

## “IF YOUR GROCER DOES NOT KEEP THE IVORY SOAP”: Palmer Cox, The Brownies, and 19th Century Marketing

Wayne Morgan, Independent Curator

In the history of marketing, 2003 marks the 120th anniversary of a little known milestone: the first known occurrence in advertising of the use of an author's characters with permission and to the author's benefit. The author was Palmer Cox, the characters were The Brownies, and the product advertised was Ivory Soap. Long recognized as a children's author/illustrator, Cox also played a pre-eminent role in the development of licensing, pioneering the merchandising of one artistic creation across a range of retail and advertising markets. Active during a period of great socioeconomic change, Cox was pivotal to the marketing of many new brand products, and served as an exemplar for subsequent artists and entrepreneurs from Outcault to Disney.

On Tuesday, 13 November 1883 on the front cover of Harper's Young People, an illustrated weekly appeared a panel drawing depicting forty-six energetic little figures pumping water, clambering over a steaming tub, hauling clothing up to a washtub stand, and cutting a bar of soap in two with a piece of thread. Below was a verse describing the “cunning Brownie band” that did the weekly wash with Ivory Soap (“famous” for floating) while the household slept. The product was described for general uses and for toilet use if divided in two. At the bottom of the page it was stated that “If your grocer does not keep the Ivory Soap, send four three-cent stamps ... to PROCTER & GAMBLE, Cincinnati, and they will send you, free, a large cake of the Ivory Soap....” The author/illustrator was Palmer Cox, the little figures were The Brownies, and the man who hired Cox was Harley Procter, salesmanager [sic] of the family firm Procter & Gamble.

This magazine cover is the first known use<sup>1</sup> in advertising of an author's characters with his permission and to his profit<sup>2</sup>— and it serves as an introduction to a little-known intersection between artistic creation, popular culture, and the burgeoning world of marketing.

Harley Procter was both visionary and astute, determined to develop effective long-term national advertising to sell Ivory Soap. His choice of Palmer Cox demonstrated his sensitivity to visual impact, as Cox was then just beginning to establish the reputation which would

later see him acclaimed as one of the most successful authors/illustrators of children's literature. Cox's first submissions to children's magazines<sup>3</sup> had featured fable-like images of animals engaging in human activities, to which he later added humorous verse. As Harley Procter searched through magazines for artists whom he could engage to draw Ivory Soap advertisements, Cox's funny animal images jumped off the pages of dense grey type.<sup>4</sup>

At that point Procter had been doing consumer advertising for only a year, relying upon an image of two female hands cutting apart a bar of the new soap. Eschewing more common forms of advertising such as trade cards, booklets, pamphlets and almanacs, Procter favored advertising in the relatively few periodicals to reach a national audience.<sup>5</sup> It is not known if Procter asked Cox specifically for a Brownie-based advertisement, or if it was Cox's decision to introduce The Brownies. At that time advertising resulted from a relationship between the company and artist (or printer) in which the degree of direction and control could vary widely. Regardless, the period of 1883 through early 1886 saw Cox provide over forty ads for Ivory soap, firmly establishing a public identity for Ivory as a Procter & Gamble brand as it grew to dominate the white soap market.

Cox's success with Ivory was to be mirrored by accomplishments in a range of other endeavors, and served as a harbinger of The Brownies' extensive activity in the marketplace over the next forty years.

An immigrant from Canada, Palmer Cox (1840-1924) had first earned his living in California, rising from carpenter to contractor supplying railway cars. He applied his business acumen to an artistic vocation, and after publishing a successful book of humorous sketches, he arrived in New York in 1875 to pursue a career in writing and illustrating books of anecdotal humor. While initially working for such comic papers as Wild Oats, he also sought work as an advertising artist — a practice he maintained for the next fifteen years.

In 1879 Cox switched from comic papers to the increasingly lucrative children's market and quickly saw his work published in such periodicals as St. Nicholas, Wide

Awake, and Our Young People. New ideas about childhood and education were filtering into American society, leading some writers to turn away from the humorless didacticism which had previously characterized much of the literature intended for children. The editor of *St. Nicholas*, Mary Mapes Dodge, was a leading proponent of teaching through wholesome example and fun rather than by direct prescription and threat<sup>6</sup> – an approach compatible with Cox's values.

