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Russian and German "Great War" Picture Postcards

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ABSTRACT

The humble postcard became a medium for a flourishing visual culture during World War I. The range of styles and messages is especially impressive in the Russian cards, often using art by major artists but also by talented anonymous ones. The German Feldpost serves as a contrasting counterpoint. In both cultures, the most popular images were repurposed in unexpected ways.

KEYWORDS

Fritz Erler; Germany; Hoover Institution Archives; Leonid Pasternak; postcards; Propaganda; Russia; Russian art; World War I

During World War I, picture postcards, already popular since the 1890s, became a fundamental means of mass communication and persuasion, as well as an instrument for private and governmental fundraising in pre-radio Europe and Russia.[1] There were practical reasons for the war-time proliferation of such cards. The millions of young men sent onto the battlefield depended on postcards to reassure relatives they were still alive. The advantages of postcards over traditional letters were instantly obvious to all: speed and ease. Lacking an envelope, the cards rapidly passed through military censorship. The tiny space provided for a message on the text side of the card alleviated the pressure on tired troops, some semi-literate, to write anything lengthy. Less predictable was the flowering of visual culture during dangerous times. Especially in Russia, the picture side of the card served as a canvas for a wild variety of images, many by well-regarded artists including the conventional Ivan A. Vladimirov, the whimsical Mikhail A. Vrubel, the impressionist Leonid O. Pasternak, and the experimental Kazimir S. Malevich. Also in Germany, a variety of styles was widely circulated in card format. Some of the liveliest pictures from both cultures were anonymous and improvised. Comparing the use of these cards by opposing sides provides a glimpse of the propaganda war that accompanied the fighting. There is evidence of interacting ideas in a visual dialog. Some of the most powerful images were manipulated and repurposed in unexpected ways.

Advances in photography and printing fueled the initial explosion of *cartes-de-visite* and postcard production in the late 19th century and at the

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Figure 1. "All for the War": a demure young woman operates heavy machinery for the war effort in a widely circulated image that appeared in poster, postcard, and stamp format to advertise war bonds said to bring 5.5 percent interest.

turn of the 20th century. Scattered throughout the vast holdings of the Hoover Institution Library and Archives at Stanford are postcard images from around the world. Many are travel cards of a tourist nature with local color such as carefully posed natives. Others fix the appearances of buildings and cityscapes long since destroyed. Photographers of the era often printed private, non-commercial photographs on standardized postcard stock so they could be mailed easily.

The early Hoover curators were particularly interested in collecting ephemeral art with a strong political content such as propaganda posters, leaflets, and postcards. They assembled 12,000 Great War era postcards from a variety of sources into what is called the "World War I Pictorial Collection." Approximately 5,000 of the 12,000 cards were printed in Russia, and another 5,000 or so in Germany. The balance is primarily American, Austrian, Belgian, British, Dutch, French and Hungarian. The majority of the Hoover cards were purchased soon after the armistice, most of them within a few years of the founding of the Hoover Institution in 1919. There is evidence that some of the materials were secured in large lots. Hundreds of German postcards came to Stanford in the 1920s from a private dealer named Friedrich Mönkemöller, an engineer living in Bonn. Many of

