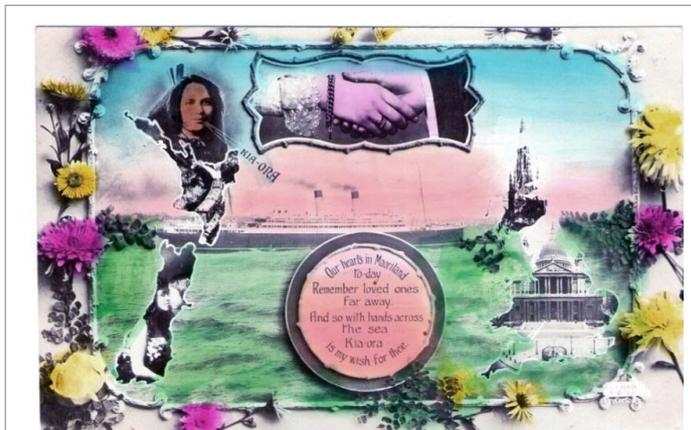
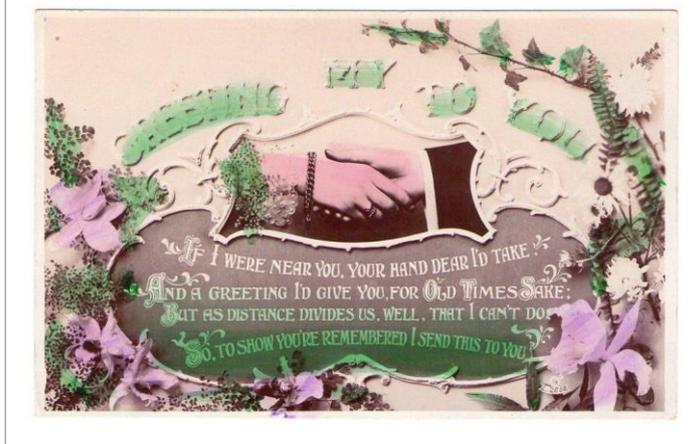


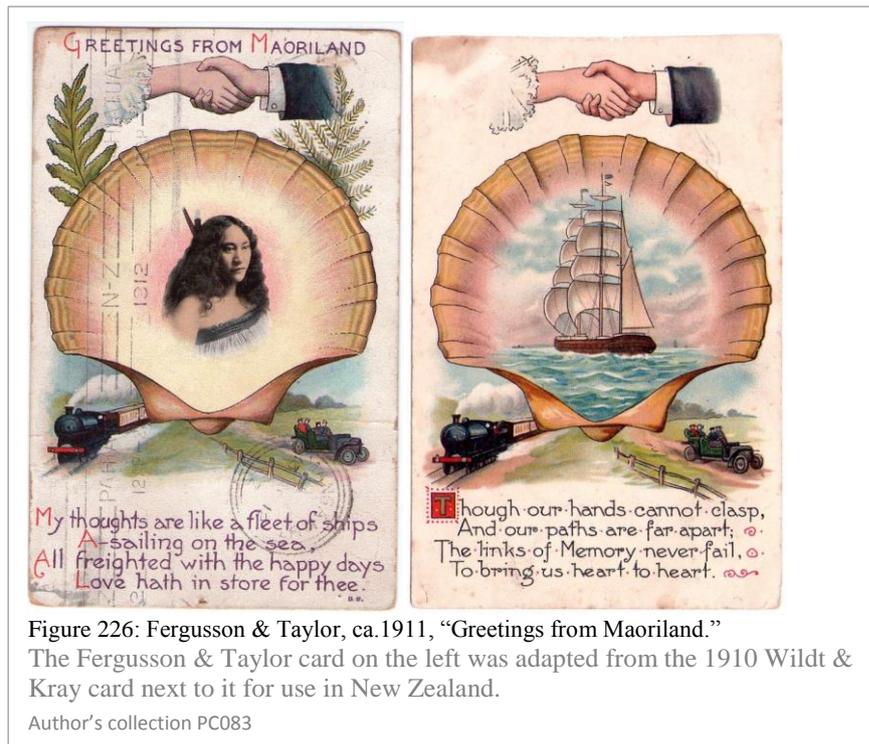
Figure 225: ca.1910 cards by Fergusson & Taylor (top) and A. & G. Taylor's (bottom) using the same photograph of hands. The use of the same stock photograph of hands within different frames suggests a relationship between the two companies.

Author's collection PC123 & PC388.

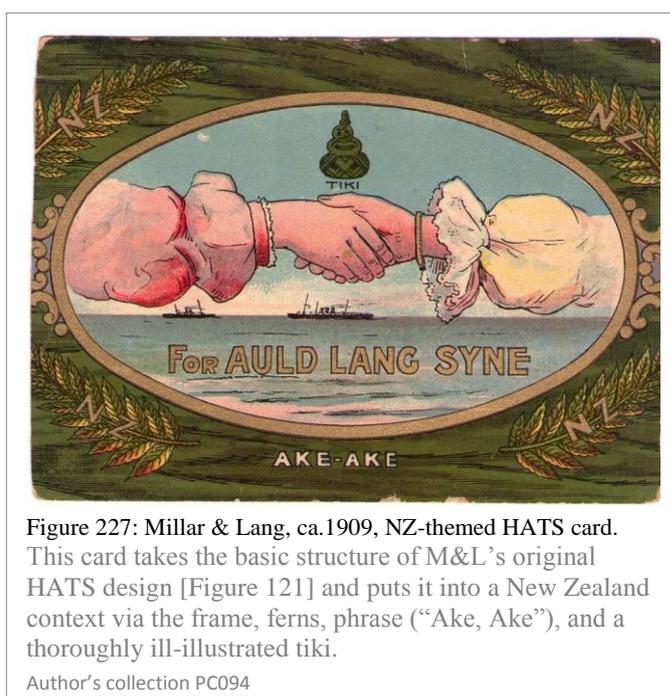


firms was not exclusive, since alongside their work with Taylors and with Beagles, Fergusson also co-produced cards with Wildt & Kray, as can be seen in several examples. Figure 109, for example, is a W&K card, but its overprint is the same design that was used in the Fergusson & Taylor card in Figure 8. This strongly suggests that W&K were the printers for the FT card, an attestation strengthened by FT having also marketed several lithographic Wildt & Kray designs which they had evidently had adapted for the local market [Figure 226].

¹² Main and Jackson, "Wish You Were Here": *The Story of New Zealand Postcards*, p.62.



Although Wildt & Kray marketed photographic cards of New Zealand scenery under their own name, they only did localised greeting cards under contract, consistently using lithography for the HATS cards. Millar & Lang similarly only used lithography for their HATS cards, but were able, under their 'National' brand (see page 355), to create designs specifically for the New Zealand market, as they also did for Australia and Canada [Figure 227].



Overall, these cards serve to emphasise the close relationships that British manufacturers were able to forge with the colonial market, and simultaneously reinforce how difficult it must have been for local firms to compete in the market for quality coloured cards.



Part B:

Part B contains the raw material that supported and gave rise to certain conclusions in the text.

Appendix 6: Postcard Companies Producing HATS Cards

6.1 Full List of Companies

This section indicates all the companies that were identified in the 2111 card study as manufacturing or distributing HATS cards, and the number of cards associated with each company. The list is arranged alphabetically.

List of Companies	Total		
A. Sala, Berlin	11	De Tourret	8
AJG	1	Dobson Molle & Co.	1
Albert Oesterreicher, Leipzig	5	DRSM	1
Anglo New Art	1	E. Nash	1
Aristophot	8	EBE	1
Art Publishing Co.	4	Empire	3
B (W. Bramley of Leeds)	2	Ettlinger	2
Bamforth	2	Fergusson	0
Beagles	668	Felix McGlennan	1
Bendix	3	Frank Duncan	11
Birn Brothers	185	Frederik Pedersen	3
Carlton	2	Free Church of Scotland	1
Collins Bros	1	FT Series	125
Crown	1	Giesen Bros.	1
C. W. Hunt	2	Giovanardi, Sydney	1
Cynicus	2	Gottschalk Dreyfus & Davis	2
D. & F.L.T.	2	Grant, W. H. & Co.	2
Davidson Bros.	18	Hart	2
		Hey, E. J. & Co.	5

Henry Garner Living		Schofield & Co	1
Picture	2	Schwerdtfeger, E. A.	29
Herman Wolf, Berlin	2	Solomon Bros	5
H.G. Zimmerman & Co.	2	St Paul Souvenir	1
Hildesheimer, S. & Co.	2	Star Photo	12
HIR	1	State	5
HMB	2	Stevens	1
Hugo Lang	2	Tanner	23
H. W. Flatt	1	Taylor, A. & G.	50
Inter-Art Co.	1	Theodor Eismann,	
James Henderson & Sons	2	Leipzig	9
JFH	1	Thridgould, John & Co.	1
Kitch & Co.	1	Tuck	47
KS	1	Valentine's	28
Lawrence	2	Vertigen, H. & Co.	19
LVC	1	VPF	1
Malborough Art	7	Ward Lock & Co.	2
Marcuse Day & Co.	1	Watkins & Kracke	5
Martin Schlesinger,		WB	1
Berlin	2	Wildt & Kray	140
McCulloch, J. A. & Co.	3	William Ritchie & Sons	1
McV & L	1	Woolstone Bros	1
Millar & Lang	64	W. T. Wilson	7
National Art Co.	1		
Newman Brothers	8		
Nicholson & Carter	1		
Novelty Postcard Co.			
Ltd	1		
Novitas Post Card Co.	1		
NPO Belfast	24		
Paul Finkenrath Berlin	8	Anonymous cards:	
Paul Suess, Heidenau	1	Unspecified	23
Philco	44	Australia	1
Pocket Novelty Co.	1	Austria	28
PR	1	America	4
Pratt	1	Bavaria	2
Pugh	2	England	2
R. B. Bailie	1	Finland	1
Radcliff	3	France	10
Rapid Photo	1	Germany	125
Rotary	127	Italy	1
Samuel Wood	1	New Zealand	4
Selmar Bayer, Berlin	4	Saxony	100

6.2 List of the Most Prolific HATS Manufacturers

The list below shows the companies whose dated cards were included in the 601 card survey. It is ordered according to the number of HATS cards from each company in that survey. Cards without specified manufacturers are listed as anonymous (anon) by the country or state of origin.

Beagles	154	Albert Oesterreicher, Leipzig	1
Birn Brothers	60	Anglo New Art	1
Wildt & Kray	45	Art Publishing Co.	1
German anon	36	Crown	1
Rotary	30	Cynicus	1
Saxon anon	27	E. Nash	1
Millar & Lang	25	EBE	1
Fergusson and Taylor	24	Empire	1
Fergusson	17	English anon	1
Tuck	17	Frank Duncan	1
A. & G. Taylor	13	Free Church of Scotland	1
Unspecified anon	11	Giesen Bros.	1
Valentine's	8	Giovanardi, Sydney	1
Vertigen	8	Gottschalk Dreyfus & Davis	1
Davidson	7	Grant	1
Schwerdtfeger	7	HAS	1
Philco	6	Henry Garner Living Picture	1
Austrian anon	6	H. G. Zimmerman & Co.	1
A. Sala, Berlin	5	HIR	1
NPO Belfast	5	Inter-Art Co.	1
W. T. Wilson	4	JFH	1
French anon	4	Kitch & Co.	1
Aristophot	3	Lawrence	1
Bendix	3	Malborough Art	1
De Turret	3	Marcuse Day & Co	1
Paul Finkenrath, Berlin	3	Martin Schlesinger, Berlin	1
State	3	McCulloch	1
Tanner	3	National Art Co.	1
Theodor Eismann, Leipzig	3	Nicholson & Carter	1
B (W. Bramley of Leeds)	2	Novelty Postcard Co. Ltd	1
D. & F.L.T.	2	Paul Suess, Heidenau	1
Frederik Pedersen	2	Pratt	1
Herman Wolf, Berlin	2	R. B. Bailie	1
Newman Brothers	2	Radcliff	1
Pugh	2	Rapid Photo	1
Star Photo	2	Stevens	1
New Zealand anon	2	VPF	1
AJG	1	William Ritchie & Sons	1

6.3 Dating of HATS Manufacture

The table below documents the years when HATS cards were produced by the various companies, based on dated cards. Greyed out areas indicate a manufacturer's estimated period of production activity. The darker grey relate to dated cards. Light grey squares are estimates based from external research. The data here should be regarded as indicative. Whilst the dates are reasonably accurate for large publishers, it was not always possible to accurately isolate the dates of manufacture for smaller firms.

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
British Firms																
Millar & Lang																
D. & F.L.T.																
Henry Garner																
Stevens																
Wildt & Kray																
Rapid Photo																
Art Publishing																
Rotary Photo																
Beagles																
Cynicus																
NPO Belfast																
Birn Brothers																
Taylors																
Davidson																
Valentines																
Novelty Postcard																
Crown																
William Ritchie																
Geisen Bros																
Raphael Tuck																
State																
Newman Brothers																
Ettlinger																
Nicholson & Carter																
EAS Schwerdfeger																
Philco																
Inter-Art Co.																
Marcuse Day																
McCulloch																

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
New Zealand Firms																
Fergusson																
W. T. Wilson																
Tanner																
De Tourret																
Frank Duncan																
	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Australian Firms																
Star/Empire																
WTP																
Giovanardi																
Kitch & Co.																
AJG																
Marlborough																
JFH																
American Firms																
National Art																
Fredrik Peterson																
EBE																
Anonymous																
B																
E. Nash																
H. G. Zimmerman																
Anglo-New Art																
	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
German Firms																
Anonymous German																
Paul Finkenrath																
A. Sala																
Theodor Eismann																
Albert Oesterreicher																
Martin Schlesinger																
Herman Wolf																
Vertigen																
Anonymous Saxon																
Bendix																
Paul Suess																
Aristophot																

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Austrian Firms																
Anonymous Austrian																
French Firms																
Anonymous French																
VPF																

Appendix 7: Beagles' Cards

Because Beagles published by far the largest number of cards, dating their cards was essential to the study. I therefore collected over 1500 Beagles cards, and adopted an approach, suggested by Howard Woody, which involved identifying cards that had identically printed backs.¹ Each printing had variations in wording and typography that were distinctive, and over a hundred different backs were identified (some with major differences, and others subtle). Cross-referenced with the dates of sending, this allowed a reasonably accurate dating to be ascertained for most of the Beagles cards in the study. Beagles' numbering system, in contrast to the straightforward sequence adopted by Wildt & Kray, turned out to be largely arbitrary, and indicated that they had a book with numbers, which were allocated to new cards purely on the basis of non-duplication of existing numbers.

The problem with this study was that it was not possible to determine whether a given card was the original design or a reprint. As a result, whilst I could date the card itself accurately, I could not be sure whether it was a new design or a reprint of a card designed several years earlier. This problem is why I have not focussed on the development of Beagles' production more in the thesis. The following sections, however, document the method, and show the way that it was possible to date fairly accurately the design of most of Beagles' HATS cards.

¹ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)," p.22.

7.1 Documenting the Dating Process

The images here show a small sample of the pages from my two dating documents. One file (7.1.1) listed the cards in sequence, while the other (7.1.2) identified the card backs, established their earliest date of production and allocated them the identifying number that appears in the fourth column in 7.1.1.

7.1.1: A Section from the Sequencing Document

As part of this research, 1510 Beagles cards were documented, and research comments made. What is reproduced below is part of one page from this document. The columns represent the Beagles identifying number, the type (X=Christmas, B=Birthday, NY=New Year), when it was sent (if given), the identifying number allocated to the card's back, and then comments.

971K	(B)hands	[1920]	27A	The back suggests manufacture 1909ish
971R	(B)hand	(?)	8Aii	one hand
971W	(B)hands	(1909)	8Aiii	
976A	(G X)	(?)	9Ai	
976E	(X)	(?)	9Aiii.,	undated –
976E	(NY)	(1910)	17Aii	back of colour version has 1043A
976O	(X)	(1909)	13Aii	1063a on back
976P	(X)	(?)	13Aii	1063a on back
976R	(X NY)	[?]	26A	
976T	(NY)	(?)	17Aii	1063a on back
976X	(X NY)	[?]	29Aii	post 1912
977B	(X)	[?]	29Ai	1912 or later
977C	(X)	[1914]	29Ai	
977K	(X) (NY) (e)	[?]	29Aiii	post 1912
977KN	(NY) (e)	[1913]	29Aii	
977R	(X)(e)	[1912]	29Aiii	

7.1.2: Documenting the Card Backs

Left edge		Comments			
Left	948 M	T	N	J. BEAGLES & CO	
Number place	Number style	Copyright	Form Name		
	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
88A atress unused 289A(Lords Prayer)(X)(e)?? 904Z (G) 905R (G) (over XN)?? 908D (B) 912G (X) unused 925J (B)?? 933P (B) 946L (X) NZ 946T (X)?? 948M (X)overprint 948T (X) ?NZ 951 (B)? NZ 951H (B)?? 951X (B)?? 969F (B) Hands 897 (M)Z (M) 897U (HATS) ?? 906B (B) (M) ?? 928N (X NY) ?? 947D (X) ? NZ 947M (X) 947O (X NY) 947P (X) (M)	933P/9/Eng	904Z/12/NZ 948M/12/NZ 969F/2/5oo 908D/2/NZ 897/3/Eng 947M/12/Aus 947O/12/Aus 947P/12/Aus			
Series Numbers		781			

This dating of cards printed with this type of back showed very clearly that it was printed in late 1907, and that cards were consumed very quickly during 1908 (indicative of a market that could not get enough of the cards). All card numbers appear in the left hand column. Only the dated cards appear in the columns under years, along with the month of sending, and the country where each was sent. It is not, here, necessary to elaborate on all of the abbreviations used. The effect of this approach was to be able to fairly accurately determine the date of manufacture for cards which are undated.

7.2 Beagles Clasped Hands Related Cards: Dates and Types

The following is a list of dates for the Beagles clasped hands cards (or card series), following the numerical sequence of the cards. Beagles tended to work in series of six cards. They omitted Q's and I's in the numbering, allowing for four groups of six cards: (abcdef); (ghjklm); (noprst); (uvwxyz). The series numbers down the left can be used to cross reference with the thumbnail images of the cards listed in Appendix 10 (mostly in the rows between PC138 – PC290). This chart, however, includes all the cards collected, and not simply the ones with date of sending, which were included in the list in Appendix 10.

The greyed areas show the earliest date of sending found for that card, or cards with an identical back, whilst the letters indicate the type of card. B= Birthday, G=General Greetings, W=Wedding, WA=Wedding Anniversary, X=Christmas, NY=New Year, OS=Overseas Greeting, HATS=Hands Across the Sea, Miz=Mizpah. It is clear from this that Beagles used clasped hands extensively, but only had a limited number of cards with HATS texts.

Number	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
122-5										G	
476N										B	
500				X							
550									B		
580								G			
582									G		
584									G		
586									G		
590										G	
592										G	
617-617a			OS								
617A/1-A6				OS							
632A-F									OS		
645A/5-A/6				W							
661A/1				B							
664A/1-A/6							B				
688A-F								X			
689A-M									X/OS		
727W								B			

Number	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
737K,L											B
742J									NY		
748G-Z									X/NY		
752G-T									B		
761V									W		
765G-M										B	
769P-70									NY		
770N-T									X		
777G-T								B			
783G-T								B			
790A-M, Z									X/NY		
794O							B				
805A-F					G						
805G-						G					
817C			B								
825T					21B						
826U-Z						B					
836A-Z				X/NY							
838G-Z							X/NY				
845A-Z				B							
847K & Z						G					
848U-Z					X/NY						
854N									X/OS		
856A-Z					X/NY						
859E-Z						B					
863P							B				
864L							B				
867X							X				
868A-P							X B				
870P							B				
872U									B		
874L							B				
878A-M						B /OS					
878N-Z							B /OS				
896A-F						G /OS					
896G-M				G /OS							
897~U	Miz/ HATS										
900A-F		OS / HATS									
900G-M			OS / HATS								
900N-T				OS							
900U-Z					OS / HATS						

Number	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
901U-Z				G							
906A-Z	B										
909G-M	X/NY										
909N-Z	X/NY										
910W										NY	
919S	G										
921M			WA								
924N-U		X/NY									
933U	B										
945A-F						X/OS					
945G-Z							X/OS				
947A-E	X/NY										
947F-Z		X/NY									
966U-Z								X/NY			
971A-M		B									
971N-Z			B								
978F			NY								
986A-Z			X/NY								
987A-F			X/NY								
987G-M				X/OS							
987N-T			X/NY								
987U-Z					X/OS						
988A-G			B								
989K			NY								
990A-M				B							
990N-Z							B				
1066A1/ B6				X/NY							
1066C1/ C6					X/NY						
1068A1/ A6				X/NY							
1068B1/ C6					X/NY						
1070A1/ A6				X/NY							
1072C1/ C6					X/NY						
1072D1/ D6						OS / HATS					
1084C1/ C6						X/NY					
1094 series							X/OS				
1098 series							X/NY				
1100 series							X/NY				
1102 series							OS / HATS				
1111 series							X/OS				
1112 series							X/NY				
1118series							X				
1119 series							X				

Number	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
1121 series							X/NY				
1122 series							X/OS				
1124 series							X/NY				
Phototint											X
Gravure										NY	

Appendix 8: Ashburton Guardian List of Crazes: 1887-1903

The writers of the Ashburton Guardian, a small, provincial, Canterbury newspaper, appear to have enjoyed a good craze, often placing them on page 2 of their four page broadsheet. The following list documents the crazes mentioned, where they were ascribed to, and the date of mention. 1903, the year the postcard craze was first mentioned elsewhere, appears to have been a good year for crazes.

1887 – Roller-skating (Australia) [28 April, p.3]. The article gives the date of the start of the roller skating craze as being during the 1870s. In 1889, a short article about the craze in NZ talked about the inventor Mikaiiah Henley, from Indiana [30 March, p.2].

1888 – Patchwork wedding dresses (Australia) [26 March, p.2].

1888 – The banjo (England) [17 April, p.2].

1888 – Diamonds embedded in front teeth (Chicago) [15 October p.2].

1889 – Green (France) [15 February, p.2].

1889 – Thier linen (Auckland, NZ) (This is not a misspelling). [31 July, p.3].

1890 – Cosmetic use of electricity to remove wrinkles (Paris) [7 June, p.2].

1890 – Ballooning (Paris) [3 September, p.2].

1890 – Duelling (Paris) [9 September, p.3].

1890 – Barn dancing (Wellington, NZ) [9 October, p.2].

- 1891 – Autographs (United States)** (A story about a practical joke played on Mark Twain, where 250 of his friends sent single requests for his autograph on April Fool's Day, giving him a very tedious post). [24 March, p.2].
- 1891 – Printing one's own designs onto cloth via a photographic process (England)** [5 August, p.2].
- 1892 – Imitation jewellery (Paris)** [19 February p.2].
- 1892 – Aesthetic drawing rooms (England)** (Called a 'modern' craze, meaning it was a few years old). [12 March, p.2].
- 1892 – Missing word competitions (England)** (Penny papers printing a paragraph with a missing word, and readers paid to enter a draw to put in the missing word). [31 December, p.2].
- 1893 – Spiritualism (New Zealand)** [24 January, p.2].
- 1893 – Ibsen (Boston)** [7 June, p.3].
- 1893 – Cycling (Local)** [3 October, p.3]. (Frequent references to the cycling craze thereafter).
- 1895 – Collecting first numbers of newspapers (Local)** [6 May, p.2].
- 1895 – Golf (Australasia)** [14 May, p.2].
- 1896 – Jingo[ism] (United States)** [12 February, p.3].
- 1897 – Orchids and chrysanthemums (England)** (This discusses a pre-existing fashion). [14 December, p.1].
- 1898 – The Jubilee (Local)** [12 January, p.2].
- 1898 – Glass bonnets (Venice & Paris)** [20 January, p.2].
- 1898 - Yoga (New York)** [28 July, p.2].
- 1901 – Athletics competitions (Britain)** (This discusses a pre-existing trend). [16 April, p.4].
- 1901 – Patent medicines (Britain)** [30 August, p.1].
- 1901 – Engravings (Britain)** [14 October, p.1].

- 1901 – Stamps (Britain)** [14 October, p.1]. (This is mentioned retrospectively – but had not appeared in the paper previously).
- 1902 – Illustrated ballads (New York & London)** [6 October, p.2].
- 1903 – Photographic transfer tattoos (United States)** [2 February, p.4].
- 1903 – Presentations (New Zealand)** (This refers to formalised presentations honouring people with gifts of money etc.). [9 March, p.3].
- 1903 – Tattooing (Philadelphia)** [8 May, p.2].
- 1903 – Football challenges between goldfields (Thames, NZ)** [16 July, p.2].
- 1903 – Motoring (New Zealand)** [20 July, p.2].
- 1903 – Lynching (United States)** [30 July, p.3].
- 1903 – Song parties (Britain)** [14 August, p.4].
- 1903 – Walking (Australia)** (i.e. Hiking). [21 September, p.3]. (**New Zealand**) [9 October. p.2].
- 1903/4 – Stamp Pictures (Britain)** (i.e. making pictures out of a collage of stamps). [18 January, 1904, p.4].

