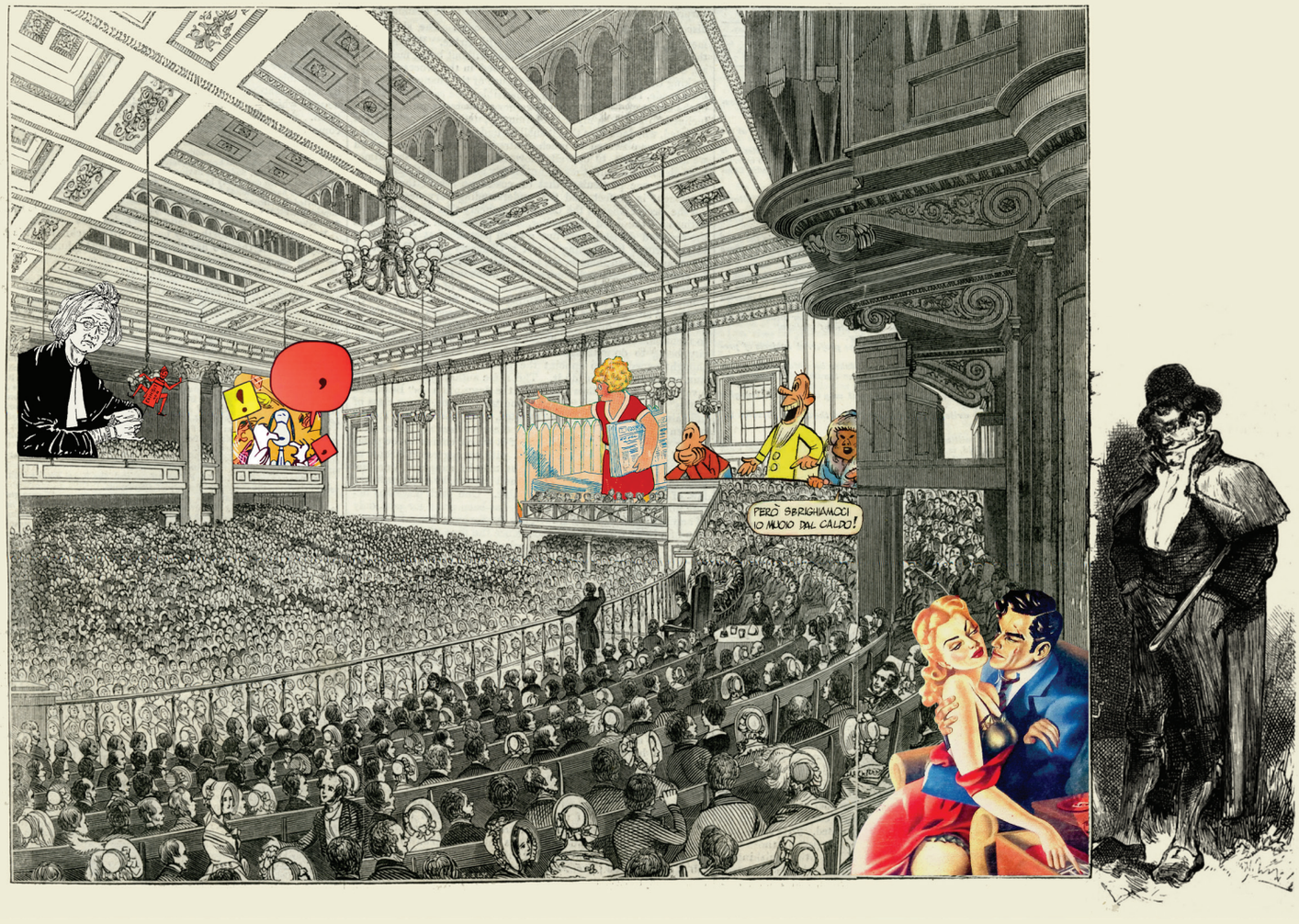

A Mixed Picture

Media Transfer and Media Competition in Illustrated Periodicals, 1840s-1960s

Christian A. Bachmann and Nora Ramtke (Eds.)

Wehrhahn Verlag

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A Mixed Picture
Media Transfer and Media Competition in Illustrated Periodicals, 1840s-1960s
An Introduction

«It must not […] be forgotten that some of the unexampled success of this little work is to be ascribed to the liberal employment of illustrations,» posits Charles Knight in the *Preface* to the first bound volume of *The Penny Magazine* in December of 1832.[1] Evidently – and unsurprisingly – the commercial significance of illustrations for such periodicals was acknowledged from the outset. A decade later, in the first volume of *The Illustrated London News*, its founder and editor Herbert Ingram is fascinated by a question impossible for him to answer: «What will it do for the future?»[2] Ingram highlights the archival function of periodicals when he assumes that they «will pour the lore of the Antiquarian into the scholar's yearning soul, and teach him truth about those who have gone before him, as it were, with the Pictorial Alphabet of Art».[3] One of these early scholars, Mason Jackson, confirms «[t]he inherent love of pictorial representation in all races of men and in every age», which to him explains how «the illustrated newspaper has become a prominent feature on the journalism of every country».[4] When Jackson published his treatise on *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress* in 1885, he was so deeply involved with illustrated periodicals in his role as the *Illustrated London News*'s art editor that it seems fair to assume that his notion of multimodal communication was strongly shaped by the medium long before he sought to write its history. Following Ingram's conviction, Jackson, too, assumes the purpose of the illustrated press to be that of «an inexhaustible storehouse for the historian»,[5] or, as the German *Illustrirte Zeitung* puts it in 1843, the illustrated press depicts «ein treues Bild der Gegenwart den Gegenwärtigen und den Zukünftigen».[6] From the outset, therefore, the illustrated press was fascinated by the anticipation of its retrospective exploration by future historians.

With regard to the future of illustrated journalism, another early practitioner and scholar, Clement Shorter, the *Illustrated London News*' editor in the early years of the 1890s, asserted that «[i]t is largely a matter as to the extent to which

1 [Charles Knight]: Preface. In: The Penny Magazine 1 (1832), pp. iii-iv, here p. iii.

2 [Herbert Ingram]: Preface. In: The Illustrated London News 1 (1842), pp. iii-iv, here p. iii.

3 [Ingram]: Preface, p. iv. On the archival function of periodicals see Gustav Frank / Madleen Podewski: The Object of Periodical Studies. In: Jutta Ernst / Dagmar von Hoff / Oliver Scheiding (Eds.): Periodical Studies Today. Multidisciplinary Analyses. Leiden, Boston 2022, pp. 29-53, especially pp. 38-47.

4 Mason Jackson: The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress. London 1885, p. 1, 2.

5 Ibid., p. 361.

6 «offer a faithful image of the present to the present and the future». Vorwort. In: Illustrirte Zeitung 1 (1843), not paginated.

capitalists may be found to run enormous risks for an uncertain result».[7] From this perspective, it is predominantly the market that will decide on what succeeds with capital pre-determining what to test out in the first place. Evidently, the combination of textual and visual features in the press has proven successful both economically and socially. For this reason, magazines and newspapers have been analysed as examples of multimodal communication and image semiotics.[8] As Shorter suggests at the end of the nineteenth century: «the illustrated newspaper can no more be crushed out».[9] As it turns out, it is here to stay – in scholarship as much as in the everyday media landscape, even though it was recognized early on in its history that change is an important driver of the pictorial press. Constant change of the pictorial press later became a topic of research in its own right.[10] In fact, technological advances such as the rise of photography were integral to ushering in the age of the ‹Mass Image›, changing and shaping the illustrated press for ever. And periodical studies have taken account of this.[11] Some developments, like the introduction of photography or halftone printing, proved outright revolutionary and affected periodicals in profound ways. The recent emergence of content creation using machine learning software tools is a new revolution already underway, with jobs of creators increasingly being replaced by ‹operators› that ‹prompt› evermore capable software programmes to generate texts and images tailored – albeit not by human tailors – for the respective purpose.

Considering periodicals both as objects and agents of a market that is determined by competition and transfer raises awareness on how the press undergoes a continuous process of change on many levels, e.g., the economics and technology of information gathering and transmitting, of printing and dissemination, of typography and design, of making and multiplying pictures across geographic and cultural space, and time. When in the first volume of *The Illustrated London News* Ingram brazenly claims that his periodical «opened up the world of *Illustration* as connected with News, and the quick-sighted and sound-judging British public peopled it at once», he speaks from a distinctively national perspective. Speaking for the whole editorial board in the first-person plural, he adds: «We know that the advent of an Illustrated Newspaper in this country *must* mark an epoch» and asserts that the «[p]ublic have been greedy for it and have devoured it eagerly».[12] It is clear that the large-scale introduction of multimodal serial communication has permanently changed how we gather and process information as well as what we expect print and (later) other media to be like. However, the colonial underpinnings of Ingram's rhetoric obscure the fact that the success of the illustrated periodical press was based on economies of international competition and cross-cultural transfer from the outset.

Periodical research, nationally organised, as it is still today to a large extent, has long perpetuated this limited national view when examining the importance of the illustrated press for processes of cultural and political nation building.[13] As a result, scholarship has focused heavily on

7 Clement K. Shorter: Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future. In: The Contemporary Review 75 (1 January 1899), pp. 481-494, here p. 493.

8 Robert Hodge / Gunther Kress: Social Semiotics. Ithaca 1988; Hans-Jürgen Bucher: Mehr als Text mit Bild: Zur Multimodalität der illustrierten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften im 19. Jahrhundert. In: Natalia Igl / Julia Menzel (Eds.): Illustrierte Zeitschriften um 1900: Mediale Eigenlogik, Multimodalität und Metaisierung. Bielefeld 2016, pp. 25-73.

9 Shorter: Illustrated Journalism, p. 494.

10 See Kevin G. Barnhurst / John C. Nerone: The Form of News. A History. New York, London 2001; James Moran: Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times. Berkeley 1973; Madleen Podewski: Mediengesteuerte Wandlungsprozesse. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Text und Bild in illustrierten Zeitschriften der Jahrhundertmitte. In: Katja Mellmann / Jesko Reiling (Eds.): Vergessene Konstellationen literarischer Öffentlichkeit zwischen 1840 und 1885. Berlin, Boston 2016, pp. 61-79; Nikolaus Weichselbaumer: Linotype und Teletypesetter. Satztechnologie als Taktgeber für die Entwicklung des Zeitungslayouts. In: Andreas Beck / Nicola Kaminski / Volker Mergenthaler / Jens Ruchatz (Eds.): Visuelles Design: Die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche / Visual Design: The Periodical Page as a Designed Surface. Hannover 2019, pp. 37-53.

11 See e.g., Gerry Beegan: The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London. Basingstoke, New York 2008; Thierry Gervais: L'Illustration photographique: Naissance du spectacle de l'information (1843–1914). Thèse de doctorat d'histoire et civilisations, EHESS 2007, https://issuu.com/lhivic/docs/l-illustration-photographique.

a small set of prominent illustrated journals such as *The Illustrated London News*, *The Penny Magazine*, *Die Gartenlaube*, or *L'Illustration,* which have then been contrasted with so-called ‹little magazines›. As fundamental and important as these approaches are, several scholars have argued more recently for multidisciplinary analyses and a transculturally informed widening of periodical research.[14] Being an outcome of the 9th annual conference of the *European Society for Periodical Research* (ESPRit) on «Periodicals Formats in the Market. Economies of Space and Time, Competition and Transfer», this volume wants to contribute to the liberation of periodical research from the narrow corset of national research perspectives.

Surprisingly enough, this objective turns out to be compatible with the interest for specific local cultures and regions, as Marguerite Corporaal's contribution «Transferring Connemara. European Illustrated Periodicals as Transnational Agents of Regional Remediation, 1870-95» demonstrates. Quite the opposite, the fascination with regions in countries of nineteenth century Europe that marks the starting point of Corporaal's argument, heavily based on the circulation of images and narratives about regions by borrowing, reprinting, re-using and translating across the borders of serials and nations. Rooted in an interconnected economy by means of official trade and less official piracy in news and illustrations, cultural conceptualisations of the region in illustrated periodicals have a significant transnational dimension. Since the nineteenth century, the circulation of texts has been fuelled by technical, distributional, and economic connections, but also by people who moved or were forced to move within or beyond European borders. Migration and colonialism are therefore significant sources both for the transnational circulation of printed material, the transfer of regional representations, and the articulation of local identity in and through magazines. Shromona Das, in her chapter «The Humour of Anxiety: Caste, Emasculation and Female Deviancy in Colonial Bengali Caricatures, 1870s–1930s» discusses Bengali humorous periodicals that are more than adaptations, namely an act of cultural appropriation and subversion by accommodating the wit and aesthetics of the colonial model of the British Empire's *Punch* within the cultural context of Bengali humour. Her argument concerning the gendered nature of the aesthetics and politics of humour that is associated with an attempt to establish an upper caste ‹masculine› tradition of journalism brings the discussed Bengali periodicals not only in competition with the colonial model, but also with other non-satirical magazines of their time.

As the number of illustrated periodicals grew, so did the number of images printed per issue, a vast archive of pictures was created that exceeds more ‹traditional› humanities approaches to analysis and interpretation. Recent research on periodicals has utilized image recognition software and other computational approaches to outline ways of processing the enormous number of texts and pictures published and re-published in the pictorial press across the world.[15]

12 Ingram: Preface, p. iii.

13 See Benedict Anderson's seminal study: Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Revised edition. London, New York 2006; and more closely focussed on periodicals: Peter W. Sinnema: Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News. Aldershot 1998; Beegan: The Mass Image; Laurel Brake / Marysa Demoor (Eds.): The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press. Basingstoke, New York 2009; Jean-Pierre Bacot: Le Rôle des magazines illustrés dans la construction du nationalisme au XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle. In: Réseaux 107 (2001), pp. 265-293; Madleen Podewski: Akkumulieren – Mischen – Abwechseln: Wie die *Gartenlaube* eine anschauliche Welt druckt und was dabei aus ‹Literatur› wird (1853, 1866, 1885). Berlin 2020, http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-28136.

14 See the edited volumes: Jutta Ernst / Dagmar von Hoff / Oliver Scheiding (Eds.): Periodical Studies Today: Multidisciplinary Analyses. Leiden, Boston 2022; Evanghelia Stead / Hélène Védrine (Eds.): L'Europe des revues II, 1860–1930. Réseaux et circulations des modèles. Paris 2018; Evanghelia Stead / Hélène Védrine (Eds.): L'Europe des revues (1880-1920): Estampes, Photographies, Illustrations. Paris 2008; the study of Thomas Smits on The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842–1870. London, New York 2020; and Clare Pettitt: Serial Revolutions 1848: Writing, Politics, Form. Oxford 2022.

However, it has been shown that illustrated periodicals employ specific forms of image-text-relations both on the level of each individual issue and of each periodical.[16] Accordingly, in order to understand how and to what effect pictures are used in periodicals with regard to questions of competition and transfer, close readings of periodicals are of great value. Thus, traditional approaches have proven to make sense of design decisions that go into the mise-en-page of pictures and texts,[17] or the circulation and re-use of images or photographs within periodicals as well as other media formats.[18]

Illustrations, just like textual matter, produce and attain different meanings when re-used and literally re-framed in new media contexts. Thus, they not only contribute to cultural exchange, but can lead to significant shifts, and, what is more, to a potentiation of meanings. Reinterpretations through re-use in other national or medial contexts are at the heart of Jakob Kihlberg's chapter on representations of political meetings in mid-nineteenth century periodicals, «A European Visual Imaginary? Political Meetings in Mid-Nineteenth Century Illustrated News Magazines in Great Britain, France, and Germany». Although the periodical press in the 1840s had access for the first time to (and increasingly relied on) shared visualisations of current events by traffic in stereotyped images between different countries, Kihlberg puts the emergence of a common transnational European visual imaginary and political iconography into question. His analysis rather suggests that despite the economic interconnectedness and the heavy transfer of visual material between European periodicals, we must consider specific national visual cultures of news. Their significance was closely related to a particular nineteenth-century public culture of spectatorship in which oratory performances and political meetings were not only conceived as newsworthy but their visualisation as a political act.

The fact that the layout of periodicals ascribes different meanings to images by recontextualising and reframing them, complicates the idea of a transnational European visual culture. In other words, images are deeply political, both in what they show or don't show, and how they are used and contextualised. As John Hartley convincingly and clearly lays out,

> [n]o picture is pure image; all of them, still and moving, graphic and photographic, are ‹talking pictures›, either literally, or in association with contextual speech, writing or discourse. Pictures are social, visual, spatial and sometimes communicative. As visual text and social communication they construct literal social space within and between the frames and fields of which they're made. Pictures of all kinds are aesthetic, textual works, capable of personal appreciation and individual interpretation, but at the same they are institutionally produced, circulated within an economy, and used both socially and culturally. Not only is their own internal space organized or framed, but also relations are developed between them and spectators, users, audiences or publics, real or imagined, outside the frame. Pictures

15 See Paul Fyfe / Qian Ge: Image Analytics and the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Newspaper. In: Journal of Cultural Analytics 3.1 (2018), https://doi.org/10.22148/16.026; Jana Keck / Mila Oiva / Paul Fyfe: Lajos Kossuth and the Transnational News: A Computational and Multilingual Approach to Digitized Newspaper Collections. In: Media History 29.3 (2023), pp. 287-304; Beatrix Joyeux-Prunel: Internationalization through the Lens: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Art Periodicals and Decentred Circulation. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 4.2 (2019), pp. 48-69.

16 Madleen Podewski: «Blätter und Blüten» und Bilder: Zur medienspezifischen Regulierung von Text-Bild-Beziehungen in der *Gartenlaube. Illustrirtes Familienblatt*. In: Gunhild Berg / Magdalena Gronau / Michael Pilz (Eds.): Zwischen Literatur und Journalistik: Generische Formen in Periodika des 18. bis 21. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg 2016, pp. 153-173.

17 Tom Gretton: The Pragmatics of Page Design in Nineteenth-Century General-Interest Weekly Illustrated News Magazines in London and Paris. In: Art History 33 (2010), pp. 680-709; Andreas Beck: Driving Wild Cattle in Illustrated Magazines from Britain to France, and from France to Germany. Migrating Illustrations as a Means of National Self-Assurance. In: PeriodIcon 1.1 (2021), https://doi.org/10.46586/PerIc.2021.1.1-20.

18 Cf. Vincent Fröhlich / Alice Morin / Jens Ruchatz: Logics of Re-Using Photographs: Negotiating the Mediality of the Magazine. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 7.2 (2022) pp. 26-51; Andreas Beck: Crossing Borders between London and Leipzig, between Image and Text: A Case Study of the Illustrirte Zeitung (1843). In: Victorian Periodicals Review 51.3 (2018), pp. 408-433; Paul Fyfe: Illustrating the Accident: Railways and the Catastrophic Picturesque

> are political as such; it is not merely that some pictures, because of their subject matter, are more obviously public and political than others.[19]

Moreover, as French poet Paul Valéry pointed out, the printed page can – and therefore should – be looked at as a picture in its own right: «Une page est une image. Elle donne une impression totale, présente un bloc ou un système de blocs et de strates, de noirs et de blancs, une tache de figure et d'intensité plus ou moins heureuses.»[20] Seen from this angle, the page layout itself becomes not only pictorial but a political aspect of the periodical. The re-issuing of texts and pictures, the changing of media formats, the circulation of texts and images through trade or piracy, then, too, is a political act.[21] That was clearly the case when comics as the epitome of American mass culture were introduced to European intellectual periodicals in the 1960s by a group of left-wing Italian intellectuals, as Mara Logaldo suggests. Her chapter «When *Peanuts* Became *linus*. Re-Contextualisation through Translation» traces the early years of Italian magazine *linus*. After acquiring the rights from the United Features Syndicate, *linus* featured the iconic *Peanuts* comics along with various classical graphic literature and comics of (at that time) lesser-known Italian authors. Paradoxically, *linus* can be seen as an attempt to simultaneously locate comics in and deflect them of a culture of politically ambitious intellectual criticism. This highlights the fact that being part of a periodical that served as a ‹space of encounter› clearly determined both by its social functions and medial representations, the comics needed to be made accessible both linguistically and culturally.[22]

The way illustrated magazines act as cultural mediators within relations of media competition and transfer becomes even clearer in light of the ‹cultural Cold War› which was a significant accompanying symptom to the bipolar competition between political systems in the twentieth century. Focussing on «Cold-War Science and Its Illustrated Wonders. Politics, Play and Visual Education of the Italian Youth in the Leftwing Weekly *Pioniere*», Giulio Argenio draws on the mid-twentieth century discussion about comics and illustrated entertainment as a dangerous and potentially morally and psychologically corrupting form of mass communication. Communist education all over Europe used print mass-culture and visual communication to portray the ambition of socialist science and culture in the context of more general ideological controversies and propaganda. In that light, *Pioniere*, a magazine issued by the communist Italian youth and children association, can be seen as a playful version of transnational ideological transfer, namely from the Soviet Union, by visual means that directly address the preferences of the young audience.

However, periodical migration and recontextualization not only has cultural and political implications but may also affect the medial status of textual and visual content, as Will Straw's chapter on «Cross-Border Traffic, Moral Crusades and Hybrid Form in Canadian Print Culture» shows. At the heart of the chapter is a corpus of actual or, more often, alleged

in the *Illustrated London News*. In: Victorian Periodicals Review 46.1 (2013), pp. 61-91; Tom Gretton: Difference and Competition: The Imitation and Reproduction of Fine Art in a Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Weekly News Magazine. In: Oxford Art Journal 23.2 (2000), pp. 143-162.

19 John Hartley: The Politics of Pictures. The Creation of the Public in the Age of Popular Media. London, New York 1992, p. 28. See also Elke Grittmann: Das politische Bild: Fotojournalismus und Pressefotografie in Theorie und Empirie. Cologne 2007; Julia Thomas: Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image. Athens, Ohio 2004.

20 Paul Valéry: Les deux vertus d'un livre. In: Paul Valéry: Œuvres. Ed. Jean Hytier, vol. 2, Paris 1960, pp. 1246-1250, p. 1246 f.; Kristof Van Gansen: ‹Une page est une image›. Text as Image in *Arts et métiers graphiques*. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 2.2 (2017), pp. 61-76.

21 Gustav Frank/Madleen Podweski: «Was aber schön ist, selig scheint es in ihm selbst»: Was wird aus Mörikes «Auf eine Lampe» in Zeitung und Buch. In: Andreas Beck / Nicola Kaminski / Volker Mergenthaler / Jens Ruchatz (Eds.): Visuelles Design: Die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche / Visual Design: The Periodical Page as a Designed Surface. Hannover 2019, pp. 261-286.

22 On the idea of periodicals as a ‹space of encounter› cf. Laurel Brake / Julie F. Codell: Introduction: Encountering the Press. In: Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. London 2005, pp. 1-7.

Canadian pulp magazines of the 1940s whose publishers digested, repackaged, or transformed content from American or British publications of sensationalist and semi-pornographic character of the previous two decades. Straw argues that this media transfer was directed outwards to the marginal market that was Canada during that period and downwards in terms of quality and cultural value when being re-used as cheap magazine-like prints. Media transfer thus blurs the line between books and magazines and challenges the implicit hierarchy within print culture ranging from hard-cover book publications to cheaply produced serials.[23] Similarly, Christian A. Bachmann's chapter «From the Newspaper to the Book: Little Orphan Annie's Media Entanglement and Transformation» investigates the transformations Harold Gray's comic strip *Little Orphan Annie* underwent when it was extracted from the publication and reception rhythms typical for the daily newspaper that is the *Chicago Tribune* to be re-printed in book form by New York children's book publisher Cupples & Leon. Abridged, re-shuffled, and, most importantly, severed from its former spatial and temporal framing in the newspaper, Annie's books shake up the comic narrative, affect its most basic cultural connections. As Evanghelia Stead reminds us: «Much remains to be done in this field across Europe and overseas, in order to better assess the way visual culture was built. Image-making proves a rich and innovative world based on exchange, circulation and technical innovation. As such, it resolutely challenges our conception of centre versus peripheries and small versus big.»[24]

***

The present volume seeks to add to the research on the pictorial press and its politics of transnational and transmedial transfer, collecting (predominately) papers that were first presented at the 9th conference of the *European Society for Periodical Studies* (ESPRit) which was held online at Ruhr University Bochum in 2021.[25] As we prepared a selection of papers from the conference for publication in ESPRit's *Journal of European Periodical Studies*,[26] it emerged that a trove of papers from across the conference dealt with different aspects of the pictorial press. Because space and time for the special issue were limited, and given the need for large illustrations, we decided to compile a second volume – this time in print. Both publications are part of the same effort to provide even more momentum to periodical studies.

We thank our contributors for sharing their knowledge and ideas and Robin Migowski and Ioana Moldovan for their support in correcting and editing the manuscript. Special thanks go to Mirela Husić, who accompanied and supported the project at its early stage. This publication, like the preceding conference and the related special issue on ‹Periodical Formats in the Market: Economies of Space and Time, Competition and Transfer› in the *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, was made possible by the generous support of the Research Unit 2288 ‹Journal Literature› by the German Research Foundation and the Ruhr University Bochum.

23 Cf. Corinna Norrick-Rühl: Periodicity, Subscription, and Mass Circulation: Mail-Order Book Culture Reconsidered. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 7.2 (2022), pp. 8-25.

24 Evanghelia Stead: The Economics of Illustration: The *Revue illustrée* in the 1890s. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 1.2 (2016), pp. 65-85, here p. 82.

25 See Christian A. Bachmann / Nora Ramtke: Planning Virtual Conferences in the Humanities: A Detailed Look at the 9th International ESPRit Conference. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 6.2 (2021), pp. 109-18.

26 Nora Ramtke / Mirela Husić / Christian A. Bachmann: Periodical Formats in the Market: Economies of Space and Time, Competition and Transfer. In: Journal of European Periodical Studies 7.2 (2022), pp. 1-7.

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Jakob Kihlberg

A European Visual Imaginary?
Political Meetings in Mid-Nineteenth Century Illustrated News Magazines in Great Britain, France, and Germany

Contemporary research suggests that the early years of illustrated news, the decade after the founding of the *Illustrated London News* in 1842, saw the emergence of a transnational European visual imaginary.[1] By this is meant a shared visualisation of current events available to elites in different countries that read the illustrated weekly news magazines, either foreign or domestic, that were at the time still quite expensive. In certain respects, this is surely true because printed magazines were often exported, the format of the illustrated weekly itself was quickly internationalised and the traffic in stereotyped images between countries was often intense. During the 1840s, magazines like the *Illustrirte Zeitung* and *L'Illustration* were founded on the model of the *Illustrated London News* and also imported many images produced by their London predecessor.[2]

A notable example of imagery that circulated this way is representations of political meetings. Generally speaking, public gatherings of this kind were only tolerated in comparably ‹liberal› countries like Britain, Belgium and the Unites States but they spread across Europe in visual form through the nascent illustrated press.[3] Such images are interesting in their own right because they thematise important questions about popular participation in politics during a turbulent historical period, but the way they were used and reused in different contexts also tell a lot about how news images circulated more generally, and how they functioned. Consequently, an analysis of images of political meetings can also help put the idea of a transnational visual culture of the news into perspective.

In the present paper, I will first outline the role played by images of political gatherings, such as meetings and demonstrations, in the general context of the early illustrated press. With the help of two examples – a ‹repeal meeting› in Dublin and a ‹reform meeting› in London – I will then discuss more specifically how individual representations of political meetings could be interpreted and reinterpreted when used in different national and medial contexts. As a con-

1 Jean-Pierre Bacot: Le Rôle des magazines illustrés dans la construction du nationalisme au XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle. In: *Réseaux* 107 (2001), p. 273. Also see Jean-Pierre Bacot: La Presse illustrée au XIXe siècle. Une histoire oubliée. Limoges 2005, pp. 39-42.

2 Thomas Smits: The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870. London and New York 2020, esp. ch. 2. For a focused study on the workings of such circulation in terms of the production of meaning, see Andreas Beck: Crossing Borders between London and Leipzig, between Image and Text: A Case Study of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (1843). In: Victorian Periodicals Review 51:3 (2018), pp. 408-433.

3 As part of the ongoing research project «Making the people visible», founded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, I am investigating how news images in early illustrated magazines were related to notions of ‹the people› as a political

force in modern society. I am especially interested in how the transnational circulation of images of political meetings mediated popular political collectivity for the elite readership of these magazines.

4 The focus on people assembled has been noted in earlier research. See for example Peter Sinnema: Dynamics of the Pictured Page. Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News. Aldershot 1988, ch. 6; John Plunkett: Queen Victoria. First Media Monarch. Oxford 2003, pp. 48-53; Anne Hultzsch: The Crowd and the Building. Flux in the Early *Illustrated London News*. In: Architecture and Culture 6:3 (2018), pp. 371-386.

5 The literature on public culture during the nineteenth century is massive, but for useful introductions to the role of meetings and the spoken word specifically, see for example: Joseph S. Meisel: Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone. New York 2001; Vincent Robert: Le Temps des banquets. Politique et symbolique d'une génération (1818-1848). Paris 2010; Martin Hewitt: Aspects of Platform Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain. In: Nineteenth-Century Prose 29:1 (2002), pp. 1-32.

6 Another important kind of political gathering was the revolutionary street crowd. This amorphous form of public assembly will not be further discussed here, but imagery related to such crowds played an important role both before and especially during the revolutions of 1848. See Richard Reichardt: ‹das größte Ereignis der Zeit›. Zur medialen Resonanz der Pariser Feb-

clusion, I will indicate how such images were related to discourses about popular rule in modern society and, finally, return to the idea of a transnational or European visual imaginary.

Public Culture, Political Meetings and Illustrated News

In the early illustrated news magazines, the very notion of a ‹news event› – something worth reporting and documenting in pictures – seems to have been closely tied to the idea of public assembly, that is people gathered as audiences or participating in collective manifestations or ceremonies. The dominant logic seems to have been that a large number of people gathering must indicate a newsworthy event; and conversely, if news images showed a sizeable crowd, this indicated that something of importance had taken place.[4] Such thinking was at work in different circumstances and it resulted in hundreds of images of audiences in crowded halls, people gathered to listen to political debates and onlookers assembled in the streets to watch processions and parades. Illustrated magazines, for example, published innumerable images of crowds celebrating cultural or scientific icons, as well as a never-ending stream of collective festivities and sports events where people were assembled. Other common topics that always included the depiction of spectators were the launching of ships and the opening of new railway lines.

There is nothing natural or self-evident about the fact that news events were so strongly identified with public gatherings like these; rather, it reflects a particular nineteenth century public culture, centred around spectatorship and public performances – and especially oratory performances.[5] Political gatherings of different kinds were also part of this culture. For instance, common subjects for pictorial representation were the chambers of parliament or estates in session in different European countries. Other kinds of political assembly that were often pictured took place outdoors: examples include the hustings typical of British election campaigns, and large street demonstrations during the American presidential elections that were remediated across Europe.[6] Related to political campaigning were also a range of different ‹reform meetings› arranged by private associations to propagate a political cause or social reform. Such ‹meetings› often followed a highly standardised format and featured elected representatives, the voting of resolutions, printed proceedings with speeches and audience response etc. Examples include everything from temperance meetings and anti-slavery conventions to peace congresses and the political ‹monster meetings› of the chartists or the repeal movement in Ireland.

Depictions of meetings – whether part of political campaigns or focused on reform causes – were based on general conventions of representation, and they had a specific force as images that depended on this. The interest shown such events seems, at least in part, to have been related to the fact that they provided a certain visual entertainment and could easily be

rendered spectacular. Such effects were directly related to the size of the crowds pictured; the gathering of a large number of people was an essential characteristic of the events themselves, but the way ‹the mass› was portrayed – sometimes as members of the upper classes, elegantly dressed and therefore enjoyable to look at, sometimes as part of the lower classes and therefore eye-catching in their raggedness – also provided the images with a certain kind of visual appeal.[7] The sense of spectacle and importance was also enhanced by other means, such as the representation of impressive architectural settings and spacious meeting rooms that often figured in such images.

In images of political meetings, impressions of importance and of spectacle were also conveyed by more formal means, most importantly the «elevated viewpoint» that has been described as typical for illustrated news images during this period by art historian Andrea Korda and others.[8] This essentially unreal viewpoint, where the observer seems to float somewhere above the heads of the people in the image, ‹disembodied› the reader-viewer but also permitted certain spectacular effects like impressions of vastness when overlooking the crowd. At the same time, the will to include architectural settings and lavish interiors also pulled many compositions in another direction. In pictures of public meetings, the simultaneous depiction of crowds and decorated walls, galleries, high windows, and especially, the magnificent ceilings that adorned many of the venues, often created a fish-eye effect in terms of perspective, where the crowd is seen from above while the ceiling etc. is pictured from below.

Compositional means such as these were one way to make political meetings visually interesting, but to appreciate their potential force as images, it is also essential to situate them in a diachronic context of political iconography. These mass-produced news images referenced a whole tradition of political prints focused on the politicised crowd, going back at least to the revolutions of the eighteenth century.[9] How such references could be mobilised can be illustrated by a representation of the founding meeting of the liberal party of Belgium in 1846, held in the «Salle Gothique» of the City Hall in Brussels (fig. 1). As was typical for images that were produced to commemorate occasions like these, this was a depiction that circulated in different versions; it was published both as a lithographed single sheet print and as a wood engraving in the periodical press. The latter, included in *L'Illustration,* seems to first have been used for a commemorative print issued by the organisers themselves, with the decisions taken at the meeting as well as the names of participants printed next to it.[10]

In the raised arms of the participants supporting the creation of a new party, the image itself, and this regardless of version or medium, contains an almost overstated reference to a picture that was already a well-known political icon at the time, Jacques-Louis David's painting «Le Serment du Jeu de paume», or rather the pencil and ink study for that unfinished painting that was first exhibited in the 1790s and then circulated widely in the form of engravings during the first

ruarrevolution. In: Friedrich Lenger and Ansgar Nünning (Eds.) Medienereignisse der Moderne. Darmstadt 2008, pp. 14-39; Ségolène Le Men: 1848 en Europe. L'Image ‹à la conquête de l'ubiquité›. In: Les Révolutions de 1848. L'Europe des images. Zurich 1988, pp. 19-41.

7 Cf. Jeffrey T. Schnapp: ‹Mob Porn›. In: Jeffrey T. Schnapp / Matthew Tiews (Eds.): Crowds. Stanford 2006.

8 Andrea Korda: Printing and Painting the News in Victorian London. The Graphic and Social Realism, 1869-1891. London, New York 2018, pp. 36, 58, 62. Also cf. Sinnema: Dynamics of the Pictured Page, p. 197.

9 Studies that focus on the development of such imagery over time are lacking, but good places to start are: Schnapp / Tiews and Rolf Reichardt / Hubertus Kohle: Visualizing the Revolution. Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-century France. London 2008.

10 An image of the original context of publication for the wood engraving can be found here: https://www.liberasstories.eu/nl/magazine/longread/genese_van_een_partij_(1846)/1179. A reference to an early lithograph of the same meeting can be found in Henri Hymans / Paul Hymans (Eds.): Bruxelles à travers les âges. Bruxelles moderne. Brussels 1884, p. 358.

Fig. 1 *L'Illustration*. Nr. 175. Paris, Saturday, 4 July 1846, p. 276. Copy of the National Library of Sweden (signature: 177 Af Fol).

half of the nineteenth century (fig. 2). This example is perhaps extreme, since the news image in *L'Illustration* is almost over-ambitiously trying to connect a later meeting to one of the founding moments of modern popular politics and the classicising pose with the raised hand abundantly used in the image had already become cliché by the 1840s, to the point of invoking ridicule.[11]

But whether an extreme example or not, the general tendency to invoke famous moments of popular politics by the use of representative conventions was widespread, and the visual associations often established can certainly explain some of the interest in images of political meetings. To understand the force of such images we need to recognise that they evoked a tradition of both commemorative and documentary image-making that dealt with political events where crowds of people had gathered to protest, debate or overturn established institutions, from the eighteenth-century revolutions onwards.

Part of the interest in political meetings also seems to have been connected to the much-discussed hazards of popular participation in politics. Images of such events often invoked the potential for demagoguery as well as the risk of riots and social disturbances, not seldom as something exciting for the reader-viewer to watch. The role such threats played in creating visual interest can be exemplified by a news image of a rally in Central Park in New York (fig. 3) in support of the war with Mexico over Texas. Here we overlook a balcony with a speaker and his entourage in front of a huge crowd in the park. The spectacular qualities of the gathering are tied to the number of people assembled but also underlined by the fireworks lightening up the nighttime sky. In the image, the powerful role of the spoken word in animating «the immense mass» and creating «patriotic enthusiasm» and «a common pulse beating in the veins of all who were there» is obvious.[12] It can be seen most clearly by the shadow on the wall to the right in the picture: grinning at us is a rather diabolic apparition created by the shadow cast by the speaker as he is addressing the crowd assembled below. It is hard not to read this as a revelation of the true character of the man speaking, but importantly it also functions as a comment on the force of demagoguery that contributed to the interest of this populous meeting.[13]

To sum up: Several distinct but interrelated factors contributed to the interest in showing political meetings and demonstrations in early illustrated news magazines. Firstly, a public culture that often equated news events with gatherings of people and where public speaking played a large part. Secondly, a discourse of popular participation centred on the crowd as an important but also potentially destructive actor in modern politics. Additionally, depictions also gained in interest and appeal by the way they presented political gatherings as spectacular events, as well as through intervisual references to other representations that were part of the political imaginary of the time.

11 This can for example be seen by how the French caricaturist Cham could, a few years later, use the exact same gesture in the illustrated press to ridicule political enthusiasm: Le Salon de 1848, caricatures par Cham, L'Illustration. Nr. 270. Paris, Saturday, 29 April, 1848, p. 140.

12 Illustrated London News. Nr. 219. London, Saturday, 11 July 1846, p. 19.

13 Cast shadows as a way to reveal the truth about character is a device that has been used in different pictorial contexts, and the present image could have drawn inspiration from J. J. Grandvilles series «Les Ombres portées», published in *La Caricature* in 1830. Cf. E. H. Gombrich: Shadows. The Depiction of Cast Shadows in Western Art. New Haven, London 2014, pp. 57f.

« En Belgique, en 1843, année la plus défavorable, 1 accident par 88,000 voyageurs ; en 1844, année la plus favorable, 1 accident par 102,000 voyageurs. De 1835 à 1844, 58 individus ont été tués et 103 blessés sur les chemins de fer belges.

« Sur les railways d'Allemagne de 1841 à 1845 inclusivement, il y a eu seulement 3 personnes blessées et 4 personnes tuées.

« Dans toute l'Europe, la proportion entre le nombre des individus blessés ou tués sur les chemins de fer, et celui des voyageurs sur les mêmes routes, a été, en l'année la plus défavorable, comme 1 à 494,000 ; dans l'année la plus favorable, comme 1 à 8 millions 889,000.

« En Prusse, selon M. de Reden, 40 à 50 personnes périssent par an en voyageant sur les fleuves ; dans la seule ville de Londres, le nombre des personnes qui sont tuées tous les ans par les accidents qui arrivent aux voitures qui circulent dans les rues est d'environ 500. »

NÉCROLOGIE. — M. Vernin, député successivement aux états généraux, à l'assemblée constituante, au conseil des anciens et au corps législatif, président honoraire de la cour royale de Riom, est mort à Moulins dans sa quatre-vingt-quatorzième année. — M. Aimé Bonpland, célèbre naturaliste, compagnon de voyage de M. Alexandre de Humboldt, avec lequel il a parcouru une grande partie du globe, a été enlevé à la science. — En Angleterre est mort également un chimiste célèbre, James Marsh, inventeur de l'appareil qui sert à constater la présence de l'arsenic et qui joue un rôle si fréquent et si décisif dans les procès d'empoisonnement. Marsh n'avait que cinquante-sept ans. — Un peintre d'histoire, Anglais, de quelque réputation, M. Haydon, s'est tué la semaine dernière à Londres, dans son atelier. Il s'était tiré un coup de pistolet et s'était manqué ; il avait alors pris un rasoir pour se couper la gorge. Une lettre adressée à sir Robert Peel avait été laissée par lui. Aussitôt qu'elle fut parvenue au ministre, bien qu'il se trouvât en ce moment au plus fort de la lutte, il s'empressa d'envoyer à la veuve du peintre un mandat de 200 liv. sterling sur la cassette de la reine, ajoutant à cet envoi l'offre de sa bourse et de son influence personnelle.

(Congrès libéral ouvert à Bruxelles le 14 juin 1846.)

Fig. 2 Jacques-Louis David's study «Le Serment du Jeu de paume» engraved by Jean-Pierre-Marie Jazet and printed around 1825. Copy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (signature: De Vinck, 1462).

Fig. 3 *Illustrated London News*. Nr. 219. London, Saturday, 11 July 1846, p. 20. Copy of the Gothenburg University Library (signature: G per fol 1211).

GREAT "MEXICAN MEETING" IN THE PARK AT NEW YORK.—(SEE PRECEDING PAGE).

Almost immediately after the arrest of these persons, a multitude, composed of the lower orders, collected in the principal streets, carrying seditious placards, charging their rulers with all sorts of crimes, calling for the deposition of the President, the overthrow of the established form of government, and inviting the people to join in a revolution.

One of the placards bore a revolutionary figure, lit up in some curious way from behind, and it invoked, as the future President of the Republic, the name of General Freire. After paramulating the streets, calling out for the dismissal of the Executive Power, &c., and committing such pranks as are common to all popular commotions, a party of the rabble got into some of the churches, and set the bells ringing. At the same time, another party made their way to the house of M. Rengifo. Finding the doors open, they entered with howling and cursing, and destroyed the furniture, printing types, and everything of use they could lay their hands upon. They then proceeded to the office of the *Progreso*, a Ministerial paper, of which M. Rengifo is editor, and which paper, it is generally supposed, is under the influence of Don Manual Monte, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Here they shouted for the *Industrial*, a newspaper addressed to the lower orders, but an armed force arrived in time to prevent their entering the office, or doing any further injury. The military, assisted by the police, who are always armed with swords, and mounted on horseback, drove the mob before them, made prisoners of about two hundred of the common people, and of some twelve or fourteen men of some standing in society.

This tumultuous rising is charged against the Opposition party headed by Vicuna. Their plan is said to have been to break open the prisons and the *carros*, which last are iron-barred cages on wheels, used as sleeping places for the convicts who are condemned to hard labour on the roads, &c. These cages always stand in the open air, and the male convicts, chained two and two, are huddled into them, without bed or bedding, resembling a menagerie of wild beasts more than human habitations; and most of the evil-looking who occupy them look more like demons than men. If they had been let loose they would have made important allies in an insurrection. Fortunately, matters were prevented from coming to this pass, and no lives have been lost.

Immediately after the occurrence of the scenes just described, the Executive Government, with the consent of the Council of State, passed a decree declaring Santiago in a "state of siege" for a term of 85 days.

Martial law was thus established. The place has since remained quite quiet, and great precautions are taken to prevent any further attempt to disturb the public peace.

Santiago, of which we annex an Engraving, from an original sketch, is situated in a large plain, 1850 feet above the sea level, bordering eastward on the high range of the Andes, and westward, on a range of hills called the Cuesta de Prado, which divides it from the shores of the Pacific.

Santiago is one of the finest cities in America, in respect to buildings, convenience, and healthiness. It is laid out in rectangular and equal squares, and the principal streets are about forty-five feet wide. The houses are usually but low built, on account of the frequent earthquakes; but they are very large, and are ranged round three quadrangular squares. The walls of the houses are four feet thick, built of large red-bricks made of baked mud, painted or whitewashed; they are roofed with red tiles. The Plaza or great square, nearly in the centre of the city, has a handsome bronze fountain, for the supply of the inhabitants with water. Here are the principal public buildings—the Government Palace, the Cathedral, Bishop's Palace, &c. There are also a mint, and several handsome churches and convents in Santiago.

At the eastern extremity of the town is a small rocky eminence, on which the Fort of Santa Lucia is built, which is much visited by foreigners, on account of the beautiful view which it affords of the Andes. Our Artist has sketched his view from this charming spot.

The population of Santiago is set down at 60,000: the inhabitants are nearly all of pure European blood; only a few have a slight mixture of Indian blood. The town owes its flourishing condition to its having been for many years the seat of Government, and the residence of the great landed proprietors. The state of society has much improved since the country acquired its independence; many schools have been established, and there are even several schools for females, whose education is almost entirely neglected in the other countries of South America. It has also a college.

[CHILI: SANTIAGO, FROM THE FORT OF STA. LUCI

Fig. 4: *Illustrirte Zeitung*. Nr. 18. Leipzig, Saturday, 28 October 1843, p. 277. Copy of the National Library of Sweden (signature: 177 Ar Fol).

Agitation and Reform in the Transnational Network of Visual News

What has been said about conventionality and standardised means of visual expression might seem to indicate that we are dealing with a rather fixed and unequivocal phenomenon with a stable meaning – ‹the political meeting› – that could be transmitted in the European network of illustrated news. Even though the general features described above are applicable to a wide range of images, also in a transnational context, things become more complicated if we look at individual instances and how images changed when they were reused, or even recreated, in different magazines.

The first such example I will discuss represents a meeting of the Irish Repeal Association, part of a movement that advocated greater independence for Ireland and the rights of Catholics. The image reproduced here was first published in the *Illustrated London News* in August 1843 and two months later in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (fig. 4); at about the same time it also appeared in a quite different version in *L'Illustration*. The picture shows Daniel O'Connell, famous frontman of the repeal movement, speaking before a large audience at the Corn Exchange in Dublin. O'Connell is located to the right in the foreground of the picture, standing before a long table, and people have gathered around him to listen to what he has to say. Incorporated in the picture are also some of the well-known slogans used in the repeal agitation, represented on signs and banners that here serve to explain and to frame the action.

In terms of meaning, the most important thing to note is that this image tells the story of public speaking as a mediated event. The gestures and pose of O'Connell indicate that he is addressing the crowd, and so does the attitude of the audience. It appears from the way the gazes are organised that O'Connell is the centre of attention and that he himself is focused on the mostly female part of the audience that is seated in a special section on the left. In the centre of the picture, clerks of some sort, perhaps stenographers or reporters taking notes, are represented at the long table that stretches back through the hall. All of this indicates the power of the spoken word in a public sphere where oratory played a large part. The relation between O'Connell and the female part of the audience can be seen as a comment on the speaker's rhetorical skills and his ability to reach a wide audience. The men taking notes represent a media system that could make instances of public speaking into transnational news events in print.

That the image is a comment on the transnational reach of the repeal discourse is confirmed by the article in the *Illustrated London News*, that also focuses on both the effects of the rhetoric used on those present at the meeting and the international interest in what O'Connell said as well as how it was conveyed by the newspapers.[14] From the article, we can learn for instance that the three figures to the right of O'Connell, the ones slightly elevated from the rest of the crowd, are supposed to be foreigners that have

14 Illustrated London News. Nr. 68. London, Saturday, 19 August 1843, p. 120.

Eine Wochenversammlung der Repealer in der Kornbörse zu Dublin.

Volkspaß dient und trägt wo möglich die in der Illustration dargestellten Knöpfe mit dem Wappenzeichen Irlands:

Repealknöpfe.

gekrönte Harfe und Kleeblatt, nebst der Inschrift: „Gott erhalte die Königin. Auflösung der Vereinigung.", oder „die Königin und Trennung" auf einem Anzug aus lauter inländischen Stoffen. Den belebenden Geist bildet überall die Priesterschaft, die Seele des Ganzen aber ist Daniel O'Connell und als Mittelpunkt seiner Thätigkeit erscheint die Hauptstadt Dublin, wo jede Woche mindestens einmal eine öffentliche Versammlung der Repealassociation stattfindet.

Diese Wochenversammlungen werden auf der sogenannten Getreidebörse in einem Zimmer gehalten, das im zweiten Stock des Gebäudes liegt und höchstens 8 Schritt Breite, 16 Schritt Länge hat. In der Mitte des Zimmers steht ein 3 Fuß breiter, 10 Fuß langer Tisch aus Tannenholz. Am obern Ende dieses Tisches befindet sich eine Erhöhung mit dem Präsidentenstuhl, hinter dem eine Latte steckt, an der mit Stricken eine grüne Fahne gebunden ist, die in goldenen Buchstaben die Inschrift Repeal trägt. Rechts vom Präsidentenstuhl ist ein weißes Tuch an die Wand genagelt, auf dem mit schwarzen Buchstaben geschrieben steht: „Laßt kein Land, stark genug, ein Staat zu sein, eine Provinz bleiben." Daneben hängt eine grüne Fahne mit der goldenen Inschrift: „Wer ein Verbrechen begeht, stärkt den Feind seines Landes Daniel O'Connell." Weiter rückwärts ist mit grüner Wasserfarbe an die Wand gemalt: „Das Volk, welches nicht wünscht, sein eigner Gesetzgeber zu sein, verdient Sklaverei." Hinter dem Präsidentenstuhl steht ganz oben der Satz: „Eigenthum enthält nicht blos Rechte, sondern auch Pflichten." Sechs einfache Bretterbänke bieten Sitze dar. Für Frauen ist an der Wand, wie in Kirchen, ein Vorbau angebracht. Das ganze Zimmer kann höchstens 250 Menschen fassen und gleicht durchaus einer nur für den Augenblick aufgeschlagenen Marktbude. Dennoch besteht diese Einrichtung schon lange, denn sie wurde auch von der sogenannten katholischen Verbindung benutzt und diente während des Kampfs für die Emancipation der Katholiken als Hauptquartier.

