MEREDITH A. BAK

"Ten Dollars' Worth of Fun": The Obscured History of the Toy Magic Lantern and Early Children's Media Spectatorship

ABSTRACT: This essay excavates the toy magic lantern's largely overlooked significance in the late nineteenth century and explores the toy's role in cultivating children as media spectators. Domestic shows with toy lanterns allowed children to perform as curators, showmen, and audience members. This play naturalized such home entertainment as a commodifiable experience. Promotion of toy lanterns in the periodical *The Youth's Companion* from the 1880s to 1900s demonstrates the toy's function as an early children's home entertainment medium that has historically been overlooked in favor of analyses of the lantern as a mass medium in institutional contexts.

KEYWORDS: magic lantern, children, toy, education, science, consumption, *The Youth's Companion*, home media

"A toy magic lantern is generally considered as worthless as any piece of apparatus one can own."

GEORGE MILTON HOPKINS

The central attraction of Georges Méliès's short film *The Magic Lantern* (1903) is an enormous lantern placed in the middle of an oversized children's nursery. The characters Pierrot and Punch assemble the lantern at the film's beginning, and after it projects a series of marvelous scenes on the adjacent wall, a string of dancers and other toy characters magically emerge from it to perform for the camera. Méliès used the lantern in order to dramatize the familiar trope of the magic box from which people and objects can disappear and reappear. The lantern's design in turn thematized the rest of the film's mise-en-scène, depicting the contents of a child's toy box coming to life. The film portrays the lantern

as a magical object rather than a consumer product, highlighting the affective quality of the projected image. Rather than setting the film in, say, a scientific lecture hall, where the lantern might project a variety of strange specimens (and one can imagine the masterful costumes and design of scientific oddities that Méliès may have imagined), he was instead inspired by the material culture of childhood, thus reflecting the toy lantern's status as an object of nostalgia in the early twentieth century. Méliès's film likely conjured viewers' memories of their own childhoods illuminated by the magic lantern, where their fantasies were animated by a rich world of projected images.

The nostalgic and affective discourses of the magic lantern near the turn of the twentieth century have always unfurled as an alternative history of the device. While figures such as Marcel Proust, Vladimir Nabokov, and Ingmar Bergman have all waxed poetic about their experiences with domestic lantern projection,[1] it was largely the educational lantern found in churches, lecture halls, and schools that rose to ascendance during the nineteenth century, while the toy lantern at home remained relegated to the world of childhood. As Tom Gunning has pointed out: "Although any connection of the magic lantern with the supernatural had been officially repressed by the nineteenth century, it returned in the memory of adults recounting their childhood experiences of projections on bedroom walls or sheets hung in the family parlor."[2] Critical discussions surrounding the lantern as an educational instrument omit the home lantern altogether, while recollections of the domestic toy lantern, in their focus on nostalgia, obscure a picture of the toy as a media device connected to both formal and informal circuits of capital. Discussions of the toy lantern tend to overlook its status as a commodity and the specific ways that it positioned children's recreation time within a new economy of labor and leisure, where a modern culture of media spectatorship took hold. However, its role as commodity is inextricably linked to its affective qualities, and it remains an important object of study, as the patterns and performances of spectatorship and exhibition that it set into motion would form the basis for youth media culture into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This line of inquiry has principally surfaced in discussions related to the home film projector, which gained prominence later near the turn of the twentieth century. In this regard, the lantern has played an instrumental role in the development of contemporary children's media culture.

During the mid- and late nineteenth century, the lantern's association with traveling showmen was severed, replaced by the precision, widespread availability, and technological sophistication of the industrially produced scientific lantern. Terminology referring to the lantern shifted from *magic* to *optical*, and the definitions of instrument and toy were accordingly reconfigured.

This essay excavates the suppressed discourse of the toy lantern through an examination of nineteenth-century popularizers of science and juvenile science literature, which cast the child's plaything in opposition to lanterns that could be of scientific and educational uses. Second, it demonstrates the toy lantern's role in shaping new conceptions of media spectatorship by training children to enact the roles of salespeople and exhibitors in the home and by characterizing home lantern entertainment as a form of leisure and consumption. The sale of toy lanterns in the children's periodical *The Youth's Companion* from the 1880s into the first decade of the twentieth century serves as a paradigmatic example of how toy lanterns were introduced and promoted to American children during this period, a time that Lisa Jacobson has described as a "tentative phase of children's marketing," when "advertisers began to toy with the idea that children possessed a consumer consciousness."[3]

The toy magic lantern was instrumental in formulating a distinct culture of domestic media spectatorship and particularly in training children to understand visual entertainment as a repeatable, consumable form of leisure activity. The lantern and its accessories encouraged children to play showman, business manager, and exhibitor, familiarizing them not only with the medium's distinct forms of storytelling and presentation but acculturating them to the dynamics between paying audience and projected image. Slung between the discourses of utility, which derided the toy, and the conceptions of the toy as an instrument of affect and nostalgia, its contribution to modern children's visual culture has largely been overlooked. Insisting that the toy lantern was not exclusively an object of nostalgia, critical exploration of its deployment in the home demonstrates a pattern of consumption, novelty, and technological progress that prefigures the dynamism and excess associated with contemporary children's visual culture.

DERIDING AND ELIDING THE TOY LANTERN

Critical discourse on the nineteenth-century projecting lantern foregrounds its applications within scientific, educational, and religious institutions, legal contexts, and other public venues. The instrument enabled the synchronization of audience attention. For example, one Boston author in 1879 proposed that projected hymn lyrics replace traditional hymnbooks for church congregations. In an 1877 court case, the lantern was employed as a kind of early overhead projector, projecting enlarged handwriting samples to expose a bank teller as a forger.[4] Such examples point to some of the lantern's most discussed attributes, namely, its ability to convey visual information to large groups of people simultaneously and its role (in conjunction with technologies such as photography and microscopy) in providing a new form of visible evidence.