Appendix 9: Charts of Auckland Postcard Retailers' Prices: 1902-1910

The following charts document the prices on each new postcard advertisement placed in the *Observer*. This means that the columns do not represent even distributions of time. Prices given here are the unit prices per card. The most expensive cards are greyed out – with different shades for 3d, 6d and the 9d and above cards. In the card descriptions b/w= black and white, col=colour, rp=real photo. The statistical information on these charts requires considerable contextualising. Wildman & Arey, for example, reused a 1907 advertisement twice in 1909, meaning that while these later adverts attest to W&A's dislike for altering prices, they are unlikely to reflect current fashions. As a result, where there is a discrepancy between

Spreckley and W&A during this period, I have tended to follow Spreckley in interpreting the trends. And prices tended to be higher for real photos, coloured and especially hand coloured cards, so it is important to compare like with like.

9.1 Spreckley's Prices

Card Types	1902 November	1905 November	1906 January	1906 May	1906 October	1907 May	1907 July	1907 September	1907 November	1908 January	1908 March	1908 July	1908 November	1908 December	1909 October	1909 November
Maori Life / chiefs	1 ½	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	¾	-	-	-	-	-
Maori "Belles"	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	¾	-	-	-	-	-
Maori Views/life col	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori Views/life hand col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori Life rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland views b/w	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	¾	¾	-	-	-	-
Auckland views col	-	-	-	2	2	2	1	1 ½	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Auckland views handcoloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-
Auckland views r/p	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	-
Auckland views rp handcoloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moonlight Auckland	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland Yachts & Scows	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings from Auckland	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
NZ Views b/w	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Views colour	1	-	2	2	2	2	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1
NZ views real photo	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	-	3	3	3	2 ½	2 ½	-	2 ½	-
NZ views rp/handcoloured	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	6	5	-	6	-	4	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua col	-	-	-	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
Hot Lakes/Rotorua handcoloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua r/p	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hot Lakes/Rot rp handcol	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lakes, Mountains Rivers	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Main Trunk Line col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Main Trunk Line rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½
NZ greetings rp coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-
Greeting from NZ	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	3	-	-
Kia Ora	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maoriland	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
Scottish views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
Irish views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
Welsh views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Card Types	1902 November	1905 November	1906 January	1906 May	1906 October	1907 May	1907 July	1907 September	1907 November	1908 January	1908 March	1908 July	1908 November	1908 December	1909 October	1909 November
Actresses b&w	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Actresses colour	-	-	-	2	2	3	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Actresses rp	-	-	-	3	3	6	-	2 ½	2	-	-	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	-
Actresses rp handcoloured	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Actresses Jewelled handcol	-	-	-	9	9	9	-	2 ½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Actresses Bas relief handcoloured	-	-	-	-	9	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children b&w	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children colour	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1 ½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children rp	-	-	-	3	3	6	-	2 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-	-
Children - hand coloured	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Animals colour	-	-	-	-	2	2	1 ½	1	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-	-
Animals r/p	-	-	-	3	3	3	2 ½	2 ½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heads & faces rp	-	-	-	3	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heads & faces handcoloured	-	-	-	6	6	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Asti's Heads	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-
Marco's heads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-
Comic – b/w	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
Comic colour	-	-	-	2	2	2	1	1 ½	1 ½	1 ½	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	1	-
Comic rp	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ comic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
NZ humour "new stile"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Negro Melodies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Coon" cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Humorous Scotch Greetings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tartans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	2	-	-	-	-	-
Real photos	-	-	-	3	3	3	2 ½	2 ½	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	-	-	-	-
Enamelled	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Good Wishes	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Good Luck	-	3	3	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Floral	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Floral coloured	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Floral hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Initials	-	-	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Initials hand coloured	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Best Wishes	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Name hand coloured	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Name rp	-	3	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Song Cards rp	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Calendar cards rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthday colour	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Card Types	1902 November	1905 November	1906 January	1906 May	1906 October	1907 May	1907 July	1907 September	1907 November	1908 January	1908 March	1908 July	1908 November	1908 December	1909 October	1909 November
Birthday rp	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Birthday hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthday floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Greeting cards r/p	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Greetings rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings cards spangled	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings hand col with views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
Irish Greetings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas (printed not rp)	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas hand coloured	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Xmas Raised floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6	6	-	2
Xmas rp	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	3	-	-
Xmas rp handcoloured	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
Xmas rp floral glossy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Xmas coloured glossy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-
Xmas rp floral hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
NZ greetings with ferns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	6
Heather For Auld Lang Syne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	2	-	-	-
Hands across the Sea col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	3
NZ Hands across the Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
NZ stamps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	2	2
Language of Flowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-
Greetings -NZ coat of arms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

9.2 Wildman & Arey's Prices

Card Type	1903 October	1903 December	1904 October	1905 October	1906 May	1906 Sept.	1907 May	1907 August	1907 November	1908 November	1909 March	1909 April	1909 December	1910 March	1910 October
Maori Life	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori chiefs/warriors	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
Maori Beauties	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
Maori Views/life col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori Views/life hand col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori Life rp	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maori life enamelled	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comic Maori Life	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
Auckland views b/w/tinted	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
Auckland views col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Auckland views hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland views r/p	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-	-
Auckland views rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland rp enamelled	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland rp panel views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
Moonlight Auckland	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland Yachts/Scows rp	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Greetings from Auckland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Views b/w/ tinted	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
NZ Views colour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	-	1	-	1
NZ Views hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
NZ views real photo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	2 ½
NZ views rp/ hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ views rp enamelled	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
NZ views tinselled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	3 5	-	-	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hot Lakes/Rotorua handcoloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hot Lakes/Rotorua r/p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-
Hot Lakes/Rot rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lakes, Mountains Rivers sounds	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
NZ flowers	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1 ½	-	1	1	-	1	-
NZ flowers coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-	2 ½
NZ flowers RP/ hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-	2 ½	-
Main Trunk Line col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Main Trunk Line rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-
NZ Flag rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ greetings rp col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Greetings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-

Card Type	1903 October	1903 December	1904 October	1905 October	1906 May	1906 Sept.	1907 May	1907 August	1907 November	1908 November	1909 March	1909 April	1909 December	1910 March	1910 October
Kia Ora rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kia Ora rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maoriland rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maoriland rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelorus Jack	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
London Views	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	½	-	-	½	½	-	-	-
London Views tinselled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-	2 ½	-
English views	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scottish views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-
Irish views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welsh views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Country Life	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Japanese Cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-
Ships / Men-o'-war	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Sailors	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Actresses b&w	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Actresses colour	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Actresses tinselled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-	2 ½	-
Actresses rp	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-
Actresses rp handcoloured	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Actresses rp tinselled	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	6	-	-	6	6	-	-	-
Actresses Jewelled handcoloured	-	-	-	-	9	9	-	9	-	-	9	9	-	-	-
Actresses Bas relief handcoloured	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9	-	-	9	9	-	-	-
Actresses Giant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	12	12	-	-	-
Actresses Giant jewelled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	18	18	-	-	-
Australian Actresses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-
Children b/w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children colour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Children rp	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children - rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children - giant cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	12	12	-	-	-
Animals b/w or colour	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	1 ½	-
Animals r/p	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	3	-	-	-
Animals r/p hand coloured	-	-	-	-	3	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animals - giant cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	12	12	-	-	-
Heads & faces rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heads & faces hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Asti's Heads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	4	-	3	-
Marco's heads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Comic – b/w	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-

Card Type	1903 October	1903 December	1904 October	1905 October	1906 May	1906 Sept.	1907 May	1907 August	1907 November	1908 November	1909 March	1909 April	1909 December	1910 March	1910 October
Comic colour	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	2 ½	1 ½	-
Louis Wain's cats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Comic cats	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-	-	-
Comic rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
NZ comic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ humour "new stile"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negro Melodies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Coon" cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Humorous Scotch Greetings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tartans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	2	-
Real photos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
Enamelled	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greeting cards r/p	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Greetings rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings cards spangled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings hand col with views	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irish Greetings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Song Cards	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	1 ½	-
Song Cards rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Popular Hymns rp	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
Calendar cards rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthday colour	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	½	-	-	-
Birthday rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthday hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthday floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Good Wishes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Good Luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2 ½	-	-	2 ½	2 ½	-	-	-
Floral col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	-
Floral rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Floral embossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
Floral hand painted on wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Initials	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Initials rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Best Wishes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Name hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Name rp	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Name rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Names with actresses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas (printed not rp)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-

Card Type	1903 October	1903 December	1904 October	1905 October	1906 May	1906 Sept.	1907 May	1907 August	1907 November	1908 November	1909 March	1909 April	1909 December	1910 March	1910 October
Xmas hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas Raised floral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
Xmas rp hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	-
Xmas rp floral glossy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas coloured glossy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas rp floral hand coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas Greeting tinselled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Xmas Greetings Children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Xmas rp NZ scenery col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
NZ Xmas rp NZ scenery b/w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
NZ greetings with ferns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Xmas Greetings flowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Xmas Greetings animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Xmas Greetings birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Seaweed Post Cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Wood post cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heather For Auld Lang Syne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fruit	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hands across the Sea col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Hands across the Sea rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
NZ Hands across the Sea col	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
NZ Hands across the Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
NZ stamps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½	3	2 ½	3	3. ½	-	-	-
Language of Flowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greetings -NZ coat of arms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heart Post Cards	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Leather sole Post Cards	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Luminous (hold to light)	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Famous Paintings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Religious Art	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ½	-	-	1 ½	1 ½	-	-	-
Dickens cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-
Real Hair cards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Breach of Promise rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-

Appendix 10: HATS Cards Used in the 601 Card Survey

This appendix shows the basic data collected at the start of the process of cataloguing the 601 dated cards. It is not practical here to list the over 250 columns of information gathered during the process. This appendix simply documents the cards that were catalogued and some of the initial data collected. It shows the cataloguing number (which is used in figure captions where one of these images is used as an illustration), along with publisher (and the company's numbering of the card series - where a number was given), printing, date of use, and country sent, along with a notation of whether the card was either used or sent to New Zealand, and my estimate of how reliable my dating of the year of production was. In this column, a number '1' indicates certainty to within six months (on the basis of manufacturer sequencing, or multiple copies of the card all dated around the same time), '2' meant the estimate might be up to a year out, '3' could be up to two years out, and so on. This material was intended to help me avoid drawing conclusions based on cards with more insecure dating.

Although there was some attempt to bunch cards by publisher, the inputting of data spanned a long period, during which new cards were purchased. Strict ordering was not necessary for the data collation.

N.B. Images are scanned at a level to allow some sense of them to be gained if the digital file is viewed at 200%.

Number	Image	Publisher	Date Printed	Date Certainty	Country produced	Date sent	NZ connect	Country sent
PC001		Millar & Lang	1906	2	Scotland	1907	Y	New Zealand
PC002		Millar & Lang	1906	2	Scotland	1906	Y	New Zealand
PC003		Millar & Lang	1906	2	Scotland	1906	Y	Scotland
PC004		Millar & Lang	1904	1	Britain	1904	N	Scotland
PC005		Millar & Lang	1904	1	Britain	1905	N	England
PC006		Millar & Lang	1904	1	Britain	1904	Y	Scotland
PC007		Millar & Lang	1908	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC008		Pugh	1908	2	Britain	1909	N	Canada
PC009		Millar & Lang 1836	1912	2	Britain	1913	Y	Unc
PC010		Millar & Lang 670	1908	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC011		Millar & Lang 1347	1911	2	Britain	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC012		Millar & Lang 434	1911	2	Britain	1913	N	Scotland
PC013		Millar & Lang 434	1911	1	Britain	1911	N	Scotland
PC014		Millar & Lang 434	1911	1	Britain	1911	Y	Unc
PC015		Millar & Lang 2477D	1916	3	Britain	1917	Unc	Unc
PC016		Millar & Lang 434	1911	1	Britain	1914	Unc	Unc
PC017		Millar & Lang	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	Scotland

PC018		Millar & Lang 949	1910	2	Britain	1911	Y	Unc
PC019		Millar & Lang 147	1917	3	Britain	1919	Unc	Unc
PC020		D.&F.L.T.	1904	3	Britain	1904	Y	Scotland
PC021		D.&F.L.T.	1905	3	Britain	1906	N	Scotland
PC022		Wildt & Kray 776	1906	2	Britain	1906	N	England
PC023		Wildt & Kray 776	1906	2	Britain	1907	N	England
PC024		Wildt & Kray 776	1906	2	Britain	1906	Y	England
PC025		Wildt & Kray 1806	1907	2	Britain	1907	N	England
PC026		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC027		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC028		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC029		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC030		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC031		Wildt & Kray 1102	1907	2	Britain	1910	N	Australia
PC032		Wildt & Kray 1110	1907	2	Britain	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC033		Wildt & Kray 1110	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC034		Wildt & Kray 1206	1907	1	Britain	1907	Y	Scotland
PC035		Wildt & Kray 1220	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	England

PC036		Wildt & Kray 1224	1907	2	Britain	1908	Unc	Unc
PC037		Wildt & Kray 1224	1907	2	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC038		Wildt & Kray 1427	1908	2	Britain	1909	Y	Britain ?
PC039		Wildt & Kray 1203	1907	1	Britain	1909	N	Australia
PC040		Wildt & Kray 1203	1907	1	Britain	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC041		Wildt & Kray 1203	1907	1	Britain	1908	Y	Australia
PC042		Wildt & Kray 1203	1907	1	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC043		Wildt & Kray 1283	1908	1	Britain	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC044		Wildt & Kray 1283	1908	1	Britain	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC045		Wildt & Kray 1283	1908	1	Britain	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC046		Wildt & Kray	1908	1	Britain	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC047		Wildt & Kray	1908	2	Britain	1909	Y	Unc
PC048		Wildt & Kray 1483	1908	2	Britain	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC049		Wildt & Kray 1615	1909	1	Britain	1909	Unc	Unc
PC050		Wildt & Kray 1681	1909	1	Britain	1909	Y	England
PC051		Wildt & Kray 1807	1909	1	Britain	1910	Y	England
PC052		Wildt & Kray 1807	1909	1	Britain	1910	Y	England
PC053		Wildt & Kray 1898	1910	2	Britain	1910	Y	Scotland

PC054		Wildt & Kray 2091	1911	2	Britain	1912	N	England
PC055		Wildt & Kray 2509	1913	2	Britain	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC056		Wildt & Kray 2511	1913	2	Britain	1914	Unc	Unc
PC057		Wildt & Kray 2563	1913	2	Britain	1913	Unc	England
PC058		Wildt & Kray 2878	1913	2	Britain	1914	Y	England
PC059		Henry Garner Living Picture	1905	4	Britain	1905	N	Ireland
PC060		Rapid Photo 2870	1906	4	Britain	1906	N	Australia
PC061		Aristophot 2225/3	1911	2	Britain	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC062		Aristophot 2228/4	1911	2	Britain	1915	Unc	Australia
PC063		Aristophot 2228/3	1911	2	Britain	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC064		De Tourret 897	1913	5	New Zealand	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC065		De Tourret 895	1913	4	New Zealand	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC066		De Tourret 868	1913	4	New Zealand	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC067		Frank Duncan 6262	1919	4	New Zealand	1921	Y	New Zealand
PC068		FT (Fergusson and Taylor) series 6077a	1910	3	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC069		FT series 6077b	1910	3	New Zealand	1912	Y	Unc
PC070		FT series 6021	1910	3	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC071		FT series 9729	1908	2	New Zealand	1908	Y	New Zealand

PC072		FT series 409	1915	4	New Zealand	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC073		FT series 5007	1908	2	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC074		FT series 6084	1910	2	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC075		FT series 6084	1910	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC076		FT series 5014	1908	2	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC077		FT series X793	1909	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC078		FT series X793	1909	2	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC079		FT series 6174	1909	2	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC080		FT series 5003	1908	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC081		FT series	1909	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC082		FT series	1909	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC083		FT series	1910	3	New Zealand	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC084		FT series X29/1086	1915	3	New Zealand	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC085		FT series X94/783	1915	3	New Zealand	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC086		Fergusson 1645C	1910	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC087		Fergusson 1645B	1910	2	New Zealand	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC088		Fergusson 1645B	1910	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC089		Fergusson 645	1911	2	New Zealand	1912	Y	New Zealand

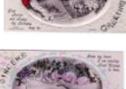
PC090		Pratt	1908	1	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC091		Tanner H318 224	1914	4	New Zealand	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC092		Millar & Lang 897	1909	2	Great Britain	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC093		Millar & Lang 897	1909	2	Great Britain	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC094		Millar & Lang 897	1909	2	Great Britain	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC095		Fergusson C 72512a	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC096		Fergusson C 72512b	1910	2	Unc	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC097		Fergusson K 72516	1910	2	Unc	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC098		Fergusson K 72516	1910	2	Unc	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC099		Fergusson L 72498	1910	2	Unc	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC100		Fergusson L 72498	1910	2	Unc	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC101		Fergusson C 72512c	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC102		Fergusson E72514	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC103		Fergusson J 72518	1910	2	Unc	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC104		Fergusson G 72520	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC105		Fergusson D 72506a	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC106		Fergusson D 72506b	1910	2	Unc	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC107		Fergusson H 72502	1910	2	Unc	1910	Y	New Zealand

PC108		FT series 5020	1908	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC109		FT series 9884	1909	3	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC110		Unknown	1908	2	Germany	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC111		Unknown	1908	2	Germany	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC112		Unknown	1906	2	Germany	1907	Y	New Zealand
P113		Unknown	1908	3	Germany	1908	Unc	Unc
PC114		Tanner	1912	4	Britain	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC115		Tanner	1912	4	Britain	1916	y	New Zealand
PC116		F. G. Radcliff 1524	1909	3	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC117		WT Wilson 314	1911	3	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC118		WT Wilson	1909	2	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC119		WT Wilson	1909	2	New Zealand	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC120		Unknown	1908	1	New Zealand	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC121		Unknown	1908	1	New Zealand	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC122		FT series 6006	1910	2	New Zealand	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC123		FT series G 166	1910	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC124		FT series D 72506c	1910	2	New Zealand	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC125		FT series M 72504	1910	1	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand

PC126		WT Wilson 314	1910	2	New Zealand	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC127		Millar & Lang 1835	1912	2	Scotland	1913	N	America
PC128		Millar & Lang	1907	2	Scotland	1908	Y	England
PC129		Pugh	1908	2	Scotland	1909	N	Canada
PC130		Wildt & Kray	1908	2	Britain	1908	N	Paquebot
PC131		Wildt & Kray 1807	1909	1	Britain	1910	N	England
PC132		Wildt & Kray 1898	1910	1	Britain	1910	Unc	Unc
PC133		Wildt & Kray 2604	1913	2	Britain	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC134		Wildt & Kray 1849	1910	2	Britain	1911	Y	Scotland
PC135		Wildt & Kray 2195	1911	2	Britain	1911	Y	England
PC136		Unknown Ser 557	1906	2	Germany	1906	N	Scotland
PC137		Unknown Ser 610	1906	2	Germany	1907	N	America
PC138		Beagles phototint	1917	2	England	1919	Y	Unc
PC139		Beagles 122b	1916	2	England	1920	Unc	Unc
PC140		Beagles Gravure	1916	2	England	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC141		Beagles Gravure	1916	2	England	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC142		Beagles 476N	1916	1	England	1916	Unc	Unc
PC143		Beagles 550A	1915	1	England	1918	Unc	Unc

PC144		Beagles 582J	1915	1	England	1916	N	Egypt
PC145		Beagles 582K	1915	1	England	1915	N	England
PC146		Beagles 586C	1915	2	England	1915	Unc	Egypt
PC147		Beagles 586G	1915	2	England	1916	Unc	Unc
PC148		Beagles 590G	1916	1	England	1916	Unc	Unc
PC149		Beagles 590D	1916	1	England	1916	Unc	Egypt
PC150		Beagles 592F	1916	1	England	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC151		Beagles 617A	1909	1	England	1912	N	Australia
PC152		Beagles 617a	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC153		Beagles 617	1909	1	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC154		Beagles 617	1909	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC155		Beagles 617	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC156		Beagles 617a	1909	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC157		Beagles 617A/2	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC158		Beagles 727W	1915	2	England	1915	N	Australia
PC159		Beagles 727L	1916	1	England	1918	N	Unc
PC160		Beagles 742J	1915	2	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC161		Beagles 748M	1915	2	England	1916	Y	Unc

PC162		Beagles 752K	1915	2	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC163		Beagles 761V	1916	2	England	1915	N	England
PC164		Beagles 765K	1916	2	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC165		Beagles 765LK	1916	2	England	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC166		Beagles 777G	1914	1	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC167		Beagles 777H	1914	1	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC168		Beagles 777P	1914	1	England	1915	N	Australia
PC169		Beagles 783K	1914	3	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC170		Beagles 790E	1915	2	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC171		Beagles 794O	1913	1	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC172		Beagles 805D	1911	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC173		Beagles 805D	1911	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC174		Beagles 805K	1913	2	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC175		Beagles 823T	1911	2	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC176		Beagles 826V	1912	1	England	1912	N	Australia
PC177		Beagles 826A	1912	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC178		Beagles 836A	1910	1	England	1910	Y	Australia
PC179		Beagles 836C	1910	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand

PC180		Beagles 836D	1910	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC181		Beagles 836F	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC182		Beagles 836F	1910	1	England	1910	y	New Zealand
PC183		Beagles 836K	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC184		Beagles 836J	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC185		Beagles 836K	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC186		Beagles 836V	1913	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC187		Beagles 845E	1910	1	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC188		Beagles 845F	1910	1	England	1910	Unc	Unc
PC189		Beagles 845H	1910	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC190		Beagles 845H	1910	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC191		Beagles 847P	1912	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC192		Beagles 847X	1912	2	England	1913	N	Australia
PC193		Beagles 848U	1911	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC194		Beagles 848V	1911	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC195		Beagles 848x	1911	2	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC196		Beagles 848Y	1911	2	England	1911	Unc	New Zealand
PC197		Beagles 856G	1911	2	England	1911	Unc	New Zealand

PC198		Beagles 856K	1911	2	England	1917	Unc	New Zealand
PC199		Beagles 856KN	1911	2	England	1915	Unc	New Zealand
PC200		Beagles 856L	1911	2	England	1911	Unc	New Zealand
PC201		Beagles 856U	1911	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC202		Beagles 856V	1911	2	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC203		Beagles 856Y	1911	2	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC204		Beagles 868A	1913	2	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC205		Beagles 870P	1913	1	England	1913	N	Australia
PC206		Beagles 874L	1913	1	England	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC207		Beagles 878L	1912	1	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC208		Beagles 896C	1912	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC209		Beagles 897	1907	1	England	1908	N	England
PC210		Beagles 897U	1907	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC211		Beagles 900B	1908	1	England	1908	N	England
PC212		Beagles 900C	1908	1	England	1911	Unc	Unc
PC213		Beagles 900C	1908	1	England	1911	Unc	Unc
PC214		Beagles 900C	1908	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC215		Beagles 900D	1908	1	England	1909	Y	Australia

PC216		Beagles 900H	1909	1	England	1911	Y	England
PC217		Beagles 900K	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC218		Beagles 900L	1909	1	England	1912	N	Unc
PC219		Beagles 900L	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC220		Beagles 900O	1910	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC221		Beagles 900T	1910	1	England	1911	Unc	Unc
PC222		Beagles 900T	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC223		Beagles 900U	1911	2	England	1913	Y?	New Zealand
PC224		Beagles 900W	1911	2	England	1911	N	Australia
PC225		Beagles 900X	1911	2	England	1918	N	New Zealand
PC226		Beagles 900Y	1911	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC227		Beagles 900Z	1911	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC228		Beagles 1072D/5	1912	1	England	1912	Y	new Zealand
PC229		Beagles 901T	1910	3	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC230		Beagles 906A	1907	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC231		Beagles 906S	1908	1	England	1908	N	England
PC232		Beagles 906S	1907	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC233		Beagles 906T	1908	1	England	1911	Unc	Unc

PC234		Beagles 906T	1908	1	England	1909	N	England
PC235		Beagles 909K	1908	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC236		Beagles 909N	1908	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC237		Beagles 909N	1908	2	England	1908	Y	Australia
PC238		Beagles 909O	1907	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC239		Beagles 924N	1907	1	England	1908	Unc	Unc
PC240		Beagles 933U	1907	2	England	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC241		Beagles 945DN	1912	2	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC242		Beagles 945J	1912	2	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC243		Beagles 945T	1913	1	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC244		Beagles 947L	1908	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC245		Beagles 947M	1908	1	England	1908	N	Australia
PC246		Beagles 947M	1908	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC247		Beagles 947O	1908	1	England	1908	Y	Australia
PC248		Beagles 947P	1908	1	England	1908	N	Australia
PC249		Beagles 947W	1908	1	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC250		Beagles 966X	1914	2	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC251		Beagles 971K	1909	2	England	1920	N	England

