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## Editorial

In our new 6-issue annual schedule we are attempting to maintain a timetable where members will receive a particular copy of JP as close as possible to the first day of the month that appears on the front cover.

Astute readers will notice that this issue of JP has been published and distributed somewhat earlier than that timetable. We have done this to ensure that this issue was dispatched before new USPS mailing procedures came into effect on 11 May 2009. These changes comprise a rise in mailing costs, alterations to the rules for bundling and sacking international mail, and a revision to the forms which are required to be submitted with each issue's mailing.

We have therefore distributed this issue earlier than usual to save a bit of money, but more importantly, to provide us with sufficient time to become conversant with the new procedures and required forms, which are quite time consuming to complete.

I would like to again offer my thanks to those members who have made contributions to recent issues of JP, not only our regular and previous contributors, but also first-time authors including J.R. van Nieuwerkerk, Sue Dimitroff and **Michael G. Price**. I'd like to particularly acknowledge John Sylvester, Jr., whose article in this issue (page 141) is his second to appear in JP following his initial contribution way back in 1967 (Vol. 22).

Other relatively unfamiliar names have been appearing in the Letters to the Editor column, and I think this increase in member participation in JP contributions is a very positive sign and indicative that a more communal ownership of the content of our journal is rapidly developing.

- Ron Casey

## Karl Lewis, his Postcards, and the Philippines

by Michael G. Price

Issues of JP are the greatest repository of information about the enigmatic American expatriate in Japan, Karl Lewis (KL), who spent much of his over 40 years in Yokohama concocting and marketing collectibles. He was a postcard publisher and a photographer, at least part-time from 1902 to 1918, and then a philatelic cover and stamp dealer from 1931 to 1941. Although writings about KL have appeared elsewhere in the philatelic press, and in publications about Japanese photography, they don't match the prolific contributions of members and contacts of ISJP, who are engaged in a comprehensive long-term project to gather every possible tidbit of information about him and his output. An indexed CD-R with scans of more than 250 pages of all KL articles that have appeared in JP has been produced,<sup>(1)</sup> and now, 67 years after his death, KL is better known than ever.

My own interest in KL stems from his production of picture postcards of the Philippines, my long-term specialization. Despite that focus, I don't possess (nor have I seen) all the listed postcards relating to the Philippines published by KL since they're not common. Still unknown to me are several in his early 1905 postcard catalogue reproduced in JP 42/232-250, and reorganized numerically as ISJP Monograph 16. Despite gaps in my own collection, I have various pieces of information which I feel should be placed on record, and that may also be useful in evaluating the work of KL in the field of picture postcards overall. The KL views I've selected to illustrate this article were not listed in the 1905 catalogue, and until now have not appeared in JP.

### Most Karl Lewis postcards were hand-colored

The illustrations in KL's printed postcards were made as monotones, either black-and-white, or in a few neutral dark tones, such as steel blue, by a collotype process. His were never printed multicolored. Although the majority of the postcards he issued were indeed multicolored, the colors were applied after the printing, by hand, with fine brushes, to one postcard at

a time, by Japanese art-workers. I don't know if the art-workers were in the employ of KL, were employees of the different printing firms patronized by KL, or were hired as free-lancers and paid on the basis of piecework. The evidence for the hand-coloring (as opposed to color-printing) is that each patch of color is continuous within itself, and there is no screening such as would be visible under magnification with half-tone printing. Continuous coloration can be done by lithography, but then the coloration is uniform from copy to copy, or is misregistered in a predictable way. With KL's products the subtle variation between different copies of an otherwise identical postcard can only be explained by hand-coloring, even though the workmanship is often very skillful, and stencils may have helped. The same KL card can sometimes be found both uncolored and hand-colored. Hand-coloring of photos and picture postcards was a highly-refined, widely-practiced and much-celebrated art in Japan.

It hasn't always been realized or asserted that KL's postcards were hand-colored, although on the inside front cover of the 1905 catalogue he explained: "All of my cards are genuine photographic reproductions (collotype) except in the case of the hand-painted ones, and are handsomely colored in true Japanese style..." Furthermore, from his personal letters, we know that almost all his later decorative covers were individually done by artists.

Because of that method of colorization, it's important to refrain from trying to remove colored postcards of KL from album pages by soaking them in water. The pigments may be water-soluble and there's a risk that they will dissolve, blur, spread, or wash away. The color choices were only guesses and may not be accurate, since they were applied to black-and-white printing based on black-and-white photos or artwork. I don't know who decided on the particular colors, KL alone, the art-workers alone, or both together, but in some cases the colors are flagrantly wrong. The typically red captions to KL's postcards were of course printed, as also were his black logos, but were added by additional press runs, not necessarily at the same print shop that made the collotype black-and-white image base.

