# Form and/in Modernity
## The Brownies, a Case Study

*Christina Meyer (TU Braunschweig)*

***Abstract:***
*This essay puts the spotlight on fictional characters called the Brownies, which were introduced in serialized, illustrated stories in the children's magazine St. Nicholas in 1883 but quickly proliferated into multiple three-dimensional consumer items. It examines how through 'form'—the creatures' distinctive design on the one hand and the printed series in which they appeared on the other—they created cultural significance in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. It argues that the Brownies' reproducibility in and transferability across different storytelling formats, genres, and commercial media—which is a key driving force of the cultural work they performed—are enabled by a narrative depletion that is tied to seriality. To analyze the (non-/narrative) forms of the Brownies and their affordances allows for an enhanced understanding of the mechanisms that shape the expanding, commercialized (youth) consumer culture and the capitalist ideologies on which they thrive and which they helped to disseminate.*

### Introduction

The following chapter engages with fictional characters named the Brownies by the Canadian American writer and illustrator Palmer Cox (1840-1924) in order to show how they functioned as forms of articulation and sense-making of/in American modernity. The Brownies are little sprites that originated as recurrent characters in different serialized, visual-verbal narratives that were printed in periodicals such as *St. Nicholas* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* in the last decades of the nineteenth century

and the first decades of the twentieth.[1] Cox drew the goblins and also wrote the couplets that complement the illustrations. They all have the same body shape: a round stomach, long, thin legs, pointed feet, and a round face with large eyes. The Brownies are said and shown to come out at night from their hiding place, the dark woods: either to "enjoy harmless pranks while weary households slept," to "perform good and helpful deeds" (Cox, "Origin"), or to imitate human activities, such as singing, skating, or biking. As such, they are also said to explore new technologies and scientific devices, to learn something new, such as how to build a toboggan or a raft, or to travel to nearby and far-off regions and around the globe. They are not bound to any specific location, are unnamed, and ageless. Soon after they appeared in *St. Nicholas* for the first time in February 1883, the Brownies exited their original carrier medium and narrative space to become one of the first consumer culture sensations in North America in the late nineteenth century.

The Brownies are portable figures, transgressing all kinds of aesthetic, medial, and material borders: They move back and forth between different serialized storytelling formats ('series,' 'serials'[2]), genres (e.g., adventure, fantasy, fairytale, travel writing), and different periodical publications (juvenile and women's magazines and, a bit later, newspapers). Furthermore, they migrate across different media (in books, advertisements, and in the form of musical compositions; they were also appropriated for diverse theater plays and appeared in the form of a huge variety of three-dimensional consumer wares) while always remaining immediately recognizable.

In my essay, I will use the concept of 'form' as an analytical paradigm to discuss the cultural significance of the Brownies in the context of a rapidly growing industrial, urban, and consumer society. Form means two things here: On the one hand, the term serves to describe the particular, emblematic, serialized *design* of the Brownies—that is, their outer appearance: their clothes and their body shape, as described above. On the other hand, the periodicals' 'series' and 'serials' in which

1 *St. Nicholas* was a monthly children's magazine that began serialization in November 1873 under the editorship of Mary Mapes Dodge. The target audience was the white middle-class. For further information, see Gannon et al.

2 Roger Hagedorn proposes to distinguish between "series proper" and "serial proper" (7-8). Series are made of self-enclosed, "independent [...] episodes or chapters" (8) with recurrent elements such as a protagonist or a specific behavior or gesture of a character, or a setting—a "basic diegetic situation" (8)—to create a coherence between the respective installments. As Hagedorn claims, series do not have an "overall narrative structure" (8). Serials are also made of several installments but are based on a principle of continuous, chronological storytelling with a linear development within an "extended narrative" (8) and operate with short breaks in between the installments (often in the form of cliffhangers to build up tension). Both of these means of storytelling (and publishing) are informed with different dynamics of iteration that drive the narration and constitute reading publics.