PC252		Beagles 971W	1909	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC253		Beagles 986G	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC254		Beagles 986N	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC255		Beagles 986N	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC256		Beagles 986P	1909	1	England	1910	N	New Zealand
PC257		Beagles 986R	1909	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC258		Beagles 986S	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC259		Beagles 986X	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC260		Beagles 986Y	1909	1	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC261		Beagles 987G	1910	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC262		Beagles 987H	1910	2	England	1911	Y	Australia
PC263		Beagles 987V	1911	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC264		Beagles 988G	1909	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC265		Beagles 990C	1910	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC266		Beagles 990E	1910	1	England	1919	Y	Unc
PC267		Beagles 990J	1910	1	England	1911	Y	Unc
PC268		Beagles 990M	1910	1	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC269		Beagles 990X	1913	1	England	1916	Unc	Unc

PC270		Beagles 1066A/2	1910	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC271		Beagles 1066B/1	1910	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC272		Beagles 1066C/6	1911	1	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC273		Beagles 1066C/3	1911	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC274		Beagles 1066C/1	1911	1	England	1918	Unc	Unc
PC275		Beagles 1066C/2	1911	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC276		Beagles 1068A/3	1910	1	England	1911	Unc	Unc
PC277		Beagles 1068A/3	1910	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC278		Beagles 1068A/6	1910	1	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC279		Beagles 1068B/1	1911	1	England	1912	Y	England
PC280		Beagles 1084C/4	1912	1	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC281		Beagles 1094	1913	1	England	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC282		Beagles 1098	1913	1	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC283		Beagles 1098	1913	1	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC284		Beagles 1100	1913	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC285		Beagles 1102	1913	1	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC286		Beagles 1102	1913	1	England	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC287		Beagles 1111	1913	2	England	1914	Y	New Zealand

PC288		Beagles 1117	1913	2	England	1916	Unc	Unc
PC289		Beagles 1121	1913	2	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC290		Beagles 1124	1913	2	England	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC291		Birn Brothers ?115	1908	2	England	1908	Y	England
PC292		Birn Brothers 026	1908	2	England	1909	N	Georgetown
PC293		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC294		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC295		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC296		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC297		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC298		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC299		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC300		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC301		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC302		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1909	Y	America
PC303		Birn Brothers E220	1909	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC304		Birn Brothers E27	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC305		Birn Brothers E325	1910	2	England	1915	Y	New Zealand

PC306		Birn Brothers E325	1910	2	England	1910	Y	Australia
PC307		Birn Brothers K7	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC308		Birn Brothers K7	1910	2	England	1911	Y	Australia
PC309		Birn Brothers K7	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC310		Birn Brothers K7	1910	2	England	1911	Y	Australia
PC311		Birn Brothers G74	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC312		Birn Brothers G74	1909	2	England	1911	Y	Unc
PC313		Birn Brothers G74	1909	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC314		Birn Brothers G74 Xmas	1909	2	England	1909	N	Canada
PC315		Birn Brothers G74	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC316		Birn Brothers X74	1909	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC317		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1909	N	Australia
PC318		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1911	N	Canada
PC319		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC320		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1911	Y	England
PC321		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1913	Y	England
PC322		Birn Brothers E49	1909	2	England	1910	Y	Scotland
PC323		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1910	Y	Australia

PC324		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC325		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC326		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1911	N	Australia
PC327		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1911	Y	Australia
PC328		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1910	N	Australia
PC329		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1911	N	Scotland
PC330		Birn Brothers E341	1910	2	England	1911	Unc	Unc
PC331		Birn Brothers E1601	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC332		Birn Brothers E1601	1910	2	England	1911	Y	Unc
PC333		Birn Brothers X14	1911	2	England	1911	Y	England
PC334		Birn Brothers X14	1911	2	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC335		Birn Brothers X14	1912	3	England	1915	Unc	Unc
PC336		Birn Brothers X125	1912	2	England	1913	Y	Australia
PC337		Birn Brothers E32	1913	2	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC338		Birn Brothers E32	1913	2	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC339		Birn Brothers N32	1913	2	England	1914	Unc	Unc
PC340		Birn Brothers N47	1913	2	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC341		Birn Brothers E47	1913	2	England	1913	Y	New Zealand

PC342		Birn Brothers X45	1913	2	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC343		Birn Brothers B47	1913	3	England	1930	Y	England
PC344		Birn Brothers E21	1912	2	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC345		Birn Brothers X65	1916	2	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC346		Birn Brothers 181	1908	3	England	1910	N	England
PC347		Birn Brothers X501	1912	3	England	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC348		Rotary XS 795	1908	1	England	1908	Unc	Unc
PC349		Rotary 2496B	1908	2	England	1909	Unc	Unc
PC350		Rotary XS 5072	1912	1	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC351		Rotary XS5086 E	1913	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC352		Rotary XS 5086 A	1913	1	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC353		Rotary A.1164-3	1912	2	England	1914	N	Canada
PC354		Rotary A1305-4	1912	2	England	1913	N	England
PC355		Rotary A1901-1	1915	2	England	1918	Y	Unc
PC356		Rotary A1901-2	1915	2	England	1916	N	England
PC357		Rotary S.O.56.1	1916	2	England	1917	Unc	Egypt
PC358		Rotary S.O.78.2	1916	2	England	1918	Unc	Unc
PC359		Rotary A.988.5	1916	2	England	1917	Unc	Unc

PC360		Rotary A.1055.5	1916	2	England	1918	N	England
PC361		Rotary A.1996.3	1917	2	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC362		Rotary A.1996.6	1917	2	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC363		Rotary 7622-E	1916	2	England	1917	Y?	New Zealand
PC364		Rotary X.C.12.B	1914	2	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC365		Rotary X.C.53.A	1914	2	England	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC366		Rotary X.C.53.E	1914	2	England	1914	Y	Unc
PC367		Rotary X.C.53.E	1914	2	England	1914	Y	Samoa
PC368		Rotary X.C.206-F	1916	2	England	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC369		Rotary X.C.245.E	1917	2	England	1918	Unc	Unc
PC370		Rotary X.C.389.E	1918	3	England	1920	Unc	Unc
PC371		Rotary X.C.419.E	1918	2	England	1921	Unc	Unc
PC372		Rotary X.C.446.F	1919	3	England	1922	N	Ireland
PC373		Rotary X.C.466.B	1919	3	England	1922	N	Unc
PC374		Rotary 7.H	1919	2	England	1919	N	England
PC375		Rotary 7615.1	1918	3	England	1920	Unc	Unc
PC376		Rotary S.O.77.2	1916	2	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC377		Rotary A.986.1	1916	2	England	1918	Y	Egypt

PC378		French	1917	2	France	1917	Unc	Belgium
PC379		Grant	1913	1	England	1913	N	Unc
PC380		Taylor's Z1729	1908	1	England	1908	Y	England
PC381		Taylor's Z1725	1908	1	England	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC382		Taylor's Z1209	1907	2	England	1908	Y	England
PC383		Taylor's Z1781	1908	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC384		Taylor's ZO1781	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC385		Taylor's ZO1781	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC386		Taylor's Z2652	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC387		Taylor's Z2732	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC388		Taylor's Z2630	1910	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC389		Taylor's Z2706	1911	2	England	1912	Y	Unc
PC390		Taylor's ZO3137	1911	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC391		Taylor's ZO4089	1912	2	England	1912	Y	England
PC392		Raphael Tuck Oilette 9629	1908	1	England	1908	Y	England
PC393		Raphael Tuck C2012	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC394		Raphael Tuck R2202	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC395		Raphael Tuck R2202	1909	2	England	1910	Y	Unc

PC396		Raphael Tuck R2202	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC397		Raphael Tuck R2202	1909	2	England	1910	Unc	Unc
PC398		Raphael Tuck R2208	1909	2	England	1911	N	America
PC399		Raphael Tuck C3612	1910	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC400		Raphael Tuck C3612	1910	2	England	1910	Unc	Unc
PC401		Raphael Tuck C3612	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC402		Raphael Tuck R2610	1910	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC403		Raphael Tuck R2315	1910	2	England	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC404		Raphael Tuck	1911	2	England	1912	N	Australia
PC405		Raphael Tuck C5268	1912	2	England	1912	Unc	Unc
PC406		Taylor's ZO2664	1910	2	England	1910	N	England
PC407		Raphael Tuck Oilette 8783	1917	4	England	1917	N	France
PC408		Schwerdtfeger EAS3380/3	1912	1	England	1913	N	England
PC409		Schwerdtfeger EAS3520/2	1912	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC410		Schwerdtfeger EAS3520/2	1912	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC411		Schwerdtfeger EAS3520/3	1912	1	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC412		Schwerdtfeger EAS3520/3	1912	1	England	1912	Unc	Australia
PC413		Schwerdtfeger EAS3520/1	1912	1	England	1917	Unc	Unc

PC414		Schwertfeger EAS12	1912	3	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC415		Davidson 3609	1908	1	England	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC416		Davidson 3609	1908	1	England	1912	Y	England
PC417		Davidson 3609	1908	1	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC418		Davidson 3002	1908	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC419		Davidson 77	1908	2	England	1908	Y	Australia
PC420		Davidson 77	1908	2	England	1908	Unc	Unc
PC421		Davidson 7120	1910	3	England	1911	N	America
PC422		Valentines	1908	2	England	1908	Y	England
PC423		Valentine	1908	3	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC424		Valentines	1909	2	England	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC425		Valentines 4137	1916	2	England	1917	Y	New Zealand
PC426		Valentines 4302	1916	2	England	1917	N	England
PC427		Valentines 4027	1916	2	Unc	1917	N	Unc
PC428		Birn Brothers	1910	2	England	1911	N	Australia
PC429		Birn Brothers	1910	2	England	1911	N	America
PC430		Vertigen 6339/3	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC431		Vertigen 6339/1	1909	2	England	1909	N	Scotland

PC432		Vertigen 6339/1	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC433		Vertigen 6464	1910	2	England	1910	N	England
PC434		Vertigen 6464	1910	2	England	1910	N	Scotland
PC435		Newman Brothers 586	1910	2	Scotland	1911	N	Scotland
PC436		Vertigen 99	1910	2	England	1910	Y	England
PC437		Vertigen 101	1910	2	England	1911	Y	England
PC438		Vertigen 101	1910	2	England	1910	Y	England
PC439		Philco 617	1912	3	England	1916	Y	England
PC440		Philco 2454	1912	2	England	1913	Unc	Unc
PC441		Philco 2603	1913	2	England	1914	?	England
PC442		Philco 2037/1	1916	3	England	1917	Unc	Unc
PC443		HAS 2903/4	1915	4	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC444		Philco 2673	1915	3	England	1917	N	Scotland
PC445		Philco 2673	1915	3	England	1917	N	Unc
PC446		Novelty Postcard Co Ltd, 350	1908	2	England	1909	Y	Unc
PC447		McCulloch	1914	3	Scotland	1916	N	Scotland
PC448		Marcuse Day & Co	1914	3	England	1916	N	Scotland
PC449		Nicholson & Carter	1911	3	England	1912	N	England

PC450		Cynicus	1907	3	England	1908	Y	Scotland
PC451		NPO Belfast 6	1907	2	Ireland	1918	Unc	Ireland
PC452		R B Bailie	1907	2	Ireland	1908	Y	Ireland
PC453		NPO Belfast 1	1908	4	Ireland	1918	N	Ireland
PC454		NPO Belfast F34	1908	2	Ireland	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC455		NPO Belfast 16	1907	2	Ireland	1910	N	Ireland
PC456		Lawrence	1907	2	Ireland	1908	Y	Ireland
PC457		Star Photo	1908	2	Australia	1908	Y	Australia
PC458		Star Photo	1908	3	Australia	1911	Unc	Australia
PC459		Anon	1906	2	Australia	1907	Y	Australia
PC460		Empire	1907	1	Australia	1907	Y	New Zealand
PC461		Kitch & co. X881	1909	2	Australia	1911	Unc	Australia
PC462		Marlborough Art	1910	3	Australia	1912	Unc	Australia
PC463		AJG	1909	3	Australia	1911	Unc	Australia
PC464		Art Publishing Co.	1906	2	Scotland	1907	N	Ireland
PC465		State	1909	3	England	1913	N	Canada
PC466		State	1909	3	England	1911	N	England
PC467		State	1910	3	England	1912	N	England

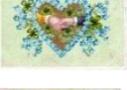
PC468		Bendix 1111a	1909	2	England	1909	N	England
PC469		Bendix 1111b	1909	2	England	1909	Y	England
PC470		Anon G1002	1916	3	England	1918	Y	New Zealand
PC471		JFH 55X	1910	3	Australia	1912	Y	Australia
PC472		Anon	1908	2	Australia	1909	N	Australia
PC473		Inter-Art Co. 838	1914	2	England	1915	N	England
PC474		Anon	1910	2	Unc	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC475		Anon 101	1915	2	England	1916	Y	Unc
PC476		Anon	1915	2	England	1916	N	England
PC477		National Art Co. 55	1906	2	America	1906	N	America
PC478		Frederik Peterson	1906	1	America	1906	N	America
PC479		Frederik Peterson	1906	1	America	1909	N	America
PC480		EBE	1906	2	America	1907	N	America
PC481		Anon	1907	3	America	1908	N	America
PC482		Gottschalk Dreyfus & Davis, 2092	1909	1	England	1910	N	America
PC483		Anon 831	1912	3	Unc	1914	N	America
PC484		Anon 831	1912	3	Unc	1914	N	America
PC485		HIR	1910	1	America	1911	N	America

PC486		Anon 20	1910	2	America	1911	N	America
PC487		B (W. Bramley)	1910	2	America	1912	N	America
PC488		HG Zimmerman & Co	1910	2	America	1912	N	America
PC489		B (W. Bramley)	1909	2	America	1910	N	America
PC490		E Nash	1910	1	America	1911	N	America
PC491		Anglo New Art 541	1911	3	America	1913	N	America
PC492		Anon 823	1920	4	America	1923	N	America
PC493		German Anon	1913	3	Germany	1915	N	America
PC494		Anon	1910	2	America	1912	N	America
PC495		NPO Belfast 3	1907	3	Ireland	1919	Unc	England
PC496		Free Church of Scotland	1905	1	Scotland	1905	N	Scotland
PC497		Millar & Lang 897c	1909	1	Scotland	1909	Y	Unc
PC498		Wildt & Kray 2509b	1913	1	England	1915	Y	New Zealand
PC499		Anon	1911	3	England	1913	N	England
PC500		Ettlinger 7012	1911	2	England	1911	Y	England
PC501		Newman Brothers	1911	2	Scotland	1911	N	Ireland
PC502		Crown	1908	2	England	1908	N	England
PC503		William Ritchie & Sons	1908	2	Scotland	1908	Y	Scotland

PC504		Geisen Bros.	1908	2	England	1909	Y	England
PC505		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1912	Y	England
PC506		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC507		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC508		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC509		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC510		Saxon anon	1910	2	Saxony	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC511		Saxon anon	1910	2	Saxony	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC512		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Unc	Unc
PC513		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC514		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC515		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	Ireland
PC516		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	Ireland
PC517		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC518		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC519		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1912	Unc	England
PC520		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	Australia
PC521		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1912	Y	England

PC522		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1912	N	Ireland
PC523		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1912	Y	England
PC524		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1912	Unc	Unc
PC525		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1916	Y	New Zealand
PC526		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1911	Y	England
PC527		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	N	England
PC528		Saxon anon	1911	2	Saxony	1913	Y	England
PC529		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC530		Saxon anon	1912	2	Saxony	1913	Unc	Unc
PC531		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC532		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC533		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC534		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC535		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1913	Y	England
PC536		Austrian anon	1912	3	Austria	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC537		German Anon	1908	2	Germany	1909	N	America
PC538		German Anon	1908	3	Austria	1913	?	Unc
PC539		Giovanardi, Sydney	1907	3	Australia	1908	?	Australia

PC540		A Sala Berlin	1907	2	Germany	1911	Y	New Zealand
PC541		A Sala Berlin 247	1909	2	Germany	1909	Unc	Unc
PC542		A Sala Berlin 247	1909	2	Germany	1913	Y	New Zealand
PC543		A Sala Berlin 247	1908	2	Germany	1908	Y	New Zealand
PC544		A Sala Berlin 247	1908	2	Germany	1908	Y	England
PC545		Paul Finkenrath Berlin, 9687	1908	3	Germany	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC546		Paul Finkenrath Berlin, 6251	1906	2	Germany	1908	N	America
PC547		German Anon	1907	2	Germany	1909	N	America
PC548		Albert Oesterreicher, Leipzig, 610	1909	3	Germany	1911	Unc	Unc
PC549		Paul Suess, Heidenau 3709	1910	3	Saxony	1911	N	Germany
PC550		Herman Wolf, Berlin 8279	1909	3	Germany	1911	Unc	Unc
PC551		Herman Wolf, Berlin 8279	1909	3	Germany	1910	N	America
PC552		Theodor Eismann 1802/27	1908	2	Saxony	1909	N	America
PC553		Theodor Eismann 1902/26	1908	2	Saxony	1908	N	India
PC554		Theodor Eismann 1106	1908	2	Saxony	1909	N	America
PC555		German Anon 5209	1913	2	Germany	1914	Unc	Unc
PC556		German Anon 5015	1913	2	Germany	1913	Y	Unc
PC557		German Anon 5015	1913	2	Germany	1913	Y	new Zealand

PC558		German Anon 5001	1913	2	Germany	1913	Unc	Unc
PC559		German Anon 560	1909	2	Germany	1911	N	America
PC560		German Anon 2210	1910	2	Germany	1910	N	America
PC561		German Anon 2210	1910	2	Germany	1910	N	America
PC562		German Anon 2210	1910	2	Germany	1912	N	America
PC563		German Anon 2210	1910	2	Germany	1912	N	America
PC564		German Anon 3024	1908	2	Germany	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC565		German Anon 3024	1908	2	Germany	1909	Y	New Zealand
PC566		German Anon Ser 8	1912	3	Germany	1918	N	England
PC567		German Anon Ser 5	1912	3	Germany	1913	Unc	Unc
PC568		German Anon 0600	1913	2	Germany	1916	N	America
PC569		German Anon 6025	1910	3	Germany	1910	Y	Australia
PC570		German Anon 139	1907	2	Germany	1909	N	France
PC571		German Anon 512	1906	2	Germany	1909	N	America
PC572		German Anon	1910	2	Germany	1911	V	Australia
PC573		German Anon 611	1907	2	Germany	1908	N	Australia
PC574		German Anon	1907	2	Germany	1908	N	America
PC575		German Anon	1907	2	Germany	1908	N	New Zealand

PC576		Paul Finkenrath 11380, gel	1909	2	Germany	1910	Y	Unc
PC577		German Anon Ser 728	1909	2	Germany	1910	Y	Scotland
PC578		Bendix 1111ba	1909	2	Germany	1910	N	America
PC579		Saxon anon 329	1909	2	Saxony	1910	N	America
PC580		Stevens	1908	3	England	1910	Y	America
PC581		Millar & Lang 670	1908	2	Scotland	1910	N	America
PC582		Wildt & Kray 2091	1911	2	England	1912	N	England
PC583		Birn Brothers 325	1910	2	England	1910	Y	Scotland
PC584		Valentines	1911	3	Scotland	1913	Y	Scotland
PC585		Valentines	1912	3	Scotland	1913	Y	Scotland
PC586		English anon	1909	3	England	1909	Y	Australia
PC587		Beagles 805G	1912	2	England	1914	Y	New Zealand
PC588		Raphael Tuck R2315	1910	2	England	1912	Y	New Zealand
PC589		Raphael Tuck R2202	1909	2	England	1910	Y	New Zealand
PC590		Martin Schlesinger, Berlin	1908	2	Germany	1908	N	Belgium
PC591		German Anon	1911	3	Germany	1912	N	Belgium
PC592		German Anon	1910	2	Germany	1910	N	Belgium
PC593		German Anon 3024c	1908	2	Germany	1913	N	Belgium

PC594		German Anon	1910	3	Germany	1912	N	Belgium
PC595		German Anon	1905	2	Germany	1908	N	Poland
PC596		France anon	1911	3	France	1918	N	Ireland
PC597		France anon	1914	1	France	1914	N	Unc
PC598		France anon	1907	2	France	1907	N	France
PC599		France anon	1909	2	France	1910	N	Canada
PC600		VPF	1908	2	France	1910	N	Belgium
PC601		German Anon 7002/4	1919	5	Germany	1926	N	Holland

List of Figures

Figure 1: Schoolbook Hands Across the Sea diagram, ca.1908.	2
Figure 2: W. T. Wilson, ca.1909, HATS postcard.....	3
Figure 3: Wildt & Kray, 1907, clasped hands card.....	5
Figure 4: Rotary Postcard, ca.1919, wedding anniversary card.	6
Figure 5: Heart to Heart postcard.....	9
Figure 6: H. Vertigen & Co., ca.1910, HATS card.	13
Figure 7: Peter Gilderdale, “The Three Graces.”.....	45
Figure 8: Fergusson & Taylor, 1910, “A Link to Bind When Circumstances Part” HATS card.	48
Figure 9: Votive oil jar from Athens, ca.420 BC.....	51
Figure 10: Roman coin, ca.310 AD, showing the Emperor Galerius clasping hands with Concordia.....	52
Figure 11: Well-worn 17th or 18th century 'fede' ring, symbolising faithfulness in marriage.....	53
Figure 12: ‘Fydei Symbolum’ from Alciato’s 1584 <i>Emblemata</i>	54
Figure 13: 1910 New Zealand ‘Hands Across the Sea’ cartoon.....	54
Figure 14: ‘Concordia’ from Alciato's 1584 <i>Emblems</i>	55
Figure 15: 1613 British print commemorating the wedding of Elizabeth, daughter of James I and Frederick, Elector Palatine.....	56
Figure 16: 1609 Dutch Treaty of Twelve Years Commemorative Counter.....	57
Figure 17: Insurance certificate issued in 1755 by the Hand in Hand Fire Insurance company.	58
Figure 18: Australian Temperance Medal, ca.1885.....	61
Figure 19: James Valentine (printer), ca.1846-8, Pledge for Elihu Burritt's “League of Universal Brotherhood.”	66
Figure 20: William Mulready, 1840, One Penny envelope.	69
Figure 21: James Valentine, ca.1848-52, ‘Olive Leaf’ campaign envelope.	71
Figure 22: Wildt & Kray, 1907, HATS card.	72
Figure 23: 1858 wood engraving by Baker and Godwin.....	73
Figure 24: Thomas Nast, 1872, “Let Us Clasp Hands Across the Bloody Chasm.”.....	76

Figure 25: Gravestones at Leigh Cemetery, New Zealand.	77
Figure 26: James Gillray, 1786, “A Masonic Anecdote.”	79
Figure 27: 1805 Odd Fellows badge commemorating Lord Nelson.....	80
Figure 28: Obverse of a 1798 Medal for the Hafod Friendly Society.	82
Figure 29: 1838 Book of the Rules of the Friendly Associated Coal Miners’ Union Society.....	84
Figure 30: Printed Emblem for the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of New Zealand, ca.1889.....	85
Figure 31: Luther D. Bradley, 1889, “Hands Across the Sea” - A Memory of the London Dock Strike.....	88
Figure 32: 1890 Commemorative medal of the United Labour Grand National Demonstration, New South Wales, Australia.....	88
Figure 33: 1888 jug, manufactured in England to celebrate the centenary of British settlement in Australia.....	94
Figure 34: 1888 Theatre poster for “Hands Across the Sea” at London’s Princess’s Theatre.	96
Figure 35: Scene from “Hands Across the Sea” at the Princess’s Theatre: “Safe in a Husband’s Keeping!”	97
Figure 36: 1889 Poster for a production of “Hands Across the Sea” at the Britannia Theatre, London.	98
Figure 37: E.W. Cole, 1880s, World Federation medal.....	102
Figure 38: A. C. Pugin & T. Rowlandson, 1809, Interior from Ackermann’s Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufacture, Fashion and Politics.	126
Figure 39: James Gillray, 1808, “Very Slippery Weather.”	129
Figure 40: Susan Slater’s Friendship Album, 1850.	134
Figure 41: Pages from Susan Slater’s Friendship Album, 1850.....	134
Figure 42: Page from a ca.1880s <i>carte-de-visite</i> album.	141
Figure 43: <i>Carte-de-visite</i> designed to begin an album.	143
Figure 44: Detail showing the chromolithographic process	148
Figure 45: 1880s advertising card for König & Ebhardt.	150
Figure 46: Place of manufacture wording from an early 1890s Raphael Tuck Christmas card.....	151
Figure 47: Lithographic album of London views, ca.1870.....	154