<sup>1</sup> Available for US\$30 postpaid from the Publisher of Japanese Philately, PO Box 1283, Haddonfield NJ 08033 USA. Make remittance payable to "ISJP". Payment can also be made through PayPal, directing the remittance to our account, [isjp@isjp.org](mailto:isjp@isjp.org).

### Karl Lewis's captions were sometimes wrong

Collectors should not trust the content in KL's printed captions, and independent verification should be obtained if the images are to be used for any serious or scholarly purpose. That might be more of an issue for views from outside of Japan, but it reveals that KL's mind was open to contriving or guessing at information in captions, and he was error-prone. Two examples from the Philippines will demonstrate this. **Figure 1** shows an unnumbered KL postcard titled "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The wall around old Manila." In fact, it shows a side of the old walled city of Cavite (35 km from Manila), constituting the ramparts of the fort of Porta Vaga, with the Porta Vaga gate in the center, facing the causeway to San Roque and the mainland. Nowhere does the wall around old Manila or Intramuros have this precise structure. Also, Manila's walled city was surrounded by a stagnant moat until 1903 when it was filled in, and after 1903 the masonry bridges over the moat that led to the gates were retained. The Porta Vaga gate has no bridge attached to it, and the outside of the wall shows no indication there ever was a moat, so the KL caption was a bad guess.

The title of the unnumbered postcard in **Figure 2** is "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The 'Los Baños' Hotel near Cavite." The tilde over the letter "n", visible in the sign of the hotel, was omitted, but that's trivial, and the hotel building was hand-colored in a luridly improbable pink, green and blue, and that's forgivable. However, KL was clearly unaware the hotel was named for its location in the town of Los Baños (meaning "the baths" in Spanish), in Laguna Province, noted for hot springs of volcanic origin. The added comment "near Cavite" is what is really wrong. To reach Los Baños from Cavite in those days would have required first traveling to Manila, changing vessels, and then taking a launch all the way up the Pasig River to Laguna de Bay, and then across that inland lake. If one were fortunate to make connections quickly, and if stops along the way were very brief, the trip by water might have been undertaken in eight hours. If one went overland by public transportation, the trip would then occupy at very least 16 hours.

### Some postcard images of Karl Lewis were reversed

An occurrence of a reversed photo image in a KL postcard was noted in JP 39/30 in regard to card No. 619 picturing the Commodore Perry monument.

Referring to that same postcard in a 1935 letter, KL is quoted in JP 45/150 as saying it was "the fault of the collotyper." Another image reversal was recognized by R. T. MacPherson (JP 59/16) on card No. 5 captioned "The United States Navy. A Sailor's funeral." depicting a Marine detachment firing a salute with the nine men impossibly all left-handed. Yet another case of image reversal was documented in JP 61/102-103, 162, involving card No. 002 inscribed "Where there's a will, there's a way" picturing a sailor and marine foolishly taking turns standing on each other's shoulders (instead of using the stairs) to chat suggestively with a kimono-clad damsel who is positioned anomalously on a staircase alongside a large building.

**Figure 3** shows "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Cathedral at Cavite." Other contemporary photos of the empty shell of this ruined church prove the view on KL's card to be in mirror image, since although the façade is symmetrical, the separate makeshift bell tower is on the wrong side. **Figure 4**, also unnumbered, is "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Street scene, Cavite." At the far end of the scene the structure closing off the street bears a sign that under magnification can be deciphered as Teatro Caviteño. However, the words are in mirror image. One plausible explanation for errors of transposition is that KL's source materials in these cases were glass slides or glass negatives whose polarities were not immediately obvious to him and/or the printer. Even when labeled, it's very easy to turn them the wrong way.

### Karl Lewis's postcard images were taken from unacknowledged sources

An earlier article about KL postcards reported (JP 59/16) a significant discovery by Paul McAlpine that card No. 719, captioned "Umbrella makers of Japan," was copied from a much earlier (c.1880) photo numbered B 1097 which he found reproduced in a 2003 (Tucker et al.<sup>(2)</sup>) book about Japanese photography. Another postcard from McAlpine's collection, illustrated at JP 62/129 and captioned "No. 721. A Japanese Flower-Seller (Female), Karl Lewis Photo" was similarly copied. I myself have that exact image labeled "B 1200 C(o)untry Old Woman Selling Flower." The original photographer of the c.1880 series with B-prefixed numbers is still unidentified,

<sup>2</sup> Tucker, Anne Wilkes et al., *The History of Japanese Photography*, 2003.



