

in



# Battles Civil War

The Photomontages of

PVT Joseph Steiner





Giant Cactus  
of Arizona  
a check re

## Portrait of the Artist

c. 1925

As evidenced by this postcard, Steiner defined his identity not only as a soldier and veteran, but as an artist. Steiner is seated in front of an easel holding a blank canvas with a sketch-pad and pencil at the ready. In the absence of other records, it is impossible to determine the meaning of the photo or the identity of the second figure. It seems that art was not a frivolous pursuit for Steiner, but an important aspect of how he defined himself at the Dayton home. It also leads one to wonder whether the postcards were his only artistic creations or if he worked in other media as well.

Notice scar on right wrist  
bullet broke bone in 3 pieces  
in Battle Mine Run, Va.  
Nov 27 1863.

Joseph Steiner in 1912, came  
to the Soldiers Home, got per-  
mission from the Chief Gardener  
Herman Herlian to plant rose  
bushes. Bought a hundred  
dollars (\$100) worth of rose  
bushes, Snowball bushes, Cur-  
rants, Gooseberries, dwarf pears  
Grapevines and Perennial Flower  
and bulbs, planting them about  
Barrack 25 and Barrack 8 (The  
Harris) and Volunteered to do  
Red Cross Free Gardening &  
is still gardening free for  
"Uncle Sam".

1924 For "God and Country."





Although 50 years had passed since his service in the Civil War, Joseph Steiner awoke each morning to the familiar bugle call of reveille. Having just reached his 75th year, it was more difficult for the old soldier to rise than it used to be, and in the early hours of the morning, a pair of injuries were again causing pain. Weary-eyed and achy, Steiner donned a pair of government-issue blue wool pants, a wool coat, and a wool cap similar to the uniform he had worn as a Union soldier. He then joined several hundred fellow veterans on the campus of the Central Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Like thousands of other veterans, Steiner called this sprawling facility in Dayton, Ohio, his final home.

After a 6 a.m. breakfast, Steiner and his comrades left the massive dining hall every day only to mull the seemingly eternal question of “What do we do until supper?” Some walked to the grotto, the lake, the deer park, or some other pleasant part of the wooded complex to pass the time sharing war stories. Others reported for minor work details or busied themselves playing chess and backgammon. Still other veterans requested furlough passes to visit the many nearby saloons, gambling houses, and beer gardens.

One day in May 1917, this aging veteran returned to barrack building 8, retrieved some supplies from a trunk under his bed, and went in search of a quiet place where he could get to work. His tools were simple—a pair of scissors, a can of paste, a few grease pencils and ink pens, a stack of old newspapers, and what was most likely a Kodak 3-A camera specifically designed for postcard-sized film. In the environment of nostalgia for military service that permeated all aspects of life there, Steiner used the facilities and equipment provided by the well-funded home to express his own memories of combat through art.

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Civil War historians have begun expanding the interpretation of the war era beyond battles and leaders in an attempt to discover unknown stories of the everyday soldier. One area receiving long-overdue attention is the experience of Civil War veterans, in part due to recent attention paid to Vietnam and Gulf War veterans. What happened when the boys in blue came home? How did the veteran readjust to civilian life? How did combat experience affect their mental state? What did Civil War injuries, like amputation, mean for returning veterans? How did their service as soldiers define their identities for the remainder of their lives? What was the importance of individual soldiers’ memories in shaping their view of the war, along with that of later generations?

A number of studies have emerged examining the lives of Civil War veterans living at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, a system of rest homes created by Congress in 1865 to take care of disabled veterans. The federal government opened the first three national soldier homes in Togus, Maine; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Dayton, Ohio, so they’d be accessible to three geographic regions. Pennsylvania and Ohio—having furnished the second- and third-most

Union soldiers to the Union army—likewise retained a large number of veterans. Drawing from both states, the Central Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers quickly reached maximum capacity. The Dayton site quickly grew to more than 100 buildings and miles of roads and walking paths.

As more veterans reached old age, the need for such housing increased, and additional branches opened around the country. As a veteran’s organization, the day-to-day activities followed a strict, army-like regimen. Complete with barracks, dining halls, libraries, parks, recreational halls, hospitals, and cemeteries, each National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers provided a self-sustaining, supportive environment where veterans could pass their final days.