Figure 48: Detail from Arthur Milner’s scrapbook, ca.1880s.	158
Figure 49: German clasped hands Birthday card, ca.1913.	162
Figure 50: J.H. Daroux, 1905, photograph of the Bazaar in Aid of the Home for Incurable Invalids, Wellington Town Hall, New Zealand.	163
Figure 51: 1905 Postcard showing the Scottish figure of ‘Heather Jock’.	165
Figure 52: Postcard of an Edwardian wedding cake.....	167
Figure 53: Beagles, 1909, HATS card.	168
Figure 54: Rotary Photo, ca.1907, actress postcard.....	169
Figure 55: Wildt & Kray, ca.1909, HATS card.	177
Figure 56: Harriet Goodhue Hosmer, 1853, Clasped Hands of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.	178
Figure 57: 1880s Language of Flowers Birthday Book.....	182
Figure 58: Postcard utilising the Language of Flowers.	183
Figure 59: Cooke’s Universal Letter Writer, 1843 edition.	186
Figure 60: Lace paper Valentine, ca.1850.	191
Figure 61: Reverse of 1880s Christmas card.	196
Figure 62: John Calcott Horsley, 1843, design for Henry Cole’s first Christmas card.....	198
Figure 63: Robert Canton, ca.1880, Christmas Card.	204
Figure 64: Medallion with clasped hands commemorating an Eight Hour Day Demonstration.	206
Figure 65: Marcus Ward, mid-1880s, Christmas Card.....	216
Figure 66: Marcus Ward, Christmas card.	219
Figure 67: Portraits of the Tuck Family, ca.1899.	222
Figure 68: Raphael Tuck Christmas card.....	230
Figure 69: A. D. Willis, 1886, Christmas Card.	234
Figure 70: Saunders McBeath, 1882, Comet Christmas card.....	235
Figure 71: Josiah Martin, Christmas Card of Auckland.	236
Figure 72: Burton Brothers, 1880s, Christmas Card.....	237
Figure 73: Davidson Bros., 1890s, clasped hands Christmas card.	238
Figure 74: Obverse and reverse of an 1880s New Zealand Post Card.....	246
Figure 75: Cynicus, ca.1897, court-sized comic card.	249
Figure 76: New Zealand Government Postcard, 1898.....	250
Figure 77: 1899 Gruss aus card from Biebelsheim.....	251

Figure 78: Collotype Spanish view card ca.1899	255
Figure 79: Wrench, ca.1903-4, postcard of Otira Falls.....	263
Figure 80: Rough Sea Blackpool card, ca.1907.....	266
Figure 81: Raphael Tuck, ca.1904, Rough Sea card.....	267
Figure 82: Wildt & Kray, ca.1913, HATS card.....	274
Figure 83: Wildt & Kray, ca.1907, Irish postcard.	275
Figure 84: Schwertfeger, ca.1910, New Year card.....	276
Figure 85: Millar & Lang, ca.1910, HATS card.....	276
Figure 86: Millar & Lang, ca.1912, HATS card.....	277
Figure 87: Wildt & Kray, ca.1909, HATS card.....	278
Figure 88: Haggart's Biograph Show, ca.1900.	282
Figure 89: Robert Spreckley in front of his 'Novelties in Fancy Goods' store, ca.1906.	283
Figure 90: Henry Winkelmann, 1921, Looking west from Shortland Street across Queen Street.....	285
Figure 91: 1902 New Zealand Government Tourist Card of Lake Manawapouri.	289
Figure 92: Muir & Moodie, ca.1902, Greetings card.	290
Figure 93: Muir & Moodie, ca.1903, card showing cabbage trees.....	291
Figure 94: W. Collis, ca.1904, halftone view of New Plymouth.....	292
Figure 95: S. M. & Co., ca.1903, "Some Glimpses of New Zealand."	292
Figure 96: Government Tourist Postcard of Stewart Island, ca.1904.....	293
Figure 97: Marcus Ward, ca.1904, "The Romantic Girl."	294
Figure 98: Large Letter 'name cards' by Philco / S. M. & Co (above) and Beagles (below).....	297
Figure 99: Beagles, ca.1907, Marie Studholme postcard.	299
Figure 100: Spreckley Advertisement, <i>Observer</i> , January 13, 1906.	301
Figure 101: Chart showing the average price of the cards in W&A's advertisements.....	305
Figure 102: Chart showing price variations in the average postcard price at Spreckley's.....	305
Figure 103: Rotary Photo, ca.1906, postcard of Lord Leighton's <i>Bath of Psyche</i>	307
Figure 104: French Actress Postcard.....	307

Figure 105: Rotary Photo, ca.1905, postcard of Mabel Love.....	308
Figure 106: Raphael Tuck, ca.1906, Angelo Asti's <i>Irene</i> , issued as a postcard.	310
Figure 107: Wildman and Arey advertisement, November 7, 1908.....	313
Figure 108: Beagles, ca.1907, actress postcard of Gabrielle Ray.....	314
Figure 109: Wildt & Kray, ca.1908, overprinted 'Rough Sea' card.....	315
Figure 110: Chart showing the numbers of HATS cards sent uncovered or in an envelope.	319
Figure 111: Chart showing New Zealand Post Office statistics with projected envelope use.	322
Figure 112: HATS Celluloid Christmas Card, ca.1911.	328
Figure 113: Sheet Music Cover, 1898, <i>John Bull and Uncle Sam</i>	338
Figure 114: J. C. Wilson, 1898, "One Aim, One Goal" Anglo-Saxon League postcard.	339
Figure 115: Victor Gillam, 1898, "Hands Across the Sea."	340
Figure 116: Cartoon from the <i>Free Lance</i> , 1900, "Hands Across the Sea – A Question of Fostering Trade."	341
Figure 117: 1907 Regal Postcard on the charging of duty.....	344
Figure 118: Davidson Brothers, ca.1897, Christmas card.	345
Figure 119: S. Hildesheimer, ca.1898, Christmas card.....	346
Figure 120: Raphael Tuck, 1902, "Peace With Honour."	346
Figure 121: Millar & Lang, ca.1904, HATS card.....	347
Figure 122: Henry Garner Living Picture, 1905, HATS card.....	348
Figure 123: D. & F.L.T., ca.1904, HATS card.	348
Figure 124: Thomas Stevens, ca.1909, woven silk HATS postcard.....	349
Figure 125: Andrew Allen, ca.1906, Millar & Lang HATS card.	350
Figure 126: Millar & Lang, ca.1907, National Series HATS card.	352
Figure 127: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1906, HATS card for Rapid Photo.	353
Figure 128: Wildt & Kray, ca.1906, clasped hands postcard.	354
Figure 129: Anonymous German Card sent in 1906.	354
Figure 130: Rotary Photo, ca.1906, HATS card.....	355
Figure 131: Star Photo, ca.1906, Australian HATS card.....	355
Figure 132: 1907 Sharpe Brothers ginger beer flask.	356
Figure 133: WTP, ca.1906, Australian HATS card.	356

Figure 134: Beagles, ca.1907, HATS card.	357
Figure 135: Beagles design plagiarised by Theodor Eismann in 1908.....	358
Figure 136: Collins Brothers, ca.1908, plagiarised card.....	359
Figure 137: Beagles, ca.1908, floral clasped hands Christmas card.....	359
Figure 138: A. Sala, ca.1908, HATS card.	362
Figure 139: WTP, 1908, HATS card.	362
Figure 140: Anonymous postcard commemorating the American Fleet's visit to Auckland, 1908.	363
Figure 141: <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> cartoon by Trevor Lloyd, 1908.	363
Figure 142: Trevor Lloyd, 1908, cartoon HATS postcard.....	364
Figure 143: Postcard showing the South British Insurance Building's Fleet Week decorations.....	364
Figure 144: South British Insurance Building, Auckland 1908.....	365
Figure 145: A. & G. Taylor, ca.1908, HATS card.....	366
Figure 146: Valentine & Sons, ca.1908, patriotic HATS postcard.....	367
Figure 147: Valentine & Sons, ca.1908, HATS cards.	367
Figure 148: Raphael Tuck, 1909, Christmas postcard.	370
Figure 149: Raphael Tuck, ca.1910, Christmas postcard.	371
Figure 150: Millar & Lang, ca.1911, HATS card.....	372
Figure 151: Millar & Lang, ca.1911, comic HATS card.	373
Figure 152: Chart showing the usage of the 601 dated HATS cards in the study.	374
Figure 153: Wildt & Kray, ca.1911, HATS card.	375
Figure 154: Chart comparing whether steamships were shown in the distance, or were foregrounded.	376
Figure 155: Chart showing the usage of cards depicting different types of transport.	377
Figure 156: Mark Levy, 1911, cover of the Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue.	378
Figure 157: Chart showing the importance of the clasped hands motif in HATS cards.....	378
Figure 158: Rotary Photo, ca.1920, HATS Christmas card.....	380
Figure 159: Wartime Embroidered HATS Card.....	380
Figure 160: Cover of the 1914 song “Hands Across the Sea.”.....	381
Figure 161: Wrigley’s, 1918, HATS advert.....	382

Figure 162: Beagles card with German printing details overprinted.....	383
Figure 163: Beagles, ca.1913, German-printed HATS card.....	384
Figure 164: Chart showing the percentages of cards including verse.	386
Figure 165: Chart showing the average number of words in the cards.	386
Figure 166: Frederick Leighton, Wildt & Kray Wartime HATS card.....	387
Figure 167: Beagles, ca.1916, Wartime HATS card.	388
Figure 168: Raphael Tuck, ca.1913-20, celluloid HATS Christmas card.	390
Figure 169: British Railways, 1948, “Sands Across the Sea” cover.	391
Figure 170: Beagles, ca.1927, postcard for the Indian market.	391
Figure 171: American Emergency Management War Production Board poster, 1942-3.....	392
Figure 172: Anonymous, 1940s HATS card.....	393
Figure 173: New Zealand Post Office, 1935, Greetings telegram.	394
Figure 174: 1938 Australian envelope with HATS stamp added.	394
Figure 175: Chart showing relative frequency of card usage.	401
Figure 176: Chart showing HATS card re-purposing.....	402
Figure 177: Chart showing the percentage of cards with longer texts.....	404
Figure 178: Chart showing letters sent per head of population in New Zealand, 1890–1930.....	406
Figure 179: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1908, Beagles Christmas postcard.....	415
Figure 180: Ralph Ruttley, 1908, “Limerick Lunatic” card.	415
Figure 181: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1909, two HATS cards for H.Vertigen.....	416
Figure 182: Ralph Ruttley, ca.1910, HATS card for Max Ettlinger.....	417
Figure 183: Advertising Postcard, ca.1913, showing New Plymouth ‘show card’ writer W. Lints.	419
Figure 184: Birn Brothers, ca.1913, HATS card.	420
Figure 185: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1909, Greetings card.....	421
Figure 186: Patriotic Window display, 1902.	421
Figure 187: Beagles, ca.1909, HATS card.	422
Figure 188: Beagles, ca.1929, Greetings postcard.....	422
Figure 189: Reverse of a Beagles HATS card, ca.1909.	424
Figure 190: Lawson Wood, ca.1916, HATS postcard.	426
Figure 191: Chart showing the average number of discrete design elements within each card.	427

Figure 192: ca.1912 anonymous Saxon-printed HATS card	428
Figure 193: ca.1912 HATS card from the same series as the previous illustration.	430
Figure 194: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1910, “Heartiest Greetings from Maoriland.”	433
Figure 195: Aristophot postcard of children.....	435
Figure 196: Birn Brothers, ca.1910, floral card incorporating heraldic clasped hands.	435
Figure 197: Rotary Photo, ca.1908, clasped hands card.....	436
Figure 198: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1915, HATS card.....	436
Figure 199: Birn Brothers card explaining the language of flowers.....	437
Figure 200: Birn Brothers, ‘Language of’ card explaining the symbolism of cord.....	438
Figure 201: Alice Harris, 1904, Nsala of Wala in the Nsongo District with the hand and foot of his daughter.....	451
Figure 202: W. Macbeth, 1920, “Finis” from “The Prince's Visit.”	454
Figure 203: Thomas Rowlandson, 1783, Two New Slides for the State Magic Lantern.	459
Figure 204: Wedgwood cameo, ca.1787.....	460
Figure 205: 1813 Coat of Arms of the “Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata” (Argentina).	460
Figure 206: Halfpenny token issued ca.1790 by anti-slavery campaigners.	461
Figure 207: Token by John Phillip and G. F. Pidgeon, ca.1807.....	462
Figure 208: Thomas Rowlandson, 1799, “Forgive and Forget or Honest Jack shaking hands with an old acquaintance.”	463
Figure 209: 1890s advertising card for Prufrock’s furniture.	465
Figure 210: Hidden Name Card, probably from the 1890s.	466
Figure 211: Chromolithographic Victorian clasped hands scrap.....	466
Figure 212: Anonymous ca.1886 Christmas card.....	468
Figure 213: Josiah Martin, 1914, Clem Hewson and friend.....	470
Figure 214: Message from Fred Greenfield, 1910.....	471
Figure 215: 1910 Labour Day crowd in Christchurch watching a Punch and Judy show.....	472

Figure 216: Chart showing the usage patterns of senders of HATS cards.	475
Figure 217: Chart mapping gender relationships during the HATS craze.	475
Figure 218: Chart showing the gender and position of the clasped hands.	477
Figure 219: Rotary Photo, ca.1912, handcoloured HATS card.	486
Figure 220: Chart of the types of printing used within the sample.....	488
Figure 221: Chart showing where HATS cards were printed.....	489
Figure 222: W. T. Wilson, 1909, real-photo HATS card.	490
Figure 223: Trevor Lloyd, 1908, Fergusson & Taylor HATS card.	491
Figure 224: Fergusson & Taylor, HATS cards printed in Germany in 1910 (top) and 1911 (bottom).	492
Figure 225: ca.1910 cards by Fergusson & Taylor (top) and A. & G. Taylor's (bottom) using the same photograph of hands.	493
Figure 226: Fergusson & Taylor, ca.1911, "Greetings from Maoriland.".	494
Figure 227: Millar & Lang, ca.1909, NZ-themed HATS card.	494

References

Newspaper and Magazine Sources

Papers are listed alphabetically. Where a paper is listed on the digital database as having a title starting with the word “The” it has been removed, unless the title is only two words, like *The Sun* – in which case it is listed alphabetically under “The.”

Aberdeen Weekly Journal (UK), “Messrs Raphael Tuck & Co.’s Christmas and New Year Cards,” November 28, 1883, [no page].

Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser (Canterbury, NZ), “Soudan News,” February 20, 1885, p.2.

Ashburton Guardian (NZ), “The New Year,” December 31, 1897, p.2.

“Largest Photograph in the World,” May 20, 1904, p.4.

“Local and General,” January 23, 1905, p.2.

“War Budget,” November 12, 1915, p.3.

“Local and General,” May 30, 1917, p.4.

Auckland Star (NZ), “Random Shots,” August 8, 1885, p.4.

“Australia’s Centenary,” January 26, 1888, p.4.

“Educational Institute,” May 13, 1889, p.3.

“Hands Across the Sea,” December 27, 1889, p.8.

“Anglo-Colonial Notes,” October 7, 1890, p.5.

“Untitled,” March 28, 1894, p.4.

“The Eight Hours Day,” June 30, 1894, p.11.

“Booksellers,” July 14, 1894, p.3.

“Advertisements,” July 14, 1894, p.3.

“Advertisements,” October 26, 1895, p.7.

“Our Bowlers,” December 2, 1895, p.5.

“The Opera House,” December 1, 1896, p.3.

“With The Free Lovers,” June 15, 1898, p.3.

“Bioscope Entertainment,” December 22, 1898, p.2.

- Auckland Star (NZ), "Literary Notes," June 23, 1900, p.10.
- "In Bankruptcy," January 5, 1901, p.2.
- "Advertisements," December 13, 1901, p.2.
- "Topics of the Day," April 19, 1902, p.1.
- "Advertisements," October 30, 1902, p.6.
- "From Far and Near," July 29, 1903, p.9.
- "Hands Across the Sea," August 10, 1903, p.2.
- "Hands Across the Sea," August 24, 1903, p.2.
- "Amusements," August 28, 1903, p.8.
- "Advertisements," October 10, 1903, p.7.
- "Stage Jottings," November 28, 1903, p.2.
- "Advertisements," November 28, 1903, p.6.
- "Advertisements," December 1, 1903, p.3.
- "Booksellers," December 13, 1904, p.6.
- "Women's Realm," November 16, 1904, p.10.
- "Public Notices," November 17, 1904, p.2
- "Auckland Provincial Bowling Association," February 1, 1906. p.4.
- "Hands Across the Sea," August 24, 1908, p.5.
- "Amusements," October 20, 1908, p.3.
- "Personal," August 26, 1909, p.6.
- "Our American Letter," April 29, 1910, p.6.
- "Huns Across the Sea," September 30, 1916, p.15.
- "Hands Across the Sea," September 8, 1934, p.2.
- Australian Women's Weekly (Sydney), "Changing Fashions in Christmas Cards," December 16, 1933, p.36.
- Barrier Miner (Broken Hill, AU), "German Methods," November 7, 1915, p.4.
- "Christmas Card Greetings," December 9, 1939, p.25.
- Bay of Plenty Times (Tauranga, NZ), "Fine Art Competition in Sydney," June 16, 1881, p.2.

Bay of Plenty Times (Tauranga, NZ), "Bay of Plenty Times," July 4, 1900, p.2.

Birmingham Daily Post (UK), "London Correspondence," November 12, 1888, [no page].

Boston Daily Advertiser, (MA), "Hands Across the Sea," September 3, 1889, p.2.

Bradford Observer (UK), "Poetry," September 27, 1855, p.7.

Brisbane Courier (AU), "Advertisements," December 17, 1908, p.1.
 "Advertisements," December 18, 1911, p.1.

Bristol Mercury (UK), "The Temperance Meeting," April 19, 1834, [no page].

Bruce Herald (Milton, NZ), "The Artist, 'Pure' and 'Applied'," April 12, 1889, p.5.
 "Collecting Picture Post-cards," June 12, 1900, p.7.

Bush Advocate (Dannevirke, NZ), "Advertisements," August 11, 1905, p.5.
 "Post Cards," May 7, 1906, p.4.

Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh, UK), "Chairing of Mr O'Connell," July 14, 1828, [no page].

Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal (London, UK), "Thursday, July 13th London," July 15, 1775, [no page].

Daily Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register (MO),
 "Departure of the Great Western," May 21, 1838, [no page].

Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, DC), "Excerpts from Mrs. Jameson's 'Summer Rambles'," June 24, 1839, [no page].

Daily News (London, UK), "The Peace Bazaar," May 31, 1850, [no page].

Daily Southern Cross (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," September 10, 1862, p.2.

Daily Southern Cross (Auckland, NZ), "Advertisements," November 1, 1864, p.3.
 "Advertisements," February 11, 1865, p.6.
 "Advertisements," January 11, 1872, p.1.

Dominion (Wellington, NZ), "Local and General," August 30, 1918, p.4.

Edinburgh Gazette (UK), "Notice," March 14, 1899, p.282.

El Paso Herald (TX), "Hands Across," April 5, 1912, p.12.

Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Advertisements," December 19, 1871, p.3.

"Christmas! Christmas!!" December 20, 1871, p.3.

"By Telegraph," January 17, 1877, p.2.

"Advertisements," October 31, 1881, p.3.

"Advertisements," October 4, 1882, p.2.

"Building Stone," July 1, 1886, p.2.

"Advertisements," November 18, 1889, p.3.

"The Postal Union," October 2, 1891, p.2.

"Jerome K. Jerome on Giving Presents," December 30, 1893, p.1.

"Hands Across the Sea," March 12, 1898, p.5.

"Interprovincial Items," August 29, 1903, p.12.

"Anglo-Colonial Notes," December 27, 1904, p.6.

"The Story-Teller," July 15, 1905, p.10.

"Advertisements," November 4, 1905, p.11.

"Life's Fitful Fever," January 12, 1907, p.9.

"Notepaper," December 7, 1907, p.13.

"The Christmas Season," December 11, 1907, p.8.

"Damp, but Smiling. The Christchurch Shopkeeper," December 24, 1907, p.3.

"Reciprocity: Colonial Institute Banquet," June 17, 1908, p.4.

"Native Lands," September 16, 1908, p.8.

"Advertisements," November 7, 1908, p.4.

"Christmas Cheer and Otherwise," November 30, 1908, p.8.

"A Post-Card Romance," September 4, 1909, p.12.

"Topics of the Day," October 15, 1909, p.6.

"Untitled," March 28, 1912, p.9.

"Pretty-Pretty," August 1, 1913, p.7.

"Newest Collecting Craze," May 9, 1914, p.12.

"Obituary," September 10, 1914, p.2.

"Postcards for Home," May 23, 1924, p.7.

- Evening Post (Wellington, NZ), "Autographing: an Ingenious Art," December 26, 1929, p.2.
- "Humour in Prison," January 17, 1934, p.4.
- "Homes in Dominion," June 29, 1940, p.13.
- Everybody's Magazine (New York, NY), "Allies - or Friends," Vol. 38, No.4, April 1918, p.28.
- Examiner (Launceston, AU), "The Passing of the Christmas Card," December 23, 1905, p.9.
- Feilding Star (NZ), "Christmas Trade," January 3, 1903, p.2.
- Free Lance (Wellington, NZ), "The All-Red Cable," November 8, 1902, p.8.
- "Town Talk," December 12, 1903, p.22.
- "Afternoon Tea Gossip," December 19, 1903, p.10.
- "All Sorts of People," May 27, 1905, p.3.
- "Entre Nous," April 30, 1904, p.12.
- Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser (Dublin, IE), "Theatre Royal," November 20, 1858, [no page].
- Grey River Argus (Greymouth, NZ), "Slump in Postcards," January 13, 1912, p.6.
- Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc (Portsmouth, UK), "Hands Across the Sea," May 27, 1899, [no page].
- Harper's Weekly (New York, NY), "Banquet to Mr. Field," December 1, 1866, p.758.
- "Alliance," July 30, 1898, p.751.
- "Signor Marconi," March 28, 1903, Illustrated Section: cover.
- "Hands Across the Counter: How the Thrifty English in Japan are Utilising the San Francisco Affair to Promote Trade with their Oriental Ally," March 30, 1907, p.464.
- Hawera & Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), "Hands Across the Sea," May 17, 1898, p.2.
- "Local and General," January 12, 1905, p.2.
- "Advertisements," February 3, 1906, p.6.
- "A Huge Post-Bag," December 19, 1910, p.2.

- Hawera and Normanby Star (Hawera, NZ), "Hands Across the Sea,"
January 8, 1913, p.5.
- "Local and General," December 4, 1913, p.4.
- "Local and General News," May 26, 1917, p.4.
- Hawke's Bay Herald (Napier, NZ), "Post-Cards v. Envelopes," December
30, 1870, p.3.
- "Advertisements," December 20, 1879, p.3.
- "Melbourne Gossip," January 14, 1884, p.3.
- "Boycotting Cheap Labour," October 31, 1891, p.2.
- Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser, (UK) "Local
News," February 3, 1866, p.8.
- Ipswich Journal (UK), "A Bumper Song," February 22, 1806, [no page].
- Irish Times (Dublin, IE), "Untitled," May 10, 1907, p.4.
- "Hands Across the Sea," May 18, 1960, p.4.
- "Hands Across the Sea," October 21, 1978, p.13.
- Judy: The London Serio-Comical Journal (UK), "Hands Across the Sea,"
November 6, 1901, p.223.
- Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland,
&c. (UK), "Selected Anecdotes, &c.," July 12, 1845, [no page].
- Leicester Chronicle and Leicester Mercury (UK), "Liberal Unionism at
Lutterworth," March 23, 1889, p.8.
- Lewiston Evening Journal (ME), "A Thousand Picture Postal Cards Are
Mailed in Lewiston Every Day," February 7, 1908, p.9.
- London Gazette (UK), "The Rotary Photographic Company," April 28,
1916, p.4299.
- "Rotary Photographic Company (1917) Limited," March 3, 1922,
p.1874.
- London Journal (UK), "London," October 30, 1725, [no page].
- Lyttleton Times (NZ), "Advertisements," September 27, 1862, p.6.
- Manawatu Standard (Palmerston North, NZ), "Advertisements," September
25, 1909, p.1.
- Manchester Guardian (UK), "Theatre Royal," December 31, 1888, p.8.
- "Summary of News," December 20, 1895, p.5.

- Manchester Guardian (UK), "Christmas Cards," December 12, 1903, p.9.
- "The Picture Postcard Craze," April 25, 1905, [no page].
- "Coming of Christmas," December 15, 1915, p.3.
- "Christmas Cards and Crackers," December 20, 1920, p.5.
- "The Colonial Christmas," October 13, 1922, p.6.
- Manchester Times and Gazette (UK), "Great Free Trade Festival at Bury,"
September 2, 1843, [no page].
- Marlborough Express (Blenheim, NZ), "Local and General News,"
December 16, 1882, p.2.
- "Imperial Reciprocity," July 2, 1908, p.3.
- "Hands Across the Sea," October 26, 1908, p.4.
- "Through a Woman's Specs," February 13, 1909, p.5.
- "The Fullers, Successful Showmen." July 13, 1909, p.7.
- Mataura Ensign (Gore, NZ), "Untitled," July 11, 1896, p.2.
- Morning Chronicle (London, UK), "York Assizes," March 25, 1820, [no
page].
- Morning Post (London, UK), "Police Intelligence." 14 April 1841, [no
page].
- Nelson Evening Mail (NZ), "Nelson Evening Mail," February 20, 1899, p.2.
- "Weekly Whispers," May 12, 1900, p.2.
- "Patriotism and Hard Cash," February 19, 1902, p.2.
- "For Your Friends At Home This 'Xmas," November 8, 1912, p.6.
- "Advertisements," December 16, 1916, p.1.
- New York Times (NY), "Ambassador Reid the Pilgrim's Guest." February
20, 1908, [no page].
- "Hands Across the Sea," 24 February, 1908, [no page].
- "Postcard Craze is Dying," December 27, 1908, p.9.
- "Admiral Seymour Guest of Pilgrims," October 5, 1909, p.1.
- "Pilgrims Pay Honor to Envoy Hammond," May 25, 1911, [no
page].
- New Zealand Farmer Bee and Poultry Journal (Auckland, NZ), "Twin
Queens of May," June 1900, Home and Household Supplement, p.v.