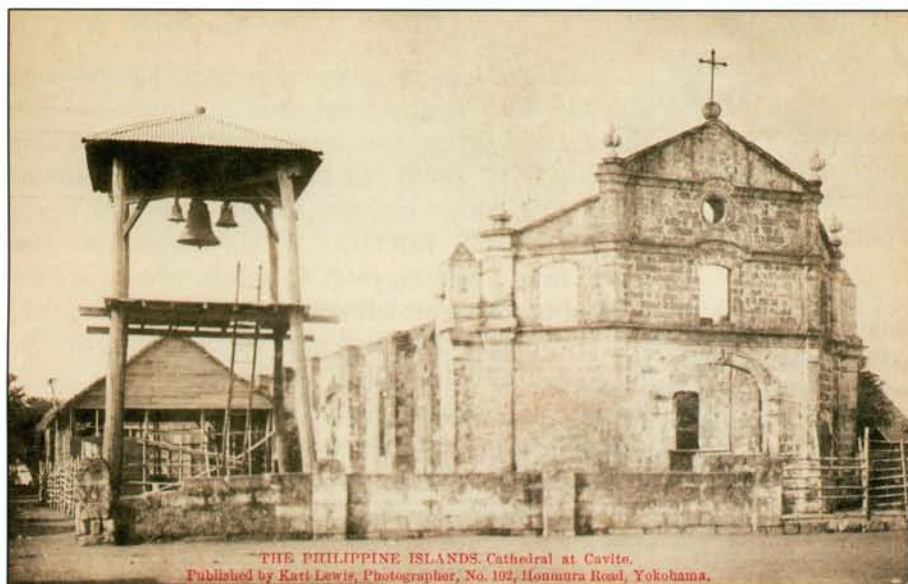
*Figure 1*

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The wall general del Manila.  
Published by Karl Lewis, Photographer, No. 102, Honmura Road, Yokohama.



*Figure 2*

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The "Los Banos" Hotel near Cavite.  
Published by Karl Lewis, Photographer, No. 102, Honmura Road, Yokohama.



*Figure 3*

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Cathedral at Cavite.  
Published by Karl Lewis, Photographer, No. 102, Honmura Road, Yokohama.

although Tucker et al. (2003) attributed them to the famed Kusakabe Kimbei. More authoritatively, Bennett<sup>3</sup> excluded them from Kimbei's work. Regardless of the true authorship, we can perhaps excuse KL in such cases because the copyright duration for photos in Japan at the time (by an 1887 law) was only ten years. However, these examples of copying enable us to predict the eventual exposing of similar origins for most of KL's Japanese postcards. Rather than the above examples being isolated cases, they fit into a telltale pattern.

A picture postcard depicting imitation Japanese stamps with imitation cancellations was reported in JP 61/71 as published by someone else, but claimed by KL, with his superimposed later overprint. This was followed up in JP 61/150-152 by supplemental information and examples of the same or similar stamp cards without the KL overprint, one bearing the name and logo of the real publisher, Hoshinoya of Yokohama. Incidentally, these stamp cards were apparently color-printed, in contrast to the hand-coloring process of KL's own production discussed earlier.

In his 1905 catalogue, KL grouped his postcards under a number of subject headings. Card No. 19, listed under the heading "Comical Postcards", and pictured and described in JP 59/14-15, was very saucy for its time. A young lady is sitting on a park bench with her eyes closed, while a cow is licking her neck from behind. Her boyfriend is preoccupied picking flowers on the side. The scandalous aspect is not only that she thinks he's the one licking her, but that she rebukes him much too mildly: "Now you stop[.] George!!" I've seen this image before, and can confirm that KL copied it from a U.S. postcard.

A postcard with a view of Palermo, Sicily on its picture side, and a Japanese back incorporating a KL logo was pictured at JP 61/153. The styles of the type-faces of the captions on the picture side are characteristic of German postcard printers, and it's evident that KL just plain copied the postcard front in its entirety, captions and all.

During his career as a merchant seaman, KL worked on ships that probably visited the Philippines, but that's not documented. When he spent six months vacation in 1931-32 revisiting his old Pacific Ocean haunts, described in a letter quoted in JP 37/59, the