In the fall of 1882 Cox submitted an illustrated poem called "The Brownies' Ride" to *St. Nicholas*. Three large drawings of small elf-like creatures harnessing a horse to a cart and then riding throughout the countryside were interspersed in a rhyming text which told the story of the "cunning Brownie band"<sup>7</sup>'s adventure, in which they borrowed a farmer's mare and returned her before sunrise. While less sophisticated than subsequent stories, "The Brownies' Ride" made clear the essence of The Brownies' appeal: the child-like curiosity and sense of fun, the democratic comradeship of a leaderless band in a parentless world, and the investigation of the contemporary world and its mastery through some sort of technology.

Cox based these characters<sup>7</sup> upon folktales he had heard from his mother and stepmother while growing up in a then Scottish settlement in present-day Quebec. From Scotland and the West Country, the Brownies come in several variations but have a unique distinguishing attribute among denizens of the fairy world: a positive relationship with humans. When properly treated, Brownies would do farm and household chores at night. To this folkloric base Cox added the characteristics of the trooping fairies,<sup>8</sup> which gave him further imaginative possibilities for mass excursions and fun.

As Cox developed them, the Brownies moved beyond the constraints of tradition to become a group of national and professional characters. Two Brownies, who would come to be called The Twins, were created to establish a link to the original legends, with beards and striped stocking headgear. The Scottish, German, and Irish characters were followed by the Cadet, the Dude and hundreds of plain Brownies. As *St. Nicholas*' international distribution reached English, French, and German speakers around the globe, the Brownies' young fans asked to see themselves and their friends represented in the troop. Children on the prairie asked for their Indian friends to be included.<sup>9</sup> The Canadian, the Turk, the Italian, the Policeman, the Sailor and dozens of others joined the leaderless band now standing as a metaphor for the immigrants coming to the United States.

Over the next five years *St. Nicholas* featured more than twenty further Brownie adventures. Told in simple rhymes and dense complicated visual panels full of Brownies, the stories were contemporary adventures, in which The Brownies went roller-skating and tobogganing, they played tennis and baseball, and they went to the circus, the menagerie and the gymnasium. Wherever the USA had a business or state interest around the world – in

embassies, in forts, on rubber plantations -- children received *St. Nicholas* from relatives back home. Their letters published in *St. Nicholas* frequently commented upon favorite characters (such as "the Dude"), reiterated that parents or grandparents read "The Brownies" out loud to the children, or simply pleaded for more Brownie stories.

The *St. Nicholas* stories were brought together and published in time for Christmas of 1887 as *The Brownies: Their Book*, in a masterful design by DeVinne Press which integrated images of Brownies throughout the book. Brownies climbed up the book's spine, leaned against the title, peeked around the cover and ran off the back -- all in colour, which they lacked inside. Within the book The Brownies stood around in the table of contents, held up letters, played in the text, stood behind the letters reading newspapers and played baseball within the text. The resulting effect of a scrambling youthful curiosity about the world perfectly communicated a sense of fun and exploration.

The Brownies' core popularity as literary characters enhanced their appeal for use in advertising. In the 1880s American manufacturers faced the pressures of increased production and speed of delivery, and needed to sell more product. Traditionally, pursuit of sales meant advertising to dealers and the use of agents, sometimes supplemented by mail-order business. A planned large-scale approach to advertising was not common, and it would take another decade for national advertising to be truly established. In the 1880s as few as seventy companies used magazine advertising, led by two soap companies (Ivory and Pear's), Sapolio cleanser, and Royal Baking Powder.<sup>10</sup>

During this period over the counter booklets and pamphlets were common advertising methods. Sapolio had hired Bret Harte to write verse for a booklet in which he parodied Longfellow's *Excelsior*. Pond's Extract, a witchhazel product advertised widely in newspapers, also used two 16-page booklets executed by Palmer Cox in the mid-1880s until well past the turn of the century. Almanacs and calendars, both of which Cox illustrated for diverse clients, were useful and decorative items that reminded the owner of the brand or product every day.

Another avenue to the customer was the ubiquitous trade card. Referred to as "advertising cards" in Cox's account book, they had been around for over 150 years in North America. In the 1870s and 1880s the form blossomed as a colorful, inexpensive device produced in enormous quantities by lithographers. Firms as prominent as Louis Prang and Currier and Ives had printed stock cards for overprinting by others, and their usage for national, regional, and local advertising has been generally overlooked in marketing literature. Whatever was current and popular – Japonaiserie, horseracing, baseball, or Brownies – could be offered for very low prices. Company-produced cards became increasingly collectible when they became shaped (known as die-cuts) – some of which were "mechanicals" which featured movement or animation. In the early 1890s the use of cards decreased

significantly as they were replaced by package inserts and giveaways.