As scholars have observed, the lantern's capacity to structure particular social practices through the acculturation of audience behavior made it an instrument of discipline and control. Sally Palmer has suggested that the lantern cultivated a kind of "cultural surveillance," arguing that the apparatus was doubly disciplinary, both in terms of the kinds of narratives it showcased, which reinforced particular morals (such as religious stories, fables, etc.), but secondarily, and on the level of practice, as audience members self-regulated their behavior on the basis of cues given by those around them.[5] Beth Haller and Robin Larsen discuss the deployment of the magic lantern in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane by the institution's superintendent Dr. Thomas Kirkbride as a means to "persuade, control, and amuse."[6] During his term as hospital superintendent from the 1840s to his retirement in the 1880s, Kirkbride regularly offered lantern shows for patients. These shows projected images of lives outside of the institution and encouraged viewers to practice the decorum and behavior of mainstream audiences, reminding patients of their ties to middle-class society. In these applications, the lantern became a powerful instrument of social control.

Emphasis on the lantern's educational and scientific uses during the nineteenth century stresses the instrument's ideological significance in such institutional settings, often to the exclusion of domestic contexts. Jennifer Eisenhauer's cultural history of the lantern, for example, associates its use in the nineteenth century with a regime of "scientific vision."[7] Indeed, while scientific and institutional applications peaked during this time, the flourishing but largely unexplored market of toy lanterns represented a parallel development. Even as the lantern gained prominence as a visual medium in the sciences, the conception of the toy magic lantern as an object of wonder was not wholly discarded but rather moved through the cultural ranks from the town square to the home as an object of the material culture of childhood. There, as a coveted toy, the lantern allowed children to imagine the context of public performance on a domestic scale and model practices of spectatorship and exhibition.

The nineteenth century saw enormous growth in the projecting lantern industry. Higher quality lenses, brighter illumination sources, and the technologies of mass production transformed the lantern from a singular, handmade object for entertainment to a standardized medium for both institutional and domestic uses. Commercial-grade lanterns were bright and powerful, capable of casting a clear image with precision for large audiences in scientific and educational settings. However, the same means of production that permitted the manufacture and circulation of commercial-grade lanterns contributed to a thriving industry of toy lanterns principally intended not for scientific display and edification but for play in private, domestic contexts (fig. 1). "It is not easy,"

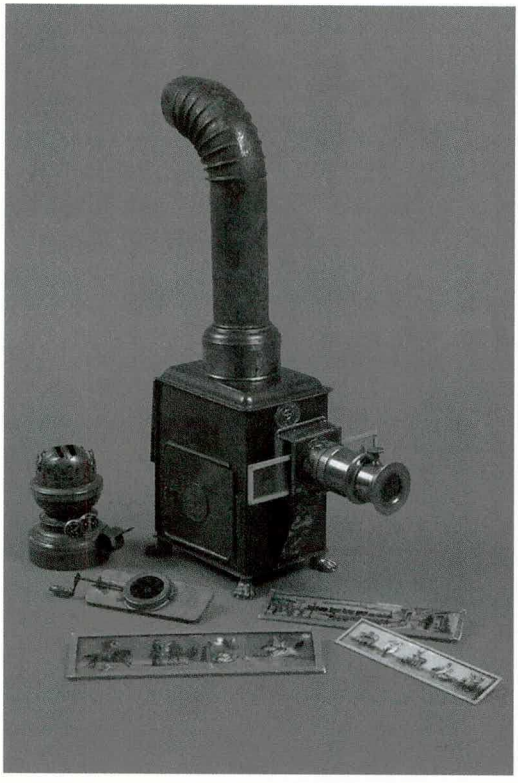

Fig. 1: Ernst Plank Magic Lantern, ca. 1890. Photograph by Wendy Kaveney (Children's Museum of Indianapolis)

writes Roberta Basano, "to discern the relationship between these toy lanterns and the instruments conserved in the great antique cabinets of optics, and even more difficult to compare such playthings with the many and sophisticated instruments made in the nineteenth century by the Anglo-Saxon optical manufacturers."[8] Initially sold during the Christmas season and given away as premiums and promotional items during the rest of the year, many toy lanterns cost less than a dollar.[9] They were smaller, lighter, had weaker sources of illumination than their commercial-grade counterparts, and were designed for children to operate them in the home. Further, like the lantern in Méliès's film, the toy lantern's design did not reflect the utilitarian style of the nineteenth-century commercial lantern used as an exhibition apparatus in institutional settings; rather, its details and flourishes often evoked the older, artisan-crafted lanterns of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century showmen.[10]

Despite the material and technological distinctions between toy and commercial lanterns, some confusion persisted. In the late 1890s, a merchant named Moses Norris imported a shipment of magic lanterns from Munich to

Baltimore. The customs agent classified the lanterns as optical instruments, taxing them at 45 percent. Norris insisted the lanterns were not instruments but were toys. He cited an 1864 case as precedent, which stated that lanterns costing between three and twenty dollars per dozen qualified as toys; accordingly, his lanterns should have been dutiable at only 35 percent. When Norris contested the customs decision, a panel of eighteen witnesses was convened to debate the matter, and of the eighteen, only three claimed that the lanterns in question were indeed optical instruments. While one man contended that any object with a light source and a glass lens qualified as an instrument, another asserted that Mr. Norris's lanterns were of too low a quality to be put to any useful purpose. One witness, a Mr. McAllister (perhaps of the Philadelphia optical firm the McAllister Brothers), used an analogy to explain why he thought the lanterns in question were toys, not instruments. Yes, he admitted, the lanterns did have lenses, but they could be used with no more precision than a toy train could be used to carry passengers.[11] The customs agent's inability to correctly classify the lanterns in question spoke to a broader preoccupation that professional-grade lantern sellers faced as they sought to promote their products as powerful instruments of science and education. One way in which they authenticated the commercial lantern as a device of quality and precision was to deride the status of the toy. As the epigraph by science educator George Milton Hopkins indicates, this was a point about which a variety of groups, including opticians, popularizers of science, and educational professionals, were insistent. During this time, a series of discursive strategies focused on devaluing the status of toys was critical to repositioning the magic lantern as a serious educational medium. In this process, the toy lantern's role in cultivating children as domestic audiences and consumers was disregarded.