Die Illustration giebt die naturtreue Abbildung einer Wochenversammlung des Repealvereins in diesem Sitzungslocal. Den Präsidentenstuhl nimmt ein junger Mann von Vermögen ein, der dem Stadtrath von Dublin angehört und dieses ganz formell, jedesmal aus den grade Anwesenden neubesetzte Amt mit Anstand verwaltet. Rechts neben ihm steht Daniel O'Connell, „der Befreier von Irland", mit einer Papierrolle in der Hand, und entwirft eben eine bitterböse Schilderung von dem gefährlichsten, weil geistreichsten, seiner Gegner, dem einst als Vorkämpfer der damaligen Liberalen allgemein verehrten Mitgliede des Unterhauses, dann als ein glänzendes Beispiel, was dem Verdienste in England erreichbar sei, hochgefeierten Lordkanzler und jetzt wegen seiner von jeder Parteigenossenschaft unabhängigen und von den Radicalen bereits überschrittenen Stellung ringsum angefeindeten Mitgliede des Oberhauses: Henry Brougham. Ein starker Wuchs, eine kräftige, ungemein wohllautende Stimme, ein feuriges, erregbares Temperament, das auch Andere entflammt und seinen Aeußerungen einen Schwung giebt, denen Besonnenheit und Ueberlegung nicht zu widerstehen vermögen, verleiht O'Connell's Worten bei den Damen, an die er sich eben wendet, ein Gewicht, das keinen Zweifel aufkommen läßt. Selbst Tom Steele lächelt mit stillem Behagen und stößt eben den Vorsitzenden an, damit dieser nicht versäume, O'Connell's Antrag zur Abstimmung zu bringen: „daß ein Ausschuß beauftragt werde, über die Frage zu berichten, ob beim Oberhause Schritte zu thun seien, um Lord Brougham zu veranlassen, dem Pater Mathew das Gelübde des Nurtheetrinkens abzulegen." Tom Steele, „Oberruhestifter von Irland" — denn diesen Titel verlieh O'Connell dem „ehrlichen Tom", wie er auch genannt wird, bei der Uebertragung des ihm jetzt vollständig gelungenen Geschäfts, den regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Schlägereien in Irland ein Ende zu machen — Tom Steele steht links neben dem Präsidentenstuhl und hat, wie immer, eine mit der goldenen Tresse besetzte Mütze auf, welche der Befreier selbst viele Jahre getragen und ihm dann zum Geschenk gemacht hat. Es ist ein kühner Mann von aufbrausendem Charakter, der bei einem gewaltsamen Ausbruch der Volksbewegung durch die außerordentliche Popularität, deren er bei seinen Landsleuten genießt, eine entscheidende Rolle spielen dürfte. Rechts von O Connell steht eine Gruppe von Ausländern und lauscht mit athemloser Bewunderung seinen Worten. Der haarige, ausgemergelte Franzose, der trockene, verständige Amerikaner, der bescheidene, nachdenkliche Deutsche mit dem Hut in der Hand treten charakteristisch neben einander hervor. Im Hintergrunde erscheinen die Kohlenträger, welche bei O'Connell's Reden den Chor bilden und den Sinn seiner Worte in Tönen wiedergeben. Am Tische sind die Berichterstatter des Pilot, des Dublin Register, des Freeman und anderer Journale beschäftigt, was in diesem engen Raume gesprochen worden, der ganzen Welt vernehmbar zu machen.

So ist der äußere Anblick des Punktes, auf dem O'Connell steht und die Welt bewegt. Um sich die ganze Wichtigkeit einer so unbedeutend erscheinenden Versammlung, an der, mit Ausnahme des gelegentlichen Besuchs einzelner Fremden, in der Regel blos ein Paar Hundert Menschen aus den untersten Volksclassen Theil nehmen, vollständig klar zu machen, muß man ihre Wirksamkeit mit dem Einfluß vergleichen, den ähnliche Bewegungsmaschinen, die Rostren in der alten Welt, das Journal in neuer Zeit, zu üben vermögen. Um Demosthenes oder Cicero drängten sich allerdings die mächtigsten Bürger eines geistig oder kriegerisch die Welt beherrschenden Staates, aber auch nur wer im Bereich ihrer Stimme war, wurde von ihren begeisterten Worten ergriffen. Der Journalist kann jetzt freilich zu Tausenden, zu Hunderttausenden sprechen, allein seine Anreden beschränken sich zunächst auf den Kreis seiner Leser und der schriftliche Ausdruck des Gedankens vermag nie die Lebendigkeit und den Reichthum des geflügelten Wortes zu erreichen. Die Versammlungen der Repealassociation in Dublin dienen für O'Connell als Rostra und Journal. Dort hält er überzeugende Anreden, erläßt er feurige Aufrufe, stellt er gründliche Erörterungen an, beantwortet er die Einwendungen seiner Gegner, bekämpft er die Angriffe seiner Feinde, und Alles, was er so mit der Schnelligkeit der Rede erledigt, berichtet am nächsten Tage nicht etwa blos ein einzelnes Parteiblatt, sondern die Gesammtheit aller Journale der Welt. Mit allen ihren Kräften dient ihm die Presse, wie er im größten Umfange die Mündlichkeit benutzt, und die Versammlungen der Repealassociation sind das Bindeglied zwischen dem gesprochenen Wort und der gelesenen Schrift.

Allein Erörterungen, Reden, Proclamationen, wie sie von dem engen Raume des Versammlungssaales in Dub-

Fig. 5: *L'Illustration*. Nr. 34. Paris, Saturday, 21 October 1843, p. 116. Copy of the National Library of Sweden (signature: 177 Af Fol).

come to listen to the famous champion of national liberation. This interest in the reach of O'Connell's words rhymes with the general attitude of the *Illustrated London News* towards the repeal movement, which was one of great scepticism. The magazine described both this and similar meetings as a threat to public order, and by extension also to the integrity of Britain, and therefore how the political message was spread became of crucial importance. Against this background, the fact that O'Connell specifically appeals to women in the picture can also, given the prevailing views on women's role in public debate, be read as a critique of the excessive emotionality of the repeal discourse.

That the image carries meanings like these is not self-evident though, at least not without the clarifications supplied by the accompanying article. That this is a visual take on the foreign interest in the repeal discourse would probably not have been guessed without the explanations: On closer inspection a reader-viewer could perhaps see that the three men in the picture supposed to be foreigners were distinguished by certain specific traits (such as the beard on the man to the right), but that they were there to represent foreign nationalities (more specifically French, German and Spanish) would hardly be obvious without the explanation in text. This dependence on text to establish the meaning of the image becomes even more evident when it reappeared in other circumstances. When the image was reused in French and German magazines, its meaning changed in several ways and for a variety of reasons.

In the French case, the image itself was quite significantly changed (fig. 5). A comparison with the versions published in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Illustrirte Zeitung* clearly shows that the French image has not been reprinted from the same wood block or by using a metal stereotype. Rather, the original image has been extensively reworked for *L'Illustration*.[15] Even if the new version respects the general composition and layout of the original, there are many noticeable differences. The pole with a repeal flag is differently situated in relation to the vault in the background, the word «enough» on one of the signs has become «enohg», and some of the figures have changed both dress and facial expression. A common practice in copying wood engravings would have been to paste the print to be copied on a new wood block and then cut away the background, much like when the engraver worked from what the artist had originally drawn on the block.[16] Such practices would produce an image very similar in terms of contours and composition, but the modelling of figures etc. could still differ somewhat. In this case the differences are more substantial and much of the image must have been completely redrawn on the block by the artist Ange-Louis Janet (Janet Lange), even though both prints have roughly the same size (about 19 × 15 cm).

Even though some of the changes suggest a more elegant and distinguished crowd than in the original version, in terms of meaning the differences in textual framing probably had a greater impact on how the meeting would have been perceived by a reader-viewer. The

15 I want to thank Andreas Beck for pointing out some of these differences to me during a panel discussion at the Bochum Esprit conference in 2021.

16 For more on such practices, see Antony Griffiths: The Print Before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550-1820. London 2016, p. 115.

l'association eût fait hommage à O'Connell de la toque de velours qu'il a juré de porter jusqu'à sa mort, et un meeting en plein air postérieur à l'offrande nationale. Elle y joint les boutons que portent les innombrables membres de l'associa-

(Boutons du Repeal.)

tion, et que portaient les accusés quand ils se sont présentés devant le juge. — M. le duc de Bordeaux, voyageant sous le nom de comte de Chambord, qui s'était embarqué le 4 octobre à Hambourg sur un bateau à vapeur, est débarqué le 6 à Hull, dans le comté d'York. Il s'est rendu à York, qu'il a visité, et de là s'est dirigé vers l'Ecosse. Il est accompagné de M. le duc de Lévis, de M. le marquis de Chabannes et de M. de Villaret-Joyeuse. On annonce qu'il séjournera chez le duc de Northumberland, qui fut envoyé comme ambassadeur extraordinaire à l'occasion du sacre de Charles X. — La Suisse, dont la diète a dernièrement sanctionné l'abolition d'un certain nombre de couvents dans le canton d'Argovie, est en ce moment agitée par des intrigues ayant pour but la dissolution de la Confédération, dans le cas où ces mêmes couvents ne seraient pas rétablis. Des meneurs nationaux et étrangers, dans le canton d'Uri, de Schwitz et d'Underwald, ont tracé le plan d'organisation d'une Suisse catholique, qui ferait scission avec l'ancienne Confédération, aurait ses diètes particulières et se ferait reconnaître au dehors comme Etat indépendant. Les gouvernements de ces petits cantons semblent, dit-on, disposés à prêter leur appui à ces étranges prétentions. Si de tels projets recevaient un commencement d'exécution, il est probable que les gouvernements des cantons y mettraient bon ordre. — La *Gazette du Rhin et de la Moselle* annonce la mort de Kamram-Shah, roi de Hérat. Si cette nouvelle est vraie, il est probable que ni la Russie ni l'Angleterre ne resteront indifférentes au choix du successeur de ce gardien de l'une des principales portes de l'Inde.

Le même journal annonce aussi qu'un incendie vient de détruire deux mille maisons à Manille. — Une lettre de Breslau, du 9 octobre, porte : « Nous venons de recevoir la triste nouvelle que la foudre est tombée hier à Bernstadt, et a allumé un incendie qui a dévoré une grande partie de la ville. » A Paris, dans des maisons de la rue Saint-Nicolas, faubourg Saint-Antoine, habitée par un grand nombre de petits fabricants et de pauvres ouvriers à façon, le feu est également venu exercer ses ravages. Nous devons, quoique arrivant tard, ne pas hésiter à répéter à notre tour le beau trait de courage d'un jeune pompier qui est entré dans une chambre tout embrasée, où une famille de quatre personnes était cernée par le feu. Ce brave jeune homme s'est jeté à travers les flammes, et a sauvé deux malheureuses femmes, qu'il a déposées dans une cour. Ses vêtements brûlaient. On vient à lui pour le secourir : « Non, laissez-moi, dit-il ; je n'ai fait que la moitié de l'ouvrage ! » Et il disparaît de nouveau. Les spectateurs attendaient terrifiés. Cinq minutes se passent, et l'intrépide pompier reparaît portant deux enfants sains et saufs. Il les dépose à ses pieds, et, couvert de brûlures, épuisé de fatigue, il s'évanouit. On ne nous a pas dit le nom de ce brave homme, et nous le regrettons. On ne nous a pas appris qu'il ait reçu la décoration, et nous nous en affligeons pour l'institution de la Légion-d'Honneur. — A Raguse, en Dalmatie, plusieurs secousses très-violentes de tremblement de terre ont, les 14 et 15 septembre, déterminé toute la population à fuir la ville et à transporter dans la campagne les vieillards, les malades et les enfants au berceau.

(Meeting tenu à Dublin.)

La terreur était au comble, parce qu'en même temps que les redoutables oscillations se faisaient sentir, on remarquait à l'horizon un nuage particulier qui, dans ces contrées, passe pour devoir accompagner chaque cataclysme, et qui se montra notamment pendant le tremblement de terre qui, en 1667, détruisit cette même ville. Toutefois aucun bâtiment n'a été renversé, et la population est rentrée dans ses habitations. Les mêmes secousses, quoique moins violentes, se sont fait sentir à une grande distance dans les contrées voisines, et même jusqu'à Trieste. Le 3 octobre, à trois semaines de là, une nouvelle secousse est venue effrayer ces mêmes villes. — A Felsberg, canton des Grisons, en Suisse, un roc immense qui se décompose a menacé d'ensevelir une population de trois à quatre cents personnes. Les pauvres habitants ont d'abord déserté leurs demeures ; mais, sans abri dans la campagne, ils se sont déterminés à y rentrer, malgré de continuels éboulements partiels qui semblent annoncer une prochaine et infaillible catastrophe.

La statistique a fourni quelques nouveaux documents. Le ministère des finances a publié un état comparatif des impôts indirects pendant les neuf premiers mois des années 1841-42-43. La recette totale du 1er janvier au 30 septembre 1843 a été de 337 millions ; elle avait été de 347 en 1842, et de 321 en 1841, dont les recettes ont servi de base aux évaluations de 1843. On peut donc calculer que la plus-value des impôts pour la présente année sera d'à peu près 48 millions. La loi de finances a été votée avec un déficit prévu de 58 millions environ. L'équilibre entre les recettes et les dépenses serait donc rétabli si les crédits extraordinaires, supplémentaires et complémentaires n'excédaient pas 10 millions. — Le recensement de la population qui a été fait en France en dernier lieu donne le chiffre de 34,494,875 individus ; en 1820, il n'en avait constaté que 30,461,875 ; en 1789, 25,063,885 ; en 1762, 21,769,465 ; enfin, en 1700, le chiffre n'était que de 19,699,520. Ainsi, dans l'espace de moins d'un siècle et demi, la population de la France a presque doublé. — Une publication récente, l'*Almanach populaire*, donne ainsi la moyenne du tirage des journaux politiques de Paris : *Siècle*, 42,000 ; *Presse*, 11,500 ; *Journal des Débats*, 9,359 ; *Commerce*, 5,711 ; *National*, 4,925 ; *Constitutionnel*, 4,792 ; *Gazette de France*, 4,611 ; *Courrier Français*, 2,941 ; *Quotidienne*, 2,615 ; *Moniteur Universel*, 2,230 ; *Moniteur Parisien*, 1,974 ; *France*, 1,448 ; *Globe*, 1,409 ; *Univers religieux*, 1,266 ; *Messager*, 878 ; *Législature*, 825.

La Société d'Encouragement, qui a déjà tant fait pour la prospérité de la France, vient de publier le programme des prix qu'elle se propose de décerner de 1844 à 1847 inclusivement. Ces prix sont au nombre de 48, et leur valeur totale vement. Ces prix sont au nombre de 48, et leur valeur totale ne se monte pas à moins de 224,400 francs. Ainsi, un prix de 6,000 francs est proposé pour la découverte d'un procédé salubre et convenable pouvant remplacer le rouissage du chanvre et du lin. Trois prix de 4,500 francs ensemble sont destinés aux introducteurs filateurs de soie dans les départements où il n'en existe pas encore. La multiplication des sangsues sur une large échelle sera récompensée par deux prix de 2,500 et 1,500 francs. L'introduction en grand de plantes étrangères à l'Europe donnera droit à une prime de 2,000 francs. La plantation des terrains en pente sera également l'objet de plusieurs récompenses. La fabrication des tuyaux de conduite des eaux en fonte, fer laminé, bois, pierre ou terre cuite, partagera six primes montant ensemble à 15,500 fr. ; les perfectionnements dans la fabrication des faïences fines dures auront également droit à des récompenses diverses montant à 13,000 francs. Enfin, un grand prix de 12,000 f. est destiné à l'auteur de la découverte qui sera jugée par la Société le plus utile au perfectionnement de l'industrie nationale, et dont le succès aura été constaté par l'expérience.

L'inauguration du chemin de fer belge-rhénan a été célébrée par des fêtes à Anvers et à Liége ; il le sera à Cologne, c'est-à-dire sur l'Escaut, la Meuse et le Rhin. Les feuilles de Belgique sont remplies des détails des fêtes dont les deux premières villes ont été le théâtre, et des discours prononcés dans ces solennités. Le jour de la liberté du commerce et de l'abaissement définitif des douanes internationales y a été appelé par tous les vœux, et l'on s'est vivement félicité des communications qui confondent désormais la Prusse et la Belgique. Le nom de la France n'a pas été prononcé une seule fois, et M. le baron d'Arnim, ministre de Prusse, a exprimé, par une figure un peu tudesque, les sentiments de sa nation, en disant : « La Prusse tend sa *main de fer* à la Belgique pour serrer la sienne dans une étreinte amicale et sincère, et pour unir les deux pays par un indissoluble lien. » Y a-t-il encore quelqu'un à qui ne soit pas démontré le mal, peut-être irréparable, qu'ont fait aux intérêts commerciaux et politiques de la France les quelques égoïstes en faveur qui ont, l'an dernier, figuré une émeute pour faire avorter le projet d'union douanière avec la Belgique?

Fig. 6 Illustrated London News. Nr. 107. London, Saturday, 18 May 1844, p. 317. Copy of the Gothenburg University Library (signature: G per fol 1211).

critical importance of the ‹ekphrastic› element becomes apparent when we move further from the original context of publication. This can be seen by comparing how the image was described in the French and German articles. First, in both the Paris and Leipzig versions the protagonists were pointed out and described, as well as many other details that would not be apparent to local audiences. Second, there was also room for reinterpretations of *what type of* event the reader-viewer was actually seeing. If the *Illustrated London News* underlined that this was an emotional meeting – a rather ambivalent rhetorical show – these aspects were downplayed when the image was reused. Instead, it was given other connotations: the freedom of assembly was a prominent theme in the French article – as it obviously was in France at the time – and the image was here presented more as a general example of a respectable meeting of citizens demonstrating against the oppressive tendencies of the government. In the *Illustrirte Zeitung* the image was framed by a general discussion of the right to self-determination for all nationalities that were caught up in outmoded political systems, a take on the picture of course closely related to the German situation at the time.

My second example of a political meeting confirms this dependence on both accompanying text and general context for the interpretation of images, and how it could change the meaning of the pictorial statement. According to the caption, in this image (fig. 6) we see a so-called May meeting in Exeter Hall in London. May meetings were gatherings held in the spring each year by a range of British philanthropic associations to mobilise support and to propagate their cause. These meetings were generally described by a magazine like the *Illustrated London News* as a welcome sign of progressive developments in society, and the massive audience pictured here could easily be interpreted as an illustration of the benevolent force of this modern popular movement.

In this image, one can observe many of the standard features of how meetings were generally represented in the illustrated press (it is, in many ways, more typical than the unusually detailed repeal meeting). Here, there are no identifiable people performing, instead only a small black shape in the middle of the picture signifying a man with his hand raised addressing the audience. He is shown only from behind and from a distance, and the primary function of this shape is to identify this as an instance of public speaking. The actual substance of the image is instead the impressive hall, its large dimensions and especially the elaborate coffered ceiling, as well as the large audience seen as a hardly distinguishable collective. This forceful representation of both setting and audience creates an impressive event in many ways, but this does not entail that the meaning is settled. As in the previous example, when the image travelled it could also be reinterpreted, and this time the change in meaning occurred without *any* noticeable changes to the image itself.

In the *Illustrirte Zeitung* the image was incorporated in a reflection on the advancement of industrial society in

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT LYME REGIS.

On Saturday last, the sea-port town of Lyme Regis was the scene of a most extensive conflagration. The fire broke out at about half-past nine A.M., on the premises of Mr. G. Sellers, baker, residing in George's-court; some furze in an

FIRE AT LYME REGIS.

adjoining loft became ignited, and was speedily in a blaze, which quickly communicated to the stables of the George Inn, the roofs of which, being composed of thatch, were soon in a complete flame; and the dwelling-house of Mr. Sellers, the George Inn, the house of Mr. J. Channon, and the whole of the premises adjoining, were quickly burned to the ground, the inmates having scarcely time to save any of their effects. There having been no rain for nearly two months, everything was excessively dry; and the flames, aided by a fresh breeze at N.E., spread with the greatest rapidity, and quickly crossed the streets to the opposite houses, when the Victoria Inn and the adjoining premises fell a prey to the flames, the whole of the furniture and stock being entirely consumed. Nothing could now arrest the progress of the flames. Both sides of Coombe-street being on fire, the greatest consternation and alarm prevailed. The scene became truly awful, as several houses caught fire at once, and women and children were seen running about the streets in a state of distraction, endeavouring to save some portion of their goods. The wind had now carried the flames to the stables of the Cups Hotel, which, being all thatched, burned with the greatest fury, and soon communicated to the dwelling-house; and the whole of the extensive premises of the principal inn in the town were soon reduced to a heap of ruins, with barely sufficient time to save the horses and different vehicles in the yard. Meanwhile, the fire continued to proceed through Coombe-street, the houses on each side being entirely destroyed, as far as Mr. Munden's on one side, and the Crown Inn on the other—both being preserved by pulling down a house between each and the fire. The Pilot-boat Inn had by this time caught fire, and, the flames spreading rapidly, was soon burnt down, together with the whole of the adjoining houses on the left hand and also behind, with the salt and coal cellars of Messrs. Prosser. The Custom House next followed, being levelled with the ground; but all the books and papers belonging thereto were fortunately preserved. In spite of the exertions of the firemen, and the plentiful supply of water to the engines, the fire proceeded up the street; and the Commercial Reading-rooms, the houses of Mr. Bowring, Captain Urquhart, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Sellers, Mr. Hooks, Mr. Landrays, the Conservative Reading-room, the extensive premises of Mr. J. Sellers, maltster and brewer, the New Inn, with the buildings behind, were all burned to the ground. The only house not wholly burnt is that of Mr. Templeman, which is only partially destroyed; whilst the shambles opposite are entirely unroofed, and the clock, with the spire and vane, totally demolished. In the afternoon, the wind gradually subsided, and the progress of the flames was fortunately arrested. The amount of damage is immense. The lower part of the town presents a scene of destruction and desolation never witnessed since the memorable fire of Nov. 5, 1803, when the whole of Mill-green was destroyed. About forty houses have now been burned down, amongst which is the head inn, and five public houses. The greater part, we believe, are insured, but many have lost their all, while vast numbers have had their goods torn to pieces and lost by removing to a place of safety. Great praise is due to the officers and crews of her Majesty's cutters, Adelaide, Eagle, and Asp, which happened to be in the roads at the time, and whose exertions to stop the progress of the flames, both by assisting in pulling down the houses and at the engines, were highly meritorious, as were also those of the inspecting commander and the coast-guard.

PARLIAMENTARY PORTRAITS.—No. XVIII.

THE EARL OF WICKLOW.

The Earl of Wicklow is an Irish representative peer; he is the third Earl of the title, which was created in 1793. His lordship is a Conservative, and a general supporter of the present Government, but moderate in his opinions in politics, while in private life he has the reputation of being a good landlord, though it is to be lamented that just men of this class too often leave their estates and tenants to the exclusive management of agents, whose misconduct is visited on the principal. As a proof that in politics he takes an independent part, we may state that on more than one occasion he has shown a reluctance to back them to the full extent that a Government generally expects from its supporters. His lordship is fifty-six years of age, tall and portly in person, and partaking much of the appearance of a "gentleman farmer," with a countenance expressive

THE EARL OF WICKLOW.

of much benevolence. He does not often speak, except upon Irish questions. The family seats in Ireland are, Shilton Abbey, Wicklow; and Castle Forward, Donegal.

"MAY MEETINGS" IN EXETER HALL.

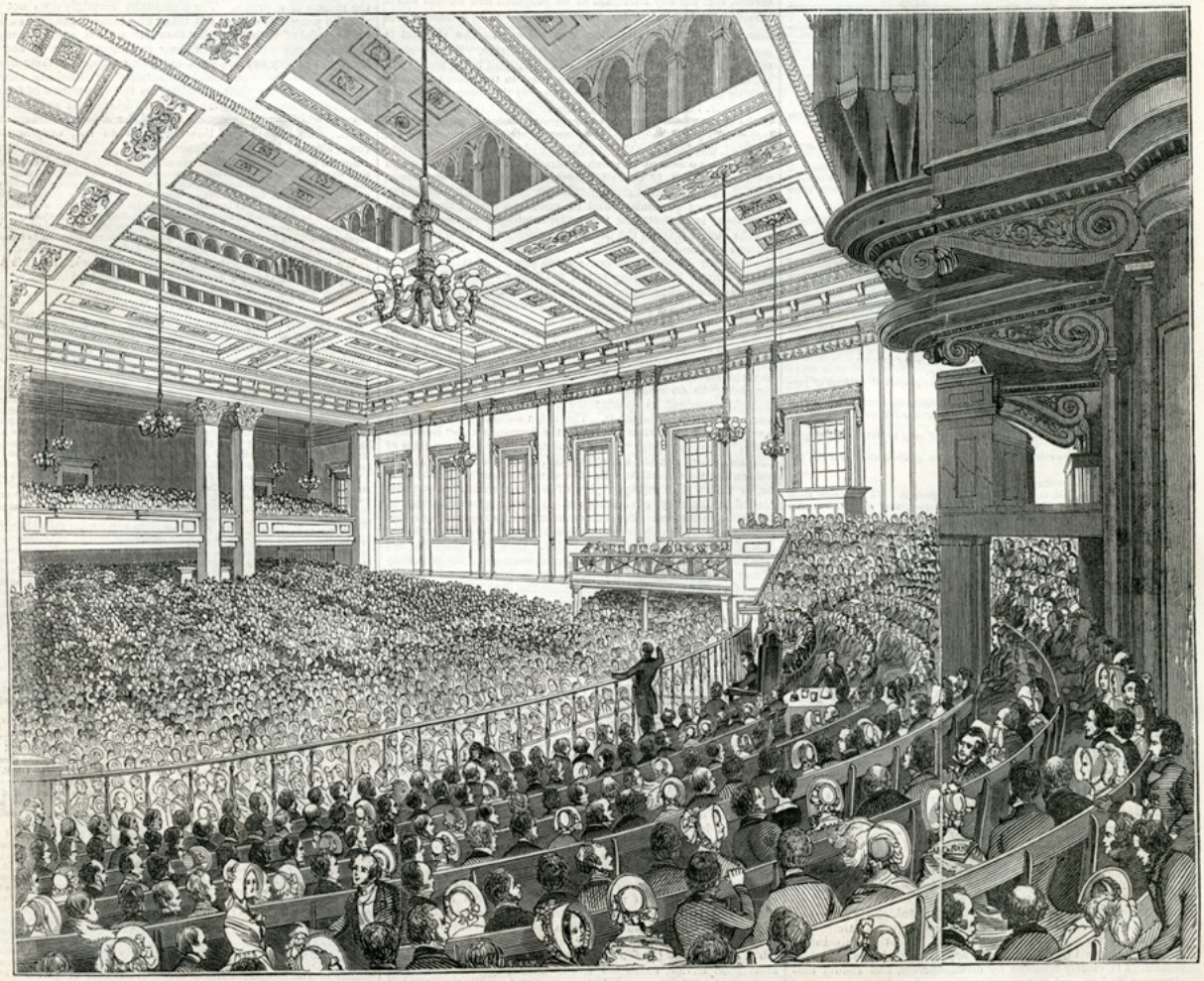
In our journal of last week, we chronicled one of the most important of these important and interesting "gatherings" for benevolent purposes.

Exeter Hall, in the Strand, is, however, the general place of meeting; and herein are held several anniversaries during the month of May. Our engraving represents one of these impressive *réunions*, and it is impossible to regard so vast an assemblage gathered for a truly ennobling purpose, without acknowledging the magnitude of such proceedings in the grand scheme of human improvement.

The Great Hall is 90 feet broad, 138 in length, and 48 high, and is lighted by 18 large windows. It will hold 3000 persons with comfort, and 4000 crowded. The platform, at the east end, shown in our engraving, will accommodate 500 persons, and is fenced from the rest of the hall by a railing, within which is seated the chairman, surrounded by persons influential in convening the meeting, officers of the Society, &c. On very attractive occasions, the hall is crowded long before the proceedings commence, and ladies are to be seen at the doors early in the morning, waiting till the hour of opening.

From April to the end of May in each year, it is calculated that there are about thirty different societies which hold their annual meetings in Exeter Hall, including, under that term, both the large hall and a smaller one beneath it.

During the present month, there have been held in this noble hall, the Anniversary Meetings of the British and Foreign Bible, the Colonial Church Societies, the London City Mission, Prayer Book and Homily Society, Sunday School Union, the Jews' Society, Religious Tract Society, Church Pastoral Aid Society, Protestant Association, London Missionary Society, Female Servants' Home, Church of Scotland Missions, Home Missionary Society, Anti-Slavery Society, and Foreign Aid Society.



"MAY MEETINGS" IN THE METROPOLIS—INTERIOR O EXETER HALL

Britain, and the replacement of old festive traditions by modern urban happenings like these.[17] The German magazine gave the image a slightly nostalgic backdrop, but still described the meeting as part of a phenomenon characteristic of modernity; it was something that held great promises for the future, as it showed the force of organised philanthropy, not only in industrialised Britain but also in other countries. The use in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* thus reinforced the original presentation in the *Illustrated London News* of this as a promising event.

In the French magazine, on the other hand, the essential meaning of the image was changed. *L'Illustration* used the image in a chronicle of weekly political events and describes it as the gathering of a «société des missions protestantes».[18] The meeting was said to be part of an agitation in London against the French (the context was the so-called Tahiti affair that shook the relations between the two countries during the year 1844). What was promising – the size of the audience, the lively atmosphere, etc. – became menacing here, and *L'Illustration* wrote about «l'intolérance fanatique déployée par les orateurs de ce *meeting*».[19] Here the image changed from a view of civic virtue to one of fanaticism; it also became a divisive picture in the sense of representing strange forms of foreign behaviour rather than something to emulate. This sense was enhanced by the use of the image in a section of the magazine on foreign affairs where the international and colonial relations of France were in focus, in this case represented by images of Egyptian rulers printed on the same page.

Finally, the same image was reprinted again in France a few years later when the editors of *L'Illustration* compiled an ambitious collected volume on the revolutionary events of 1848 in different European countries. Ironically, the image was then said to represent a meeting by Irish patriots held in London *in support of* the French. The speaker at the meeting is even reported to be saying: «Vous qui avez refusé de prêter l'oreille aux cris du people irlandais, trouvez une leçon dans ce qui vient de se passer chez nos voisins les Français […] vous tomberez comme vient de tomber Louis-Philippe.»[20] These remarks were supposedly met by repeated applause. In this way, the image became part of the staging of the revolutions of 1848 as a transnational event that affected the British Isles as well as the rest of Europe, but it also, and this is the important point here, changed its meaning drastically in terms of both denotation and connotation.

Concluding Remarks

As these examples indicate, political meetings could play important roles transnationally, mediated through the nascent illustrated press focused on current events. The significance of such images was closely related to the status of the spoken word in the public culture of the time, and especially how oratory events were reported in print. These images clearly worked according to a specific script in how they created interest and visual appeal, but they were also pictori-

17 Illustrirte Zeitung. Nr. 96. Leipzig, Saturday, 3 May 1845, p. 281.

18 «protestant missionary society» L'Illustration. Nr. 78. Paris, Saturday, 24 August 1844, pp. 403f. (All translations are my own).

19 «the fanatical intolerance unleashed by the speakers at this *meeting*» Ibid.

20 «You who have refused to listen to the voice of the Irish people, will learn a lesson from what just happened in our neighbouring country, France [...] you will fall like Louis-Philippe just fell.» Journées illustrées de la révolution de 1848. Récit historique de tous les événements accomplis depuis le 22 Février jusqu'au 21 Décembre 1848, jour de la prestration du serment du président de la république. Paris 1848, p. 72.

al signs that could be used for different purposes in different contexts. In terms of meaning, the image-text relationship was fundamental. A tendency to ‹narrate› the image was especially apparent when it travelled, a phenomenon that also made room for often quite radical reinterpretations. In the case of the political meeting or demonstration this meant that an event could be portrayed as either threatening or hopeful, a sign of progress or something menacing, but also that the same (often standardised) picture could be used to represent different occurrences altogether.

On the one hand, we thus often have repetitive imagery, and on the other hand varying interpretations in text and varying contexts of use (page layout, placement in the magazine etc.) that ascribe different meanings to the images. This creates a discourse on popular participation in politics that seems ambivalent. Images of meetings were consistently tied to questions about popular rule and its place in modern society, but the very same images could variously be interpreted as progressive steps towards such an ideal or as instances of problematic behaviour that rather undermined the hopes for a new form of government.

On a more general level, the practices discussed also put the idea that there existed a European visual imaginary into perspective. Even though it is apparent that a visual culture of the news developed across national borders during the 1840s, through an intense exchange on many levels, this clearly does not mean that a transnational imaginary in the sense of a common ‹view› of events must have emerged.[21] Images might have been borrowed, sold as stereotypes, or copied from other magazines, but even when they remained unchanged as engravings, they were recontextualised and framed differently in different circumstances. Apparently, this also meant that they could be ‹seen› quite differently in different countries, and this complicates the idea of the formation of a trans-European visual language, «qui se veut lisible et universel, fondé sur des conventions communes de représentation» as art historian Ségolène Le Men has put it.[22] The present analysis would rather suggest that what existed was a highly interconnected but still nationally specific visual culture of the news. If a common European visual imaginary can be said to have existed at all, it was perhaps in the sense that people all over Europe were looking at similar images, but without seeing the same thing.

21 Cf. Smits: The European Illustrated Press, pp. 68-71; Reichardt: ‹das größte Ereignis der Zeit›, p. 32.

22 «that aims to be legible and universal, based on shared representative conventions» Le Men: 1848 en Europe, p. 31.

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Marguerite Corporaal

Transferring Connemara
European Illustrated Periodicals as Transnational Agents of Regional Remediation, 1870-1895

The European region in late nineteenth-century culture has traditionally been identified with conservatism, resistance to change, and either antagonism to nationalisation, or support of nation-building. Thus, Josephine Donovan argues that the fascination with regions during this period was rooted in resistance to «the enforcement of national social norms», and «processes of standardization» on a national level,[1] and Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas and Eric Storm's essay collection *Regionalism and Modern Europe* (2019) demonstrates the dominant paradigm of «regional nationalism» in scholarship.[2] What scholars have hitherto often overlooked are the significant transnational dimensions of the region in this period. As this study will argue, it is in illustrated periodicals that these transnational engagements with regions become most visible. Articles and illustrations published in widely read magazines reveal a strong fascination with regions in countries elsewhere in Europe, meaning that paradigm shifts in thinking about regions in the past and the ways in which periodicals engaged with regionalism are called for.

Furthermore, we may witness a transnational circulation of images and narratives about regions in the press through processes of cultural transfer: repertoires of cultural representations that are shaped by transcultural interactions are transmitted in what Wolfgang Welsch calls «cross-national» cultural spaces.[3] While illustrated periodicals have traditionally been identified with nation building, they had a transnational scope in terms of subject matter and material. They borrowed heavily from periodicals elsewhere,[4] a process accelerated by the expansion of telegraph cables across Europe and the Atlantic. As Catherine Waters observes, this expanding network was «undoubtedly one of the most significant developments for the transmission of news in the second half of the nineteenth century»: news and illustrations could travel faster as copies struck off and could be sent by wire to papers and editors abroad.[5] Additionally, illustrated periodicals had a significant transnational scope in terms of

1 Josephine Donovan: European Local-Color Literature. London 2010, p. 68. See also Arne Koch: Between National Fantasies and Regional Realities: The Paradox of Identity in Nineteenth-Century German Literature. Oxford 2006, pp. 231f.

2 This term is derived from Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas and Eric Storm: Introduction: Region, Nation, and History. In: Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day. London, New York 2019, pp. 1-25, p. 4.

3 Wolfgang Welsch: Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today. In: Mike Featherstone / Scott Lash (Eds.): Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World. London 1999, pp. 194-213, p. 195.

4 See, for example, Michèle Martin: Images At War: Illustrated Periodicals and Constructed Nations. Toronto 2006, p. 12.

5 Catherine Waters: Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian

Print Culture, 1850-1886. Basingstoke 2019, pp. 71, 78. For the role of cable in the transnational transmission of news see also Chandrika Kaul: Researching Empire and Periodicals. In: Alexis Easley/Andrew King/John Morton (Eds.): Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies. London 2018, pp. 177-94, pp. 177f.

6 See, for example, Martin: Images At War, p. 12.

7 Thomas Smits: The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870. London 2020, chapter 2.

8 Daniel Deeney: Peasant Lore from Gaelic Ireland. London 1900, p. xv.

9 For the role of the West in the cultural nationalist politics of the Revival, see, amongst others, R. Todd Felton: A Journey into Ireland's Literary Revival. Santa Fe, CA 2007, pp. 21f.; Gregory Castle: Modernism and the Celtic Revival. Cambridge 2001, pp. 108, 185f.; and John Wilson Foster: Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival. Syracuse, NY 1993, pp. 61, 95.

10 Peter Sinnema: The Dynamics of the Pictured Page. London 1998, p. 3.

11 Fionnuala Dillane: Researching a Periodical Genre: Classifications, Codes and Relational Terms. In: Alexis Easley/Andrew King/John Morton (Eds.): Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies. London 2018, pp. 74-90, p. 79.

12 Laurel Brake/Julie F. Codell: Introduction. In: Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. London 2005, pp. 1-7.

13 Hand-Weaving in the West of Ireland. In: The Irish Tourist, 3.7 (1897), pp. 93-98.

subject matter and material: they reprinted materials from periodicals elsewhere,[6] and it was common that illustrations and texts (in translation) travelled from one national context to another, being reprinted in periodicals elsewhere in or beyond Europe, especially, as Thomas Smits notes, in cheaper publications abroad.[7]

This article will examine these under-researched transnational dimensions of cultural conceptualisations of the region in illustrated periodicals such as *L'Illustration*, *L'Univers Illustré*, *Bieszada Literacka,* and *Harper's Weekly*, by examining their representations of these regions, and especially Connemara – the western part of County Galway, between 1870 and 1890. This time frame is relevant for it was a period in which the rural regions in the west of Ireland were marked by agrarian unrest, modernisation, depopulation through emigration, and were at the same time perceived by nationalist Celtic Revivalists as the habitat of the «Gaelic peasant», as Daniel Deeney argued in *Peasant Lore from Gaelic Ireland* (1900) –[8], as cultural communities from which a precolonial, traditional Irishness could be retrieved that could form the basis of postcolonial identities.[9] Moreover, the present study will do so by looking at «pictures and words» which «create meaning in conjunction with one another», as Peter Sinnema's seminal work has suggested,[10] and by studying the illustrated periodicals as not just carriers but active agents in generating affect and «meaning-making».[11] In doing so, this essay will contribute to ongoing debates about European illustrated periodicals as ‹spaces of encounter› that not only crossed boundaries of gender and class, but, as this article will show, regional and transnational borders as well.[12]

Regional Representations as Anthropological Studies

The Irish Tourist, a Dublin-based magazine that ran between 1894 and 1907, would frequently use the modern medium of photography to record images of traditional rural life in Ireland's west. For example, its May edition of 1897 included a series of photographs of women spinning wool to accompany an article about «Hand-Weaving in the West of Ireland» (fig.1),[13] to lend authenticity to the descriptions it gave.[14] The strong focus on the arts and crafts in Co. Clare and Galway in the printed pictures was not unlike some illustrations from the period that would decorate publications of local colour fiction by Irish writers and that would frequently emphasise domestic trades, fishing, as well as rural labour such as turf cutting.[15] This self- or «auto-image»[16] of Irish regional life that was conveyed in literary publications and the media was, in turn, not dissimilar to what Joep Leerssen would call the «hetero-image»[17] of Ireland's West expressed by illustrated media in England and France. In fact, during the 1870s and 1880s magazines such as *Illustrated London News* and *L'Illustration* often sought to map out regional types of Irish character, using engravings to outline specific traits of labour, physiognomy, and dress.

Fig. 1 Hand-Weaving in the West of Ireland, The Irish Tourist 3.7 (1897), p. 96. Copy of the National Library of Ireland (signature: H185).

[J. White, Photo.

A Galway Woollen Wheel

I shall be well content with any choice
Tends to God's glory and my country's weal.
1 Henry VI., v. 1.

Fig. 2 Sketches of Peasantry and Tenant Farmers. In: The Illustrated London News (4 Dec. 1880), p. 510. National Library of Ireland, Joseph Holloway Collection (signature: 2M 31).

The Illustrated London News frequently published full-page illustrations which consisted of a series of tableaux of regional Irish character, to appeal to what Laurel Brake and Marysa de Moor have called «a popular appetite for illustration».[18] Thus, on 4 December 1880 *The Illustrated London News* included a series of vignettes which clearly distinguish the rural folk from Co. Meath, Co. Galway, Co. Roscommon, and Co. Kildare, on the basis of appearance (fig. 2).[19] It is interesting that this series of images – possibly made by combining various wood blocks so that various engravers could have worked on it simultaneously – displays awareness of regional characteristics of the peasantry in Ireland rather than typecasting one overarching national character. At the same time, by placing these sketches of regional types together, the illustration creates what I would like to call a panoramic vision of rural Irishness. In his seminal work on nineteenth-century visual cultures, Jonathan Potter discusses the popularity of panoramic illusion in painting and newspaper illustrations, explaining that the audience's immersion in visual space with attention to minute detail offered them the illusion of total comprehension and «ideological control», while appealing to the spectators' «desire for simultaneity».[20] This series of engraved images of local varieties of Irish peasantry can be interpreted as appealing to the audience's desire for «totality»: they allow readers to grasp Irish peasantry in all its local varieties. Moreover, in view of the fact that most readers of the *Illustrated London News* were based in England, this panoramic overview of Irish rural characters can be read through an imperial lens: the encompassing vision of the Irish ‹other› suggests a complete inventory of its types and manifestations.

During 1880-81 the *Illustrated London News* would publish several vignette series on regional, rural Ireland – and in particular western regions. On 26 February 1881, a composition of engravings featuring peat cutting, drying and transport among the peasantry of Co. Roscommon was published (fig. 3), offering a sense of trans-temporal totality of the entire process in one illustrated page.[21] A similar panoramic vision of local Irish existence in the West – in this case Co. Galway – is conveyed in «Sketches in Ireland», a series of vignettes made by Harry Furniss, to go with an article in the issue of 31 January 1880 (fig. 4). What we notice here is a combination of typecasting of Connemara women, in terms of physiognomy and clothing, with a depiction of traditional labour: women mending the fishing nets in the Claddagh, and carrying turf sacks on their backs, as well as a Claddagh boy making twine.

Furthermore, when we compare this combination of engravings with the earlier mentioned series of vignettes on peat processing from February 1881, it is striking that local women take up a central position in these representations of the region: as forces of labour but also as participating in the ‹domestic› pastime of tea-drinking, albeit not in the drawing room that many female mid-

14 As James Mussell observes, photography was increasingly used to verify factual descriptions and provide a «mediated sense of objectivity». See James Mussell: Science and the Timelines of Reproduced Photographs in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press. In: Laurel Brake / Marysa Demoor (Eds.): The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press. Basingstoke 2009, pp. 203-219, p. 205. See also Lorraine Janzen Kooistra: Illustration. In: Joanne Shattock (Ed.): Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Cambridge 2017, pp. 104-125, p. 104.

15 See, for example, the photographs that Clifton Johnson made for the American holiday edition of Jane Barlow's short story collection Irish Idylls, published by Dodd & Mead in New York in 1897. See also the illustrations printed in Shan Bullock: Irish Pastorals. London 1901; and the halftones by Edith Somerville made for E. OE. Somerville & Martin Ross: Some Irish Yesterdays. London 1906.

16 For the term see Joep Leerssen: National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History. Amsterdam 2006, pp. 197, 207.

17 See Joep Leerssen: Image. In: Manfred Beller / Joep Leerssen (Eds.): Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representations of Characters. Amsterdam 2007, pp. 342-344.

18 Laurel Brake/Marysa De Moor: Introduction. In: The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press. Basingstoke 2009, pp. 1-13, p. 5.

19 Sketches of Peasantry and Tenant Farmers. In: The Illustrated London News (4 December 1880), p. 510.

20 Jonathan Potter: Discourses of Vision in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Seeing, Thinking, Writing. Basingstoke 2018, pp. 27, 23.

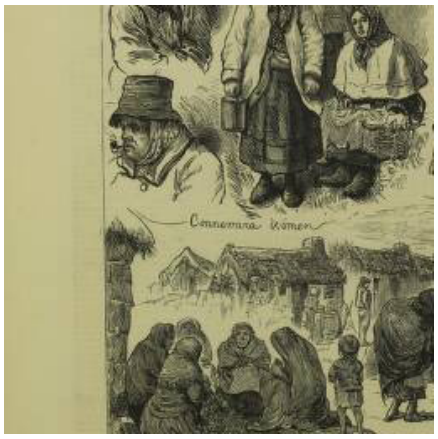
SKETCHES OF PEASANTRY AND TENANT FARMERS.

The recent extraordinary proceedings on the Lough Mask estate of the Earl of Erne, near Ballinrobe, County Mayo, were described a fortnight ago. Captain Boycott, resident agent for Lord Erne, and farming the land adjacent to Lough Mask House, was pursued with great enmity by the neighbouring tenantry under the influence of the Land League. They would allow no labourers to work for him in getting in his crops, and he was threatened with entire ruin, after having invested above £5000 in the farm. A band of fifty volunteers from the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, therefore, came to Lough Mask, as we have related, to perform this work gratuitously for Captain Boycott. The Government sent a large military force to protect them, as well as to protect that gentleman and his family, and a regular encampment was formed in his grounds. The party of Ulstermen, mostly sons of farmers, under the leadership of Captain Somerset Maxwell, and the soldiers, hussars, infantry, and sappers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Twentyman, 19th Hussars, have borne many days of fatigue, worry, and exposure to bitter wintry weather, in an exemplary spirit. No attempt has been made to molest them; and the work of reaping and digging the various crops, and of threshing the corn, has been duly finished. On Satu day last, at two in the afternoon, the camp was broken u and the Ulster party, taking leave of Captain and M Boycott, marched to Ballinrobe. Our Special Artist furnish two or three Sketches of the scenes at their departure, a of the subsequent journey of Captain Boycott and his famil with the military escort, who started early on Sunday morni for Claremorris. They were in a covered ambulance cart, a Captain Boycott carried a favourite parrot in a cage. Capta Boycott and his family proceeded to Dublin by railway, t infantry of the escort going to the Curragh Camp. T

SKETCHES AMONG THE IRISH PEASANTRY: WINTER FUEL.—SEE PAGE 198.

Fig. 3 Sketches among the Irish Peasantry, Winter Fuel. In: The Illustrated London News (26 February 1881), p. 196. National Library of Ireland, Joseph Holloway Collection (signature: 2M 31).

Fig. 4 Sketches in Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (31 January 1880), p. 19. National Library of Ireland, Joseph Holloway Collection (signature: 2M 31).



dle-class readers would be used to, but in the fields.[22] The centrality of tea-drinking in the image's composition may generate the effect of bringing western Irish peasant women, perceived as the ‹exotic›, closer to the referential framework of the magazine's audiences. At the same time, however, the women are decidedly outlandish in their attire, environment, and employment. Scholars such as Marjorie Pryse, Judith Fetterley and Josephine Donovan contend that in nineteenth-century cultural expressions of the region, such as local colour literature, women play a significant role as the epitomes and preservers of traditions and folklore.[23] We can see similar patterns in how *The Illustrated London News* identifies regional cultures with femininity: for example in «Sketches of Ireland», published on 16 July 1870 (fig. 5), which also focuses on the Claddagh community in Co. Galway and represents women spinning and making nets.[24]

At the same time, it is tempting to see this focus on the femininity of Irish regions in the January 1880 «Sketches in Ireland» in light of the strong gender inflections of imperial ideologies which, in the case of Ireland, often depicted the country as a helpless young woman in need of protection from ‹masculine› Britain.[25] This suggestion appears to be endorsed by the text which positions the area around Galway – and in particular the Claddagh – as the uncivilised opposite of its British readers. The author states that

> [N]o place in the West of Ireland bears an aspect more distinctly associated with the long period of separation from the ordinary civil and social life of this kingdom, which was the lot of Connaught in former ages, and to which its backward condition in present times may in some degree be ascribed.[26]

The article furthermore argues that Henry Furniss's

> […] sketches on the quay at Galway, in the Claddagh, and those of a group of Connemara women, and of a boy, with a cumbrous sort of spinning-wheel, producing twine for the making of their fishing-nets, give a lively notion of the appearance of this primitive folk.[27]

This observation of the local people as unrefined is followed by a remark which suggests duty on the part of a London government to bring modernity to the area: «It is much to be desired that some official effectual measures could be taken to revive the prosperity of Galway as a mercantile seaport».[28] Additionally, the article likens the inhabitants of the Claddagh to «gipsies»,[29] because they have a code of laws and form of government administered by an elective monarch who is called in Galway «the King of the Claddagh»,[30] creating the impression that the Claddagh are not only unique in the traditions that they observe but also unruly.

Reframing the Region: Socioeconomic and Political Contexts

During the 1870s and 1880s, in the illustrated press the western regions in Ireland were often also contextualised by

21 Sketches among the Irish Peasantry, Winter Fuel. In: The Illustrated London News (26 February 1881), p. 196.

22 Sketches in Ireland. In: Illustrated London News (31 January 1880), p. 22.

23 See Donovan: European Local-Color Literature, p. 17-21. See also Judith Fetterley / Marjorie Pryse: Writing out of Place: Regionalism, Women and American Literary Culture. Chicago 2003; and Stephanie Foote: Regional Fictions: Culture and Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature. Madison, WI 2001.

24 Sketches of Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (16 July 1870), p. 61.

25 See Catherine Lynette Innes: Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935. Atlanta, GA 1993, pp. 3f.

26 Sketches in Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (31 January 1880), p. 21. The illustration can be found on page 19.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid, p. 20.

29 Ibid., p. 21.

30 Ibid.

Fig. 5 Sketches of Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (16 Jul. 1870), p. 61. National Library of Ireland, Joseph Holloway Collection (signature: 2M 31).

the economic distress and agrarian unrest that marked life in the countryside. In the decades following the Famine, Ireland was afflicted by recurring episodes of failed potato harvests and poverty, and 1879 saw a renewed outbreak of potato rot[31] and famine, though on a smaller scale, particularly in the province of Connacht.[32] Extreme poverty went hand in hand with violent boycotting campaigns against those who supported the landed class, during the so-called Land War.[33] The socio-political realities shaped representations of the Irish western regions in illustrated newspapers across the globe.

Thus, «Scènes de la Vie Irlandaise», an article which appeared in *L'Illustration* on 15 November 1873, is accompanied by illustrations of western types of peasantry made by the artist George Montbard in London (fig. 6), to demonstrate «Types et Physionomies d'Irlande», such as farmers that go to market and a pig herder. The article itself does not go into regional traditions and traits, but rather seeks to highlight the hot temper of the Irish as a national trait which leads to much outrage: «Malheureusement il pousse à la querelle, et il est rare que la fête se termine sans horions».[34] Additionally the article specifically highlights the destitution of the Irish peasantry: Ireland may be fertile, yet it is extremely poor: «L'Irlande devrait être un grenier d'abondance, et cependant elle est pauvre».[35] The farmers suffer under the dire conditions imposed upon them by landlords, which often result in assassination of the landed classes by the tenantry:

> C'est que les fermiers gémissent sous l'oppression de gens d'affaires qui prennent à bail général les terres que leurs propriétaires n'osent habiter, non sans raison. La faim

31 See, for example, William P. O'Brien: The Great Famine in Ireland and a Retrospect of the Fifty Years 1845-1895, with a Sketch of the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Congested Districts. London 1896.