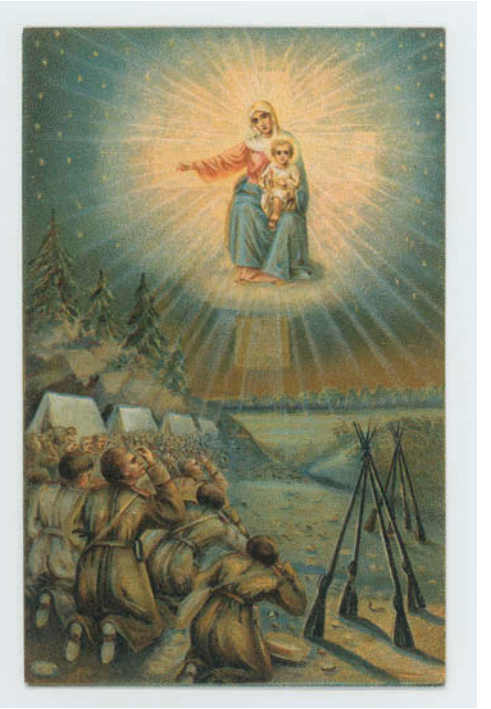

Figure 2. In a mix of religious devotion and patriotism, Russian soldiers see a vision of the *Theotokos* and Jesus on the battlefield, with Mary pointing to the West. The original card was printed by A. A. Levenson in an array of beautiful colors including a shimmering metallic gold.

these German cards have handwriting and cancellation markings on them, although the Feldpost cards usually did not require postage stamps as such. The Russian cards, which typically do not have handwritten text, bear a rubber stamp marking from the library of the Tsarist governmental office overseeing publishing and censorship. It is very likely that the Russian cards were purchased in a lot from the new Soviet government by the Hoover Institution's very successful first Russian curator Frank A. Golder in about 1921–22. The fact that the majority of the cards are either Russian or German reflects the interests of the founding curators in the collision of these two empires in the Great War.

While the German publishing industry had already developed the postcard as an essential element of middle class life by the 1880s, the Russians caught up quickly. The Russian government had already joined the Universal Postal Union by 1872. Dimensions for postcards were standardized internationally by 1874. Privately published cards became legal in about 1894, years after they were common in Germany, about at the same time that Great Britain permitted private cards. Swedish, German, and French companies continued to market cards in Russia, but Russian chromolithograph capability achieved a very high quality of its own by the turn of the 20th century. Russian

Figure 3. Postcard version of "Help us Win! Subscribe to the War Loan" by Fritz Erler, widely used in a variety of formats in Germany during World War I. This positive image of a protective German soldier defending his homeland was converted into a symbol of evil in US iconography and reappears in American anti-German propaganda in World War II. (World War I Pictorial Collection/Hoover Institution Archives, Public Domain.)

postcard art did not come out of a vacuum. Rather, it was built on a colorful folk tradition of broadsides called the *lubok* [*imagerie populaire*] that combined text and imaginative woodblock pictures. The *lubok* persisted right up to the time that publishers came out with printed replacements.[2] Some of Malevich's most effective designs were consciously anachronistic in the brightly colored *lubok* style, with a distinctly Russian folk art look to accentuate the nationalistic message of the text.

Although it is difficult to estimate how representative the Hoover collections are, or what percent of the total output is included in it, a survey of these wartime cards produces two immediate conclusions. The first is the impressive number of images produced during the war and the speed with

Figure 4. Postcard version of "The Wounded Soldier" by Leonid Pasternak that, in a variety of formats, was successfully used to raise funds for those injured in the war in Russia at the start of World War I. Meant to support the war effort, the image's meaning was turned upside down by a Bolshevik version to justify a separate peace with Germany. (World War I Pictorial Collection/ Hoover Institution Archives, Public Domain.)

which cartoons, photographs, and paintings were printed and distributed both on the home front and on the battlefield. Among the 12,000 cards there are certainly a good number of duplicates and close variants, but the number of unique images is a tribute to the prolific power of wartime publishing that must have employed a huge number of artists, print shops, and design studios, both private and government sponsored. The blatant propaganda and often crude patriotism of the cards did not in any way diminish their popularity. The Great War created an enormous market for an already burgeoning industry.