From their initial appearance in the fifteenth century, projecting lanterns oscillated between the realms of science and entertainment (though within the tradition of natural philosophy, science and magic were not as oppositionally understood as the two terms are today). During the eighteenth century, the lantern shifted in context from scientific curiosity to the purview of traveling showmen.[12] As media historian David Robinson has documented, showmen traveling with lanterns and peep shows kept these media alive through a decentralized system of exhibition, and during this time a strong relationship between the traveling lantern show and the child audience was forged. Iconography of the lantern prior to the nineteenth century frequently depicted children as audiences for traveling shows in city squares or domestic contexts, and such imagery persisted into the twentieth century, sometimes as a means of certifying the legitimacy of the device in promotional materials. The wealth of prints and ephemera depicting children watching lantern and peep shows

given by itinerant showmen suggests children's regular participation at such events. However, Richard Balzer concludes that while children were certainly in attendance for peep-show performances, their prevalence in iconography was probably symbolic in nature: "More likely it is a device of the artist to conjure up a sense of innocence or wonderment."[13] Mike Simkin similarly observes that later, "In the advertising imagery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a child often was used to bring meaning to the lantern, either as a decorative element or a symbol of goodness to promote the excellence and unique quality of the product."[14]

Vetting the lantern as an optical instrument in the late nineteenth century meant reworking its association with traditions of children's entertainment. The primary spectators could not simply be children seeking amusement but audiences of all ages who could be edified by the lantern's objective views. Nineteenth-century advertising and promotional materials reflected these changes, renaming the commercial lantern to suppress the earlier device's relationship to child's play. Thomas Hankins and Robert Silverman note that optician L. Marcy of Philadelphia used the term *optical lantern* in 1872 to describe his wares,[15] while Robinson points to the London optician J. H. Dallmeyer, who announced his optical lantern in 1880.[16] Still a third term, *stereopticon*, was introduced during the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to Kentwood Wells's quantitative study of the term's appearance in American periodicals, *stereopticon* generally referred to devices that used limelight (an improved illumination source), a high quality lens, and photographic slides. Overwhelmingly, it referred to lanterns used in public lecture settings.[17]

At this time, the distinction between the terms *instrument* and *toy* further set the domestic and the institutional lanterns apart from one another. In his investigation of nineteenth-century optical devices, Ian Christie undertakes a brief etymology of the terms *instrument* and *toy*, demonstrating the dramatically different capacities attributed to each. "In the turn-of-the-century worldview," Christie writes, "an instrument had a purpose." He cites the 1910 *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) definition, which highlights an instrument's utility in strict opposition to the definition of a toy, which during this time "was already restricted to the juvenile or trivial connotations we know today." He quotes the *OED*'s 1910 definition: "'a material object for children or others to play with (often an imitation of some familiar object) . . . something contrived for amusement rather than practical use.'"[18] Striking to this opposition is the sense that an instrument is an object *through which* something can be accomplished, a means to an end, whereas a toy serves no function beyond amusement (though it is not understood as an object through which amusement is produced). In addition to offering amusement and wonder to the children who played with it, the toy

lantern also facilitated the rehearsal and performance of media spectatorship that would carry over into children's adult lives. Materially and technologically, the toy lantern did not compare with its institutional-grade counterpart, but it stood in for a particular kind of audience experience to which children grew accustomed in play.

Further contributing to the toy lantern's complex legacy is the lantern's classification as a "philosophical toy," a status shared with the persistence of vision devices like the zoetrope and thaumatrope, and visual technologies like the stereoscope. The difference between an instrument and a philosophical toy, proposes historian of psychology Nicholas Wade, is that while the term *instrument* may be used to describe any object "used to examine natural phenomena . . . philosophical toys served the dual function of scientific investigation and popular amusement."[19] A philosophical toy provides a means for scientific inquiry but additionally produces pleasure, which serves to fuel or motivate further investigation. While an instrument *enables* the investigation or demonstration of phenomena, a toy, and the attendant amusement it offers, motivates the user to *want* to continue the demonstration. In this sense, toys like the magic lantern formed conditions under which, as one 1857 publication suggested "pleasure and profit mingled."[20] The preface to Edward Groom's *The Art of Transparent Painting on Glass* (1855) expresses this same kind of excess or affective surplus that the lantern as philosophical toy affords: "it may still in some respects be regarded as a toy—but a toy of that kind by which those who seek amusement from it may also be instructed."[21] The distinction for promoters of the optical lantern, however, concentrated on the quality of components to signal the device's potential for scientific inquiry. The serious lantern, such materials asserted, was more than *just* a toy.

Manuals for amateur lantern operators, popular science books, and promotional materials such as trade catalogs consistently reinforced the optical lantern's position as an amusing and instructional apparatus by contrasting it to the weak, comparatively blurry image of its toy counterpart. A lantern manual from 1893, for example, suggests that "the lantern has long since ceased to be a toy, or regarded as a plaything; as an educator, it now stands in the front rank."[22] Juvenile recreational literature in particular was insistent on the toy lantern's limitations, seen through the derisive attitude toward the lantern as toy. John Henry Pepper, a popularizer of science who served as the director of the Royal Polytechnic Institution in London from the 1850s to the 1870s, strongly endorsed the lantern's uses as an educational tool. In the 1860s, he began publishing popular science books for juvenile audiences, beginning with *The Boy's Playbook of Science* (1860), followed by *Scientific Amusements for Young People* (1861) and *Cyclopedic Science Simplified* (1869). During the 1870s, he toured the

world with scientific demonstrations, using apparatus such as the lantern to instill an appetite for learning and curiosity. In an edition of his first book, he suggested that when taken seriously as a useful tool of education, the device importantly harnessed and focused the audience's attention in new ways:

> For a long time its true value was overlooked, and only ridiculous or comic slides painted, but its educational importance is now being thoroughly appreciated, not only on account of the size of the diagrams that may be represented on the disc, but also from the fact that the attention of an audience is better secured in a room when the only object visible is the diagram under explanation.[23]

In such accounts, the toy lantern became associated with the magic lantern of the past, since replaced by a brighter, clearer object able to captivate large groups of people at once.