32 See Gerard Moran: Near Famine: The Crisis in the West of Ireland, 1879-82. In: Irish Studies Review 5 (1997), pp. 14, 16. See also Donald E. Jordan: Land and Popular Politics in Ireland: County Mayo from the Plantation to the Land War. Cambridge 1994, p. 204; and Peter Gray: Famine and Land, 1845-80. In: Alvin Jackson (Ed.): The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History. Oxford 2014, p. 558.

33 See James Hack Tuke: Irish Distress and its Remedies. The Land Question. A Visit to Donegal and Connaught in the Spring of 1880. London 1880.

34 Scènes de la Vie Irlandaise. In: L'Illustration (15 November 1873), p. 323. The illustrations can be found on page 321.

35 Ibid. Ireland is supposed to be a grain shed, but it is poor.

Fig. 6 Scènes de la Vie Irlandaise. In: L'Illustration (15 Nov. 1873), p. 321, https://gallica.bnf.fr/.

est mauvaise conseillère, comme en témoignait dernièrement un de nos dessins; *Le meurtre d'un landlord par son fermier*.[36]

In similar fashion, the cover illustration of *The Illustrated London News* of 21 February 1880 (fig. 7), designed by the artist Richard Caton Woodville Jr, initially appears to bring a picture of the Connemara tradition of obstructionism to the journal's readers, as a regional pleasantry that involves a car and a pig. However, the article that references the cover image is called «The Distress in Ireland» and addresses the scene as offering relief in comparison to the miseries witnessed by the artist in the rural area around Galway. As the text states

> The stranger travelling even through Connemara, where the state of most of the population in these days is very sad, may have his melancholy mood relieved in some degree by such queer incidents as that which our Artist met with on the road, in the shape of an «obstructionist» stopping the car that conveyed him across the country. He would have been glad to have seen pigs and other sights of comfort and prosperity far more abundant than they were.[37]

The article further digresses on the «charitable efforts» made by the Duchess of Marlborough to provide relief to the local poor, thus adding an additional layer of imperial improvement to the framing of the regional image.[38]

Woodville's engraving was reprinted in *L'Univers Illustré* on 17 April 1880, with the caption «Souvenir d'Irlande – Une Scène Populaire sur la Route de Connemara» (fig. 8). The short article that comes with the illustration likewise emphasises that the gaiety that the image

36 Ibid. The farmers sigh under the oppression of businessmen who bail the soil where the owners do not dare to live, and not without reason. Famine is a bad counsellor, as becomes clear from the latest phenomenon: a landlord murdered on his farm.

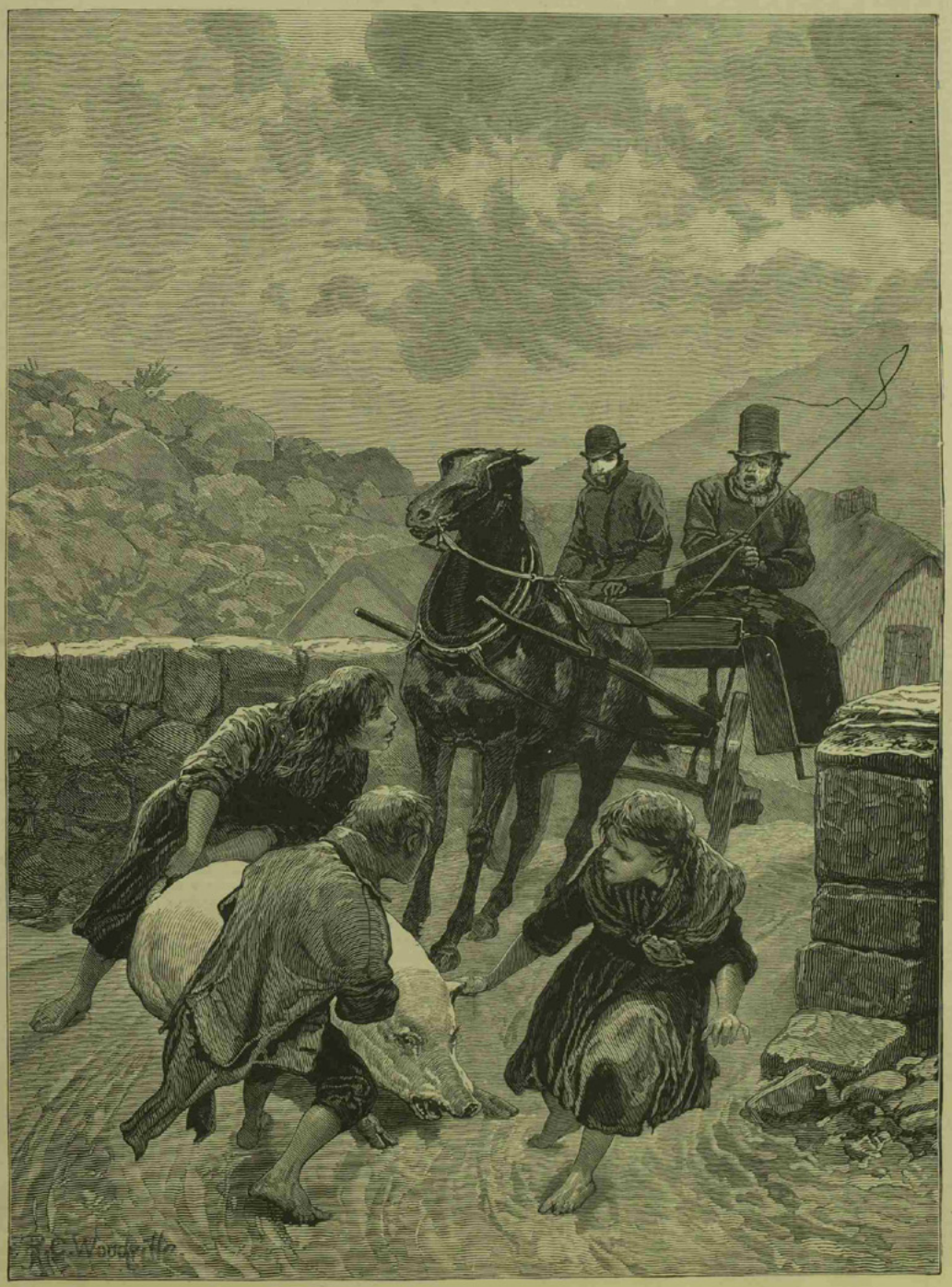
37 The Distress in Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (21 February 1880), p. 171.

38 Ibid.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST-OFFICE FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

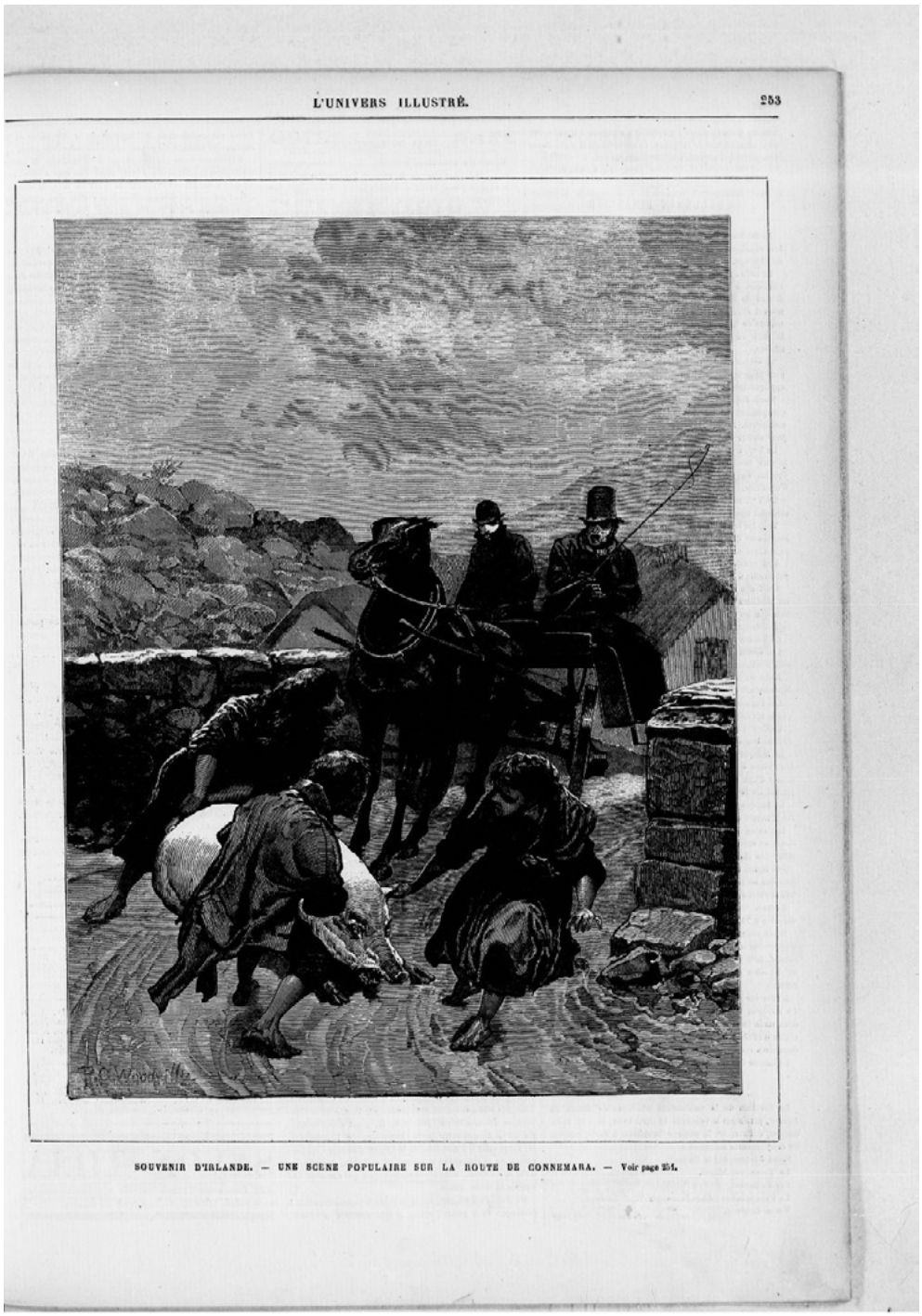
No. 2125.—VOL. LXXVI. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1880. WITH SUPPLEMENT AND COLOURED PICTURE | SIXPENCE. By Post, 6½d.



AN IRISH OBSTRUCTIONIST: A SKETCH ON THE ROAD, CONNEMARA.—SEE PAGE 171.

Fig. 7 The Distress in Ireland. In: The Illustrated London News (21 February 1880), p. 171. National Library of Ireland, Joseph Holloway Collection (signature: 2M 31).

Fig. 8 Souvenir d'Irlande. In: L'Univers Illustré (17 April, 1880), p. 251, https://gallica.bnf.fr/.


L'UNIVERS ILLUSTRÉ. 253

SOUVENIR D'IRLANDE. — UNE SCÈNE POPULAIRE SUR LA ROUTE DE CONNEMARA. — Voir page 254.

Fig. 9 The Distress in the West. In: The Graphic (24 January 1880), p. 95. National Library of Ireland, (signature: J05).

expresses is far from the mood that generally overlays the region: «L'effroyable misère qui sévit depuis de si longs mois sur les malheureux Irlandais est loin de diminuer».[39] As this example reveals, the transnational circulation of texts or images in the press would not only be restricted to imperial contexts,[40] but went way beyond this scope.

Tracing periodicals in which illustrations are reprinted is still a very arduous task. Tracing republication through Google reverse image helps to discover such reprints, but only in the case of illustrations that have been digitised and are not hidden behind a paywall. In the case of large digitised corpora of periodicals, it is possible to extract all illustration, and use a visual search engine to search such a dataset and cluster similar images on the basis of tags.[41] However, working with a variety of incomplete archives, hosted by different organisations, is not making this work easy. Often reprints can only be found by looking for the artist and title of the original illustration on Google, or by going through databases of digitised editions of foreign newspapers for a period of ten years after publication, on the basis of search terms. By adopting a combination of these methods we could retrieve quite a few republication histories.

The texts and illustrations of regions that were reprinted transnationally, through cultural transfer, would often contextualise these images in similar ways becomes clear from an illustration depicting women carrying baskets of peat, by an unknown artist. The engraving from *The Graphic* of 24 January 1880 (fig. 9), «Bringing in Fuel from the Hills near Kylemore» – a place in the boglands of Connemara – is not used to endorse the tradition of peat-gathering in which many women were involved. Rather, the throng of women carrying the collected turf on their back, in traditional wicker baskets, are used to convey an impression of the extreme hardship and poverty endured by the Connemara people in face of another wide-scale famine. This becomes clear from the other engravings in the series – one of a woman desperately looking for food at the shoreline – who is also referenced in the article by the travelling artist:

> There is a sort of edible sea weed called dillisc used by the people on the Connemara sea coast. I saw a poor woman picking up a meal of it, on a cold afternoon in December, along the shore of Killery Bay at Leenane. Perhaps there was something in the background of barren mountain, grey sea, and stretch of stony beach covered with brown weed, that made the scene impressive, but the lonely figure gleaning a scanty supper from the shore looked inexpressibly sad. She told me the old story of no work, no money, no provision.[42]

The text alludes to the plentiful presence

39 Souvenir d'Irlande. In: L'Univers Illustré (17 April, 1880), p. 251. The horrible misery that has afflicted the unfortunate Irish for so long is far from diminished.

40 See Mary L. Shannon: Colonial Networks and the Periodical Marketplace. In: Joanne Shattock (Ed.): Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Cambridge 2017, pp. 203-223.

41 See Dutta Abishek et al.: Visual Analysis of Chapbooks Printed in Scotland, http://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/research/chapbooks/.

42 The Distress in the West. In: The Graphic (24 January 1880), p. 95.

43 Ibid.

THE DISTRESS IN THE WEST OF IRELAND: BRINGING IN FUEL FROM THE HILLS NEAR KYLEMORE

of fuel so that «hills and bogs are busy with women and girls carrying loads of turf on their backs».[43] Regional traditions are thus situated in a narrative of economic conditions.

The image of the women who carry the turf baskets on their backs was reprinted in the American illustrated periodical *Harper's Weekly* only two weeks later, on 7 February 1880, and went with the caption «The Distress in Ireland: Peat Gathering on the Moors». The accompanying article, «Troubles in Ireland», is partially a verbatim rendering of the text from *The Graphic*, thereby testifying to the recycling and reproduction of media images and texts across borders through cultural transfer. Additionally, the article contains a new passage on Charles Stewart Parnell as leader of the Land League and the outbreak of «violence in certain localities»,[44] thereby situating the image of the turf-carrying women in the context of agitation and politics. Furthermore, while this article places the picture in the setting of western Ireland, it is not as regionally specific as the item in *The Graphic*. Interestingly, regional distinctions seem to carry more weight in British newspapers than in the more foreign presses of France and the United States, which tend to frame local representations within a larger narrative about the Irish question.

The image of women carrying peat or digging up turf appears to be part of recurrent visual repertoires of western regions of Ireland during the 1870s and 1880s. For example, this becomes evident from the engraving «Turf Gatherers in Ireland» that was published in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* in April 1880. The illustration is part of a set of images that are not very similar in style and that appear to have been borrowed from other illustrated periodicals as well. For instance, «A Peasant's Funeral» has been taken over from *Harper's Weekly* which on 18 June 1870 published the image with the subscript «Peasant Funeral in the Mam Turk Mountains of Connemara Ireland» (fig. 10). What becomes clear is that the original regional specification of the image has been eliminated upon republication. In fact, in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* the illustration of the Connema-

44 Troubles in Ireland. In: Harper's Weekly (7 February 1880), p. 86.

Fig. 10 This Week's Illustrations. In: Harper's Weekly (18 June 1870), p. 394. Public domain, https://archive.org/details/sim_harpers-weekly_1870-06-18_14_703/page/392/mode/2up.

ra funeral and the previously mentioned engraving of the female turf bearers are incorporated into an item entitled «The New Irish Movement» which reminisces the 1845-49 Great Famine, discusses Irish land politics, the Land League and the turmoil and unrest it generates, and compares Ireland's land system with those in Belgium, Switzerland, western Germany, France, Norway and Russia:

> Will the Irish agrarians venture to tell us that their cultivating masses are possessed of these qualifications? Judged by a comparison with the habits of the Belgians and Switzers, we know of no country where it would be less of a blessing to the agricultural classes to convert them into the owners of the land.[45]

By comparison, in the original context in *Harper's Weekly* the image of the funeral procession is used to impart local customs and dress of Connemara:

> The dress of the men of this mountain district is like that of the Western Highlanders of Scotland, in their rough gray tweed and Kilmarnock bonnets. The women cover their heads and shoulders with a square piece of white flannel, which is used, like the Scottish plaid, for other purposes – as a coverlet when sleeping, or to carry a burden or a child in.[46]

Both publications situate the original, specifically regional illustration in transnational frameworks: *Harper's Weekly* draws analogies between dress worn by peasantry in Connemara and Scottish traditional attire, as the means to clarify Connemara local colour to its readers. In *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* analogies that are evoked are going beyond the British empire to incorporate transeuropean vantage points on land reform. Here, local colour, however, loses its connotations with a specific set of tradition. More specifically, the images of traditional labour and dress are here used alongside illustrations of land agitation and uproar, suggesting readers to see connections between the images of traditional rural western Irish life and these depictions of revolt. In this manner, representations of the region become highly politicised.

Regions as Routes for Transnational Identification

Sometimes images previously published would travel really far, to unexpected readerships. We may retrieve these routes due to the increasing digitalisation of periodicals across Europe and computer programmes to recognise images, though, as Jasper Schelstraete and Marianne van Remoortel have also warned us, we may miss many data too if we leave out the «the non-digitized» as well as texts and images that cannot «be identified, by any electronic means».[47] The «splendid specimen of a farmer» from Galway, wearing clothing of «grey frieze» made of wool by peasants in Ireland's south west, as the article states, first appeared in *The Graphic* on 18 February 1888 (fig. 11).[48] The woodcut then made its way into the Romanian *Telegrafi de Bucuresti*, where it appeared on 26 May 1888. Likewise,

45 The New Irish Movement. In: Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly (April 1880), p. 395.

46 This Week's Illustrations. In: Harper's Weekly (18 June 1870), p. 394.

47 Jasper Schelstraete and Marianne van Remoortel: Towards a sustainable and collaborative data model for periodical studies. In: Media History 25.3 (2019), pp. 336-354, p. 340.

48 Illustrations. In: *The Graphic* (18 February 1888), p. 51.

PEASANT FUNERAL IN THE MAM TURK MOUNTAINS OF CONNEMARA, IRELAND.—[See Page 394.]

one of the illustrations that accompanied the article «Ireland's Possibilities» from *Harper's Weekly*, published on 28 February 1880,[49] circulated into the foreign press, for the Polish illustrated magazine *Biesiada Literacka* reprinted it a week later, on 5 March 1880, to accompany the article «Głód w Irlandii»[50] («Famine in Ireland»). Other illustrations that had been included in *Harper's Weekly* were not reproduced here: just this sole image of a well-dressed man sitting in a carriage who speaks to peasantry in the parish of Clifden, Connemara.

The two articles that are printed along with this image – one in English and one in Polish – both provide an account of the distressed circumstances of the local population in the west of Ireland and frictions between landlords and tenantry. The article in *Harper's Weekly*, «Ireland's Possibilities», details the degree of wretchedness and lack of prospects encountered by various classes, from sheep farmers to basket makers, as well as addressed the failure of the Ascendancy to improve the lot of their tenants as famine once more stares them into the face: «It was pointed out that public works would best meet the present evil. There is, however, a great horror of drainage or improvement undertaken by the landlords».[51] The article in *Biesiada Literacka* likewise discusses tensions between landlords and tenants but includes a critique of British-Irish colonial relations, in particular the ruinous agrarian policies of the London government, that is subsequently related to critique the analogous miserable position of the Polish serf, especially in the region of Galicia. This suggests an interesting case in which regions promote a sense of transnational affiliation and solidarity.[52]

Conclusion

The example of how an image from *Harper's Weekly* came to be reused in a Polish periodical suggests that the transfer of visual (and discursive) regional representations, is «multidirectional»,[53] in that these repertoires may attain different meanings when relocated to different European as well as transatlantic contexts. The transferability, but above all the fluidity of visual and textual representations of the region, expands Bo Stråth's claim that, indeed, «the definitions of the borders of Europe becomes much more problematic and contested», not only in «political-historical terms»,[54] but, I would like to add, in terms of cultural production as well.

The ways in which periodical depictions of Ireland's western regions – especially Connemara – were reframed politically and crossed over into transatlantic publication contexts is further evidence for the strong interactions between illustrated presses on both sides of the Atlantic in general during the nineteenth century,[55] though it is likely that the huge interest in the US press in Irish regions in the west may also have been sparked off by the massive influx of Famine emigrants to North America, and the subsequent emergence of «transnational affiliations» and transcultural dynamics that, as Thomas Faist observes, characterise relations between home and diaspora communities.[56] It is therefore important

49 Ireland's Possibilities. In: Harper's Weekly (28 February1880), p. 141.

50 Głód w Irlandii. In: Biesiada Literacka (5 March 1880), p. 156.

51 Ireland's Possibilities. In: Harper's Weekly (28 February 1880), p. 141.

52 I would like to thank Dr Paweł Hamera, Cracow Pedagogical University, for translating the Polish text for me.

53 Jaan Valsiner: Comparative Study of Human Cultural Development. London 2001, pp. 41f.

54 Bo Stråth: Insiders and Outsiders: Borders in Nineteenth-Century Europe. In: Stefan Berger (Ed.): A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe: 1789-1914. Malden, MA 2009, pp. 1-10, p. 6.

55 See David Sumner: The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900. New York 2010.

to view the transfer of regional representations not just in transnational contexts of cultural production and readership markets, but also in relation to migration and class relations in and beyond Europe.

56 Thomas Faist: The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces. Oxford 2000, p. 240.

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Shromona Das

The Humour of Anxiety
Caste, Emasculation and Female Deviancy in Colonial Bengali Caricatures, 1870s-1930s

> My dear! Look at how the English writers such as Addison and *Ishteel* [Steele] had satirized the moral corruption of their society, and their successor is *Punch*. Yours is a similar role.[1]

The third wife of Mr. Punch's Brahmin Bengali counterpart, Basantika, had reminded her husband of his moral duty as a social commentator. Regularly featured in the popular segment ‹Basantak-Basantika Sanglap› in this nineteenth-century satirical periodical titled *Basantak* (1874-75), Basantika played a central role in upholding the moral virtues of the publication. No other satirical vernacular periodical of the time that I will be discussing in this chapter allowed a woman to take up such a central role. In fact, it is their blatant patriarchal anxiety towards the native New Woman[2] that becomes obvious in contemporary readings of colonial Bengali caricatures.[3] Basantika's role, however, has remained largely unnoticed. She is not a New Woman, but an ally of the satirist – an absolute opposite of the boot-clad, fashionable, modern, educated Bengali woman who was recurrently depicted as the obvious victim of the tradition of Bengali masculine satire. The curious position of Basantika remains a topic for a broader discussion, which I am developing in my larger ongoing thesis on gendered satires from colonial Bengal; this chapter is part of my work in progress.

Basantika's unusual presence in the world of colonial masculine satire allows me to propose my point of departure from existing readings of these texts. Gender is an inescapable issue for the contemporary reader of these caricatures, hence it appears, even if only in a cursory fashion, in most discussions.[4] Discussions on class have also repeatedly surfaced in postcolonial readings; what has remained untouched in critical studies of Bengali caricatures so far is the question of caste. This is intrinsically linked to the question of publication and circulation of

1 Basantika in ‹Basantak-Basantika Sanglap›, in: Basantak 1.1, (1874) p. 14. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

2 «The New Woman was ‹christened› in 1894», writes Sally Ledger in: The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle. Manchester 1997, p. 9. Ledger discusses the rise of the term in the late Victorian press and print culture that narrowed down the visible characteristics of late Victorian feminists, thereby creating a hostile stereotype. In my research, I have come across numerous literary debates on women's rights and the New Woman in the leading Bangali periodicals of the time, as well as newspapers. These debates were mostly intellectual transactions between male ideologues of the time and were often placed within the binary of ‹Western feminism› versus Indian womanhood; see: Prabasi 39 (1936) and Modern Review 391 (1936). The stereotype of the New Woman in the public sphere of colonial Calcutta was caught in a binary between colonial modernity and conservative Hindu nationalism. The contemporary sociocul-

tural matrix was also marked by a series of social reforms which largely responded to the Women's Question (Partha Chatterjee, 1999) and yet, there was a massive masculine anxiety in all these reformist debates around the degree of Westernization that could be allowed for women within the Hindu Nationalist fervour.

3 Partha Mitter has several essays and book chapters on colonial Bengali caricatures, such as the essay on the Indian *Punch* adaptations, published in Hans Harder/ Barbara Mittler (Eds.): Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair. Heidelberg 2013, pp. 47–64. The issue of gender and sexism is mentioned by Mitter in his discussions of colonial caricatures in other texts as well, however it is never the primary or the central focus of his work. See Partha Mitter: Cartoons of the Raj. In: History Today 47.9 (September 1997), pp. 16-21.

4 See the introduction to Subhendu Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol. Kolkata 2015, pp. 9-22.

5 For a brief discussion on the topic, see Stefan Horlacher: A Short Introduction to Theories of Humour, the Comic, and Laughter. In: Gaby Pailer / Andreas Böhn / Stefan Horlacher / Ulrich Scheck (Eds.): Gender and Laughter: Comic Affirmation and Subversion in Traditional and Modern Media. Amsterdam, New York 2009, pp. 17-47, here p. 18.

6 Jonathan Swift: «A Dialogue Between Mad Mullinix and Timothy». Published in *The Intelligencer* (1728). For the full text, please refer to John Mitford (Ed.): The Poetical

humorous texts, and is pertinent to the understanding of the nature of masculine anxiety of colonial Bengali satires. Overlooking the issue of caste in Bengali caricatures is detrimental to critical reading of its ‹victims›. Sexism and misogyny are not unfamiliar words in the terrain of humour-theories.[5] Very often, these are discussed as ideologies unhinged from the clutches of the historical and the cultural. I am looking into the specific sexism, casteism and misogyny of early Bengali caricatures as a specific brand of humour located and rooted in its colonial urban nexus. To ignore the question of caste is to ignore the specificity of colonial Bengali humour and masculinity.

Building on art historian Partha Mitter's pioneer discussions (Mitter, 1994), I am looking at two specific aspects of colonial Bengali caricatures: the lineage and the production of the masculine language of humour in these texts. Primarily, I will argue that the aesthetics and politics of humour in colonial Bengal are essentially gendered and are associated with an attempt to establish an upper-caste ‹masculine› tradition of reportage. The dispute amongst colonial periodicals, including the satirical magazines, often took the form of accusing one another of irresponsible journalism. The accusations were presented in a language of emasculation – which I will discuss in the following section. Secondly, I contend that what forms the crux of this gendered humorous language is not just a question of class, but more visibly a matter of caste and gender. I call this tradition of satirical images born of an upper-caste masculine angst the ‹humour of anxiety›.

The Bengali Mr. Punch and His Nose: Caste, Gender, and the Humour of Anxiety

> If Punch, to stir their fancy, shows
> In at the door his monstrous nose,
> Then sudden draws it back again;
> Oh what a pleasure mixt with
> pain…[6]

After its inception in 1841, the English *Punch* came to enjoy multiple incarnations in the South Asian context. Satirical images had started making their way into the emerging public sphere of colonial Kolkata since the mid-nineteenth century. They made sporadic appearances in colonial periodicals such as the *Indian Gazzette* and the *Bengal Harkara*. In a cluster between the 1870s and 1880s, periodicals dedicated exclusively to caricatures appeared in various states in India. A little after the Mutiny of 1857, the Indian *Punches* began flooding the colonial market in the subcontinent. The first was the *Indian Punch* published right after the Mutiny (1857) only to be discontinued by 1862. The editor was George Wagentreiber of the *Delhi Sketchbook* fame.[7] Over the next two decades, the appreciation for the visual and textual language of *Punch* grew steadily, and resulted in the numerous Indian vernacular adaptations.[8] The limited scope of this chapter does not allow a detailed discussion on the various Indian *Punches*, or even the English humorous magazines which came out of Indian cities (specifically for an English audience) such as the *London Charivari*.[9] It is pertinent to see, however, that most South Asian *Punches* retained their connection to the urtext by calling

themselves a version of *Punch* (such as *Awadh Punch, Delhi Punch, Hindi Punch* etc.).

The Bengali humorous periodicals however, while using the trope of Mr. Punch extensively, whirred away from directly naming themselves after the English magazine. Unlike the *Hindi Punch*, *Awadh Punch*, or the *Parsee Punch*, there was no Bengali ‹Punch›. The title ‹Panchananda› or the fictional commentator of the magazine ‹Panchuthakur›, are evidently crafted as a play on the word ‹Punch›. But it is not simply an homage, but also an act of appropriation and subversion. *Panchananda*, both in its title and the caricatures and sketches alludes to *Punch*; it appropriates and accommodates the Punch-esque wit and aesthetics within its own cultural context. However, the play of language in *Panchananda* can also remind a native reader of the Bengali word ‹Penchalo› (twisted; usually also used as an adjective for critical people) or ‹Pyancha› (owl). The latter is an equally potent intertextual reference to *Hutom Pyanchar Naksha* (1862), a massively popular Bengali satire. The commentator of the text is the famed all-seeing barn owl of Kolkata commenting on the nocturnal debauchery of the city. The figure of the *Hutom Pyancha* became quickly synonymous to scintillating, satirical critique of the contemporary urban lives. Bengali satirical magazines often harked back to English *Punch* while not establishing themselves as a replica of the same; they also desired to nod to their contemporary, urban Bengali traditions of humour. They established their heritage of caricaturing through puns, allegories, and visuality

Works of Jonathan Swift, Vol III. London 1953, pp. 132-142.

7 This humorous monthly was owned, edited, and circulated by the English and was published by the Delhi Gazzette Press. The monthly enjoyed almost a decade long life span, starting in 1850 and ending with the Mutiny when the press was burned down. The *Sketchbook* was the self-proclaimed «Mr. Punch Junior» and did not intend to copy the mode of the English *Punch* but rather teasingly tickled the mild funny-bones of the British without being «coarse, impertinent or insulting». For a detailed discussion, see Partha Mitter: Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations. Cambridge 1994, p. 140. Dahlia Bhattacharya discusses the emergence of these colonial caricature magazines in: Caricature in Print Media: A Historical Study of Political Cartoons in Colonial India (1872-1947), Karatoya Vol. 12, 2019 pp. 63-78.

8 For a detailed discussion on various Indian and South Asian *Punches*, see the essays in Harder/Mittler: Asian Punches, especially Partha Mitter's discussion on the *Indian Punch* and the Bengali satirical magazines pp. 47-64, as well as Ritu Khanduri's essay on various Indian *Punches,* p. 165-186. The growing number of Indian and vernacular South Asian Punches also played upon vernacular puns, such as drawing allusion to the word ‹*pañc*› (five) that holds mythical, religious, and cultural value in the Indian context. For a detailed discussion, see Prabhat Kumar's chapter «From Punch to Mat^{l}vālā: Transcultural Lives of a Literary Format», pp. 75-110 from the same anthology.

9 *London Charivari* was an English humorous periodical published in 1875. Mitter argues that it did not solely focus on criticisms of native Indians, although representing Orientalist stereotypes was often something the magazine exercised. For further discussion, see Mitter's essay «Punch and Indian Cartoons: The Reception of a Transnational Phenomenon». In: Harder/Mittler: Asian Punches, pp. 47-64.

Fig. 1 Cover page of *Harbola Bhand*, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Kolkata.

drawn from the tradition of *Punch*, while navigating their own cultural, religious, and (upper) caste identities. This allegiance to, and yet an attempted marked shift from, the urtext is rooted in the gender–caste identity of the commentators. It is not class but caste, I argue, on which this brand of gendered humour hinged.

The three fin de siècle humorous periodicals that are my focus in this section are *Panchananda* (1871-1880s), *Basantak* (1874-1875) and *Harbola Bhand* (1874). These were not the only or even the very first humorous Bengali periodicals, but they were the most prominent ones to draw a lineage from *Punch*.[10] They appropriated the ‹Mr. Punch› trope, which was itself an appropriation of the Pulcinella figure into the English context. The English Mr. Punch was similar to, but not the same as, the Italian Pulcinella; «[...] there is another Punch, satirical, merry, a free talker, and always ready to circulate scandal and ridicule. This Punch, a kind of British Figaro, who is personified in our day by a publication bearing his name, began during the last century».[11] Chaiti Basu, in her groundbreaking work on Panchu Thakur, the commentator of *Panchananda*, has argued that the Bengali periodicals were not mere imitations of *Punch*.[12] Extending Basu's reading, I argue that one of the fundamental differences between the British Figaro peddling rumour and scandal and the Bengali counterpart is the latter's denial of these very acts. Thoroughly invested in the popular periodical culture of Bengal at the time, these satirical magazines very often proclaimed themselves akin to any other (non-satirical) magazine. In doing so, they critiqued the ‹irresponsible›, or ‹feminine› journalism of their political rivals. I read this tendency of (upper-caste masculine) reportage as a part of the larger discourse of masculine journalism in nineteenth-century Bengal. We must, therefore, look at their tropes, allegories,

10 See Chaiti Basu's discussion on early Bengali satirical magazines: The Punch Tradition in Late Nineteenth Century Bengal. From Pulcinella to Basantak and Pāñcu. In: Harder / Mittler: Asian Punches, pp. 111-150, here p. 113.

11 See Anna Maria Hall (Ed.): Sharpe's London Journal of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading, Vol. 13, 1850, pp. 170-178; and ibid. vol. 14, p. 203, where she prints an essay from *Revue des Deux Mondes* under the title of ‹The History of Puppet Shows in England›. This essay seems to be based on George Cruishank and John Collier's *Punch and Judy* (1828) published by S. Prowett, London.

12 Chaiti Basu: The Punch Tradition, in her conclusion, elucidates three primary reasons: she argues that the narrator figures in these magazines retained certain individuality; the narrator figure was also informed by Sanskrit dramatic and local oral traditions, and thirdly, they helped to generate a sense of selfhood amongst the colonial subject.

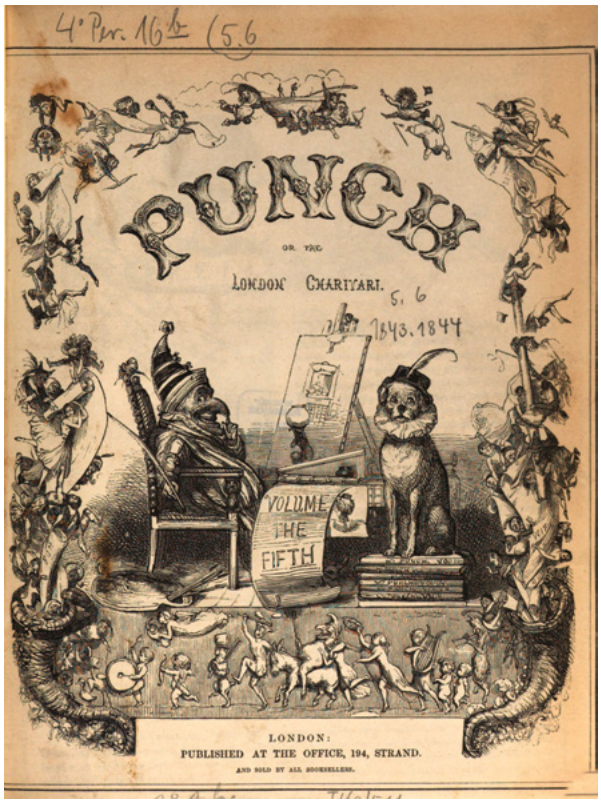


Fig. 2 *Punch* cover page by Richard Doyle, Vol. 5 (1843). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Per. 16 b-5/6, scan 5, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10532056-6

and the language of humour overall as gendered, and as a device curated specifically to complement a gendered notion of reportage. Through a close reading of some of the caricatures, I will show that the commentator's and the publisher's caste identities form a complex power hierarchy.

The Brahmin, The Jester, The Commentator

The first edition of *Harbola Bhand* (January 1874) introduces its spokesman, the embodiment of the periodical itself: the Bhand (the jester, see fig. 1).[13] Dressed in a pinstripe coat, a dhoti, and a nightcap, sporting this curiously concocted ensemble along with his distinct and protruding nose, the Bhand becomes a direct homage to the iconography of the famous Mr. Punch.

The first issue of *Punch* (1841) depicted a crowd on the cover, hovered around a typical Punch and Judy puppet show. By 1842 the iconography of Mr. Punch was fully realized; Mr. Punch, the magazine personified, no longer had to remain in the background in the guise of a puppet show. In 1844, Richard Doyle (1824-1883) illustrated one of the most iconic *Punch* cover-pages with a composition centered around the figure of Mr. Punch in striped nightgown and a nightcap (fig. 2). The cover of *Harbola Bhand* is an unmissable nod to that.

The iconic ensemble of Mr. Punch from the Doyle cover-page was repeated several times afterwards in various *Punch* caricatures (such as the 1883 image of Mr. Punch painting a portrait of Shakespeare). Mr. Punch's wardrobe has since been diversified: he has sported tailcoats and trousers in chequered patterns (1874) but his protruding nose, hunched back, and evil smile have remained constant.

13 People who can mimic various animal noises realistically are usually called ‹Harbola› in Bangla: ‹those who speak in many non-human tongues›. The word ‹Bhand› has multiple meanings, a popular one being a designated fool or jester.

Fig. 3 Iconography of the Bhand, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Kolkata.

The image of the Bhand in 1874 is clearly modelled after the 1849 cover by Doyle, while also incorporating his distinct footwear from other caricatures. The Bhand, unlike Mr. Punch, is dressed in foreign garb: the shoes, the striped coat, and the nightcap. He is distinctly different from Mr. Punch in two aspects of his getup: his Dhoti and his moustache. The bristly whiskers under the Bhand's nosy nose are a clear departure from Mr. Punch. The moustache makes a point; it peers out of the face as a proud symbol of masculinity. The mouthpiece of the conservative upper-caste publication could not have been a mere replica of the English Mr. Punch: it also had to distinguish its own identity. The crisis of colonial masculinity found many ways to challenge the allegations of effeminacy: humour of anxiety (against educated women, the lower caste, and the colonial rulers) was one such way. The moustache is a visible emblem of the same repertoire.

The first issue of *Harbola Bhand* contained an illustration depicting a beguiling, smiling Bhand, gazing out of the page at the reader, out of the corners of his eyes. The Bhand is holding a little booklet in his left arm and pointing his index finger towards his right. The Bhand is smiling ear to ear, under his long protruding nose and fluffy moustache. Clad in his foreign nightcap placed on his oddly large head, he is standing on a stool pointing at the toppled Edwardian chair in the corner. The words under the image read:

Joto lok bhariye khao! Kuler, sotir kul mojao,
Ekhon dhormodhake bajlo kathi, uchit sasti pao![14]

This rhyming couplet is a direct warning against those who have been ‹exploiting› others. The expression used is ‹bhariye khaoa›, or «making a living out of deceiving others». The Bengali word for the act of foolery, ‹Bhandami›, is synonymous to the word for a deceptive act, or trickery with malicious intent. Given that his own name shares that etymology, as his profession seems to resemble that of the

14 «All those who deceive and cheat! [Those who] Corrupt clans and seduce pious wives, Hear the Drums of Judgment rolling, await the punishment that you deserve!». The two pertinent words used here are «Kul» and «Soti», the first in a broad spectrum may mean clan, but is culturally and contextually connotated as upper caste families; specifically, Brahmins. «Soti» is the model Hindu woman: devout and chaste. They would also often be called «Kuler Soti», to broadly refer to all the women in a respected upper-caste family. «Sotir Kul» is a reversed expression which hints at the repercussions of a pious wife turning into a fallen woman: the seduction of a woman leads to the imminent fall of her family's social status. Hence, transgressive women – who either bring shame to their families by their own conduct or are simply rejected by the family for having been seduced, are referred to as «Kulta». The usage of «Kul» therefore becomes a really important denominator in making this predominantly about a threat towards the upper caste.

accused, the Bhand appears to be speaking to his own kind. While this in a way makes the Bhand even more Punch-like, a sinner revealing the sins of others – it also addresses the question of class. In multiple caricatures in *Harbola Bhand*, the commentator himself appears beside the condemned ‹bhadralok babu›.[15] He is seated beside them, in the same rank, observing yet belonging to the same social class. However, the babu class is not a hierarchy that is created outside the system of caste.

My emphasis on caste and not class being a decisive factor in reading these caricatures is based on the following observation: the publishers, the writers (and the illustrators, in the case of *Basantak*), the commentator, and their target audience all largely belonged to the same class. What distinguishes them from one another are not their class positions, but their caste and religious identities. The humorous commentator of satirical magazines also abides by certain codes of bhadrata (politeness or gentlemanliness, a behavioural trait of the newly emerged gentleman class that emerged during the colonial period). He also often claims to practice a ‹gentlemanly journalism›.

The commentators prominently displayed social mobility and access to the inner circles of the *bhadralok* community, (in case of the Bhand, being seated amongst other gentlemen who are being ridiculed), making the ‹Punch-esque› native figures the members of the same social class. It is not social status or class that makes the enemy of the native Mr. Punch susceptible to his ridicule; «the drums of justice» roll to mark their fall from their caste positions (in case of the Brahmos, denouncing Brahminic doctrines and forming a new religion, or in case of Kristo Das Pal, his social access to upper-caste circles in spite of him being lower-caste).[16] The humour of anxiety that the narrators circulate is one born of their own caste anxiety: it is directed towards other castes (lower castes, the Brahmo Samaj, or some upper-caste reformers and intellectuals whom they

15 Satirist Bhabanicharan Bandyopadhyay (1787-1848) coined the term ‹bhadralok› in a jest to criticize the nouveaux riches, suggests Deboshruti Roychowdhury in: Gender and Caste Hierarchy in Colonial Bengal. Kolkata 2014, p. 73. The term is widely used by postcolonial scholars to denote the educated or elite male, or generally, the upper and middle class of natives. Similarly, ‹bhadramahila› is also a term widely used by scholars to refer to the elite woman from this class. See the illuminating discussion on the bhadralok scholars defining the term ‹bhadralok› in Tithi Bhattacharya: The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal. New Delhi 2005, p. 35.

16 Kristo Das Pal (1838-1884) was the editor of the famous *Hindoo Patriot*. He attended the Oriental Seminary and was a graduate of the Hindu Metropolitan College. Pal, by birth, belonged to the Tili community and was of lower caste.

Fig. 4 Embracing gentlemen, *Basantak*, quoted from Chandi Lahiri (Ed.): Basantak. A Collection of Bengali Cartoon Journals 1st Year-2nd Year. Kolkata 2009.

hold accountable for moral corruption and are hence perceived as a disgrace amongst their own caste). It is also a battle of asserting masculinity, where the device of emasculation is often used in ridiculing the contemporary bhadralok. The humour of anxiety is riddled with the trauma of a steadily decaying standard of Brahminic patriarchy: hence the masculine Others of the commentator, the Brahmo, the lower caste men, and the European gentlemen, are not only shown as co-conspirators but as two men in a deep, homoerotic embrace in a *Basantak* caricature (fig. 4).

Masculine Humour

While the male Other of the colonial Brahminic patriarchy is emasculated, the growing masculinity of the native New Woman is emphasised as a social malice and as female deviancy. Both of these anxieties (of gender and of caste) are consolidated in this tradition of masculine humour.

In the case of *Basantak* the commentator appears on the cover of the first issue as an «obscenely fat Brahmin - Punch transmogrified no less», writes Mitter. No matter how ‹obscene› the Brahmin Basantak (court jester) seems, he explains the purpose to his Bramhani, Basantika, by confessing that «I can easily be called a copy of the *Bilati* [English] *Punch*».[17]

17 «The title Basantak means a clown (*Vidusak*) in Sanskrit. The Bengali word ‹*basanta*› also has the dual meaning of the season of spring and the dread infection, smallpox», see Partha Mitter: Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, pp. 159-160. A Brahmani is a companion or usually the wife of a Brahmin.

Fig. 5 The eponymous gluttonous Brahmin on the cover-page of the first issue of Basantak, Cover page of Basantak, Cartoon Pattor (https://www.cartoonpattor.in/117/).

However, he is perennially threatened of being compared to the Bengali babus who have adopted the ‹Bilati› lifestyle, namely, the westernized Bengalis. A little later in the same text, Basantika advises him, saying: «Instead of engaging in cheap slapstick you should rather reflect on the contemporary state of the nation».[18] Basantika's cautiousness towards preserving the class status of the commentator is noticeable: she warns Basantak not to pay heed to cheap scandals, or to engage in unsavoury slapstick, as «sheta bhadraloker kaaj noy» (unworthy of a *bhadralok*).[19] This is a decisive departure from the conduct of a ‹British Figaro›, spreading tittle-tattles. The Brahmin Basantak wants to establish himself as anything but an unscrupulous intriguer.

Much like the Bhand, he belongs to the *bhadralok* class, holding up ideal *bhadralok* behaviour and condemning the duplicity amongst his own kind. This claim is also coupled with the question of ‹responsible› reportage, on the basis of which *Basantak* critiques its rival periodicals.

The act of critiquing contemporary periodicals because of ungentlemanly or even ‹feminine› journalism is evident in the third satirical magazine from this decade that I examine, titled *Panchananda.*[20] The mouthpiece of the magazine is a self-proclaimed abatār[21] (avatar), called

18 Basantika uses the word ‹Bhandami›, an echo of the rhyming couplet from Harbola Bhand. *Basantak*, Vol. I, Issue I, 1874, p. 14.

19 Ibid.

20 The rhetoric of masculine journalism was quite present in the colonial public sphere: «a fair and manly advocacy of the interests of their own country» – *Hindoo Patriot*, (Ed.) Girish Chandra Ghosh, 6 January 1853, as cited in Swapan Basu: Sambad Smayik Patre Unish Shataker Bangali Samaj, Vol II. Kolkata 2000.

21 See Basu: The Punch Tradition, p. 130, where she discusses Basantak's claim as an abatār and its Hindu mythological connotations.

Fig. 6 The native meets the gentleman in the Panchananda, Year I, Vol. X, 1871, *Panchananda*, Uttarpara Jay Krishna Public Library, Srerampore.

Panchu Thakur. The commentator proudly declares the Brahminical caste-address ‹Thakur› which bejewels his name. *Panchananda* was a humorous monthly similar to *Basantak* in format, containing both long, vitriolic textual pieces and topical caricatures. These textual caricatures usually depicted the Others; unlike the commentator of *Harbola Bhand* or even *Basantak*, Panchu Thakur refrains from depicting himself. None of the visuals offer any visible similarity between this narrator and Mr. Punch in terms of guise and appearance, an element which is ameliorated in the textual components. The format and tone of satire was that akin to *Basantak,* where the visual served as a supplementary or illustration of a textual caricature. Amongst the three periodicals, *Panchananda* carried out the least number of visuals. However, one of the rare instances from the publication took a visible jibe at the European or Westernized Other (as well as the recent phenomenon of Darwinism).

Apart from the obvious pun on the word ‹Punch› that is phonetically reflected in the name of the narrator, the moral role of a proper *bhadralok* that Panchu Thakur takes up is, on one hand, fuelled with the zeal of Mr. Punch, and simultaneously, selectively befitting of his own native *bhadralok* identity.

The very language of his satire is a refined, high-class Bengali, from which he seldom deviates. One of the notable exceptions is his comment on another contemporary periodical, *Bangadarshan* (1872-1880).[22] Citing the reason for his advent in the «mortal realm» (since he is an abatār) as one born of necessity, he remarks: «*Bangadarshan* and such are periodicals; hence they had promised to come out monthly. However, they could not; the ones to be blamed are the Bengali women. A woman's promise is such: at first, it's consistent and eventually, it's a matter of Fate!»[23] A very similar, albeit coarser comment is echoed by *Basantak* about the same periodical in its sixth issue:

> Listen, listen dear readers! Finally the hag, the bickering blabby ‹Bangdarshan› has caught a bumblebee in its web. The old whore, delighted to have gotten such a catch at this rotten age, has opened her treasure-trove of cheap thrills and romance… she is making the boys tap to her tune; and luring young men by dancing herself. And she puts on a veil when she has an older audience.[24]

In Panchu Thakur's comment, *Bangadarshan* appears as a feminine periodical, fickle and fitful, spearheaded by a woman; in *Basantak's*, the publication itself is

22 Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay founded Bangadarshan in 1872. The magazine was discontinued after the 1880s.

23 See excerpts from *Panchananda* in B. Roy (Ed.): Indranath Granthabali. Kolkata 1925, p. 192.

24 Basantak, Issue VI, in: Chandi Lahiri (Ed.): Basantak: A Collection of Bengali Cartoon Journals 1st Year-2nd Year. Kolkata 2009, p. 109.

25 *Suttee* or *Sati Pratha* is the Hindu ritual of widow immolation which was a popular practice amongst Hindus. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), a Bengali intellectual, social reformer, and a pillar of the Brahmo Samaj, started campaigning against the *Sati* system. Finally, in 1829 *Sati Pratha* was legally banned, causing a huge backlash from the conservative Hindu community. For a detailed discussion on *Bangadarshan*'s position on social reforms under the editorship of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhayay, see Bhabotash Dutta: Bangadarshan Parampara. Kolkata 2000.

a «whore», shamelessly luring and corrupting young men. Incidentally, *Bangadarshan* was never edited by a woman. It did not have any woman as a major contributor and was not primarily invested in discussing the Woman Question. The grand cultural project of the great literary patriarch Bankim Chandra Chattopadhayay (1838-1894), *Bangadarshan* carried out only one notable essay of significant length about women; it was Hara Prashad Sashtri's debut essay «Bharat Mahila», an essay that was eventually reprinted as a booklet in 1880. *Bangdarshan* played a curious role in terms of its position on the ongoing social reforms: for example, it did publish articles both for and against Suttee.[25] Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's own position regarding these reforms was quite conservative. He had openly opposed the proposal for Widow Remarriage.[26] On the other hand, he published his groundbreaking Bengali novels serially in *Bangadarshan*, giving rise to a distinct female readership. Bankim's aim was to primarily use the platform of *Bangadarshan* to reduce the distance between educated and uneducated Bengalis, by making Bengali (instead of English, Urdu, or Farsi) the medium of knowledge transaction.[27] The ‹Bankimi› Bangla, a new-found stylistic Bengali that *Bangadarshan* circulated, received much criticism from contemporary periodicals. The criticism that he received from the humorous magazines, however, was deeply gendered: it was a clear venture to emasculate the literary patriarch (for having created a dedicated female readership of Bengali romances, primarily). The anxiety of this form of gendered criticism of a certain kind of content and journalism is tied to the larger gendered disquietude towards social reforms, and growing debates around women's education.