In this fluid and somewhat chaotic period in the history of advertising, Palmer Cox was an active and innovative player. In 1884 the Hawley and Hoops Company of New York, manufacturers of breakfast cocoa and chocolate candy, hired Cox for a series of advertising projects that took place over a number of years. The work he produced illuminates the development of advertising during this transition period, the Brownies' usefulness in advertising, and Cox's pivotal role in the development of licensing.

In 1884 Palmer Cox drew eight black and white trade cards for Hawley & Hoops' 'A No. 1 Brand' of chocolate drops. While four of these cards employed mice, toads, and lions to illustrate the statement "Beware of imitations of these Chocolate drops," one trade card showed Brownies in a fort defending with cannon the ANo1 Brand from the "competition camp" across the river.<sup>11</sup> It was a graphic depiction of the difficulties in establishing a brand. But it is also the first documented use of an author's characters in an advertising card with his permission and to his profit.

From the outset, even before The Brownies' phenomenal popularity, Cox exercised as much control as possible over his creations. Cox was often hired by companies -- such as Clark's ONT Spool Cotton, Pond's Extract and Tarrant's Seltzer -- to prepare advertising booklets, which were still a major form of communication. Apparently taking his cue from the newly established syndication of news, in which stories were reused by other papers for a fee, Cox seems to have initiated a reversal of this relationship in which he could direct the relationship. In 1885 he created an eight page booklet titled Little Grains for Little People, the cover of which boldly stated "copyright Palmer Cox" beneath his now familiar drawings. Then he sold the booklet to two different companies for two different products: Willimantic Cotton and ANo 1 Chocolate Creams.<sup>12</sup> By this device Cox had laid the groundwork for licensing his characters.

Whether he sold the advertising products to more than one client or not, more frequently "copyright Palmer Cox" appeared on these commercial products. For example, the one million copies of an eight page booklet Cox prepared for ANo1 Chocolate Cream Drops in 1886 carried not only his name but also his copyright notice, as did another booklet from this period for Hawley & Hoops Breakfast Cocoa. It appears that Cox might have exercised some rights of creative ownership of these advertising products. With the publication of the first Brownie book in late 1887, the Brownies' popularity escalated to the point that by 1892 ANo1 Cream Drops were renamed Brownies Chocolate Cream Drops.

As Cox's characters became increasingly popular, he found that despite his protective efforts imitations of his Brownies were quick to proliferate. Occasionally advertising indicated "with apologies to Palmer Cox", but more frequently copies of his characters simply appeared. Once non-Cox brownies were used on stock cards (mass

produced by a printing company and sold to companies who would stamp or overprint an advertising message), the widespread use of stock cards facilitated this spread. Beyond Cox's ground-breaking work for Ivory Soap, in 1884 he also used Brownies in art and verse for a booklet advertising Oakley Soap, and also provided work for the Colgate soap brands. But the soap wars were also populated by non-Cox brownies. Atlas Brand, a regional soap from Saginaw, Michigan, chose to buy stock cards using imitation brownies. While Larkin Soap chose to buy a different set of stock non-Cox brownie cards, and within a decade incorporated brownies throughout its advertising for a now major catalogue business, nonetheless the company included real Brownie products (such as books) as premiums. The Chicago-based company Jas. S. Kirk's White Russian Soap also used imitation brownies in its magazine advertising. In yet another version of brownie proliferation, Beals, Torrey & Co. (shoe manufacturers in Milwaukee) began with non-Cox brownie stock cards and then created their own brownie cards depicting stages of manufacture and distribution, providing them to retailers for overprinting.

The accelerated use of Brownies (or their imitations) in advertising reflected the unprecedented popularity of Cox's creations in the late 1880s and early 1890s, as well as the rapidly developing industry's attempts to gain from this public recognition and appetite. While Palmer Cox had worked diligently to promote his artistic creation and control its use, he was unable to prevent these near-appropriations of his work, and apparently took comfort in his perception that his creations were clearly superior to their imitators.<sup>13</sup>

The publication of *The Brownies: Their Book* in 1887 intensified the general interest in Cox and his creations. In Bradford, Pennsylvania, Myra Whitney turned to *The Brownies* as inspiration for a cottage industry, designing a series of dolls of chamois leather, cloth and wire and selling 1500 of them at a consignment store operated by the Women's Christian Association in Cincinnati in 1888.<sup>14</sup> After refining the doll for over a year, Whitney contacted Palmer Cox to secure his permission to present her Brownie dolls to the Library of Congress for a patent. Cox gave his approval, and on 1 April 1890 the patent was awarded to Myra Whitney.