the Brownies appeared in words and pictures are understood here as concrete and meaningful forms, i.e., as aesthetic, social, and material forms that order and serve to make sense of modern urban life, as I will illustrate. In what follows, I first examine a selection of episodes from the Brownies series printed in *St. Nicholas* and reflect on their affordances. Next, I discuss the Brownies' movements outside of their original setting and carrier medium. My contention is that the Brownies' adaptability, mobility, and portability to and across different commercial media—which is a chief engine of the cultural work they performed—are enabled by a deflation of narrative that is tied to seriality. The framing argument for this paper is that the career of Palmer Cox's Brownies—their emergence and evolution in the periodical press and beyond the printed page—gives insight into the mechanisms of the expanding, commercialized (youth) consumer culture and the capitalist ideologies on which the Brownies' forms thrive and which they helped to disseminate.

## The Iterative Scheme

Palmer Cox began working for *St. Nicholas* magazine in 1878 and he produced the first Brownies-like fabled beings in illustrated stories in 1879 (cf. Cox, "Fairies'" 524-25; see also Cox, "Alphabet" 976-78), but only with the regular appearance of his Brownies stories from February 1883 onwards did he gain popularity. Cox acquired meanings for his Brownies from sources of European folklore (cf. Carpenter and Prichard 85-86) and adjusted the elf-like creatures to modern times and the context of the expanding North American nation in the late nineteenth century. There is not much plot to be found in the installments. The Brownies series are formulaic. Each episode begins in medias res with expressions such as "one night," "one evening" or "the next evening," "once" or "one time." The Brownies' home, their shelter, their place to hide is "a forest dark and wide" (Cox, "Brownies at the Sea-Side" 763; see also Cox, "Brownies Tobogganing" 229). From the woods in which they live they come out at night, they "gather," "cluster," "muster" (these are verbs often used to describe their coming together by night), or "[dart] from the sheltering trees" (Cox, "Brownies at the Sea-Side" 764) and "[bunch] together in a crowd" (Cox, "Brownies and the Bicycles" 71).

Rhythmically, that is with each new episode printed in the children's magazine, the Brownies appear during the night and disappear when the day begins. First, the Brownies see something they consider interesting and/or entertaining, such as a toy store, a sporting ground, canoeing people, skating children, a gymnasium, or a circus coming to a town. Then, they express their wish to explore a place, to play a game such as baseball or tennis, to listen to a tale they have not heard before, or to build a device such as a ship or a bicycle. Afterwards, they usually go somewhere—as for instance a factory or a "country school-house" (Cox, "Brownies

at School" 920)—and spend the night doing different kinds of things, always "in quest of fun" (Cox, "Brownies at the Sea-Side" 763), "to keep the fun alive" (Cox, "Brownies' Circus" 390), and to "make the most of every night" (Cox, "Brownies Tobogganing" 229). When the morning comes, they run, "[i]n eager haste to disappear / In deepest shade of forests near" (Cox, "Brownies at School" 923).

This repetitive structure is found in each episode, but this does not mean that there is no innovation and that there is no reading pleasure. To use Umberto Eco's wording here, the reading of the Cox's series "presumes the enjoyment of a scheme" (162). The series follows a principle of recurrence of the Brownies and of innovation regarding the setting and doings. As a contemporary of Cox emphasized: "The variety […] was all but infinite. Through all imaginable adventures, on earth, in air, and in the sea, in all parts of the world, [Cox] led his train of merry sprites, […] without a single failure or lapse of interest" ("Father" 6). The expectation to meet the same group of Brownies but in a different surrounding is fulfilled with each new installment appearing in *St. Nicholas*, but the specifics of each new episode, referring to Eco again, "only serve to reconfirm the permanence of a fixed repertoire of *topoi*" (164). Redundancy is what made the series so successful. Each reiteration allows the readers to "recover, point by point, what they already know, and what they want to know again" (164). In brief, each installment in the series is "an *instant*, which is loved precisely because it is recurrent" (164). Because of their rhythmic reappearance each month, the Brownies also functioned as structuring elements in the lives of the series' audiences.