Pepper's successor at the Polytechnic, Thomas Craddock Hepworth, also wrote extensively about the lantern. He prefaced his manual by saying that "the magic lantern is now no toy, but is recognised as a valuable aid to education far and wide."[24] Hepworth's entry on the magic lantern in an anthology of the science periodical *Cassell's Popular Science* remarked that "the instrument has been generally regarded as a mere toy until quite recent times; but now so much attention has been lavished upon its construction that it takes its position as a scientific instrument of great value, and one which finds a place in every lecture theatre in the world." He elaborated that "it is now commonly referred to as 'the optical lantern,' the term 'magic lantern' being reserved for the product of the toy shop."[25] Another popular science book from 1890 demonized the lantern's "magical" qualities in accordance with Eisenhauer's paradigm of scientific vision, remarking that "it is unfortunate that the word 'magic' should ever have been attached to this contrivance, for there is nothing about it connected with magic . . . Though formerly used simply to *amuse*, it has now for years been used to *instruct*. A whole class, or, indeed, a room full of people can be shewn [*sic*] an enlarged image of anything that needs to be examined or explained in detail" (emphasis in original).[26] Promoting the lantern as an educational or scientific instrument thus prioritized particular sites of purchase (the optician's shop rather than the toy shop) and placed emphasis on the institutional or public venue of exhibition rather than the domestic context. Although recreational literature suggested that enterprising children, particularly boys, construct their own lanterns for home experimentation, the modern optical lantern was the institutional-grade model found outside the home, where larger audiences could be educated by the content it illuminated. However, counter to the dominant narrative that privileges the scientific lantern, the wonder and spectacle

of its toy counterpart persisted in the home, where it linked the pleasure of the projected image to a burgeoning culture of media spectatorship.

TOY LANTERNS AND THE CULTURE OF DOMESTIC SPECTATORSHIP

While commercial accounts celebrate the optical lantern's ability to enrapture large audiences in institutional settings, literary accounts of home lantern exhibition reflect the toy lantern's status as an object of consumer desire. Narratives dramatizing domestic lantern shows frequently begin with accounts of children unboxing or unwrapping the lantern as part of its overall spectacle. Robin Ranger's 1862 *The Magic-Lantern*, for example, devotes an entire chapter to "the strange bundle" that Aunt Clara brings to her nieces and nephews and the curiosity and wonder that accompany the object. The children make a game of guessing the bundle's contents, speculating all day until the grand revelation.[27] Similarly, in *Lily's Magic Lantern* (1880), the eponymous protagonist yearns for a lantern after seeing one at her grandmother's house. Her parents conspire to buy her one as a New Year's present, and when the lantern arrives, it is described as "a box downstairs, which had come by railway."[28] An 1871 short story published in *The Youth's Companion* also emphasizes the lantern as a consumer product desired by a boy named Vincent after seeing a lantern at his friend Guy's house. After the encounter, Vincent cajoles his five younger siblings to save their money and pool it to collectively buy their own lantern. When the younger siblings forego the lantern fund for candy, Vincent accuses them of stinginess. Their father demands that Vincent refund his siblings' savings but then surprises Vincent with a lantern of his own.[29] Such examples point to the lantern's position as a coveted item within a growing children's consumer culture in which the anticipation and purchase of a toy were components of its overall appeal.

Scant critical attention has been given to the toy lanterns of the late nineteenth century. Exceptions include Roberta Basano's work on the toy lantern's industrial history, Bernd Scholtze's recent work on the eighteenth-century toy lantern,[30] and Kentwood Wells's in-depth study of the toy lantern, which emphasizes its status as a consumer product geared toward boys. This work helps give shape to the lantern as a material object, and Wells's study additionally raises important questions about its place within the broader milieu of children's culture. The toy lantern is also occasionally (and usually peripherally) included in scholarship related to early film projectors designed for home use, work that largely explores how the domestic audience was fashioned in relation to early moving-image technologies in the home. Ben Singer conducted one of the earliest such studies, tracing home projector systems back into the late nineteenth century, including a few hybrid lantern–cinema projectors from

well-known European lantern makers such as Bing, George Carette, and Ernst Plank.[31] While Singer's work illuminates the oft-overlooked area of home projectors, exploring the technological attributes of these devices to understand their successes and failures as consumer goods designed for domestic use, my emphasis shifts to consider how the child audience was imagined, addressed, and developed through play and exhibition with toy lanterns before the time of home movies.[32]

Moya Luckett's work on home projection systems of the 1910s more prominently foregrounds child audiences in her account of how cinema and magic lanterns functioned to "tame" domestic audiences.[33] Luckett highlights first how the cinema, as a primarily public mode of address and content, was shaped into a safe and appropriate family pastime, and second she explores the configuration of gender roles related to home movie exhibition, notably the positioning of women (or mothers) as operators of the apparatus. Tracing iconographic motifs, she notes that into the first decade of the twentieth century, ads featuring older technologies, such as the magic lantern, depicted the father operating the machine, whereas the mother is more frequently in charge of operating the domestic movie projector just a few years later in the 1910s.[34] Such findings are consistent with Haidee Wasson's consideration of 16mm film in the home during the 1920s, which similarly foregrounds the role of the female operator, who was charged with "overseeing family togetherness by dutifully operating the automatic movie machine."[35] As will be discussed, the family unit idealized in *The Youth's Companion* magic lantern ads is configured differently. Here, it is a child, typically a boy, operating the lantern for a group slightly larger than the average single nuclear family unit. Broadening the domestic audience to include friends and neighbors points to a vision of spectatorship as a fundamentally social rather than insular practice. As they put on shows for audiences of varying sizes, young lantern owners thus modeled and standardized the format of lantern exhibition, including advertising, charging admission, and performing the main event itself.

Before the early home film projector, the magic lantern helped to normalize domestic spectatorship and, accordingly, helped promote new models of family time and expectations of audience behavior. Singer, for example, notes that Edison's Home P. K. Model projector helped foster "a new decorum of viewership in which the spectator could share opinions, observations, and reactions with fellow viewers," though this same kind of spectatorship had already been routinized through decades of home lantern performances, when viewers were invited to participate.[36] Many of the mothers depicted in home film-projector advertisements from the early twentieth century would have been children themselves in the 1880s and 1890s, when ads showed children,

not adults, behind the machine. Toy lanterns may thus have directly trained this generation of domestic exhibitors. Tracing practices of spectatorship back to the 1880s explicates a longer history of children's consumption of visual media in the home and demonstrates how playing at "putting on a show" primed children for a media culture dependent upon paying audiences. Such work then positions children not only as consumers but also as producers or curators of media content and players in a larger economic circuit involving the lantern industry as well as the print industry, as in the case of *The Youth's Companion*.