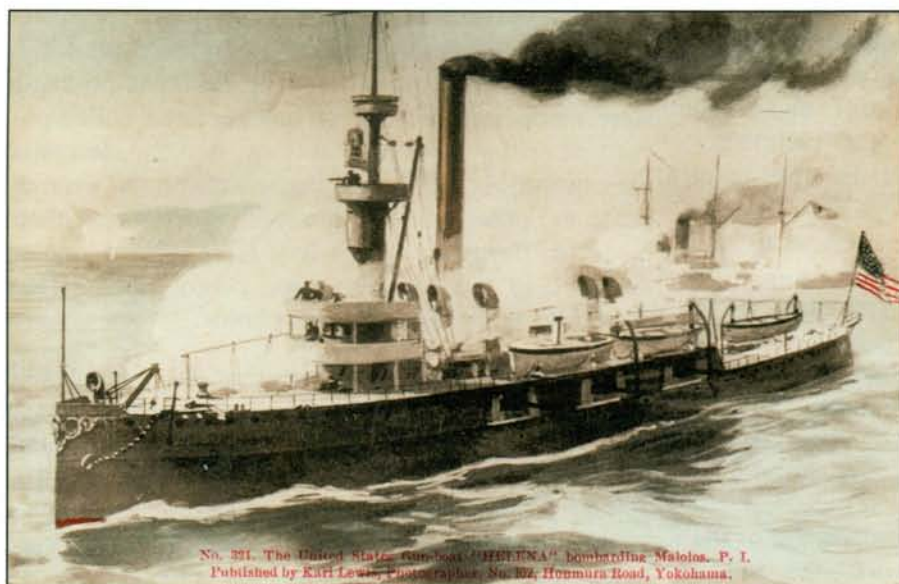
Philippines was not included. I've seen no evidence that he himself ever took a single photograph there, and conclude that none of the images that he reproduced on Philippine postcards were his. Accordingly, the task is to determine the sources from whence he obtained his images. Among those listed in his 1905 catalogue, I recognize that KL postcards Nos. 2501, 2505 and 2506 were based on the work of the Manila firm Photo Supply Co. No. 2505 is misprinted 2507 on the postcard according to the numbering in the catalogue. On the postcard it is captioned "Philippine Islands. United States Cavalry watering their horses." In addition to the printed postcard, I own two more versions of that view, an original c.1902 photo by Photo Supply Co., and an obvious copy photo of reduced quality overlaid with the words "Karl Lewis Photo", which demonstrates that the presence of these three words on KL postcards cannot always be trusted.

Here are two most egregious examples. **Figure 5** shows a KL postcard captioned "No. 321. The United States Gun-boat 'Helena' bombarding Malolos, P.I." The USS Helena was indeed active during the Philippine-American War, and is known to have bombarded the town of Malabon in March 1899, but not the Filipino capitol Malolos. This image was copied from a painting by Frank Cresson Schell (1857-1942), noted as an artist for Harper's Weekly. Schell signed the original in the lower right corner, outside the field of view of the KL postcard, for which the artwork was cropped on all four sides. A reproduction of this painting appeared in Marcus J. Wright's 1902 volume *War with Spain and the Philippines*, p. 585, where it is titled "...gunboat 'Helena,' and other American war-vessels, bombarding the Filipinos at Malabon, March 26<sup>th</sup>."

KL published a second, but different picture postcard with the exact same number and caption, "No. 321. The United States Gun-boat 'Helena' bombarding Malolos, P.I." shown in **Figure 6**. Visible in the lower right corner are the partially truncated words "KARL LEWIS PHOTO." This image was also copied from a painting by F. C. Schell, who signed the original in the lower left corner, just outside the field of view of the KL postcard, for which again the illustration was cropped on all four sides. This Schell painting is likewise reproduced in Wright's 1902 volume, on p. 583, where it is titled "The Monitor 'Monadnock' shelling Paranaque [Parañaque]...". The obvious explanation for this duplication is that either KL or his printer inadvertently repeated the

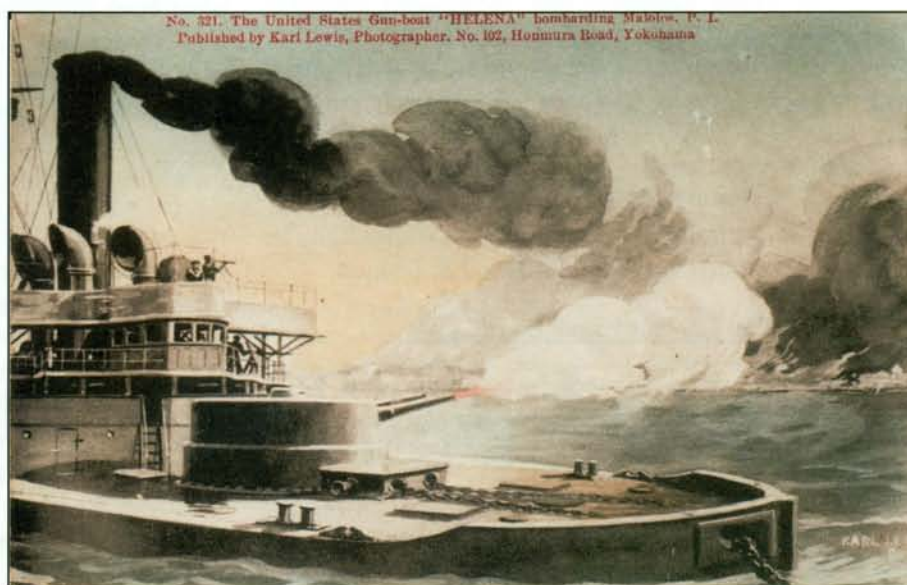
<sup>3</sup> Bennett, Terry, *Old Japanese Photographs, Collectors' Data Guide*, 2006.