Emasculation and a Humour of Anxiety: Questions in Gender and Caste

The masculine angst of the three ‹Punchesque› Bengali magazines *Harbola Bhand* (1874), *Basantak* (1874-1875), and *Panchananda* (1871-1880s) resulted in various short, sharp and piercing pieces: however, they were not primarily directed towards women but rather towards men who were involved in the social reforms. The reformist monotheistic religious community known as the Brahmo Samaj was a staple prey, as a large number of educated women at the time belonged to this community.[28] Brahmo men were the usual laughingstock of these magazines, and were accused of corrupting the ideal Hindu woman by introducing education, specifically, westernised education. Panchu Thakur's fictitious «Brahmo Course» offers an outline of compulsory and optional subjects: most of the compulsory courses are for and about the New Woman. These subjects are listed under the headlines of women's liberation, women's education, marriage, and such. The topic of women's education is further divided into subsections, such as romance, ‹kul tyag› (leaving or being rejected from a respectable family), leaving one's parents and family, writing plays, novels, poems, etc., and mastering the

26 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) was a Sanskrit scholar, an author, and a prolific social reformer who played a crucial role in advocating for women's education and women's rights in nineteenth-century Bengal. In order to improve the condition of Hindu widows, who were often forced into prostitution and were tortured and exploited, he proposed that Hindu widows should have the right to remarriage, resulting in The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856. For a detailed discussion on such social reforms, see Sumit Sarkar/Tanika Sarkar's introduction to Women and Social Reform in Modern India Vol. 1 & Vol. 2, Bloomington, IN 2011.

27 Chattyopadhayay writes in a letter just before starting the Bangadarshan project, that its core purpose is «[…] making it the medium of communication and sympathy between the educated and the uneducated classes. You rightly say that English for good or for evil has become our vernacular; and this tends daily to widen the gulf between the higher and the lower ranks of Bengali society». See Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay / Sajanikanta Das (Eds.): Bankim Chandra Chattopadhayay, Essays and Letters. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Kolkata 1940, p. 185.

28 See the discussion on women's education in colonial Bengal in Geraldine Forbes: Women in Modern India. Cambridge 1996. Also see Malavika Karlekar: Kadambini and the Bhadralok: Early Debates over Women's Education in Bengal. In: Economic and Political Weekly 21.17 (1986), pp. 25-31.

epistolary art. The section on marriage not only includes widow remarriage, but also mockingly notes the re-marriage of a married woman.

Similarly, *Basantak* featured jokes and acrimonious gags on Brahmo men, westernized *bhadralok*, along with caricatures about Brahmo ‹men with beards› as well as the educated native New Woman. One of the most common tropes was to connect all ‹deviant› women with the Brahmo Samaj. Apart from their general treachery, sexual transgression, and debauchery, the commentators also branded them by their outlandish fashion. *Basantak* comments on the peculiar combination of frilled skirts and heavy boots of the Brahmika (Brahmo women) as she ventures out of the home.[29] However, it is not only the woman, but the man who ‹enables› her to indulge in this degeneracy who is held accountable. By doing so, these satires often took agency away from the female subject and made them but puppets in the hands of progressive men.

One of the major fear about the New Woman and the question of women's education came from the deep-seated caste-based anxiety of the commentators, or rather the writers and publishers. The *bhadralok* class was predominantly occupied by three upper castes: Brahmins, Kayasthas, and Baidyas.[30] From the very inception of vernacular newspapers in Bengal, a significant majority of the editors (not press-owners) were Brahmins.[31] All creators behind the three humorous magazines I have discussed belonged to the upper-caste *bhadralok* category: the famous Dutta family of Hatkhola was the lifeline behind *Basantak*. The publisher, writer and even the illustrators were the Dutta brothers, Girindranath (1841-1909), Prananath (1840-1888) and their relative Gopalchandra Dutta (1874-?).[32] Indranath Bandyopadhyay was a Brahmin author who penned *Panchananda* and Durgadash Dhar was the editor of *Harbola Bhand*. Two of the three publications were thus owned and edited by Kayasthas, and one created by a Brahmin. Their anti-social reformist position had thus seized a significant role in the colonial public sphere.

Caste was very much a decisive factor in the world of colonial periodicals in Bengal: the caste–religion alliance of each publication was clearly demarcated. It waged a war between the conservative upper-caste periodicals, periodicals of the Brahmo Samaj, and the lower-caste publications such as *Tili Bandhab* (1913), *Mahisya Samaj, Gandhabanik Samachar*, etc. The latter group, in the first half of the twentieth century, took a positive stance towards women's education (albeit within a patriarchal rhetoric). However, the satirical magazines constantly disguised their upper-caste anxiety of Brahminic patriarchy as a messianic gesture towards the greater good. Hence, they each individually, emphasised their purpose of serving the interest of the Hindu public. They nevertheless could not resist making casteist slurs, such as Basantak's obsessive derogatory remarks about the dark skin

29 Basantak 1, Issue 2 (1874), pp. 29-30.

30 See Roychowdhury: Gender & Caste Hierarchy in Colonial Bengal, p. 74.

31 See Bhattacharya: The Sentinels of Culture, p. 100.

32 See Roychowdhury: Gender & Caste Hierarchy in Colonial Bengal, p. 68. Also see the short note on *Basantak* at the Cartoon Pattor website: https://www.cartoonpattor.in/117/.

of the lower-caste *bhadralok* Kristo Das Pal; he was constantly persecuted by the Kayastha satirists for belonging to the Tili caste. Pal was a college-educated gentleman, orator, and editor. He was a decorated contributor of the Empire, a devoted journalist and editor of the English weekly *Hindoo Patriot*.[33] Pal's prominence amongst the Kolkata-literati and his pro-British and anti-conservative politics had become an insurmountable problem to the upper-caste Hindu journalists, such as the Ghosh brothers of *Basantak*. He was not only marked as a corroborator of the Raj but was further humiliated for his caste identity. The *Basantak* illustrator consistently made a point of depicting the lower-caste black skin of the Tili-caste-born gentleman. The humour of anxiety in such instances is not simply a way of asserting masculinity at the face of emasculation by the colonial ruler, but also by the lower-caste Other.

The humour of anxiety is also a response to the ‹frailty› ascribed to the native male by the English colonisers;[34] therefore the zeal to assert their masculinity manifests a four-part strategy, and the satirical periodicals employ all three tropes. Satire becomes the weapon to challenge the coloniser, the westernized *bhadralok* (who are emasculated by the native male satirist), the lower-caste gentleman, and the native New Woman. The anxiety of the ominous predictions of the social ramifications of women's education that these periodicals conceived continues even in early twentieth-century gendered caricatures. The earlier patriarchal witticism engaged not only with the image of the native New Woman, but primarily with the fellow *bhadralok* class which supported the social reforms and women's education.

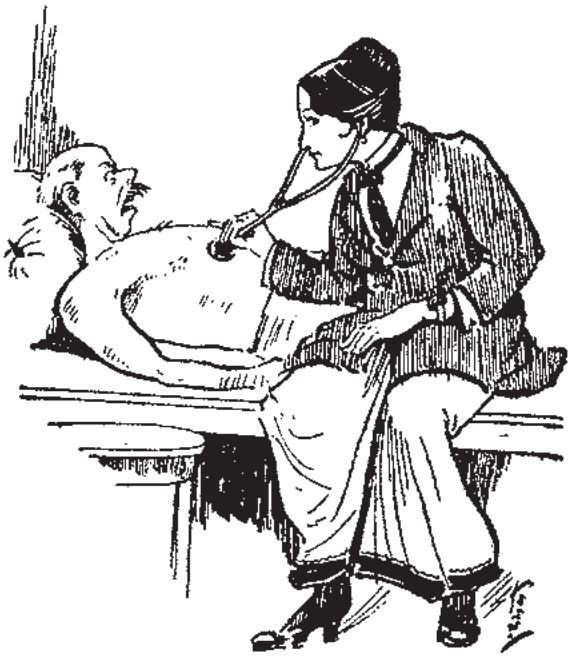
The lineage of gendered satire in the early twentieth century colonial periodicals thus remains rooted in a humour of anxiety. However, one prominent difference between the previous generation of humour of anxiety and that of the beginning of the twentieth century is in its iconography of the native New Woman. The iconography of the effeminate *bhadralok* was somewhat cultivated, circulated, and explored by the commentators of the past, but it did not have a clear visual template for the New Woman. The majority of the gendered caricatures published in the popular vernacular periodicals in the early twentieth century rectified this by focusing on the iconography of the Bengali New Woman.

«Dr. Mr. Kadammani Chattyopadhyay M. B.!» and Other Female Deviancies: The New Humour of Anxiety

I am looking at the male caricaturist's gaze in the following section by discussing the works of the three stalwart colonial Bengali caricatures: Jyotin Kumar Sen, Satish Sinha, and Binoy Basu – all of these caricaturists were highly acclaimed

33 *Hindoo Patriot* was published under different editors since its inception in 1853. Kristo Das Pal was appointed editor of the English weekly published from Kolkata after the magazine was bought by the social reformist, educator, and the prolific women's rights activist of the time, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.

34 See Roychowdhury: Gender & Caste Hierarchy in Colonial Bengal; Bhattacharya: The Sentinels of Culture; Indira Chowdhury: The Frail Hero and Virile History: Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal. Delhi 1998.



"ইউ ফুল্— জোরে নিঃশ্বেস টান।"
—শুধু মিড-ওয়াফ্‌রি নয়, দস্তুর মত ডাক্তারী।
ডক্টর মিষ্টার কদমমণি চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম্-বি!

Fig. 7 Dr. Mr. Kadammani Chattyopadhyay M.B., illustrated by Binoy Kumar Basu, 1927, quoted from Subhendu Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol. Kolkata 2015.

illustrators and artists, and belonged to either Kayastha or Baidya castes. All of them contributed famously to the language of modern Bengali caricatures by introducing successful stereotypes of the deviant New Woman.

One of the most prolific commercial artists of the time was Jyotin Kumar Sen. A graduate of the Government School of Art, Kolkata, Sen was handpicked as a commercial artist by the celebrated author and humorist Rajshekhar Basu (1880-1960).[35] Jyotin Sen's artistic contribution ranged from advertisements, magazine covers, and illustrations to his unmistakable brand of caricatures. Sen's cover designs and other commercial illustrations stylistically and aesthetically differ vastly from his caricatures. While the model for caricaturing half a century ago for Bengali artists was *Punch*, in the early twentieth century it was unmistakably Jyotin Sen's legacy.

Jyotin Kumar Sen did a series of caricatures entitled «Nari Bidroho» (Women's Revolution), published in the Bengali periodical *Manashi O Marmabani* (1915-1930) in 1919. The punchlines were composed by his brother Deben Sen.[36] These caricatures were fashioned out of the same aesthetics and wit that Sen relied on while illustrating Basu's satirical short stories. In a way, the depiction of the Memsahib, the New Woman in Basu's stories, was reproduced in this series of independent caricatures. The iconography of the native New Woman was primarily constructed through her bizarre and vexing fashion, such as donning a dhoti-punjabi[37] like a gentleman or flaunting a severe pixie cut like a bhadrolok.

Interestingly, the manly woman, who is also the New Woman, is seen wearing her saree in a fashion which was known as the Brahmika drape. The caricaturist does not mark her as a Brahmo woman, but the echo of Basantaka's snide remarks about the Brahmika's ensemble continues. The humour of anxiety in these Bengali satirical texts thus shows a

35 Sen wanted to become a landscape painter after graduating from the art college; Basu however convinced him to work as a commercial artist for Bengal Chemicals for whom Sen produced numerous interesting illustrations and caricatures. He also became indispensable part of Basu's own publications, as the illustrations for his short satirical stories and book covers always came to be designed by Sen. For detailed accounts on Sen, see Biswadeb Gangyopadhyay (Ed.): Bishoy Cartoon: Jyotin Sen Sankhya. Kolkata 2017.

36 See the introduction to Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol, pp. 10-11.

37 A dhoti is a traditional draped trouser and a punjabi, a long shirt usually paired with a dhoti: this traditional Bengali attire is exclusively attributed to men.

"ক্রমে ক্রমে হৈল জজিয়তী!"
(দেবেন সেন)

চিহ্ন-বদল চিহ্ন-দখল : বাংলা ব্যঙ্গ-চিত্র-কথায় নারী ৩৩

Fig. 8 Lady Judge by Jyotin Kumar Sen, quoted from Subhendu Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol. Kolkata 2015.

clear continuity. It is Janus-faced; while being paranoid with emasculation, it is also driven by the trepidation of women gaining masculinity. The side-parted gentlemanly hair of the Brahmika or the *bhadralok* garb of the modish New Woman are also iconographic elements influenced by the English anti-suffragist caricatures of the time. The anxiety of role-reversal was often the most popularly expressed apprehensions of the anti-suffragist caricaturist: their humour of anxiety was also often exhibited through fashioning the transgressive suffragette in manly attire.[38]

For Sen, however, the dangers of the women's revolution did not merely include the emergence of the fashionable female deviant; he also depicted the result of female deviancy: the ultimate role reversal. Not only do the women of Sen's upside-down world dominate their emasculated husbands, but they are depicted pleading in a court of law in an advocate's coat and even «Krome krome hoilo jojiyoti» (finally achieved judgeship). The lady judge is drawn as a haggard middle-aged woman with a top knot (another visual metaphor similar to the anti-suffragist caricatures). She pierces through the page with her witchy eyes, engulfed in the judge's attire while toying with a male puppet labelled ‹exhibit No. 4› (fig. 8).[39]

Satish Sinha's caricatures created for the satirical text by the celebrated humorist Amritalal Basu, entitled «Shubho Din» (An Auspicious Day) were published in the yearly *Basumati* in 1919.[40] Printed in the same year as Jyotin Sen's series on the women's revolution, this text also depicts the curious chimera: the female advocate, in this case, Suhasini Srimani Barrister. Her profession has become her surname in the text accompanying the image, acting as her main social identifier. In the following page, Sinha depicts Suhasini's husband: docile, emasculated, castrated by the caricaturist. The about-to-collapse husband is dressed in a flowing pleated garment, holding a fashionable western

38 Shromona Das: ‹Hark! Hark! The trumpet's calling›: Reading the Image of the Suffragist Angel. In: The Confidential Clerk 5, 2019, pp. 99-108.

39 The phrase itself has no intertextual significance. However, there is a sense of banality to it. By enumerating the puppet, the image suggests that this (toy) is merely one of many. The puppet-man in question is also one of many being toyed with. It also is a play on language of the judiciary, which in the context of the female judge becomes part of the ridicule.

40 For the full text, please see Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol, pp. 37-73.

Fig. 9 Effeminate native husbands greeting each other with a kiss. Artist: Satish Chandra Sinha, 1919, quoted from Subhendu Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol. Kolkata 2015.

ফুলকুমার ও প্রীকান্তের চুম্বন

hand fan, and an abundance of estate jewelry. In this dark wonderland where gender roles have been reversed, the man collapses under the burden of the nuptial symbols of a Hindu wife. The previously humorous periodicals often emphasised how the westernised *bhadralok* had become a pawn in the hand of the native New Woman and had thereby become effete. The same sources also emasculated those native gentlemen who fraternized with the colonisers. *Basantak* published a few such caricatures: one depicting a Bengali *bhadralok* lost in an Englishman's loving embrace,[41] as well as one where the *bhadralok* is playing a melodramatic, feminine stock character.[42] Both of these caricatures emasculate the native man by implying homoeroticism and homosocial relations. Jyotin Sen had famously caricatured the characters of Rajshekhar Basu's *Kachi Sangsad* (The League of Fops); Satish Sinha continues the same aesthetic lineage of the humour of anxiety in depicting the two foppish husbands in *Shubho Din*, gently kissing each other (1919).

Binoy Basu's «Ekabingsha Satabdi Nari Charitam» (Annals of the Twentieth Century Woman) published in *Meye Mahal* (1927) depicts, once again, a topsy-turvy world: having declared their change of social status after a divine intervention, the New Women have taken over the power.[43] In this grotesque world, we meet the dying male patient gasping at the sight of the stern doctor, Dr. Mr. Kadammani Chattyopadhyay M. B. This curious Dr. ‹Mr.› Chattyopdhyay, clearly modelled on Kadambini Gangopadhyay, the first woman doctor in the British Commonwealth, exclaims to the puny man, «*You fool*—Take a deep breath». The caricaturist comments: «not mere midwifery, but a bona fide doctor!» He also adds an exclamation mark after ‹Dr. Mr.›, Chattopadhyay's designation.

All these three pieces were published at a time when women were indeed partaking actively in the debates on women's emancipation and rights. This was the time when a number of women editors were bringing women essayists into the discussions of the public sphere. The seed had been planted in the last century already, with the emergence of the first woman-edited women's magazine (*Banga Mahila,* April 1870);[44] however, the massive impact of literary women, and women of letters in the colonial urban public sphere significantly came into prominence at the beginning of the twentieth century.[45] It is no coincidence that so many of the caricatures of the first

41 Lahiri: Basantak, p. 64.

42 Ibid., p. 33.

43 For the full text, please see Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol, pp. 77-99.

44 It was a fortnightly journal edited by author Mokshadayini Mukhopadhyay of Behala, Kolkata. For detailed discussions, see Shobharani Bhattacharya: Mahila Sampadita Bengali Samaik Sahitya-Patrika (Prak Swadhinata Parba). Kalyani 2000. Also see Epshita Chanda / Jayeeta Bagchi (Eds.): Shaping the Discourse. Women's Writings in Bengali Periodicals 1865-1947. Kolkata 2014.

45 See Epshita Chanda / Jayeeta Bagchi: Shaping the Discourse, p. 70.

three decades sprout from a deep destabilisation of the gender status quo in the Benagli colonial print culture.

When *Panchananda* accused *Bangadarshan* of being a feminine periodical, actual women-led periodicals were already agitating the social status quo; however, they were significantly outnumbered (by the more masculine and popular magazines). *Basantak* and *Panchananda* did not engage in a conflict with women's magazines, as they were a minority. Of the many jibes that *Basantak* takes at contemporary periodicals, comments on women's magazines remain amiss. Like most mainstream magazines at the time, women's magazines actively participated in the debate around women's education and the figure of the native New Woman. Arguably, their impetus was the discussions around women's right to education and the changing role of the native woman (within the structure of the largely Hindu family).[46] Women's magazines such as *Bharatmahila* (1908) defended the women's right to education by taking a liberal utilitarian stance. The editorial tendencies of women's periodicals gravitated towards journalistic reportage, original pro-women's-rights essays (mostly by women authors), and periodic novellas with the occasional interjection of printed photographs, amateur poetry, and miscellaneous prose.

The format of women's magazines did not allow for caricature space. The tone of the writings (and the cultural value of journalistic reportage) was decisively serious. Women's magazine distanced themselves from the arena of wit by and large – leaving slapstick, satire, and caricatures to the male authors/illustrators. While the stereotype of the native New Woman in the caricatures of the time emphasised unfeminine deviancy, the stereotypes of the ideal native New Woman by women authors glorified responsibilities of a wife and of motherhood. Women's magazines did argue in favour of women taking active part in nationalist politics and social events (after John Stuart Mill's ideas). They also called attention to women from a Vedic past and the contemporary world who excelled in different fields such as in mathematics and rhetoric. However, all of these qualities were always argued to be great virtues in an ideal wife and mother. They had, furthermore, found a great model in the figure of Queen Victoria. The ‹Empress of India› served as an excellent example of a woman who has a tremendous public life while also being a mother. The image of the educated woman seeking an active profession was a great utilitarian virtue: it also ensured that the children will have an ideal upbringing and thereby improving the society by and large.

The stereotype of the woman doctor, advocate, or judge in the eyes of the male satirist was the exact opposite: she was marked by her fall from femininity, marking a divorce between her ‹nature› (sex) and gender. The women led magazines, while being rooted in their own (upper) caste and class identities, battled against the mysoginstic humour (which I call the humour of anxiety) with the reinforcement of gendered roles and feminine virtues. This was still a proto-feminist or a largely first-wave feminist endeavor since the majority of the

46 For a detailed discussion, see Samarpita Mitra's chapter I in: Periodicals, Readers and the Making of a Modern Literary Culture: Bengal at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Leiden 2020, pp. 27-58.

women's magazines were engaged in the rights discourse, namely, women's right to education. Much like the writings published in the suffragist magazines in England, the essays and editorials of native Bengali New Women did not problematise institutions such as the family or gendered roles such as motherhood. They in fact argued for women's education as a device to attain better motherhood: education and culture were the key to being a more compatible mother and wife. While *Basantak* and *Panchanada* claimed themselves to be the true successors of *Punch,* and cited Addison and Steele as their role models, the illustrated women's monthly *Bharat-Mahila* quoted Tennyson on all of their title pages as a motto:

> The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or God-like, bond or free;
> If she be small, slight-natured, miserable;
> How shall men grow?[47]

Women's magazines were driven by their egalitarian feminist agenda: women's liberation was the liberation of the society.

Jyotin Kumar Sen, Satish Sinha, and Binoy Basu – all three of them used fashion as a trope of female deviancy in their drawings. Not only wearing men's clothes, but also pairing a large ‹manly› umbrella with a saree and visibly laced boots made a woman ridiculous, unworkable, and ungainly.[48] The Brahmika saree drape, the style of attaching a western style brooch on the shoulder-pleat, and the specific ensemble of the New Woman (dressed in newly introduced petticoats, chemises, blouses, and shoes) was consolidated in the iconography of female deviance in colonial Bengali caricatures. The tradition of satirising the ‹dubious› fashion of the educated woman had started with *Basantak* (including a caricature depicting a westernised educated woman in a Victorian crinoline);[49] this tradition found its way into the oeuvre of the discussed twentieth-century caricaturists. The very fashioning of the New Woman in these caricatures was an element of humour.

This humour of anxiety gets depleted when the fashioning becomes self-fashioning, which is a possible outcome of a feminist-resistant reading of these texts. While male caricaturists published images of deviant women, women's magazines such as *Bharat-Mahila* published photographs of accomplished women every month. It is no short of an act of resistance on the part of the latter, fighting to portray the native New Woman seriously. The photographs of inspirational role models published serially in such a periodical depict the same ensembles (as Jyotin Sen's Brahmika) as a marker of their progressive politics: they are adorned in the same attire as the New Woman in the caricatures. The photograph of translator and poet Toru Dutt and her sister Aru Dutta[50] is a great example of this. This self-fashioning countermanded what was inherently considered ridiculous and was a major part of the joke itself. A feminist observation of women's self-fashioning itself becomes a pertinent and active resistant to the stereotype of the native New Woman.

Women's magazines dissociated not only from a humorous language, but also from caricatures. It was a decisive step to not engage with the language (that is,

47 These lines do not appear in this order in Tennyson's poem ‹Perfect Unity›. The editor of *Bharat-Mahila,* Sarajubala Dutt, must have combined the two sections from the poem. There is no reference cited with the quotation; it merely suggests that the verse is composed by Tennyson.

48 Binoy Basu's depiction of a female clerk: «won't leave a stone unturned». Most deviant women in his caricatures sported shoes, a marker of an outgoing societal woman. See Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol, p. 81.

49 *Basantak*, Second Year, Vol. 9, 1875.

50 See *Bharat-Mahila* 10, vol. 4, 1908. Toru Dutt was a noted Bengali translator, poet and an author who also wrote in English and French.

of humour) that was predominantly and aggressively male. Women writers and editors hardly ever reacted to the textual and visual caricatures of the native New Woman. There were some occasional witty remarks carried out in the editorials against the vernacular patriarchal disapproval of women's right to education. However, these short witty engagements were never more than a few scarce sentences in a short monograph. What certainly stands out it the complete evasion of cariactures and humourous visuals from women's magazines. The female readership did not produce female authorship of counter-caricatures in Bengal, it produced ‹responsible› journalism. Women's engagement or the lack thereof does not feature in existing discussions on colonial Bengali caricature and humour. It is this silence that becomes part of my feminist reading. It thus becomes crucial to take an interest in why women writers and editors decided to disengage with explicit humour.

Subhendu Dasgupta, in his history of cartooning, has suggested that Binoy Bose and Jyotin Sen's works could be read as open-ended texts. «The Bengali cartoon is predominantly anti-women» that is, misogynistic, writes Dasgupta. Within this context, Dasgupta reads Jyotin Sen and Binoy Basu's works as pro-women. «Featuring the women so centrally», writes Dasgupta, «[the satires] ridicule the men, masculine aggression, dominance and the world of men».[51] He suggests that we read these caricatures in reverse, which could contribute to a positive view of women's emancipation. Having traced the misogyny and casteism in colonial Bengali caricatures, I too wish to engage in a resistant reading. Indeed, a character such as Dr. Mr. Kadammani Chatterjee is also inspiring in many ways. But what does the notion of empowerment do to the joke? The element of ridicule which forms a fundamental part of the joke, when taken out of the context of satire, becomes a statement of empowerment; what might be lost in the process is the humour. It could still be humour in a feminist rewriting, but the original character of the humour of anxiety would not thrive in this context. In other words, Kadammani Chattyopadhyhy M. B. does not serve as the victim of this specific joke if the table is turned. If she becomes an active protagonist of the joke, with her own agency, then the original joke no longer functions.

In their own contemporaneity, the colonial Bengali caricatures do not digress from a steady lineage of caste and gender hierarchy. The beginning of the twentieth century does not produce female caricaturists, or humorists; it steadily builds on the existing status quo of masculine and upper-caste humour that had been established in the 1870s.

The Continuous Tradition of the Humour of Anxiety: A Conclusion

There is a distance of almost fifty years between the first appearance of *Panchananda* (1871) and Jyotin Kumar Sen's *Nari Bidroho* (1919). The language of satire had changed tremendously in these four decades. The style of caricatures published in *Basantak* and *Harbola Bhand*

51 See Dasgupta: Chinho-Bodol Chinho-Dokhol, pp. 19-20.

are different to those of Jyotin Sen or Binoy Basu. The caricatures of the late nineteenth-century Bengali periodicals were not often self-explanatory (therefore the section in the accompanying essay which explains the image) and were drawn amateurishly. One of the Dutta brothers of the *Basantak* fame, Girindranath Dutta (1841-1909) had learnt wood engraving from the School of Industrial Art. He also authored books of method and materials for woodcuts. However, the caricatures in *Basantak* (which were never attributed to an artist) were stylistically more sketch-oriented and often looked like attempts at copying European illustrations.

The caricatures published between 1919 and the early 1930s are modelled after Jyotin Sen's style of drawing: these are skilled and professional. Very often these caricatures served a dual purpose: they accompanied a longer textual write-up (such as the short stories of Rajshekhar Basu) as an explanatory illustration of the humour occurring in the text. However, the individual illustrations (with the punchline usually printed underneath) also functioned as independent caricatures. There was a huge stylistic and formal difference between the caricatures of the late 1870s and that of the early 1930s; they had moved a lot more towards European realism since these artists were trained in European art. The wit was less coarse and the personal attacks no longer as blatant.

Yet what remained was the deep casteist and sexist discomfort. The humour of anxiety had evolved in these forty eight years: from a more obviously casteist and arrogantly conservative patriarchal position (Basantak's attack on the educated native woman in a caricature and its satirical essay) to a cleverly casteist and sexist trope (such as in Rajshekhar Basu's stories with Jyotin Sen's illustrations). The formal shift in the caricatures did not affect the contract between the male reader and creator: in these forty eight years, women humorists remained silenced and the jokes remained arrested in masculine anxiety.

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Christian A. Bachmann

From the Newspaper to the Book
Little Orphan Annie's Media Entanglement and Transformation

Introduction

First introduced in the New York *Daily News* on 5 August 1924, Little Orphan Annie is mid-western cartoonist Harold Gray's (1894-1968) first and only major comic strip character. Within a few years, Annie rises to fame as America's darling child heroine. Early radio and movie adaptations (from 1930 onwards, as well as 1932, and 1938 respectively), a Broadway show in 1977 which has itself been adapted for the silver screen and television no less than four times (in 1982, 1999, 2014, and 2021) as well as Annie paraphernalia and allusions to the intellectual property in mass media such as *The Simpsons* and *Saturday Night Live* are testimony to Annie's ongoing popularity.

Gray imagined Annie as a spunky and stalwart orphan, constantly tested by modern society, but ultimately triumphant by employing will and ‹elbow grease›. Thus, Annie is an unabashed, modernist embodiment of traditional American cultural values and the American dream in spite of the fact that her own story exemplifies time and again that the odds of social and economic success are heavily stacked against the many and very much in favour of a select few. Early on in her winding story, Annie is adopted out of the orphanage by Oliver ‹Daddy› Warbucks, who, having made a fortune in World War I as his surname indicates, introduces Annie to a life of riches. From this, however, she is regularly removed through Gray's narrative machinations in order to keep her and her story on the move.

Annie was originally inspired by Indiana poet James Withcomb Riley's (1849-1916) poem *Little Orphant Annie* (1885). At the same time, she was heavily influenced by the trope of the honest and upright orphan, «effervescent and exuberant children, innocent, uncorrupted and sentimentalized»,[1] popularized by Charles Dickens' (1812-1870) pertinent novels,[2] as well as numerous novels and movies of the time such as Eleanor H. Porter's (1868-1920) *Pollyanna* (1913), and Mary Pickford's (1892-1979) roles in *Daddy-Long-Legs* (1919) or *The Poor*

1 Claudia Mills: Children in search of a family: Orphan novels through the century. In: Children's Literature in Education 18.4 (1987), pp. 227-239, p. 228.

2 Gray is known to have read Dickens' novels (cf. Jeet Heer: A Dickens of a World: Annie's Literary Ancestors. In: Harold Gray: The Complete Little Orphan Annie. Vol. 2: The Darkest Hour is Just Before Dawn. Daily and Sunday Comics 1927-1929. Ed. Dean Mullaney. San Diego 2009, pp. 11-21).

Little Rich Girl (1917). As Marshall McLuhan put it:

> Annie finds affection and security mainly in her dog Sandy, as she circumvents and triumphs over weasel-like crooks and chiselers. Always on the move, brimful of Eden-innocence and goodness, she embodies that self-image of a knight in shining armor nursed in the bosom of every tycoon as the picture of his true self. Girded only with her own goodness, but menaced on every hand by human malice and stupidity, she wins through by shrewdness, luck, and elusiveness. […] In her isolation and feminine ›helplessness‹ Harold Gray has portrayed for millions of readers the central success drama of America – that of the young, committed to the rejection of parents, that they may justify both the parents and themselves.[3]

The present chapter first establishes how *Little Orphan Annie* was set up as a serial newspaper comic strip, for instance by exhibiting characteristics of timeliness and serial narration specific to daily newspapers. Additionally, *Little Orphan Annie* was very much invested in the production and distribution of newspapers, for which an example will be discussed. At least in the early years of the comic strip, Gray will return to this topic on the narrative level. This chapter then addresses the transformation that *Annie* underwent when the comic strip was re-mediatized as a hardbound book. Through comparison, I will illustrate how this newspaper comic strip is different from the same comic strip in a book, highlighting how the two media formats, daily newspaper as well as codex-style book, shape their respective ‹contents›.[4]

Little Orphan Annie and the Newspaper Framework

Placing Annie in Time

After its initial test run in the *Daily News*, newspaper owners and editors Robert R. McCormick and Joseph Medill Patterson move *Little Orphan Annie* to the *Chicago Tribune*. At the time, Gray worked for the *Tribune* as an assistant to Sidney Smith, the then-famous artist behind the *Tribune*'s flagship comic strip *The Gumps*. Under the direction of Patterson, Gray's *Annie* quickly rivalled Smith's strip with regards to its popularity among readers.

Gray tells Annie's story in long arcs that often span months. For the most part, *Little Orphan Annie* is told day to day in consecutive episodes, each functioning as a glimpse into one day in the of life Annie. More extensive episodes were slotted in on Sundays, which may or may not move the storyline forward. Especially in the early years, Gray structures the plot in such a way that most instalments can be read as a minute but finite narrative whole. This is especially true for episodes that are built as gag strips with their own miniscule arc of suspense comprising of a brief set-up and culminating in a punchline. Jeet Heer elaborates:

> One noteworthy feature of the early *Annie* is Gray's use of time. Perhaps in imitation of Frank King's *Gasoline*

3 Marshall McLuhan: The Mechanical Bride. Folklore of Industrial Man. Corte Madera 2002, p. 66.

4 This chapter is based on broader findings laid out in the German-language book-length study Christian A. Bachmann: Little Orphan Annies Transformationen. Medienformatwechsel und mediale Eigenzeit zwischen Zeitung, Buch und Heft. Hannover 2021.

> *Alley*, Gray makes sure that every daily episode of the strip records a moment from a single day, so we're following Annie's life as she lives it. […] Unlike *Gasoline Alley*, the characters in *Annie* don't age but they do experience life one day at a time—a convention that Gray would break only very rarely in the 44 years he worked on the strip. This narrative device is a canny response to the inherent nature of the comic strip medium: comic strips are an everyday art form, in more ways than one. They were originally intended to be read in daily instalments, and Gray wanted the world of his characters to mimic the reading experience of his fans.[5]

While this is not necessarily or even commonly the case with most comic strips of the time, Gray hitches his storytelling to the newspaper's time framework. It bears recalling that the daily newspaper is a periodical linked squarely to the quick progression of time, a daily beat that dictates the speed and rhythm of its production and publication. Arguably, it's the newspapers that have introduced and mandated this beat to an ever-growing audience since the latter half of the nineteenth century, partnering with the rotary printing press, the wristwatch, the punch clock, telegraphy, and other phenomena of modernity. Modern societies, first and foremost the United States, were disciplined by Henry Ford's (1863-1947) assembly line and the clock as much as by the daily newspaper that invariably marked every morning with the ‹thump› of the issue landing on the porch or with the newspaper hawker's typical yell «Extry! Extry! Read all about it!» Media historian Paddy Scannell writes: «Our sense of days is always already in part determined by the ways in which media contribute to the shaping of our sense of days. Would time feel different for us without radio, television, newspapers? Would it run to a different rhythm?»[6] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in Germany and John Stuart Mill in England observed similar effects of newspaper consumption.[7] Mark Turner outlined the cacophony of media time felt in the 19th century that precedes a more homogenized, uniform sense of time since around 1900. His «simple point is that media time offered no single rhythm and to read periodical time in the nineteenth century in overly organized ways is to lose that cacophonous sense of time.»[8] Being a denizen of the post-war period, *Little Orphan Annie*, comes into being at a point in time when *time* has already been largely homogenized and synchronized – at least in the cities of the ‹Western world›.[9]

As Annie's story runs its course from day to day, Gray frequently finds or creates opportunities to link its progress to the reader's actual calendar time. Accordingly, Gray often draws connections to the lives of Annie's fans by including public holidays and similar culturally significant events, e.g. New Year's Eve, Valentine's Day, Independence Day, Christmas Eve, or Friday the 13th.

Consider Lincoln's Birthday: Being published in the *Tribune*, *Little Orphan Annie* initially caters primarily to a readership in Chicago and the Great Lakes region. And thus Annie marks Lincoln's

5 Jeet Heer: Dream Big and Work Hard. In: Harold Gray: The Complete Little Orphan Annie. Vol. 1: Will Tomorrow Ever Come? Daily Comics 1924-1927. Ed. Dean Mullaney. 4th ed. San Diego 2017, pp. 11-27, p. 26-27.

6 Paddy Scannell: Radio, Television and modern Life. Oxford 1996, p. 149.

7 Cf. Karl Rosenkranz: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegels Leben. Supplement zu Hegels Werken. Berlin 1844, p. 543, and John Stuart Mill: De Tocqueville on Democracy in America II, quoted in Hanno Ehrlicher: Introduction. In: PhiN Philologie im Netz, Supplement 6/2013: Between Folk and Highbrow: Popular Culture and Its Functions in 20th Century Avant-garde Magazines, http://web.fu-berlin.de/phin/beiheft6/b6t00.htm.

8 Mark W. Turner: Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century. In: Media History 8.2 (2002), pp. 183-196, p. 190.

9 Notably, Benedict Anderson has based his notion of the 'imagined community' on the syncing of members of a society through media (cf. Benedict Anderson: Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Revised Edition. London/New York 2016).

Fig. 1 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 12 February 1928, Comics Section, p. 4. Digitized by newspaper.com.

Birthday as other local media at the time did.[10] The first celebration of Lincoln's Birthday after *Little Orphan Annie*'s inception takes place on 12 February 1925: In the daily strip of this date, Annie muses that in the light of Lincoln's life and career, she too could become president one day. In 1928 Lincoln's Birthday makes a prominent return in the Sunday strip published on the date of the celebration. Gray places Annie in front of the Lincoln monument in Lincoln Park (fig. 1). Only a week later, in the Sunday episode printed on 19 February 1928, roughly in time for President's Day on 22 February, Gray continues Annie's political musings. The comic strip's header features a portrait of George Washington – possibly drawn after the reproduction of Gilbert Stuart's portrait on the one-dollar bill, which would have been readily available to Gray – making it unmistakable what the following story is going to revolve around. In the strip, Annie sits down to after her daily chores to begin a lengthy monologue (fig. 2).

In this unusual display of a comic strip character discussing a historical figure and their reception in contemporary discourse, Gray articulates a nostalgic view of Washington as a hero whose legacy should remain untainted in order to preserve the country's first president as a role model in spite of actual shortcomings (as a military tactician who lost more battles than he won). Even for *Little Orphan Annie* a comic strip known for lengthy exchanges and a lack of action, this extensive monologue is exceptional. Apart from passing on Gray's own political views to his readership through his fictional mouthpiece, Annie's elaborations highlight a number of aspects of Gray's comic strip that go beyond his political conviction.

Firstly, Annie appears as a reader of newspapers from which she gleans information as well as entertainment.[11] Secondly, it is noteworthy how Annie refers to Lincoln's Birthday as having been «last Sunday» and Washington's Birthday, i.e. President's day, as coming up «next Wednesday», firmly placing the comic strip's plot in a specific historic point in time, 19 February 1928, to be precise. Through this, the strip connects to the reader's actual timeframe.[12] Gray regularly links individual episodes of the story arcs by foreshadowing events to come or reminding readers of previous plot points. Thirdly, Annie inadvertently highlights the circular calendar time that structures American life through repetition of marked dates around the year, as much as it structures the plot of her story.[13]

The plot does not return to President's day on that «next Wednesday» (22 February 1928), however, a year later, in 1929, he has Annie reiterate his argument on occasion of Annie picking up a newspaper issue:

> Here's a story 'bout George Washington – why, this is his Birthday, Sandy [= Annie's dog companion] – he must have been quite a fellow, all right – course some folks, now, say he wasn't so much – / there were a lot of smart guys in those days and they let him boss 'em and made him president – they must have figgered he was all right and they knew him.[14]

10 Hailing from Kankakee, Illinois, and West-Lafayette, Indiana, where he studied at Purdue University, Gray was well acquainted with this demographic. – As more newspapers pick up Annie's strip via syndication, Gray shifts to less regional tropes. Cf. Heer: Dream Big and Work Hard, p. 18. – In spite of Gray's reputation as a fusty conservative hardliner that is often ruminated in articles about *Little Orphan Annie*, he confessed to Lincoln's political views: fiscal conservatism und small-footprint government coupled with social progressiveness (e.g. égalité of class and race). Cf. Jeet Heer: The Economy of Little Orphan Annie. In: Harold Gray: The Complete Little Orphan Annie. Vol. 3: And a Blind Man Shall Lead Them. Daily and Sunday Comics 1929-1931. Ed. Dean Mullaney. San Diego 2009, pp. 9-18, p. 11.

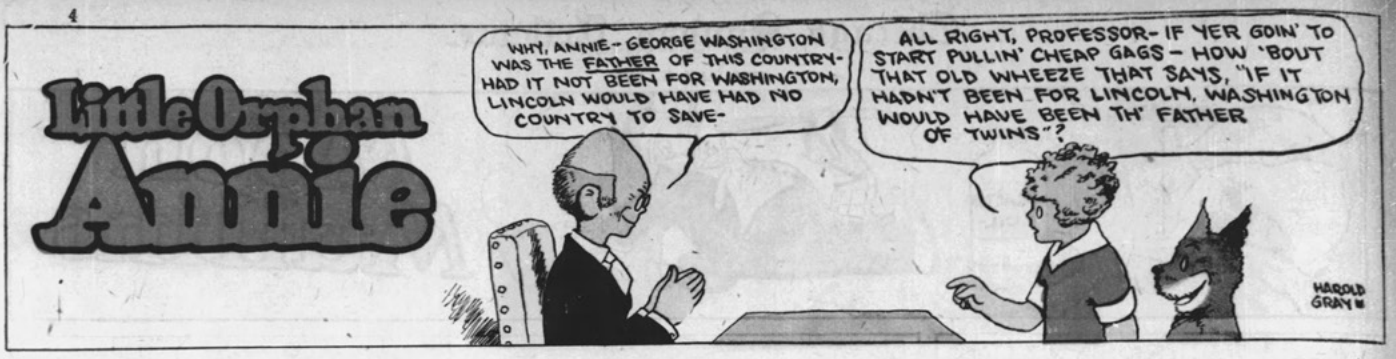
11 Newspapers as a medium and motivator of what limited action there is feature in more than a few of Annie's strips, and there are two major story arcs that revolve around newspapers, one of which will be discussed in detail further down.

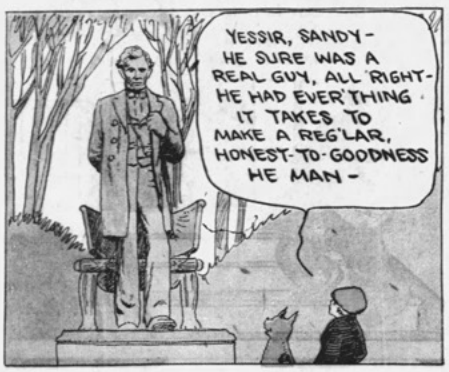
12 Even outside of such prominent dates, Annie is often seen musing about bygone times or the prospects of the next few days in front of a wall calendar.

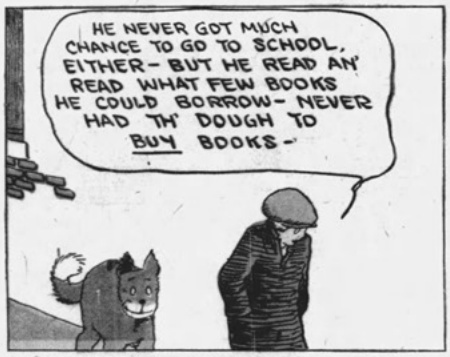
13 There lies some accidental irony in Annie's understanding that she would not be celebrated in light of her still going strong as a national idol almost 100 years after her invention, and being the subject of academic studies.

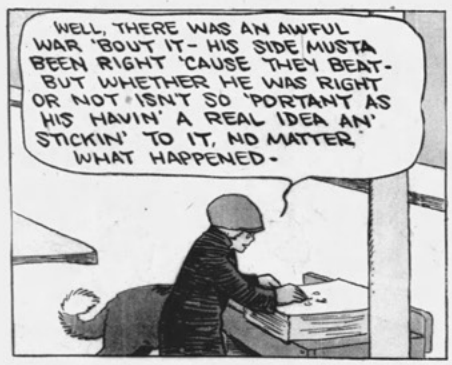
14 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 22 February 1929.

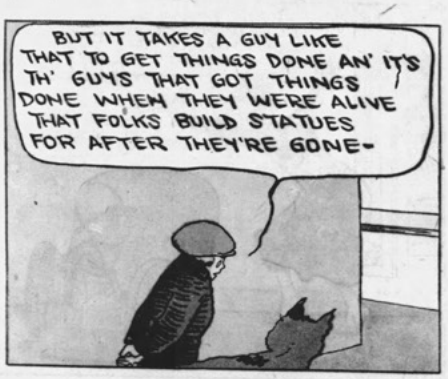
Little Orphan Annie





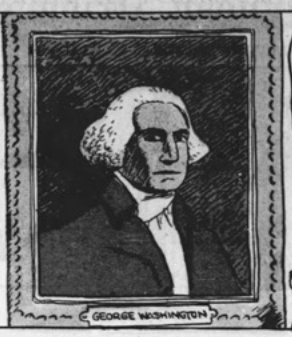






Little Orphan Annie

HAROLD GRAY



BEIN' DIFFERENT, SANDY- THAT'S WHAT GET'S YER PITCHER HUNG IN A SWELL JOINT LIKE THIS, IF IT DON'T GET YOU HUNG FIRST- 'MAGINE! HE NEVER TOLD A LIE- EITHER HE DIDN'T HAVE MUCH 'MAGINATION, OR ELSE HE WAS AN AWFUL BRAVE GUY-

WELL, TH' KIDS ARE ALL IN BED AND ASLEEP, AT LAST- I'M JUST GOIN' TO GLANCE THROUGH TH' SUNDAY PAPER 'FORE I TURN IN- HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE TO LOOK AT IT BEFORE-

HUMPH- NOTHIN' MUCH ON TH' FRONT PAGE, 'CEPT TH' USUAL STUFF- POLITICS- A MURDER TRIAL--- WHERE'S TH' S'CIETY PAGE? I ALWAYS GET A KICK OUTA WHAT TH' BIG BUGS ARE DOIN'-

IT SAYS HERE TH' YOUNGER SET IS THROWIN' A BIG BLOW-OUT ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY- THAT'S NEXT WEDNESDAY- "COSTUME BALL", THEY CALL IT- THAT'S JUST A SWELL DANCE-

SHUCKS! LAST SUNDAY IT WAS LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY- NOW COMES WASHINGTON'S- MOST EVERY HOLIDAY IS SOME KIND OF A BIRTHDAY- CHRISTMAS STARTED OUT BEIN' A BIRTHDAY-

FOURTH O' JULY IS TH' UNITED STATES' BIRTHDAY- NEW YEARS IS TH' YEAR'S BIRTHDAY- THAT'S ALL RIGHT- IT MUST BE SWELL TO HAVE 'EM MAKE A HOLIDAY OUT OF YER BIRTHDAY-

THEY'D NEVER BE ABLE TO HAVE AN ORPHAN ANNIE'S BIRTHDAY- I MUST HAVE BEEN BORN, SAME AS OTHER FOLKS, BUT HOW DO I KNOW WHEN IT WAS? AN' IF ANYBODY ELSE KNOWS, THEY AREN'T SAYIN'- OH, WELL- I GUESS MAYBE IT'S BETTER THAT WAY-

TAKE WASHINGTON- HE'S BEEN DEAD LOTS MORE'N A HUNDRED YEARS- IF THEY'D SORTA FORGOT 'BOUT HIM THEY'D ONLY 'MEMBER WHAT A GREAT GUY HE WAS-

BUT THEY KEEP TALKIN' 'BOUT HIM AN' NOW THEY'RE BEGINNIN' TO DIG UP A LOT O' DIRT 'BOUT MISTAKES HE MADE- PIFFLE! I'D BE WILLIN' TO MAKE A FEW MISTAKES IF I COULD DO AS MANY BIG THINGS AS HE DID-

BUT, TH' MORE THEY KEEP LOOKIN' YUH UP, TH' MORE SOME FOLKS FIND TO SQUAWK 'BOUT- WHY DON'T THEY GO AN' DO SOMETHIN' USEFUL? WHO CARES 'BOUT A SLIP OR TWO SOME BIRD MADE A HUNDRED AN' FIFTY YEARS AGO?

WELL, SANDY- YOU AN' I WON'T HAVE TO WORRY- WHEN WE GO TO HEAVEN THAT'LL BE TH' END- AND I'M GLAD OF IT- THEY WON'T BE HUNTIN' AROUND FOR A HUNDRED YEARS TRYIN' TO FIND SOMETHIN' TO GIVE US TH' RAP FOR-

COURSE I'M IN NO RUSH ABOUT GOIN' TO HEAVEN- I'M HAVIN' A PRETTY GOOD TIME HERE- BUT WHEN I DO LEAVE I HOPE EVER'BODY'LL FORGET 'BOUT ME SOON AS POSSIBLE-

COURSE I TRY TO DO TH' RIGHT THING- BUT NO MATTER HOW HARD YUH TRY, SANDY, YER BOUND TO DO SOME THINGS YUH'D HATE LIKE EVER'THING TO HAVE FOLKS YOWLIN' ABOUT FOR TH' NEXT HUNDRED YEARS-

Fig. 2 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 19 February 1928, Comics Section, p. 4. Digitized by newspaper.com.

When Annie hands the issue to Oliver Warbucks, she notes that «there's nothing much in it 'cept a story 'bout George Washington and we've heard all about him before».[15] This is revealing because daily newspapers predominantly base contents on newness and timeliness. In turn, new information is usually favoured by editors, as Niklas Luhmann has argued.[16] However, framing cyclically repeated information – such as the celebration and commemoration of role models on specific dates – as re-cycled information can imbue them with economic value that makes them eligible for re-emission through the newspaper press. Because repetition runs against the notion of a continuous daily newspaper comic strip like *Little Orphan Annie*, Gray, too, seems to seek to re-frame recurring events and information – such as mentioning Washington on his birthday –, even if he merely does so through low-effort ‹lampshade hanging›.

As is evident from the examples of Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays, Gray intertwines timeliness and the newspaper's calendar time framework and publication rhythm with his storytelling. The comic strip itself follows circular calendar time as well as the modern progression of linear time. It is especially noteworthy that Gray, albeit only in a few instances, resorts to ‹cliffhangers› in what appears to be a move to bridge potential breaking points within the ongoing rhythm of the newspaper's reception and consumption. For instance, on 30 June 1925, the last day of the second quarter of that year, Gray literally hangs a character from a cliff. In order to learn what becomes of him, readers may have to renew their subscription (fig. 3).