The Youth's Companion was a children's and family-oriented periodical that circulated in the United States from 1827 to 1929. It began offering premiums for those who enlisted additional subscribers after midcentury to boost circulation, which ballooned to over half a million in the 1890s. The publication had a full department devoted to managing these premiums, which ranged in variety from household items like watches and stationery to bicycles, dolls, blocks, chemistry sets, steam toys, cameras, toy typewriters, exercise equipment, telescopes, microscopes, musical instruments, and parlor games. From at least the 1880s, the *Companion* devoted the entirety of an October issue just to premiums, which resembled a mail-order catalog. For nearly thirty years, during the 1880s and into the first decade of the twentieth century, it offered magic lanterns by mail order to its young readers in exchange for enlisting additional subscribers (fig. 2). During the course of the *Companion*'s participation in the toy lantern industry, its parent company, the Boston-based Perry Mason and Co., sold a range of lanterns, including lines specifically patented and manufactured for *Companion* subscribers such as the Ruby and Ideal lantern, as well as imported lanterns, notably from Nuremberg-based manufacturers such as Ernst Plank. Given their relatively low cost and availability, toy lanterns were given as premiums for attracting a larger readership by other magazines as well, including *The Ladies' Home Journal*, as well as other companies that similarly used lanterns as giveaways or promotions. The Columbia Clothing Company of Atchison, Kansas, for example, offered a free magic lantern along with thirty-six pictures as a free gift for every child's suit over $1.50 purchased.[37] As late as 1915, the Bluine Manufacturing Company of Concord Junction, Massachusetts, which manufactured blue-tinted laundry soap that gave white textiles a cleaner appearance, offered a toy lantern along with six slides for selling twelve packages of Bluine.[38] The *Companion*'s promotion of toy lanterns was thus typical of the toy lantern's treatment and distribution at this time.

Children ordering lanterns by mail could not always specify the subject matter of the slides that would accompany the new toy. Instead, they frequently received an assortment of slides, suggesting that the activities of projection and exhibition were as important as *what* was shown at these domestic shows.

Fig. 2: Toy magic lantern commonly distributed by *The Youth's Companion*, ca. 1880s. (Kentwood D. Wells Collection)

The *Companion* did offer a variety of lantern slides available for purchase or given for wrangling additional subscribers; subjects ranged from short comic stories, portraits of cultural figures such as authors, scenes from famous battles and wars, and imported German colored slides, which were often comic scenes and short stories. Educational slides were less common, though the *Companion* introduced them in the later 1880s with subjects including anatomy

and microscopic objects, along with other popular subjects, such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.[39] An advertisement from 1891 offers any two of seven sets for one additional subscriber plus fifteen cents. These slides were grouped according to subject and genre, such as science and education (set no. 2, Microscopic Objects Revealed and Wonders of the Human Body), humor (set no. 6, Views of Comic Life), and culture and region (set no. 5, Across the Continent and Important Events in US History; set no. 7, Zig-Zag Views around the World).[40] Such groupings reflect not only an interest in a diverse range of subject matter but also the codification of the lantern as a media format complete with the need to purchase ancillary content for continued enjoyment.

Toy lanterns played a pivotal role in routinizing practices of spectatorship for children by allowing them to act out and perform the roles of showman and audience member. The notion of children as showmen or exhibitors was prevalent in children's material and literary culture of the late nineteenth century. Instructional manuals taught parlor magic to children so that they could entertain small audiences with tricks comprised of everyday objects and home apparatus. Themes of exhibition and spectacle were also common in picture books, such as the Little Showman's series, a series of 3-D pop-up books from New York–based publisher the McLoughlin Brothers in the 1880s that featured subjects such as theatrical performances, the zoo, and aquariums: all spaces of exhibition and display. The way the toy lantern was packaged and distributed encouraged children to organize play around putting on a show to paying audiences. Lanterns were always distributed in a set or outfit, which framed the conditions of the domestic performance. In addition to the lantern and a selection of views, outfits distributed by *The Youth's Companion* included seventy-two tickets, a descriptive book of lectures to accompany the slides, and a large show bill to promote the exhibition. Other toys similarly represented domesticated versions of public entertainments, such as the panorama and peep show. Such examples demonstrate the adaptation of various media formats for the home, reducing their scale to the size of tabletop toys. Scaled down for domestic use, the materials accompanying the toy lantern aided children in reproducing the format of the public exhibition, making advertising, setting up, and charging for the show part of the fun.

The show bill that *The Youth's Companion* sent with its lanterns announced a "GRAND Magic Lantern Exhibition!" and included blank spaces for children to fill in information pertaining to ticket price, date, and time of the show and to list the names of the general manager and head usher. One ad, likely from the early 1880s, listed three simple steps to planning the show:

NOTHING IS SO PLEASING

FOR CHRISTMAS EVENING AS A

GOOD MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITION.

How? *First*, you must have a **powerful Magic Lantern** with **fine Views** and **Descriptive Lecture.**

Second, you must have **Tickets** and **Show Bills.**

Third, you must prove yourself a right smart Business Agent by engaging your mother's large parlors and then selling your 72 tickets to friends, at 10 cents each.

All these (except the business agent) will be furnished by us for only **$2.00.** A more satisfactory Magic Lantern Outfit you could not buy for $5.00.

On page **463** of the PREMIUM LIST this Outfit is fully described and illustrated.

Order your Magic Lantern **now**, and you will be ready for a fine exhibition for Christmas.

INFORMATION WANTED.

After Christmas is over, write us how you spent the evening. Was it a success? How much money did you make by the exhibition? On receipt of these letters from you we will carefully compare them. To the boy or girl who gave the most pleasing exhibition, and made the largest sum of money, we will make a present of the best $12.00 Magic Lantern we can purchase.

We offer our complete Magic Lantern Outfit for sale for only **$2.00.** On receipt of 45 cents additional, we will prepay express or mail charges.