**Figure 4**



**Figure 5**

**Figure 6**



caption of the card in **Figure 5** when doing the caption for the card in **Figure 6**, and thus it was a clerical error. The ships in the two pictures are different, and we can presume they were properly identified in Wright's captions. But, however he got the images and their captions, KL consciously and deliberately appropriated the signed art work by trimming off the original signatures, and adding his own name.

### **Karl Lewis was an unabashed pirate**

The Yokohama of the early 1900s was notorious in the Far East for its freewheeling immorality and amorality, especially among its large population of foreigners, of whom many were of dubious character or unscrupulous in reputation, to say the least. In those years before the niceties of modern long-term international copyright law were established, the misappropriation of images was a commonplace activity. KL's piracy may have been one of the least of the vices in town. It was petty stuff, and I can hardly imagine an aggrieved contemporary competitor gaining any satisfaction from a complaint, or even so much as filing a complaint to begin with, although contemporary newspapers in Japan bemoaned the plagiaristic practices of unnamed perpetrators. As long as he remained in Yokohama, KL was safely beyond the reach of any foreign victims of his plagiaristic activities. So yes, KL was an unabashed pirate, on a routine basis, and in wholesale quantities, but he probably thought nothing much of it, and his clientele would've laughed off such accusations.

KL's piratical activities can help explain some of the above-mentioned quirks of his work, the image reversals, wrong captions, and poor color choices. That's not to say that everything he did was stolen—there were presumably some originals, but everything with his name on it should be considered suspect. I've seen only scant evidence that he personally did any actual photography (only two photos shown by Bennett<sup>(4)</sup>), or any darkroom work, and I've not seen any studio portraits with his imprint (although he made cabinet cards according to Boyd & Izakura.<sup>(5)</sup>)

### **The US Navy and Karl Lewis**

How did the photos he borrowed come into KL's possession? He evidently bought, traded, or borrowed individual photos, whole albums, and illustrated

books and magazines from travelers and correspondents, and other Yokohama residents. As regards his Philippine postcard images, most were probably obtained from crew members of the US Asiatic Fleet, which often visited northern ports such as Yokohama in summer and spent most of their winters in the Philippines. This theory of KL's naval connections is supported by the very large number of ship postcards he published, of which relatively few were listed in his 1905 catalogue. Many of the missing catalogue numbers from 024 to 599 depict ships. KL also published numerous ship postcards without numbers, maybe on very short notice, to accommodate the crews of whichever ships were then in the harbor. I've seen several without any printed caption at all, and which are unidentified, perhaps produced as special orders.

KL also advertised a reasonably-priced postcard-making service for anyone who submitted photos or negatives for that purpose. The resultant postcards were made as monotone or hand-colored collotypes, with or without printed captions, and the deceptive presence of his logo might cause someone to wrongly credit the photo. Sailor customers ordered real photo postcards from him, which bear KL's printed logo on the back of the Japanese-made photo paper. They should not be mistaken for KL photos.

After over 20 years on the high seas, KL undoubtedly was fully fluent in the lingo and jargon of sailors, and as an old hand could probably spin plenty of elaborate and embellished sea stories, once such an essential part of a seafarer's repertoire. Since his logo was a gourd for holding Japanese rice-wine, sake, it's easy to imagine his stories being lubricated with what must have been his favorite beverage. He also, according to Terry Bennett<sup>(4)</sup> managed the US Navy Coal Depot in Yokohama for two years, which would have been an invaluable business connection. He might have attracted a following among sailors for those reasons, in addition to his photo studio and large supply of naval-related postcards.

And there were further enticements for a US sailor on liberty in Yokohama to patronize KL's neighborhood, since it may have hosted a small American enclave. An American restaurant advertising meals at all hours was located at 106 Honmura Road, right near KL at both his later address of 102 Honmura Road, and his earlier address directly across the street at 136-D Honmura Road. I found the restaurant's calling card (**Figure 7**) in an album of mostly Philippine photos

<sup>4</sup> Bennett, Terry, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Boyd, Torin & Naomi Izakura, *Portraits in Sepia*, 2000.