Placing Annie in Space

During the timespan considered in the present chapter, comic strip placement in the daily *Tribune* was mostly arbitrary. Only *The Gumps* had a fixed spot below the lead of the sports segment. All other comic strips were dispersed, in variable order, one or two, sometimes three strips at a time, over the remaining pages, excluding the front page. This meant that

From this point onwards, *Little Orphan Annie*-comic strips will be abbreviated as LOA plus the date of the original publication in the *Tribune*. Other newspapers may have carried the strip on different days. The strips can also be looked up in *The Complete Little Orphan Annie*, ed. by Dean Mullaney, under their respective dates.

15 Ibid.

16 Cf. Niklas Luhmann: The Reality of the Mass Media. Trans. Kathleen Cross. Stanford 2000, p. 19.

Fig. 3 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 30 June 1925, p. 10. Digitized by newspaper.com.

Fig. 4 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 18 November 1932, p. 37. Digitized by newspaper.com.

readers looking for a specific strip other than *The Gumps* – such as *Little Orphan Annie*, Frank King's *Gasoline Alley*, or Frank Willard's *Moon Mullins* – had to browse the newspaper issue page by page. Veteran newspaper designer Edmund C. Arnold argues that this was done intentionally and served «to accustom the child to moving throughout the entire newspaper».[17] In turn, adult readers of the time would have been accustomed to this practice, which forced them to look at least briefly at most pages of each issue in order to find the desired strip.

In general, comic strips ran against the grain of the *Tribune*'s layout, which, at the time, still consisted of eight columns stacked vertically with as many texts as would fit. Advertisements were commonly placed in the lower right-hand corner where they would form a triangle or pyramid with the least advertisement space allocated to the leftmost column and the most to the rightmost column. At three to five panels placed side-by-side and being read sideways, comic strips didn't quite fit into this basic layout, spanning five columns instead.

At least in some cases, comic strips in the *Tribune* seem to have been placed next to advertisements that fit thematically. For instance, one *Little Orphan Annie* episode in which Annie is presented with a full newspaper page advertisement for her soon-to-open kiosk is slotted in right next to an advertisement in which the *Tribune* heralds its own advertising prowess (fig. 4). We can assume that real-life advertisement finding an echo within the fictional world of the story was not lost on all readers.[18] However, these cases are few and far in between and don't appear to have been general practice with the *Tribune*'s layout department.

Each day, *Little Orphan Annie* would sit in a specific place in *that* day's *Tribune* issue, and on many occasions Annie's strip would relate to that specific day by foreshadowing future events, mentioning the day itself, placing her in front of a calendar, and so on. Hence, Annie is meshed into the *Tribune*'s media space-time-continuum that plays out on every page and in every issue of the newspaper.

Having established how Gray tells Annie's story by intertwining narrative time and the newspaper's media time, and how the newspaper integrates Annie's strip in its layout space, let us turn to one story arc that gives the newspaper the centre stage: Annie's struggle in Cosmic City.

Annie as «Jack-the-Giant-Killer»: The Newspaper in Cosmic City

The Cosmic City-story arc first ran in the *Tribune* in the second half of 1932. It centres on the Futiles, an impoverished elderly married couple who take in Annie when she arrives in the small town on the run from chasers from the big city. Initially, Annie is busy going to school, but when Phineas Pinchpenny threatens to foreclose on the Futiles' mortgage to sell off their home, she thwarts his plan by buying back the mortgage with money she had previously received from Oliver Warbucks. After accomplishing this feat

17 Edmund C. Arnold: Modern Newspaper Design. New York, Evanston, London 1969, p. 394.

18 See Bachmann: Little Orphan Annies Transformationen, pp. 40-47, for a more extensive discussion of the *Tribune*'s spatial arrangement.

over the course of a couple of weeks, Annie moves on to set up a newspaper shop to provide Mr. Futile with regular work which he has been eagerly seeking but unable to find during the depression. In the meantime, Annie is working for local newspaper publisher and editor Al Agate to make ends meet.[19] Cosmic City's name recalls the ancient philosophical ideal of humans living together as cosmopolites (gr. κοσμοπολίτης) in one 'cosmic city'. Accordingly, Gray's Cosmic City can be understood as an analogy of the whole world or at the very at least of the United States. The news media sit at a prominent place in this cosmos.

Earlier, in a story arc told in the winter of 1927 and 1928, Annie had worked as a self-employed newspaper hawker. Gray tells how she buys issues wholesale and sells them piecemeal in the streets, competing with established hawkers and other obstacles, giving newspaper distribution the centre stage. In the Cosmic City story arc, Gray focusses on the production and reception of the newspaper. Following Annie's career choice, readers get glimpses into the inner workings of a small-scale newspaper publishing outfit: Annie delivers issues to subscribed readers' doorsteps, helps Agate organize the editorial office and print shop, prints press proofs, and distributes type; Agate is seen penning editorials, arguing contracts and, so on (fig. 5).

In the nostalgia-laden Small-Town America community of Cosmic City, the local newspaper is published and edited by a man of decency and seemingly impeccable ethics. In the strip published on 25 October 1932, Annie reports directly to the readers:

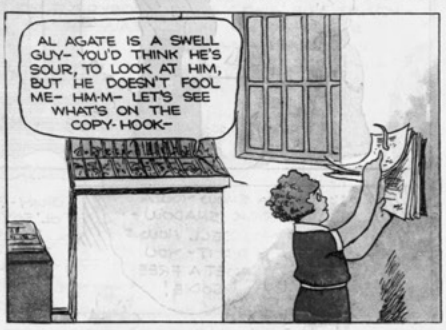
> I've been checkin' up on Al Agate– he was a big newspaper man in the city– but somethin went wrong inside and he had to get out in th' country for his health– so he came to cosmic city for a rest– / The Cosmic City ‹Courier› was about out o' Business– so he bought it cheap– He's makin' a livin' out of it, but that's about all– He's a funny guy– He's hardboiled and he doesn't believe anything he hears– / Folks here seem to like him, but they sure don't shove Al Agate around any– Still, for a guy as hard as he is, he's got an awful soft heart– yep, I'm for that guy–.[20]

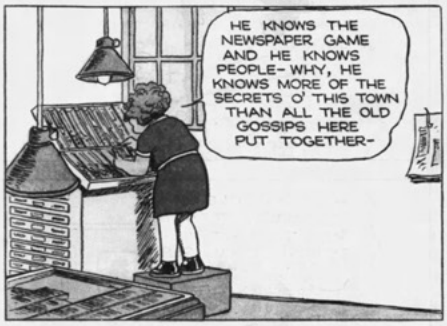
In the light of Agate's dealings with Pinchpenny, which border on extortion, this analysis does not seem to hold up. In fact, when Pinchpenny cancels his advertising contract with the «Courier» over Annie working for the newspaper, Agate pens «a scorcher of an editorial» in which he attacks Pinchpenny for «[t]he foul means employed in a fruitless attempt to coerce the people's paper» that «smacks of the cowardice that one might expect of a hit-and-run driver».[21] That Agate does so without mentioning Pinchpenny directly, which robs the Dickensonian antagonist of the opportunity to rectify matters by suing for libel, is a side joke in the episode. When Pinchpenny, who feels helpless against the power of the newspaper, seeks

19 It is indicative of Gray's political ideology how Annie comes by this job. When Annie arrives in Cosmic City, Agate employs an errant boy called Lug who is paid 1 Dollar a week. At the time, this is a generous amount; it buys six hot dogs, six hamburgers, six beef barbecues, two bottles of milk and an apple pie earlier on in the same story arc (LOA 20 August 1932). However, Lug, who is depicted as greedy and unwilling to fulfil his work chores, is dissatisfied with this pay and goes on strike. Annie, looking for income, sees an opportunity: she acts as a strike-breaker, beats up Lug, and is subsequently hired by Agate to help out at the «Cosmic City Courier». Joblessness, the comic strip submits, is a result not of socioeconomic circumstances, including the overarching economic situation, discrimination, inequity, etc., but first and foremost of a lack of determination and the willingness to employ ‹elbow grease›. Tellingly, the reasons why Mr. Futile is unable to secure a job is left unmentioned. Annie is thus presented as a role model not only for Lug but also for the readers of the *Tribune* which happens against the background of labour laws being a pressing topic of American public discourse at the time.

20 LOA 25 October 1932.

21 LOA 28 October 1932.





Private Life of a Road Map

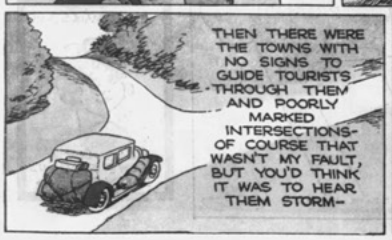


Fig. 5 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie. In: Chicago Tribune, 6 November 1932, Comics Section, p. 3. Digitized by newspaper.com.

to reinstate the advertisement contract, Agate informs him that rates have since doubled.[22] In spite of this unscrupulous behaviour that openly exploits the newspaper's power, Agate's acts are depicted as proper means to a proper end. The strip presents the Cosmic Courier as ‹the voice of the people›. This gives Agate the legitimacy to leverage the power of the press against Pinchpenny, even though Agate has no official mandate to do so (such as an elected office). The idealized image of a printer-publisher who brings out a newspaper almost without any help primarily to serve their community seamlessly fits in with the nostalgic picture Gray paints of the rural mid-west.[23]

Agate, and by extension Annie, is introduced as a representative of the American newspaper press as a whole, continuing a paradoxical self-representation in which the press depicts itself, in the words of Marshall McLuhan, as a «brave little man facing giants and ogres.»[24] McLuhan highlights how through this trope even billion-dollar media enterprises like the *Tribune* may present themselves as the voice of the people:

> By posing as a Jack-the-Giant-Killer, this sort of press can give the ordinary reader an heroic image of himself as capable of similar feats, while it tacitly assumes Barnum's view of the public as sucker. As the noisy champion of the ordinary man, this kind of newspaper invites reader participation in its triumphs. It appeals to the Jeffersonian enmity toward federal centralization and corporations while being itself a vast bureaucratic corporation. It consolidates its Hamiltonian practice of centralism by folksy, Frank Capra scenes and columnists.[25]

McLuhan's dense argument warrants some unpacking. In the English fairy tale commonly as *Jack and the Beanstalk*, Jack is a poor country boy. He barters his family's last and most valuable possessions for some magic beans. From them sprouts a giant beanstalk that Jack climbs to reach the castle of a giant up in the clouds. Jack steals the Giant's (stolen) treasures and finally kills him by chopping down the bean stalk as the Giant descends it. In essence, Jack's story is a re-hash of the biblical narrative of David and Goliath in which the everyman slays a much stronger opponent. Through the lack of outstanding traits or abilities, Jack, like Goliath, lends himself well as an identification figure. McLuhan argues that some large media enterprises pretend to be Jack. By extension, they invite their readers to also identify as Jack. However, being fully aware of their social and economic power, such media enterprises play the reader for a fool much in the way showman P.T. Barnum treated the patrons of his entertainment ventures as gullible prey for financial exploitation. In doing so, McLuhan argues, large media corporations may ironically champion centralization – of information, wealth, influence, and power – even as they strongly oppose and denigrate it in the open, disguising as the type of morally impeccable newspaper man played by Clark Gable in Frank Capra's 1934 hit movie *It Happened One Night*. Al Agate is another token of this type of character.

22 LOA 29 October 1932.

23 «We aren't looking for a big town – we're lookin' for a home – and folks in little places have big hearts, as a rule», Annie explains to her dog Sandy (LOA 27 August 1932).

24 McLuhan: Mechanical Bride, p. 5.

25 Ibid.

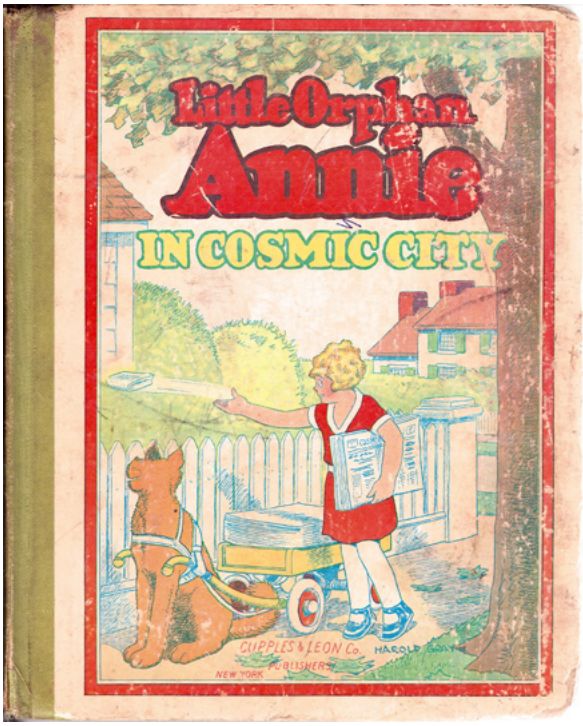


Fig. 6 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933, cover. From the collection of the author.

Considering the limited scale and scope of their respective businesses, Agate and Pinchpenny may well be regarded as David and Goliath respectively. However, since *Little Orphan Annie* emphasizes positive characters that readers can and, indeed, as letters to the editors illustrate, *did* identify with, Agate bears the potential to be regarded as a stand-in for the *Tribune* itself. Gray, of course, was well aware of the fact that the nostalgic representation of the modernist newspaper media system his comic strip was offering to its readers was a myth. Working for a local outlet in West-Lafayette during his time as a student at Purdue University, Gray was first introduced to small-scale periodical publishing. However, as a cartoonist for the *Tribune* he got to know the immense scale of a newspaper publishing enterprise that spread over office upon office in the 36-floor Tribune Tower, one of the tallest buildings in Chicago at the time.

Reshaping *Little Orphan Annie*

We have established *Little Orphan Annie*'s entanglement with the newspaper on both the formal level – with regards to its spatial and temporal integration within each newspaper issue and the ongoing publication – and on the level of subject matter with the newspaper being a topic of at least some story arcs. Against this backdrop, let us now turn to a secondary publication format of *Annie* strips.

Beginning in 1926, New York-based publisher of children's literature Cupples & Leon published nine hardbound books reprinting *Little Orphan Annie* storylines. We are focusing on the eighth volume of the series which came out in 1933: *Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City*.[26] This volume reprints strips that were originally run in the *Tribune* between 19 August and 31 December 1932 as part of the Cosmic City story arc (fig. 6). Whereas the narration in the newspaper comic strip is driven by the rhythm and pace of newspaper publication as regulated by calendar time, the pace of the book edition is set by a different set of economic dispositions, editorial decisions, and medium specifics relating to the book market, rather than the daily news industry. It is evident that the book format is very different from the newspaper format, and that each condition the way a comic strip story is structured, presented, and read in distinct ways.

The *Little Orphan Annie*-book series is primarily marketed to adult buyers as reading material suitable for young readers. This is a departure from the newspaper comic strip which, at the time, was

26 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933.

read by adults and children alike. In effect, the way Cupples & Leon set up the book series in general and this volume in particular is dictated by economic deliberations geared at the children's and young people's literature market rather than by aesthetic or narrative choice. Collecting the strips in the book format converts the ephemeral one-off printing of any specific comic strip, which would usually be disposed of together with the newspaper issue it appeared in, into a much more durable medium that can be read at will, in many sittings, repeatedly. In general, the book format allows for reading practices much different from those propagated by the newspaper.

Measuring 6.8 × 8.5 inches, the volume spans 86 numbered, portrait-format pages with one daily strip fitted on a page by rearranging the four panels of each strip in two rows of two panels each. Previously, the horizontal comic strip ran against the mostly vertical-oriented layout of the newspaper. For the book edition, however, the strip's layout is adapted to the pages, forming a more ‹organic› whole. Unsurprisingly, the format of the book pages is much smaller than the *Tribune*'s pages. It is, however, typical of the book formats marketed to young people's and children's literature consumers.

Since the story arc reflected in the book encompasses a total of 134 days, about a third of the episodes[27] had to be cut to fit the preassigned number of pages which is more or less the same for all books in this series. That the total number of pages reserved for comic strips in the book edition is fixed to a specific number of pages comes down to a decision made regardless of the comic to be reprinted. This decision was based on economic factors which in turn depended on the publisher's budget, expectation of profit, the chosen print shop's capabilities and capacities, the availability of printing materials, and so on. To adapt to the number of pages, the unnamed editors of the volume try to compose a stringent and coherent narrative from the much-reduced number of strips. To achieve this, strips that don't move the story forward are mostly left out. Also, strips relating to the previous story arc are omitted. For instance, an episode printed on 22 August 1932, shows how Miss Treat, Annie's corrupt caretaker, reacts to her slipping away. For readers familiar with Annie's exploits before the beginning of the Cosmic City storyline presented in the book, this might have heightened the tension of Annie's cross-country escape from Miss Treat and her henchmen. The book version of the story strips down such connections. In effect, the segment of Annie's story printed in the book is presented as a complete and finite narrative – a comic novella –, rather than a piece cut from a long-running and opened-ended comic strip narration. Annie's newspaper strip, at least on the face of it, is presented as a never-ending story: the next day will bring another episode – Annie's story will continue. This implicit promise can carry a large significance for some readers. The book, however, is a finite medium, at length the story told in its pages will necessarily conclude.

On top of elisions such as the one mentioned above, the narrative is ever so slightly altered. This is exemplified by

27 This includes all Sunday strips which oftentimes did not further the story and in general cannot easily be adapted to the much smaller format of the book page.

the beginning of this novella-turnedstory which is rearranged to generate more cohesion between the individual strips and makes them appear less like a sequence of somewhat discontinuous episodes. This also allows for a more linear reading experience which was initially not anticipated in the newspaper context. In the beginning of the Cosmic City story arc, Annie lives in a large city which she has to flee due to events in the previous story arc. Trying to stay out of the sight of her pursuers, she crosses the countryside, camping in the open, before reaching Cosmic City, which, from a greater perspective, is only stopover for Annie before she moves on to the next story arc. In the newspaper, Gray tells Annie's story continuously, and while there are identifiable story arcs, he does not herald or mark them. Consequently, the first challenge faced by Cupples & Leon editors lay in finding a suitable beginning and ending for the novella. They chose New Year's Eve, the end point of the Gregorian calendar, as the culminating point of the narrative, even though Annie stays in Cosmic City for some time longer. Thus, the calendar time-driven event of New Year's Eve makes a curious re-entry in the book edition. Setting aside its long tradition in the Western cultural context, New Year's Eve is an event that relates only to the arbitrary beginning and end point of the calendar it refers to. Unlike for example the sun's solstices which are recurring astronomical events that have a measurable effect on biological processes, the new calendar cycle could start on any day of the year and different cultures have and are celebrating New Year on different dates. However, Gray frequently uses the last day of the year to give his characters an opportunity to reflect upon the passing year and he does so in the 1932 Cosmic City story arc, too. Annie is with the Futiles for the celebration. She highlights, truthfully, that she and her dog «always sit up to see th' new year in»,[28] which ardent readers will attest to. Mr Futile choses to join her for this year's celebration, arguing:

> most years have been so bad I've been glad to forget about 'em– and I've never had much hope th' next one would be any better– but this time it's different– we're out of debt– I've got a job and I kin hardly wait for 1933– […] When that clock strikes twelve, I'm agoin' to celebrate![29]

Seeing how the editors felt the need to break up the chronological sequence of the strips, finding a beginning seems to have taken more effort. They decide to pull the strip originally published on 26 August 1932 to the front as an exposition and follow it up with the strips from 19 and 25 August before continuing chronologically. In effect, on the first two pages of the novella Annie bemoans that she is «getting dog-goned tired o' apples an' peaches an' tomatoes, all in th' raw»[30] and «dog-goned fed up on this hoofin' day after day, sleeping' under bushes»[31] respectively, a repetition Gray avoided. In its original form, Annie's laments were separated by almost a week of instalments, so the verbatim reprise which is conventionally seen as less pleasing is much less pronounced. Additionally, this re-arrangement produces new semantic connections, indicative of the editors' at-

28 LOA 31 December 1932.

29 Ibid. – For a detailed discussion of New Year's celebrations in the *Tribune*'s comic strips see Christian A. Bachmann: Chronos und Kairos, oder wie die Comicstrips der Chicago Tribune Neujahr begehen (1918-1935). In: Iris Hais (Ed.): Cartoons und Comicstrips zwischen 1930 und 1945. Berlin (forthcoming).

30 LOA 19 August 1932.

31 LOA 26 August 1932.

Fig. 7 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933, p. 2. From the collection of the author.

Fig. 8 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933, p. 3. From the collection of the author.

tempts to bridge gaps in the plot. In the episode originally printed on 25 August, the run-away Annie narrates that she has «crossed that river». In the *Tribune*, this remark refers to her perilous two-day crossing of «a real river»[32] on a float and the strong currents endangering her life. In the Cupples & Leon book edition, however, this river crossing is omitted. Instead, Annie easily crosses a narrow creek in the strip from 19 August. Accordingly, readers of the book will almost necessarily connect the river crossing mentioned on page 3 to the visual representation of the idyllic creek on the previous page (fig. 7 and 8). In turn, Annie's reasoning that the creek should provide her protection against her chasers seems silly. Similar inconsistencies and plot holes due to the abridgment of the comic text abound in the book edition.

On top of such editorial decisions, the book format conditions the way the strips are read and interpreted. Unlike the newspaper which is read in daily instances with intervals introduced by the publication cycle, the book can and is likely intended to be read in one or a perhaps

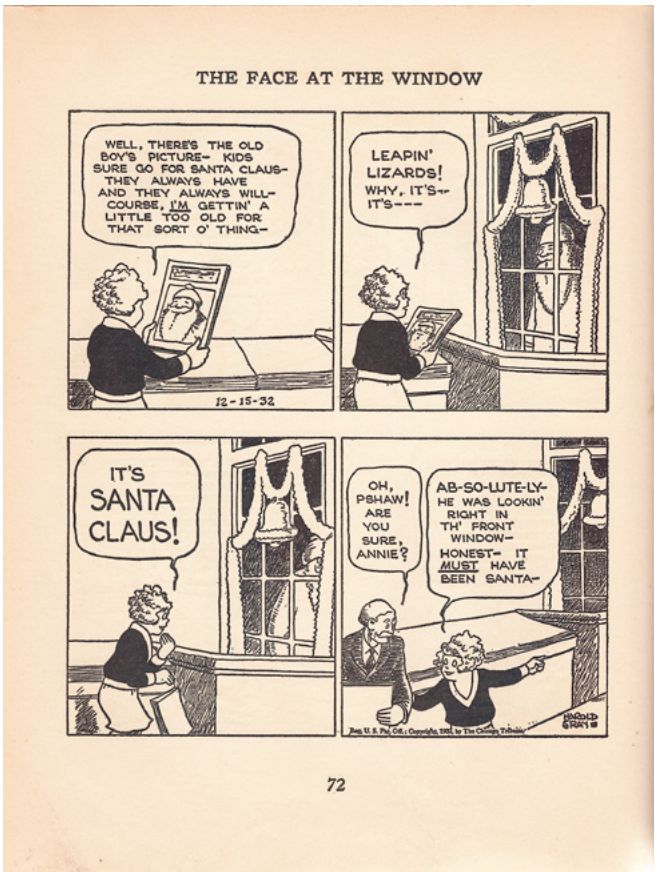
32 LOA 23 August 1932.

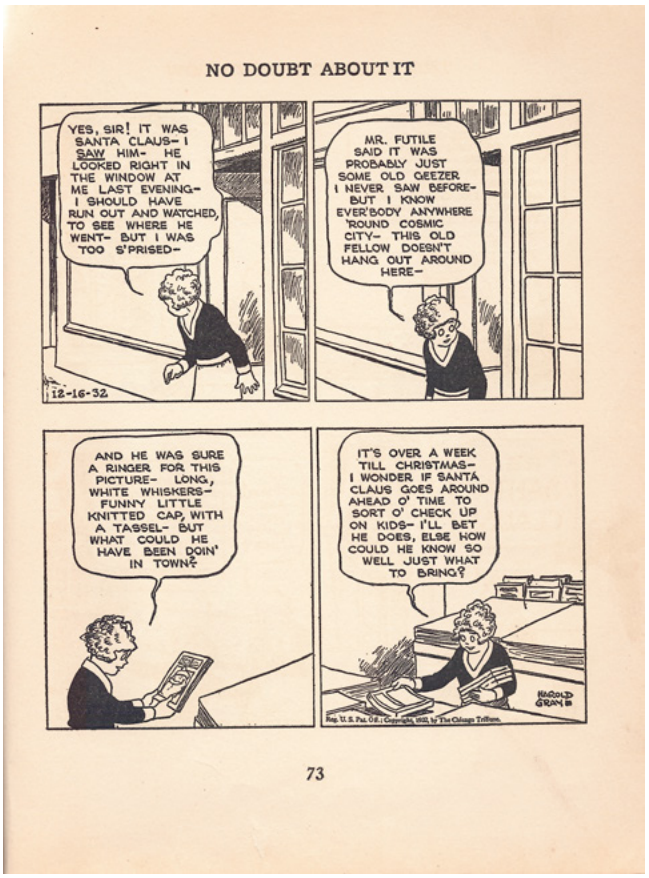
Fig. 9 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933, p. 72. From the collection of the author.

Fig. 10 Harold Gray: Little Orphan Annie in Cosmic City. New York 1933, p. 73. From the collection of the author.

a few sittings, as the alteration discussed above indicates. Thus, when read in direct succession the strips from 15 and 16 December for instance (pp. 72-73 in the book, fig. 9 and 10) appear as one continuous narration, unless readers actively remind themselves that each strip intends to give a glimpse into one separate day in Annie's life. While it is possible to do so – in fact, the original publication dates given in the strips were not removed for the book edition, allowing for a reconstruction of their original order –, it seems unlikely that many readers would go through this effort or even become aware of the re-arrangements.

Indeed, I argue that the events told in the book are removed from calendar time and instead become part of a unified timeframe of the narration. In the newspaper run, Gray refers to occurrences like New Year's Eve, Christmas, or Halloween to insert Annie in the everyday life of her readership. This allows for readers to become more easily connected to the heroine because she shares





in a similar experience of day-to-day life as well as a cultural framework relevant and familiar to that of her readers. So, when Annie pulls a prank on Pinchpenny on 31 October 1932 newspaper readers themselves are well aware of this specific day – their *today* – being Halloween. However, for readers of the book edition there is only an offside chance of reading this page on any Halloween, and it is altogether impossible to read this strip on that same historic Halloween of 31 October 1932 referenced in the strip because at the time of the book's publication this date had forever passed. There will be future Halloweens, and Annie still shares in the same cultural experience and context, but the effect of timeliness and topicality, underscoring the impression of Annie's presence in the here and now, effected by the newspaper medium, is lost. Instead, readers can pick up the book on any Halloween they like, as often as they chose.

The same is true for the New Year's Eve celebrations at the Futiles' home. From the perspective of the readers of the book, the clock striking twelve on 31 December 1932 will forever lie in the past. In place of the newspaper's timeframe, a different timeframe relevant only to the narrative spacetime of the narrative at hand is implicitly introduced, creating what Käte Hamburger referred to as the «a-temporality of fiction». For instance, references to future dates in the comic strip only function as vertices inside the timeframe of the plot without any ties to the world outside of the story. For if a character foreshadows that something important is to happen «next Saturday», for the readers of the ongoing but discontinuous newspaper strip, this event will indeed take place on said «next Saturday», whereas in the book edition «next Saturday» is merely a point further on in the narrative which bears no real-world implications.

Lastly, it bears mentioning that Gray often structures story arcs in weekly chunks with their own suspense curves. Annie's arrival in Cosmic City is a case in point: On Monday, 22 August 1932, Gray has Miss Treat receive a letter in which one of her henchmen reports, that «he's posted reward signs all over the county» in his chase for the fugitive Annie. Thereby, Gray establishes a threat to Annie at the outset of the week. The next day, Tuesday, 23 August, Annie finds herself adrift on the aforementioned stream because she fears using a bridge because it might be watched. The tension curve reaches a first climax as Annie almost drowns on Wednesday, 24 August. After two days that hardly move the plot forward, Annie then reaches the outskirts of Cosmic City on 27 August. In the last but one panel of this episode, Annie and her companion Sandy are seen looking at Cosmic City which remains invisible to the readers. Instead of immediately setting foot in the city, Annie – or rather Harold Gray – choses to «wait till tomorrow to look it over». That allows the cartoonist to employ the twelve colourful panels from next day's Sunday strip[33] to reach this week's main climax, introducing the setting for the new story arc. As Sunday strips were not included in the Cupples & Leon edition,

33 LOA 28 August 1932.

Annie's arrival in Cosmic City is a much more sudden and unmediated affair in the book.

Closing Remarks

As a strip by an artist from the second generation of comics artists, *Little Orphan Annie* does not invent or even re-invent the comic strip format. Instead, Gray builds on proven concepts developed and established by the likes of Richard F. Outcault, Winsor McCay, and Rudolph Dirks, and, even more so perhaps, by his peers at the *Tribune* like Sidney Smith and Frank O. King. Therefore, *Little Orphan Annie* is a remarkable case not because of its narrative inventiveness or aesthetic brilliance, but as a showcase of just how closely integrated with the newspaper a comic strip could be at the time. Featuring newspapers on the semantic level as well as structuring its narrative in such a way that it runs parallel with the lives of the newspaper's subscribers and readers, constantly reminding them of just how topical and timely it is, Gray's strip establishes a comic strip that readers could and did indeed identify with.

The transformations that the strip undergoes when it is transferred to other media – of which the book format is a key example – disentangle it from the newspaper's framework of time and space. This allows access to an ephemeral medium that is regularly thrown out in the garbage bin with the rest of the newspaper issue once it has outlived its relevance and usefulness in the eyes of its owner. At the same time, the strip is removed from its primary audience of the newspaper-reading family, seeking a new audience as children's books. Reducing the narrative to fit on the predetermined number of pages in the book, and reshuffling the episodes to create cohesion, jeopardized by these cuts, a new Annie story line emerges, diverging from the original ever so slightly. And since it is placed between two covers, a definite beginning and conclusion is attached to what formerly amounted to a story arc within a larger set of arcs superseding each other.

Similar transformations can be observed looking at editions of Annie's stories published in other formats, e.g. Whitman's *Big Little Books*-series, Whitman's *Annie* card game, Blue Ribbon Press's pop-up book, or Tru-Vue's stereoscopic comic strips.[34] In each case, a new Annie is established, adding to her proliferation as a character while challenging the idea of a canonical source. In turn, Annie truly becomes a transmedia phenomenon. However, sprung from the newspaper, Annie's entanglement with the newspaper's timeliness, rhythm, and time framework poses a challenge to transmedia transformations.

34 In 1978, View-Master published a 3D adaptation of the Cosmic City-story arc comprising of three discs with seven pictures each for the stereoscopic picture viewer of the same name. This version of the story omits most of the sub-plot concerning the Cosmic Courier. It also shipped with a booklet which retells the story told in the 3D pictures in the style of a picture book with some puzzles attached for additional entertainment.

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Will Straw

Cross-Border Traffic, Moral Crusades and Hybrid Form in Canadian Print Culture

In 1949, the Reverend E. C. Hansell, an ordained Minister and member of the Canadian Parliament, described to his fellow members of the House of Commons the dangers represented by a publication bearing the title *Girls on City Streets*. Press accounts of the incident differ as to whether Reverend Hansell held up the publication for inspection by his fellow parliamentarians, but his oral description included the claim that «there were things in it […] which he would not dare read in the Commons». Hansell had collected the periodical, he claimed, as part of the investigation of comic books in which the Canadian Parliament was at that moment engaged. This investigation would result in government measures (the so-called ‹Fulton Bill›) aimed at stopping the flow into Canada of comic books dominated by sex, violence and criminality.[1]

We may assume that the edition of *Girls on City Streets* which prompted Reverend Hansell's outrage was the 1949 edition (fig. 1), issued by a firm calling itself the Metropolitan Publishing Company of New York and Toronto. Despite Reverend Hansell's efforts to tie *Girls on City Streets* to a national moral panic over comic books, the example of print culture of which he spoke was not a comic book. Rather, as we shall see, *Girls on City Streets* was a curious combination of the pulp magazine, the true crime magazine and the large-sized soft-covered book. While its cover was dated («November 1949») like a magazine, in other ways it offered itself as a book-length collection of articles focused on a single theme.

The parliamentarian's confusion as to the genre or format of *Girls on City Streets* no doubt reflected his own cultural distance from the world of popular periodicals. However, it captured, as well, the indecipherability of a specific level of Canadian periodical publishing at the end of the 1940s. This was a level at which distinctions between book and magazine were unclear, and in which printed materials were sent into the market with false or misleading details concerning their editorial personnel, dates of publication and provenance of their materials.

1 On the Fulton Bill, see, among others, Andrea Hasenbank: CanCon for Crooks. 4 June 2017, *Andrea Hasenbank Blog* (URL: https://www.andreahasenbank.me/blog; Bart Beaty: High treason: Canadian nationalism and the regulation of American crime comic books. In: Essays on Canadian Writing 62 (1997), pp. 85-107, and Alastair Glegg: The Child's Education to Violence: Mrs. Eleanor Gray and the Canadian Crusade to Ban Crime Comic. In: Education Matters: The Journal of Teaching and Learning 4.2 (2016), pp. 26-36.

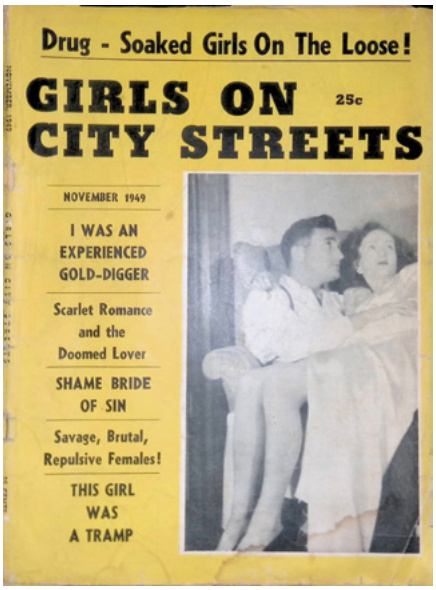


Fig. 1 Girls on City Streets. November 1949. Metropolitan Publishing Company, Toronto. Collection of the author.

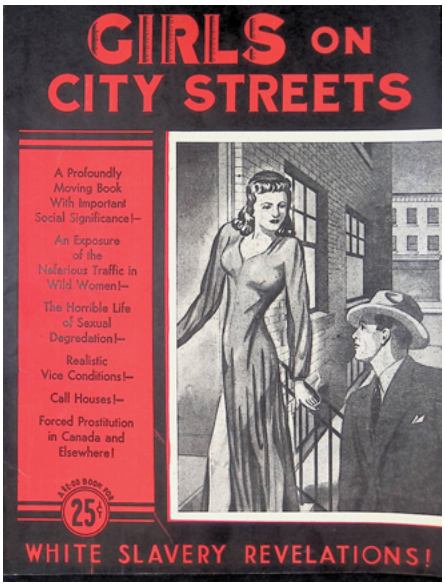


Fig. 2 Girls on City Streets. 1945. Golden Books of America, Toronto. Collection of the author.

This article uses a small corpus of examples to examine the migration of content from its original publication elsewhere (usually in the United States, but occasionally in Great Britain) into eccentric versions of English-Canadian print culture, during a period extending from the early 1940s until the early 1950s. Several scholars, including myself, have written of this period in Canadian popular periodical history, when war-time restrictions on the importation of popular periodicals from the United States, imposed in 1940, stimulated a ‹Golden Age› of Canadian magazine publishing.[2] During this ‹Golden Age›, a small number of Canadian companies emerged as publishers of original content which was written, edited, and illustrated by Canadians. Other Canadian publishers purchased (or, more likely, purloined) content from American publications, repackaging it within new titles and eccentric formats which disguised its origins and concealed the fact that this content was often several years old. While war-time restrictions on the importation of Canadian print materials were lifted in 1946, following the end of the war, a subsequent government measure, the ‹Emergency Exchange Conservation Act› of 1947, extended a ban on the entry into Canada of pulp-type magazines while allowing for the importation of some of the raw materials (like art and printing plates) that might be used in the publication of Canadian magazines.[3] This move encouraged the emergence in Canada of publishers who repackaged materials from elsewhere in unusual new formats like the book-magazine hybrid. In this repackaging, content of a mildly pornographic character was the most common.

Print Culture and the Moral Panic over Women's Sexuality

The trans-border migration of magazine materials into Canada from the United States in the 1940s involved multiple genres of periodical content, from true crime reports through risqué cartoons and innumerable works of pulp magazine fiction. The central focus of this article is the movement into Canada print culture of materials – themes, titles, texts and images – marked by a preoccupation with the sexuality of women. These materials had been produced across a wide body of genres which, since the late nineteenth

2 See, among many accounts, Caroline Strange and Tina Loo: True Crime, True North: The Golden Age of Canadian Pulp Magazines. Richmond, B.C. 2004; Michelle Smith: From ‹The Offal of the Magazine Trade› to ‹Absolutely Priceless›: Considering the Canadian Pulp Magazine Collection. In: English Studies in Canada 30 (2004), pp. 101-116; John Bell: Invaders from the North: How Canada Conquered the Comic Book Universe. Toronto 2006, and Will Straw: Constructing the Canadian Lowbrow Magazine: The Periodical as Media Object in the 1930s and 1940s. In: Journal of Modern Periodical Studies 6.2 (2015), pp. 112-133.

3 See, for example, Ivan Kocmarek: «FECA», in: Comic Book Daily, 16 July 2014, https://www.comicbookdaily.com/collecting-community/whites-tsunami-weca-splashes/feca/.

century, had given textual form to a moral panic concerning the moral status of women and their perceived victimization. The most notorious of these genres had its roots in a panic over the phenomenon called ‹white slavery›, the kidnapping of women so as to force them into prostitution. By the 1920s, the textual residues of this panic crossed with other genres to produce an enormous corpus of cultural texts in which the sexual and moral status of women was central. These other genres included international reports (whose ‹official› character was highly uneven) on a global traffic in women; studies of a quasi-sociological character dealing with newly observed forms of sexual commerce or sexual delinquency; and works produced within (or on the margins of) academic anthropology claiming to document the customs and behaviors of women around the world.

By the 1930s, the materials generated across this body of printed materials would find themselves pulled apart, adapted and repackaged in book or periodical formats which usually emphasized their titillating, semi-pornographic character. In the most minimal cases of this reappropriation, the titles of older works (like the phrase ‹white slavery› itself) would be used over and over again to name new magazines or books, as if their publishers hoped to extract the notoriety which such titles carried with them. In more elaborate forms of appropriation, the full or partial content of earlier works might be re-titled, assigned new authors' names and altered so as to render it more contemporary in character or more pertinent to particular places of publication.

Content Migration into Canada

In the migration into Canada of the materials just described, the most common format for their re-use was what might be called the newsstand book. This was usually a self-contained single volume printed on newsprint with the dimensions (21 × 27 cm) typical of Canadian true crime and pulp fiction magazines during the 1940s. This turn towards newsstands as the key retail outlets for popular print materials mirrored broader tendencies in the Great Britain and the United States, which had seen such materials sold increasingly in chain stores and by news agents as an attempt to expand their markets both by increasing the range of possible sales points and by reaching readers who rarely frequented bookstores.[4] Amidst these changes, it was common for single-volume publications to adopt the size, formats and graphic presentation of periodicals so as to guarantee their visibility amidst rows of magazines. The resulting format was one which confounded any distinction between magazine and book. Publications which were unnumbered and advertised as books might contain monthly dates on their covers, in the manner of a magazine, while others, designed to look like issues of magazines, might actually be book-length compendia of materials previously published in book form. Books published decades earlier, in Great Britain or the United States, might find themselves repackaged in Canada in formats designed to be sold on newsstands along magazines, with their text divided by photographs or drawings more typical of the visuality of magazines than of book illustration.

4 See, among others, Roger K. Smith: Paperback Parnassus. New York, London 1975, p. 68, and Yvonne Keller: «Was It Right to Love Her Brother's Wife So Passionately?» Lesbian Pulp Novels and U.S. Lesbian Identity, 1950-1965. In: American Quarterly 57.2 (2005) pp. 385-410.

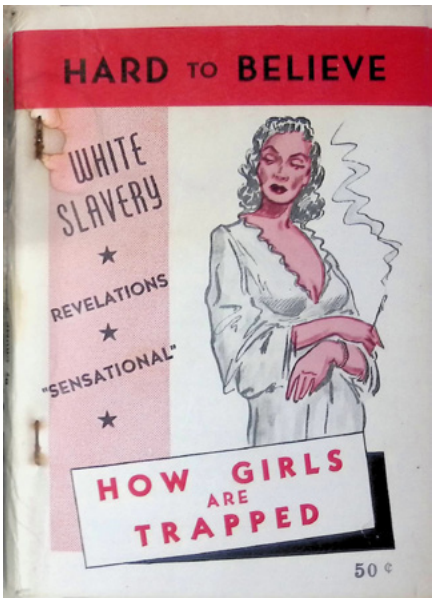


Fig. 3 Crump J. Strickland. Hard to Believe: How Girls Are Trapped. 1939. Caro Books, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia. Collection of the author.

Sensationalizing Social Science

The first of the connections to be traced ties a Canadian periodical, *Girls on City Streets*, to two American non-fiction books claiming sociological authority and to another Canadian periodical, *Ladies of the Underworld* with which it shared content. The second grouping looks at two eccentric examples of late 1940s Canadian print culture, both of which repackaged an issue of a periodical in book form. In our final example, we will examine the pillaging of a four-volume work of anthropology from the early twentieth century for materials to fill the much thinner, magazine-sized booklet *Women of all Nations*, which was published in Toronto in the 1940s with a lightly sensationalizing cover.

The title *Girls on City Streets* first gained notoriety as that of a 1935 book of moral exposé, *Girls of the Streets: A study of 1400 Cases of Rape*, written by Jacob and Rosamund Goldberg. Originally published in 1935 as a report by the American Social Hygiene Association, with supportive endorsements by members of the Association, *Girls on City Streets* was released in commercial book form in 1940 by Foundation Books of New York. Supposedly based on a scientific study of victims of sexual assault, the book was divided into case studies. The titles of these – like «Girls in Broken Homes», or «Girls Who Ran Away» – constructed the sorts of typologies which more sensational treatments of sexual victimization would employ. The title of the book itself would circulate, well into the 1950s, as a tagline on paperbacks exploiting moral panics over vice, or in true crime magazines dealing with what the Goldbergs themselves had called «sex delinquency».[5]

Library catalogues and collector listings disagree as to how many examples of Canadian print culture used *Girls of City Streets* as a title in the 1940s, but the earliest I have been able to find is that shown in figure 2, dated 1945.[6] The publisher is identified as «Golden Books of America». This attribution is doubly deceptive, insofar as the company was based in Toronto and had nothing to do with the imprint «Little Golden Books», launched in 1942, which was already widely known.[7] Inside, the title page of this volume reads «Girls on City Streets: White Slavery Revelations». In fact, the entire volume is a retitled and abridged reprint of Crump J. Strickland's book *Hard to Believe: How Girls Are Trapped*, which had been published first in 1939 in the United States as a series of case studies in the traffic of women (fig. 3).[8]

5 See, for example, the cover for William Allan Brooks: Girl Gangs: a survey of teen-age drug addicts, sex crimes, rape, kleptomania, prostitution, truancy, and other social deviations. New York 1952.

6 The on-line catalogue of the Library and Archives Canada lists additional issues dated May and August 1948, but these are described as «not available», a status confirmed in communication to me from the institution.

7 See Brigit Katz: Five things to know about Little Golden Books. In: Smithsonian Tween Tribune, 12 November 2021, https://www.tweentribune.com/article/tween56/five-things-know-about-little-golden-books/.

8 WorldCat lists additional publication in 1939 by Elizabeth Publishing of Charlotte, North Carolina, and the Specialty Book Co., of Columbus, Ohio.

Ten GIRLS ON CITY STREETS

There is the type of girl who makes telephone dates for illicit purposes.

back home, tried to stick it out, and had done so, but the year of hardships and trials had cost her much of her priceless health.

During this time, she had wandered from place to place and from one section of the country to another as she worked with this crew which was made up of a fast changing personnel and a manager who furnished transportation by means of his automobile. The girls themselves had to pay all of their other expenses.

While this girl had never been any too well dressed, she had, at the time she left home, decently made clothes, but they had long before this time begun to show signs of excessive wear. She had made a noble attempt to stretch out their wearing qualities by means of needle and thread, but many of the places she had tried to mend had become a mass of mends and threads and she was getting terribly ragged.

I never saw a more home-sick girl in my life. And while it is by no means the purpose of the writer to glorify his acts, it would hardly be out of place to say that she was taken uptown where was purchased for her a new dress, hat, shoes and several important necessities, and later taken to a railroad station and placed upon a train headed toward her home town.

She was advised to go back home and look up a girl friend of mine who was an active church worker, with whom it was suggested she get acquainted and start life anew by attending church with this newly found friend-to-be. I told her to go home and stay until she was twenty-one years of age, and then if she had no better sense than to run around, to go to it.

She arrived at her desired destination near the end of the week, after having been on trains for several days, and went immediately to the party to whom she was sent and made plans to meet her on Sunday morning to attend Sunday School, which she did. That afternoon she went home and went to bed—with a bad case of tuberculosis from which she never fully recovered.

She wrote me later that her doctor told her that if she had not had treatment at that time she would not have lived six months.

I am honestly convinced that this particular girl was telling the truth when she told me that she had never allowed any man to touch her, even during the many months she was badly exposed to life in the terrible raw.

But I am also convinced that she probably would not have continued to travel the path of rectitude forever while suffering from hunger and thirst as well as for badly needed medical attention, which she might not have found so easily in the magazine selling field in which she had worked for nearly a year.

This does not mean, however, that the work of selling magazines is not legitimate in every respect. I have no intention of inferring such to be the case.

I am only citing the sad experience of one teen age girl who was lured from home and care by means of a well-sounding money-making story, and led, perhaps unintentionally, near the borders of prostitution as she herself said.

Perhaps I should also add that before leaving for the

Fig. 4 Page 10. Photograph illustrating Girls on City Streets: White Slave Revelations. 1945, p 10. Collection of the author.

Narratives of ‹White Slavery› and the Traffic in Women

Crump J. Strickland's *Hard to Believe* was a late entry in the corpus of books claiming to document a traffic in women undertaken for immoral purposes. By adapting and republishing most of it, *Girls on City Streets* might be seen as an end point in the circulation of materials whose origins could be tracked back to the United States and Great Britain and to the moral panic of the late 19th century over so-called ‹white slavery›. This panic swept up, as the objects of its sensationalizing attention, sexual servitude, the rise of dance halls, perceived shifts in the behavior of youth and a range of other phenomena. The first textual evidence of this moral panic came in sensational journalism published within so-called Progressive newspapers and magazines; It was to be found, as well, in innumerable reports issued by civic organizations, social hygiene movements and religious groups in the ten or fifteen years on either side of the year 1900.

While the emergence of this panic has been the focus of significant scholarship, recent work has begun to address the machinery of textual production which ensured its persistence within popular culture. Margit Stange has shown how the years from 1909 to 1914 saw a huge outpouring of print culture materials in the United States related to the phenomenon. Her work notes how «twenty-two book-length white slavery collections appeared during these years» and gestures towards the omnipresence of the subject across multiple media genres and levels of cultural prestige.[9]

Much may be said about the construction of ‹white slavery› as a racialized category, and about the interweaving of both patriarchal and feminist political impulses within these panics. My interest is in the ways in which, over a history extend-

9 Margit Stange: Personal Property: Wives, White Slaves, and the Market in Women. Baltimore, London 1998, p. 76. See also, among others, Gretchen Soderlund: Sex Trafficking, Scandal, and the Transformation of Journalism 1885-1917. Chicago, London 2013, and Brian Donovan: White Slave Crusades. Champaign, Illinois 2005.

ing well into the 1950s, moral panics over the traffic in women cast, into the chaotic and multi-levelled markets for printed materials, an enormous corpus of texts and images which could be repackaged by publishers of low-prestige books or periodicals. The case studies to be found in ‹white slavery› documents could serve as confessional, sensational narratives of titillation. Official or semi-official investigations of localized vice could serve to satisfy prurient interest in exposés of sinful cities or places of effervescent nightlife.[10]

Canada was one of the outer edges in the scattering of these materials. The reprinting of Crump J. Strickland's *Hard to Believe* represented more than the simple production of a new edition of the book for another national market. As with a later example we will examine, the 1945 *Girls on City Streets* altered its source materials in two ways. The book's textual content was lightly altered so as to make it appear a contemporary account of events happening at least partly in Canada. At the same time, photographic illustrations were added to render the new version more magazine-like in layout and in the reading experience it promised. These illustrations both added to the sense of contemporaneity being offered and linked the volume's text more closely to other genres, like the true crime magazine, whose market *Girls on City Streets* was clearly intending to exploit.

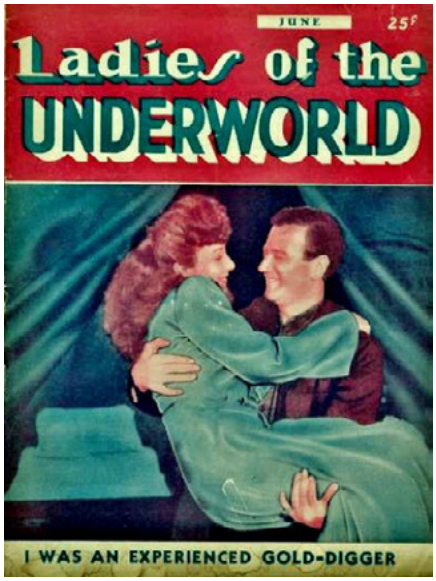
The ‹Canadianization› of the text of Strickland's *Hard to Believe* sometimes involved little more than the addition of references to Canada. The claim, in the original, that «no less than a hundred thousand girls ‹disappear› from their homes in these United States each year and are not heard from again» would refer, in the Canadian adaptation, to «in Canada and the United States» (the substitution of «the United States» for «these United States» shifting the place of enunciation).[11] Other changes would involve higher levels of deception; a story in Strickland's original of the male narrator being approached by women on a street in Pittsburgh is altered in the Canadian version to take place in Vancouver, the wording otherwise remaining intact.[12] The photographs added to the Canadian edition, like that shown as figure 4, were generic photographs of low resolution clearly taken from other (as yet unidentified) magazine sources and intended, as suggested, to evoke true crime magazines.