Other formulaic elements that afforded (serial) pleasure are the goblins themselves. Cox's Brownies all show the same features, which were presented to readers in "tangible face and figure" ("Palmer Cox, 'Father'" 9): They have long, thin legs, round bellies, round faces with large, round eyes, and they wear pointed caps and pointed shoes. Over time, Cox added about fifty individualized 'types' to his original crowd. As Nick Mount writes, Cox "[gave] them a limited but distinct set of attributes that children could easily identify" (62; see also Cross 88). Some of the Brownies were meant to represent social types such as 'the Cowboy' or 'the Dude'; the attire and gesture (and behavior in the respective episode) would make them identifiable to consumers, and one of the reading joys was to find each of these and other Brownies types in the illustrations (see, for instance, T.P.C. 794-95). The "aristocratic dude, [the] gentleman of leisure" with his suit, hat, cane and monocle was one of the most popular Brownies (T.P.C. 794; see also Lucia 234; Ella F. 874). The Dude was relatable, meaningful to many because "he reminds me so much of a good many *(very) young men of this city*," as one reader of the series explained (Clyde C. 475, emphasis in the original). Next to these, there were those Brownies created to represent ethnic and national (stereo)types: The band had an Irishman, an Italian, a Chinaman, a Dutchman, and a Turk, for instance. Last not least, there were Brownies that were defined by their profession—a policeman, a school teacher, a

student, a soldier, or a sailor. Each of these and other easily discernible Brownies types playfully replicate the real world, and they offer a whimsical attitude toward the experience of modernity (for a detailed discussion, see Meyer).

## Non-/Narrative Engagements

Readers of the serialized stories can enjoy—and are encouraged to emulate—the Brownies' bravery, ingenuity, philanthropy, and industriousness, and their understanding of teamwork as a prerequisite for communal life. They are independent but depend on each other. The stability of proved values—values such as self-improvement and self-assessment and the importance of education in life and for progress—is ensured in the series. Brownies persevere, and they always find a solution. They are industrious creatures, eager to learn, to educate themselves, and to acquire knowledge: "The Brownies labor heard and hand / All mysteries to understand" (Cox, "Brownies' Singing-School" 303). They are skillful and build their own devices "without the aid of steam or glue" (Cox, "Brownies Tobogganing" 228), are energetic, curious, and adventurous, have "strength and patience" (228), and have "active minds" (Cox, "Brownies in the Gymnasium" 69). They familiarize themselves with all kinds of machines, scientific principles (and the application of these for useful purposes), and new technologies such as the microscope (see, for example, Cox, "Brownies in the Academy" 465; see also Mount 62).

By browsing through the so-called Letter-Box of *St. Nicholas*, one can get a glimpse of activities triggered by the Brownies tales and in particular by the distinct Brownies types such as "the dude, the policeman, and the one with the Tam o'Shanter" (Ella F. 874). The letters explain how readers of the series imitated scenes and characters, dressed up as Brownies, and sometimes also did performances in which they combined elements of the Brownies and of other characters from *St. Nicholas* magazine, such as Mother Goose (cf. Sorby 69). The words of the rhyming couplets describing activities of the Brownies and the illustrations that show the Brownies in action encourage different consumption practices or different forms of play (such as disguising and/or emulating) and world-building (such as expanding the adventures of the fictional characters by imagining them to interact with fictional characters and animals from other popular stories).

Continued engagements with the Brownies such as those just described were also generated by means of other print features as, for example, Brownies doll theaters, which were distributed in the form of cut-out sheets in newspapers.[3] In the 1890s, most city papers included extra sections, in color, for their Sunday editions,

3 Toy theaters and the practice of tinseling were common leisure activities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe and a bit later in the US.

and in some of these supplements readers would find fold-out and cut-out features, such as do-it-yourself paper dolls, or center-spread prints showing a circus arena.[4] These and other printed features were supposed to be cut out and glued onto cardboard so that consumers would then be able to play with them, including 'adaptations' of Palmer Cox's Brownies series. These were presented to the readers of the *Boston Globe* in 1895, for example, just before Christmas. The Art Supplement had a stage 'scenery' sheet, meant for different uses, and a selection of Brownies 'players' ("Play Theater"). The newspaper emphasized: "There are very few persons who will not acknowledge but that, except in rare instances, the stage is a great factor in the elevation and education of the public" ("Brownies on the Stage").