Secondly, beyond sheer quantity, the collection is remarkable for documenting the stunning inappropriateness of the images, a subject that bears closer examination. With the exception of straightforward photos of bombed-out buildings that are really in the realm of reportage, the postcard pictures are typically engaging, entertaining, and completely out of step with reality. Important social movements are totally excluded, probably by censorship, either official or self-imposed. Text and images often do not match well. In general, the motives of the artist, the designer, the publisher, the government and the buyer of the cards are at odds in very complex ways. Great

caution must be exercised in using postcards as direct documentation of social trends. The size of the "World War I Pictorial" collection is sufficient to illustrate the complexity of this pocket sized poster art. The following examples from the Hoover collection are intended to show the value of taking the time to untangle the mixed motives of Great War postcards. One of the most obvious conclusions is the essential self-delusion of patriotic cards. It is also useful to see how the cards function within a larger printing and publishing market that includes posters, political stickers, and even candy wrappers that together create a vivid national pictorial culture. Well-made postcard and stamp albums hint at the intended permanence of this shared medium as a coffee table fixture, and the leisure of an earlier age to assemble and appreciate such private, family collections.

After a brief survey of the range of the collection, a closer look at two specific examples, one German and one Russian, will show how an artist's patriotic sketch once it is widely distributed in card format, becomes an icon of sorts whose meaning is easily manipulated and even inverted in times of social upheaval.

Overview

The main categories of cards for both countries include photographs and painted portraits of important military leaders, the text of proclamations and patriotic songs, paintings and photographs of battle sites, inspiring quotes, genre paintings of hearth and home, scenes of battle, aerial warfare, ships at sea, and satiric cartoons. The penchant for self-delusion is most obvious in the large category of satirical cartoons, often too crude to appear as wall art, although they were commonly reproduced in newspapers and illustrated journals. Imaginative and amusing Russian cartoons trivialize the German enemy as a fat, beer-swilling, sausage-eating fool. The observation balloons which gave the Germans such an advantage are depicted as oversize *Wurst*. Russian Cossacks stomp on Prussian cockroaches. From most of these cards it would be impossible to guess that the battlefield defeats of the Russian army set the stage for massive mutinies that eventually forced the abdication of the Tsar and set the stage for the Bolshevik seizure of power in November 1917. The seriousness of the threat is usually masked by a cavalier confidence and wishful thinking. French and British cartoons are very similar in chauvinism, though the drawing styles represent different traditions. In one French caricature, a band of German troops is trying to surrender, while the cool French soldier tells them to wait until he has finished writing a letter home. Clearly, many of these scenes just never actually happened.

Especially inappropriate are the sentimental drawings of cute Russian children playing war. One child in a Russian uniform is beating up a smaller child in a German uniform with a miniature spiked helmet. At their feet a toy

Rheims Cathedral is knocked over. Prior to August 1914, several artists had established a following with a series of charming children's scenes. These artists simply adapted their style to the wartime situation, turning innocent kitsch into a shallow callousness. The military catastrophe that led to revolution and a humiliating withdrawal from the conflict is expressed in just a few, mostly cheaply printed postcards of uncertain, possibly Bolshevik provenance.

German postcards are equally unrealistic. Scenic postcards from the Eastern Front make invasion seem like another innocent form of tourism. By the 1890s, the German "greetings from" [*Gruss aus*] postcard had become a standard for travelers, rather analogous to the American "Wish you were here" cards. This tourist card style continued without a pause once the shooting started. Charming landscape paintings and photos depict the Masurian Lakes, the site of a ferocious battle that sent the Tsarist army reeling in defeat, but at great cost also to the Imperial German army. The simplicity of the identification "German printshop, Warsaw" belies the violence that made the operation possible. A photo card shows a German soldier slogging through a field where tired Polish women are trying to keep the farms going while their men are at war. The text is about the dashing German soldier meeting local beauties. The obvious incongruity and falseness of the text is apparently not of consequence in wartime. In a cartoon verging on self-parody, a wholesome young German soldier, looking exactly like a boy scout, cheerfully tries sign language on a baffled couple wearing embroidered peasant clothes. In the caption, the soldier says to himself "If only I knew how to say 'beer' in Wallachian."