The second example of *Girls on City Streets* (fig. 1) was published in 1949 by the Metropolitan Publishing Company of Canada. Its places of publication are identified as «New York, Toronto», though the address for mail-order books advertised within the volume is a Toronto postal box. This edition of *Girls on City Streets* carries a date (November 1949) on its cover, marking it as a periodical, though there is no interior information on frequency, subscription rates or publishing personnel. Inside, on the title page, the magazine offers itself as a collection called «Tantalizing Girls on the Loose», edited by a «David Wm. Yardos». The collection of stories gathered here includes «I was an Experienced Gold-Digger», by Connie Bedford, and «The Scarlet Romance and the Doomed Lover»,

10 I discuss some of the continuities between «official investigations» of a traffic in women and popular print media in Will Straw: Cities of sin, backroads of crime. In: André Jansson/Amanda Lagerkvist (Eds.): Strange Spaces: Explorations into Mediated Obscurity. Farnham, Surrey 2009, pp. 169-185.

11 Crump J. Strickland: Hard to Believe. Pittsburgh, Pa. 1939, p. 4; Girls on City Streets: White Slavery Revelations. Toronto, Canada (no date), p. 4.

12 Strickland: Hard to Believe, p. 20; Girls on City Streets, p. 8.



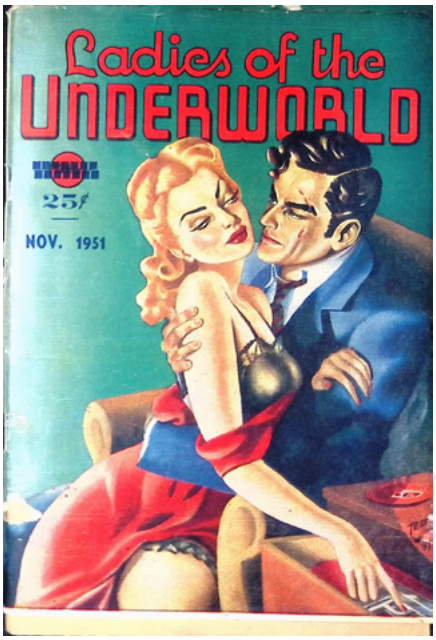


Fig. 5 Ladies of the Underworld. No date. Published by Headline Publications of America, New York. Printed in Canada. Image downloaded from Magazine Data, http://www.philsp.com/data/data299.html.

Fig. 6 Ladies of the Underworld. November 1951. Published by Metropolitan Publishers, Toronto. Collection of the author.

by «Chief of Police Harry Ainsworth». Each of these is the life story of a woman criminal, the first written as a first-person confessional and the second as a narrative of investigation. Online pulp magazine author indices confirm the existence of other published work by only one of the contributors to the volume, a Victor J. Bate who had also written for the New York-based magazines *Startling Detective* and *Headquarters Detective*.[13]

Hybrid Formats and the Over-Laying of Genres

All of the stories appearing in the November 1949 edition of *Girls on City Streets* appeared as well in a publication called *Ladies of the Underworld*, in a volume dated June of an unspecified year (fig. 5). This periodical identifies its publisher as «Headline Publications of America», and its place of publication as «15 Park Row in New York», though all the advertising in this issue is for Canadian mail order companies operating in Toronto and the low quality of the paper and other material aspects of the volume mark it as Canadian. «Ladies of the Underworld» was a phrase which, like «Girls on City Streets», circulated through multiple sites of sensation-oriented publishing. *Ladies of the Underworld* had been the title of a 1927 book by Netley Lucas, a one-time British thief who had also written his memoirs. As a set of international ‹case studies› of women criminals, Lucas' *Ladies of the Underworld* overlapped slightly with a corpus of exploitational works which, across the twentieth-century, surveyed the international variety of women's behaviors, but the title would be purloined principally for periodicals specializing in true crime and offering confessional accounts by women of their criminal activity.

It is unclear whether the November 1949 *Girls on City Streets* appeared before or after the issue of *Ladies of the Underworld* bearing identical content. On the cover of the latter, the month is printed on a white strip, suggesting the month may have been added at a later point, either to give the appearance (and, perhaps, distribution benefits) of a periodical to what was really a series of one-shot

13 Ladies of the Underworld. In: The Fiction Mags Index, (no date), p. 5398, http://www.philsp.com/homeville/FMI/k05/k05398.htm#A23.

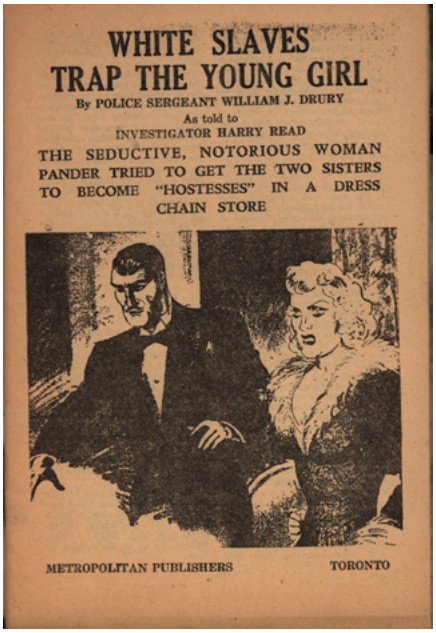


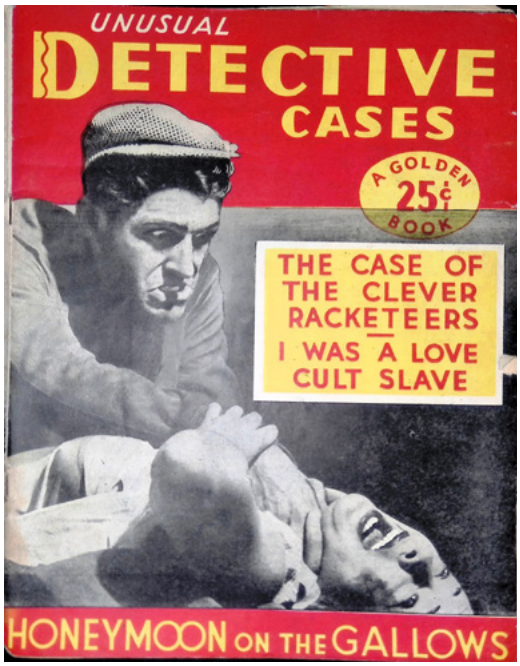
Fig. 7 Title page, Ladies of the Underworld. November 1951. Collection of the author.

Fig. 8 Page 28, Drawing. Ladies of the Underworld. November 1951. Collection of the author.

publications, or, perhaps, to allow the publishers to change the date, so as to accommodate further circulation at some later point.

Figure 6 shows another issue of *Ladies of the Underworld*, published by Metropolitan Publishers of Toronto, who had issued the 1949 volume *Girls on City Streets*. This issue is dated November 1951, though there is no real evidence of serial publication, and no publisher information, notification of frequency or identification of any of the editorial personnel. The content of this volume, however, testifies to the overlaying of successive waves of sensational narrative: the white slavery narrative of the early twentieth century, the confessional article more typical of the 1920s, and the ‹spicy›, quasi-pornographic stories which filled the pages of late 1920s and 1930s U.S. magazines like *Paris Nights*. The run-on title of the introductory article (fig. 7) makes explicit the ties to a panic over white slavery, and that of a later article (fig. 8) both ‹Canadianizes› the magazine and plays on well-entrenched beliefs in international conspiracies for the trafficking of women uncovered by dogged investigators. Here, in the waning days of a Canadian English-language industry publishing sensational print materials, we find the residues of several decades of themes, narrative patterns and images.

The cases just seen, of *Girls on City Streets* and *Ladies of the Underworld*, show textual materials moving from book to magazine, or between hybrid formats adapted to benefit from the advantages of each. In the absence of corporate archives or coverage of these magazines in publishing industry trade magazines, the precise economic and organizational arrangements which made such movements of materials possible are almost impossible to reconstruct. The murkiness of such arrangements is most striking in the case of the next example to be discussed. Figure 9 shows a volume called *Unusual Detective Cases*, published by Golden Books of America, 135 Yonge St., Toronto. The publishing information inside identifies this as a book, but various other features – its title and list of contents – are more typical of the true crime magazine. We have here, in any case, a



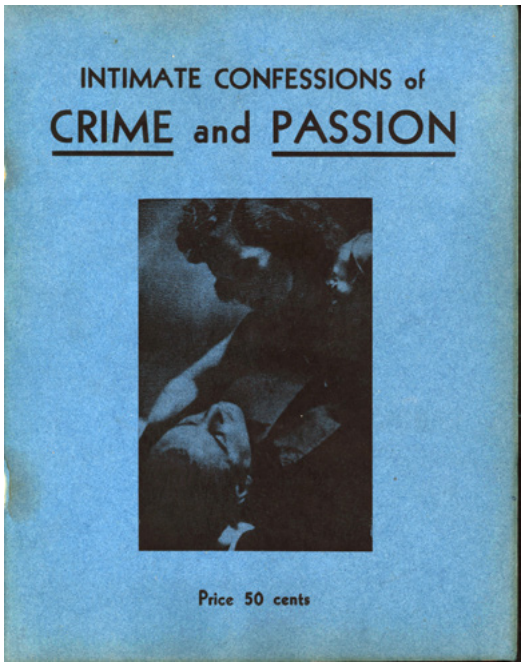


Fig. 9 Unusual Detective Cases. No date. Published by Golden Books of America. Collection of the author.

Fig. 10 Intimate Tales of Crime and Passion. No date. Published by Golden Books of America. Collection of the author.

one-shot volume – for there were no other issues of *Unusual Detective Cases* – trying to pretend that it is a magazine, or at least to convey some ambiguity as to its status.

Figure 10 shows an even more eccentric artefact of Canadian print culture, bearing the lurid title *Intimate Tales of Crime and Passion*. Here, we have the very same collection of materials – a series of stories identified on the interior title page as «Unusual detective Stories» – now wrapped in a blue cover, given a new and highly deceptive title, and sold for twice the price as in its previous packaging. In the first case, we see a collection of materials trying half-heartedly to pretend that it is the latest issue of a magazine called *Unusual Detective Cases*. In the second case, an assortment of magazine content is dressed up and sold in the more enduring and expensive packaging of a book. The presence of the same mail-order advertisements in both volumes suggests that their times of respective publication might be relatively close. The significant difference in price between them – 25 cents for *Unusual Detective Cases*, 50 cents for *Intimate Confessions of Crime and Passion* – raises a further mystery. Was the blue-covered volume more expensive because it was, in fact, published later, following a broader increase in the price of print materials? Or was the higher price based on presumptions about the greater allure of a volume given an erotic title and packaged in a color which had long suggested the illicitly pornographic? The paper stock used for the cover of *Intimate Tales of Crime and Passion* is thick, almost cardboard-like, though the interior pages are printed on newsprint identical to that used for their appearance in *Unusual Detective Cases* (and may in fact have been produced in the same print run.)

The Many Lives of *Women of all Nations*

My final example is *Women of all Nations*, a 68-page publication issued by Fireside Publications of Toronto (fig. 12). Like most of those which we have examined,

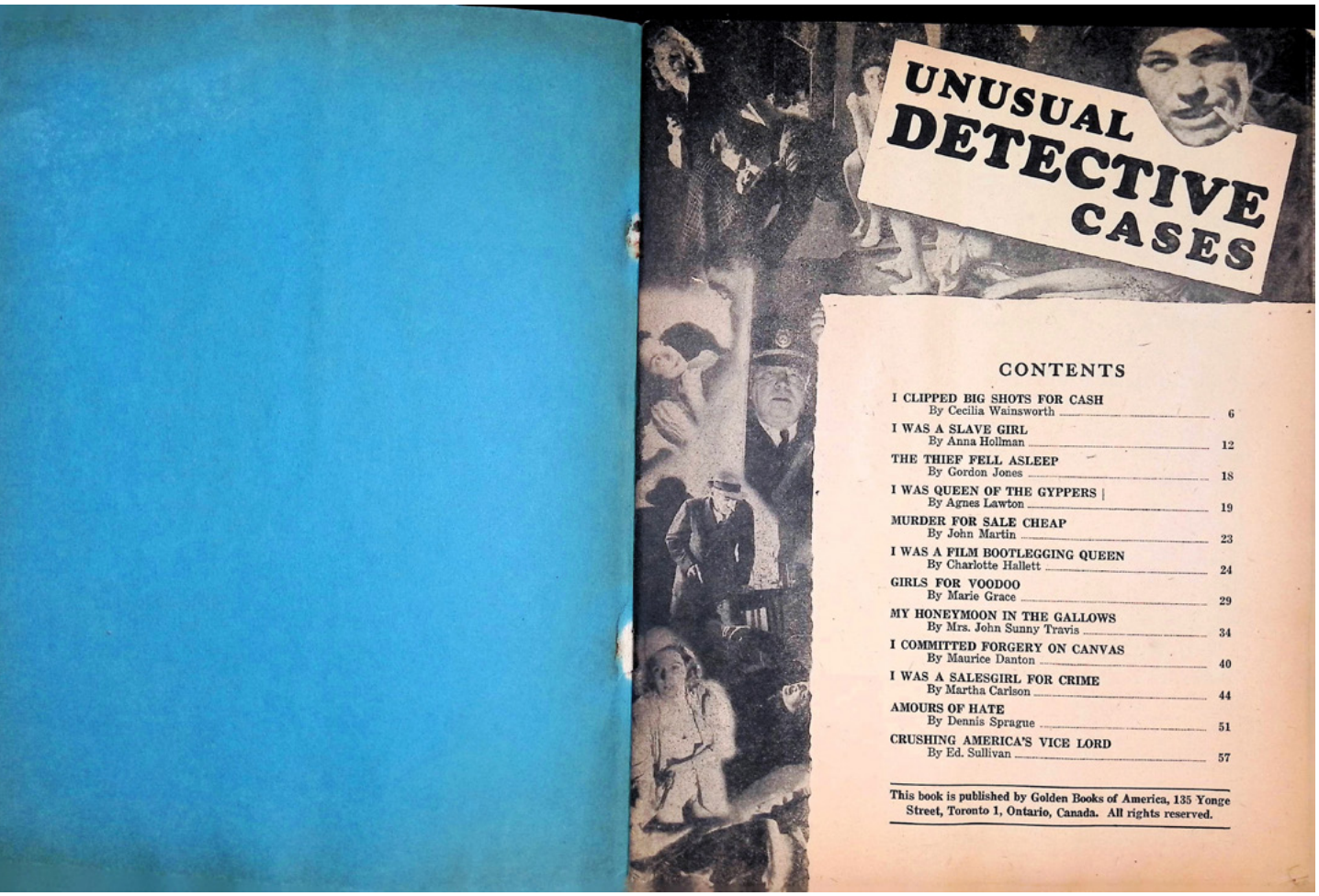


Fig. 11 Intimate Tales of Crime and Passion. No date. Table of contents page. Published by Golden Books of America. Collection of the author.

this volume is undated. On his blog *Fly-by-night: Canadian paperbacks of the 40s and 50s*, a specialist calling himself «Bowdler» suggests Fireside's various publications ranged in date from 1945 to the early 1950s.[14] *Women of all Nations*, like most of what Fireside issued, is a book-length text in periodical format (21×28 cm), presumably designed to be sold on newsstands (as was the publisher's condensed edition of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, in 1945). While «Bowdler» identifies this as a paperback original, virtually all of its material appears to have been taken from the first and second volumes of *Women of all Nations: a record of their characteristics, habits, manners, customs, and influence*, edited by T. Athol Joyce and N. W. Thomas and published first in 1908 by the Cassell company of New York and London. Authorship of the Fireside edition, nevertheless, is credited to a Watson V. Somers, and a ludicrous copyright notice on the title page warns that «ALL RIGHTS RESERVED UNDER INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT LAWS».

The 1915 New York edition of *Women of all Nations*, published by the Funk & Wagnalls company, tells us that its editors were «Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute», but chapters are credited to individual authors whose affiliations or professions are not provided. The four volumes divide the world into regions and peoples, with sections like «The Malay Peninsula», «Polynesia» (volume 1), «The West Coast of Africa», «South America» (volume 2) «Tropical Women», «Japan» (volume 3) «Asia Minor», «The

14 «Bowdler»: Fly-by-night, 19 December 2011, https://canadianfly-by-night.blogspot.com/2011/12/fireside-publications-part-iv.html.

Western Balkan Peninsula» (volume 4). Each volume contains a limited number of color plates and many more black and white photographs. The latter are marked by a very high number of images featuring bare-breasted, partially nude women.

Book sale sites like AbeBooks and Ebay reveal the wide variety of editions and formats in which *Women of all Nations* circulates in the present day. These include print-on-demand facsimile editions, usually from India and available in either paperback or leather-bound formats, large numbers of a 1911 two-volume edition, and separate, soft-cover installments of the four-volume set published in 1915. At least one book dealer selling a current edition of *Women of all Nations* stresses the participation of women authors and the book's discernable feminist mission, and there is no reason to doubt these claims.[15]

In the migration of the serials' materials forward in time, however, we see them slowly absorbed within the markets for light forms of pornography. Shortly after its original publication in book form, *Women of all Nations* was issued in serial booklet form. At different moments, these took the form of sixteen installments issued on a weekly basis or twenty-four volumes released fortnightly.[16] The early serial volumes themselves looked forward to subsequent installments with display advertisements promising documentation of such phenomena as «The True Story of the Turkish Harem» (fig. 13). After multiple reprints through the 1920s and 1930s, *Women of all Nations* was issued by Metro Publications of New York in 1942, with a painted cover

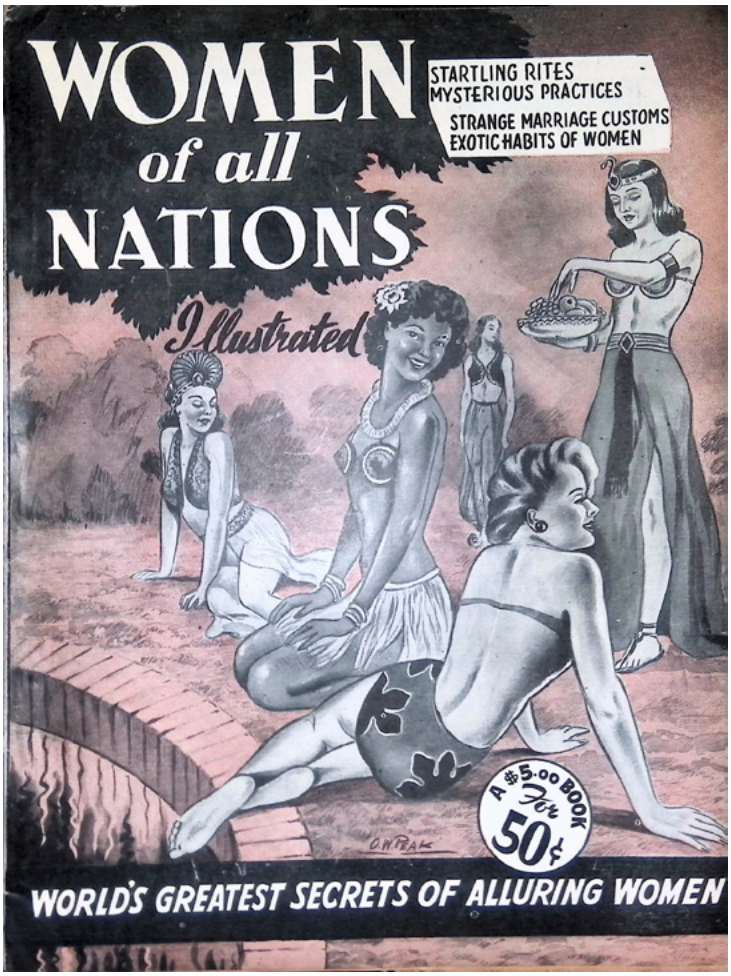


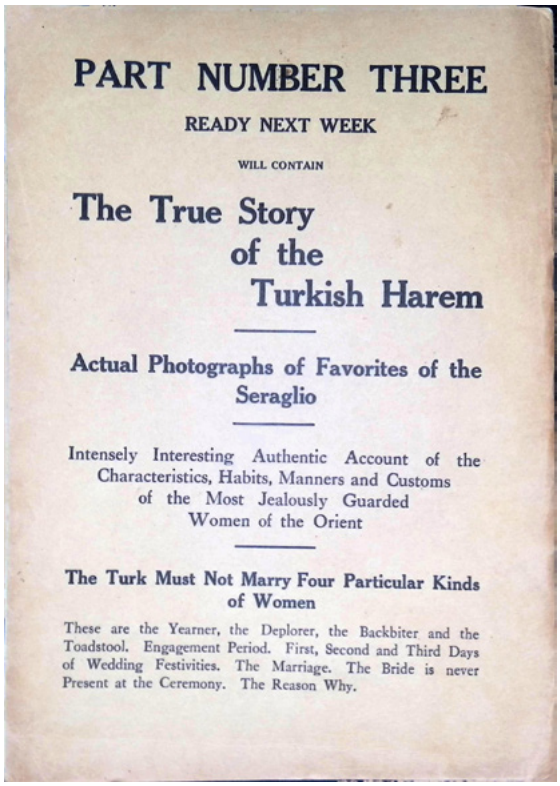
Fig. 12 Women of all Nations. No date. Published by Fireside Publications, Toronto. Collection of the author.

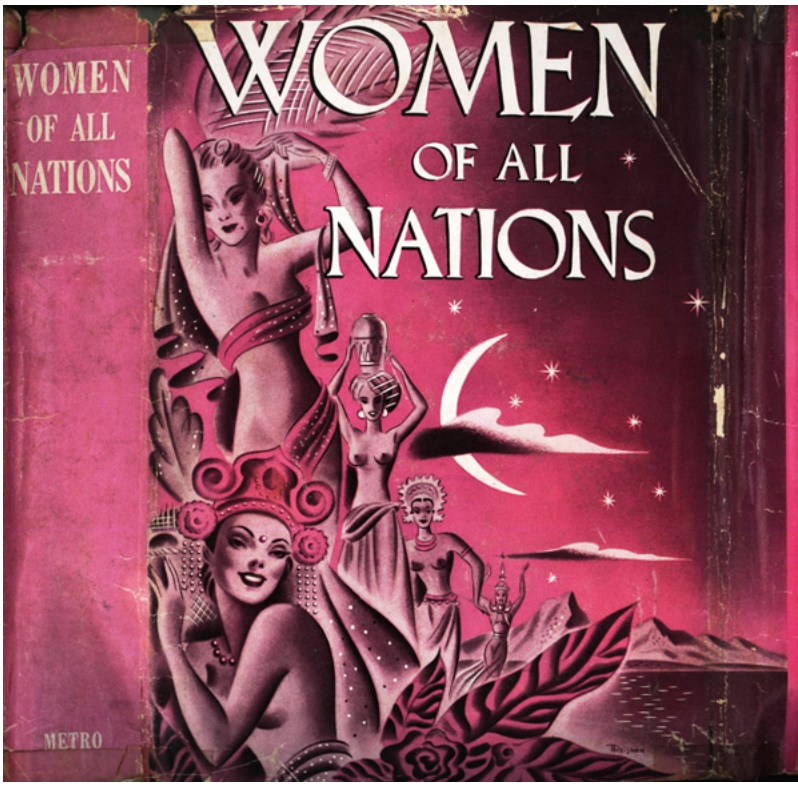
of pinkish hue featuring women in various degrees of undress, and with lightly-marked differences of race or ethnicity, cavorting in an exoticized landscape (fig. 14).

Fireside Publications' undated version of *Women of all Nations* may well have followed on from the 1942 New York edition in attempting to exploit the erotic possibilities of the original. However, the Canadian edition was different from the U.S. reprinting in at least two key respects. While the latter, at several hundred pages, offered much of the abundance of all four of the original volumes, Fireside's newsstand soft cover was largely a condensation of the first, with an image taken from the second and some additional, framing material. In any case, the Toronto edition follows the original's

15 See the listing «1911 1st Edition ‹WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS›». Ebay Canada, https://tinyurl.com/yc6kv2bw.

16 My collection includes Part Two of the series announced as weekly. An advertisement appearing in Cosmopolitan in 1909 for subscription to a fort-nightly series of twenty-four volumes was offered on Ebay in March 2023, https://www.ebay.com/itm/334513283337.





principle of geographical differentiation, but only loosely. Some chapters are given thematic or atmospheric titles: «Lands of Beauties» names the section on Polynesia, and «Exotic North Africa» groups together Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco.

As this point in the steady migration of these materials forward in time, the Canadian version of *Women of all Nations* performs two operations. One is to undertake a slight eroticization (a «spicing up») of the original's accounts of sexual behavior. The Canadian edition does this less by increasing levels of explicitness than by intruding with expressions of present-day enthusiasm for some of the behaviors and appearances described. We may see these expressions as attempts to compensate, at least in part, for the sometimes pedantic tone of the original. In the original first volume of *Women of all Nations,* A. Hingston's article, «Polynesia», begins with a delimitation of geographical location:

> A line drawn in a north-westerly direction from New Zealand, across the Pacific through Fiji to Hawaii, roughly cuts off Polynesia […] on the east from Micronesia and Melanesia on the west; it includes island clusters studding areas perhaps 1,000 miles in diameter, and lonely islets hundreds of leagues from any neighbour.[17]

In the Canadian newsstand version, this is rewritten as follows:

> Some of the most beautiful women in the world are to be found in that vast area known as Polynesia, which includes island clusters studding areas perhaps 1,000 miles in diameter, and lonely isles hundreds of leagues from any neighbor.[18]

Most of the changes to the text, however, simply involve the severe cutting of passages so as to fit a book of 210 pages into a magazine-sized volume of 66 pages. The migration of images between the 1915 edition of *Women of all Nations* and

17 A. Hingston, M.A.: «Polynesia». In: T. Athol Joyce/N. W. Thomas (Eds.). Women of All Nations: A Record of Their Characteristics, Habits, Manners, Customs and Influence. Vol 1. New York 1915, p. 36.

18 Women of all Nations: Strange customs the world over. Toronto (no date), p. 12.

Fig. 13 Back cover, Part Two of Women of all Nations 16-part weekly serialization. Cassell & Company, New York, London, Toronto and Melbourne. No date. Collection of the author.

Fig. 14 Women of all Nations. 1942. Published by Metro Publications, New York. Collection of the author.

the Canadian adaptation involves more subtle changes, and two aspects of this migration are worth noting. One is that the original books contained multiple plates featuring both photographs and painted images. These were clearly seen to be part of the attraction of the four volumes. The plates were mentioned in promotional notices which played on both their documentary value and the prurient curiosity they might fulfill. However, while the anthropological framing of the original hardcover books offered an alibi for the abundance of photographs of undressed women, a soft-cover publication intended for Canadian newsstands in the 1940s could scarcely risk publishing such images, given the widespread moral panic over popular periodicals in Canada during the period in which *Women of all nations* was published.

The Fireside Publications edition of *Women of all Nations* contains only twenty images. A very few of these are small woodcuts or drawings intended to illustrate phenomena discussed in the text, and these were apparently purloined from sources other than the original volumes. Virtually all of the others, however, are portrait or full-length photographs of one or two women, intended to exemplify the different versions of womanhood discussed in the text. A few of these are copies of images from the original books. Figure 15, a photograph captioned as «A DUTCH GUIANA GIRL», appeared as a full-page plate in Volume 2 of *Women of all Nations*, offered up as anthropological evidence. In the Fireside Publications version, the same image is reduced to a less than a half page, reproduced in poor quality on newsprint paper, and titled «THIS WOMEN IS A NATIVE OF DUTCH GUIANA». The image assumes the character of a magazine illustration. In its new context, the direct look of its subject out at the reader loses that sense of being subject to anthropological scrutiny which marked the woman's image in the original volume.

The images purloined from the original volumes for the Fireside Publications edition consist almost entirely of pictures of women whose pose for the camera expresses a casual sense of self-display. In this respect, the images borrowed become like those pictures of women that filled true crime and other sensational magazines of the time – candid expressions of personality. Missing, in the migration of images between the two volumes, are those pictures of tribal assembly or collective work which filled the original four volumes of *Women in all Nations*. (These were often, it should be noted, the pictures most likely to display full or partial nudity.)

As a softcover book made to circulate as a magazine, the Canadian version of *Women of all Nations* used images of women principally for their photogenic qualities, as adornments to pages of text. Nowhere was this more gratuitous than in the case of the image in figure 16, which appeared in the midst of the section on «Native Australian Captions» but carried the caption «THE CANADIAN GIRL OF TODAY». With its low resolution, and in the ways it was easily legible as an image stolen from somewhere else, used here in an effort to ‹Canadianize› a publication which otherwise had nothing to say

A DUTCH GUIANA GIRL.

WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS Fifty-one

One opportunity of displaying this is seen when they are called upon to paint the men for a dance festival with dark blue genipa, which they do with great skill and speed. My servant and I could give the women no greater pleasure than to beg them to do us the same service.

Among the Yuri the women paint the whole family every morning.

Among the Macusi and other Guiana tribes the women seem to take to painting of other objects too; if a man has finished a weapon he hands it over to his wife for her to add an intricate pattern, which she does without any design before her. The Taruma told Schomburgk that some sculptures on the rocks near had been done long, long ago by women, a testimony to mere man's mistrust of his own powers.

THIS brings us to the question of woman's dress and ornaments. Dress is usually reduced to a minimum; in most of the primitive tribes, woman is quite unclothed, and the further you go up the Uaupes the less she has on. Among the Apiaka on the Upper Tapajoz, where the men have European dress, like the whites whom they serve, woman is in the state of Eve when she lived in Paradise.

When a small covering is worn, as among the Bakairi and other Xingu tribes, it is intended as a protection against insects, not as a covering demanded by modesty. Yet, in spite of the lack of clothing, I never saw a woman behave in any way improperly, and even completely unclothed women are so decent in their behavior that one forgets their nakedness.

Woman in South America is anything but indifferent to adornment, and seeks to enhance her charms to the utmost by artificial means.

Long, glossy, black hair, combed and oiled every day, is in many tribes an envied possession. Tehuelche girls wear their hair in two plaits; it is course, and hardly so long as that of the men; but on festive occasions they supplement it artificially, probably with horsehair decorated with blue beads; the ends are adorned with silver ornaments.

As we have seen, face-painting is a favorite occupation; on ordinary days the color is red, and no patterns are used, but for a festival the whole body is covered with patterns in genipa juice. A European comb for putting up the hair is an acquisition, and a woman loves to wear silver coins and beads strung as a necklace, or bead bracelets.

For a dance her adornment is far simpler than a man's, and is limited in the tribes I know to a tasteful bead apron.

Vanity takes singular forms here, as it does in the rest of the world. The lobe of the ear is usually bored, and oval pieces of wood, cane, or even European ear-rings are worn. In the underlip is a disc, or, as among the Caribs of British Guiana, a needle, point outwards, is passed through it.

Sometimes this adornment grew to a huge size, and the Botocudo woman wore in her lip and ear a disc which was but little smaller than that of her husband, and attained a size of nearly three inches in diameter and a thickness of nearly an inch.

Some tribes pierce the septum of the nose and pass through it a piece of cane, bird's bone, or, on festive occasions, a colored feather.

More disfiguring is the Miranha custom of piercing the side of the nose and wearing in it a cylinder of wood or a shell. The women outbid each other to such an extent that some have to hang the ring of flesh thus produced over the ear to prevent it from hanging down too far.

The tattooing of the face is often an important process; in North-West Brazil I only saw it in one tribe, the Desana on the Uaupes, in which both sexes wear on the lower lip two lines parallel to the chin, produced, as is everywhere the case in tropical America, with a palm prickle and genipa juice.

In British Guiana the Warrau and Acawoio pull out

THIS WOMAN IS A NATIVE OF DUTCH GUIANA

Fig. 15 Comparison – Left: «A Dutch Guiana Girl». Unnumbered plate. Women of all Nations. Vol. 2, 1915 edition. Source: University of Michigan Library, Hathi Trust edition. URL: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015019976748&view=1up&seq=181. – Right: «This woman is a native of Dutch Guiana.» Women of all Nations. Page 51. No date. Fireside Publications, Toronto. Collection of the author.

about Canada, this picture condenses the predicament of popular Canadian print culture during this period.

Conclusion

The artefacts of Canadian print culture examined here came very near the end points of many different kinds of migration. The most obvious of those was that which saw Canadian publishers of the 1940s and 1950s purloining materials published earlier in the United States or Great Britain. This illicit borrowing was one of the hallmarks of Canadian publishing at its more disreputable levels, during a period when that industry faced constantly shifting regulatory frameworks and uncertainty over its future. Such borrowing, however, had long been the fate of the sorts of materials which ended up in Canada during this period. The vice reports, tales of stolen virtue and global reports on sexual behavior scattered across Canadian print culture in the 1940s had already, in the countries of their origin, descended from hardcover books of virtuous purpose into cheaply-produced pulp magazines and paperback volumes which pillaged these original sources for titillating narratives.

The migration of these materials, then, had been both outward and downward. Original sources were ransacked for content which might be imported for re-use in the marginal market that was Canada during these years. The contexts of this re-use descended from book-length studies claiming social scientific legitimacy to cheaply produced publications destined for newsstands and designed to compete with the true crime magazines and sensational pulp fiction magazines which were sold alongside them. A third

WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS Nine

On the Narran River, where the babies hang on the Coolabah tree waiting for a mother, they are born with a leaf in their mouths, and the first duty is to take this out, otherwise it would carry the baby back to spiritland; then hot gum leaves are pressed on the bridge of the baby's nose, to make it flat, for a thoroughly flat nose is essential to good looks. In some tribes the baby is washed or rubbed with sand, in others it is only smeared with iguana fat, and some powdered ashes rubbed on its head.

Sometimes the happy father announces the birth of his child by special messenger to all of his friends, who hasten to make him presents of shirts, knives, and other valuables.

In the central tribes the father, together with his wife's father, maternal grandfather and great-uncle, is forbidden to speak after the child is born—if he broke the tabu the child would be injured; later the woman goes from her camp to her husband's and shows him the child, saying that it is his, and then he is released from his bond of silence.

The coming of a little stranger is by no means an occasion of rejoicing, and, though a woman may bear six or seven children, she rarely rears more than two. The remainder are not accounted for, as with us, by a gradual process of semi-starvation, or by any of the other numerous civilised methods of reducing the too numerous mouths in the family; a superfluous baby is put out of the way as soon as it is born, either by actual violence or by the less humane method of withholding all food; but no half measures are allowed. In many parts the corpse was eaten by the brothers, sometimes by the grandparents.

Mutilations of various sorts are inflicted on the Australian girl. Sometimes she loses one joint of her little finger, sometimes she has a front tooth knocked out in imitation of the men, more often she has a bone or feather thrust through the cartilage of the nose.

Before she is married the girl who aspires to be chic and beautiful has to undergo various initiatory ceremonial mutilations.

An old beldam takes the girl away from the camp, and as a preliminary plasters her with mud; then she lights a fire of leaves and makes the girl swallow the smoke, at the same time giving her advice as to her future conduct.

The girl meditates on her lessons in private, and at most returns to the main camp once to see her betrothed; he must obstinately turn his back on her; so she throws leaves on his shoulders, and shakes him, then turns and runs her hardest to her solitary camp, which she only quits some time later to become his wife.

The initiation ceremonies however, may be more severe, and involve painful mutilations, which are fully described in scientific works. Among the least of them is the production of so-called "keloids" —raised scars on the body or upper limbs. When these are to be made the girl is taken out early in the morning, she squats with her back to the decorator, her head tightly held between the knees of an old woman seated on the ground.

A male operator with a mussel shell makes cuts in rows across the back, a quarter of an inch deep, and an inch long; and as the butchery proceeds the blood streams

THE CANADIAN GIRL OF TODAY

in torrents from the back of the unfortunate girl, whose piteous cries rise, as the operation proceeds, into a yell of agony.

When all is finished—the work may take a full hour—and the bleeding has stopped, the candidate for matrimony is smeared with grease and red ochre, two kangaroo teeth and a tuft of emu feathers are put in her hair, and she fasts till the following morning.

But so strong is the force of fashion's demands—for a well-scarred back is a great addition to other charms—that few girls fought against the infliction in the pre-European days; sometimes one has been known to fix her teeth in the nearest available portion of the old woman, and with such vigor, that she has leapt up with a yell, while her captive, to her lifelong regret, no doubt, remains with a back only half decorated.

ONE of the quaintest ways of getting married was practised in the south-east, where the males are believed to be the brothers of the emu-wren, while the women are the sisters of the superb warbler.

If the young men were backward in coming forward, the women killed an emu-wren and showed it to the men, then armed themselves with sticks, the men likewise. A magnificent shindy followed, and many heads were broken. On the next day the young men retaliated by killing a superb warbler, and a worse fight followed.

When the wounds and bruises began to heal, a young

Fig. 16 «The Canadian girl of today.» Women of all Nations. Page 9. No date. Fireside Publications, Toronto. Collection of the author.

and final migration was that by which materials moved across the already thin boundaries which distinguished magazines from books. Mastheads and Tables of Contents characteristic of magazines would greet readers who opened volumes whose covers (and prices) promised the experience of a book. Stories and articles floating through the markets for such content would be collected in volumes whose cover dates and numbering promised the legitimacy of an ongoing magazine, but were, in fact, one-off compendia of cheaply acquired materials.

The method of analysis which these books, magazines and hybrid formats invite, then, is a forensic one. Each of the titles examined here is full of clues which betray the pillaging of old sources, the slight updating of materials to disguise their age and the even slighter ‹localization› of references and locales. These practices labour to ensure that the stories, pictures and ‹reports› gathered between new covers will not appear to Canadian readers to be from long ago and far away. This work of borrowing, transformation and disguise may be denounced as calculated deception or admired as revealing the ingenuity of the marginal cultural producer.

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Giulio Argenio

Cold-War Science and its Illustrated Wonders
Politics, Play and Visual Education for the Italian Youth in the Leftwing Weekly *Pioniere*

Introduction

During the 1950s, communist and socialist parties in Western Europe, as well as social democrats, expressed a widespread trust in the transformative power of science and technology. As recently noted by Ettore Costa, these hopes stemmed both from the heritage of nineteenth century socialist thinking and from a growing theoretical confidence in the benefits of left-leaning approaches to research and education.[1] In the case of many communist parties in particular, this belief was furthermore fortified by the apparent successes of Soviet research and engineering. In their view, the USSR was starting to show the marvelous achievements made possible by the application of the communist spirit to the realm of science.[2] The ever-expanding range of modern scientific notions and instruments required in fact political and ideological guidance. For most socialist and communist thinkers, in the wake of J.D. Bernal's reflections, only a science inspired by progressive values, freed from the drive of capitalist greed, could grant real progress, both social and human.[3] This paper will analyze how Italian communists tried to educate the younger generations to these ideals and how, to this end, they resorted to the use of print and to the disputed codes of mass culture and visual communication. Specifically, we will examine one remarkable publication and its main graphical strategies to discuss science: satire, spectacularism and playfulness.

Mostly extruded from direct political control, the actors of the European Left «dreamed about future power», to again quote Costa, and had in fact to offer their specific visions for the world of tomorrow.[4] They criticized the present directions of scientific innovation, but they also proposed new courses and alternative models. This was especially true in the case of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and of its efforts in the realm of mass visual communication and press materials. During the Cold War, the theme of scientific supremacy was an important part of a larger mythological

1 Ettore Costa: Whoever launches the biggest Sputnik has solved the problems of society? Technology and futurism for Western European social democrats and communists in the 1950s. In: History of European Ideas 1 (2020), pp. 95-112.

2 Ibid., pp. 99-101. See also Giulia Bassi: «Solo con il socialismo comincia un'epoca nuova nella scienza». Mito e ambivalenze del PCI sul discorso scientifico sovietico (1949-1969). In: Elisabetta Bini and Elisabetta Vezzosi (Eds.): Scienziati e guerra fredda. Tra collaborazione e diritti umani. Rome 2020, pp. 37-64.

3 Audra J. Wolfe: Freedom's Laboratory. The Cold War Struggle for the Soul of Science. Baltimore 2018, pp. 17-34.

4 Costa: Whoever launches the biggest Sputnik, p. 95.

narrative about the Soviet Union, and the PCI took part in the diffusion and articulation of this political storytelling.[5]

The addresses and the theoretical discussions of party members would not suffice to paint the futuristic scenarios of technological progress. In the arena of public communication, high-level debates had to be partnered with materials that could facilitate the dialogue with larger audiences and inspire the imagination of left-leaning citizens and youngsters. The codes of mass media would come in handy, and so would the power of fantasy and imagination, useful to give life, via writings and visual representations, to a portrayal of socialist science that was based at the same time on real achievements and on future projections.

This was a kind of imagery that circulated among adults, spread by journalistic reports, movies and books, but that resonated especially among children and adolescents, housed in the growing number of cultural materials specifically tailored to their taste.[6] Among these various products, print had played for a long time an important part and was still relevant after World War II.[7] After a slow-paced start in the nineteenth century, in fact, Europe saw a gradual increase in the production of periodicals created by socialist and communist movements and aimed at a younger audience. These publications were characterized by their traditional pedagogical and political features, but gradually started to also publish comics and written adventures, in addition to letters and recurring educational columns.[8] My contribution will focus on one of these papers, the Italian *Pioniere,* and will focus on its visual solutions during the 1950s, examining in detail how the weekly represented science and technology and how it articulated the powerful myth of Soviet science. This process will demonstrate how the issue of a scientific education informed by politics, aware of both the dangers and the opportunities of technological development, took a central spot in the dialogue between the Italian left and the younger citizens of the new Republic. The popularization of science, represented as a tool for emancipation and well-being, and not as a source of mere economic profit, will emerge as an important cultural resource for the Left, in the context of the more general ideological confrontations about scientific research and technological development that opposed the actors of Cold War.[9]

The *Pioniere* and the Cultural Cold War

The *Pioniere* appeared for the first time on the third day of September 1950, as a weekly companion for the newly founded youth and children association *Associazione Pionieri d'Italia* (API). The association, born in 1949, was organized by leftwing activists building on the previous experiences of proletarian youth societies, such as the German *Falken*, the French *Fauçons rouges* and the Soviet *Young Pioneers* association, that arose at the beginning of the twentieth century.[10] Despite taking various clues from this tradition, the API (led for all its existence

5 Pier Paolo D'Attorre (Ed.): Nemici per la pelle: sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea. Milan 1991. Regarding the myth of Soviet space exploration see especially Marco Pivato / Stefano Pivato (Eds.): Comunisti sulla Luna. L'ultimo mito della Rivoluzione russa. Bologna 2017; Asif Azam Siddiqi: The Red Rockets' Glare. Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857-1957. New York 2011; Rosario Forlenza: The Soviet Myth and the Making of Communist Lives in Italy, 1943-1956. In: Journal of Contemporary History 57.3 (2022), pp. 645-668.

6 Bruno Pischedda: Due Modernità. Le pagine culturali dell'Unità, 1945-1956. Milan 1995.

7 Seth Lerer: Children's Literature. A Reader's History From Aesop to Harry Potter. Chicago 2008; Elisa Marazzi: Children and Cheap Print in Europe: Towards a Transnational Account, 1700-1900. In: David Atkinson/Stephen Roud (Eds.): Printers, Pedlars, Sailors, Nuns: Aspects of Street Literature. London 2020, pp. 125-147.

8 Regarding the previous experiences of socialist's publications for children see: Juri Meda (Ed.): Falce e fumetto. Storia della stampa periodica socialista e comunista per l'infanzia in Italia (1893-1965). Florence 2013.

9 Wolfe: Freedom's Laboratory, pp. 74-109. John Krige: American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe. Cambridge 2006.

10 Marco Fincardi: Le associazioni per ragazzi promosse dal movimento operaio. In: Studi storici: Rivista trimestrale dell'Istituto Gramsci 1 (2008), pp. 209-233. About the history of the API see also: Michela Marchioro: Associazione Pionieri d'Italia. In: Annali dell'Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna 4-5 (2000/2001), pp. 185-207. On Russian Pioneers and the subsequent

by passionate Communist educator Carlo Pagliarini) showed some meaningful differences with similar experiences. Even if it was composed mostly by communist intellectuals and activists, the formation was always opened to the involvement of socialists and was not interested in a passive translation of the Soviet model of a «youth of the party», ideologically pure and conformist.[11] There were strong ties with the approach of the Soviet pioneers, as is testified by exchange trips and by the importance of the propaganda centered on the theme of world peace, embodied by the *Partigiani della pace*,[12] but the *Associazione Pionieri d'Italia* was never an official party organ: in the light of its specificities it would be too easy to dismiss it as a mere replica of a central initiative of the Cominform.

Still, the API's main target was the development of social and moral left-wing values in children and adolescents, and this aim was pursued through their many outdoor and indoor activities with no shortage of ideological content. As a side companion to the games, sports, camping activities, and singing promoted by the API, the weekly *Pioniere* acted as an instrument to reach a broader audience and as an invaluable tool for visual and moral education. It should be noted, in addition, that just as the Association had some equivalent abroad, so did the magazine, close in spirit and in content to other foreign socialist and communist papers for the youth.[13] All in all, the API and the *Pioniere* were part of a larger international effort of the communist movement to establish a durable bond with children and adolescents.

It was easier to offer accessible notions about the wide variety of topics that captured childhood imagination via magazine pages, and it was simpler to foster the readers engagement, asking them for letters, opinions and for a constant effort in the diffusion of the weekly. Most importantly, in a time when books were still a pricey convenience, the public of the *Pioniere* was provided week by week with accessible and appropriate reading materials. All these matters, aptly investigated by the 2006 book by Silvia Franchini, were important, but they were complimented by a noteworthy intervention in the realm of visual entertainment and education.[14]

The *Pioniere* was a tool through which the Italian left could take part in the growing intellectual market of visual and mass communication, providing materials that were selected to propagate values and ideas considered appropriate by movements and militants. The action of the periodical, which made extensive use of illustrated materials, should in fact be located in the context of the so-called «questione dei fumetti», the era's widespread distrust regarding comics and illustrated materials aimed at young people.[15] Between the end of 1940s and the first half of the 1950s, as it has now been widely investigated by media scholars, comics and illustrated entertainment were in fact accused both in the United States and in Europe of being a dangerous form of mass communication, capable of corrupting the mind and the morals of young avid readers.[16] In the opinion of many communist intellectuals, the biggest threat was embodied by the creeping ideological content of comics, imbued

All-Union Pioneer Organization see Erika Wolf: «Foto-glaz»: Children as Photo-Correspondents in Early Soviet Pioneer Magazines. In: Marina Balina/Serguei Alex. Oushakine (Eds.): The Pedagogy of Images. Depicting Communism for Children. Toronto 2021, pp. 119-148, p. 122f.

11 For the quote Fincardi: Le associazioni per ragazzi, p. 218. Ibid. pp. 224-229.

12 Andrea Guiso: La colomba e la spada. «Lotta per la pace» e antiamericanismo nella politica del partito comunista italiano (1949-1954). Soveria Mannelli 2006, pp. 463-584.

13 For the French case see Joel E. Vessel: Drawing France. French Comics and the Republic. Jackson 2010, pp. 38-73 and pp. 121-141. On the German case and the cultural translations between the *Pioniere* and German magazines such as *Frösi* or *Atze* see Guido Weißhahn: Die Immigration des atomaren Superhelden. In: Clemens Heydenreich (Ed.): Comics & Naturwissenschaften. Berlin 2019, pp. 183-198. Nicola Spagnoli: «Siate allegri e cantate!» Per una pedagogia socialista nei periodici a fumetti della Repubblica Democratica Tedesca (1949-1965). In: Meda, pp. 285-303.

14 Silvia Franchini: Diventare grandi con il «Pioniere» (1950-1962). Politica, progetti di vita e identità di genere nella piccola posta di un giornalino di sinistra. Florence 2006.

15 Nilde Jotti: La questione dei fumetti. In: Rinascita 12 (1951), pp. 583-585. About the argument against comics inside *Rinascita* see Juri Meda: Stelle e strips. La stampa a fumetti italiana tra americanismo e antiamericanismo (1935-1955). Macerata 2007.

16 David Hajdu: The Ten-Cent Plague and How It Changed America. New York 2008.

with crude American and capitalist propaganda. Even if the *Pioniere* was not an official organ of the Italian Communist Party, its history as a mediatic tool should be therefore read in the context of what scholars call the «cultural Cold War».[17] Like the weekly *Vie Nuove*, the festivals devoted to *l'Unità* (the official newspaper of the PCI) and other initiatives, the *Pioniere* was a politically radical attempt at mass communication, mass organization and popular leisure.[18]

In an answer to famous communist Nilde Iotti's critique of comic books, Gianni Rodari argued in an exemplary way for the creation of comics that could diffuse socialist values without sacrificing the charm of visual communication.[19] Rodari, who would later become the most celebrated children author in Italy, was then one of the main contributors of the magazine, together with long-time editor Dina Rinaldi.[20] The two could be considered part of a group of educators and intellectuals who were trying, although not systematically, to create innovative contents for the younger audience. In my reading of this editorial

17 Frances Stonor Saunders: The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters. New York 2000. Rana Mitter / Patrick Major (Eds.): Across the Blocs. Cold War Cultural and Social History. London 2004; Stefano Pisu (Ed.): Reframing the Cultural Cold War: 20 Years after Stonor Saunders' Case. In: Contemporanea 3 (2020), pp. 433-475; Andrea Guiso: Il Pci e la guerra fredda culturale (1947-1968). In: Silvio Pons (Ed.): Il comunismo italiano nella storia del Novecento. Rome 2021, pp. 163-181.