PERRY MASON & COMPANY,

Publishers of the Youth's Companion, **41 Temple Place, Boston, Mass.**

Fig. 3: Advertisement from *The Youth's Companion*, ca. 1880s. (Kentwood D. Wells Collection)

> *First*, you must have a **powerful Magic Lantern** with **fine Views** and **Descriptive Lecture.** *Second*, you must have **Tickets** and **Show Bills.** *Third*, you must prove yourself a right smart Business Agent by engaging your mother's large parlors and then selling your 72 tickets to friends, at 10 cents each. (emphasis in original)[41]

Advertisements featured beaming audiences enraptured by the cone of light emanating from the lantern and often, notably, a team of two boys running the show (fig. 3). The *Companion* recommended that children with lanterns recruit their friends when putting shows together, telling children "let your 'business manager' announce the entertainment and sell the tickets to friends and neighbors."[42] *The Ladies' Home Journal* (the periodical had dropped *Practical Housekeeper* from its title by 1891) similarly recommended that children "undertake the part of the exhibitor," and if possible, "induce others to sell tickets."[43] During the projection itself, the *Journal* explained that: "One boy may commit the Lecture to memory and assume the character of 'showman' while another attends to the lantern."[44]

It was, of course, possible to disregard such suggestions and to simply play with the lantern without putting on a show for an audience, and it is likely that children did so. Director Ingmar Bergman, for example, describes his first encounter with a toy cinematograph (combined magic lantern and film projector) with reverence and nostalgia, but as a solitary experience:

> I retreated into the spacious wardrobe in the nursery, placed the cinematograph on a sugar crate, lit the paraffin lamp and directed the beam of light on to the whitewashed wall. . . . It is impossible to describe this. I can't find words to express my excitement. But at any time I can recall the smell of the hot metal, the scent of mothballs and dust in the wardrobe, the feel of the crank against my hand. I can see the trembling rectangle on the wall.[45]

The scarcity of extant show bills makes it difficult to determine how many were actually filled in with details related to specific exhibitions or simply discarded. However, the textual instructions and the ancillary materials that accompanied the lantern into homes nevertheless specified a clear way to play with the toy. These materials and discursive instructions functioned as a *script* for the toy lantern, outlining its intended uses.[46] To play with it as intended was to habitually mount exhibitions, collect admissions, and, in turn, pay to see other exhibitions. This framing material thus helped accustom children to the notion of visual media spectatorship as a consumable, repeatable experience.

In such play, the organization and performance of a show to a paying audience was as important as the content and affective quality of the projected images themselves. The *Companion*'s lantern ads reflect this preoccupation with business logistics over the subject or structure of the actual lecture. Ads in an 1883 edition of *The Youth's Companion*, for example, boasted that recipients of the Ruby Magic Lantern, which the *Companion* patented and sold in the early 1880s for as low as one new subscriber plus twenty-five cents, could easily make five dollars' profit on the first night a child exhibited it.[47] Another ad from the 1880s announced a contest to solicit reports from young lantern owners about the success of their business operations:

> After Christmas is over, write us how you spent the evening. Was it a success? How much money did you make by the exhibition? On receipt of these letters from you we will carefully compare them. To the boy or girl who gave the most pleasing exhibition, and made the largest sum of money, we will make a present of the best $12.00 Magic Lantern we can purchase.[48]

Reader accounts in turn provided additional fodder to fuel the *Companion*'s lantern business, as the magazine republished testimonials of children from around the country satisfied with their earnings. In 1883, Albert E. Rogers, of Burton, Kansas, earned thirteen dollars in one night, and by 1888, the claim was that profits steadily ranged from four to twenty dollars per show, as was the case with young Benjamin Brunswick of Pittsfield, Illinois, who made $35.45 over the course of three shows after having received his lantern for enlisting one new *Companion* subscriber and paying an extra forty-five cents.[49] Since the *Companion* recommended charging ten cents per ticket, such reports may reflect grossly inflated ticket prices or, perhaps more likely, exaggerations in terms of both profits and the scale of the exhibitions. Even as the financial figures are subject to scrutiny, these accounts nevertheless indicate the imagined outcomes of the toy lantern as an object that offered both money and merriment.

Companion ads told children across the country that the success of their enterprise depended not only on the quality of the instrument but also on the ingenuity of the showman and the context of the exhibition, celebrating the entrepreneurial spirit that energized a wide range of nineteenth-century business and entertainment ventures and that would be a familiar trope in early cinema. The *Companion* suggested that "any smart boy . . . who knows how to push business" can easily make a profit,[50] while *The Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper*, which similarly traded cheap lanterns for new subscribers, suggested an unspecified amount of both money and pleasure gained from employment of the toy lantern, claiming it could successfully be wielded by "any bright boy or girl":

> "How Much Can You Make?" This is a hard question to answer, as it depends largely on the place and circumstances, and how you manage. Provided your mother does not charge too much for the use of her parlor or sitting-room, and you sell the tickets at 10 cents each, you will make over $3 the first evening. Some boys make as high as $5 clear profit on a single exhibition, while others make no more than five dollars, but all have lots of fun, as many of the pictures are very comical.[51]

Such projections still indicate large audiences of between thirty and fifty people for these domestic shows, surely exaggerations of actual audiences. Nevertheless, as ad copy helped children imagine ideal viewing conditions (full houses with audience members clamoring for space), the lantern scripted expectations about what constituted successful entertainment, which depended upon both the form and content of the exhibition. Despite the numbers the *Companion* offered as evidence of the toy lantern's profit margins in the home, the device's

broader legacy was to link the pleasure of the projected image to the experience of monetized exhibition and reception. As money was paid for such exhibitions, even as a token or part of a game, the idea of the home media spectacle as a commodity was solidified, drawing relations between monetary value and leisure activities. A boy named Claud Smith, of Trenton, Louisiana, for example, wrote to the *Companion* in 1883 to report the success of his lantern show. While the show itself did not earn him much profit, he nevertheless praised it as an economic success: "I had a show last night and made $1.40 and about ten dollars' worth of fun besides."[52] Not only does Smith's account reflect the nineteenth-century middling ideal that play could be edifying and productive, but in shifting his register from profit to pleasure, the statement further primes him as a future audience member willing to exchange an amount of money for the equivalent amount of fun.

Perhaps to mitigate the incongruity of semipublic, paid entertainment and the sanctity of the domestic sphere, the *Companion*'s promotional materials stressed that the communal pleasures supplied by the lantern supported rather than countered the ideals and sensibilities of the middle-class home. The *Companion* positioned the toy as a means of making the home a welcoming place for visitors, as well as a mark of social distinction and popularity. One ad suggested that with the lantern, children may:

> entertain the entire family and a house full of friends for a whole evening; and the happiest people in this world are those who learn in early life to be happy themselves and assist others in having a good time. People do not visit each other for instruction, but for entertainment; and, that family has the most friends who cause their friends and visitors to have the most enjoyment while at their home.[53]

The Youth's Companion employed metaphors of light and warmth to stress the lantern's enduring qualities as a home entertainment: "The charm surrounding this magic 'Home Entertainer' never grows dim. Each year its magic rays brighten new faces, and add new attractions to the home circle,"[54] and "Homes will be brighter to the young people by the advent of a good Magic Lantern."[55] The toy lantern's role in fostering and sustaining a harmonious home, however, was not accomplished through the one-time introduction of the lantern into the domestic space, but in an ongoing process that was aligned with a narrative of technological progress and consumption.