- New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland, NZ), "Older Cousin's Circle," March 1903, Home and Household Supplement, p.vi.
- "Speed Mania," November 1903, Home and Household Supplement, p.iv.
- "For the Ladies," January 1906, Home and Household Supplement, p.v.
- "Home & House," July 1911, Home and Household Supplement, p.xv.
- New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Departure of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Duncan Cameron, K.C.B., from New Zealand," August 7, 1865, p.6.
- "Advertisements," November 29, 1878, p.4.
- "Advertisements," December 8, 1882, p.7.
- "Auckland Society of Arts," November 7, 1884, p.5.
- "Auckland Society of Arts," November 10, 1884, p.3.
- "The Nation's Postbag," October 8, 1904, p.5.
- "The Floral Fete," December 10, 1904, p.6.
- "Advertisements," July 27, 1908, p.7.
- "Auckland's Welcome. The Decorations," August 10, 1908, p.12.
- "Christmas Greetings," December 22, 1909, p.4.
- "Wildman and Arey's Display," December 17, 1910, p.10.
- "Advertisements," November 22, 1910, p.8.
- "Advertisements," November 24, 1910, p.3.
- "Advertisements," October 14, 1911, p.7.
- "Postcard Predilections," January 9, 1912, p.5.
- "Wildman and Arey," December 17, 1912, p.9.
- "Christmas in the Shops," December 21, 1914, p.4.
- "Advertisements," December 14, 1915, p.6.
- "Christmas in the Shops," December 19, 1917, p.9.
- "A Modest Violet," March 27, 1922, p.3.
- "Hands Across the Sea," October 14, 1924, p.12.

New Zealand Tablet (Dunedin, NZ), "News in Brief," July 2, 1875, p.12.

North-Eastern Daily Gazette (Middlesbrough, UK), "An International Penny Post," March 31, 1886, [no page].

North Otago Times, (Oamaru, NZ), "The Immigrant's Welcome," November 9, 1895, p.5.

NZ Truth (Wellington, NZ), "Books and Bridge," September 22, 1927, p.4.

Observer (Auckland, NZ), "Men of our Time," April 3, 1887, p.17.

"The Fine Arts," June 22, 1889, p.14.

"Queer Advertising Dodges," September 1, 1894, p.4.

"Chats with our Business Men," November 24, 1894, p.19.

"They Say," April 6, 1895, p.10.

"The Lorgnette," December 5, 1896, p.21.

"Christmas Novelties at Wildman & Lyell's," December 19, 1896, p.15.

"Advertisements," October 25, 1902, p.23.

"Advertisements," November 15, 1902, p.8.

"Advertisements," December 27, 1902, p.22.

"Advertisements," December 6, 1902, p.9.

"Advertisements," October 29, 1904, p.18.

"Advertisements," November 19, 1904, p.7.

"Advertisements," October 29, 1905, p.11.

"Advertisements," December 16, 1905, p.17

"Advertisements," January 13, 1906, p.6.

"Advertisements," May 5, 1906, p.11.

"Advertisements," October 27, 1906, p.22

Ohinemuri Gazette (Paeroa, NZ), "Notes from London," April 19, 1905, p.3.

"Local and General," January 17, 1906, p.2.

"Trading with the Germans," November 15, 1915, p.2.

Oracle and Public Advertiser (London, UK), "France," September 11, 1794, [no page].

- Oracle and Public Advertiser (London, UK), "Trials for High Treason," November 19, 1794, [no page].
- Otago Daily Times (Dunedin, NZ), "The Lake Trade," June 12, 1871, p.3.
 "News From Home," March 6, 1876, p.3.
 "Advertisements," December 12, 1881, p.1.
 "The Otago Daily Times," September 19, 1889, p.2.
 "The L.S.D. of Modern Art," October 6, 1899, p.8.
 "The Postal Congress," January 31, 1906, p.2.
- Otago Witness (Dunedin, NZ), "News of the Week," September 18, 1880, p.18.
 "The Stage in Australia," August 31, 1888, p.28.
 "The Stage in Australia," December 7, 1888, p.28.
 "Curiosities of Stamp Collecting," January 15, 1891, p.35.
 "Art and Artists," January 27, 1898, p.46.
 "Ladies' Gossip, June 15, 1899, p.52.
 "Our Little Folks," January 25, 1900, p.61.
 "Cosy Corner Club," June 7, 1900, p.56.
 "The San Francisco Mail Service," January 9, 1901, p.21.
 "Philately," October 23, 1901, p.56.
 "Philately," April 30, 1902, p.56.
 "Autos," December 14, 1904, p.76.
 "Multum in Parvo: Dicitur," October 4, 1905, p.81.
 "Advertisements," November 1, 1905, p.38.
 "Philately," April 4, 1906, p.81.
 "Australian 'Black and White' Men," June 27, 1906, p.80.
 "Old Saws Re-Set," January 23, 1907, pp.72-3.
 "Old Saws that will not Re-Set," May 22, 1907, p.65.
 "Letters from the Little Folk," October 30, 1907, p.83.
 "Christmas Correspondence," January 1, 1908, p.27.
- Pall Mall Gazette (London, UK), "Christmas Presents," December 22, 1879, [no page].

- Pall Mall Gazette (London, UK), "Reuter's Telegrams," August 18, 1880, [no page].
- "Christmas Cards," December 7, 1880, [no page].
- "The Christmas Card "Craze" Increasing," November 3, 1892, [no page].
- Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times (London, UK), "Our London Letter," July 25, 1885, [no page].
- Poverty Bay Herald (Gisborne, NZ), "Hands Across the Sea," March 17, 1898, p.2.
- "Boy Fortune-maker," November 21, 1903, p.3.
- "Poverty Bay Herald," March 19, 1904, p.2.
- "Untitled," January 19, 1906, p.2.
- "Woman's Desire to Glitter," June 15, 1907, p.2.
- "New Blood," December 9, 1907, p.4.
- "An Impressive Sight," August 8, 1908, p.5.
- "Advertisements," June 13, 1914, p.7.
- "Yearning for News," March 14, 1918, p.5.
- Press (Christchurch, NZ), "Advertisements," August 8, 1873, p.1.
- "Topics of the Day," September 8, 1906, p.8.
- Public Advertiser (London, UK), "New Streets," October 11, 1791, [no page].
- Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer (London, UK), "London," November 24, 1750, [no page].
- Sheffield and Rotherham Independent (Sheffield, UK), "The Civil War in America," November 3, 1863, [no page].
- "Literary Notes," December 19, 1878, [no page].
- South Australian Register (Adelaide), "Anglo-Colonial Gossip," April 5, 1888, p.6.
- Southland Times (Invercargill, NZ), "Christmas Cards and Postcards," December 23, 1905, p.3.
- Southern Mercury (Dallas, TX), "The Blue and the Gray," September 3, 1891, p.4.
- St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post (London, UK), "London." February 15, 1780, [no page].

- Star (Christchurch, NZ), "Home Gossip," November 24, 1876, p.3.
- "Advertisements," December 19, 1882, p.2.
- "Christmas Cards," November 28, 1887, p.2.
- "Anglo-Colonial Notes," September 25, 1888, p.2.
- "Labour's Flag," March 18, 1890, p.3.
- "Seasonable Greetings to Friends at Home," December 24, 1890, p.3.
- "Marriage," August 17, 1894, p.2.
- "The Idler," February 8, 1896, p.4.
- "London Penn'orths," November 18, 1899, p.1.
- "Pro Patria," January 9, 1902, p.2.
- "Why We Shake Hands," October 24, 1903, p.5.
- "Hobbies for Children: The Collection of Pictorial Post-Cards," October 1, 1904, p.3.
- "Woman's World," March 28, 1908, p.3.
- "Inauspicious Marriages," May 26, 1908, p.2.
- "The Week," September 4, 1909, p.4.
- Sydney Morning Herald (AU), "Advertisements," December 7, 1907, p.10.
- "Advertisements," July 4, 1908, p.2.
- "Miscellaneous," 2 November 1912, p.30.
- Taranaki Herald (New Plymouth, NZ), "Pungarehu," May 18, 1892, p.2.
- "Advertisements," December 12, 1905, p.4.
- "Advertisements," February 18, 1908, p.8.
- Te Aroha News (NZ), "Anglo-Colonial Notes," January 30, 1886, p.6.
- "Our London Flaneur," March 12, 1887, p.3.
- The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), "The Advertiser," January 15, 1892, p.4.
- "Advertisements," December 9, 1903, p.3.
- "The Postcard Craze," January 3, 1906, p.6.
- "The Postcard Craze," August 25, 1906, p.6.
- "The Postcard Craze," October 26, 1906, p.8.

- The Advertiser (Adelaide, AU), "Picture Post-Cards," September 16, 1907, p.9.
- "Fashions in Postcards," December 17, 1909, p.6.
- "Amusements," February 10, 1912, p.17.
- The Argus (Melbourne, AU), "Amusements," October 2, 1888, p.16.
- "Theatre Royal," October 1, 1888, p.10.
- The Era (London, UK), "Advertisements & Notices," May 19, 1888, [no page].
- The Graphic (London, UK), "'Hands Across the Sea': The Anglo-Saxon Alliance." June 18, 1898, [no page].
- The Liberator (Boston, MA), "Literary," September 13, 1839, p.148.
- "Great Anti-Corn Law Meetings," March 10, 1843, [no page].
- "Poetry," August 13, 1847, p.122.
- "Speeches Delivered at the Peace Congress at Paris," September 28, 1849, p.156.
- The Mercury (Hobart, AU), "Our Sydney Letter," August 5, 1905, p.10.
- "Advertisements," December 19, 1906, p.1.
- The Register (Adelaide, AU), "Christmas and New Year Souvenirs," October 26, 1907, p.12.
- "Christmas Post-Cards," December 7, 1909, p.9.
- "Watch for German Goods," December 20, 1915, p.6
- The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), "Latest News," May 2, 1904, p.7.
- "Display Advertisement," March 8, 1905, p.5.
- "Election News: West Edinburgh Sir Lewis McIver Adopted as Unionist Candidate," December 23, 1905, p.11.
- "Company Promoting in Scotland," December 30, 1905, p.4.
- "Court of Session," February 14, 1907, p.11.
- "Wife's Heavy Claim for Aliment." June 6, 1907, p.11.
- "The Late W. D. Valentine, Dundee," 7 November, 1907, p.6.
- "Christmas Card Designs," March 21, 1908, p.12.
- "The King to His People: His Majesty's Collected Speeches," November 8, 1911, p.8.

- The Scotsman (Edinburgh, UK), "Mr Lyell's Home Rule Delusions,"
March 4, 1913, p.9.
- "Anglo-American Relations: Lord Lee on "Gush,"" June 17, 1925,
p.9.
- "Men and Affairs," May 30, 1942, p.4.
- The Sun (London, UK), "London," May 11, 1795, [no page].
- "Express from Manchester," August 19, 1819, p.2.
- "Christmas Cards," December 25, 1883, p.5.
- "The White Star Line Calendar," December 10, 1898, p.15.
- "The War," 25 November 1899, p.9, col. 5.
- "Mr Chamberlain's Speech," December 2, 1899, p.7.
- "High Court of Justice," December 21, 1907, p.3.
- "Mr. Byron Webber," April 3, 1913, p.9.
- "To-Day's Debate," September 23, 1915, p.9.
- "A Trade Fair in London," February 22, 1916, p.6.
- "Company Meetings," August 4, 1916, p.12.
- "Christmas Cards," December 19, 1917, p.9.
- "The Atlantic Telegraph." February 13, 1867, p.2.
- Timaru Herald (NZ), "Display of Christmas Cards," December 23, 1882,
p.2.
- "Sweating in Art," January 15, 1889, p.4.
- True Briton (London, UK), "Irish Parliament," August 1, 1798, [no page].
- Tuapeka Times (NZ), "A Curious Industry. Advertisement Designing,"
June 28, 1893, p.3.
- Wairarapa Daily Times (Masterton, NZ), "Hands across the Sea,"
November 10, 1903, p.7.
- "Carterton Notes," January 7, 1907, p.3.
- "Hands Across the Sea," September 22, 1914, p.2
- Wanganui Chronicle (NZ), "Our Melbourne Letter," October 1, 1888, p.2.
- "Advertisements," December 4, 1889, p.3.
- "Dead Letters," September 22, 1902, p.4.

- Wanganui Chronicle (NZ), "Untitled," October 25, 1904, p.2.
- "Parliamentary Pars," October 11, 1909, p.7.
- Wanganui Herald (NZ), "Wanganui Herald," October 28, 1882, p.2.
- "The War in the Soudan," November 3, 1884, p.2.
- "Advertisements," November 28, 1885, p.3.
- "The Financial Statement," August 18, 1900, p.2.
- "Business Notes," September 24, 1902, p.2.
- "About Pictorial Postcards," November 15, 1904, p.6.
- "Business Notes," February 1, 1905, p.7.
- "Technical School," June 6, 1905, p.5.
- "Wanganui Public Library," October 20, 1908, p.7.
- Washington Post (WA), "Retail," February 24, 1907, p.55.
- Weekly Dispatch (London, UK), "Plays and Players," January 21, 1900, p.8.
- Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer (London, UK), "The Conclusion of the Tryal of John Lord Blamerino," December 24, 1720. [no page].
- Wellington Independent (NZ), "Advertisements," February 17, 1870, p.5.
- "Untitled," January 19, 1872, p.3.
- West Australian (Perth, AU), "Raphael Tuck and Sons' Christmas Card Collection," November 18, 1914, p.5.
- West Coast Times (Hokitika, NZ), "General News," April 9, 1878, p.3.

Websites

- Addis, Roy. "Gallery." *Firemarks*, (2004).
<http://www.firemarks.co.uk/Pages/Page01.htm> [accessed October 11, 2012].
- AtoJ's Online. "Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks: Fourteenth Annual Report of the Registrar." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, (undated). <http://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs?a=d&d=AJHR1903-I.2.3.2.16&e=-----10--1-----0--> [accessed January 23, 2013].
- Australian War Memorial. "Sudan (New South Wales Contingent) March-June 1885," (undated). <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/sudan.asp> [accessed November 1, 2012].
- Aviva. "Hand in Hand Fire and Life Insurance Society." (2012).
<http://www.aviva.com/about-us/heritage/companies/hand-in-hand-fire-and-life/> [accessed October 18, 2012].
- Bassett, Fred. "Wish You Were Here!: The Story of the Golden Age of Picture Postcards." *New York State Libraries*, (2010).
<http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/msscfa/qc16510ess.htm> [accessed March 28, 2012].
- British Library. "Bingham, Clifton (1859-1913)." (Undated).
[http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpsubject/literature/authors/cliftonbingham\(1859-1913\)/clifbingham.html#top](http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpsubject/literature/authors/cliftonbingham(1859-1913)/clifbingham.html#top) [accessed February 26, 2013].
- British Railways. "British Railways Publicity." (Undated).
<http://www.srpublicity.co.uk/brs/page1.htm#t6> [accessed April 28, 2013].
- Censer, Jack R. and Lynn Hunt. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution." (2001).
<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/chap12k.html> [accessed November 29, 2012].
- Central State University Digital collections. "Elihu Burritt Library." (Undated). <http://library.ccsu.edu/help/spcoll/burritt/index.php> [accessed October 24, 2012].
- Chessum, Tracey. "Musical of the Month: Flexible Operetta and Micro-History." *New York Public Library Blog*, September 30 (2011).
<http://globallib.nypl.org/blog/2011/09/30/musical-month-flexible-operetta-and-micro-history-guest-blogger-tracey-chessum> [accessed November 6, 2012].

- Florida Memory. "A Card... N. Darling, Lt 2d Dragoons, June 7, 1839." (Undated). <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/212341> [accessed November 28, 2012].
- Gillen, Julia, and Nigel Hall. "Edwardian Postcard Project." (2013). <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/EVIIpc/index.php> [accessed June 10th, 2013].
- Glass Association. "English Glasses." (Undated). http://www.glassassociation.co.uk/english_glasses?page=0%2C1 [accessed October 17, 2012].
- Harp Week. "Cartoonist Thomas Nast vs. Candidate Horace Greeley." (2005). <http://nastandgreeley.harpweek.com/SubPages/cartoons-1872-listBClaspHands.asp> [accessed October 28, 2012].
- James, Bob. "Craft, Trade of Mystery: Part One – Britain from the Gothic Cathedrals to the Tolpuddle Conspirators." (2001). <http://www.takver.com/history/benefit/ctormys.htm> [accessed October 20, 2012.]
- Kavanagh, Marybeth. "Louis Prang, Father of the American Christmas Card." *From the Stacks: The N-YHS Library Blog*, December 19, 2012, <http://blog.nyhistory.org/> [accessed December 26, 2012].
- Krohn, Deborah L. "Courtship and Betrothal in the Italian Renaissance." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (2008). http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cour/hd_cour.htm [accessed October 19, 2012].
- Lloyd, June. "William Wagner – York's Renaissance Man." *Universal York*, March 19, (2011). <http://www.yorkblog.com/universal/2011/03/19/william-wagner-yorks-renaissa/> [accessed September 21, 2013].
- Luna Commons. "Browse Farber Gravestone Collection." (Undated). <http://www.lunacommons.org/luna/servlet/FBC~100~1> [accessed April 3, 2013].
- Patriotic Postcards. "The J. C. Wilson & Co. Limited: Patriotic Postcards and Envelopes." (Undated). http://www.jcwilson.ca/J.C._Wilson_Patriotics/Home.html [accessed February 5, 2013].
- Shapshay, Sandra. "Schopenhauer's Aesthetics." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer (2012), Edward N. Zalta (ed.) <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/schopenhauer-aesthetics/> [accessed December 12, 2012].
- Shelley, James. "18th Century British Aesthetics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer (2012), Edward N. Zalta (ed.) <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/aesthetics-18th-british/> [accessed December 12, 2012].

- State Library of New South Wales. "Samuel Wood, 1876-1957."
Manuscripts, Oral history & Pictures, (undated).
<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemdetailpaged.aspx?itemid=446625>
[accessed January 24, 2013].
- Statistics New Zealand. "Digital Yearbook Collection." (1893-2010).
http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx [accessed January 30, 2013].
- Stewart, William. "The Cruise of the Great White Fleet." (2013).
<http://www.greatwhitefleet.info/index.htm> [accessed February 13, 2013].
- The Peerage. "Person Page – 35948." (Undated).
<http://thepeerage.com/p35948.htm> [accessed December 6, 2012].
- TuckDB Postcards. "Search." (2013). <http://tuckdb.org/> [accessed January 17, 2012].
- University of Warwick. "Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers." (Undated).
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/explorefurther/subject_guides/family_history/print/aslp/ [accessed July 26, 2012].
- USA for Africa. "Hands Across America." (2013).
http://www.usaforafrica.org/Hands_Across_America/momentsinhistory_HAA.html [accessed 5 May, 2013].
- Warrington, Malcolm. "De La Rue & Co." (2012).
<http://www.scrapalbum.com/xmasp7.htm> [accessed December 9, 2012].
- Webber, George. "The First GB PPC's." (Undated). <http://www.webber-postcard.me.uk/firstgb.htm> [accessed April 28, 2013].
- "Earlier Claims to be the First British PPC Publisher." (Undated).
<http://www.webber-postcard.me.uk/prevclaims.htm> [accessed April 28, 2013].

Primary Sources

- A Lady. *Flora and Thalia; or, Gems of Flowers and Poetry: Being an Alphabetical Arrangement of Flowers, with Appropriate Poetical Illustrations*. London: Henry Washbourne, 1835.
- Alciato, Andrea. *Emblemata*. Paris: Jean Richer, 1584.
- . *Emblematum Liber*. Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531.
- American Journal of Philology. "Brief Mention." *The American Journal of Philology* 32, no. 4 (1911): 478-89.
- Austen, Jane. *Emma*. London: Folio Society, 1975 [1816].
- . *Pride and Prejudice*. London: Folio Society, 1975 [1813].
- Baldy, Lizzie F. *The California Pioneer: And Other Poems*. San Francisco: Bacon, 1879.
- Bates, Charles Austin. "The "Picture Habit"." *Billboard Advertising* VI, no. 9 (1896): 1.
- Beard, Frank. *The Black-Board in the Sunday-School: A Practical Guide for Superintendents and Teachers*. New York: Excelsior, 1877.
- Boston City Council. *The Railroad Jubilee: An Account of the Celebration Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada, September 17th, 18th, and 19th, 1851*. Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1852.
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. *Poems*. London: Smith, Elder, 1899.
- Burgess, Gilbert. "Artistic London." In *Living London: Its Work and its Play, Its Humour and its Pathos, Its Sights and its Scenes*, edited by George R. Sims, 119-24. London: Cassell, 1902.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958 [1757].
- Burritt, Elihu, ed. *The Advocate of Universal Peace and Universal Brotherhood*. Vol. 1/1. Worcester, MA: J. Howland, 1846.
- . "The League Circle." *Bond of Brotherhood* 3, no. 7 (1849).
- . "An Olive Leaf." *Oberlin Evangelist* 8, no. 8 (1846).
- Busbridge, E. M. *Letter Writing and Etiquette*. London: Collins, 1909.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *The French Revolution: A History*. Vol. 1, London: Chapman and Hall, 1837.
- . "T. C. To J. G. Marshall." *Carlyle Letters* 32, no. 1 (1857): 129-30.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. London: Penguin, 1976 [1902].

- Coward, Noel. *Tonight at 8.30: Ten One-Act Plays*. London: Methuen Drama, 2009 [1936].
- Craik, Dinah Maria Mulock. *Mistress and Maid*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1862.
- Cyclopedia Company. *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Auckland Provincial District*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Cyclopedia Company, 1902.
- Davenport Adams, William. *A Book of Burlesque: Sketches of English Stage, Travestie and Parody*. London: Henry & Co., 1891.
- Dyke, Daniel. *The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving: Or a Discourse and Discovery of the Deceitfulness of Mans Heart*. London: William Stansby, 1633.
- Evangelical Magazine. *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*. Vol. 5, London: Westley & Davis, 1827.
- Evens, G. Bramwell. *A Romany in the Fields*. Oxford: Isis, 2006 [1929].
- Forster, E. M. *A Room with a View*. Abinger ed. New York: Penguin, 2000 [1908].
- Foss, Kenneth Mackenzie. *Why Your Business Does Not Increase!: British Trade v. Foreign Competition*. Bristol: The Mercantile Guardian, 1898. Pamphlet.
- Frost, Thomas. *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution 1776-1876*. Vol. 1, London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876.
- Gad, Emma. *Takt og Tone: Hvordan vi Omgaas* [in Danish]. Copenhagen, Denmark: Gyldendal, 1918.
- Greenaway, Kate, and Jean Marsh. *The Illuminated Language of Flowers*. London: MacDonal and Jane's, 1978 [1884].
- Halsey, R. T. H. "A Bristol Porcelain Cup and Saucer." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11, no. 8 (1916): 171-73.
- Hamilton, Walter. *The Aesthetic Movement in England*. London: Reeves and Turner, 1882.
- Hazard, Samuel, ed. *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania: Devoted to the Preservation of Facts and Documents, and Every Kind of Useful Information Respecting the State of Pennsylvania*. Vol. 13. Philadelphia: W. F. Geddes, 1833.
- Heal, Ambrose. *London Tradesmen's Cards of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Dover, 1968 [1925].
- . "Sale by Hand." *Notes and Queries* CLXX, May 9 (1936): 336.
- . "Sale by Hand." *Notes and Queries* CLXII, March 26 (1932): 225.

- Howitt, Mary, ed. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*. London: Fisher, 1840.
- . "Memoir of Elihu Burritt." In *The People's Journal* edited by John Saunders, 241-6. London: People's Journal Office, 1847.
- Hughes, Percy. "The Distinction between the Liberal and the Technical in Education." *The Popular Science Monthly* LXXVII, no. 22 (October 1910): 379-85.
- Jameson, Anna. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Vol. 1, London: Saunders and Otley, 1838.
- Johnson, Samuel. *The New English Dictionary, or Complete Library of Grammatical Knowledge*. New ed. London: P. Williams, 1792.
- Johnston, Edward. *Writing & Illuminating, & Lettering*. London: Pitman, 1948 [1906].
- Knickerbocker. "The American Merchant." *The Knickerbocker* 14, no. 1 (1839): 1-15.
- La Motte-Fouqué, Caroline Auguste. *The Outcasts: A Romance* [Die Vertriebenen]. Translated by George Sloane. Vol. 2, London: G. & W. B. Whittaker, 1824.
- Landon, Letitia Elizabeth. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*. London: Fisher, Son, and Jackson, 1832.
- London Post Office. *The Post Office London Directory for 1899*. London: Kelly's Directories, 1899.
- Long, Edward. *The Sentimental Exhibition; or, Portraits and Sketches of the Times*. London: T. Lowndes, 1774.
- Loubat, Joseph Florimond. *Gustavus Fox's Mission to Russia, 1866*. New York: Arno Press, 1970 [1869].
- Luther, Martin. *Selections from the Table Talk of Martin Luther*. Translated by Captain Henry Bell. London: Cassell, 1886.
- Maclean, Charles. *Affairs of Asia: Considered in their Effects on the Liberties of Britain*. London: C. Maclean, 1806.
- Maclean, J. Kennedy. "Picture Post Cards: The Story of their Rapid Rise into Popularity." *Quiver* 220, January 1 (1906): 168-72.
- Mair, John. *Book-Keeping Methodised: Or a Methodical Treatise of Merchant-Accompts, According to the Italian Form*. 9th ed. Dublin: H. Saunders, 1772.
- Molinari, Gustave De. "The McKinley Bill in Europe." *The North American Review* 151, no. 406 (1890): 307-18.