18 Stephen Gundle: Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943-91. Durham 2000.

19 Gianni Rodari: La questione dei fumetti. In: Rinascita 1 (1952), pp. 51f.

20 A recent biography of Rodari is Vanessa Roghi: Lezioni di Fantastica. Storia di Gianni Rodari. Rome 2021.

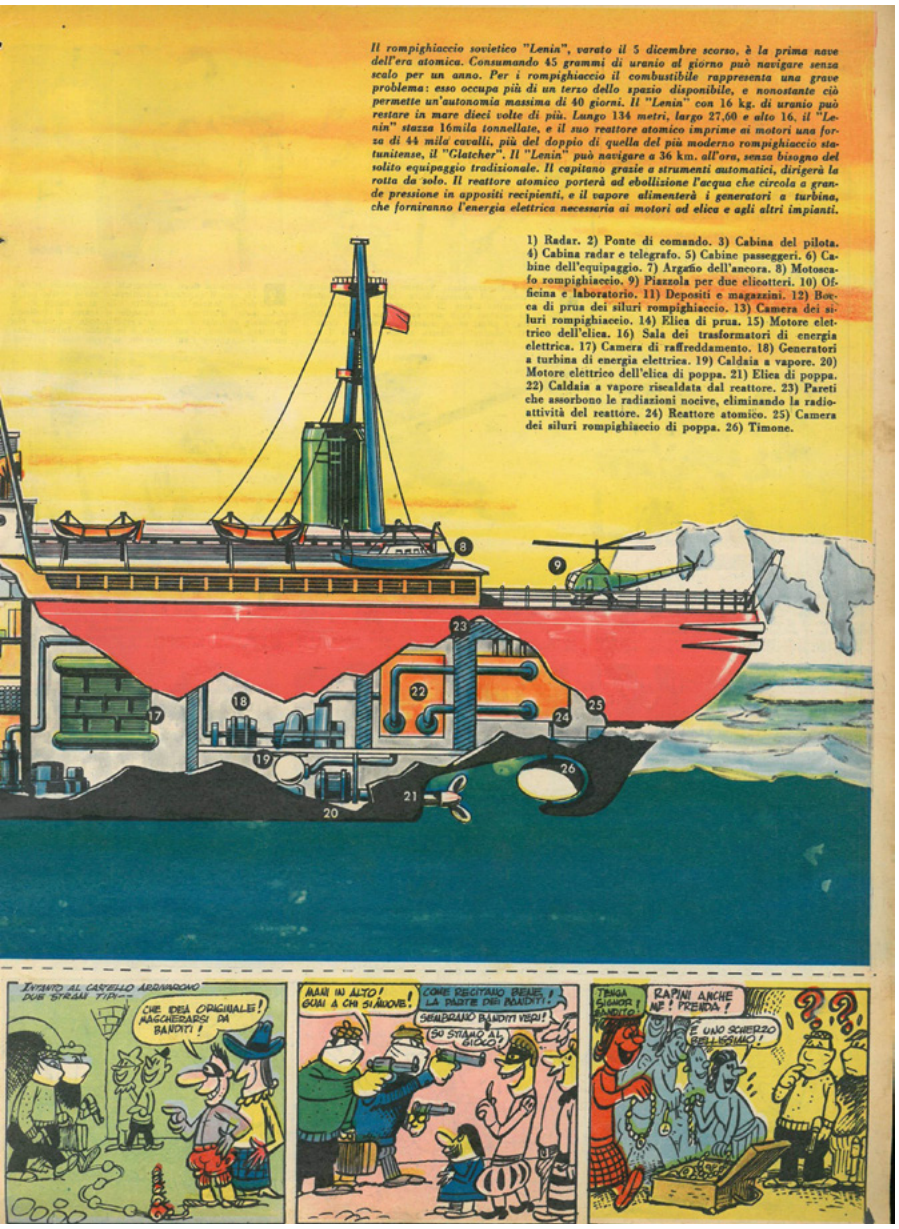


Fig. 1 Pioniere Nr. 5. Roma, Sunday, 2 February 1958, pp. 8-9. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1958/file/1037-n-05-anno-1958.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Associazione Culturale Stella Alpina, Pombia, Italy.

enterprise, in fact, comics are just a part of a bigger effort to form the readers' visual taste and to educate them in all the questions of modern life, with the aid of creative codes that were entertaining but not entirely commercialized. I think this process is particularly evident in the materials that were used to engage with all the questions posed by recent technological developments, on both sides of the «Iron Curtain», and that should be therefore considered in the cultural framework that opened the present article.

Visual and Narrative Solutions for the Representations of Science: Wonder, Satire and Playfulness

To promote the readers' interest for science, and to provide them with guiding ideas about the ideologically correct path to technological progress, the *Pioniere* acted following three major trajectories of visual representation. The next few pages will discuss them in depth.

The first and most common graphical solution was to entice the sense of won-

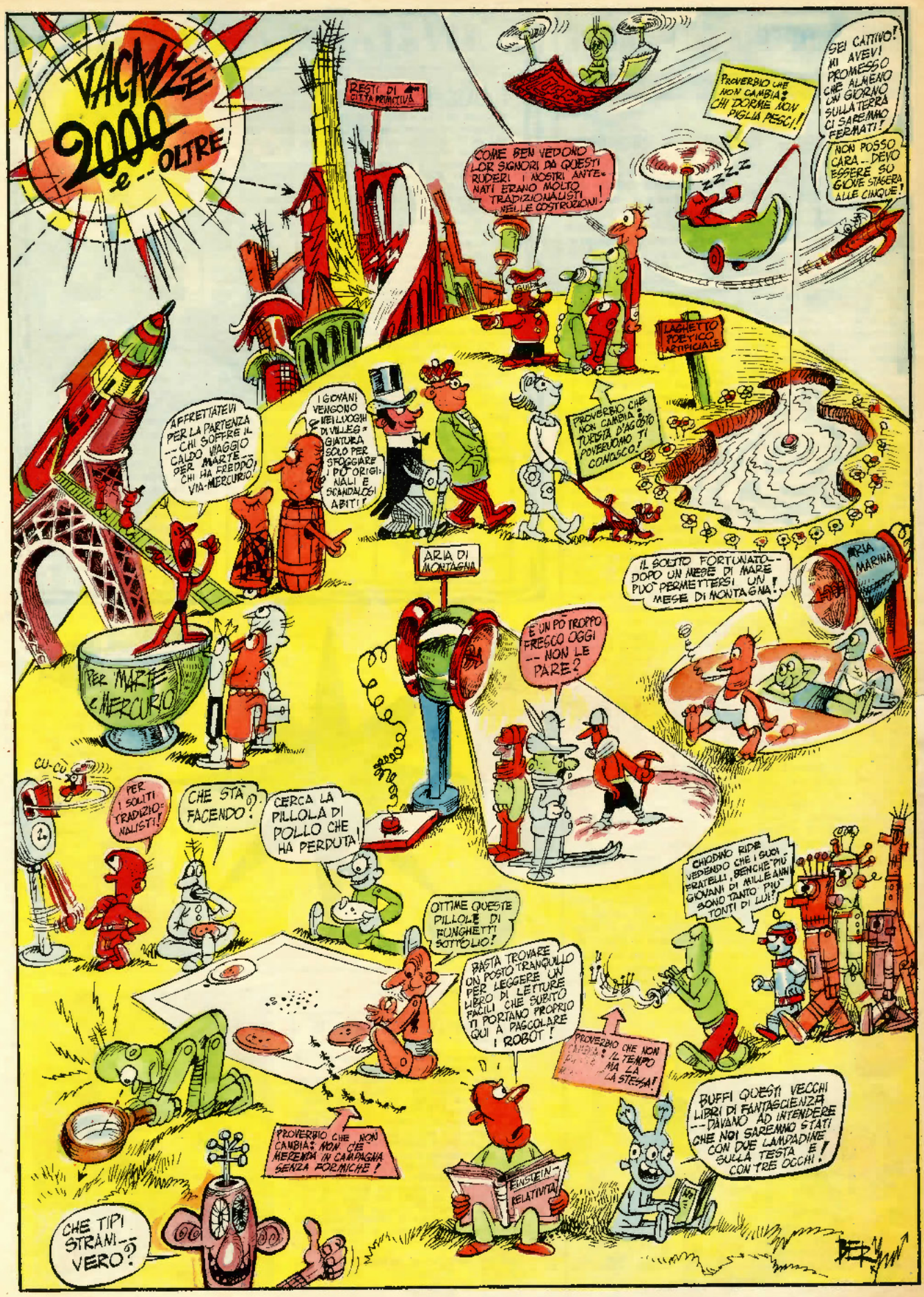

VACANZE 2000 e -- OLTRE
RESTI DI CITTÀ PRIMITIVA
COME BEN VEDONO LOR SIGNORI DA QUESTI RUDERI I NOSTRI ANTENATI ERANO MOLTO TRADIZIONALISTI NELLE COSTRUZIONI!
PROVERBIO CHE NON CAMBIA: CHI DORME NON PIGLIA PESCI!
SEI CATTIVO! MI AVEVI PROMESSO CHE ALMENO UN GIORNO SULLA TERRA CI SAREMMO FERMATI!
NON POSSO CARA - DEVO ESSERE SU GIOVE STASERA ALLE CINQUE!
LAGHETTO POETICO ARTIFICIALE
PROVERBIO CHE NON CAMBIA: TURISTA D'AGOSTO POVERUOMO TI CONOSCO!
AFFRETTATEVI PER LA PARTENZA -- CHI SOFFRE IL CALDO VIAGGIO PER MARTE -- CHI HA FREDDO, VIA-MERCURIO!
I GIOVANI VENGONO E VEI LUOGHI DI VILLEGGIATURA SOLO PER SFOGGIARE I PIÙ ORIGINALI E SCANDALOSI ABITI!
ARIA DI MONTAGNA
ARIA MARINA
IL SOLITO FORTUNATO -- DOPO UN MESE DI MARE PUÒ PERMETTERSI UN MESE DI MONTAGNA!
PER MARTE E MERCURIO
È UN PÒ TROPPO FRESCO OGGI -- NON LE PARE?
CU-CÙ
PER I SOLITI TRADIZIONALISTI!
CHE STÀ FACENDO?
CERCA LA PILLOLA DI POLLO CHE HA PERDUTA!
OTTIME QUESTE PILLOLE DI FUNGHETTI SOTTOLIO!
BASTA TROVARE UN POSTO TRANQUILLO PER LEGGERE UN LIBRO DI LETTURE FACILI CHE SUBITO TI PORTANO PROPRIO QUI A PASCOLARE I ROBOT!
CHIODINO RIDE VEDENDO CHE I SUOI FRATELLI, BENCHÈ PIÙ GIOVANI DI MILLE ANNI SONO TANTO PIÙ TONTI DI LUI!
PROVERBIO CHE NON CAMBIA: IL TEMPO MIA LA LA STESSA!
PROVERBIO CHE NON CAMBIA: NON CE' HERZEMA IN CAMPAGNA SENZA FORMICHE!
EINSTEIN - RELATIVITÀ
BUFFI QUESTI VECCHI LIBRI DI FANTASCIENZA -- DAVANO AD INTENDERE CHE NOI SAREMMO STATI CON DUE LAMPADINE SULLA TESTA E/O CON TRE OCCHI!
CHE TIPI STRANI -- VERO?
BER

Fig. 2 Pioniere Nr. 34. Roma, Sunday 28 August 1955, p. 9. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1955/file/304-n-34-anno-1955.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, Bologna, Italy.

der typically associated with the marvels of technical achievements and with the great possibilities of progress. This aim was pursued in a variety of ways though. The traditional choice, inspired by the practices of competing magazines such as catholic *Il Vittorioso* and by foreign publications, most notably British *The Eagle*, was to use large drawings that occupied the entirety of a page, or that even spread over two continuous pages.[21] Through the use of diagrams or the technique of «cutaway drawing», these colorful and eye-catching sections often illustrated the many surprising machinery of modernity, and generally took the central spot of the magazine, an easy to reach part of the periodical that was impossible to miss. Here then, in the double central pages dedicated to scientific products, the readers had the opportunity to glance with calm and attention at the usually hidden parts of cars, ships, submarines, airplanes, and space stations. Often rich with details and numerical captions, these visions were carefully chosen to educate, but also to build a familiarity with the technical drawings that were considered fundamental for higher education. At the same time, the fine-grained anatomy of machines was reminiscent of the playful nature of nineteenth century juvenile illustrated broadsides, and challenged the reader to find all the little details in an image that decidedly defied the classic constraint of pages and blank spaces.[22] The depiction of the Soviet nuclear icebreaker named *Lenin*, published in February 1958 (fig. 1), or the playful full-page artwork titled *Vacanze 2000 e oltre* by painter Vinicio Berti (fig. 2), are some great examples of features centered on science that hoped to train the «visual skills» of the viewers, to borrow a term from Ludmilla Jordanova.[23]

As the juvenile enjoyers of the periodical peered through the ins and outs of the colored pages, they exerted their visual literacy, their ability to comprehend and enjoy a picture, but they also acquired notions on the development and the meaning of science. In the case of the nuclear icebreaker *Lenin*, the wonder enticed by the image was combined with the awe for a majestic enterprise of the Soviet Union, a country that was pictured as using nuclear energy in a peaceful but commanding showcase of engineering expertise.[24]

On the other hand, although technical advances and their future opportunities were still at the center of *Vacanze 2000 e oltre*, the full-page panel drawn by Berti took a less serious stance regarding the mythology of progress.[25] The reader was in fact invited to look at all the tiny drawn characters and explore their bits of dialogue, but as he did, he was also introduced to a vision of the holidays of the year 2000. In a sort of «everyday science fiction» the world of tomorrow was shown to be not so different from the present one, at least in its core. The pettiness and the oddities of humans in their free time were still the same, just refreshed by new quirky gadgets and fashions: at picnics vacationers could eat miniaturized pills of pickled vegetables, but ants were still a problem, husbands still disappointed their loved ones, and senior citizens still criticized the clothing of younger people. To summarize, what

21 About *Il Vittorioso* see Ernesto Preziosi: Il Vittorioso. Storia di un settimanale per ragazzi 1937-1966. Bologna 2012. About *The Eagle* see James Chapman: British Comics. A Cultural History. London 2011.

22 Elisa Marrazzi: Cheap Toys for All in Nineteenth-Century Europe. In: Journal of Interactive Books 1 (2022) pp. 132-146.

23 Ludmilla Jordanova: Approaching Visual Materials. In: Simon Gunn / Lucy Faire (Eds.): Research Methods for History. Edinburgh 2012, p. 41.

24 L'atomica dei mari. In: Pioniere 5 (1958), pp. 8f. Not signed.

25 Vinicio Berti: Vacanze 2000 e oltre. In: Pioniere 34 (1955), p. 9.

Fig. 3 Pioniere Nr. 40. Roma, Sunday, 9 October 1955, p. 16. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1955/file/310-n-40-anno-1955.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, Bologna, Italy.

was delivered through the playfulness and the visual pleasure of the illustration was not an exercise in techno-scientific mythmaking, but a moral lesson regarding the consequences and the illusions of progress.

This latter example introduces us to the possibility of interpreting illustrated materials as a source of satirical comment on science, a second type of visual practice that was experimented in the pages of the *Pioniere* when dealing with the themes of innovation. This use was more common in proper comics than in splash pages, such as the two that we examined in the previous paragraph. The assembling of the various panels of a sequential story, and therefore the rhythming of reading, the highlighting of characters and important events, could in fact offer valuable visual devices to achieve parodic effect and express judgements, as it has been notably expressed by famed artist Will Eisner in his formal analysis of comics.[26] Even in an esthetically conservative children's magazine such as the *Pioniere*, the layout of the comics page was often used as a mean for conveying significance within a single story. This was done mostly by altering the recurrent structure, usually made of eight or nine panels, by horizontally merging some of them to create a bigger narrative box. A fitting example of this visual and narrative device can be seen in the first episode of the 1955 serial titled «Chiodino interplanetario», which followed the space adventures of titular character Chiodino, a robotic boy, who was one the mascots of the weekly (fig. 3).[27]

At the beginning of the tale, the audience was introduced to a growing popular craze for space exploration. Despite the mounting social demand though, the scientists of Earth were not able to create a functioning rocket that could finally carry man to the Moon. The only way to reach the stars was to ask for the assistance of Chiodino and his maker, talented scientist Pilucca. As a consequence, the central panel of this first episode (taking the space usually reserved for two of them) was devoted to portraying an international congress of scientists which, after a heated debate, set their pride aside and settled to ask Pilucca for help. The scientists inside the panel were sketched as they discussed the opportunity of turning to Pilucca for aid, each one yelling his opposition or his support for the builder of Chiodino. Bigger and livelier than the rest of the episode's page, with a central caption that summarized and commented on the assembly, the panel portrayed in a cartoonish way the stereotypical animosity and jealously of scientists, displaying through the subtle use of the page layout the need for international scientific cooperation. The visual relevance of the panel, suggested by its size and by the many figures included, confirmed the importance of democratic discussion, but served also as a comical comment on rivalry and ambition.

The simple but clear use of perspective, employed to give the immersing illusion of a hemicycle, supported at least two different readings of the image. One, more traditional, carried the viewer from the early stages of discussion (shown on the left) towards the final decision, supported especially by the characters on the right side of the

26 Will Eisner: Comics and Sequential Arts. Tamarac 1990, pp. 25-75.

27 Gabriella Parca / Marcello Argilli / Vinicio Berti: Chiodino interplanetario. In: Pioniere 40 (1955), p. 16.

CHIODINO INTERPLANETARIO

PRIMA PUNTATA

Testo di MARCELLO e GABRIELLA disegni di PER

In TUTTO il MONDO AUMENTAVA LA SMANIA DEI VIAGGI INTERPLANETARI, MA gli SCIENZIATI NON RIUSCIVANO A COSTRUIRE un'ASTRONAVE ADATTA

FATE SVELTI! PRIMA DI MORIRE VOGLIO... ANDARE SULLA LUNA!

SE NON SIETE CAPACI DI COSTRUIRE ASTRONAVI CHIAMATE PILUCCA E CHIODINO!

LORO SONO CAPACI DI TUTTO!

PROGETTO 1956?

L'ASTRONAVE LA COSTRUIREMO DA NOI!

NO... SENZA PILUCCA E CHIODINO NON CI RIUSCIREMO MAI!

CHIEDIAMO IL LORO AIUTO!

SONO DUE CIARLATANI!

NON È VERO! PILUCCA È UN GRANDE SCIENZIATO!

In fronte a quelle proteste generali, gli scienziati si riunirono a congresso. Ce n'erano d'ogni continente; negri, cinesi, europei americani, e persino del polo nord.

Come succede ad ogni congresso i partecipanti discussero, s'ingelosirono l'uno dell'altro, litigarono e alla fine si trovarono tutti d'accordo: infatti a tutti stava a cuore dare inizio all'impresa più straordinaria della storia: la conquista degli spazi interplanetari e l'esplorazione dell'universo con un'astronave.

NON POSSIAMO UMILIARCI COSÌ!

PER IL BENE DELL'UMANITÀ DOBBIAMO FARLO!

SIAMO TUTTI D'ACCORDO PER CHIAMARE PILUCCA!

SÌ!

PERÒ SBRIGHIAMOCI IO MUOIO DAL CALDO!

ED IO DAL FREDDO!

LA RAPPRESENTANZA DI TUTTI I COLLEGHI DEL MONDO I PIÙ FAMOSI SCIENZIATI D'EUROPA, ASIA, AMERICA E AFRICA ANDARONO DA PILUCCA---

ECCO I NOSTRI PIANI VUOI AIUTARCI A COSTRUIRE UN'ASTRONAVE?

CERTO!

AH--AH--QUELLE CARTACCE NON CI SERVIRANNO! POSSIAMO FARE TUTTO DA NOI!

PROGETTI

VERGOGNA CHIODINO! STAI DIVENTANDO TROPPO FANATICO!... VAI SUBITO IN CASTIGO!

Infatti Chiodino ancora non capiva l'importanza dell'impresa che era stata affidata a Pilucca. Lui la vedeva solo come una delle tante avventure che aveva già affrontato: Pilucca (e anche Perlina) capivano invece che si trattava di qualcosa che avrebbe cambiato la vita di tutto il mondo.

Così quando gli scienziati portarono a Pilucca il materiale più prezioso per costruire l'astronave, Chiodino si sedè soddisfatto, fantasticando già di andare a giocare a pallone sulla Luna o far collezione di stelline della Via Lattea.

VERGOGNA CHIODINO! CORRI SUBITO ALLO SCARICO DEI RIFIUTI E PORTAMI TUTTO IL FERRO CHE TROVI!

MA ABBIAMO TANTO MATERIALE QUI!

E TU VORRESTI SPRECARE TANTA RICCHEZZA --CORRI SUBITO ALLO SCARICO!

ORO

ZINCO

URANIO

FERRO

RAME

Borbottando, Chiodino ubbidì: — Uh, quante storie, — diceva tra se. — Una volta che possiamo lavorare con comodo, mi tocca invece faticare egualmente! Questa storia dell'astronave comincia a seccarmi!

Ma pur borbottando Chiodino fece insieme a Perlina quanto Pilucca gli aveva detto. Però nel suo testone di ferro era poco convinto: lui voleva fare le cose per conto suo, in famiglia, senza che ci entrassero di mezzo tanti estranei, cioè gli scienziati.

HO PRESO TUTTO IL FERRO CHE C'ERA... VA BENE ORA?...

LO FAREMO BASTARE! METTIAMOCI AL LAVORO!

PER

NR1 CONTINUA

Fig. 4 Pioniere Nr. 20. Roma, Sunday 15 May 1960, pp. 10 and 16. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1960/file/959-n-15-anno-1960.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana, Florence, Italy.

Fig. 5 (opposite) Pioniere Nr. 40. Roma, Sunday, 7 October. 1956, pp. 12-13. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1956/file/168-n-40-anno-1956.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, Bologna, Italy.

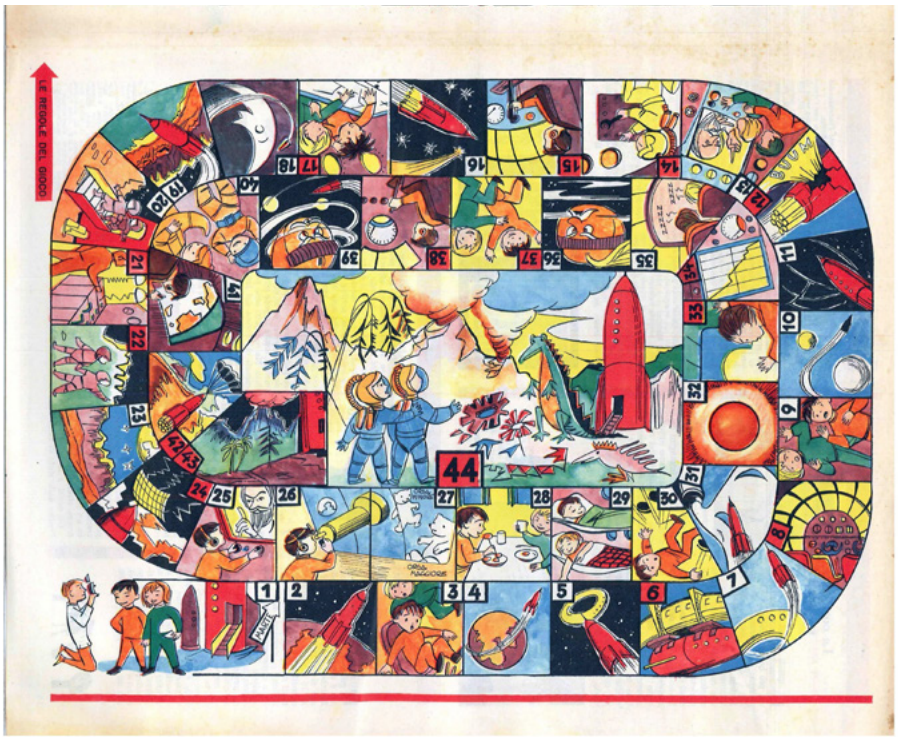


illustration. The other, thanks to the optical choice of perspective, placed the viewpoint of the young viewers at the center of the room: in just one look they could have a full vision of the assembly, choosing freely what speech balloon to read first, but also experiencing an easy-to-read depiction of the noise and confusion of the meeting. Again, the audience was encouraged to curiously peer through the details of the drawing, constructing from smaller bits of information a more general meaning, that was in turn supposed to be coherent with the general position of the periodical.

Another possible layer of meaning, though, complements this image. By focusing on the envy of world scientists this hint of comical satire, placed in the most relevant section of the page, suggested to the readers the undisputed superiority of Pilucca, who was already defined (in previous serials) as a prototype of the socially inspired inventor. In this way, a singular excerpt of the comic acted as reinforcement, both visual and verbal, of a notion already passed onto the audience and that was central to the decade-long adventures of Chiodino: the necessity of a science that was informed by ideals of justice, peace, kindness, and human interest. In a funny way the comic also served as a moral and political reminder: socialist science and its humanistic values would not go undisputed, they would encounter resistance and prejudice.

If we look at the possible interpretations suggested by the images, then, a third and final mode of visual communication used by the weekly starts to become visible. As shown by these few examples, in fact, the *Pioniere* tried to engage with its readers also by presenting visual materials that encouraged them to play with the illustrations, with their narrative and iconographical components, fostering an active acquisition of the values heralded by the magazine. The inherent performativity of meaning-making was proposed as a form of fun, and nowhere is this more evident and explicit that in the cases of full-fledged games

Al gioco fantascientifico "2000" possono partecipare due o più giocatori, ognuno dei quali deve avere una pedina colorata. Occorrono inoltre due dadi. Si tira a sorte a chi inizia il gioco: il designato dalla sorte tira per primo i dadi e avanza la sua pedina di tante caselle quante sono indicate dal totale dei due dadi. Successivamente tirano tutti gli altri giocatori. Vince chi arriva per primo al numero 44 facendo esattamente il totale necessario; se fa di più, indietreggia di tante caselle fino a raggiungere esattamente il totale fatto con i due dadi. Durante il gioco bisogna inoltre osservare le regole speciali che vigono per le caselle ove i numeri sono segnati in rosso.

Regole speciali

6 TAPPA. Chi arriva al satellite artificiale si ferma per un giro prima di ripartire.

8 PILOTA AUTOMATICO. Installati i comandi automatici, si fila a tutta velocità al N. 23, tra le stelle.

12 URTO DI METEORITE. Un meteorite colpisce l'astronave, e si torna al N. 6, per fare le riparazioni.

14 RIPARAZIONE. Ricevute le istruzioni dalla Terra, si procede alle riparazioni dell'astronave. Si resta fermi un giro.

15 ACCELERAZIONE. Ingranata la massima velocità, si fila con un salto solo al N. 36.

17 ROTTA SBAGLIATA. Avendo fatto male i calcoli della rotta si torna al N. 13 a prendere nuove istruzioni dalla Terra.

22 INCANTO LUNARE. Atterrati sulla Luna, la bellezza del paesaggio fa sognare gli astronauti, che si dimenticano di ripartire. Si resta fermi due giri.

24 RAGGI COSMICI. Captata l'energia dei raggi cosmici, si fila a tutta velocità al N. 36.

30 GUASTO. L'astronave non può più proseguire: bisogna tornare al N. 20, per far tappa sulla Luna.

33 PAURA. L'esplosione solare incute tanto timore che gli astronauti tornano di corsa sulla Terra, al N. 1, dove, fattisi di nuovo coraggio potranno ricominciare il loro viaggio astrale.

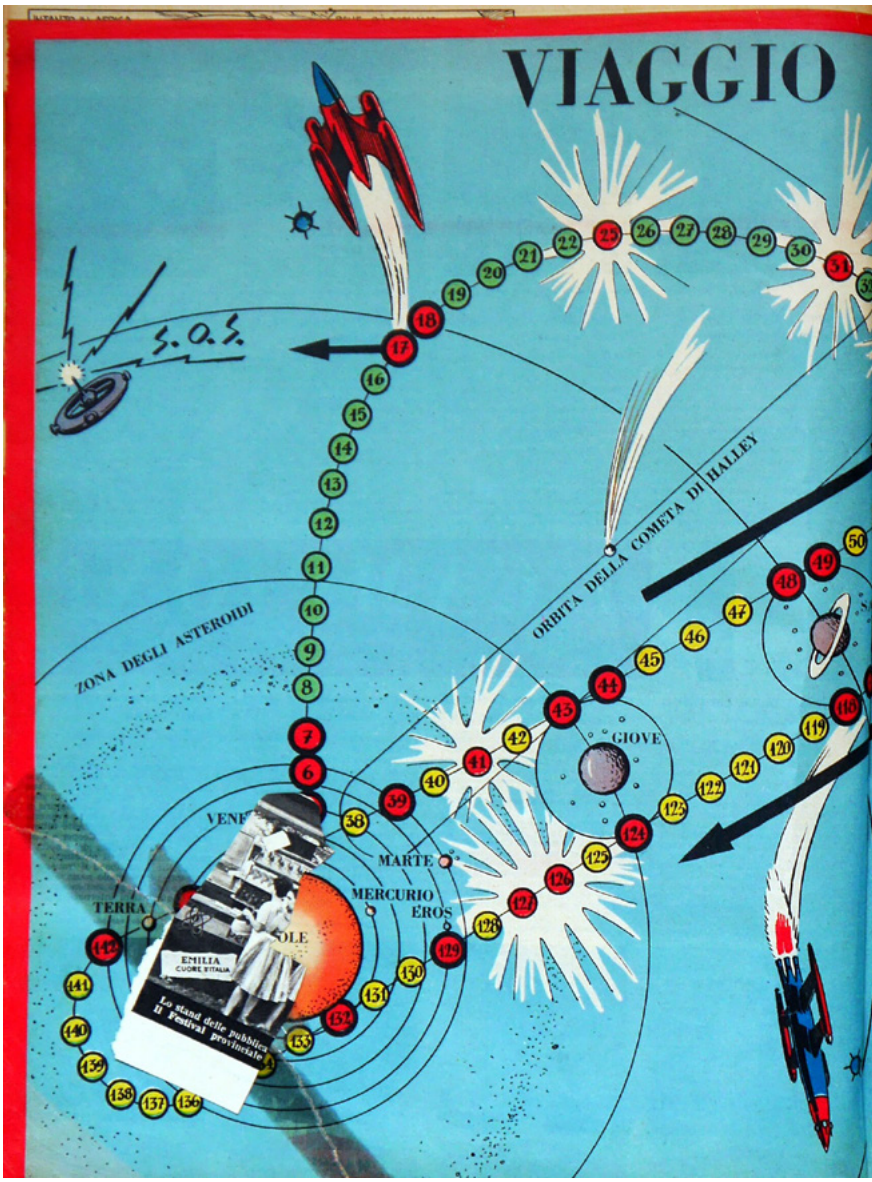
34 BATTERIE SCARICHE. Finita l'energia, bisogna tornare indietro di corsa al N. 21 per ricaricare le batterie.

37 DISTRAZIONE. Avvistata Marte, i due astronauti fanno festa; ma essendosi distratti sbagliano la rotta e tornano al N. 17.

38 ACCELERAZIONE. Ormai prossimi a Marte, si accelera: si ha diritto a tirare allora tre colpi consecutivi con un dado solo.

42 ATTERRAGGIO. Si rallenta per atterrare su Marte, e si ha diritto a tirare un colpo con un dado solo.

43 CATTIVO ATTERRAGGIO. Il colpo ricevuto lascia storditi gli astronauti che per riprendersi debbono sostare un giro. Sosta un giro anche chi arriva dal N. 38, tirando uno dei tre colpi-premi.



that were published by the weekly during the 1950s.

In three instances, in 1956, 1959 and 1960, the *Pioniere* published, again spreading horizontally the same subject over two consecutive pages, three almost equal board games themed on space exploration. They were all similar issues of the famous *Game of the Goose*, a simple form of race game based on complete randomness, that could be easily adapted inside a periodical publication and that required almost nothing to be played. Despite its simplicity though, the game possessed a sort of «emotional complexity», thanks to its incidents (represented by different squares with positive or negative effects) and therefore to its inherent «dramatic» quality, which is to say the possibility of recovering from a weaker position during the match.[28] Traditionally, the less desirable square of the board was that of death, while the more appealing one was that pictured by a goose, prompting a second casting of the dices and therefore a more fast-paced movement. These fa-

28 João Pedro Neto and Jorge Nuno Silva: Measuring Drama in Goose-like Games. In: Board Game Studies Journal 10 (2016), p. 104.

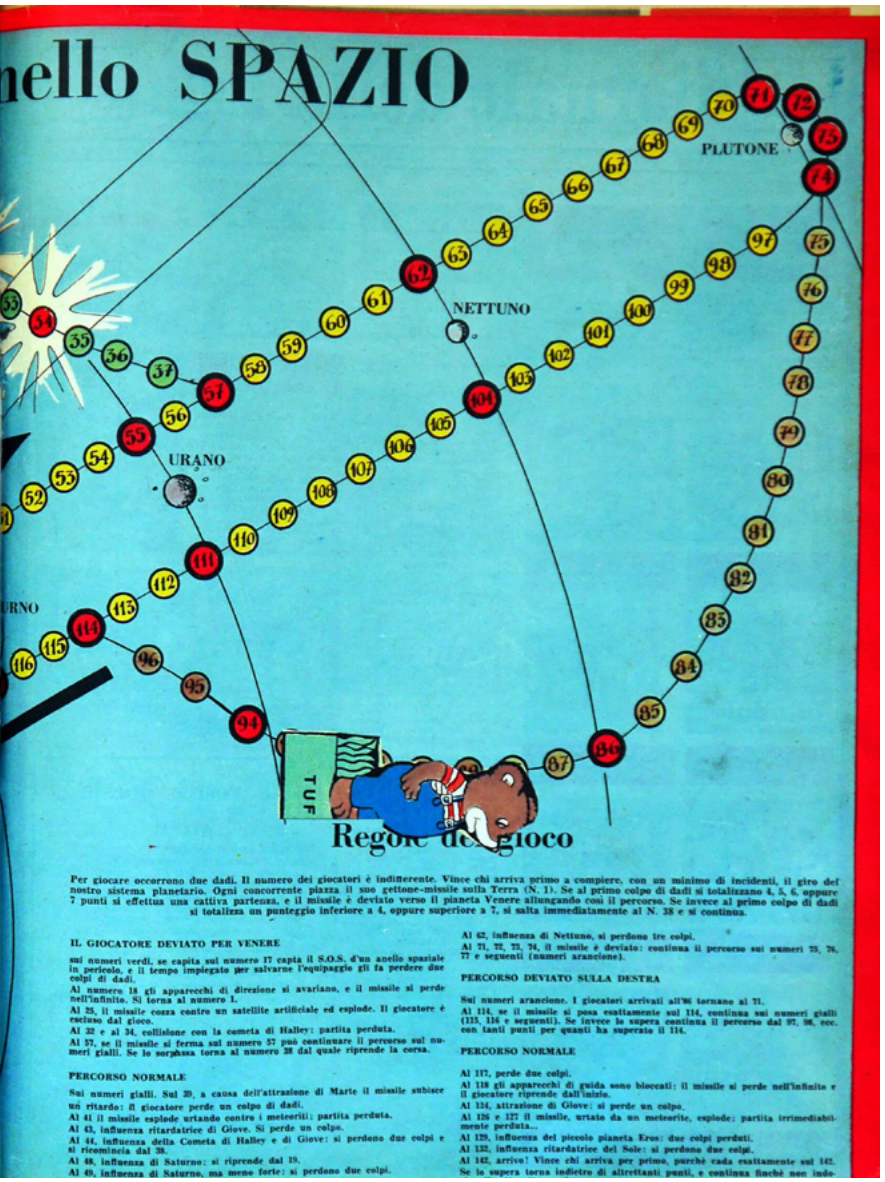


Fig. 6 Pioniere Nr. 27. Roma, Sunday 5 July 1959, pp. 8-9. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1959/file/1169-n-27-anno-1959.html. Original issue archived by Archivio del Centro Studi Piero Gobetti, Turin, Italy.

miliar symbols were well-suited to many adaptations and translations, giving life to an immeasurable amount of different versions and to a strong tradition of *Games of the Goose* with explicit educational or moral purposes.[29]

Faithful to this tradition, the *Pioniere* tailored many iterations of the game. In the cases selected here, the chosen topic of space exploration allowed for a vast array of customization, making an old pastime both fashionable again and useful as a moral and pedagogical tool. The boards of *Viaggio su marte* (fig. 4) and *Gioco del 2000* (fig. 5), the two games more closely related to the original structure of the *Game of the Goose*, were quite similar, each one proposing two young astronauts as characters, one male and the other female, and populated by analogous squares, themed on the various imaginary perils of typical space adventures.[30]

The players could encounter engine failures or get scared by a «solar storm» and lose turns, but they could also be propelled by fantastical «cosmic rays» or

29 Adrian Seville: The Cultural Legacy of the Royal Game of the Goose. 400 Years of Printed Board Games. Amsterdam 2019.

30 Viaggio su Marte. In: Pioniere 20 (1960), pp. 10 and 16. Not signed. Gioco del 2000. In: Pioniere 40 (1956), pp. 12f. Not signed.

be helped by the autopilot, prompting a fresh cast of the dices. Thus, the simple leisure activity of gaming served to provide a visual and material representation of the space race as something that was both easily achievable in the long run and appropriate for children, even if female. It is obviously not casual that two out of three examples were published after the successful launch of the Sputnik I, in October 1957: Now that Communism was ahead in the race for space, the young audience was encouraged to reenact the tropes of countless science fictional and adventurous tales. Through an innocent roll of dice, children and adolescents in Italy could now take at least partial possession of a technological and scientific enterprise that was removed from their experience, even if it populated the panorama of mass communication more and more.

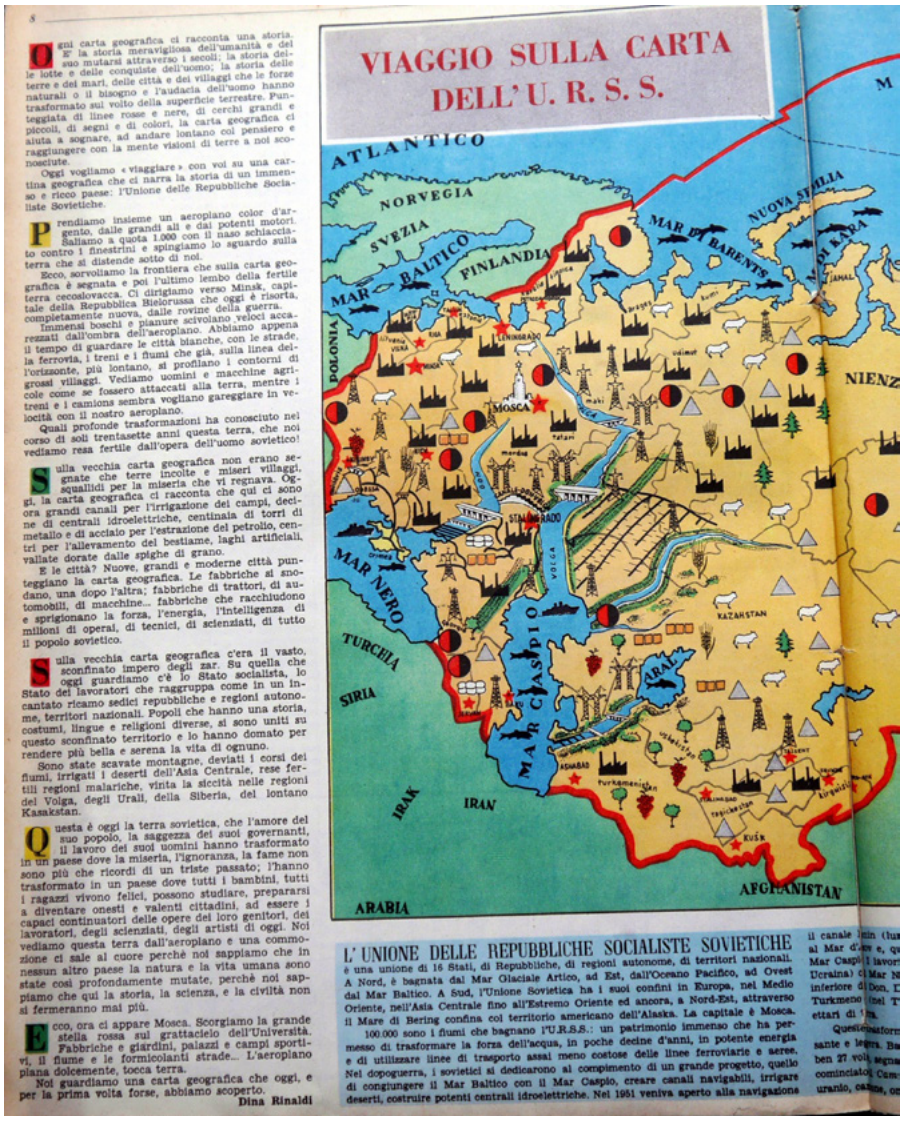
The *Pioniere*, we could say, did not miss the opportunity of appealing to the growing craze for all things space-themed, catering to the tastes and dreams of its readers to provide a vision of scientific progress that was less adventurous and more playful and friendly. Even if the educative content was in scarce quantity, the drawings were of a general higher quality compared to other materials published in the magazine, and the situations depicted in every square, with the two children gleefully wondering through the stars, were cartoonish and reassuring. It must be noted though that *Viaggio su Marte*, published four years after *Gioco del 2000* and clearly created as a rendition of that first attempt at space-themed board games, adopted a different pictorial style while sporting an almost identical visual design. The same subjects, redrawn in 1960, were less round in shape and less childish, using a smaller palette of nuanced colors and a sterner type of figures, sketched using fewer lines.

The 1959 game titled *Viaggio nello spazio* (fig. 6) was also a slightly more complex and adult endeavor into the realm of popular pastime: still based on the *Game of the Goose*, this race game adopted a restrained visual presentation that took large inspiration from scientific depictions of our solar system.[31]

The players were invited to take a longer and more educational trip around the system, with three possible routes, each distinguished by different hazards and, most notably, with no possibilities of speeding up the pacing of the journey. All the spaces on the board, in fact, were home to dangers and failures, many times implying the destruction of the rocket, with no room for lucky squares or magical shortcuts.

As such, the game was not only more refined; it was also conceived as a more realistic depiction of future space explorations, with many detours and difficulties. The educational nature was especially evident in the detailed rendering of the basic notions of astronomy, such as the names of the planets and their relative positioning. Here then, the performativity of gaming was actively combined with the educational opportunities offered by visual entertainment. The space race was charmingly drawn as a path with a clear goal, although not as a route so straightforward as in a purely positivist vision, and the public of the magazine was guided in its playing activity. If the

31 Viaggio nello spazio. In: Pioniere 27 (1959), pp. 8f. Not signed.



VIAGGIO SULLA CARTA DELL' U. R. S. S.

Ogni carta geografica ci racconta una storia. E' la storia meravigliosa dell'umanità e dei suo mutarsi attraverso i secoli; la storia delle lotte e delle conquiste dell'uomo; la storia delle terre e dei mari, delle città e dei villaggi che le forze naturali o il bisogno e l'audacia dell'uomo hanno trasformato sul volto della superficie terrestre. Punteggiata di linee rosse e nere, di cerchi grandi e piccoli, di segni e di colori, la carta geografica ci aiuta a sognare, ad andare lontano col pensiero e raggiungere con la mente visioni di terre a noi sconosciute.

Oggi vogliamo «viaggiare» con voi su una cartina geografica che ci narra la storia di un immenso e ricco paese: l'Unione delle Repubbliche Socialiste Sovietiche.

Prendiamo insieme un aeroplano color d'argento, dalle grandi ali e dai potenti motori. Saliamo a quota 1.000 con il naso schicciato contro i finestrini e spingiamo lo sguardo sulla terra che si distende sotto di noi.

Ecco, sorvoliamo la frontiera che sulla carta geografica è segnata e poi l'ultimo lembo della fertile terra cecoslovacca. Ci dirigiamo verso Minsk, capitale della Repubblica Bielorussa che oggi è risorta, completamente nuova, dalle rovine della guerra.

Immensi boschi e pianure scivolano veloci accarezzati dall'ombra dell'aeroplano. Abbiamo appena il tempo di guardare le città bianche, con le strade, la ferrovia, i treni e i fiumi che già, sulla linea dell'orizzonte, più lontano, si profilano i contorni di grossi villaggi. Vediamo uomini e macchine agricole come se fossero attaccati alla terra, mentre i treni e i camions sembra vogliano gareggiare in velocità con il nostro aeroplano.

Quali profonde trasformazioni ha conosciuto nel corso di soli trentasette anni questa terra, che noi vediamo resa fertile dall'opera dell'uomo sovietico!

Sulla vecchia carta geografica non erano segnate che terre incolte e miseri villaggi, squallidi per la miseria che vi regnava. Oggi, la carta geografica ci racconta che qui ci sono ora grandi canali per l'irrigazione dei campi, decine di centrali idroelettriche, centinaia di torri di metallo e di acciaio per l'estrazione del petrolio, centri per l'allevamento del bestiame, laghi artificiali, vallate dorate dalle spighe di grano.

E le città? Nuove, grandi e moderne città punteggiano la carta geografica. Le fabbriche si snodano, una dopo l'altra; fabbriche di trattori, di automobili, di macchine... fabbriche che racchiudono e sprigionano la forza, l'energia, l'intelligenza di milioni di operai, di tecnici, di scienziati, di tutto il popolo sovietico.

Sulla vecchia carta geografica c'era il vasto, sconfinato impero degli zar. Su quella che oggi guardiamo c'è lo Stato socialista, lo Stato dei lavoratori che raggruppa come in un incantato ricamo sedici repubbliche e regioni autonome, territori nazionali. Popoli che hanno una storia, costumi, lingue e religioni diverse, si sono uniti su questo sconfinato territorio e lo hanno domato per rendere più bella e serena la vita di ognuno.

Sono state scavate montagne, deviati i corsi dei fiumi, irrigati i deserti dell'Asia Centrale, rese fertili regioni malariche, vinta la siccità nelle regioni del Volga, degli Urali, della Siberia, del lontano Kasakstan.

Questa è oggi la terra sovietica, che l'amore del suo popolo, la saggezza dei suoi governanti, il lavoro dei suoi uomini hanno trasformato in un paese dove la miseria, l'ignoranza, la fame non sono più che ricordi di un triste passato; l'hanno trasformato in un paese dove tutti i bambini, tutti i ragazzi vivono felici, possono studiare, prepararsi a diventare onesti e valenti cittadini, ad essere i capaci continuatori delle opere dei loro genitori, dei lavoratori, degli scienziati, degli artisti di oggi. Noi vediamo questa terra dall'aeroplano e una commozione ci sale al cuore perchè noi sappiamo che in nessun altro paese la natura e la vita umana sono state così profondamente mutate, perchè noi sappiamo che qui la storia, la scienza, e la civiltà non si fermeranno mai più.

Ecco, ora ci appare Mosca. Scorgiamo la grande stella rossa sul grattacielo dell'Università. Fabbriche e giardini, palazzi e campi sportivi, il fiume e le formicolanti strade... L'aeroplano plana dolcemente, tocca terra.

Noi guardiamo una carta geografica che oggi, e per la prima volta forse, abbiamo scoperto.

Dina Rinaldi

L' UNIONE DELLE REPUBBLICHE SOCIALISTE SOVIETICHE è una unione di 16 Stati, di Repubbliche, di regioni autonome, di territori nazionali. A Nord, è bagnata dal Mar Glaciale Artico, ad Est, dall'Oceano Pacifico, ad Ovest dal Mar Baltico. A Sud, l'Unione Sovietica ha i suoi confini in Europa, nel Medio Oriente, nell'Asia Centrale fino all'Estremo Oriente ed ancora, a Nord-Est, attraverso il Mare di Bering confina col territorio americano dell'Alaska. La capitale è Mosca.

100.000 sono i fiumi che bagnano l'U.R.S.S.: un patrimonio immenso che ha permesso di trasformare la forza dell'acqua, in poche decine d'anni, in potente energia e di utilizzare linee di trasporto assai meno costose delle linee ferroviarie e aeree. Nel dopoguerra, i sovietici si dedicarono al compimento di un grande progetto, quello di congiungere il Mar Baltico con il Mar Caspio, creare canali navigabili, irrigare deserti, costruire potenti centrali idroelettriche. Nel 1951 veniva aperto alla navigazione il canale [illegible]

ATLANTICO
NORVEGIA
SVEZIA
MAR BALTICO
FINLANDIA
MAR DI BARENTS
POLONIA
MOSCA
LENINGRADO
STALINGRADO
MAR NERO
MAR CASPIO
TURCHIA
SIRIA
IRAK
IRAN
KAZAKSTAN
ARALO
AFGHANISTAN
ARABIA

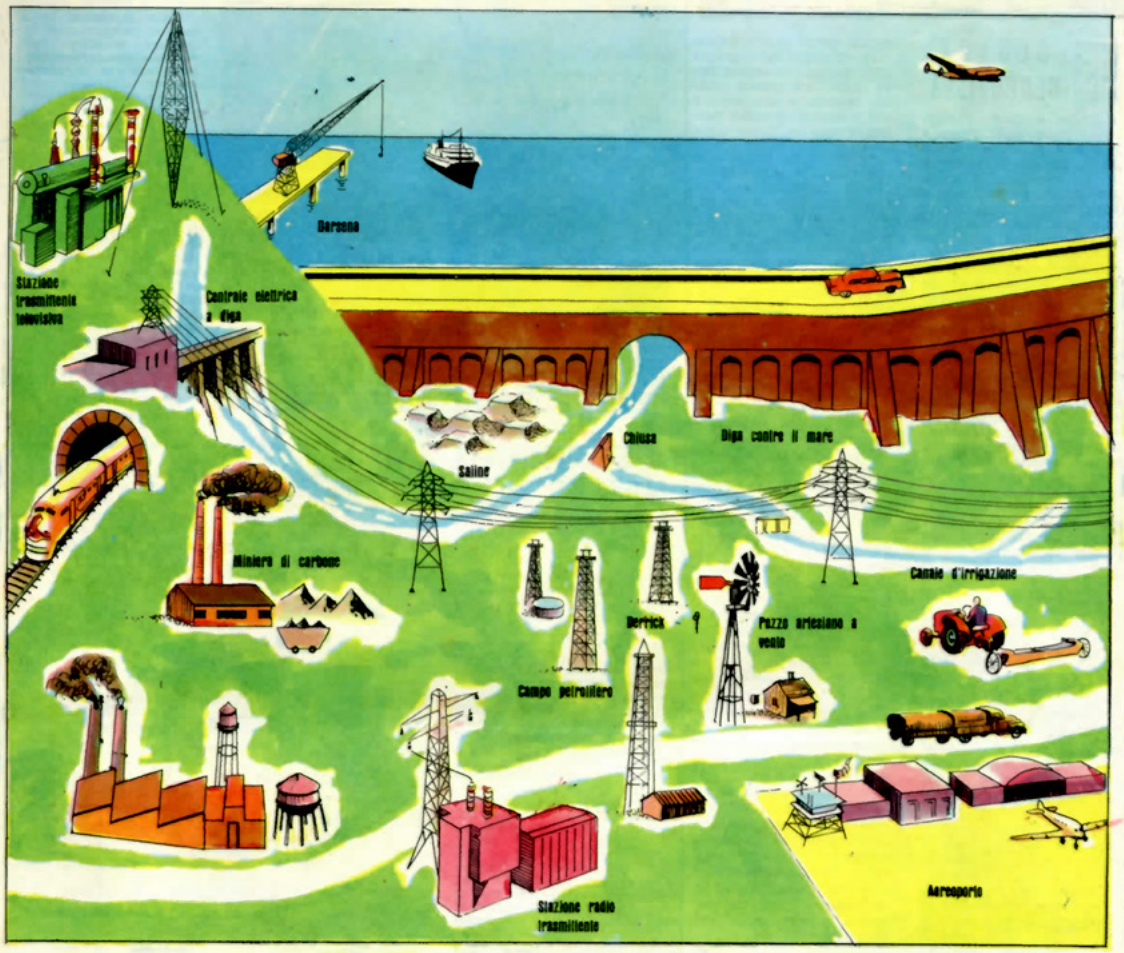
Fig. 7 Pioniere Nr. 49. Roma, Sunday, 12 December 1954, pp. 8-9. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1954/file/556-n-49-anno-1954.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Istituto Regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nelle Marche, Ancona, Italy.

young readers adopted in their free time the boards offered by the periodical, they would in fact play as astronauts, as was surely in fashion at the time, but without the risk of incurring in any capitalist propaganda or in whimsical fantasies about alien monsters or superhuman heroes.