An entire series of stylish paintings show German soldiers dancing mazurkas with colorfully dressed "local" Polish beauties. In the same series, soldiers with very minor injuries are tended by slender and attractive German nurses who are entranced by the men's tales of valor. Married soldiers come home on R and R to stylish wives and loving children in picture perfect homes. Girlfriends playfully attach little bouquets of wildflowers to the spike on the helmet of departing German fiancés. The series was published as *Lustige Blaetter*, or funny pages, by Wennerberg and Eyster of Berlin. For all the brash swagger these stylish cards do not achieve the level of arrogance and pompousness found in the World War II German cards; instead they function as naive morale boosters not conspicuously different from the braggadocio of British, French or American cards. The flirtatious Wennerberg girls are as wholesome and lighthearted as the American girls painted by Howard Chandler Christy, just less given to wearing men's uniforms.

German Feldpost produced its own special, often improvised types of cards. In some cards, the picture side was clearly left over from peacetime supplies while the address side was printed for battlefield conditions. Many

of the designs are rapidly drawn sketches of the battlefield printed up in great haste. In postcards sent to the field, the individual message was so clearly unimportant compared with the act of sending a tangible greeting, that the address side frequently left no room for a message at all, just labeled spaces for detailed regiment and battalion numbers to ensure that the card would reach the particular soldier. The card's purpose was to arrive, not relay any personal words. Soldiers used these cards to keep in touch when they were separated in different units. The importance of the field post cards is reflected in the cards themselves. There is a photocard showing German field artists at work with a cartoon showing the postcard printers working harder than the other military personnel. One painting shows the mobile Feldpost as a covered wagon in the midst of bombed out buildings where happy troops gather to receive letters from home. The printer of one clearly improvised Feldpost card from northern France is given as *Landsturmdruckerei Briey im Kriegsjahr 1914*.

Various German charitable organizations sold Feldpost cards to raise money. These are more expensively printed in full color by studios in major cities. The address side of the cards provided exact information on what percentage of the profits went to the charity, typically 15 percent of the 10 Pfennig unit price. Often the cards reproduced elaborate academic oil paintings of German ships or planes destroying specific British ships, including merchant vessels, paintings which were reproduced and sold in order to raise money for injured German veterans. A professor, Willy Stoewer, painted endless sea battles and scenes of U-boat romanticism. The unembarrassed pride in destroying the enemy is not diminished by the casualties on both sides. A Red Cross card set sponsored by Kaiser Wilhelm II was sold with a preprinted five Pfennig stamp. Another Red Cross series designed for use by prisoners of war features carefully posed photos of luxurious conditions in which POWs play pool in immaculate recreation halls, live in requisitioned palaces, and sleep in comfort.

Ironies are evident throughout the collection. On occasion, the publisher and the postcard seem contradictory. Some printers in Tsarist Russia had Germanic (often Baltic German) last names, although the families may have lived in Russia for generations. Anti-German cartoons appear regularly on Russian cards printed by such expatriate German family companies. Only one of the non-Bolshevik cards in the collection carries an anti-war subtext. It is a reproduction of a well-known Russian painting "The Apotheosis of War" that depicts a stack of skulls and eerie, sinister crows. (The painting created in 1871 by Vasilii V. Vereshchagin is now in the Tretiakov Gallery.) Reproduction of museum artwork, such as we are familiar with today, was already well established in turn of the century Russia. Thinly disguised as a Russian art reproduction, this image is one of the very few anti-war cards to be represented in the collection. This card's troubling message is

compounded by the fact that it was published by the Mehnert Company of Moscow. More research would be required to determine whether this printer came from the same Mehnert family so torn by double loyalty that one Russian born member went to Germany and enlisted in the Kaiser's army. Russians of German background were systematically persecuted in the course of the war, although experts agree that the overwhelming majority were loyal to Russia.

Both Russian and German postcards include patriotic and religious kitsch, with combinations of the two often interwoven with images of home. Christ or The Mother of God [*Theotokos*] comforts injured soldiers on the field in Russian cards. German soldiers have visions of their families back home. Holiday greetings were a direct continuation from prewar traditions with a military twist. Simply sketched Paschal eggs cheer Russian soldiers. From the cards one would guess that Christmas in a German trench was a jovial treat. *Beste Weihnachts und Neujahrswünsche* [Best wishes for Christmas and New Year's] says a card showing soldiers firing heavy cannons, in a vignette bordered with a cheerful Christmas garland, published by the Austrian Red Cross.