- Moore, Thomas. *The Works of Thomas Moore: Comprehending All His Melodies, Ballads, Etc.* Paris: Galignani, 1823.
- Morrison, Arthur. *A Child of the Jago.* New York: Duffield, 1906 [1894].
- Nichol, John. *Hannibal: A Historical Drama.* Glasgow, UK: J. Maclehose, 1873.
- Ogilvie, J. S. *The Album Writers Friend: Comprising More Than Three Hundred Choice Selections of Poetry and Prose, Suitable for Writing in Autograph Albums, Birthday, Christmas and New Year Cards.* New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 1881.
- Paine, Thomas. *The Political and Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Paine.* Vol. 1, London: R. Carlile, 1819.
- Paton, Chalmers I. *Freemasonry: Its Symbolism, Religious Nature, and Law of Perfection.* London: Reeves and Turner, 1873.
- Peace Congress Committee. "Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congress: Held in Paris, on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of August, 1849." London: Charles Gilpin, 1849.
- Pierce, Robert F.Y. *Blackboard Efficiency: A Suggestive Method for the Use of Crayon and Blackboard.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922.
- Presbyterian Assembly. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* Philadelphia, PA: W. F. Geddes, 1831.
- Pugin, A. Welby. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott.* London: Henry G. Bohn, 1838.
- Redgrave, Richard. *A Manual of Design.* South Kensington Museum Art Handbook. Vol. 6, London: Chapman and Hall, 1876.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *Fear God and Take Your Own Part.* New York: Cosimo, 2005 [1916].
- Rowntree, B. Seebohm. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life.* 2nd ed. London: MacMillan, 1908.
- Shaw, George Bernard. *Three Plays for Puritans.* Chicago: Herbert S. Stone, 1901.
- Simmel, Georg. "The Berlin Trade Exhibition." *Theory, Culture & Society* 8, no. 3 (1991 [1896]): 119-23.
- Sims, George R. "Sweated London." In *Living London: Its Work and its Play, Its Humour and its Pathos, Its Sights and its Scenes*, edited by George R. Sims, 49-55. London: Cassell, 1902.

- Smith, Henry J. *Cartoons by Bradley: Cartoonist of the Chicago Daily News*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1917.
- Squier, Edward Summers. *Etiquette Made Easy*. New York: Edward J. Clode, 1919.
- Squire, Jack Collings. *Imaginary Speeches and Other Parodies in Prose and Verse*. London: Stephen Swift & Co., 1912.
- Stanton, A. G. "British-Grown Tea." *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 52, no. 2689 (1904): 605-24.
- Stevenson, Seth William, C. Roach Smith, and Frederick W. Madden. *A Dictionary of Roman Coins: Republican and Imperial*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1889.
- Stockall, Harriet. *Poems and Sonnets*. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1879.
- Strutt, Joseph. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: Including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May Games, Mummeries, Shows, Processions, Pageants, and Pompous Spectacles, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. 3rd ed. London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1838.
- Temperance Union. "The Great Temperance Meeting." *Journal of the American Temperance Union* X, no. 10 (1846): 156-9.
- Troubridge, Lady. *The Book of Etiquette*. Kingswood, UK: The World's Work, 1926.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of Business Enterprise*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.
- . *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Prometheus, 1998 [1899].
- Voltaire. *Zadig: Or, the Book of Fate. An Oriental History*. London: John Brindley, 1749.
- Ward Lock. *Complete Etiquette and Letter-Writer*. London: Ward Lock, n.d.
- White, Gleeson. *Christmas Cards and their Chief Designers*. London: Studio, 1895.
- Whitney, Geffrey. "Choice of Emblems." In *Whitney's "Choice of Emblems,"* edited by Henry Green. London: Lovell Reeve, 1852 [1586].

Secondary Sources

- Adler, Judith. "Origins of Sightseeing." *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (1989): 7-29.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Agnew, Jean-Christophe. "The Give-and-Take of Consumer Culture." In *Commodifying Everything: Relationships of the Market*, edited by Susan Strasser, 11-39. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Alden, Todd. "And We Lived Where Dusk Had Meaning." In *Real Photo Postcards: Unbelievable Images from the Collection of Harvey Tulcensky*, edited by Laetitia Wolff, 6-10. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005.
- Allen, Alistair, and Joan Hoverstadt. *The History of Printed Scraps*. London: New Cavendish Books, 1983.
- Altick, Richard D. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Anderson, Anne. "'Chinamania': Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful c.1860-1900." In *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, edited by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev, 109-28. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Ardis, Ann, and Patrick Collier. "Introduction." In *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, edited by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Armstrong, Nancy. "The Other Side of Modern Individualism: Locke and Defoe." In *Individualism: The Cultural Logic of Modernity*, edited by Zubin Meer, 145-55. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011.
- Ashwin, Clive. "Drawing, Design and Semiotics." In *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, edited by Victor Margolin, 199-209. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Aslin, Elizabeth. *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau*. London: Ferndale, 1981.
- Assmann, Aleida. "Three Memory Anchors: Affect, Symbol, Trauma." In *Dark Traces of the Past: Psychoanalysis and Historical Thinking*, edited by Jürgen Straub and Jörn Rüsen, 19-32. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.

- Attard, Bernard. "From Free-Trade Imperialism to Structural Power: New Zealand and the Capital Market, 1856-68." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35, no. 4 (2007): 505-27.
- Attfield, Judy. *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.
- Attie, Katherine Bootle. "Re-Membering the Body Politic: Hobbes and the Construction of Civic Immortality." *ELH* 75, no. 3 (2008): 497-530.
- Austin, Linda M. *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007.
- Aynsley, Jeremy. *A Century of Graphic Design: Graphic Design Pioneers of the 20th Century*. London: Mitchell Beazley, 2001.
- Bade, James N. *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- . "The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: A Late Twentieth-Century Review." *Rethinking History* 3, no. 2 (1999): 131-75.
- . *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . "White Collars, Grey Lives? The Lower Middle Class Revisited." *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 3 (1999): 273-90.
- . "'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?' Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability." *Journal of Social History* 12, no. 3 (1979): 336-53.
- Baker, Nicholson, and Margaret Brentano. *The World on Sunday: Graphic Art in Joseph Pulitzer's Newspaper (1898-1911)*. New York: Bullfinch Press, 2005.
- Bal, Mieke. "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting." In *The Cultures of Collecting*, edited by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, 97-115. Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- Baldwin, Brooke. "On the Verso: Postcard Images as a Key to Popular Prejudices." *Journal of Popular Culture* 22, no. 3 (1988): 15-28.
- Ballantyne, Tony. "On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand." *New Zealand Journal of History* 45, no. 1 (2011): 50-70.

- Banfield, Marie. "From Sentiment to Sentimentality: A Nineteenth-Century Lexicographical Search." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* no. 4 (2007): 1-11.
- Banham, Joanna. "The English Response: Mechanization and Design Reform." In *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, edited by Lesley Hoskins, 132-49. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Bank, Mirra. *Anonymous Was a Woman*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979.
- Bannet, Eve Tavor. *British and American Letter Manuals, 1680-1810*. Vol. 1, London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008.
- . *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Barnes, Felicity. *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2012.
- Barthes, Roland. "Lecture in Inauguration of the Chair of Literary Semiology, Collège De France, January 7, 1977." *October* 8 (1979): 3-16.
- Barton, Susan. *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Batey, Mavis. "The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influence on Early Landscape Gardens." *Garden History* 33, no. 2 (2005): 189-209.
- Battles, Paul. "In Folly Ripe, in Reason Rotten: The Flower and the Leaf and the 'Purgatory of Cruel Beauties'." *Medium Aevum* 72, no. 2 (2003): 238-58.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *The System of Objects* [Système des objets]. Translated by James Benedict. London: Verso, 1996.
- Bayley, Stephen. "Henry Cole, Craft and Coat-Hangers." *Crafts*, no. 233 (2011): 64-64.
- Beaurepaire, Pierre-Yves. "The Universal Republic of the Freemasons and the Culture of Mobility in the Enlightenment." *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006): 407-31.
- Becker, Barbara, and Karen Malcolm. "Suspended Conversations that Intersect in the Edwardian Postcard." In *Systemic Functional Linguistics in Use*, edited by Nina Nørgaard, 175-98. Odense: Syddansk Universitet, 2008.

- Beegan, Gerry. "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimile, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving." *Journal of Design History* 8, no. 4 (1995): 257-74.
- Beegan, Gerry, and Paul Atkinson. "Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 4 (2008): 305-13.
- Beer, Gillian. "George Frampton's Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens." In *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, edited by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, 205-11. New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010.
- Beinek, Justyna. "'Portable Graveyards': Albums in the Romantic Culture of Memory." *Pushkin Review* 14 (2011): 35-62.
- Belich, James. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Belk, Russell. *Collecting in a Consumer Society*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Bell, Duncan. "The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 3-22.
- Bell, Quentin. *The Schools of Design*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
- . "Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting." In *Unpacking My Library: Architects and their Books*, edited by Jo Steffens, 2-10. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Bennett, Gillian. "Folklore Studies and the English Rural Myth." *Rural History* 4, no. 01 (1993): 77-91.
- Benson, Richard. *The Printed Picture*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008.
- Berlant, Lauren. "Intuitionists: History and the Affective Event." *American Literary History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 845-60.
- Bermingham, Ann. *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

- Betjemann, Peter. "Craft and the Limits of Skill: Handicrafts Revivalism and the Problem of Technique." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): 183-93.
- Bewell, Alan. "Erasmus Darwin's Cosmopolitan Nature." *ELH* 76, no. 1 (2009): 19-48.
- Bierut, Michael, Jessica Helfand, Steven Heller, and Rick Poynor, eds. *Looking Closer Three: Classic Writings on Graphic Design*. New York: Allworth Press, 1999.
- Bingham, Adrian. "The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians." *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225-31.
- Binkley, Sam. "Kitsch as a Repetitive System: A Problem for the Theory of Taste Hierarchy." *Journal of Material Culture* 5, no. 2 (2000): 131-52.
- Black, Jennifer M. "Corporate Calling Cards: Advertising Trade Cards and Logos in the United States, 1876-1890." *The Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 4 (2009): 291-306.
- Blair, J. Anthony. "The Rhetoric of Visual Arguments." In *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, edited by Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers, 41-61. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004.
- Bloch, Marc. *The Historian's Craft*. Translated by Peter Putnam. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954.
- Boden, Sharon, and Simon J. Williams. "Consumption and Emotion: The Romantic Ethic Revisited." *Sociology* 36, no. 3 (2002): 493-512.
- Boer, Roland. "E. P. Thompson and the Psychic Terror of Methodism." *Thesis Eleven* 110, no. 1 (2012): 54-67.
- Bogdan, Robert, and Ann Marshall. "Views of the Asylum: Picture Postcard Depictions of Institutions for People with Mental Disorders in the Early 20th Century." *Visual Sociology* 12, no. 1 (1997): 4-27.
- Bonnell, Victoria E, and Lynn Hunt, eds. *Beyond The Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- . *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Richard Nice. "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods." *Media, Culture & Society* 2, no. 3 (1980): 261-93.

- Bourke, Richard. "Liberty, Authority, and Trust in Burke's Idea of Empire." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, no. 3 (2000): 453-71.
- Bowers, Q. David. "Souvenir Postcards and the Development of the Star System, 1912-14." *Film History* 3, no. 1 (1989): 39-45.
- Boyce, Gordon, and Simon Ville. *The Development of Modern Business*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002.
- Boyd, Steven R., Elaine Prange Turney, and David W. Hansen. "Union Civil War Patriotic Covers: An Overview." *Journal of American Culture* 21, no. 3 (1998): 1-12.
- Brady, T. J. "Postcards and History." *History Today* 19, no. 12 (1969): 848-55.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Brayshay, Mark. "The Choreography of Journeys of Magnificence: Arranging the Post-Nuptial Progress of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth of England from London to Heidelberg in 1613." *Journal of Early Modern History* 12, no. 5 (2008): 383-408.
- Brett, David. *The Plain Style: The Reformation, Culture and the Crisis in Protestant Identity*. Belfast: Black Square Books, 1999.
- Breward, Christopher. "'At Home' at the St James's: Dress, Decor, and the Problem of Fashion in the Edwardian Theater." In *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, edited by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, 141-63. New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010.
- . *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Brodie, Marc. "Voting in the Victorian and Edwardian East End of London." *Parliamentary History* 23, no. 2 (2004): 225-48.
- Brooks, Peter. *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Brown, Nicola. "Introduction: Crying over Little Nell." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 4 (2007): 1-13.
- . "Tender Beauty: Victorian Painting and the Problem of Sentimentality." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16 (2011): 214-25.
- Bryans, Dennis. "The Double Invention of Printing." *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): 287-300.

- Buday, George. *The History of the Christmas Card*. London: Spring, 1954.
- Bueltmann, Tanja. *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
- Burdick, J. R., ed. *The American Card Catalog*. New York: Nostalgia Press, 1967.
- Burns, Peter M. "Six Postcards from Arabia." *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 255-75.
- Burrows, Jon. "'Melodrama of the Dear Old Kind': Sentimentalising British Action Heroines in the 1910s." *Film History* 18, no. 2 (2006): 163-73.
- Buszek, Maria-Elena. "Representing 'Awarishness': Burlesque, Feminist Transgression, and the 19th-Century Pin-Up." *TDR* 43, no. 4 (1999): 141-62.
- Buurma, Rachel Sagner. "Anonymity, Corporate Authority, and the Archive: The Production of Authorship in Late-Victorian England." *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2007): 15-42.
- Byatt, Anthony. *Collecting Picture Postcards: An Introduction*. Malvern, UK: Golden Age Postcard Books, 1982.
- . *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*. Malvern, UK: Golden Age Postcard Books, 1978.
- Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1992.
- Campbell, Colin. "Consumption and the Rhetorics of Need and Want." *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998): 235-46.
- . *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- . "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism: Reflections on the Reception of a Thesis Concerning the Origin of the Continuing Desire for Goods." In *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World*, edited by Susan M. Pearce, 36-48. London: Leicester University Press, 1997.
- Campbell, Colin [2]. *The Beggarstaff Posters: The Work of James Pryde & William Nicholson*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990.
- Campbell, Gordon, ed. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*. Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Cantor, Geoffrey. "Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 51, no. 2 (1997): 175-93.

- Carline, Richard. *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*. Bedford, UK: Fraser, 1959.
- Carlson, Jon D. "Postcards and Propaganda: Cartographic Postcards as Soft News Images of the Russo-Japanese War." *Political Communication* 26, no. 2 (2009): 212-37.
- Carney, Bethan. "Introduction: 'Mr Popular Sentiment': Dickens and Feeling." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 14, (2012): 1-21.
- Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Cartwright, Lisa. "Ways of Seeing and Ways of the Hand." *Journal of Visual Culture* 11, no. 2 (2012): 161-65.
- Casey, Mary. "Remaking Britain: Establishing British Identity and Power at Sydney Cove, 1788-1821." *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 24 (2006): 87-98.
- Casson, Mark, and John S. Lee. "The Origin and Development of Markets: A Business History Perspective." *Business History Review* 85, no. 1 (2011): 9-37.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Chansky, Ricia Anne. "Time to Shop: Advertising Trade Card Rhetoric and the Construction of a Public Space for Women in the United States, 1880-1900." *Atenea* 29 (2009): 151-66.
- Chéroux, Clément, and Ute Eskildsen. *The Stamp of Fantasy: The Visual Inventiveness of Photographic Postcards*. Göttingen, DE: Steidl, 2007.
- Church, Roy. "New Perspectives on the History of Products, Firms, Marketing, and Consumers in Britain and the United States since the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *The Economic History Review* 52, no. 3 (1999): 405-35.
- . "Salesmen and the Transformation of Selling in Britain and the US in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 3 (2008): 695-725.
- Cirlot, J. E. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. Translated by Jack Sage. 2nd ed. New York: Philosophical Library, 1972.
- Clarke, Alison. *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2007.

- Clifford, Helen. "Concepts of Invention, Identity and Imitation in the London and Provincial Metal-Working Trades, 1750-1800." *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 241-55.
- Clouse, Doug, and Angela Voulangas. *The Handy Book of Artistic Printing: A Collection of Letterpress Examples with Specimens of Type, Ornament, Corner Fills, Borders, Twisters, Wrinklers, and Other Freaks of Fancy*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009.
- Cohen, Daniel A. "Rewriting the Token of Love: Sentimentalists, Sophisticates, and the Transformation of American Girlhood, 1862-1940." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 2 (2011): 223-56.
- Cohen, Deborah. *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Cohen, Sarah R. "Rubens' France: Gender and Personification in the Marie De Medici Cycle." *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (2003): 490-522.
- Coleing, Linda. "Utility Prefigured: Ruskin and St George's Mill." In *Utility Reassessed: The Role of Ethics in the Practice of Design*, edited by Judy Attfield, 12-30. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Collins, Bradford R. "The Poster as Art: Jules Chéret and the Struggle for Equality of the Arts in Late Nineteenth-Century France." In *Design History: An Anthology*, edited by Dennis P. Doordan, 17-27. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1995.
- Coohill, Joseph. "Free Trade Agendas: The Construction of an Article of Faith, 1837-50." *Parliamentary History* 30, no. s2 (2011): 170-203.
- Cope, Dawn, and Peter Cope. *Postcards from the Nursery: The Illustrators of Children's Books and Postcards 1900-1950*. London: New Cavendish, 2000.
- Cortright, David. *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Coston, Herbert. "Sean O'Casey: Prelude to Playwriting." *The Tulane Drama Review* 5, no. 1 (1960): 102-12.
- Coxhead, Gabriel. "A Link to Bind Where Circumstances Part." *Cabinet* 36, Friendship Issue (2010): 107-11.
- Coysh, A. W. *The Dictionary of Picture Postcards in Britain, 1894-1939*. Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collector's Club, 1984.
- Cramsie, Patrick. *The Story of Graphic Design: From the Invention of Writing to the Birth of Digital Design*. London: British Library, 2010.

- Crisp, Peter. "Allegory and Symbol - a Fundamental Opposition?". *Language and Literature* 14, no. 4 (2005): 323-38.
- Cumpiano, Marion. "Joyce's Finnegans Wake." *The Explicator* 48, no. 1 (1989): 48-51.
- Cure, Monica. "Text with a View: Turn-of-the-Century Literature and the Invention of the Postcard." Ph.D., University of Southern California, 2012.
- D'cruze, Shani, and Jean Turnbull. "Fellowship and Family: Oddfellows' Lodges in Preston and Lancaster, c.1830-c.1890." *Urban History* 22, no. 01 (1995): 25-47.
- Dacome, Lucia. "Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 4 (2004): 603-25.
- Daley, Caroline. *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1999.
- . *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2003.
- Daloz, Jean-Pascal. *The Sociology of Elite Distinction: From Theoretical to Comparative Perspectives*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Daly, Kirsten. "'Return No More!': Highland Emigration and Romantic Nostalgia." *Literature & History* 9, no. 1 (2000): 24-42.
- Daunton, M. J. *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*. London: Athlone Press, 1985.
- Davies, Glenys. "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art." *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 4 (1985): 627-40.
- Dawkins, Richard. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- de Ruiter, Jan Peter. "Postcards from the Mind: The Relationship between Speech, Imagistic Gesture, and Thought." *Gesture* 7, no. 1 (2007): 21-38.
- De Vries, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Dean, Darron. "A Slipware Dish by Samuel Malkin: An Analysis of Vernacular Design." *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 3 (1994): 153-67.

- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone, 1995.
- DeRoo, Rebecca J. "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales." *Parallax* 4 (1998): 145-57.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* [La Carte Postale: de Socrate à Freud et au-delà (1980)]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Dewson, Emma. "Off to the Dance: Romance in Rural New Zealand Communities, 1880s-1920s." *History Australia* 2, no. 1 (2004): 05.1-05.8.
- di Leonardo, Micaela. "The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship." *Signs* 12, no. 3 (1987): 440-53.
- Dilnot, Clive. "Some Futures for Design History?". *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 377-94.
- . "The State of Design History, Part 1: Mapping the Field." In *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, edited by Victor Margolin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Dindia, Kathryn, Lindsay Timmerman, Emily Langan, Erin M. Sahlstein, and Jill Quandt. "The Function of Holiday Greetings in Maintaining Relationships." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 21, no. 5 (2004): 577-93.
- Dix, Robin. "Addison and the Concept of 'Novelty' as a Basic Aesthetic Category." *British Journal of Aesthetics* 26, no. 4 (1986): 383-90.
- Dobraszczyk, Paul. "Useful Reading? Designing Information for London's Victorian Cab Passengers." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): 121-41.
- Domanska, Ewa. "A Conversation with Hayden White." *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 12, no. 1 (2008): 3-21.
- Dotterer, Steven, and Galen Cranz. "The Picture Postcard: Its Development and Role in American Urbanization." *Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 1 (1982): 44-50.
- Downing, Arthur. "The Friendly Planet: 'Oddfellows', Networks, and the 'British World' c.1840-1914." *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 03 (2012): 389-414.
- Doyle, Peter. *British Postcards of the First World War*. Oxford: Shire, 2010.
- Drew, Rob. "'Once More, with Irony': Karaoke and Social Class." *Leisure Studies* 24, no. 4 (2005): 371-83.
- Driver, Felix. "In Search of The Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire." *History Workshop Journal* 69, no. 1 (2010): 146-57.

- Drucker, Johanna. *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1903-1923*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Drucker, Johanna, and Emily McVarish. *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2009.
- Dupuis, Ron. "Cufflinks with the Past." *Canadian Jeweller* 126, no. 3 (2005): 106.
- Duro, Paul, and Michael Greenhalgh. *Essential Art History*. London: Bloomsbury, 1992.
- Dûval, William, and Valerie Monahan. *Collecting Postcards in Colour*. Poole, UK: Blandford, 1978.
- Dyrenfurth, Nick. "Labour and Politics." *Labour History: A Journal of Labour and Social History*, no. 100 (2011): 105-26.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. "Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs." *Visual Studies* 17, no. 1 (2002): 67-75.
- . "Postcards - Greetings from Another World." In *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, edited by Tom Selwyn, 197-221. Chichester, UK: Wiley & Sons, 1996.
- Einzig, Barbara, ed. *Thinking About Art: Conversations with Susan Hiller*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Revised ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000 [1939].
- Elsner, John, and Roger Cardinal, eds. *The Cultures of Collecting*. Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- Éluard, Paul. "Les Plus Belles Cartes Postale." Translated by David Prochaska, Nancy Blake and Elizabeth Heuer. In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 133-55. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010 [1933].
- Engeman, Richard H. "Research Files: The Jefferson Peace Medal: Provenance and the Collections of the Oregon Historical Society." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 2 (2006): 290-98.
- Enstad, Nan. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Epp, Michael H. "The Traffic in Affect: Marietta Holley, Suffrage, and Late-Nineteenth-Century Popular Humour." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006): 93-115.