Thus, Myra Whitney made the first doll based on an author's characters with the author's permission -- the first instance in which the "manufacturer" acknowledges the creator's rights. Whether any payment was made to Cox for the Whitney dolls is not known, but he seems to have demonstrated a fondness for them. Photographs document that at least a dozen Whitney dolls hung on the walls of Cox's studio, and in 1894 St. Nicholas included a photograph of "A Disciple of Palmer Cox" -- a young boy drawing a Brownie using the Whitney doll as a model.<sup>15</sup>

By 1890 Cox ceased his direct involvement in advertising. With the publication of the second Brownie book and the escalation of Brownie products from cottage

industry dolls to mass production china from France and Germany, Cox was in a position to manage the interest in his characters by advertisers and manufacturers.

Cox took further steps towards the concept of what is now recognized as "licensing". About 1890 The Brownies became the first character-based food product, Brownie Biscuits, which were produced in bulk boxes by a group of fourteen bakeries that later amalgamated as the National Biscuit Company (Nabisco). Each bakery produced its own advertising (Kennedy's Brownie Biscuit, New York Biscuit's Brownies, et cetera).<sup>16</sup> A few years later the biscuit became more of a brand when it was renamed Log Cabin Brownies. Remaining a Nabisco product until at least 1925, Log Cabin Brownies were presented in a small pasteboard box (a log cabin surrounded by Brownies) with a string handle, and once the box was empty it became a toy. In addition to advertising cards and flyers, the New York Biscuit portion of this consortium produced Brownie paper dolls (marked with the Palmer Cox copyright) which young collectors could order by mail. After 1894 the biscuits were also advertised in the programs of The Brownies, a musical extravaganza which toured the major theatres of the USA and Canada for four years. Occasionally these ads cautioned "look out for imitations" just as Hawley & Hoops had done years before.

In 1891 the publisher and toy manufacturer, McLoughlin Bros., whose offices were just down the street from Cox's studio in New York, produced a set of toy blocks under Palmer Cox's copyright. Three sets of scroll puzzles (1891), portrait cubes (1892), Nine Pins (1893), and Palmer Cox Original Brownie Stamps (1892), all attractively boxed, followed. The wood and paper products were produced from Cox's specially prepared watercolors and based on the now familiar Brownie themes and adventures. While production of the Whitney Brownie doll was limited by its cottage industry roots, the McLoughlin Bros. products were manufactured in quantity and exported at least as far as Canada. They represent the first documented examples of toys made from an author's characters with his direct involvement and to his profit.<sup>17</sup>

As the advertising card began to decline and periodical advertising became established, Lion Coffee (a national brand for Woolson Spice Co.) offered one of "Palmer Cox's Brownie Dolls" free in every package of coffee -- each a brilliantly colored image on stiffened paper, with tabs at the base to bend back to make the figure stand and a separate head that was inserted to give the character some impression of mobility. (The instructions on the back suggested: "By interchanging the heads of these Brownie Dolls, amusing results are obtained.")<sup>18</sup> Similar paper dolls were also offered by Bee Soap as a premium, a set of ten available free in exchange for fifteen Bee Soap wrappers. Other premiums included Brownie books and handkerchiefs with Brownie characters, all offered through a catalogue illustrated by images of The Brownies making Bee Soap. Even Cox's publisher, The Century Company, offered paper dolls of the Brownies. The paper dolls that

Cox had approved were all marked "Copyright Palmer Cox" and frequently sported trilingual copy on the reverse -- but again other brands, especially coffee, imitated these dolls with their own.

Cox was not involved in what has become the most famous exploitation of the Brownie name. When Kodak management was looking to name a new inexpensive camera intended to deliver a mass market, they fixed upon the popularity of Cox's characters. In what has been described as the perfect match of name and product, the Brownie Camera democratized photography much as The Brownies could be said to have democratized childhood. To quote from the company's trade circular, "Plant the Brownie Acorn and the Kodak Oak will grow."<sup>19</sup>

The pre-eminence of Cox and the Brownies as a road to market share did not go unnoticed by another significant player in the changing face of marketing in America. In 1889, Edward Bok, the new editor of Ladies Home Journal, set out to make it a significant national magazine, and based his strategy on the desirability of advertising revenue as a primary economic engine. Indeed, the advertising agency N. W. Ayer advanced funds to Bok's publisher to finance the expanded vision. Bok, who took a personal interest in what he termed the "science of advertising", deliberately set out to acquire famous writers and artists to attract the public readership which would lure advertisers seeking a national market for their new brand products.