Research and writing on the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and veteran asylums has addressed the darker side of these institutions, such as chronic alcoholism, a sign of veterans’ troubled readjustment to civilian life. Others discuss their post-traumatic stress, which sometimes led to suicide, and the general discomfort felt by veterans as members of an institutionalized class living in asylum environments.

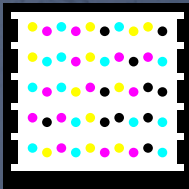




Veterans relax in the grotto at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

NCR Archive at Dayton History.

NCR 12331 C



The National Soldiers Home and Cemetery in Dayton, though changed over time, remains a care facility that is open to the public to walk around and drive through. Visitors can pass through the same ornate gate onto 348 acres that preserve the layout of the original campus. Its heritage has been

documented by the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey. An online lesson plan about the site has been produced by the NPS's Teaching with Historic Places program, available at <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/115dayton/115dayton.htm> or by using your phone to access this tag.

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An 1878 lithograph provides a birds-eye view of the sprawling Soldiers Home in Dayton.

Library of Congress, pga-01825.



## NATIONAL SOLDIERS HOME, NEAR DAYTON, OHIO.

Indeed, the historical record from the years when the homes were in operation—which includes newspaper articles, city histories, official home reports, and accounts from those who lived there—include descriptions of idleness and drunkenness. The memoirs of Elizabeth Corbett, who resided at the Northwestern Branch in Milwaukee in the late 1800s, point out the seemingly eternal idleness of the veterans. At best, they struggled to find diversions to get them through each day; at worst, they did little more than wander aimlessly around the grounds, waiting to die.

A clear counter-narrative to this negative view of daily life in the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers system is revealed

by Joseph Steiner's photomontage postcards, now in the archives of the Heinz History Center. This striking visual collection shows that the soldier homes may have been places of turmoil, but that the Central Branch in Dayton actually provided a stimulating environment. The tools and materials provided there gave rise to a visionary outsider artist who drew on his experiences as a disabled Civil War soldier to create art in a relatively new medium.

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Joseph Steiner was born February 2, 1841, in Cumberland, Maryland. Almost nothing is known of his childhood, except that he and his family had moved to Wheeling by 1850. By 1862, he had migrated north to the

Pittsburgh area. In April 1862, Steiner enlisted in the borough of Etna; he mustered in for duty with Company E, 63rd Pennsylvania Volunteers, on August 10, 1862, at Camp Curtin in Harrisburg. That December, Steiner experienced his baptism by fire when the 63rd engaged strong Confederate positions at the Battle of Fredericksburg. It was the first of many combat experiences for the young soldier. In all, Steiner experienced firsthand what he would come to recollect as "7 battles," although history would show them to actually be a combination of major and minor engagements. Steiner fought in a midnight attack on the Plank Road during the Battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863, and later



## Divine Healing

c. 1917

One of the most intriguing postcards in the collection conveys a traumatic period in Steiner's life: his post-war injury in a Pittsburgh steel mill. Steiner juxtaposes two self-portraits—one showing him with a mangled, swollen leg and the second without—to illustrate his devotion to religion and firm belief that divine intervention played a hand in his healing. He painted and drew over his leg in order to embellish his injury, making it seem more devastating and therefore enhancing the story of the divine intervention that healed him. Like all of his works, the postcard contains a biography of his service in the military.

RHC LAA, Gilbert Hays Collection, MSS 99



**JOS. STEINER, BARRACK 8,  
National Military Home, Montgomery  
County, Ohio.**

Right arm broken by bullet in Battle of Mine Run, Va., Nov. 27, 1863. Ankle and foot bones were dislocated since war in accident in Jones & Laughlin iron mill. Went fifteen years on crutches. Doctors and surgeons failed to reset bones. Divinely healed in a flash while calling aloud on God in a Mission in Pittsburgh, Pa.



that summer saw action in the bloody Peach Orchard at the Battle of Gettysburg. Though he survived six engagements unscathed, Steiner's luck ran out in a series of skirmishes fought in the aftermath of Gettysburg—a campaign known as Mine Run.

On November 27, 1863, the 63rd advanced on enemy positions in the thick wilderness surrounding Locust Grove, Virginia. While exchanging volleys with the enemy, Steiner was struck in his right wrist, the bullet splintering the lower bone of his forearm into three pieces and leaving his hand partially paralyzed. Pulled from the front lines, Steiner was sent to a series of hospitals and underwent an operation to remove pieces of bone from his forearm. Though he maintained some motor skills in his hand, the wound was bad enough to keep him from the front lines and after a brief assignment with the Veteran Reserve Corps, Steiner received an honorable discharge from the army.