- Epstein, James A. *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Ertman, Thomas. "The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 8-9 (2010): 1000-22.
- Evans, Walker. "Main Street Looking North from Courthouse Square." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 157-66. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010 [1948].
- Farfan, Penny. "'The Picture Postcard is a Sign of the Times': Theatre Postcards and Modernism." *Theatre History Studies* 32 (2012): 93-119.
- Feeney, Warren. "The Establishment of the Canterbury Society of Arts: Forming the Taste, Judgement and Identity of a Province, 1850–1880." *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 2 (2010): 174-89.
- Feldman, David. "Jews in the East End, Jews in the Polity, 'The Jew' in the Text." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011): 1-25.
- Ferguson, Sandra. "'A Murmur of Small Voices': On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research." *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 167-84.
- Festa, Lynn M. *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Finkelstein, David. "'Jack's as Good as His Master': Scots and Print Culture in New Zealand, 1860-1900." *Book History* 6 (2003): 95-107.
- Fischer, Claude S. *A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Flores, Carol A. Hrvol. *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition*. New York: Rizzoli, 2006.
- Ford, Mark, ed. *London: A History in Verse*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Forty, Adrian. *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.
- Foster, Gary S., and Lisa New Freeland. "Hand in Hand Til Death Doth Part: A Historical Assessment of the Clasped-Hands Motif in Rural Illinois." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 100, no. 2 (2007): 128-46.
- Foucault, Michel. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. In *Language, Counter-Memory,*

- Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited by Donald F. Bouchard, 139-64. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Francesconi, Sabrina. "Multimodally Expressed Humour Shaping Scottishness in Tourist Postcards." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9, no. 1 (2011): 1-17.
- Franks, Peter. *Print and Politics: A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 2001.
- Fraser, John. "Propaganda on the Picture Postcard." *Oxford Art Journal* 3 no. 2 (1980): 39-47.
- Fraser, Lyndon, and Sarah Dwyer. "'When Rolling Seas Shall No More Divide Us': Transnationalism and the Local Geographies of Ulster Protestant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Canterbury." *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 2 (2009): 182-97.
- Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Frisby, David, and Mike Featherstone, eds. *Simmel on Culture*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Fry, Tony. "A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality." *Design Issues* 6, no. 1 (1989): 15-30.
- Fyfe, Gordon J. "Art and Reproduction: Some Aspects of the Relations between Painters and Engravers in London 1760–1850." In *Design and Aesthetics: A Reader*, edited by Jerry Palmer and Mo Dadson, 196-208. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Garber, Peter M. "Tulipmania." *Journal of Political Economy* 97, no. 3 (1989): 535-60.
- Garvey, Ellen Gruber. *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- . "Dreaming in Commerce: Advertising Trade Card Scrapbooks." In *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, edited by Leah Dilworth, 66-88. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Gaudreault, André, and Philippe Marion. "A Medium is Always Born Twice...." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 3, no. 1 (2005): 3-15.
- Gazeley, Ian, and Andrew Newell. "Poverty in Edwardian Britain." *The Economic History Review* 64, no. 1 (2011): 52-71.

- Geary, Christaud M., and Virginia-Lee Webb. *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*. Washington, WA: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- Geertz, Clifford. *An Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Gerber, David A. "Epistolary Ethics: Personal Correspondence and the Culture of Emigration in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 4 (2000): 3-23.
- Giedion, Siegfried. *Mechanisation Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Gifford, Daniel. "To You and Your Kin: Holiday Images from America's Postcard Phenomenon, 1907-1910." Doctoral Dissertation, George Mason University, 2011.
- Giles, David C., Stephen Pietrzykowski, and Kathryn E. Clark. "The Psychological Meaning of Personal Record Collections and the Impact of Changing Technological Forms." *Journal of Economic Psychology* 28, no. 4 (2007): 429-43.
- Gillen, Julia. "Writing Edwardian Postcards." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, no. 4 (2013): 488-521.
- Gillen, Julia, and Nigel Hall. "Any Mermaids? Early Postcard Mobilities." In *Mobile Methods*, edited by Monika Büscher, John Urry and K. Witchger. Hoboken, NJ: Routledge, 2010.
- . "The Edwardian Postcard: A Revolutionary Moment in Rapid Multimodal Communications." In *British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*. Manchester, 2009.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. "Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know about It." *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10-35.
- . "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method." *History Workshop Journal* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 1980 1980): 5-36.
- . "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method." *History Workshop Journal* 9, no. 1 (1980): 5-36.
- Godden, Geoffrey A. *Stevengraphs and Other Victorian Silk Pictures*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1971.
- Golden, Catherine J. "'Why is Raven Like a Writing Desk?': Post Office Reform, Collectible Commodities, and Victorian Culture." *Fourth Annual Postal History Symposium* (2009).

- Goldsworthy, Patricia. "Images, Ideologies, and Commodities: The French Colonial Postcard Industry in Morocco." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8, no. 2 (2010): 147-67.
- Golinski, Jan. "Joseph Priestly and the Chemical Sublime in British Public Science." In *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*, edited by Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and Christine Blondel. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Gweneth Nair. "The Myth of the Victorian Patriarchal Family." *The History of the Family* 7, no. 1 (2002): 125-38.
- Gorman, John. *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement*. London: Allen Lane, 1973.
- Gracyk, Theodore. "Delicacy in Hume's Theory of Taste." *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 9, no. 1 (2011): 1-16.
- Grant, David. *Jagged Seas: The New Zealand Seamen's Union 1879-2003*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Canterbury University Press, 2012.
- Grant, Kevin. "Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform Campaign in Britain." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 2 (2001): 27-58.
- Greasley, David, and Les Oxley. "The Pastoral Boom, the Rural Land Market, and Long Swings in New Zealand Economic Growth, 1873-1939." *The Economic History Review* 62, no. 2 (2009): 324-49.
- Greenberg, Clement. *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*. Boston, MA: Beacon, 1961.
- Guest, Kristen. "The Subject of Money: Late-Victorian Melodrama's Crisis of Masculinity." *Victorian Studies* 49, no. 4 (2007): 635-57.
- Guignon, Charles. *On Being Authentic*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Gurney, Peter. "'The Sublime of the Bazaar': A Moment in the Making of a Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England." *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 2 (2006): 385-405.
- Guyatt, Mary. "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion." *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 2 (2000): 93-105.
- Hall, Edith. "Classical Mythology in the Victorian Popular Theatre." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5, no. 3 (1999): 336-66.
- Hall, Sandra, ed. *Australian Film Index: A Guide to Australian Feature Films since 1900*. Port Melbourne, Australia: Thorpe, 1992.
- Hammond, Paul. *French Undressing: Naughty Postcards from 1900-1920*. London: Jupiter, 1976.

- Hancox, Barry. "Postcards, Moving Pictures & the New Zealand International Exhibition of 1906-7." *Postcard Pillar*, no. 79 (2007): 8-9.
- Handy, Ellen. "Outward and Visible Signs: Postcards and the Art-Historical Canon." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 120-32. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Haraway, Donna. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575-99.
- Harland-Jacobs, Jessica. "'Hands across the Sea': The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World." *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): 237-53.
- Harper, Glyn, ed. *Letters from the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home - 1914-18*. Auckland, New Zealand: HarperCollins, 2001.
- Harris, Jason. "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship During the Dutch Revolt." *Texas Studies in Literature & Language* 47 (2005): 299-325.
- Harthan, John. *The History of the Illustrated Book: The Western Tradition*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.
- Harvey, Charles, Jon Press, and Mairi Maclean. "William Morris, Cultural Leadership, and the Dynamics of Taste." *Business History Review* 85, no. 02 (2011): 245-71.
- Harvey, Karen, ed. *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Hasan-Rokem, Galit. "Jews as Postcards, or Postcards as Jews: Mobility in a Modern Genre." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 4 (2009): 505-46.
- Heeren, John W. "Emotional Simultaneity and the Construction of Victim Unity." *Symbolic Interaction* 22, no. 2 (1999): 163-79.
- Henning, Jon. "New Zealand: An Antipodean Exception to Master Servant Rules." *New Zealand Journal of History* 41, no. 1 (2007): 62-82.
- Henrich, Joseph, Robert Boyd, and Peter J. Richerson. "Five Misunderstandings About Cultural Evolution." *Human Nature: An Interdisciplinary Biosocial Perspective* 19, no. 2 (2008): 119-37.
- Hess, Jillian M. "Coleridge's Fly-Catchers: Adapting Commonplace-Book Form." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 73, no. 3 (2012): 463-83.
- Hewitt, John. "Designing the Poster in England, 1890-1914." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (2007): 57-70.

- Higgins, David. "Art, Genius, and Racial Theory in the Early Nineteenth Century: Benjamin Robert Haydon." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 58 (2004): 17-40.
- Highmore, Ben. "The Design of Everyday Life." *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 3 (2009): 288-90.
- . *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . *Michel De Certeau: Analysing Culture*. London: Continuum, 2006.
- . "Walls without Museums: Anonymous History, Collective Authorship and the Document." *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 2 (2007): 1-20.
- Hill, C. W. *Picture Postcards*. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 2007 [1987].
- Hill, Charles A. "The Psychology of Rhetorical Images." In *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, edited by Charles A. Hill, 25-40. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004.
- Hill, Lisa, and Peter McCarthy. "Hume, Smith and Ferguson: Friendship in Commercial Society." In *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity*, edited by Preston T. King and Heather Devere, 33-49. London: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Hillier, Bevis. *The Style of the Century*. 2nd ed. London: Herbert, 1998.
- Hirst, John. *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Hoggart, Richard. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life, with Special References to Publications and Entertainments*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957.
- Hollis, Richard. *Graphic Design: A Concise History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Holly, Michael Ann. "Responses to Mieke Bal's 'Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture' (2003)." *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 2 (2003): 238-42.
- Holt, Tonie, and Valmai Holt. *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age: A Collector's Guide*. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971.
- . *Till the Boys Come Home: The Picture Postcard of the First World War*. London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1977.

- Hook, Sara Anne. "You've Got Mail: Hospital Postcards as a Reflection of Health Care in the Early Twentieth Century." *Journal of the Medical Library Association* 93, no. 3 (2005): 386.
- Howard, June. "What Is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11, no. 1 (1999): 63-81.
- Hudgins, Nicole. "A Historical Approach to Family Photography: Class and Individuality in Manchester and Lille, 1850-1914." *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (2010): 559-86.
- Hudson, Graham. *The Design and Printing of Ephemera in Britain and America 1720-1920*. London: British Library, 2008.
- Hunnisett, Basil. *Engraved on Steel: The History of Picture Production Using Steel Plates*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998.
- Hunter, Ian. "Making a Little Go Further: Capital and the New Zealand Entrepreneur." *Business History* 49, no. 1 (2007): 52-74.
- Hutton, Ronald. *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Huynh, Tu T. "Loathing and Love: Postcard Representations of Indentured Chinese Laborers in South Africa's Reconstruction, 1904-10." *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 9, no. 4 (2008): 395-425.
- Illouz, Eva. *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
- Immel, Andrea. "Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 29, no. 1 (2005): 65-86.
- Ingold, Tim. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- . *Lines: A Brief History*. Oxford: Routledge, 2007.
- . "When Ant Meets Spider: Social Theory for Arthropods." In *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, edited by Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett, 209-15. New York: Springer, 2008.
- Jackson, Alan. *Burton Bros and Muir and Moodie of Dunedin: Their Photographs and Postcards*. Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 1985.
- . *New Zealand Postcards: Rates & Regulations to 1939*. Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 1984.
- . "Who Published the First New Zealand Postcards." *Postcard Pillar*, no. 100 (2013): 65-69.

- Jackson, Kathy Merlock. "Psychological First Aid: The Hallmark Company, Greeting Cards, and the Response to September 11." *Journal of American Culture* 28, no. 1 (2005): 11-28.
- Jacob, Margaret C., and Matthew Kadane. "Missing, Now Found in the Eighteenth Century: Weber's Protestant Capitalist." *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (2003): 20-49.
- Jacqué, Bernard. "Luxury Perfected: The Ascendency of French Wallpaper 1770-1870." In *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, edited by Lesley Hoskins, 56-75. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. "Packaged Sentiments: The Social Meanings of Greeting Cards." *Journal of Material Culture* 4, no. 2 (1999): 115-41.
- Jarron, Matthew. "Introduction." *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 11 (2006): 7-9.
- Jeffery, Keith. "Crown, Communication and the Colonial Post: Stamps, the Monarchy and the British Empire." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 45-70.
- Jespersen, John Kresten. "Originality and Jones' the Grammar of Ornament of 1856." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (2008).
- Johns, Timothy. "Birth of a Medium: Dickens, Griffith, and the Advent of Sentimental Cinema." *Victorian Studies* 52, no. 1 (2009): 76-85.
- Johnson, Harry M. "The History of British and American Fire Marks." *Journal of Risk and Insurance* 39, no. 3 (1972): 405-18.
- Johnston, Rosslyn Joan. "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea: A Study of the Colour Print Products, Printers, Technology and Markets in New Zealand, 1830-1914." Doctoral Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, 2002.
- Jones, Barbara, and William Ouellette. *Erotic Postcards*. London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1977.
- Jones, Tom Devonshire. "Ackermann's Repository 1809-28." *British Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (2010): 69-74.
- Jury, David. *Graphic Design before Graphic Designers: The Printer as Designer and Craftsman 1700-1914*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.
- Kaiser, Wolfram. "Cultural Transfer of Free Trade at the World Exhibitions, 1851-1862." *The Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 3 (2005): 563-90.
- Kaukiainen, Yrjö "Shrinking the World: Improvements in the Speed of Information Transmission, c.1820-1870." *European Review of Economic History* 5, no. 01 (2001): 1-28.

- Keen, Paul. "The "Balloomania": Science and Spectacle in 1780s England." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 4 (2006): 507-35.
- Kelly, Veronica. "Beauty and the Market: Actress Postcards and their Senders in Early Twentieth-Century Australia." *New Theatre Quarterly* 20, no. 02 (2004): 99-116.
- Kennedy, Chris. "'Just Perfect!' The Pragmatics of Evaluation in Holiday Postcards." In *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, edited by Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard. Tourism and Cultural Change, 223-46. Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2005.
- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Kessous, Aurélie, and Elyette Roux. "A Semiotic Analysis of Nostalgia as a Connection to the Past." *Qualitative Market Research* 12, no. 2 (2008): 192-212.
- Keyser, Barbara Whitney. "Ornament as Idea: Indirect Imitation of Nature in the Design Reform Movement." *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998): 127-44.
- Kim, Linda. "A Law of Unintended Consequences: United States Postal Censorship of Lynching Photographs." *Visual Resources* 28, no. 2 (2012): 171-93.
- Klein, S., L. Cosmides, C. Gangi, B. Jackson, J. Tooby, and K. Costabile. "Evolution and Episodic Memory: An Analysis and Demonstration of a Social Function of Episodic Recollection." *Social Cognition* 27, no. 2 (2009): 283-319.
- Kleinberg-Levin, David Michael. "The Invisible Hands of Capital and Labour: Using Merleau Ponty's Phenomenology to Understand the Meaning of Alienation in Marx's Theory of Manual Labour." *Philosophy Social Criticism* 31, no. 1 (2005): 53-67.
- Klich, Lynda. "Little Women: The Female Nude in the Golden Age of Picture Postcards." *Visual Resources* 17, no. 4 (2001): 435-48.
- Klich, Lynda, and Benjamin Weiss. *The Postcard Age: Selections from the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*. Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 2012.
- Kogan, Lee. "Sparkle Plenty." *Magazine Antiques* 179, no. 4 (2012): 106-09.
- Konecki, Krzysztof Tomasz "Touching and Gesture Exchange as an Element of Emotional Bond Construction. Application of Visual Sociology in the Research on Interaction between Humans and Animals." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9, no. 3 (2008): 1-43.
- Kopytoff, Igor. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural*

- Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Korff, Gottfried. "From Brotherly Handshake to Militant Clenched Fist: On Political Metaphors for the Worker's Hand." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 42 (1992): 70-81.
- Krauss, Rosalind E. *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986.
- Kriegel, Lara. *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Kunard, Andrea. "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): 227-43.
- Kürti, Lázló. "Picture Perfect: Community and Commemoration in Postcards." In *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, edited by Sarah Pink, Lázló Kürti and Ana Isabel Afonso, 47-71. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Lake, Marilyn. "The White Man under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia." *History Workshop Journal* 58, no. 1 (2004): 41-62.
- Last, Jay T. *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*. Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . "Spheres and Networks: Two Ways to Reinterpret Globalization." *Harvard Design Magazine* 30, Spring/Summer (2009): 138-44.
- Lauterbach, C, and A. Jakovsky. *A Picture Postcard Album: A Mirror of the Times*. Translated by Joan Bradley. London: Thames and Hudson, 1961.
- Law, Graham. "'Nothing but a Newspaper': The Contested Space of Serial Fiction in the 1840s Press." In *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, edited by Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, 29-49. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Law, John. *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Law, John, and Annemarie Mol. "The Actor-Enacted: Cumbrian Sheep in 2001." In *Material Agency*, edited by Carl Knappett and Lambros Malafouris, 57-77. New York: Springer, 2008.
- Law, John, and John Urry. "Enacting the Social." *Economy and Society* 33, no. 3 (2004): 390-410.

- Lear, Bernadette A. "Wishing They Were There: Old Postcards and Library History." *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 43, no. 1 (2008): 77-101.
- Lees-Maffei, Grace. "The Production-Consumption-Mediation Paradigm." *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 4 (2009): 351-76.
- Leeson, R. A. *United We Stand: An Illustrated Account of Trade Union Emblems*. Bath, UK: Adams & Dart, 1971.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991.
- Leonard, Alan. "Hands across the Sea." *Picture Postcard Annual* 26 (2006): 4-8.
- . "Hands across the Sea." *Picture Postcard Monthly*, January 2005, 12-13.
- Lepore, Jill. "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography." *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 129-44.
- Lerner, Laurence D. "Cliché and Commonplace." *Essays in Criticism* VI, no. 3 (1956): 249-65.
- Leslie, Esther. "Walter Benjamin: Traces of Craft." *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 1 (1998): 5-13.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966.
- Lindahl, Carl. "Transition Symbolism on Tombstones." *Western Folklore* 45, no. 3 (1986): 165-85.
- Liu, Alan. *The Laws of Cool: Knowledge Work and the Culture of Information*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Livingstone, David N. *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion and the Politics of Human Origins*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Long, Jason. "The Socioeconomic Return to Primary Schooling in Victorian England." *The Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 4 (2006): 1026-53.
- Lynch, Kathryn L. "'What Hands Are Here?' The Hand as Generative Symbol in Macbeth." *Review of English Studies* 39, no. 153 (1988): 29-38.
- Mader, Rodney "Print Culture Studies and Technological Determinism." *College Literature* 36, no. 2 (2009): 131-40.
- Mahoney, Kristin. "Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Collecting in *The Connoisseur*: An Illustrated Magazine for

- Collectors, 1901-1914." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 2 (2012): 175-99.
- Main, William. "Millar & Lang, Ltd., Art Printers and Publishers Darnley Works, Darnley St., Glasgow." *Postcard Pillar*, no. 82 (2008): 14-15.
- . *Send Me a Postcard: New Zealand Postcards and the Story They Tell*. Nelson, New Zealand: Craig Potton 2007.
- . "Some Notes on the Life and Times of Thomas Muir and George Moodie." *Postcard Pillar Annual* 1 (2009): 4-17.
- Main, William, and Alan Jackson. *"Wish You Were Here": The Story of New Zealand Postcards*. Nelson, New Zealand: New Zealand Postcard Society, 2004.
- Main, William, and John B. Turner. *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*. Auckland, New Zealand: PhotoForum, 1993.
- Malone, E. P. "The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology." *New Zealand Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (1973): 12-27.
- Malz, Diana. "Arthur Morrison, Criminality, and Late-Victorian Maritime Subculture." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011): 1-25.
- Mankowitz, Wolf. *Wedgwood*. 3rd ed. Wigston, UK: Magna, 1992.
- Mansfield, Nick. *Radical Rhymes and Union Jacks: A Search for Evidence of Ideologies in 19th Century Banners*. Manchester Papers in Economic and Social History. Vol. 45, Manchester: Manchester University, 2000.
- Markwick, Marion. "Postcards from Malta: Image, Consumption, Context." *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 2 (2001): 417-38.
- Masten, April F. "Shake Hands? Lilly Martin Spencer and the Politics of Art." *American Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (2004): 348-94.
- Matthews-Jones, Lucinda. "Lessons in Seeing: Art, Religion and Class in the East End of London, 1881-1898." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, no. 3 (2011): 385-403.
- Matthews, Samantha. "Album." *Victorian Review* 34, no. 1 (2008): 13-17.
- . "'O for the Touch of a Vanished Hand': The Touching Testimony of a Victorian Epigraph." *British Association for Victorian Studies Yearbook and Directory of Members* (2009): 20-34.
- . "Psychological Crystal Palace?: Late Victorian Confession Albums." *Book History* 3 (2000): 125-54.

- Mauelshagen, Franz. "Networks of Trust: Scholarly Correspondence and Scientific Exchange in Early Modern Europe." *The Medieval History Journal* 6, no. 1 (2003): 1-32.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*. Translated by W. D. Halls. London: Routledge, 1990 [1954].
- McAloon, Jim. "Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation." *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, no. 1 (2004): 1-21.
- McClure, Margaret. *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2004.
- McDonald, Ian. "Postcards and Politics." *History Today* 44, no. 1 (1994): 5.
- McDonnell, Myles. *Roman Manliness: "Virtus" and the Roman Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- McKay, Elaine. "'For Refreshment and Preserving Health': The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England." *Historical Research* 81, no. 211 (2008): 52-74.
- McKearin, George S., and Helen McKearin. *American Glass: The Fine Art of Glass Making in America*. New York: Crescent, 1989.
- McKenzie, D. F., and K. A. Coleridge. *Printing, Bookselling & their Allied Trades in New Zealand circa 1900: Extracts from The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand Compiled as Materials Towards a History*. Wellington, New Zealand: Wai-te-ata, 1980.
- McLean, Gavin. *The Southern Octopus: The Rise of a Shipping Empire*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 1990.
- McNeill, J. R., and William H. McNeill. *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003.
- McNeill, W. K. "Popular Songs from New York Autograph Albums 1820-1900." *Journal of Popular Culture* 3, no. 1 (1969): 46-56.
- McWilliam, Rohan "Victorian Sensations, Neo-Victorian Romances: Response." *Victorian Studies* 52, no. 1 (2009): 106-13.
- . "What is Interdisciplinary about Victorian History Today?". 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 1 (2005): 1-29.
- Mecklenburg-Faenger, Amy. "Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth Century Scrapbooks." *Genders*, no. 55 (2012): [unpaginated online journal].
- Medema, Steven G. *The Hesitant Hand: Taming Self-Interest in the History of Economic Ideas*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

- Meggs, Philip B. *A History of Graphic Design*. 2nd ed. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992.
- Meikle, Jeffrey L. "A Paper Atlantis: Postcards, Mass Art, and the American Scene. The Eleventh Reyner Banham Memorial Lecture." *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): 267-86.
- Meikle, Jeffrey L. "Pasteboard Views: Idealising Public Space in American Postcards 1931-1953." In *Public Space and the Ideology of Place in American Culture*, edited by Miles Orvell and Jeffrey L. Meikle, 111-33. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009.
- . "Writing about Stuff: The Peril and Promise of Design History and Criticism." In *Writing Design: Words and Objects*, edited by Grace Lees-Maffei, 23-32. London: Berg, 2012.
- Mellinger, Wayne Martin. "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 756-79.
- Melman, Billie. "Claiming the Nation's Past: The Invention of an Anglo-Saxon Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no. 3/4 (1991): 575-95.
- Mercer, John. "A Mark of Distinction: Branding and Trade Mark Law in the UK from the 1860s." *Business History* 52, no. 1 (2010): 17-42.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phenomenology of Perception*. Translated by Colin Smith. London: Routledge, 2002 [1962].
- . *The Visible and the Invisible* [Le Visible et l'invisible]. Translated by Alphonso Lingis. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968.
- Micklethwait, John, and Adrian Wooldridge. *The Company: A Short History of a Revolutionary Idea*. New York: Modern Library, 2003.
- Middleton, Sue. "Emigrants of the Labouring Classes': Capital, Labour and Learning in Wellington, 1840-45." In *Australian Association for Research in Education Conference*. Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, 2008.
- Miettinen, Timo. "Phenomenology and the Body Politic." *Philosophy Today* 55 (2011): 162-68.
- Miles, Alice Catherine. *Every Girl's Duty: The Diary of a Victorian Debutante*. London: BCA, 1992.
- Miller, Alisa. "Rupert Brooke and the Growth of Commercial Patriotism in Great Britain, 1914-1918." *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 141-62.

- Miller, Lucasta. "Sex and the Woman Writer: Charlotte Brontë and the Cautionary Tale of Letitia Elizabeth Landon." *Bronte Studies* 36, no. 1 (2011): 38-43.
- Mink, Louis O. "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument." In *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, edited by Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, 129-49. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. "Language and Vision in the Eighteenth Century." Review of *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* by Ronald Paulson. *MLN* 91, no. 6 (1976): 1627-34.
- Mollerup, Per. *Marks of Excellence: The History and Taxonomy of Trademarks*. London: Phaidon, 1997.
- Moors, Annelies. "Presenting People: The Politics of Picture Postcards of Palestine/Israel." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 93-105. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Morris, Ewan. *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005.
- Moseley, Charles. *A Century of Emblems*. Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1989.
- Mullan, John. *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*. London: Faber and Faber, 2007.
- Munslow, Alun. *Narrative and History*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Musson, A. E. *Trade Union and Social Studies*. Oxford: Routledge, 1974.
- Myrone, Martin. "Instituting English Folk Art." *Visual Culture in Britain* 10, no. 1 (2009): 27-52.
- Nead, Lynda. "The Age of the 'Hurrygraph': Motion, Space and the Visual Image, ca. 1900." In *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, edited by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, 99-113. New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010.
- Nelson, Cary. "Love Your Panzer Corps: Rediscovering the Wartime Poem Card." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 167-81. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- . "Martial Lyrics: The Vexed History of the Wartime Poem Card." *American Literary History* 16, no. 2 (2004): 263-89.