In September 1891 Bok proudly announced that he had acquired Palmer Cox for Ladies Home Journal. Beginning in October 1891 each issue featured a full-page spread of Brownie adventures -- and for over three years Cox's work enjoyed monthly distribution to households across America.

In a parallel venture which similarly consolidated Cox's hold on the public imagination, in the early 1890s Cox began working with Malcolm Douglas, a former colleague from St. Nicholas, to create a musical play featuring The Brownies. Public interest was piqued by newspaper coverage of the difficulties of casting to make the well-loved characters believable on stage (midgets? they speculated). After tryouts in Boston and Philadelphia, the musical extravaganza The Brownies opened to acclaim in New York in the fall of 1894. After a successful run of 150 performances, the production went on the road, playing in virtually every major center in the United States and Canada over the next three years.

In an unusual move, both Malcolm Douglas and Palmer Cox traveled with the production, handling promotional interviews. However, Cox also appeared nightly on the stage with the production, drawing Brownie characters, signing autograph cards, and reinforcing his image as "the Brownie Man" or "Uncle Palmer." In fact, the title of the musical was generally known as "Palmer Cox's Brownies."

Thus, the play completed the breadth of scope of the author and his creation. From articles and books, through advertising, products, and the theatre, Palmer Cox and his

Brownies achieved the comprehensive approach to marketing that characterizes such modern creations as Harry Potter.

Cox's unprecedented success did not go unnoticed by other artists of the day, particularly cartoonists. The "cunning Brownie band" served as a model for a number of subsequent characters, such as The Roly Polys, The Teenie Weenies, The Dingbats, The Doo-Dads, and many others – all of them groups of small, mischievous characters who scurried about having adventures.<sup>20</sup>

Most notably, the first appearance in print of the character that R. F. Outcault would later call The Yellow Kid poked fun at The Brownies. In a panel cartoon from Truth, which New York World reprinted on 17 February, 1895 under the title "Fourth Ward Brownies," Outcault depicted several children, including a boy in a bowler hat painting the face of a young child as a Brownie. The caption read: MICKEY THE ARTIST (adding a finishing touch) – "Dere Chimmy! If Palmer Cox wuz t'see yer, he'd git yer copyrighted in a minute." The painted face of the child in the cartoon was not unlike the faces found on The Brownies in the stage musical, which two weeks previously had celebrated 100 performances at the 14th Street Theatre with the publication of a special Brownie calendar.

The example of Cox benefiting from other manifestations of his characters as merchandise and theatre also had an impact. When The Yellow Kid achieved some success in the newspapers there was a rush to register titles for unwritten musical theatre pieces to be based on The Yellow Kid and Hogan's Alley.<sup>21</sup> Any cartoon that had some measure of success looked to reprints as well as toys and games as additional revenue sources.<sup>22</sup>

One of Cox's most famous successors was Rose O'Neill, author/illustrator of the Kewpies. O'Neill acknowledged her debt to The Brownies in Woman's Home Companion (January 1914) when she claimed that the Kewpie "would be overcome with respect" when meeting a Brownie; moreover, when creating her characters she also carefully created a word, "Kewpie," that she could copyright and protect.<sup>23</sup> Like The Brownies, the Kewpies had full page adventures in magazines, became dolls, and aided the sales for many products (including Jello).

Unlike the Kewpie doll, The Brownies have largely disappeared from view, and the significance of their creator in the development of many aspects of modern marketing has been generally overlooked or underestimated. Although public interest in The Brownies as spokesperson and product remained for a time after Palmer Cox's death in 1924, the primary engine of the Brownie books was weakened when his publishing company closed down. Furthermore, the executors of Palmer Cox's estate did not manage the opportunities well, leaving his reputation and work to slowly slide into the hands of a committed few.

The breadth of the Brownies' use in 19th century marketing comes as a surprise over a century later, when the memory of Palmer Cox's creations is largely restricted to collectors or families whose reading traditions included

the Brownie books. What was the attraction? Why were the magazine articles and books so popular? What drew the advertising industry to employ The Brownies to represent their products to the public?