His military career over, Steiner returned to Pittsburgh and took up residence at a boarding house on the city's South Side. Although he started receiving a pension almost immediately, economic necessity forced Steiner to find work as a laborer to augment this modest income. During the next three decades, he bounced from one unskilled job to

another, eventually settling on a longer-term position at the Jones and Laughlin Steel Mill.

On May 29, 1895, Steiner became another of thousands of Pittsburgh workers to be injured in the city's burgeoning steel industry when a wagon holding steel beams collapsed, crushing Steiner's foot beneath the heavy load. The accident caused a severe dislocation to his left foot, ending his life as a laborer. The injury healed poorly, forcing Steiner to use a steel brace and crutches for the next 15 years. Little is known about Steiner after he experienced this second debilitating injury. The accident helped him get an increase to his monthly military pension, and records on file at the National Archives show that he spent his later years in Pittsburgh working as a horticulturist. Never married, without children, and reaching old age, Steiner moved to the Central Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers in 1912. He was 71.

Like many veterans living at the Dayton home, the ongoing memory of his war service compelled Steiner to tell his story. But unlike his bunkmates who shared war stories with friends and relatives, or wrote their memoirs in narrative form, Steiner memorialized his service through art. With no formal training

in art or extant evidence showing a previous interest in artistic endeavors, Steiner's photomontage creations stemmed entirely from his residence at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Perhaps evidence of his desire to escape the mundane, day-to-day existence of institutional life, Steiner's postcards often place him in surreal, escapist scenes. Overall, he fits the classification of an "outsider artist"—self-taught, having no contact with the artistic mainstream, discovered many years after death, and whose work is characterized by highly personal themes that often create elaborate fantasy worlds and surreal scenes. Many documented outsider artists worked in complete isolation, as prisoners serving jail terms, inmates in mental institutions, or as residents of extremely isolated rural areas.

Steiner's artistic medium embraced the budding medium of photography. From 1905 to 1930, new technologies by the Kodak Company spawned the "real photo" postcard era (that is, postcards that looked like real photos as opposed to being printed with an offset

*He*

is tools were simple—a pair of scissors, a can of paste, a few grease pencils and ink pens, a stack of old newspapers, and what was most likely a Kodak 3-A camera specifically designed for postcard-sized film.







Lord Save Me  
c. 1925

Snippets of Steiner's life and personality are revealed in his postcards, giving details of his life

that are not available through written records. In this one, Steiner reveals his fervent religiosity by using an image of Christ to occupy nearly the complete postcard. Steiner's humility in the face of Christ is underscored by his diminutive self portrait in the background. His military biography—though present as always—is rendered too small to be legible. Religious themes are common to the work of documented outsider artists, and those who use religious elements have been termed “visionary” artists by art historians. The composition also reveals Steiner's amateur-level experience with photography. Glass push-pins by the Moore Push-Pin Company, designed and patented for the photography industry, are evident in the lower corners and held the composition in place when Steiner photographed it for printing as a postcard.

Women and  
Children  
c. 1916

The work of outsider artists is often characterized by surreal scenes and elaborate fantasy worlds that served, in part, as an escapist outlet. Created with cut-outs from a contemporary periodical or newspaper, this postcard depicts a fantasy scene depicting women and children.

Steiner is seen peering into the scene from afar, perhaps indicating either his lack of comfort with, or yearning for, women and children stemming from his lifetime as a bachelor. Images of women and children occupy many of Steiner's works. The completed postcard has the feel of a fantasy postcard, a possible influence for Steiner's art.