As war progressed, the jolly façade gave way to bitter satire, still predictably unrealistic. Early cartoons might show Russian Cossacks skewering German soldiers on their swords as *shashlik* [shish kabob]. Once such humor is no longer viable, a Russian cartoon shows a German soldier skewering a Russian baby in an image that anticipates the most terrifying scene in Eisenstein's (1898-1948) World War II classic film *Alexander Nevsky*. German artists responded to Russian and Allied cards depicting Huns killing babies and raping local women. One card shows a kindly German soldier still wearing his dagger while tending a French infant. The printed caption reads *Unsere 'Barbaren' im Feindesland: Fütterung des kleinen Feindes* [Our "barbarians" in enemy territory: feeding the little enemy]. On the verso is a penciled notation in the spiky German handwriting of the era: *Ein Idyll, wie es häufig zu sehen ist, bei uns in Feindesland, Frankreich, März 1916* [An idyll that can be frequently seen among us in enemy territory France, March 1916]. One can only speculate how the writer reconciled armed invasion with appalling civilian casualties and concern for "little enemies."

The greatest artistic effort went into government fundraising. Both Russian and German war bond advertisements offered an illusory 5.5 percent interest (see Figure 1). These war bond posters were routinely reduced to postcard size. The same images were further reduced to sticker size, and printed up as perforated stamps, much like medical fundraising stamps in post World War II America. The postcards had several obvious advantages over both posters and stamps. The postcard has two usable sides so combining text and image has greater possibilities. Long admonitions to buy bonds

and send shrapnel against the Germans graced the address side of postcards with poster images on the front. Ornate folklore designs on the address side of Russian postcards reinforced the patriotic theme of defending Mother Russia and the unique Russian culture. The heavy paper stock of postcards made them more durable than either posters or stamps, and the fact that they could be mailed circulated the images in a unique way. Whole newspaper pages and proclamations were reduced to tiny type on postcard stock as well as quite illegible stamps.

Most, but not all of the postcard art was steeped in various degrees of hypocrisy. Among the dozens of Russian publishers from the major cities of the empire that are represented in the Hoover collection, one printer stands out by virtue of the aesthetic integrity and technical quality of the artwork. The potentially clichéd patriotic scene of St. George slaying a dragon is presented with fresh verve by Vrubel, and printed in gorgeous color by A. A. Levenson. One formulaic religious picture of soldiers inspired by the vision of the *Theotokos* is elevated by using refined printing in many shades of colored ink (see Figure 2). In another card, what could be an embarrassingly sentimental woman in traditional Russian attire is also raised above kitsch by the subtle technical brilliance of the color lithography, again by Levenson. The same firm departed in style for an anti-German card with a bold cabaret scene in garish red. A. A. Levenson advertised his Moscow firm as a "rapid printer." He specialized in timely formats: newspapers, theater posters, racetrack tickets, invitations, and postcards. A lavish, limited-edition company history, published in 1903, provides an overview of his operation.[3] On page 32, the book illustrates each of 14 colors that could go into one art card. A printed postcard on page 39 looks so real one is tempted to pick it up. Examples of 10 color chromolithographs are shown on page 61. The book includes photographs of new printing machinery, said to come from the United States. Even today it would be difficult to match the quality of the printing, which makes use of the best paintings being created in the Russian Silver Age and reproducing them in carefully mixed inks with unusually delicate shades. Even the tiny stamp versions of cards printed by Levenson retain detail and shading, judging by several specimens preserved in the Hoover Institution's "Stamp Collection."