Within the history of children's literature, Palmer Cox's Brownies emerged at a time when dominant modes represented sentimentalized returns to earlier times or escapist adventures to romanticized frontiers, usually overlaid with overt and heavy moralizing.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the Brownies had fun exploring the contemporary world in ways that were exciting yet accessible to a small child. Roller skating, cycling, canoeing, tobogganing, hot-air ballooning ... travel to the White House, the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago, Niagara Falls, and farther afield to Europe and the Far East ... a benevolent world was full of adventures to share with friends.

As members of the fairy world The Brownies also appealed to children's imagination, according to the critical thought of the day.<sup>25</sup> And, consciously or not, in establishing The Brownies as characters Cox enhanced his own stature in popular mythology: since Brownies could only be seen by those with second sight, Palmer Cox must possess this attribute.<sup>26</sup>

The nature of the artwork was also fundamental to The Brownies' success. On the one hand, Cox created a character simple enough for a child to draw,<sup>27</sup> yet the complete drawings were highly complex with multiple figures and activities. Thus a younger child could explore the pictures while listening to an older sibling or a parent read the rhyming couplets.

And there was much to engage an adult, thanks to the contemporary context of the stories. For example, Another Brownie Book (1890) featured a yacht race based on America's Cup and the Goelet Cup; in another story, the Brownie Band could be seen imitating German Street Bands. Contemporary celebrities found themselves reflected as well: the Jockey Brownie was based upon Ted Sloan, a popular jockey; the Brownie policeman occasionally wielded his club in the manner of Clubber Wilson; and following the outbreak of the Spanish American War a Teddy Roosevelt Brownie appeared.

Perhaps even more appealing was the extent to which The Brownies represented an ideal view of American society at the end of the 19th century. Regardless of ethnic background, they formed a democratic and inclusive society which "voted" on their adventures. Their collective capacity for curiosity and high spirits was exercised within a context of overall social responsibility, and they demonstrated an unwavering belief in the ability of hard work, ingenuity and technology to circumvent any challenges.

The Brownies' high level of public recognition and popularity was attractive to advertisers trying to break down resistance to brand products by linking them with the warmth, friendliness, and contemporaneity of Cox's merry band. However, the less obvious social attributes may be the key to the corporate sector's eagerness to associate their

products with The Brownies. Clearly, in the early days Palmer Cox actively promoted his characters' use in advertising, but their widespread and longlived success suggests that advertisers and audiences found resonance and possible comfort in The Brownies' relentlessly optimistic view of life in contemporary America.

1 Wide-ranging research by the author and others has failed to date to discover an earlier example.

2 The same advertisement appeared in the back pages of *Century Illustrated* in the same month.

3 Cox published funny animal work in Harper's *Young People* from 1879 through early 1883, *Wide Awake* from early 1879 to the end of 1880, *Our Little Ones* from late 1881 to early 1892 and several others.

4 Lief, 1958

5 At that time *The Youth's Companion* had one half million subscribers; *Ladies Home Journal* was just beginning.

6 Meigs, 1953

7 Cox had used earlier versions of Brownies occasionally in his illustration work prior to 1883, but "The Brownies' Ride" presented his first complete and "modern" articulation of the characters.

8 Briggs 1976

9 Ratti 1894

10 Presby 1929, p.338-39

11 payment noted in Palmer Cox's account book, private collection, Atlanta, Georgia. The series of advertising cards are in a private collection in Englewood, Colorado.

12 The Willimantic Cotton version of this can be found at many universities including the Houghton Library at Harvard University. The ANo1 version is at the University Library of UCLA.

13 "He calls them Brownies but they do not appear enough like my drawings for the Century Co. to interfere" this statement by Palmer Cox was quoted in an internal memo of Appleton-Century-Crofts in April of 1922 during the discussion of another issue. In 1906 the Century Company had discovered that A. Flanagan Company of Chicago had published a Brownie primer in 1905 when preparing to publish *The Palmer Cox Brownie Primer* (1907). Source: microfilm of Appleton-Century-Crofts internal memo was found in Lilly Rare Book Library at the Indiana University in Bloomington, IN.

14 "Novelties designed by woman" *Buffalo Courier* 18 (August) 1889: p.10.

15 Ratti 1894, p.240 This public conjunction of the doll with Cox's work may have led to an inference that Cox would not consider use of the doll as an infringement on his rights.