- . "Only Death Can Part Us: Messages on Wartime Cards." *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies*, no. 8/9 (2006): 25-43.
- Neuendorf, Kimberly A. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.
- Newsinger, John. "Liberal Imperialism and the Occupation of Egypt in 1882." *Race & Class* 49, no. 3 (2008): 54-75.
- Norman, Donald A. *Emotional Design: Why We Love (or Hate) Everyday Things*. New York: Basic, 2004.
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. *Victorian Women Artists*. London: Women's Press, 1987.
- O'Brien, John. "Postcard to Moscow." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 182-93. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- O'Connor, Erin. "Epitaph for the Body Politic." *Science as Culture* 11, no. 3 (2002): 405-14.
- O'Connor, Peter, and Aaron M. Cohen. "Thoughts on the Precipice: Japanese Postcards, c.1903-39." *Japan Forum* 13, no. 1 (2001): 55-62.
- O'Donnell, Mary Louise. "A Driving Image of Revolution: The Irish Harp and Its Utopian Space in the Eighteenth Century." *Utopian Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010): 252-73.
- O'Donohoe, Stephanie, and Darach Turley. "Till Death Us Do Part? Consumption and the Negotiation of Relationships Following a Bereavement." *Advances in Consumer Research* 32, no. 1 (2005): 625-26.
- O'Gorman, James F. "More about Velázquez and Alciati." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28, no. 3 (1965): 225-28.
- O'Neill, Lindsay. "'Speaking Letters': Epistolary Networks, Communication, and Community in the Wider British World, 1660-1760." Ph.D., Yale University, 2008.
- O'Neill, Morna. "Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians." In *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, edited by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, 1-11. New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010.
- . "Pandora's Box: Walter Crane, 'Our Sphinx-Riddle,' and the Politics of Decoration." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2007): 309-26.
- Orapallo, Gabriele. "Design as a Language without Words: A G. Fronzoni." In *Writing Design: Words and Objects*, edited by Grace Lees-Maffei, 205-17. London: Berg, 2012.

- Orvell, Miles. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. "The Postcard as Media." *Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 24, no. 3 (2004): 423-42.
- Otter, Chris. *With the Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Ouellette, William. *Fantasy Postcards*. London: Sphere, 1975.
- Packer, Ian. "The Great Liberal Landslide: The 1906 General Election in Perspective." *Historian*, no. 89 (2006): 8-16.
- Palczewski, Catherine H. "The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 4 (2005): 365-94.
- Pangle, Lorraine Smith. *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Papson, Stephen. "From Symbolic Exchange to Bureaucratic Discourse: The Hallmark Greeting Card." *Theory, Culture & Society* 3, no. 2 (1986): 99-111.
- Patterson, Nancy-Lou. "United Above Though Parted Below: The Hand as Symbol on Nineteenth-Century Southwest Ontario Gravestones." *Markers* 6 (1989): 180-206.
- Patterson, Steven. "Postcards from the Raj." *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 2 (2006): 142-58.
- Paull, John. "Meme Maps: A Tool for Configuring Memes in Time and Space." *European Journal of Scientific Research* 31, no. 1 (2009): 11-18.
- Pennell, Sara. "Mundane Materiality, or, Should Small Things Still Be Forgotten? Material Culture, Micro-Histories and the Problem of Scale." In *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, edited by Karen Harvey, 173-91. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Pepper, Stephen C. *World Hypotheses: A Study in Evidence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942.
- Peters, Christine. "Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England." *Past & Present*, no. 169 (2000): 63-96.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Pioneers of Modern Design*. Revised ed. London: Penguin, 1960.

- Phillips, Jock, and Terry Hearn. *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2008.
- Phillips, Mark Salber. "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of Sentimental History for Life." *History Workshop Journal* 65, no. 1 (2008): 49-64.
- . "Rethinking Historical Distance: From Doctrine to Heuristic." *History and Theory* 50, no. 4 (2011): 11-23.
- Phillips, Tom. *The Postcard Century: 2000 Cards and their Messages*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2000.
- Pietsch, Tamson. "A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 03 (2010): 423-46.
- Pool, Ian, Arunachalam Dharmalingam, and Janet Sceats. *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2007.
- Poole, Robert. "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England." *Past & Present* 192, no. 1 (2006): 109-53.
- Popp, Andrew. "Building the Market: John Shaw of Wolverhampton and Commercial Travelling in Early 19th Century England." *Business History* 49, no. 3 (2007): 321-47.
- Porter, Bernard. "'Empire, What Empire?' Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It." *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2004): 256-63.
- . "Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 101-17.
- Porter, David. "Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 395-411.
- Potvin, John, and Alla Myzelev, eds. *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009.
- Powell, Martyn J. "Political Toasting in Eighteenth-Century Ireland." *History* 91, no. 304 (2006): 508-29.
- Preston, Rebecca. "'Hope You Will Be Able to Recognise Us': The Representation of Women and Gardens in Early 20th Century British Domestic 'Real Photo' Postcards." *Women's History Review* 18, no. 5 (2009): 781-800.

- Pritchard, Annette, and Nigel Morgan. "Mythic Geographies of Representation and Identity: Contemporary Postcards of Wales." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 1, no. 2 (2003): 111-30.
- . "Representations of 'Ethnographic Knowledge': Early Comic Postcards in Wales." In *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, edited by Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard. Clevedon, UK: Channel View, 2005.
- Prochaska, David. "Exhibiting the Museum." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 106-19. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- . "Fantasia of the Photothèque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal." *African Arts* 24, no. 4 (1991): 40-98.
- Prochaska, David, and Jordana Mendelson, eds. *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Prom, Christopher J. "Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England." *Historian* 72, no. 4 (2010): 888-908.
- Puetz, Anne. "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 217-39.
- Pumfrey, Stephen. "Who Did the Work? Experimental Philosophers and Public Demonstrators in Augustan England." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 28, no. 2 (1995): 131-56.
- Quay, Sara E. "Homesickness in Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World*." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 18, no. 1 (1999): 39-58.
- Ranke, Leopold von, and Georg G. Iggers. *The Theory and Practice of History: Edited with an Introduction by Georg G. Iggers*. Hoboken: Routledge, 2010.
- Rappaport, Erika D. "'A New Era of Shopping': The Promotion of Women's Pleasure in London's West End, 1909-1914." In *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, edited by Jennifer Scanlon. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- . *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Readman, Paul. "The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914." *Past and Present* 186, no. 1 (2005): 147-99.
- Reckner, James R. *Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet*. Annapolis, MD: Bluejacket Books, Naval Institute Press, 1988.

- Reed, Christopher, ed. *A Roger Fry Reader*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Reid, Donald M. "The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian." *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 2 (1984): 223-49.
- Rich, Paul. "Researching Grandfather's Secrets: Rummaging in the Odd Fellow and Masonic Attics." *Journal of American Culture* 20, no. 2 (1997): 139-46.
- Richey, William. "The French Revolution: Blake's Epic Dialogue with Edmund Burke." *ELH* 59, no. 4 (1992): 817-37.
- Rickards, Maurice, and Michael Twyman. *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian*. London: British Library, 2000.
- Ricks, Stephen D. "Dexiosis and Dextrarum Iunctio: The Sacred Handclasp in the Classical and Early Christian World." *FARMS Review* 18, no. 1 (2006): 431-36.
- Riis, Steffen. *Danske Brevkort og Postkortets Historie 1871-2006* [in Danish]. Værløse, Denmark: Forlaget Ryget Skov, 2006.
- Rogan, Bjarne. "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication." *Cultural Analysis* 4 (2005): 1-27.
- Romans, Mervyn. "An Analysis of the Political Complexion of the 1835/6 Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures." *International Journal of Art & Design Education* 26, no. 2 (2007): 215-24.
- Roodenburg, Herman. "The 'Hand of Friendship': Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic." In *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, edited by Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, 152-89. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1991.
- Roper, Michael. "Nostalgia as an Emotional Experience in the Great War." *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 02 (2011): 421-51.
- Rose, Jonathan. "A Conservative Canon: Cultural Lag in the British Working-Class Reading Habits." *Libraries & Culture* 33, no. 1 (1998): 98-104.
- Rosenheim, Jeff L. *Walker Evans and the Picture Postcard*. New York: Steidl / Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009.
- Rosenthal, Margaret F. "Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum: British Library, MS Ergerton 1191." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): 619-41.

- Rosenzweig, Roy. *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Roth, Bert. *Days of Action: May Day, Eight Hour Day, Labour Day*. Wellington, New Zealand: Tade Union History Project, 1990.
- . *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present*. Wellington, New Zealand: Reed, 1973.
- Rowan, Clare. "The Public Image of the Severan Women." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 79 (2011): 241-73.
- Rowley, Alison. "Monarch and the Mundane: Picture Postcards and Images of the Romanovs, 1890-1917." *Revolutionary Russia* 22, no. 2 (2009): 125-52.
- . "Popular Culture and Visual Narratives of Revolution: Russian Postcards, 1905-22." *Revolutionary Russia* 21, no. 1 (2008): 1-31.
- Saltz, David Z. "Editorial Comment: Popular Culture and Theatre History." *Theatre Journal* 60, no. 4 (2008): x-xii.
- Samuel, Raphael. "Art, Politics and Ideology: Editorial Introduction." *History Workshop Journal* 6, no. 1 (1978): 101-06.
- Sandino, Linda. "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: Transient Materiality in Contemporary Cultural Artefacts." *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 3 (2004): 283-94.
- Saunders, Robert. "The Politics of Reform and Making of the Second Reform Act, 1848-1867." *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 03 (2007): 571-91.
- Savage, Mike. "Status, Lifestyle and Taste." In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, edited by Frank Trentmann, 551-67. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Saylor, Eric. "'It's Not Lambkins Frisking at All': English Pastoral Music and the Great War." *Musical Quarterly* 91, no. 1-2 (2008): 39-59.
- Schaffer, Simon. "Experimenters' Techniques, Dyers' Hands, and the Electric Planetarium." *Isis* 88, no. 3 (1997): 456-83.
- Scheffer, Carole. "Architectural Postcards and the Conception of Place: Mediating Cultural Experience." Ph.D., Concordia University, Canada, 1999.
- Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- . "The Fashioning of a Modern Holiday: St. Valentine's Day, 1840-1870." *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 4 (1993): 209-45.

- Schmiechen, James A. *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades 1860-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Schor, Naomi. "Cartes Postale: Representing Paris 1900." *Critical Inquiry* no. Winter (1992): 188-244.
- Schuster, David G. "Personalizing Illness and Modernity: S. Weir Mitchell, Literary Women, and Neurasthenia, 1870-1914." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 79, no. 4 (2005): 695-722.
- Serle, Percival. *Dictionary of Australian Biography*. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson, 1949.
- Shank, Barry. *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Sharma, Rajendra K. *Social Change and Social Control*. New Delhi, India: Atlantic, 1997.
- Sharpe, David. *Remember that Heavenly Ginger Beer? A History of Sharpe Bros*. Melbourne, Australia: Sharpe, 1992.
- Shep, Sydney J. "Cultures of Print: Materiality, Memory, and the Rituals of Transmission." *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 28, no. 2 (2010): 183-210.
- Shifman, Limor. "An Anatomy of a Youtube Meme." *New Media & Society* 14, no. 2 (2012): 187-203.
- Shrepp, Gregory. "Taking the Dawkins Challenge, or, The Dark Side of the Meme." *Journal of Folklore Research* 46, no. 1 (2009): 91-100.
- Siegert, Bernhard. *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System* [Relais: Gerschicke der Literatur als Epoche der Post, 1751-1913]. Translated by Kevin Repp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Sigel, Lisa Z. "Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914." *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (2000): 859-85.
- Silver, Allan. "Friendship in Commercial Society: Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Modern Sociology." *The American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 6 (1990): 1474-504.
- Simmons, Sherwin. "'Hand to the Friend, Fist to the Foe': The Struggle of Signs in the Weimar Republic." *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): 319-39.
- Simon, Jonathan. "Honoré Fragonard, Anatomical Virtuoso." In *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*, edited by Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and Christine Blondel, 141-58. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.

- Simpson, Mark. "Archiving Hate: Lynching Postcards at the Limit of Social Circulation." *English Studies in Canada* 30, no. 1 (2004): 17-38.
- Sinclair, Keith. *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*. Wellington, New Zealand: Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Singer, Ben. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and its Contexts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Skaggs, Steven. "Peirce's Sign Classes from the Viewpoint of a Graphic Designer." *Chinese Semiotic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2011): 268-79.
- Slide, Anthony. *The New Historical Dictionary of the American Film Industry*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998.
- Sloboda, Stacey. "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 3 (2008): 223-36.
- Sloterdijk, Peter. *Bubbles. Spheres Volume 1: Microspherology*. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011.
- Smith, Barbara Herrnstein. *On the Margins of Discourse: The Relation of Literature to Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Smith, J. H. D. *Picture Postcard Values 2000*. Colchester, UK: IPM, 2000.
- Smith, Kate. "Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London." *Journal of Design History* 25, no. 1 (2012): 1-10.
- Smith, Kimberly A. "Ambivalent Utopia: Franz Marc and Else Laske-Schüler's Primitivist Postcards." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 70-84. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Smythe, Michael. *New Zealand by Design: A History of New Zealand Product Design*. Auckland, New Zealand: Godwit, 2011.
- Snow, Rachel. "Correspondence Here: Real Photo Postcards and the Snapshot Aesthetic." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by Jordana Mendelson and David Prochaska, 42-53. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Solicari, Sonia. "Selling Sentiment: The Commodification of Emotion in Victorian Visual Culture." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* no. 4 (2007): 1-21.
- Solomon, Robert C. *In Defense of Sentimentality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Soni, Vivasvan. "The Tragedies of Sentimentalism: Privatizing Happiness in the Eighteenth Century." In *Individualism: The Cultural Logic of*

- Modernity*, edited by Zubin Meer, 179-206. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011.
- Sood, Gagan D. "The Informational Fabric of Eighteenth-Century India and the Middle East: Couriers, Intermediaries and Postal Communication." *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 5 (2009): 1085-116.
- Springhall, John. "The 'Penny Dreadful' Publishing Business in the City of London from 1860." *Historian*, no. 103 (2009): 14-21.
- Staff, Frank. *The Penny Post: 1680-1918*. London: Lutterworth, 1964.
- . *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*. 2nd ed. London: Lutterworth 1979.
- . *The Valentine & its Origins*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1969.
- Stafford, Barbara Maria. *The Cognitive Work of Images*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007.
- Stallybrass, Peter. "'Little Jobs': Broadsides and the Printing Revolution." In *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, edited by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin, 315-41. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.
- Stankiewicz, Mary Ann. "Chromo-Civilization and the Genteel Tradition (An Essay on the Social Value of Art Education)." *Studies in Art Education* 40, no. 2 (1999): 101-13.
- Stearns, Peter N. *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- . *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Stebbins, Robert A. *Leisure and Consumption: Common Ground / Separate Worlds*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Steel, Frances. *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c.1870-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Stephenson, Andrew. "Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912." In *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, edited by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, 251-84. New Haven, CT: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010.
- Stern, Ellen Stock. *The Very Best from Hallmark: Greetings Cards through the Years*. New York: Abrams, 1988.
- Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

- Stieber, Nancy. "Postcards and the Invention of Old Amsterdam around 1900." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 24-41. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Stone, Lawrence. "Prosopography." *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971): 46-79.
- Storey, John. *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.
- . "The Invention of the English Christmas." In *Christmas, Ideology and Popular Culture*, edited by Sheila Whiteley, 17-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- Streeck, Jürgen. "Depicting Gestures: Examples of the Analysis of Embodied Communication in the Arts of the West." *Gesture* 9, no. 1 (2009): 1-34.
- Sturken, Marita, and Lisa Cartwright. *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Styles, John. "Manufacturing, Consumption and Design in Eighteenth-Century England." In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, 527-54. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Sudnow, David. *Ways of the Hand: A Rewritten Account*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001.
- Summerfield, Penny. "Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment 1870-1914." In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 17-48. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Sumner, David E. *The Magazine Century: American Magazines since 1900*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Sutherland, Beth. *My Dear Chick: A New Zealand Love Story 1911-1948*. Masterton, New Zealand: Fraser, 2008.
- Taillon, Paul Michel. *Good, Reliable, White Men: Railroad Brotherhoods, 1877-1917*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Tallis, Raymond. *The Hand: A Philosophical Inquiry into Human Being*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.
- Terry, Gina Opdycke. "Image and Text in Nineteenth-Century Britain and its After-images." PhD, Texas A&M University, 2010.
- Terry, Richard. "David Simple and the Fallacy of Friendship." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 44, no. 3 (2004): 525-44.
- Teukolsky, Rachel. "White Girls: Avant-Gardism and Advertising after 1860." *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 3 (2009): 422-57.

- Tey, Josephine. *The Daughter of Time*. London: P. Davies, 1951.
- Thomas, Katie-Louise. "Racial Alliance and Postal Networks in Conan Doyle's 'A Study in Scarlet'." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2, no. 1 (2001): 1-17.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Thompson, Andrew S. *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c.1880-1932*. Harlow, UK: Longman, 2000.
- Thompson, Edward Palmer. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage, 1963.
- Thomson, Ellen Mazur. "Alms for Oblivion: The History of Women in Early American Graphic Design." In *Design History: An Anthology*, edited by Dennis P. Doordan, 63-85. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1995.
- Thurlow, Crispin, Adam Jaworski, and Virpi Yläne. "Transient Identities, New Mobilities: Holiday Postcards." In *Tourism Discourse*, edited by Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, 91-125. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Tosh, John, and Seán Lang. *The Pursuit of History*. 4th ed. Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2006.
- Truax, Elizabeth. "Emblematic Pictures for the Less Privileged in Shakespeare's England." *Comparative Drama* 29, no. 1 (1995): 147-67.
- Tuchinsky, Adam. *Horace Greeley's "New-York Tribune": Civil War-Era Socialism and the Crisis of Free Labor*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Turabian, Kate L. *A Manual for Writers of Research, Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*. 7th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Twyman, Michael. *Henry Bankes's Treatise on Lithography*. London: Printing Historical Society, 1976.
- Urry, John. *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Van der Velden, Maja, Tone Bratteteig, and Sisse Finken. "Entangled Matter: Thinking Differently about Materials in Design." In *Engaging Artifacts*. Oslo, Norway: Nordic Design Research, 2009.
- Van Laar, Timothy. "Views of the Ordinary and Other Scenic Disappointments." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*,

- edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 194-202.
University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. "Guilds and Middle-Class Welfare 1550-1800: Provisions for Burial, Sickness, Old Age, and Widowhood." *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 1 (2012): 61-90.
- Van Wie, Paul D. *Image, History, and Politics: The Coinage of Modern Europe*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999.
- Vann, Richard T. "Louis Mink's Linguistic Turn." *History and Theory* 26, no. 1 (1987): 1-14.
- Varnedoe, Kirk, and Adam Gopnik. *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1991.
- Venturi, Robert, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour. *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Revised ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977.
- Vickery, Amanda. "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81." In *Consumption in the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, 274-304. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Vieira, Ryan Anthony. "Connecting the New Political History with the Recent Theories of Temporal Acceleration: Speed, Politics, and the Cultural Imagination of Fin de Siècle Britain." *History and Theory* 50, no. 3 (2011): 373-89.
- Vincent, David. "The Progress of Literacy." *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2003): 405-31.
- Volpe, Andrea L. "Collecting the Nation: Visions of Nationalism in Two Civil War-Era Photograph Albums." In *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, edited by Leah Dilworth, 89-111. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Vorspan, Rachel. "'Rational Recreation' and the Law: The Transformation of Popular Urban Leisure in Victorian England." *McGill Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (2000): 891-974.
- Voskuil, Lynn M. "Feeling Public: Sensation Theater, Commodity Culture, and the Victorian Public Sphere." *Victorian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2002): 245-74.
- Waite, Noel. "The Octopus and Its Silent Teachers: A New Zealand Response to the British Book Trade." In *Worlds of Print: Diversity in the Book Trade*, edited by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong, 13-30. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006.
- Waitt, Gordon, and Lesley Head. "Postcards and Frontier Mythologies: Sustaining Views of the Kimberley as Timeless." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20 (2002): 319-44.

- Wall, Richard. "Family Relationships in Comic Postcards 1900-1930." *The History of the Family* 12, no. 1 (2007): 50-61.
- Wall, Richard, and Jay Winter. *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Wallace, Elizabeth Kowaleski. "The Needs of Strangers: Friendly Societies and Insurance Societies in Late Eighteenth-Century England." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 24, no. 2 (2000): 53-72.
- Warf, Barney. *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographics*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008.
- Warfield, Patrick. "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 289-318.
- Watson, James G. "'My Father's Unfailing Kindness': William Faulkner and the Idea of Home." *American Literature* 64, no. 4 (1992): 749-61.
- Watts, John. *Muir and Moodie Stamp Cards*. Auckland, New Zealand: Postal History Society of New Zealand, 2001.
- Weatherill, Lorna. "The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England." In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, 206-27. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Webb, Virginia-Lee. "Transformed Images: Photographers and Postcards in the Pacific Islands." In *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, edited by Christaud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, 115-45. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- Webber, George. "Early Austrian 'Dragon' Pictorial Card." *Picture Postcard Monthly*, no. 372 (2010): 19.
- . "The Myth of a Tuck 1894 Snowden PPC?". *Picture Postcard Monthly*, no. 309 (2005): 18-19.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus]. Translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958 [1905].
- Weima, Jeffrey A. D. "'Peace and Security' (1 Thess 5.3): Prophetic Warning or Political Propaganda?". *New Testament Studies* 58, no. 03 (2012): 331-59.
- West, Emily. "Expressing the Self through Greeting Card Sentiment." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 5 (2010): 451-69.
- . "Greeting Cards: Individuality and Authenticity in Mass Culture." Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

- Westaway, Jonathan. "The German Community in Manchester, Middle-Class Culture and the Development of Mountaineering in Britain, c.1850-1914." *The English Historical Review* 124, no. 508 (2009): 571-604.
- Wevers, Lydia. *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 2010.
- White, Hayden. "The Historical Text as Literary Artefact." In *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, edited by Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, 41-62. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- . "Interpretation in History." *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1973): 281-314.
- . "The Public Relevance of Historical Studies: A Reply to Dirk Moses." *History and Theory* 44, no. 3 (2005): 333-38.
- White, Jack. "Making Time for Family: The Invention of Family Time(s) and the Reinvention of Family History." *Journal of Family History* 21, no. 1 (1996): 4-13.
- Whittingham, Sarah. *Fern Fever: The Story of Pteridomania*. London: Frances Lincoln, 2012.
- Wichard, Robin, and Carol Wichard. *Victorian Cartes-de-Visite*. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 1999.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana, 1988.
- Willoughby, Martin. *A History of Postcards: A Pictorial Record from the Turn of the Century to the Present Day*. London: Studio Editions, 1992.
- Winder, Gordon M. "Seafarer's Gaze: Queen Street Business and Auckland's Archipelago, 1908." *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 1 (2006): 50-64.
- Windsor, David Burns. *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business*. London: Frederick Muller, 1980.
- Winterer, Caroline. "From Royal to Republican: The Classical Image in Early America." *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1264-90.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations* [Philosophische Untersuchungen]. Translated by G. E. M. Anscombe. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001 [1953].
- Wollock, Jeffrey. "John Bulwer (1606-1656) and the Significance of Gesture in 17th-Century Theories of Language and Cognition." *Gesture* 2, no. 2 (2002): 227-58.

- Wong, Yoke-Sum. "Beyond (and Below) Incommensurability." *Common Knowledge* 8, no. 2 (2002): 333-56.
- Wood, Amy Louise. "Lynching Photography and the Visual Reproduction of White Supremacy." *American Nineteenth Century History* 6, no. 3 (2005): 373-99.
- Woodham, Jonathan M. "Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map." *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 3 (2005): 257-67.
- . *Twentieth Century Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Woods, Christine. "Proliferation: Late 19th Century Papers, Markets and Manufacturers." In *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper*, edited by Lesley Hoskins, 150-70. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Woods, Thomas E. "Cobden on Freedom, Peace, and Trade." *Human Rights Review* 5, no. 1 (2003): 77-90.
- Woody, Howard. "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895-1915)." In *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, edited by Christaud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, 13-43. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- Wosh, Peter J. "Going Postal." *The American Archivist* 61, no. 1 (1998): 220-39.
- Yeo, Richard. "John Locke on Conversation with Friends and Strangers." *Parergon* 26, no. 2 (2009): 11-37.
- Young, Alan S. "A Genealogy of Graphic Design in Victoria." PhD, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, 2005.
- Young, Linda. *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2003.
- Yousef, Nancy. "Feeling for Philosophy: Shaftesbury and the Limits of Sentimental Certainty." *ELH* 78, no. 3 (2011): 602-32.
- Yüksel, Atila, and Olcay Akgül. "Postcards as Affective Image Makers: An Idle Agent in Destination Marketing." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 3 (2007): 714-25.
- Zboray, Ronald J., and Mary Saracino Zboray. "Is It a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit? Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives." *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 44, no. 1 (2009): 101-23.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

- Zervigón, Andrés Mario. "Postcards to the Front: John Heartfield, George Grosz, and the Birth of Avant-Garde Photomontage." In *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, edited by David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, 54-69. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Zimmerman, David A. "Frank Norris, Market Panic, and the Mesmeric Sublime." *American Literature* 75, no. 1 (2003): 61-90.
- Zumkhawala-Cook, Richard. *Scotland as We Know It: Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008.