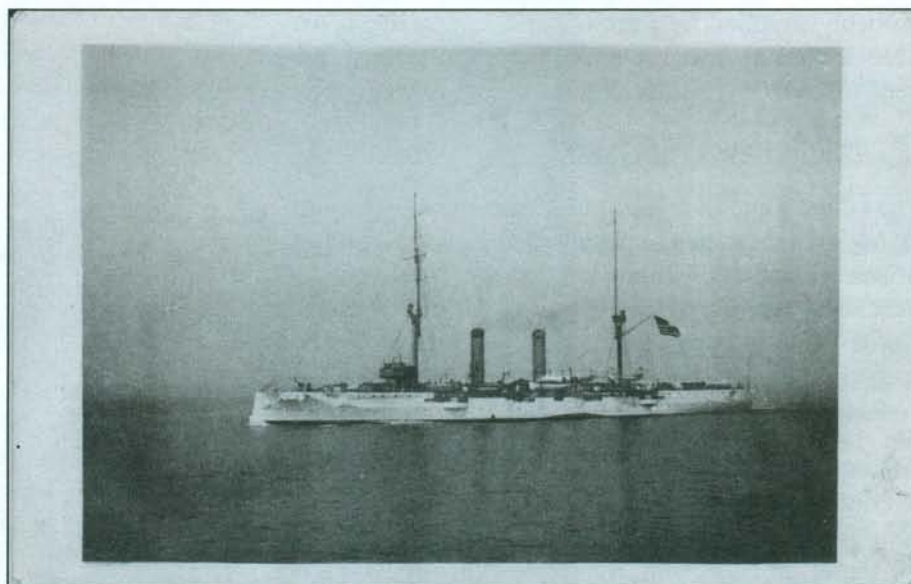
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**AMERICAN.**  
**RESTAURANT**  
**MEALS AT ALL HOURS**  
*Pie, Coffee, Teas, Cocoa & Cakes.*  
 BOARD BY THE DAY OR WEEK.  
**T. DAVIS, Proprietor.**  
 No. 106, HONMURA ROAD, No. 106.

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Figure 7

Figure 8



NO. 2500. THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. A FILIPINO FAMILY AND THEIR HOME.  
Published by the U.S. Government, Washington, D.C., 1904.

U.S. Government

**THE FILIPINO.**  
 Ah— Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching.  
 Damm, damn, damn, damn, the boys are marching.  
 Cross-eyed, knock-kneed, ladron,  
 And beneath the stars and stripes  
 Cripple them with a Keag,  
 And return us to our own beloved home.

Figure 9



assembled by a sailor of the USS New Orleans in 1910-12. The Japanese inscriptions from upper left are 西洋料理 (seiyō ryōri) meaning “western cooking” and alongside that メリケン for ‘meriken’, rather than アメリケン for “Ameriken”.<sup>6</sup> Directly below is the name of the restaurant’s proprietor (T. Davis), rendered in kana as テーダビス (Tē Dabisu). The inscription at right is the address No. 106 Honmura Road, Yokohama.

A couple of KL postcards were included in that same album, both showing the USS New Orleans, one unidentified, with no printing whatsoever on the hand-colored picture side (**Figure 8**). In every other way it’s still a typical KL item, done on one of his frequently-used postcard stocks, and with his sake-gourd logo imprinted on the upper left of the back. The photo used for reproducing the ship’s image was probably supplied by a crew member, and might have been a special order. Omitting a caption may have been to save time and/or cost.

#### Ethnic issues with Karl Lewis’s postcards

The ethnic topic in regard to KL was recently raised at JP 64/36 in reference to postcard 049 titled “Good-bye Mister Greenback” about a reformed black gambler lamenting having to part with his last dollar, with words taken from a song containing racial slurs and composed in a stereotypical black dialect that was considered humorous by many audiences at the time.

Among KL’s Philippine postcards are many examples overprinted in red with lyrics taken from an army song he titled THE FILIPINO. **Figure 9** shows one of these, a card sent by a sailor from the USS Maryland, and captioned “No 2520. THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. A FILIPINO FAMILY AND THEIR HOME.” The same card can be found both with and without the added army song, whose tune was defined as: “Air:--Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching.” The words were rendered by KL as:

Damn, damn, damn the Filipino,  
Cross-eyed khaki-eyed ladrone,  
And beneath the starry flag,  
Civilize them with a Krag,  
And return us to our own beloved home.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that the term “meriken” for “American” is not without precedent in Japanese. Wheat flour is still called “meriken-ko” (メリケンコ) in Japan.

By way of explanation, a ladrone was a bandit, here used as a slur against Filipino revolutionaries. The Krag became the standard rifle used by the US army in the war of colonial conquest (1899-c.1906) now often called the Philippine-American War, which followed the 1898 Spanish-American War. KL’s particular version of the song wasn’t standard, and several other variations existed. A few Philippine postcards unidentified by publisher bear KL’s version of this song, printed in his usual red typefaces, and they certainly were his work.