16 Cahn 1969

Bakers and Baking, Box 1, Archives Centre, National Museum of American History, Washington

One intricate mechanical advertising card declaring Brownie Biscuits "Out of Sight" played on the nocturnal

nature of the Brownie, as when the card's action was engaged the Brownies spill from the box.

17 No earlier example of an authors copyright on a toy or game has been found.

18 A second set of Brownies for Lion Coffee played upon the Brownies' nationalities and sense of exploration: the Sailor rode a sea lion, the Frenchman a chamois, the soldier a kangaroo, the policeman a rhinoceros, the Irishman a pig, and the Canadian a moose.

19 Kodak Trade Circular April 1902 p.2

20 *The Roly Polys* 1898- Richard West

*The Teenie Weenies* 1914-1951 William Donahey

*The Dingbats* 1911-1998 Dudley Ward and others

*The Doo-Dads* 1921?-1929? Arch Dale

21 Winchester 1992

22 Buster Browne, *Happy Hooligan*, *Mutt & Jeff*, *Little Nemo in Slumberland* and many others.

23 O'Neill 1914 p.4,14,36

24 Meigs 1953

Egoff 1969

25 Dickens 1853

26 Cox 1892

27 MacDonald 1902 p.859

Stuart 1992 In 1887 the 17 year old Maxfield Parrish, who would become one of the countries most successful commercial artists, drew a calender for that year decorated with Brownies. Brownies remained in his sketches and youthful projects well into the 1890s

## REFERENCES

- Barth, Gunther. 1982. *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Betts, John Rickards. 1974. *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850 - 1950*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Briggs, Katherine. 1976. *An Encyclopedia of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies and other Supernatural Creatures*. New York: Pantheon Press
- Bruchey, Stuart. 1988. *The Wealth of the Nation: An Economic History of the United State*. New York, Harper and Row, Publishers.
- Butsch, Richard, editor. 1990. *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Cahn, William. 1969 *Out of the Cracker Barrel: The Nabisco Story* New York: Simon & Schuster
- Calkins, Earnest Elmo & Holden, Ralph. 1912. *Modern Advertising*. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- Cox, Palmer 1892 "The Origin of the Brownies", *The Ladies Home Journal* (November) p.8
- Egoff, Sheila 1969 *Editor Only Connect* New York: Oxford University Press



- Ewen, Stuart. 1977. *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Dickens, Charles 1853 *Frauds on Fairies*. *Household Words* 1 (October)
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. 1981. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880 - 1920*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. 1995. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. Boston: Basic Books.
- Lief, A. 1953. *It Floats: The Story of Procter and Gamble*. New York: Macmillan.
- McDonald, Alan 1902. *St. Nicholas Magazine* (July) p.859  
Alan is ten years old.
- Marchand, Roland. 1991. *Precocious Consumers and Junior Salesmen: Advertising to Children in the United States to 1940* (Draft paper sent by Mr. Marchand to Wayne Morgan)
- Meigs, Cornelia. 1969 *A Critical History of Children's Literature*. New York: Macmillan
- Morgan, Wayne. 1996. *Brownie Dolls and The World of Palmer Cox* Opening lecture at the United Federation of Doll Clubs Conference, Philadelphia, October 3-6
- Morgan, Wayne. 1994. *The Brownie Phenomenon: Palmer Cox and the Creation of Merchandising*  
In the session *Advertising and Marketing: Historical Aspects of Advertising - Popular Culture/American Culture Assn. Joint Annual Meeting*, Chicago, Illinois
- Morgan, Wayne. 1996. *Cox On The Box: Palmer Cox and the Brownies: The First Licensed Characters, The First Licensed Games*. *Game Researchers' Notes*. (June): 5533-5540
- Morgan, Wayne. 1994. *Now, Brownies Seldom Idle Stand: Palmer Cox, The Brownies and Curiosity*. In *The Ephemera Journal*, 7. Edited by Robert Dalton Harris and Diane deBlois, 25-37, Scoharie, Ephemera Society of America
- Morgan, Wayne. 2000. *Palmer Cox, The Brownie Craze and the Brownie Camera*. George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography, Rochester NY in conjunction with the exhibition *The Brownie at 100*, October
- Murrell, William. 1933, 1938, 2 vols. *History of American Graphic Humor*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art.
- O'Neill, Rose 1914 *The Coming of the Brownies*. *Woman's Home Companion* New York, January
- Ostrander, Gilman M. 1970. *American Civilization in the First Machine Age, 1890-1940*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc.
- Presbrey, Frank. 1929 *The History and Development of Advertising*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co.
- Ratti, Fannie. 1894. "Palmer Cox and the Brownies", *St. Nicholas Magazine*, (January): 238-241 Ratti p.249
- Rowell, George P. 1985. *Forty Years an Advertising Agent: 1865 - 1905*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Schlereth, Thomas J. 1991. *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life 1876 - 1915*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Strasser, Susan. 1989. *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market*. New York, Pantheon Books.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. 1982. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: HarperCollins Canada Ltd.
- Walden, Keith. 1982. *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth*. Toronto, Butterworths & Co.
- Winchester, Mark. 1992. *The Yellow Kid and the Origins of Comic Book Theatricals: 1895-1898* *Theatre Studies* 37: 33