In that issue of the *Boston Globe*, the paper's supplement set out to present "something that would be instructive and amusing" ("Brownies on the Stage"). Once the newspaper readers would be done with the cutting and gluing, they "will have the 'Brownie' show […]. After you have put it up […] you can then put these figures about in the different slits to please yourself. A very pretty effect is obtained with this theater at night by putting it under the gas or electric light, so that the light falls among the players and scenery." The instructions then explain in all detail how to preserve the page as a meaningful souvenir, what to do with the scenery and the players, and what to expect in the Sunday supplement of the paper in the following weeks. Thus, while the Brownies serve as engines for practices such as role-playing, they also afford non-narrative engagements—activities such as folding, cutting, gluing, etc.; activities, simply put, that do not turn on narrative. Against this backdrop, I will now discuss the reason for the Brownies' reproducibility and adaptability in different media, genres, and storytelling formats and the implications of such transgressions.

## The Border-Crossing Brownies

The Brownies were not only easily discernible types in the visual-verbal stories printed in the periodical press that offered repeated—that is, serial—pleasure. They were also recognizable in the material culture, in products such as card games, puzzles, or three-dimensional toys (cf. McLoughlin Brothers) that circulated in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. As a contemporary of Cox claimed: "[T]he Brownie is a most adaptable figure" (Hamersly 144). Their portability is contingent on narrative depletion. In their article on 'serial figures' vs. 'series characters,' Denson and Mayer write that serial figures are

4 Fold- and cut-out sheets were marketing strategies by the newspaper and tools to lure readers to buy the paper regularly. For other examples, think of paper dolls. Readers were first given a model figure, and new dresses (to cut out) would follow each week.

able "to extract themselves fully from the diegetic construct of a narrative world […] and even from the medium itself through which a fictional world is otherwise invisibly constructed. This is why serial figures can so easily take up residence in new narrative worlds" (69). In brief, they "are liminal and operationally-expansive" (74).

Though Denson and Mayer have formulated these claims with regard to popular figures such as Batman, the criteria they describe fit some of the principles of the Brownies. While they were introduced as protagonists in visual-verbal narratives, the Brownies quickly proliferated outside of their original carrier medium—the children's magazine—and their original narrative world. In print, they showed up in various magazines and newspapers in the US and abroad. The Brownies were also available in bound volumes, which were sold in other countries, too, and were translated to different languages (e.g., French, German, Russian). In the early twentieth century, the Brownies entered the medium of comics. They appeared in the form of multi-panel comic strips in the Sunday comic supplements of different newspapers (cf. Cox, "Brownie Clown"). In addition to these print versions and the numerous copies by other artists and ardent admirers of Cox's stories, the Brownies were adapted to the theater stage. Diverse and competing Brownies plays with sensational stage-crafts, amazing sceneries, costumes, and hundreds of actors as well as spectacles such as shipwrecks, last-minute rescues, and erupting volcanoes toured the US in the 1890s (cf. Teal; see also Cohen; "The Playhouses"; "Cox's Brownies"; "Star Theater"). Furthermore, they were celebrated in various musical compositions; these appeared in the form of song sheets or folios that were meant for sing-along or musical sketches/operettas to be performed by children. Last not least, the Brownies were also available in three-dimensional formats,[5] and they served as promotional tools for a variety of products in a series of advertisements.

Cox was quite enterprising when he licensed the Brownies to advertisers as well as to manufacturers, which was also an attempt to reclaim economic (if not authorial) control over them (cf. Olivier; Morgan; Morgan and Ingram). He regularly drew illustrations for picture puzzles or portrait blocks, for example, and wrote short verses that were printed on such toys as nine-pins (McLoughlin Brothers 89, 93, 108).[6] More and more Brownies items started to flood the market that would make "contemporary tie-in merchandising seem restrained," as Cary Nelson and

5 Mel Birnkrant's website shows a collection of Brownies items, such as rubber stamps, trade cards, cigar boxes, candy containers, and more (see Birnkrant).