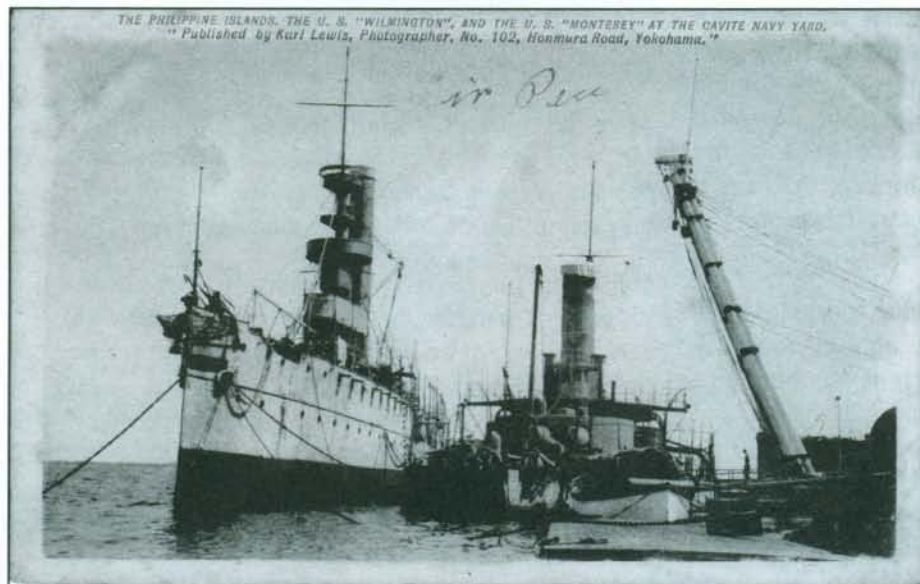
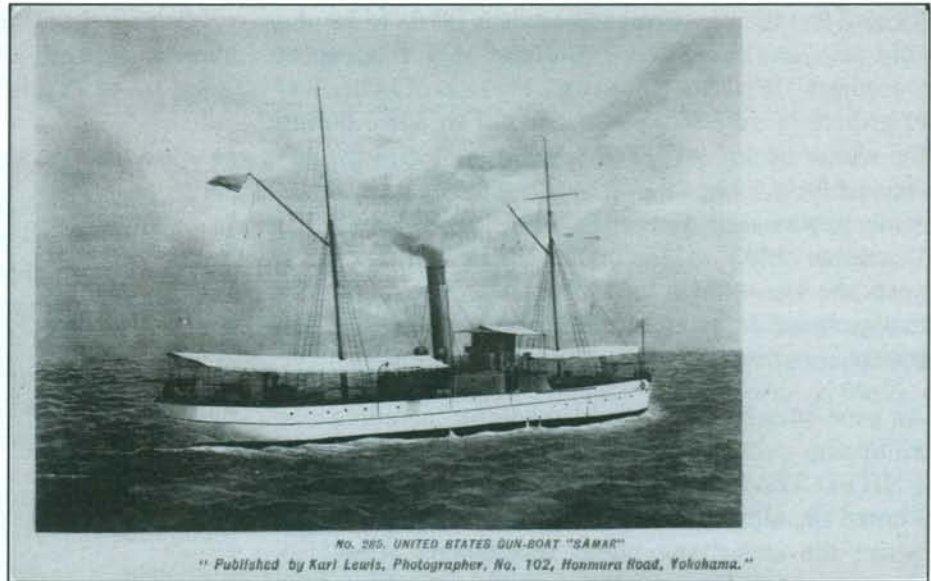
During KL’s milieu of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it cannot be denied that the US was predominantly white supremacist, and slavery was a living memory for many. The nation had barely emerged from genocidal wars against Native American Indians, and the phrase “Civilize them with a Krag” was analogous to “The only good Indian is a Dead Indian.” Did KL really intend to promote the malicious theme of the military song quoted above, or was he merely pandering to the perceived prejudices of his potential customers? That question may perhaps be decided by KL’s personal circumstances, which can be used in his defense. He was most deeply devoted to Sada, his Japanese wife of 37 years, whom he couldn’t have legally cohabited with or married in his birth state of Kentucky until 1967. In KL’s adopted state of California, Sada would have been prohibited by law from sending children to school, acquiring real estate, or gaining citizenship. KL’s lifelong love for Sada is touchingly manifested in his letter to the Blackburnes of 20 April 1940, written a month and four days after her death. He didn’t live as a bigot.

One last comment about KL’s card 2520 in **Figure 9** cited above: The identical Philippine image was published as a picture postcard titled “Filipino residence and family,” by Kingshill of Shanghai. Did both those publishers borrow it from the same third-party original source, or did one of them plagiarize the other?