Joseph Steiner Born Feb. 2, 1841  
75 years old February 2, 1916  
in 7 Battles Civil War  
Received an Honourable  
Discharge for Wounds  
received in Battle of  
Mine Run Va Nov 27  
Nov 27, 1863 1863



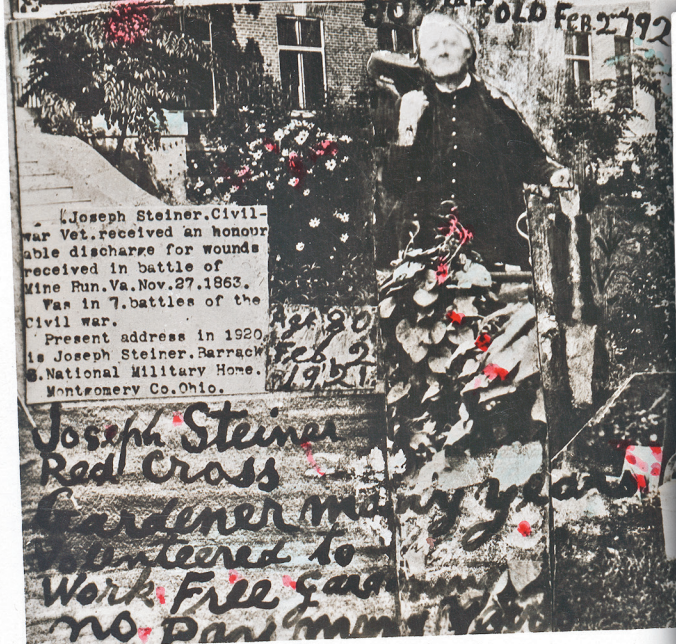


## Red Cross Gardener

c. 1920

Beyond his military biography, each postcard tells us something about the private life of Joseph Steiner. Here, we learn that he worked on the campus with the Red Cross

workers and served as a volunteer gardener on the grounds. A close look reveals that it is a complex composition with many elements, even including his certificate as Red Cross volunteer. This is one of the few cards in which Steiner used a colored grease pencil to add another layer on top of his final photograph by coloring in the red cross symbols and flowers.



## Swans

## and Squirrels

c. 1916

This example combines a common feature of the Dayton home—its wildlife—with a distinct fantasy

element. Steiner portrays himself as a Saint Francis figure, a Catholic saint known as a friend of the animal kingdom. He accomplishes this by superimposing his self-portrait into the swan lake on the grounds of the Soldiers Home and cutting and pasting pictures of squirrels and birds perched at his feet and on his shoulder. The historical record does not reveal Steiner's chosen faith, though he lived briefly in a Methodist Mission in Pittsburgh. During Steiner's stay in Dayton, the Soldiers Home had two chapels, one Protestant and one Catholic. This composition, recalling Saint Francis, points to his possible familiarity with Catholic iconography.



Joseph Steiner Born Feb 2, 1841 75 years old Feb 2, 1916. in 7 Battles Civil War, Received an Honorable Discharge for Wounds Received at the Battle of Mine Run Va, November 27, 1863.



dot pattern, as in newspapers). Thousands of amateur photographers took photos and easily printed them on readily available photographic paper that had a standard postcard format and stamp box on the reverse. People captured all manner of everyday life in real photo postcards: interiors of stores and homes, workers building structures, roads, bridges, religious gatherings, sporting events, parades, even the aftermath of disasters including mine explosions and railroad wrecks. Unlike the mass-produced, printed postcards of landscapes, buildings, or city views created by large postcard companies, these real photo postcards captured individual Americans at work and at play and, therefore, have become great visual tools for social historians.