6 Cox had rights to and control over his serial stories—as the *Catalogues of Title Entries of Books and Other Articles* of the Treasury Department show—but the characters themselves (their distinctive body shape and their clothing) defied legal as well as authorial control. Copyright law in the late nineteenth century did not include a specific 'design' of a drawn cartoon character or character of a graphic narrative (yet).

Mike Chasar state, "[t]he effect was to thoroughly blur the line between original and collateral Brownie artefacts, between the impulse to buy a book of Cox's poems and the impulse to buy a patent medicine, a doll, or a box of soap" (144).

The iconic design of Palmer Cox's Brownies migrated in and through different print formats and permeated consumer culture. As a newspaper comment summarized: "The Brownies lived for their public not only in books and the monthly pages, but on the pencil boxes and school rulers, on the wall-papers of the nurseries, on handkerchiefs, scarfs, pins, toys and stationery" ("Harking"; see also "Brownies"; Whiting Paper Company). The most widely advertised and spreading tie-in product was the Brownie camera by the Eastman Kodak Company.[7] The Brownie camera was introduced in 1900 and promoted through numerous advertisement campaigns that were launched by the company in the US and circulated internationally in the trade press, in newspapers, and in diverse magazines.[8] Cameras had existed before that time, but the small Brownie camera was the first mass-produced camera available to a large consumer base. It was simple in design, easy to handle, dependable and "durable" (Eastman Kodak Co., "Kodak and Brownie"), of high quality but at a low price. In sum, a portable camera with which any amateur would be able to take good pictures, a product of and in everyday life—or at least this is how it was advertised. Not only was the camera promoted with the help of the Brownies characters in many of the ads running in the periodical press between 1900 and 1908, as well as in the form of lithograph posters sent to sellers. Illustrations of them also appeared on some of the camera's cardboard packaging box, as for instance on the box for the Brownie Kodak No. 1 Model B and No. 2A.[9]

The Brownie cameras with Brownie drawings on the cardboard box were made and shipped nationwide in the US as well as in Canada. A successful business strategy: By selling a limited number of Brownies cameras placed inside a packaging box with Brownies drawings, the company created specific consuming desires and triggered, one might say, "attitudinal shifts" (Baker et al. 37). The Brownie camera

7 The Kodak Brownie camera cost between eighty cents and two dollars—the prices depended on the seller and on whether or not the camera had a viewfinder.

8 In advertisements, Eastman Kodak often included photos of children—taken by someone who is not seen in the pictures—who prepare, are about to, or have just taken a portrait-photo of a Brownie toy placed in front of them to promote the Brownie camera (cf. Eastman Kodak Co., "Let the Children"). These photos showing or staging a picture-taking moment with a Brownie were either made by Frederick W. Barnes (who was an assignor to the company) or sent in by amateur photographers for the many prize competitions introduced by the Eastman Kodak Company. The company then reused them as advertisements. Whatever the case, the active cooperation between photographers and the company was secured.

9 The digital collection of the Eastman Museum in Rochester, NY, holds photographic images of the cardboard boxes ("Two Rare Rolls").

was no longer just, or exclusively, a functional apparatus and a device bringing entertainment but became an aesthetic object, a rare merchandise item. Those who had grown up with and admired the Brownies characters were now able to buy, own, and collect/preserve the apparatus and its box, or maybe even boxes.[10] The Brownie camera, its boxes, and the Kodak advertisement promoting the Brownie camera served both to create a desire to consume and to own such a commodity as well as to familiarize consumers with a new technology. Therefore, Brownies commodities and the many promotional announcements that used the Brownies to advertise a new product or to advertise Brownies items give insight into expansionist tie-in marketing strategies during the nineteenth century as well as into how consumers were being habituated to expand their consumption practices.