In addition to offering new slides to broaden the young exhibitor's repertoire, virtually each year the *Companion* made an improved model of the lantern available. By 1885, six years after the Ruby Magic Lantern's debut, over

fifty thousand toy lanterns had been sold to *Companion* subscribers.[56] Twenty years later, the magazine declared that "more than one hundred thousand Companion homes" had enjoyed an exhibition with a newer version, the Ideal model lantern, although their promotional language does not track how well the Ruby model specifically fared in the interim years.[57] The introduction of new models each season helped fuel an understanding of perpetual technological progress and novelty, making even those children who had secured earlier models of the lantern desire to upgrade. In 1883, an advertisement nodded to the company's history of manufacturing lanterns, saying it had been "improved . . . in many respects . . . until it is now absolutely PERFECT."[58] Just a few years later, an ad for the 1885 model proclaimed: "We now pronounce our Magic Lantern perfect. We fail to see how it can be improved in any way."[59] However, only a few years later in 1888, the Ideal model was introduced. Available for a new subscription plus forty-five cents, this lantern was then the "perfected" model.[60]

Over a decade later in 1904, the latest model of the Ideal lantern, available for one subscription and fifty cents, was certified as the best: "We have from time to time during the past twenty years made radical improvements in the 'Ideal' Magic Lantern, so that we do not see how it is possible to make it better."[61] These cycles of technological novelty and obsolescence are not unique to the lantern, as they have played out in relation to other technologies such as the phonograph and, later, moving image formats. Unique to the toy lantern's place within such discourse, however, is its role as a children's media format, requiring updates of both software (the content of media slides) and hardware (the lantern body itself). The toy lantern built upon a system of form and content established by the optical toys that preceded it, such as the stereograph, the stereoscope, and the zoetrope and its interchangeable bands. In many ways, the lantern provides a kind of legacy to contemporary children's media such as console games, mobile applications, and other formats that, in their perpetual novelty, promise updated contents and aesthetics, new user experiences, and distinct modes of play. The toy lantern thus uniquely linked children to broader trends concerning technological change and the desire for the new.

During the 1890s, the *Companion*'s lantern inventory expanded, and after a few attempts at steady price increases, prices plateaued, signaling the toy lantern's waning popularity. Ernst Plank's Eagle model was incorporated into the *Companion*'s inventory around 1896, perhaps because it had become less expensive to import, and by 1898, the magazine was offering three models: the Ideal Lantern (available for one new subscription and forty-five cents, a striking five cents cheaper than it had been the previous season), Plank's Eagle model (for a subscription and thirty-five cents), and the Lyceum model, designed for public exhibitions, available for a hefty five subscriptions plus ten dollars.[62]

Although the lantern had long been offered alongside a wide variety of products, by 1900 its prominence had declined within the context of available premiums, which included newer media, such as the 1896 Pocket Kodak.[63] The *Companion* continued offering lanterns into the 1900s, but the toy's heyday had passed, especially with the introduction of new combined projectors that showed lantern slides and short film strips. Indeed, this is where many histories of home projection systems begin, such as Singer's work on Edison's early machines for home exhibition. While the popularity of the scientific optical lantern persisted into the twentieth century, the toy lantern remained cemented in time as an object of nostalgia.

CONCLUSION

Two competing discourses of the magic lantern were in popular circulation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the one hand, the projecting lantern was praised as an instrument of science—an important optical technology capable of demonstrating and disseminating natural phenomena to audiences of increasing sizes. On the other hand, the toy lantern—a fuzzy, imprecise mechanism often operated by children themselves—became the center around which domestic displays of spectacle and wonder played out on the surfaces of sheets and homemade screens. Many studies of the lantern's role in scientific contexts near the turn of the century have foregrounded its ability to standardize and spread visual information, and its ideological functions as an educational tool have accordingly registered in histories of science and technology. However, gravitation toward studies of the lantern in institutional contexts at this time masks the device's cultural work in the home. Neither of these discourses—the lantern as scientific instrument or as nexus of affect and amusement at home—adequately account for its contribution to linking certain habits of children's lantern operation and spectatorship into a cycle of production and consumption. An investigation of the relationships between these related discourses of tools and toys demonstrates the toy lantern's position as a children's home media device at the turn of the twentieth century.

The home lantern show cultivated important practices of domestic spectatorship that have largely been overlooked in favor of analyses of the lantern as a mass medium, or one that found traction as an educational or scientific device in institutional contexts. The omitted consideration of the toy lantern in critical discussion is supported by nineteenth-century materials, which similarly minimized its role in the home; peripheral discussions concerning the lantern only occasionally emerge in scholarship on the first home film projectors. However, the toy lantern and the discursive contexts in which it was presented to children encouraged them to perform roles as showpeople, exhibitors, and

entrepreneurs. These devices were catalysts for enlisting children in an informal economy of projecting and consuming visual entertainment, reifying not only patterns of domestic spectatorship but cultivating an entrepreneurial spirit in young people. The pleasure derived from playing with the lantern came not exclusively from the projected image itself but from acting out the entire context of lantern exhibition, from selecting the images and practicing the accompanying lecture to marketing and selling tickets for the exhibition, thus normalizing the format and position of the visual media spectator. Such specificities of the toy lantern's use in the home are often either folded into a discussion of the affective and nostalgic qualities of home lantern exhibition or are shifted to conversations about the use of the lantern in institutional settings. Considering its role in habituating children to practices of consumption and in encouraging them to inhabit and perform the roles of exhibitor and entrepreneur enables us to trace the lineage of children's visual media back beyond the start of the twentieth century, establishing an alternative site at which we might understand their interpellation as media producers and consumers outside of the context of the moving image.

Notes

Research for this article conducted at the Museum of Precinema in Padua and the Bill Douglas Cinema Museum at the University of Exeter was supported by a Fellowship for European Studies from the Albert and Elaine Borchard Foundation. Additional research was conducted at the American Antiquarian Society with the support of a Jay and Deborah Last Fellowship. The author also wishes to thank Nicole Starosielski for feedback on the draft and Kentwood Wells for his generous help with both primary and secondary sources and for supplying images for this article.