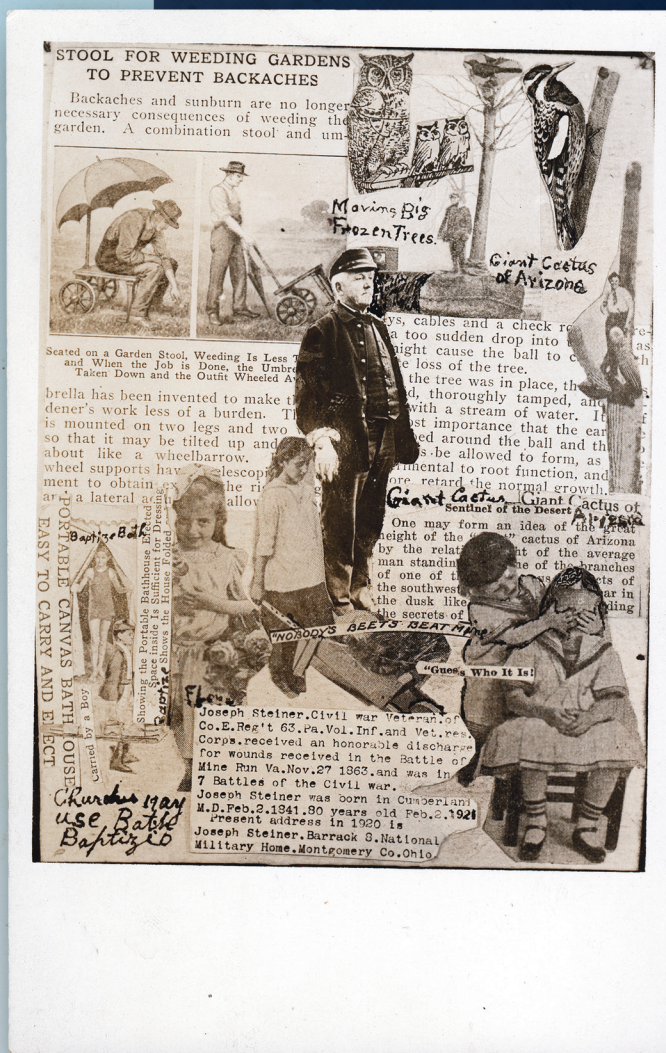
Steiner's creations are unique in the history of the real photo postcard era and constitute a small body of work that is visually striking. Seemingly simple, almost childlike, in their final form, Steiner's postcards were a conscious attempt to express his ongoing identification as a Union soldier and proud memory of his Civil War service through art. Despite his simplistic methods, Steiner nevertheless used a meticulous artistic process to create his photomontage postcards. He began by cutting up photographs of himself and then pasting the cut-outs onto other photographs to create a collage. Some postcards show him on the grounds of the Dayton home. Others depict him in surrealistic fantasy scenes created by using cut-outs from newspapers and magazines. Others reveal a particular characteristic of his personality, such as his religiosity. All contain type- or handwritten biographies of his career as a Union soldier and an account of his battle wounds. Often, he also took the time to add freehand, pen-and-ink detail to enhance the scene, either before or after printing.

Once he completed each collage, Steiner then photographed his creation and printed it on postcard paper. The final result was a photomontage postcard measuring 3-1/2 x 5-1/2 inches: one side depicting his artistic

creation chronicling his Civil War service and one side containing the stamp box and space to write a personal note. There is no mention in the historical record of photographic work being done by residents living at the Dayton home, but an annual report from the 1870s mentions a lithography studio. It is therefore possible that, by the 1910s, the well-funded home also had a photography studio and darkroom on its grounds, thus giving Steiner the impetus for his art.

Although his final photomontage creations are unique in content and composition, it is likely that Steiner was influenced, at least in part, by three contemporary cultural phenomena. During the Victorian period, well-to-do women and children enjoyed the rising hobby of scrapbook-making in which they created elaborate collages of greeting cards, calling cards, magazine pages, and other ephemera. When compared to some of Steiner's creations, namely the ones featuring images of women and children, it seems possible that scrapbooks may have been a source of inspiration for the old soldier.

Another influence may have been "fantasy" postcards popular in Europe during Steiner's lifetime that depicted sprites, fairies, and other fantastical scenes. A third influence may have been the "tall-tale" postcards created during this period by a variety of photography studios, largely in the Midwest. In these curious creations, studios used photomontage to illustrate the bounty of America's breadbasket by showing farmers growing house-sized pumpkins and other supersized



## Giant Cactus

c. 1920

Some of Steiner's postcards are complex compositions showing the depths of his imagination and varied interests. In this complex montage, Steiner included pages from horticultural literature that he may have obtained from working as a gardener at the Dayton home. The final composition includes many of the themes found on other postcards: religion, flora and fauna, and female forms. The chaotic, random feel is reminiscent of the work of the Berlin Dadaists.



produce. By pasting a close-up photograph of a vegetable onto a landscape view photograph of American farmers at work in a field, the postcard company created a whimsical scene using a primitive photomontage technique that became immensely popular in the early 1900s. It is possible that Steiner—living in the Midwest where many of these postcards were produced—came across them.

It is unclear how many photomontage postcards Steiner created. The small body that survived did so largely by chance. During the time of Steiner's residence at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, a Western Pennsylvania resident named Gilbert Hays was busy compiling information for a book on the history the 63rd Pennsylvania Volunteers. The regiment, commanded by his father, well-known general Alexander Hays, was the one to which Joseph Steiner had once belonged. Hays corresponded regularly with many former soldiers who served in the regiment, including Steiner. Through this relationship, Steiner periodically sent packages to Hays updating him about the regiment's veterans who were living in Dayton. Some of these packages contained examples of Steiner's postcard creations. A letter from Joseph Steiner to Gilbert Hays dated January 5, 1922, illustrates their ongoing long-distance relationship and the process by which the veteran's postcard creations survived.