Russian war loan appeals sometimes reverted to ancestral loyalties with figures of ancient helmeted Slavic warriors. A surprising number of the government sponsored war loan posters showed heroic factory workers, presumably the target audience for fund raising. In one, entitled "Everything for the war," a graceful young woman confidently if somewhat delicately operates heavy industrial machinery in a munitions factory. The Hoover Institution has three visual iterations of this appeal in poster, postcard, and stamp versions. It was published by the government department overseeing small credit and loans. The same publisher produced a war loan

appeal by the artist R. Zarrin showing a similarly refined young man working a lathe with the caption "Patriotic and Profitable—Subscribe to war loans at 5.5 percent." Both Russian and German war bonds advertised the same illusory 5.5 percent interest. There was still some expectation that they would be repaid, patriotism at a self-serving profit margin. These two factory workers, whose stylish grooming and serene expressions would look more appropriate in a drawing room than a factory, are worlds away from the dynamic socialist realist proletarian workers that would emerge in Soviet art in just another year.

The contradictory illusion of combining patriotism and profit in the war loan effort can easily be transferred to the inherent conflict of interest in the propaganda cards that advertised the bonds. The millions of cards, mailed free from the field, made the pictures well known to a huge popular audience. The following two examples trace the fate of nationalist symbols.

By far the most popular and probably most widely circulated German poster of World War I shows a soldier in black face camouflage and bright eyes staring ahead with an almost mystic gaze (see Figure 3).[4] He is wearing the steel helmet with a curved neck guard introduced in 1916 to replace the impractical spiked helmet, which had a leather base, like old American football helmets. By the way he holds on to a beam, he has the look of one defending an embattled homeland, clearly not the posture of an aggressive invader. The text reads *Helft uns siegen! Zeichnet Kriegsanleihe* [Help us win! Sign War Loans]. This distinctive outline of the helmeted defender with glowing eyes became an emotion laden icon during the second stage of the war. It was produced in huge quantities as posters of various sizes, and as a postcard for mass distribution. The compelling image was designed by Professor Fritz Erler, and the card was published in Munich, by *Kolortiefdruck der Münchener Graphischen Gesellschaft Pick & Co*. The dark, helmeted outline was used repeatedly during the troubled interwar period and throughout World War II in different permutations to rally German nationalism. In World War II, the postcard industry flourished again to distribute poster images of helmeted heroes by Nazi artists such as Ludwig Hohlwein and Hans Schweitzer ("Mjolnir"). Perhaps because of this wide distribution, the Allies picked up on the shape of the helmet with its curved outline, inverted the meaning, and used it as a symbol of evil. Even today the symbolism of evil can be seen in the same profile adapted in figures such as the ominous "Darth Vader" in "Star Wars."

The concluding example comes from an honest attempt to raise funds for injured Russian soldiers in a straightforward way that surprised all parties by its popular success. Charitable organizations in both Germany and Russia sold postcards to raise funds. At the outset of the war, as injured Russian peasant soldiers streamed back from the front, concerned civic leaders intensified these fundraising efforts, despite some opposition to initiatives