<sup>1</sup> Wide-ranging research by the author and others has failed to date to discover an earlier example.

<sup>2</sup> The same advertisement appeared in the back pages of *Century Illustrated* in the same month.

<sup>3</sup> Cox published funny animal work in *Harper's Young People* from 1879 through early 1883, *Wide Awake* from early 1879 to the end of 1880, *Our Little Ones* from late 1881 to early 1892 and several others.

<sup>4</sup> Lief, 1958

<sup>5</sup> At that time *The Youth's Companion* had one half million subscribers; *Ladies Home Journal* was just beginning.

<sup>6</sup> Meigs, 1953

<sup>7</sup> Cox had used earlier versions of Brownies occasionally in his illustration work prior to 1883, but "The Brownies' Ride" presented his first complete and "modern" articulation of the characters.

<sup>8</sup> Briggs, 1976

<sup>9</sup> Ratti 1894

<sup>10</sup> Presby 1929, p.338-39

<sup>11</sup> payment noted in Palmer Cox's account book, private collection, Atlanta, Georgia. The series of advertising cards are in a private collection in Englewood, Colorado.

<sup>12</sup> The Willimantic Cotton version of this can be found at many universities including the Houghton Library at Harvard University. The ANo1 version is at the University Library of UCLA.

<sup>13</sup> "He calls them Brownies but they do not appear enough like my drawings for the Century Co. to interfere" this statement by Palmer Cox was quoted in an internal memo of Appleton-Century-Crofts in April of 1922 during the discussion of another issue. In 1906 the Century Company had discovered that A. Flanagan Company of Chicago had published a Brownie primer in 1905 when preparing to publish *The Palmer Cox Brownie Primer* (1907). Source: microfilm of Appleton-Century-Crofts internal memo was found in Lilly Rare Book Library at the Indiana University in Bloomington, IN.

<sup>14</sup> "Novelties designed by woman" *Buffalo Courier* 18 (August) 1889: p.10.

<sup>15</sup> Ratti 1894, p.240 This public conjunction of the doll with Cox's work may have led to an inference that Cox would not consider use of the doll as an infringement on his rights.

<sup>16</sup> Cahn 1969

Bakers and Baking, Box 1, Archives Centre, National Museum of American History, Washington

One intricate mechanical advertising card declaring Brownie Biscuits "Out of Sight" played on the nocturnal nature of the Brownie, as when the card's action was engaged the Brownies spill from the box.

<sup>17</sup> No earlier example of an authors copyright on a toy or game has been found.

<sup>18</sup> A second set of Brownies for Lion Coffee played upon the Brownies' nationalities and sense of exploration: the Sailor rode a sea lion, the Frenchman a chamois, the soldier a kangaroo, the policeman a rhinoceros, the Irishman a pig, and the Canadian a moose.

<sup>19</sup> *Kodak Trade Circular* April 1902 p.2

<sup>20</sup> The Roly Polys 1898- Richard West

The Teenie Weenies 1914-1951 William Donahey

The Dingbats 1911-1998 Dudley Ward and others

The Doo-Dads 1921?-1929? Arch Dale

<sup>21</sup> Winchester 1992

<sup>22</sup> Buster Browne, Happy Hooligan, Mutt & Jeff, Little Nemo in Slumberland and many others.

<sup>23</sup> O'Neill 1914 p.4,14,36

<sup>24</sup> Meigs 1953, Egoff 1969

<sup>25</sup> Dickens 1853

<sup>26</sup> Cox 1892

<sup>27</sup> MacDonald 1902 p.859, Stuart 1992.

In 1887 the 17 year old Maxfield Parrish, who would become one of the countries most successful commercial artists, drew a calender for that year decorated with Brownies. Brownies remained in his sketches and youthful projects well into the 1890s