## Conclusion

The Brownies are specific configurations of the production and consumption of serialized mass culture. Their long-lasting career—roughly between 1880 and 1930—was contingent upon a network of interconnected practices by different social 'actants' (to borrow a term by Bruno Latour). These included individuals such as the readers of *St. Nicholas* and institutional 'agents' such as syndicate agencies, advertisers, and lithograph companies; furthermore, newspaper and magazine editors and publishers as well as theater producers, but also the stage-crafters, actors, actresses, and music composers; and, finally, retailers—through their shop window designs—as well as different toy manufacturing firms. Their success was regulated by rubrics of law, such as copyright, and was enmeshed in the increased, accelerated mechanization of the dissemination of goods that happened in the post-Civil War era (cf. Meyer). This chapter has used the emergence and evolution of the Brownies as a case study to inquire into how they created cultural significance through form, through their design and their print series.

I have mentioned above that the distinct Brownies (stereo)types that Cox and his toy manufacturers created afforded a playful replication of the social world of modern America. Here I would like to reevaluate my own statement. What requires further research, I believe, are the valuations that are operative in these types along the lines of gender and race, for instance. Using the wording of Caroline Levine in a different context, the social form of racial hierarchy of post-Civil War society

10 The circulation of Brownies trading cards, such as those by Foster, Besse & Co. in Bridgeport, Connecticut, which promoted baseball sportswear with the help of the Brownies, or those by cigar manufacturers, such as Criterion Cigar Co, may have had similar effects. These Brownies trading cards could turn into collectible and tradable aesthetic items.

structures the aesthetic experience of the *St. Nicholas* magazine, and of the Brownies series as well: "Enclosures afford containment and security, inclusion as well as exclusion" (6). Cox created a group of ethnically diverse members—the depictions of which relied on stereotypical imagery and cultural clichés—but in none of the stories do we find a female Brownie or a black character. They remain invisible. Fern Kory has put it succinctly: "Cox's vision […] did not encompass African American children as implied audience or as subject matter," he "is either unwilling or unable to portray African Americans" (99-100). The ways in which "various distancing strategies—linguistic, geographic, temporal—insulate [the] readers [of *St. Nicholas*] from confrontations with contemporary African Americans, even fictional ones" (94) is an aspect that needs further critical discussion because it directs us also towards the question of the politics of form.

This critical reading would need a thorough analysis of Cox's commissioned work, too, which he produced for diverse manufacturing firms (e.g., McLoughlin Bros. or Clark's O.N.T. Spool Cotton) and for newspapers; furthermore, an analysis of the racial and ethnic stereotypes he created in advertising booklets or in graphic narratives printed in the Sunday newspaper supplements. I am thinking of *The Jolly Chinee*, for example, which held stories by the author E. Veale and illustrations by Cox, first produced as a supplement for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in January 1897, and which was reproduced for many years in both softcover and hardcover bindings by such publishers as Hubbard Publishing, in Philadelphia, or W. B. Conkey Co., in Chicago. This would also need a thorough discussion of the "exclusionary ideology" (Kory 99) on which Cox's folk creations were built, which they helped to perpetuate, and with which most fairy tales in dominant juvenile magazines of the nineteenth century were operating. Last but not least, this would need an examination of the counter-hegemonic forms that appeared in the (juvenile) periodical press. As examples, think of W.E.B. Du Bois, Augustus Granville Dill, and Jessie Redmon Fauset's children's magazine titled the *Brownies' Book* (1920-21). It aimed at revising mainstream texts published in leading juvenile magazines, such as *St. Nicholas* and the *Youth's Companion*, and at rewriting the history of children's literature (cf. Kory 92; see also Meyer).