Dear Comrade:

I write to let you know that I have not lost any of my old esteem and love for you and your honoured father or the "boys" of the gallant old Sixty-Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry... I pray that the few veterans of the old Sixty-Third may seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit of God into the condition of "Perfect Love" so they may have their souls ready to meet God in the other world. I will be 81 years of age the second day of February 1922, but glory be to God I am ready to meet God when I leave this life of misery and poverty, as God's blessed spirit gave me the

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gift of "Perfect Love." Give my best to all the "boys" and yourself and family. I send you some of my photos.

Yours fraternally, Joseph Steiner, Room 1, Barrack 8, National Military Home, Montgomery Co., Ohio

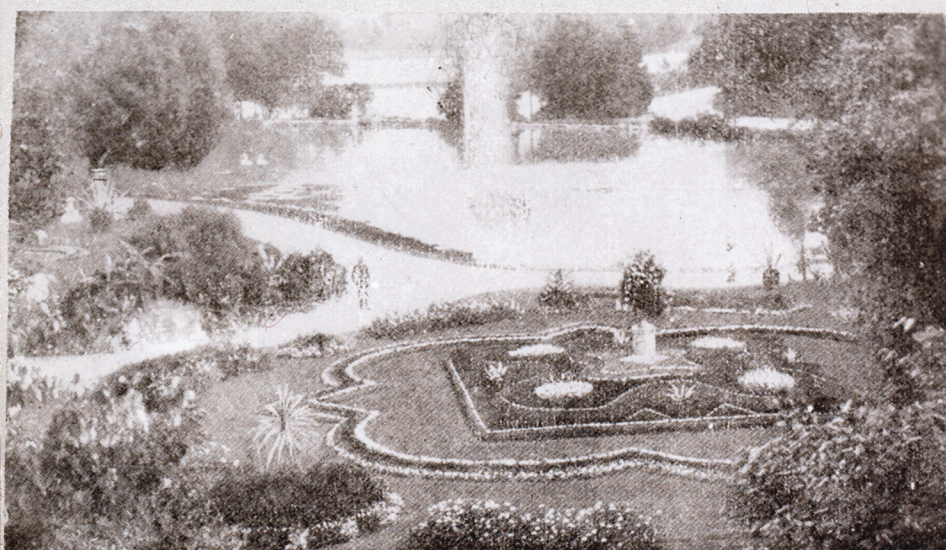
In two donations, one in 1933 and the other in 1964, family descendants donated the notes used to compile Hays' book to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, now the Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center. Preserved therein was a collection of 23 original postcards and other correspondence by Joseph Steiner. Recently unearthed when the collection was cataloged and processed, these postcards are all that remain of what might have been a much larger body of work from a previously unknown Civil War veteran-turned-artist.

While providing glimpses into the life and personality of the aging veteran who created them, Steiner's small body of postcard art also pose questions that have no clear answer. For whom was he producing the postcards? Did he intend for them to be sent to all of his comrades as a way to stay in touch? How many

did he produce during his 10 years residing in Dayton? Was he an eccentric old man who in his waning years was losing his grip on reality, which shows through his odd, almost childlike, art form? Or did he identify himself as an artist and consciously use his art form to come to terms with his earlier career as a Union soldier and make his existence at the home more meaningful? Perhaps most importantly, are there additional examples of his work in the family archives of the descendants of Steiner's bunkmates in Dayton that could serve to expand the study of his work?

A larger question is how Steiner's work fits into the history of real photo postcards and the use of photomontage as art. The possible influences on his work are clear, but Steiner's postcards also resemble the work of a small group of professional artists in Germany who would be the first to coin the term "photomontage" and claimed to have invented the art form in 1918. Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Hoch, George Grosz, and other artists, known collectively as the Berlin Dadaists, created wild photomontage scenes using photos and pages cut out of





View from  
the Grotto  
c. 1921

Joseph Steiner, Civil war Veteran, of Co. E, Reg't 63, Pa. Vol. Inf. and Vet. res. Corps, received an honorable discharge for wounds received in the Battle of Mine Run, Va., Nov. 27 1863, and was in 7 battles of the Civil war. Joseph Steiner was born in Cumberland M.D. Feb. 2, 1841, 80 years old Feb. 2, 1921. Present address in 1921 is Joseph Steiner, Barrack 8, National Military Home, Montgomery Co., Ohio.