#### How many Philippine-related postcards did Karl Lewis publish altogether?

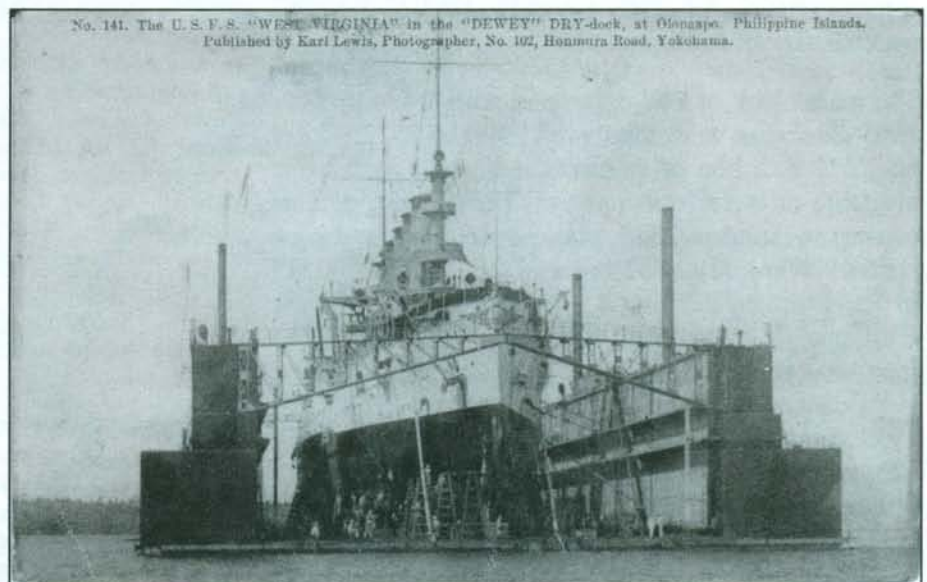
The answer is hundreds, if one chooses to include the numerous not specifically localized postcards of ships of the US Asiatic fleet that either called at Philippine ports or spent considerable time stationed in the Philippines. For example, on the basis of the contents of the album it came from, the KL postcard of the USS New Orleans shown as **Figure 8** was obtained by

**Figure 10**



**Figure 11**

**Figure 12**



a crew member in April or August 1910, when the ship was in Yokohama. But the ship then spent December 1910 to February 1911 in Cavite and elsewhere in the Philippines, and did so again during the winter of 1911-12, and when assigned to the US Asiatic Fleet from 1918-22. The New Orleans was also previously stationed with the Fleet from December 1899 to December 1904, during which years she was often in the Philippines. Whether or not that postcard belongs in a Philippine collection is a matter of individual whim.

An even stronger case can be made for including in a Philippine collection such cards as KL's "No. 285. UNITED STATES GUN-BOAT 'SAMAR'" shown as **Figure 10**, although there's no indication when and where the underlying photo was taken. The USS Samar was built in the Philippines as a gunboat for the Spanish Navy in 1887, spent the next eleven years there, was captured by the Americans in 1898, and then continued to serve in Philippine waters for the US Navy until 1904. After that time, she was used mostly along the China coast, but her links to the Philippines were permanent in the form of the source of her name Samar, the sixth largest island of the Philippine archipelago.

Even if the many not localized ship postcards are excluded, a Philippine collection should logically admit other naval-related views such as anything that mentions the two major bases of Olongapo and Cavite. Examples are "No. 141. The U.S.F.S. 'WEST VIRGINIA' in the 'DEWEY' DRY-dock at Olongapo. Philippine Islands," shown as **Figure 11**, and the unnumbered "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. THE U.S. 'WILMINGTON', AND THE U.S. 'MONTEREY' AT THE CAVITE NAVY YARD." which is shown as **Figure 12**.

The main block of Philippine postcards listed in KL's 1905 catalogue were numbered 2500 to 2512. After no. 2512 is a line of etceteras indicating more were available or were forthcoming. Then a considerable gap up to number 2545 where postcards of Hawaii started. Were all the 32 missing numbers from 2513 to 2544 produced, and if so, were they all of the Philippines? On that question I can supply a fractional yes --- at least the next ten of them were, but I cannot account for numbers above 2522. The 1905 catalogue had two other Philippine postcards, 623 and 900A. However, the majority of KL's Philippine output was either naval-related and/or without numbers, and he either didn't list them when

publishing the 1905 catalogue, or they came along later.

### Conclusions

Every KL postcard of the Philippines I've seen postally used there was cancelled in the naval port city of Cavite, supporting the idea that the main link between his Yokohama-based production, and that tropical Asian colonial archipelago was the American Navy. Of the Philippine postcards he published, KL didn't take the photos, didn't do the printing, and didn't do the hand-coloring. His role was to arrange for combining those elements.

KL's postcards in general, especially humorous and touchy subjects, but even Japanese scenes, should be evaluated with his many sailor customers in mind. No individual view should automatically be assumed to have come from his own camera, regardless of the presence of his imprint. He purloined profusely.

Many KL postcards were made in small quantities and are now very rare, but others never sold out, and remainders were available into the late 1930s, which he even utilized for short notes and envelope fillers.

Opposing perspectives of KL are possible. If we judge him harshly by modern ethical standards, we can forgive him by reference to his circumstances and the context. In retrospect, he left a legacy of thousands of attractive and historically-interesting picture postcards (not to mention 23,000+ illustrated covers) that otherwise wouldn't exist, and the story of his life and philatelic/postcard productions have enlivened many issues of JP over the years.

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