Children's magazines of the nineteenth century, such as *St. Nicholas*, and the role they played in the conceptualization and meaning of childhood and consumer identity in post-Civil War American society, as well as the question of how they functioned as media of knowledge, expression, and experience are still marginalized aspects in the scholarship on North American culture and literature. This paper has attempted to remedy this neglect and to offer glimpses into reading materials and consumption habits of the nineteenth century, focusing on the career of the Brownies. In my analysis, I put special emphasis on the concept of form to reflect on the design of the Brownies figures, which lent itself to numerous recontextualizations and to transmediatization, on the one hand, and to exploring the

serialized stories in which they appeared, on the other. In the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the Brownies existed in multiple two- and three-dimensional versions, in commercial media, and in various practices, such as reading or singing, or cutting and gluing. *St. Nicholas* magazine, the Brownies series, and the numerous Brownies consumer wares are largely forgotten today, but they offer unique perspectives on social, aesthetic, and material forms of the Progressive Era and the cultural work they performed. Henry Turner has claimed that "form *does* things, it doesn't simply mean things" (586), and Palmer Cox's Brownies offer a good starting point in this regard.

## Works Cited


Baker, Stacey Menzel, et al. "From Despicable to Collectible: The Evolution of Collective Memories for and the Value of Black Advertising Memorabilia." *Journal of Advertising*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2004, pp. 37-50.

Birnkrant, Mel. "A Guided Tour of the Mel Birnkrant Collection: Brownies & Kewpies." *Melbirnkrant.com*, http://melbirnkrant.com/collection/page12.html.

"Brownies." *The American Stationer*, 8 Nov. 1894, p. 873.

"Brownies on the Stage." *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 8 Dec. 1895, p. 32.

Carpenter, Humphrey, and Mari Prichard. "Brownie." *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, edited by Carpenter, and Prichard, Oxford UP, 1984, pp. 85-86.

C., Clyde. "Dear St. Nicholas." Letter-Box. *St. Nicholas*, vol. 13, April 1886, p. 475.

Cohen, Octavus. "The Drama." *Buffalo Evening News*, 22 Nov. 1894, p. 5.

Cox, Palmer. "The Alphabet in Council." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 7, Oct. 1880, pp. 976-78.

—. "Brownie Clown of Brownietown." *St. Paul Dispatch*, 27 July 1907, Comic Section.

—. "The Brownies and the Bicycles." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 13, Nov. 1885, pp. 69-71.

—. "The Brownies at School." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 12, Oct. 1885, pp. 920-23.

—. "The Brownies at the Sea-Side." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 12, Aug. 1885, pp. 763-66.

—. "The Brownies' Circus." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 13, Mar. 1886, pp. 389-91.

—. "The Brownies in the Academy." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 15, April 1888, pp. 465-67.

—. "The Brownies in the Gymnasium." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 14, Nov. 1886, pp. 67-69.

—. "The Brownies' Singing-School." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 14, Feb. 1886, pp. 303-05.

—. "The Brownies Tobogganing." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 13, Jan. 1886, pp. 227-29.

—. "The Fairies' Gift." *St. Nicholas*, vol. 6, no. 8, June 1879, pp. 524-25.

—. "The Origin of the 'Brownies.'" *The Ladies' Home Journal*, vol. 9, no. 12, Nov. 1892, p. 8.

"Cox's Brownies." *Buffalo Even News*, 30 Jan. 1895, p. 8.

Cross, Gary. *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood*. Harvard UP, 1997.

Denson, Shane, and Ruth Mayer. "Border Crossings: Serial Figures and the Evolution of Media." *Necsus*, translated by Abigail Fagan, vol. 7, no. 2, 2018, pp. 65-84.

Eastman Kodak Co. "Kodak and Brownie Cameras Help to Make the Christmas Merry." *The Youth's Companion*, 1901. *Duke University Digital Collections*, https://repository.duke.edu/dc/eaa/K0440.

—. "Let the Children Kodak." *The Youth's Companion*, 1908. *Duke University Digital Collections*, https://repository.duke.edu/dc/eaa/K0451.

Eco, Umberto. "Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Post-Modern Aesthetics." *Daedalus*, vol. 114, no. 4., 1985, pp. 161-84.

F., Ella. "Dear St. Nicholas." Letter-Box. *St. Nicholas*, vol. 12, September 1885, p. 874.

"Father of the Brownies." *The Washington Post*, 26 July 1924, p. 6.