VIEW FROM THE GROTTO.


quite a memorable day, that the first Giant Victoria was brought to maturity and induced to open its great blossom in England, which was accomplished on the estate of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Later in the season, during the same year, two other plants were also made to blossom in England—one in a garden at Chiswick and the other in the Royal Botanic Gardens in London where it was visited and admired by Queen Victoria.

Joseph Steiner  
Honorable Discharge  
for Wounds in Battle

Steiner's postcards all contain his brief military biography, emphasized with the recurring line "In 7 Battles Civil War." Despite their differences in content and context, they are all, at their heart, meant to memorialize his service in the war. In this example characteristic of many, Steiner uses his pen to illustrate the location of the paralyzing wound suffered in the Mine Run campaign that led to his honorable discharge. Drawing attention to the wound that crippled him for life underscores an aspect of the Civil War veterans that set them apart from veterans of other wars. Because of the glorious cause, Civil War veterans who were injured, including amputees, often did not wish to hide their injuries. Their red badge was not to be ashamed of, but to openly embrace. In Steiner's case, his wound made its way into his art.



mass-produced publications to comment on the speed, chaos, and insanity of World War I and industrialization. Composed of many different elements, including photos juxtaposed with random newspaper text, their photomontage works have an aura of anarchy and often include self-portraits of the artists themselves. In some respects, this description also pertains to some of Steiner's work. Was an old Civil War soldier in Dayton independently developing a new artistic medium around the same time as professional artists in Europe were making the technique of photomontage into an international art form and coining the very term?

For the purposes of this article, however, Steiner's body of work is significant because it provides another historical view of daily life in the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. For Steiner, the Central Branch in Dayton provided an environment that fostered artistic creativity and inspiration. The documentation of a previously unknown outsider artist adds a new layer to the extant documentation of the history of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers system in the United States. Although existing historical works mention many of the day-to-day activities of soldiers living there, none have explored the homes as vehicles for the creation of outsider art. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the life and works of Joseph Steiner draw attention to the post-war impact of military service on the everyday Civil War soldier. It expands the definition of soldier art beyond the charcoal sketches made by war correspondents or wooden pipe bowls carved in military camps. Though years removed from his military service, Steiner used his memories of the Civil War as a catalyst for a unique and previously unknown collection of American outsider art. 

## Sources

The Joseph Steiner Postcard collection is found in Gilbert Hays Collection, MSP 99, Box 1, Folder 1, at the Heinz History Center's Library & Archives. The two most comprehensive accounts of the growth of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers are Judith Gladys Cetina, "A History of Veterans Homes in the United States, 1811-1930" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve Univ., 1977) and Patrick Kelly, *Creating a National Home: Building the Veteran's Welfare State, 1860-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997). General scholarship on Civil War veterans, including their many problems of readjustment, can be found in Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton, eds., *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2007). Several scholars have addressed the issue of post-traumatic stress and alcoholism among veterans; see Eric T. Dean, Jr., *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999); James Marten, "Out at the Soldiers' Home: Union Veterans and Alcohol at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers." *Prologue*, 30.4 (Winter 1998): 305-13; and James Marten, "Exempt from the Ordinary Riles of Life: Researching Postwar Adjustment Problems of Union Veterans." *Civil War History*, 47.1 (March 2001): 57-70. Elizabeth Corbett's contemporary account of life in the Northwestern Branch of the Soldier's Home in Milwaukee was published in 1941; see Elizabeth Corbett, *Out at the Soldiers' Home: A Memory Book* (New York: D. Appleton, 1941); For the history of the real photo postcard era see Rosamond B. Vaule, *American Photographic Postcards, 1905-1930* (Boston: David R. Godine, 2004) and Robert Bogdan and Todd Weseloh, *Real Photo Postcard Guide: The People's Photography* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2006); Two general works on the outsider artist phenomenon are Michael D. Hall and Eugene W. Metcalf, eds., *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Bounds of Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1993) and Colin Rhodes, *Outsider Art: Spontaneous Alternatives* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000).

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