Epigraph: George Milton Hopkins, *Experimental Science: Elementary, Practical, and Experimental Physics*, 23rd ed. (New York: Munn & Co, 1902), 2: 75.

1. Marcel Proust, *Swann's Way*, vol. 1, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922); Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak Memory: An Autobiography Revisited* (New York: Vintage, 1989); and Ingmar Bergman, *The Magic Lantern: An Autobiography*, trans. Joan Tate (New York: Viking, 1988).
2. Tom Gunning, "Animated Pictures, Tales of the Cinema's Forgotten Future, after 100 Years of Film," in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblysk (New York: Routledge, 2004), 104.
3. Lisa Jacobson, *Raising Consumers: Children and the American Mass Market in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 8.
4. "The Magic Lantern as a Detector of Forgery," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 22, 1877, 259.
5. Sally B. Palmer, "Projecting the Gaze: The Magic Lantern, Cultural Discipline, and *Villette*," *Victorian Review* 32, no. 1 (2006): 28.

6. Beth Haller and Robin Larsen, "Persuading Sanity: Magic Lantern Images and the Nineteenth-Century Moral Treatment in America," *Journal of American Culture* 28, no. 3 (September 2005): 263.
7. Jennifer F. Eisenhauer, "Next Slide Please: The Magical, Scientific, and Corporate Discourses of Visual Projection Technologies," *Art Education* 47, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 199.
8. Roberta Basano, "The Magic Lantern as a Toy," *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* 8, no. 1 (October 1996): 8.
9. Kentwood Wells, "Magic Lanterns: Christmas Toys for Boys," *Magic Lantern Gazette* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 10–14.
10. Ibid., 7.
11. Wilkinson, General Appraiser, United States Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Decision 21784—G. A. Toy Magic Lanterns," *Treasury Decisions under Customs and Other Laws*, November 16, 1899, 715–17.
12. David Robinson, *The Lantern Image: Iconography of the Magic Lantern, 1420–1880* (London: The Magic Lantern Society and David Robinson, 1993), 9.
13. Richard Balzer, *Peepshows: A Visual History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 42.
14. Mike Simkin, "The Magic Lantern and the Child," in *Realms of Light: Uses and Perceptions of the Magic Lantern from the 17th to the 21st Century*, ed. Richard Crangle, Mervyn Heard, and Ine van Dooren (London: The Magic Lantern Society, 2005), 31.
15. Thomas L. Hankins and Robert Silverman, *Instruments and the Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 69.
16. Robinson, *The Lantern Image*, 11.
17. Kentwood Wells, "What's in a Name? The Magic Lantern and the Stereopticon in American Periodicals, 1860–1900," *Magic Lantern Gazette* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 8–11.
18. Ian Christie, "Toys, Instruments, Machines: Why the Hardware Matters," in *Multimedia Histories, from the Magic Lantern to the Internet*, ed. James Lyons and John Plunkett (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 5.
19. Nicholas Wade, "Philosophical Instruments and Toys: Optical Devices Extending the Art of Seeing," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 13, no. 1 (2004): 102.
20. Rev. A. R. Baker, "Incidental Education," *Happy Home and Parlor Magazine* 5 (1857): 117–18.
21. Edward Groom, *The Art of Transparent Painting on Glass* (London: Windsor and Newton, 1855), vi.
22. *The Art of Projection and Complete Magic Lantern Manual* (London: E. A. Beckett, 1893), 1.
23. John Henry Pepper, *The Boy's Playbook of Science*, new ed. (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1862), 303.
24. T. C. Hepworth, *The Book of the Lantern: Being a Practical Guide to the Working of the Optical (or Magic) Lantern* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1888), xii–xiii.
25. T. C. Hepworth, "The Magic Lantern," in *Cassell's Popular Science*, ed. Alexander S. Galt (London and New York: Cassell and Company, 1904), 297.
26. *Wonders of Light and Colour* (London: Paternoster Square, 1890), 72.

27. Robin Ranger, *The Magic-Lantern* (New York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday-School Union, 1862), 16–28.

28. Lucy Sale-Barker, *Lily's Magic Lantern* (London and New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1880), 9.

29. Miriam, "Children's Column: The Magic Lantern Fund," *Youth's Companion*, February 23, 1871, 63.

30. Bernd Scholtze, "The Beginnings of the Modern Toy Industry in Germany: Peter Friedrich Catel and the First Toy Lanterns," *Magic Lantern*, no. 1, December 2014, 1–10.

31. Ben Singer, "Early Home Cinema and the Edison Home Projecting Kinetoscope," *Film History* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 39.

32. Ibid., 40.

33. Moya Luckett, "'Filming the Family': Home Movie Systems and the Domestication of Spectatorship," *Velvet Light Trap* 36 (Fall 1995): 23.

34. Ibid., 24.

35. Haidee Wasson, "Electric Homes! Automatic Movies! Efficient Entertainment! 16mm and Cinema's Domestication in the 1920s," *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 21.

36. Singer, "Early Home Cinema," 51.

37. Advertisement, *Atchison (KS) Daily Globe*, September 2, 1897.

38. Advertisement, *Colman's Rural World*, November 5, 1915, 8.

39. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1888, 520.

40. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 8, 1891, 17.

41. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, ca. 1880.

42. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 29, 1885, 431.

43. Advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal* 8, no. 3 (February 1891): 3.

44. Advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal* 10, no. 1 (December 1892): 41.

45. Bergman, *The Magic Lantern*, 16.

46. Robin Bernstein discusses ways in which objects are "scripted" as a means of understanding the range of possible actions that a thing can prompt, explaining both the intended or sanctioned uses of a thing but also spaces of resistance, improvisation, and agency. See "Dances with Things: Material Culture and the Performance of Race," *Social Text* 27, no. 4 (2009): 67–94.

47. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1883, 439.

48. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, ca. 1880.

49. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1888, 520.

50. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1883, 439.

51. Advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper* 2, no. 1 (December 1884): 11.

52. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1883, 439.

53. Advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper* 2, no. 1 (December 1884), 11.

54. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 29, 1891, 17.
55. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 30, 1890, 574.
56. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 29, 1885, 431.
57. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 20, 1904, 512.
58. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1883, 439.
59. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 30, 1884, 422.
60. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 25, 1888, 520.
61. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 20, 1904, 512.
62. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 20, 1898, 510.
63. Advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, October 22, 1896, 545.