Gannon, Susan R., et al., editors. St. Nicholas *and Mary Mapes Dodge: The Legacy of a Children's Magazine Editor, 1873-1905*. McFarland, 2004.

Hagedorn, Roger. "Technology and Economic Exploitation: The Serial as a Form of Narrative Presentation." *Wide Angle*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1988, pp. 4-12.

Hamersly, Lewis Randolph. *Men of Affairs in New York: An Historical Work, Giving Portraits and Sketches of the Most Eminent Citizens of New York*. L. R. Hamersly and Co., 1906.

"Harking Back to Palmer Cox." *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, 16 Sept. 1924, p. 6.

Kory, Fern. "Once Upon a Time in Aframerica: The 'Peculiar' Significance of Fairies in the *Brownies' Book*." *Children's Literature*, vol. 29, edited by Julie Pfeiffer and Elizabeth Lennox Keyser, Yale UP, 2001, pp. 91-112.

Levine, Caroline. *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*. Princeton UP, 2015.

Lucia. "Dear St. Nicholas." Letter-Box. *St. Nicholas*, vol. 13, Jan. 1886, p. 234.

McLoughlin Brothers. *McLoughlin Bros' Catalogue*. McLoughlin, 1895.

Meyer, Christina. "The Brownies and *St. Nicholas*: Agents of Modernity and Modern Childhood?" *Modernity and the Periodical Press: Trans-Atlantic Mass Culture and the Avantgardes, 1880-1920*, edited by Ruth Mayer and Felix Brinker, Brill Publishers. Forthcoming.

Morgan, Wayne. "'If Your Grocer Does Not Keep the Ivory Soap': Palmer Cox, the Brownies, and 19th Century Marketing." *The Romance of Marketing History: Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference on Historical Analysis and Research Marketing*, edited by Eric H. Shaw, Association for Historical Research in Marketing, 2003, pp. 22-29.

Morgan, Wayne, and Sharilyn J. Ingram. "'If Palmer Cox wuz t' see yer, he'd git yer copyrighted in a minute': The Origins of Licensing." *Marketing History: Strengthening, Straightening and Extending: Proceedings of the 14th Biennial Conference on Historical Analysis and Research Marketing*, University of Leicester, June 2009, pp. 50-60.

Mount, Nick. *When Canadian Literature Moved to New York*. U of Toronto P, 2005.

Nelson, Cary, and Mike Chasar. "American Advertising: A Poem for Every Product." *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol. 6: US Popular Print Culture 1860-1920*, edited by Christine Bold, Oxford UP, 2011, pp. 133-67.

Olivier, Marc. "George Eastman's Modern Stone-Age Family." *Technology and Culture*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1-19.

"Palmer Cox, 'Father of the Brownies' Dies in Quebec." *Ironwood Daily Globe and News Record*, 24 July 1924, p. 1; p. 9.

"The Playhouses." *The Daily Standard Union*, 2 Mar. 1895, p. 12.

"Play Theater." Art Supplement. *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 8 Dec. 1895.

Sorby, Angela. "A Visit from *St. Nicholas*: The Poetics of Peer Culture, 1872-1900." *American Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1, 1998, pp. 59-74.

"Star Theater." *Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, 1 Mar. 1896, p. 7.

Teal, Ben. "Palmer Cox's Brownies on the Stage." *McClure's Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 5, Oct. 1894, pp. 404-21.

T.P.C. "Dear St. Nicholas." Letter-Box. *St. Nicholas*, vol. 12, August 1885, pp. 794-95.

Turner, Henry S. "Lessons from Literature for the Historian of Science (and Vice Versa): Reflections on 'Form.'" *Isis*, vol. 101, no. 3, 2010, pp. 578-89.

"Two Rare Rolls of Early Kodak Film Acquired by the George Eastman Museum." *Eastman Museum*, 11 July 2016, www.eastman.org/two-rare-rolls-early-kodak-film-acquired-george-eastman-museum.

Whiting Paper Company. "A Boom in 'Brownies.'" *The American Stationer*, 20 Dec. 1894, p. 1102.