outside of centralized control. In August 1914, the city fathers of Moscow asked an eminent art professor at the Moscow School of Art, Architecture and Sculpture to make a drawing for a collection drive to benefit the war wounded. The artist, Leonid O. Pasternak, father of poet Boris Pasternak, was known for his quick sketches from life that were both realistic in an academic sense but marked by forthright individuality and understated intensity. His drawings of Leo Tolstoy, sketched while wife Rosalia played the piano for them, were especially successful. Leonid Pasternak accepted the commission, but explained that he was unfamiliar with military uniforms and asked to have a soldier come to his studio. The resulting sketch from life is direct and unpretentious (see Figure 4). A weary soldier, weighted down by his experiences, leans against a wall and holds a cloth to a bleeding head wound. A. A. Levenson printed up the drawing both as a postcard with no text, which was sold to raise funds, and as a poster to advertise the drive. The postcard shows signs of being produced in great haste, even for a "rapid printer." One version has no typesetting or text on either side, no marked space for a stamp, only the small compressed diamond with the Levenson logo. Pasternak remembers that the card was expensive. It was collected apparently as art and as a donation to a worthy cause, rather than as a means of communication. The card version in black ink on buff stock has a finer line while the poster was drawn over with a bolder stroke to show up better in the large format. Done on the largest lithographic stone available, each poster was in effect an original. The poster text is in fluid handwriting that says "To Help the War Victims 20–21 August, Moscow." The poster has red ink to show the blood from the wound. One version of the postcard shows the red ink, another is black ink on cream-colored stock. Pasternak's sketch struck a chord with the public. The poster was plastered all over the city and led to the sale of hundreds of thousands of cards. Stamps and candy wrappers were also printed. The public responded to the patriotism, and the charity reaped the profits for the wounded. In 1915, the English magazine *The Studio* issued a special edition of the print known as "The Wounded Soldier." The picture was reproduced all over Russia as well, a remarkable success for a simple motif that does not incorporate any obvious attention-grabbing devices.

Even this direct and accessible drawing was not without its ideological complications. Reportedly, Tsar Nicholas II was not as happy with the Pasternak card as were the citizens of Moscow. He felt that the tired soldier was a slander against the Russian fighting man. The image would undermine morale. While certainly not the artist's intention, there was some logic to Nicholas' strictly political reaction. The Bolsheviks used a pirated version of the picture in 1918 for an anti-imperialist, anti-war poster without bothering to inform the artist. Pasternak had never intended his artwork to be used this way. When Pasternak asked about his copyright, the new Soviet authorities informed

him that it had been nationalized along with all forms of property. He was asked to provide more drawings for the new regime. Although Leonid Pasternak, like his son Boris, was not unsympathetic to the stated ideals of the new communist ideology, he never again produced propaganda art.[5]

The mix of motives in propaganda art is never an easy one; yet somehow the spontaneity of the image, the quick if misdirected wit, the often high quality draftsmanship and printing of Great War cards catch the eye. With even the most intelligent and honest postcards, the meaning can be turned inside out when the image is caught up in the crosscurrents of conflict, such as in these last two examples. While the confluence of political sentiment for a mass audience and an artist's individual aesthetics defies simple explanations, often it is the tension between the two that gives political postcard art its unusual fascination.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Peter Paret, formerly of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for his encouragement of my interest in World War I postcards and their relationship to political poster art.
2. A quick look at typical reference books indicates that the Russian postcard industry has been less well understood in the West than the German one. The knowledgeable John Lafflin wrote in *World War I in Postcards*: "If Russians had postcards during the Great War, they did not reach the West" (p. 175). Like so many of the other Hoover visual and fine art collections, the 5,000 Russian postcards cards in the Hoover Institution Archives were simply not well known. Richard Hartmann asserted in his fascinating *Picture Postcard Encyclopedia of Russia* that Russian war cards did not attain "the unlimited yet refined degree of hate and contempt that characterized the German, French and Austro-Hungarian cards of these years." Many examples from the Hoover Institution's set of Russian cards are on a par with the nationalistic hatred found in the propaganda of other countries. Alison Rowley has addressed this gap in the English language literature with her richly detailed book *Open Letters: Russian Popular Culture and the Picture Postcard, 1880–1922* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
3. A. A. Levenson, *Tovarishchestvo skoropechatni A. A. Levenson: lstoricheskii ocherk i opisanie masterskikh 1881–1903* (Moscow, Russia: Levenson, 1903). An uncataloged copy of this book is located in the art vault collections of the Hoover Institution Library.
4. For an analysis of this oddly enduring symbol see Peter Paret *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 44 and pp. 108–109.
5. Stephen White, *The Bolshevik Poster* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988) 14–15. The Hoover Institution has examples of the postcard, with and without the red blood, in the "World War I Pictorial" collection. The original poster (RU/SU 1066) and the Bolshevik version (RU/SU) 2284 are in the "Poster Collection."

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