The three games examined here well articulate the important role played by fantasy and imagination in the Italian leftwing space propaganda and science popularization. At the same time, though, these examples testify of the precise boundaries imposed to fictional imaginaries to be considered acceptable in the communist and socialist cultural horizon. Space could be colorful and kid-friendly, more akin to the setting of a fairytale, or it could be represented as a serious matter, requiring skills, preparation and, most importantly, education, but it would never be rendered as a simple backdrop for superheroes.

In conclusion, wonder, satire and playfulness, the three modes of visual representation taken into account here, could be read as the fruit of a quest for balance in scientific dissemination. They were fundamental to capture the audience's interest and to encourage the

L'UOMO DOMINA LA NATURA



L'uomo si è ormai impadronito delle onde magnetiche per trasmettere a distanza, attraverso la radio e la televisione, la sua voce e la sua immagine; penetra nelle viscere della terra per scavarne metalli e combustibili, per farne sprizzar fuori il petrolio; fora le montagne per attraversarle con i suoi mezzi di locomozione, imbriglia e devia il corso dei fiumi e contro il mare erige dighe gigantesche, per contendere al liquido elemento nuove terre da coltivare, da far produrre. Così, nel corso degli ultimi millenni l'uomo ha piegato le forze della natura.

IL leone, per procacciarsi il cibo, ha le zanne e le unghie potenti; l'orso ha la folta pelliccia che lo protegge dai freddi polari; il corpo della tartaruga è difeso dalla dura corazza del guscio; la lepre è tanto veloce da poter fuggire qualunque nemico. L'uomo non ha niente di tutto questo: fisicamente è l'animale più indifeso che esista sulla faccia della Terra. Ma l'uomo ha la sua intelligenza. Ed è l'intelligenza che gli ha permesso di elaborare tecniche e di costruirsi strumenti con i quali diventare il dominatore della natura. Grazie al controllo del fuoco e alla sua capacità di prepararsi indumenti ed abitazioni, l'uomo può vivere indifferentemente tra i ghiacci del polo o nelle elevate temperature dell'Equatore. Coi treni e le automobili può superare di gran lunga la lepre più veloce; con gli aeroplani può salire più in alto dell'aquila; con i telescopi può vedere più lontano del falco; con le armi da fuoco, infine, può abbattere anche quegli animali che nemmeno il leone osa affrontare.

E non basta. L'uomo si è impadronito delle onde magnetiche per trasmettere a distanza, attraverso la radio e la televisione, la sua voce e la sua immagine; penetra nelle viscere della terra per scavarne metalli e combustibili, per farne sprizzar fuori il petrolio; fora le montagne per attraversarle con i suoi mezzi di locomozione, imbriglia e devia il corso dei fiumi e contro il mare erige dighe gigantesche, per contendere al liquido elemento nuove terre da coltivare, da far produrre.

A poco a poco, nel corso degli ultimi millenni (ben piccolo tempo, di fronte ai tre miliardi di anni del nostro pianeta) l'uomo si è impadronito delle forze della natura e sempre più le va piegando ai suoi bisogni, ai suoi scopi.

Quando comincia a far buio e nella vostra stanza ogni oggetto diventa indistinto, voi compite uno dei gesti più banali della giornata: girate la chiavetta dell'interruttore elettrico e accendete la luce. In quel momento non pensate neppure che anche questo vostro semplicissimo gesto altro non è che la affermazione del dominio dell'uomo sulla natura. Infatti, perché i filamenti metallici racchiusi nel bulbo di vetro della vostra lampadina divengano incandescenti sotto l'azione dell'energia elettrica e illuminino così la vostra stanza, sono stati impegnati macchinari complicati, i materiali più diversi, le invenzioni e il lavoro di migliaia di uomini. E' stata costruita una centrale elettrica, il corso di un fiume è stato sbarrato e la forza delle sue acque trasformata dalle dinamo in elettricità, chilometri e chilometri di cavo elettrico, sostenuti da tralicci di ferro, hanno condotto l'elettricità fin nella vostra stanza. Per costruire le macchine e i tralicci ci son volute tonnellate di ferro, estratte dalle miniere; la gomma isolante per la conduzione è stata colta nelle piantagioni tropicali e trasportata in Europa da navi (costruite anch'esse da tonnellate di ferro e d'acciaio); la canapa che circonda le condutture, viene trasportata dai vagoni ferroviari, da piantagioni più vicine; e poi ancora c'è il rame, il vetro e la porcellana degli isolanti, le materie plastiche con le quali sono costruiti gli interruttori. E sopratutto c'è il lavoro degli uomini nelle fabbriche, nelle centrali, nei porti, nelle piantagioni, nelle miniere...

Alcune cifre sulla produzione — e quindi sul consumo — mondiale delle materie alle quali abbiamo accennato, vi faranno riflettere. Si producono, in tutto il mondo, 185 milioni di tonellate d'acciaio, 2 milioni e 300 mila tonnellate di rame, 2 milioni di tonnellate di gomma, 2 milioni di tonnellate di canapa. Ecco perchè, quando voi girate il commutatore elettrico della vostra stanza si accende la luce.

Ritagliare la parte alta della pagina, quella riquadrata e incollarla a pag. 31 dell'albo "La terra, l'uomo, l'universo".

Fig. 8 Pioniere Nr. 32. Roma, Sunday 5 August 1956, p. 9. Digital reproduction available online thanks to Comitato ricerche Associazione Pionieri, http://www.ilpioniere.org/pioniere/anno-1956/file/160-n-32-anno-1956.html. Original issue archived by Archivio Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, Bologna, Italy.

investment in education, but they could also prove well-suited to support a vision of technology that placed men and the improvement of his material conditions as the only meaningful aim of progress. The younger generations had to become able to exert a sufficient mastery over new technical developments, but they were also taught to be skeptical about the myth of boundless progress and of the selfness commitment of scientists. Science was indeed a political endeavor, and it was to be judged by its impact on society at large: for the Italian communists and socialists no place embodied this concept as well as the Soviet Union did.

In a feature from 12 December 1954, for example, the public was once again served a large and detailed image and encouraged to peak at all its many small particulars (fig. 7).[32]

The drawing in question was a map of the USSR that invited everyone to count the many industrial, mineral and productive sites that were marked on chart. The curiosity of children and adolescents, metaphorically embarked for an aerial trip over the Soviet world, was guided by a lengthy comment by the editor in charge, Dina Rinaldi. The text, which I will quote just partially, strongly expressed the admiration for the Soviet Republics: thanks to hard work and science they were able to radically change their face and enter in an era of prosperity.

> Sulla vecchia carta geografica non erano segnate che terre incolte e miseri villaggi, squallidi per la miseria che vi regnava. Oggi, la carta geografica ci racconta che qui ci sono ora grandi canali per l'irrigazione dei campi, decine di centrali idroelettriche, centinaia di torri di metallo e di acciaio per l'estrazione del petrolio, centri per l'allevamento del bestiame, laghi artificiali, vallate dorate dalle spighe di grano.
> E le città? Nuove, grandi e moderne città punteggiano la carta geografica. Le fabbriche si snodano, una dopo l'altra; fabbriche di trattori, di automobili, di macchine… fabbriche che racchiudono e sprigionano la forza, l'energia, l'intelligenza di milioni di operai, di tecnici, di scienziati, di tutto il popolo sovietico.[33]

Conclusion

The discussed illustrated map of the Soviet Union, easily comprehensible and of good quality, was not signed explicitly by any artist. The drawing style and chronological proximity with similar recurring features inside the magazine, though, could suggested that the opus was the work of Mario Sturani, a famed ceramist, scientist, and entomologist that worked as an illustrator for the *Pioniere* during the mid-1950s. The precise and recognizable lines and colors of Sturani left their mark in a recurrent section in that same year (1954) that was devoted to explaining the achievements of science and engineering: the column was called «L'uomo doma la Natura», which could be translated as «Man Tames Nature». As the title suggested, every week the illustrator showcased a notable technical accomplishment that helped men overcome

32 Viaggio sulla carta dell'U.R.S.S. In: Pioniere 49 (1954), pp. 8f. Not signed. All translations by the author.

33 Dina Rinaldi: accompanying text for «Viaggio sulla carta dell'U.R.S.S.» In: Pioniere 49 (1954), p. 8. «On the old map there was nothing more than uncultivated lands and miserable villages, made bleak by the misery that reigned there. Today, the map tells us of large canals for irrigating fields, of dozens of hydroelectric power plants, of hundreds of metal and steel towers for oil extraction, of centers for cattle breeding, of artificial lakes, of valleys golden with corn. And the cities? New, large, modern cities dot the map. The many factories unfold, one after the other; tractor factories, automobile factories, machine factories … factories that contain and unleash the strength, the energy, the intelligence of millions of workers, of technicians, of scientists, of all the Soviet people.»

the limits imposed by nature, and the examples ranged from the reclamation of land in the Netherlands to the civilian use of nuclear energy in the USSR.

Even more interesting for us, is the very similar series of informational features that was published in the second half of 1956, with a similar name, albeit without any signature. In one of the episodes, now titled «Man Rules Nature» («L'uomo domina la natura»), the author, possibly again Sturani, spoke of a mankind that «had bent the forces of nature» and showed in its serious but vibrant illustrations the many inventions of human resourcefulness (fig. 8).[34]

The report portrayed dams, coal mines, airports, and tunnels. This figure of human productivity took the upper half of the page, while the rest of the section was completed by an explanatory text that introduced the feature. Man, it was written, devoid of any physical defense, had only his intelligence, and it was this feature that «gli ha permesso di elaborare tecniche e di costruirsi strumenti con i quali diventare il dominatore della natura».[35] Just a tiny piece of this great intellectual effort was asked of children and young readers: to begin exerting their scientific comprehension, they could just cut the illustrations from the page and collect them in a separated booklet, together with all of the other installments of the feature. A small, illustrated album would take form, housing only educational and scientific information in a convenient format, and granting the youth with a stronger possession of the images and notions published by the periodical.

We can see again at work an editorial and cultural practice that emerged as typical of the *Pioniere*. A strong and precise approach to science, casting human utility as a decisive factor, was coupled with a use of illustrated materials that encouraged an active stance on the part of the reader. Thus, in opposition to common belief, the visual side of juvenile publications emerges from these samples as a complex object of analysis. Something that was not simply used as a minor support for text, but that in turn was central to the design of the magazines and that was carefully composed to foster an active decoding by the audiences, and not just a passive gaze to absorb rules and information.

Given its ideological and social importance, the diffusion and popularization of science was a well-suited field to engage in such a communicative experiment, as it required bigger efforts of abstract thinking and imagination, while being also closely tied to the modernization of mediatic codes. In conclusion, the visual and narratives practices of the *Pioniere* testify that the challenge of diffusing acceptable visions of progress was deemed important by the Italian Left, and that media such as comics or illustrations could be useful instrument to reinforce and strengthen the moral and pedagogical messages heralded by the magazine. In the end, the 1950s in Italy could be read as the foundational moment of this communist and socialist attitude towards science and technology. The following decade, brightened by the star of heroic cosmonaut Gagarin, would in fact register a revamping of themes and symbols already well-established in the previous

34 Not signed: L'uomo domina la natura. In: Pioniere 32 (1956), p. 9.

35 Ibid. «[…] allowed him to develop techniques and build tools with which to become the ruler of nature».

years. The readings of technical progress solidified during the 1950s would offer to Italian leftwing culture some guiding concepts to try to interpret the times after 1961, marked by the definitive diffusion of consumerism and by the progressive muzzling of the political myth of Soviet communism.

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Mara Logaldo

When *Peanuts* Became *linus*
Re-Contextualisation through Translation

«A bourgeois magazine with a bent for publishing the best comics out there»

In an age where «it is increasingly difficult to define the personality of the cultural products we consume», as they mainly respond to the question «where is the project?»,[1] discussing a magazine that clearly had a personality is no marginal point. As we read in the editorial of the first issue of *linus* (1965-), dated 1st April, the name was chosen because Linus van Pelt is a «Peanuts» character full of graphic fantasy, «he paints in the air»,[2] and because it was easy to remember and pronounce, considering the Italian diction (/ˈlɪnus/). At the same time, the magazine was the outcome of a clear project. Following the distinction between managers and intellectuals made by Shiffrin in «L'Edition sans éditeur»,[3] Interdonato affirms that the founders of *linus* were first of all intellectuals, despite their claim to publish high-quality comics «senza pregiudizi intellettualistici».[4] The idea of printing a «Comics and Illustration Magazine», as stated in the subheading, and to present to the Italian audience graphic literature from long-acclaimed as well as new authors (E.C. Segar, Al Capp, George Herriman, Walt Kelly, Guido Crepax, among others) was born from the conversations of Ranieri Carano, Elio Vittorini, Umberto Eco, Vittorio Spinazzola, Bruno and Franco Cavallone, and Oresto Del Buono, who gathered in Giovanni Gandini and Anna Maria Gregorietti's bookshop in via Verdi in Milan to discuss an issue that they considered «molto importante e seria, anche se apparentemente frivola: i fumetti di Charlie Brown».[5] In 1963 Milano Libri had also become a publishing brand, which, after acquiring the rights from the United Features Syndicate, initially printed the «Peanuts» stories in book form – *Arriva Charlie Brown!* (Charlie Brown Is Coming!, 1963), followed one year later by *Povero Charlie Brown!* and *Il terzo libro di Charlie Brown* (Poor Charlie Brown and Charlie Brown's Third Book, 1964).

1 Paolo Interdonato: Linus. Storia di una rivoluzione nata per gioco. Milan 2015, p. 11.

2 linus 1 (1965), p. 1. See also Eco's description of Linus in Umberto Eco: Apocalittici e integrati. Milan 1964, pp. 270f. «Despite being the epitome of all the neuroses of the technological age, «Linus rivela improvvisamente, a tratti, abilità fantascientifiche e maestrie vertiginose: costruisce giochi di allucinante equilibrio, colpisce a volo un quarto di dollaro con la cocca della copertina schioccata come una frusta (‹the fastest blanket in the West!›).» Umberto Eco: Apocalypse Postponed, trans. by William Weaver. Bloomington 1994, p. 57: «Linus reveals suddenly, in bursts, fantastic abilities and dazzling skills: he performs feats of amazing equilibrium, he can strike a quarter flung in the air with the edge of his blanket, snapping it like a whip (‹the fastest blanket in the West!›)».

3 André Shiffrin: L'Édition sans éditeurs. Paris 1999.

4 linus 1 (1965), p. 1: «without intellectual

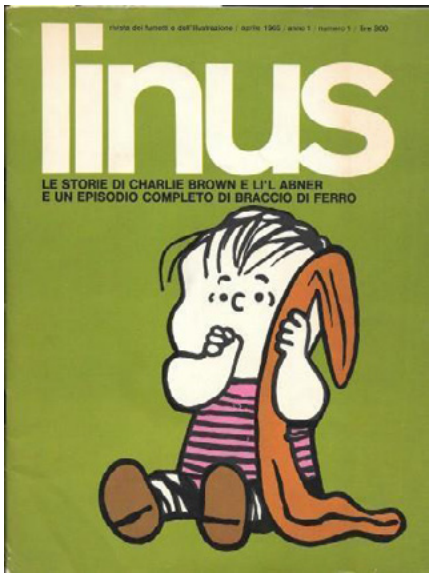


Fig. 1 linus N° 1, April 1965.
Courtesy of *linus*.

prejudices». (All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.)

5 Ibid: «very important and serious, even if apparently frivolous, Charlie Brown comics».

6 Cf. «La posta di Charlie Brown». In: linus 4 (1965), pp. 19f.

7 Oreste Del Buono: Poco da ridere. Storia privata della satira, dall'*Asino* a *linus*. Bari 1976, p. 124. «[…] wasn't in the least concerned with Italian satire».

8 Ibid., p. 126. «[…] a bourgeois magazine with a bent for publishing the best comics out there».

9 «Referendum – I». In: linus 5 (1965), p. 17.

10 Ibid., p. 20.

Despite its distinct personality, however, the magazine did not introduce itself as a personified object but rather as a graphic space. The choice of not capitalizing the name «linus» on the cover page (fig. 1) was probably dictated by a search for graphic neatness, the intention to offer its readers a magazine typographically as flawless and clean as possible.[6] But it might also have been inspired by the contemporary skyline of Milan, recently transformed by the appearance of two skyscrapers, the Velasca Tower (1957) and Gio Ponti's Pirelli Tower (1960). In the impeccable Helvetica font of the heading, now a very common typeface but quite a novelty at the time as it had been invented by the Swiss Max Miedinger only eight years before, the ‹l› twinned with the ‹i›, formed (but for the brief interruption under the square dot) two, almost identical, parallelepiped that soared vertically like the skyscrapers of glass, concrete and steel that had become part of the setting in which the magazine was born. In the 1960s, with its architectural symbols of post-war economic renaissance and the minimalist underground designed by Franco Albini, Milan appeared as the modern city par excellence. It had a thriving cultural life and a booming economy, which also justified the possibility of putting on the market a monthly more than twice as expensive as other comics: 300 against the average 50-150 liras.

In spite of its left-wing collocation, *linus* «non si preoccupava minimamente della satira italiana»[7], according to one of its founders, Oreste del Buono, and was, admittedly, «un giornalino borghese con la tendenza a pubblicare i migliori fumetti in circolazione».[8] The results of the first survey, titled «Referendum», in issue 5 revealed that most of its readers were high-school or university students, academics, and white-collar workers (clerks and professionals). Only the lowest percentage, 20 out of 1484 respondents, belonged to the category of «artisans»; factory workers were not even contemplated as an option.[9] On the same page, we find a satirical vignette (fig. 2) from the series published in the magazine *MAD* (Issue 97) whose title parodied Charles M. Schulz' famous quote «Happiness is a warm puppy», changing it «with cruel but funny humour», as the comment underlined, to «Being rich is better than a warm puppy».[10]

In the next years, the «Referendum» was followed by two more surveys that confirmed the social extraction of the magazine's readership. The average «linusiano» or «linusiana» was playfully sketched as a 24-year-old, newly-graduate or soon-to-graduate student who liked wearing velvet jackets, liberty ties, loden coats, English shoes and Rabanne trinkets, a cosmopolite whose favourite cities were London (for men) and Paris (for women), and who sympathised,

Fig. 2 linus N° 5, August 1965, p. 20.

among others, with the two Bobs (Dylan and Kennedy), Pablos (Picasso and Neruda), and Corsos (Gregory and Mariolino[11]).[12] However, in 1968, when *linus* was accused by its readers of not taking their protests seriously enough, this condescending portraiture would provide the material for a sour rejoinder. The editors reminded their readers of Pasolini's indignant verses written after witnessing the fights between the young protesters and the police at Villa Giulia in Rome: with the lens of ideology, the students were on the right side and the police on the wrong side; but from the viewpoint of class struggle, what Pasolini saw were the spoiled children of the bourgeoisie (the students) beating up the sons of the proletariat (the policemen).[13]

Criticism was also targeted to the snobbish attitude of those readers who looked down at mass culture and considered comics a genre for the happy few, treating the newly initiated as *parvenus*.[14] At the same time, some letters expressed mixed feelings towards an editorial product which was clearly perceived as the epitome of mass culture. A reader prophetically wrote that he could foresee the time when «Peanuts» clubs would be founded, with badges and pennants, and Snoopy gadgets produced and given to girlfriends as presents.[15] In *Apocalittici e integrati*, published only one year before the appearance of the magazine, Eco had dedicated a whole chapter to comics as an expression of mass culture. The semiotician admitted that comics were top-down products, not the genuine outcome of popular culture. Yet, as the title of the book suggested, he pioneered a cultural phase in which the apocalyptic view of intellectuals who stigmatised mass culture as immoral and irrevocably decadent would be replaced by critical acceptance and active optimism.

Eco tried to legitimise comics through the recognition of their creative value, which transcended any political and even sociological interpretation. He pointed out that not even Al Capp's *Li'l Abner*, with its merciless portraiture of American province in the imaginary counties of Dogpatch and Slobbovia, could escape the paternalizing gaze of its creator, whether consciously or unconsciously.

> E se i fumetti di Al Capp sviluppano, attraverso le avventure di Li'l Abner, una critica dei tic e dei miti americani, talora con indomita cattiveria – penso alla satira di una società opulenta fondata sul consumo, che la

11 Mario (‹Mariolino›) Corso was a football player and the coach of FC Internazionale Milano team between 1957 and 1975.

12 linus 25 (1967), pp. 24f.

13 Pier Paolo Pasolini: Il PCI ai giovani! In: L'Espresso 24 (1968). Reprinted in: Nuovi Argomenti 10 (April-June 1968), pp. 17-29. To read the editors' comments, s. footnote 73.

14 Vittorio Spinazzola: Noi fumettomani. In: linus 3 (1965), p. 1.

15 «La posta di Charlie Brown». In: linus 3 (1965), p. 18.

storia dello Schmoo ha così gustosamente protratto per un certo tempo – tuttavia anche questa critica è sempre tenuta su uno sfondo indistruttibile di bonomia e di ottimismo, mentre il teatro degli avvenimenti, la cittadina di Dogpatch, nella sua dimensione «strapaesana» riduce costantemente a livello di saga primitiva il mordente dei vari attacchi e situazioni che in origine erano concrete e delimitabili.[16]

Nevertheless, he pointed out, just like any other kind of artists belonging to a cultural and economic system, cartoonists have a degree of autonomy, and it is in that space of intellectual freedom that their art, their genius, can emerge. The artist's mastery of discursive practices allows the creation of something compelling, powerful, crystal-clear, and effective, which supports shared myths and values; stock characters cease to be mechanical puppets and become actual social types; at the same time, the social satire they enact can rise above stereotypes and touch an inner, universal chord.[17] Comics are not just for children's entertainment or a cheap form of evasion from humdrum reality that adults can experience while comfortably sitting in their armchairs after dinner. The experience of reading comics is a spell that breaks the routine of consumption or cheap evasion and verges on meditation.[18] Like a peculiar kind of visual score, comics can attain the condition of music. Interviewed for the first issue of *linus*, Eco compares «Peanuts» strips to jazz, where the same musical phrase is persistently repeated,[19] while the editorial underlines that Schulz's strips are an «uninterrupted poem».[20]

Significantly, Eco points out that the spell only occurs when this lyrical vein meets seriality and, to exemplify his point, he establishes a connection between the myth of Scheherazade and comics (he refers to George Herriman's «Krazy Kat», but the argument is later applied to the «Peanuts»). Their power lies in memory and stems from the reiteration of the experience: «la breve storia giornaliera o settimanale, la striscia tradizionale, anche se racconta un fatto che si conclude nel giro di quattro vignette, non funziona presa a sé, ma acquista ogni sapore solo nella sequenza continua e testarda che si snoda, striscia dopo striscia, giorno per giorno».[21]

Serialization is thus seen as a «structural fact»[22] which, on the one hand, confirms that comics belong to consumeristic culture while, on the other, rescues them from their condition of ephemeral commodities whose short lives coincide with their presence at the newsagents – «only long enough to wrap fish in», it may be added, borrowing an expression that would later be used by Al Capp[23] – and whose fruition lasts the time of sipping a cup of coffee.[24] Moreover, unlike newspapers, a monthly entirely dedicated to comics would offer the readers not just a window in a wall of text but a world that they could enter with comforting regularity. As Fazli points out, «monthly or bi-monthly publication cycles provide stable and unrushed rhythms».[25]

Significantly, Eco's chapter on comics was titled «Charlie Brown's World».[26] And indeed, the idea behind *linus* was that of putting the world into a magazine. Giovanni Gandini once remarked

16 Eco: Apocalittici e integrati, p. 264. Trans., p. 51: «And if the famous strips of Al Capp, through the adventures of Li'l Abner, present a criticism of American tics and myths, at times with irrepressible nastiness – for instance, the satire of an opulent society based on consumption, featured for some time in the story of Shmoo – it is also always seen against an indestructible background of optimism and good humour, while the scene of the events, the village of Dogpatch, in its pastoral dimension, regularly dulls the bite of the various attacks on situations originally concrete and troubling».

17 Ibid., p. 265.

18 Ibid., p. 268.

19 Ibid. See also Umberto Eco: Charlie Brown e i fumetti. In: linus 1 (1965), p. 2.

20 Bruno Cavallone: Alla scoperta dei Peanuts. In: linus 1 (1965), p. 3.

21 Eco: Apocalittici e integrati, p. 266. Trans., p. 52: «the brief daily or weekly story, the traditional strip, even if it narrates an episode that concludes in the space of four panels, will not work if considered separately; rather it acquires flavour only in the continuous and obstinate series, which unfolds strip after strip, day by day».

22 Ibid.

23 Al Capp: How Li'l Abner Became the Intellectuals' Delight. My Life as an Immortal Myth. In: Life 58.17 (30 April, 1965), p. 101.

24 linus 1 (1965), p. 2.

25 Sabina Fazli: Magazines, Affects, and Atmosphere. In: Jutta Ernst / Oliver Scheiding / Dagmar von Hoff (Eds.): Periodical Studies Today: Multidisciplinary Analyses. Leiden, Boston 2022, pp. 205-229, p. 222. See also Oliver Scheiding: Seriality and Or-

10. CHI È « TIRA-MOLLA »?

Questa domanda celava un « sottile » trabocchetto. Si voleva saggiare il grado di « condizionamento » dei nostri lettori. Ma, solo 72 hanno risposto « Charlie Brown », mentre oltre mille hanno fatto riferimento, in qualche modo, all'amico di Cucciolo. Supponiamo, tuttavia, che molti lettori abbiano giustamente osservato che Charlie Brown è, per l'esattezza, « Tira-e-Molla ».

★

11. COS'È IL PIPER?

un aereo	245
uno champagne	45
un locale da ballo	36
un ballo	11
suonatore di cornamusa	16
un animaletto	2
un uccello	1
una pianta rampicante	2
rivista americana	3
riformatorio	1
personaggio dell'Intrepido	1
un missile	2
carne in scatola	1
un pesce	1
cleodotto	1

★

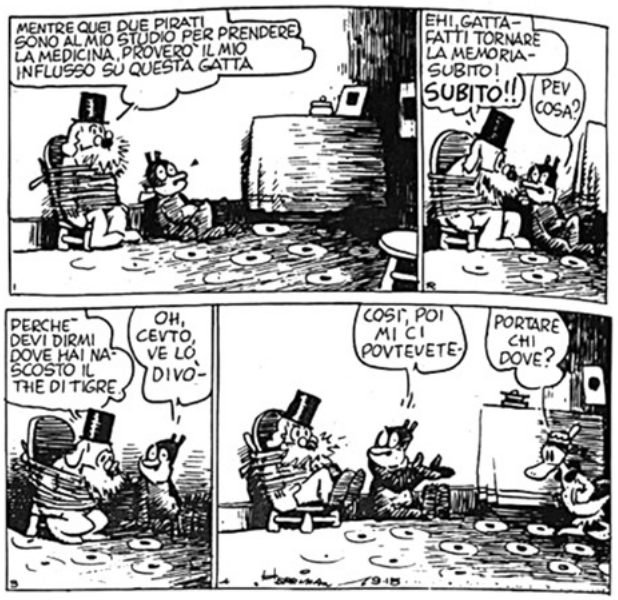
12. LA TELEVISIONE

Le rubriche TV preferite sono « Almanacco » e « TV7 », seguite dai vari cicli di film (molto apprezzati quelli di Alec Guinness). Anche Carosello ha i suoi « aficionados », ma, tutto sommato, non ha risposto a questa domanda più del 30 % dei lettori.

Notizie varie

Il numero 97 di « MAD » dedica una serie di vignette a Schulz, suggerendo all'autore dei " Peanuts " un nuovo tema per pubblicazioni del tipo « La felicità è un cucciolo caldo ». Il titolo « Being rich is better than a warm puppy » è tipico dello spietato, anche se molto divertente, umorismo di « MAD ».

Being rich is having someone else put things back where you got them from.



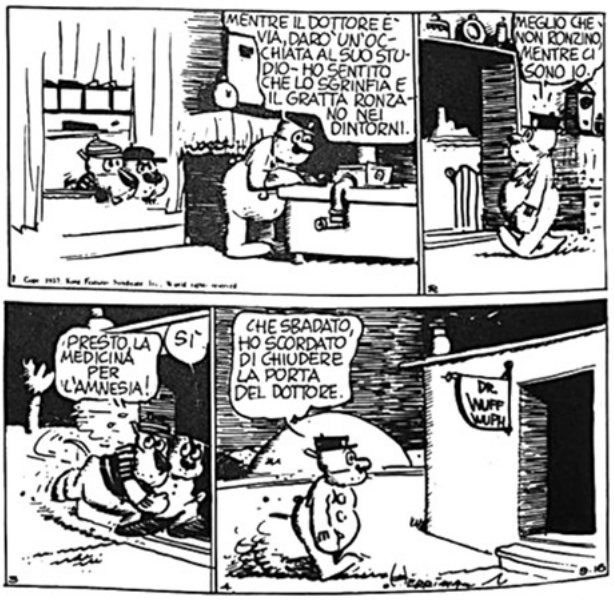


Fig. 3 linus N° 1, April 1965, pp. 18f.

Fig. 4 Supplemento al numero 7 di linus, October 1965.

der. In: Jutta Ernst / Oliver Scheiding / Dagmar von Hoff (Eds.): Periodical Studies Today: Multidisciplinary Analyses. Leiden, Boston 2022, pp. 27-28.

26 Eco: Apocalittici e integrati, pp. 264-272. Trans. pp. 50-58.

27 Interdonato: Linus, pp. 14f.

28 Giovanni Battista Zorzoli: Fantascienza minorenne. In: linus 2 (1965), pp. 1f.

29 linus 9 (1965), p. 25.

30 Antonio Rubino: Storia dei fumetti. In: linus 1 (1965), p. 57. «[I]n the translation process from the original American version to the Italian one, the comics had been maimed, deprived of the distinct trait that represented their novelty».

31 Italo Calvino: Six Memos for the Next Millennium. Cambridge 1988, p. 114.

32 Gianni Bono / Leonardo Gori / Cristiano Zacchino: Il regime dell'avventura. L'industria degli albi e i venti di guerra. In: Gianni Bono / Matteo Stefanelli (Eds.): Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane. Milan 2016, pp. 74-88, p. 74; see also Dario Boemia: Captions and the Narrator's Voice in Italian Comics: Homodiegetic and Autodiegetic Narration in Zerocalcare's Forget my Name. In: Donella Antelmi / Mara Logaldo (Eds.): Testi brevi di accompagnamento. Linguistica, semiotica, traduzione. Mantova 2019, pp. 227-230, p. 227.

that he would never «forget the pleasure of having a magazine and the possibility of saying everything in it».[27] In contrast with the minimalist design of the cover page, the magazine pages were crammed not only with closely juxtaposed comics but also with drawings, editorials, readers' letters in the Charlie Brown's mail page, surveys, announcements of cultural events, games, fans' ads, reviews, an encyclopaedia, and a history of comics (fig. 3).

However, the ambition of a self-contained magazine would soon become problematic. The abundance and variety of contents gave *linus* a centrifugal force which could only be managed by the issue of supplements. In June 1965 the editors had to announce the first one, which would actually be published in October (fig. 4), followed by many others in the long history of the magazine.

Ideology Between Captions and Balloons

Although the editors expressed appreciation for science-fiction strips like *Jeff Hawke* and *Flash Gordon*[28] and presented retrospective views on early *Peanuts*, their project was neither utopian nor archaeological, but aimed at stressing the comics' capacity to reflect the present time. In the December issue of *linus*, summing up the first year of the magazine, they defined themselves as «the Lombard philologists».[29] Historical and philological rigour served to justify a genre starting from its long tradition, thus highlighting the asynchronies between the appearance of comic strips in American newspapers at the end of the nineteenth century and full affirmation in the first decades of the twentieth, and their reluctant acceptance by the Italian publishing world. In an article on cartoonist Antonio Rubino, Rino Albertarelli reported that, in 1908, while comics were thriving in America, *Il Corriere dei Piccoli* published «fumetti senza fumetti» (comics without balloons):[30] The reason was allegedly a pedagogic one: the speech bubbles were blamed for discouraging children from reading the texts. For this reason, they had been replaced by captions containing two rhyming couplets that were supposed to illustrate the story, although, as Italo Calvino observed in *Six Memos for the Next Millennium* (1988), «the advantage gained was minimal: the silly rhyming couplets provided no useful information».[31]

In 1932, foreseeing the possibility of exploiting the power comics had on the younger generations, the regime allowed a combination of captions and balloons in the magazine *Jumbo* (1932-1938),[32] with the overt aim to foster fascist ideology through the exaltation of nationalism and the civil virtues, as the editorial in issue 1 shows.

> Le storielle, che verranno stampate su JUMBO, in nitide ed artistiche illustrazioni, avranno sempre un fine altamente morale: saranno una esaltazione delle virtù civili che ogni bimbo italiano deve avere o prepararsi ad avere nell'esempio fulgidissimo del Re Vittorioso, e sotto la guida del Duce, che tanta parte delle sue cure dedica alla nuova gioventù della Patria. I racconti comici ed umoristici faranno certamente ridere, ma non disgiungeranno mai dalla comicità il dovere dell'insegnamento.[33]

In the post-war years, comics with balloons were published in *Il Politecnico* (first a weekly then a monthly or irregularly issued), the broadsheet of culture and politics founded and directed by Elio Vittorini, the writer who had brought the best literature of democratic America into the heart of Fascism-stricken Italy with the *Americana* anthology.[34] Founded in Milan in 1945, the periodical gave great importance to the visual arts, especially those embodying new narrative forms and languages. However, in the early 1950s, comics were still at the centre of a heated political debate. In a famous article published in *La Rinascita*, Communist MP Nilde Jotti anathemised them as the offspring of American ideology, originally introduced in newspapers by Hearst, «imperialista cinico e fascista», with the immoral purpose of bending the pliable minds of children by replacing the logic of argumentation with sheer pictures.[35] To understand how seriously this political line was taken, it will suffice to report that another left-wing magazine, *Il Pioniere* (1950-1962), would start publishing comics with side captions instead of speech bubbles, in an awkward attempt to avoid the prioritization of illustrations over the logocentrism praised by the Communist Party.[36] There were of course some discordant voices, namely those of Elio Vittorini and Gianni Rodari, who wholeheartedly defended comics from political allegations. Eventually, in 1961 also *Corriere dei Piccoli* would start publishing comics with balloons and, in the same years, many other comics magazines for children and teenagers would appear and become extremely popular and long-lived, for example Sergio Bonelli's *Zagor* (1961-).

Yet when *linus* was founded, comics remained a controversial genre. Criticism about comics strips as the offspring of American imperialism occasionally resurfaced in Charlie Brown's mail column even before becoming more articulately voiced in relation to contemporary political events. The ideological issue was inextricably intertwined with the aesthetic one. As we can read in an editorial in issue 5,

> il genere «cartoon» resta in Italia un fenomeno piuttosto trascurato. […] Tutto il contrario di quel che accade in Inghilterra, negli Stati Uniti, in Francia, dove (a parte la grande tradizione giornalistica della satira illustrata, soprattutto politica), prosperano riviste quasi interamente affidate alla bontà, allo stile e allo spirito dei «cartoons» che pubblicano. Si pensi al famoso «New Yorker», l'autentica, grande accademia del «cartoon», al «Saturday Evening

33 Jumbo 1 (1932), p. 1. «The stories that will be printed in JUMBO, in neat artistic illustrations, will always have a highly moral purpose: they will exalt the civil virtues that every Italian child must have or prepare to have following the brilliant example of the Victorious King, and under the guidance of the Duce, who devotes so much of his care to the new youth of our homeland. Comic and humorous stories will certainly make you laugh, but they will never separate the duty of teaching from comedy».

34 Elio Vittorini: Americana. Milan 1941.

35 Nilde Jotti: La questione dei fumetti. In: La Rinascita 8.12 (1951), p. 35. «[c]ynical, fascist, imperialist Hearst». La Rinascita (1944-1962) was a monthly devoted to politics and culture founded by the leader of the Communist Party Palmiro Togliatti.

36 Silvia Franchini: Diventare grandi con il Pioniere, 1950-1962: politica, progetti di vita e identità di genere nella piccola posta di un giornalino di sinistra. Florence 2006.

Post», a «Esquire», a «Punch», a «Playboy», a «Lui».[37]

The appraisal of comics, and their publication in a high-quality magazine addressed not only to children but also to adults, was therefore a cultural revolution. *Linus* was the first magazine to acknowledge the literary value of quality strips, at a time in which the debate about whether comics were to be considered as *paralittérature* was very much alive in Europe.[38] It also introduced outstanding Italian cartoonists such as Guido Crepax («Neutron» was published from issue 2, see fig. 5) and Enzo Lunari, while Hugo Pratt's «Corto Maltese», first published in the magazine *Sgt. Kirk* (1967-1978) would appear in *linus* only in 1974.

Linus was one of the first magazines to report the names of the cartoonists, thus acknowledging that authorship was inseparable from the legitimisation of comics as a genre. On the other hand, the debate about whether comics and literature had equal status was still an open one. In the second issue, Carano reported that Al Capp had been compared by John Steinbeck to Sterne, Cervantes and Rabelais and considered worth of the Nobel Prize.[39] Following up the discussion, in an editorial in issue 3, Spinazzola painstakingly gauged comics against the value of the greatest novels and novelists, arguing that some strips were one step below Defoe's and Svevo's novels, though slightly superior to Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*; «Li'l Abner» was great but could certainly not equal the works by Sartre and Brecht.[40]

Although Spinazzola warned readers not to corrupt the innocence of comics through an excess of intellectualism, in the 1960s the interest in the genre mainly came from the academic world. In 1964 pedagogue and anthropologist Romano Calisi founded the first club devoted to comics. Between February and March 1965, less than two months before the appearance of *linus*, the first «Salone internazionale dei fumetti» was held in Bordighera, organised by the Centro di Sociologia delle Comunicazioni di Massa of the University of Rome, and the French-Swiss Centre d'Étude des Littératures d'Expression Graphique, later renamed ‹Club des bandes dessinés›. «I ‹fumetti› sono una cosa seria», read the headline of the front-page article devoted to the event in *Corriere mercantile* (1824-2015); and the subheading echoed it: «Insigni studiosi di sociologia sostengono che la loro lettura non è affatto indice di infantilismo. Persino l'UNESCO ne ha riconosciuto l'importanza e la necessità di farli oggetto di ricerche scientifiche».[41]

The special guest at the international exhibition was no less than the creator of «Li'L Abner», Al Capp. The ostentatious, worshipping reception he received by the Italian and French intelligentsia became the topic of a satirical article that he wrote and illustrated for the edition of *Life* issued on 30 April, 1965,[42] reprinted two months later for *Life International*, with Capp's illustration on the cover page (fig. 6).[43] The headline read «Al Capp among Europe's Intellectuals. A Hilarious Account by the Cartoonist», while the article ironically commented on this crusade for comics headed by Eco and the French film director Alain Resnais.

The satirical vignette visually rendered the sardonic tone of the article, which underlined the presence of an all-

37 Il «Cartoon». In: linus 5 (1965), pp. 1f. «[…] ‹cartoons› remain a rather neglected genre in Italy. [...] Quite the opposite of what happens in England, the United States, France, where (besides the great journalistic tradition of illustrated satire, above all political satire), magazines thrive almost entirely on the quality, style, and spirit of the ‹cartoons› they publish. Think of the famous ‹New Yorker›, the authentic great academy of ‹cartoons›, the ‹Saturday Evening Post›, ‹Esquire›, ‹Punch›, ‹Playboy›, ‹Lui›.»

38 Cf. Noël Arnaud / Francis Lacassin / Jean Portel (Eds.). Entretiens sur la paralittérature. Actes du Colloque de Cerisy de 1967 sur la Paralittérature. Paris 1970.

39 Ranieri Carano: Un Nobel per Al Capp. In: linus 2 (1965), pp. 53f.

40 Spinazzola: Noi fumettomani, pp. 1f.

41 Cf. Cristiano Zacchino: Alle sorgenti del Salone del fumetto. Archivi 02.12.2015, https://www.guidafumettoitaliano.com/archivi/alle-sorgenti-del-salone-del-fumetto. «Comics are a serious matter. Outstanding sociologists claim that reading comics is no sign of childishness. Even UNESCO has acknowledged the importance and urgency of making them the object of scientific research».

42 Al Capp: How Li'l Abner Became the Intellectuals' Delight. My Life as an Immortal Myth. In: Life 58.17 (30 April, 1965), pp. 97-104.

43 Al Capp: How Li'l Abner Became the Intellectuals' Delight. My Life as an Immortal Myth. In: Life International 38.11 (1965), pp. 57-62.

Storia dei fumetti

Calendario/I° - di Klark Kimaird

3000 a.C.
Tra gli Egizi circolano vignette con animali, disegnate e colorate su scaglie di calcare e papiri.

Primo secolo a.C.
Le tabulae con vignette satiriche hanno grande smercio in Roma.

15° secolo dell'era volgare
Scene pantomimiche di sacre rappresentazioni, impresse con blocchi di legno su manifesti e portate in giro nelle fiere, costituiscono i primi popolari libri di figure. In seguito, analoghe riproduzioni di famosi delitti vengono vendute nelle strade.

17° secolo
Il personaggio farsesco di Punch (Pulcinella) viene introdotto in Inghilterra dall'Italia, dove aveva origini lontanissime. Rappresentazioni su manifesti e pamphlets di spettacoli di Punch e Judy, primi attori del teatro di marionette, in vendita alle fiere, furono, in certo senso, i primi libri di fumetti.

1747
L'illustrazione di Beniamino Franklin (incisione su legno) per il suo Pamphlet Plain Talk (« Un discorso alla buona »), è il più antico autorevole « cartoon » pubblicato in America.

1754
Il disegno di Franklin Join or Die (« Unisciti o muori »), nella sua Pennsylvania Gazette, contribuisce più di qualsiasi azione o discorso, prima della Rivoluzione, all'unità di propositi fra le tredici colonie, e diviene un simbolo di battaglia immortalato nelle bandiere dei patrioti. Il disegno ha già un « fumetto » mentre erroneamente l'introduzione di questo espediente venne attribuita alle prime strisce di « comics » veri e propri.

1764
Franklin, viene, a sua volta, messo in ridicolo da questo mezzo e attaccato sulla sua posizione politica in una elezione provinciale della Pennsylvania.

1765
Paul Revere incide il suo primo « cartoon ».

1770
Il disegno di Paul Revere « Il massacro di Boston » ha enorme influenza sui patrioti americani, e li incita a resistere al governo inglese.

1807
William Charles, il più famoso cartoonist degli Stati Uniti prima di Thomas Nast, pubblica le sue prime tavole.

1809
Il celebre artista inglese Thomas Rowlandson illustra, con disegni satirici, « Il viaggio del dottor Sintassi in cerca del Pittoresco ». Altri due libri di vignette del dottor Sintassi vennero poi pubblicati a richiesta popolare: furono i primi best sellers fra i « comics ».

1811-16
Il genio comico di George Cruikshank si esprime per la prima volta nella rivista The Scourge (La frusta). Nel 1836 Cruikshank creò poi, con Dickens, Sketches by Boz (Le vignette di Boz).

1812
Il Gerrymander (« Broglio Elettorale ») prende il suo nome da una vignetta di Elkanah Tisdale, pubblicata nel Weekly Messenger di Boston.

1813
I primi « cartoons » di Brother Jonathan (Fratello Jonathan) sono disegnati e incisi da Amos Doolittle. (Brother Jonathan fu il precursore di Uncle Sam).

1814
Il primo « cartoon » giornalistico viene pubblicato in un quotidiano, il Post di New York. (continua)

Per gentile concessione dell'Editore Bompiani, dal volume « Sociologia dei fumetti » (« The Funnies ») a cura di David Manning White e Robert H. Abel, di prossima pubblicazione.

60

NEL PROSSIMO NUMERO

un episodio completo di

DICK TRACY

presentato da Oreste Del Buono

POGO

il "bona fide" possum

e gli altri personaggi della Contea di

OKE-FENOKEE

inoltre

Peanuts
Li'l Abner
Krazy Kat
Neutron

e, per i più piccoli, la prima serie di

FIGURINE DI LINUS

NEUTRON

di Guido Crepax

© Crepax/Figure

LA CURVA DI LESMO - I°

ORE 10.17 IN UNA STRADA DEL QUARTIERE DI BRONX. DAL GIOVANE GUARDIANO L'OROLOGIO ... MENTRE UNO SGUARDO INDAGATORE OSSERVA CON ATTENZIONE I LORO GESTI...

E' L'ORA! DA' SUBITO IL SEGNALE CHARLIE!

O.K.!

UN UOMO ATTRAVERSA LA STRADA DI CORSA ... CONTEMPORANEAMENTE UN AUTO SI FERMA DI COLPO...

VIA BUDD VIA ROCKY

SHFS SH

...NELLO STESSO ISTANTE I DUE AGENTI ADDETTI ALLA SORVEGLIANZA DELL'ISOLATO...

EHI BOB! GUARDA LAGGIU' SONO PAZZI?!

1

61

Fig. 5 linus 2, May 1965, p. 61.

male audience of intellectuals at the Salon – apart from the lady translator who was made the object of less than honourable attentions by one of the men – but also made interesting remarks about the language gap.

> THE DIRECTOR, surrounded by a swarm of savants, kids, photographers and one young female interpreter, was waiting excitedly on the Palazzo steps to greet me. The interpreter said she hoped I'd be patient, for she was not very experienced. I was shown through several galleries of original comic strip drawings, mostly American. It was a joy to see the work of artists with the genius to illuminate the absurdity or, as in the ‹adventure› strips, the perils of a fantastic but comprehensible world. […] A Marcello Mastroianni type

rose, looked yearningly at the girl (not because she was anything to be yearned for, but because she was the only girl around, and he was Italian). She quivered, and translated: «The Professor from Genoa inquires, what was your motivation for creating ‹Li'l Abner› in 1934?»

«Hunger», I replied. «I was very hungry in 1934. So I created ‹Li'l Abner›. It became big business and I became overweight. Since then my motivation has been greed».

Falk, Andriola and the photographer laughed. Raw truth amuses Americans. The girl translated. None of the Italians laughed. They all nodded gravely.

«I bombed», I said.

«In the translation», the photographer explained, «it came out you cre-

Fig. 6 linus Nr. 4, July 1965, p. 20.

bile corretta e " pulita " tipograficamente, vi proponiamo un gioco cattivo: LINUS CONTRO TUTTI. Noi faremo il possibile perchè su Linus non ci sia un solo errore. I lettori dovranno dimostrarci il contrario. Se ci sarà l'errore, il primo lettore che ce l'avrà fatto notare riceverà in omaggio un abbonamento. Se nessuno, invece, troverà degli errori (errori palesi, beninteso), LINUS VINCE e tutti saranno moralmente impegnati a procurare nuovi lettori facendo acquistare Linus da amici e conoscenti.

Notizie varie

La copertina di Life del 14 giugno è di Al Capp. All'interno un suo articolo, piuttosto vivace e qua e là assai fantasioso, sul festival dei comics di Bordighera e su i suoi « incontri » europei con gli appassionati di fumetti.

Recensioni

È uscito in Francia, l'ultimo libro di Sempé, « MONSIEUR LAMBERT » (Denoël, L. 2.300). Non è una raccolta di « cartoons » singoli, come i precedenti volumi dello stesso autore, ma una vicenda continua, con un filo conduttore, dei personaggi fissi e un dialogo a fumetti.
L'ambiente è un ristorante parigino del genere « familiare », con i suoi « menus » tipici e ricorrenti, i suoi avventori abituali, la sua atmosfe-

> ated ‹Li'l Abner› as a protest against the greed of American big business».
> «I meant my greed», I said to the girl.
> «Tell 'em *that*!»
> She translated. The Italians nodded sympathetically. A few applauded.
> «To translate her translation», said the photographer, «you consider your pen a lance against the forces of obsessive materialism. You see, she likes you. The little touches she adds are making a much finer impression on this crowd than if they knew what you were really saying. Better let her handle it her way».[44]

This anecdote, accompanied by the account of other, wanted or unwanted misinterpretations, throws light on two interrelated issues: the first one is that the European intelligentsia was opening to an Anglophone world that needed to be made not only culturally in the broadest sense, but linguistically accessible; the second one is that «all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose»,[45] allowing in this case selections, interpretations, and adjustments aimed at building, with the support of intellectuals, the desired image of American culture.[46]

The language gap also led to a debate among intellectuals about the possibility or impossibility of translating comics of such complexity. In the article, Al Capp ironically noted that his language had been compared to that of *Finnegan's Wake*.[47] This view was in fact expressed in *linus* by Bruno Cavallone, for example when he compared Kelly's «Pogo» to Ionesco, Shakespeare, and Lewis Carroll, commenting that, of all that wealth, the unfortunate translator could obviously retain «solo le briciole».[48]

Gradual Acclimatization

Especially in the first year, the revolutionary role played by the magazine should be explored not in political affirmations but in the tension between American and Italian culture expressed by the language and complemented by the translators and editors' recurring comments. As observed by Venuti, the translation process is never invisible. The idea that the target text faithfully mirrors the source text is an illusion. Language and translation are inherently ideological and selective processes, since facts cannot be separated from

> values, beliefs, and representations that are inscribed in language […] and that maintain or challenge the hierarchies in which social groups are positioned […]. Ideology is thus indistinguishable from value judgment, it is a quintessentially political concept, and it turns the analysis of translated texts into a critique of their politics made from a different, usually opposing ideological standpoint.[49]

Hence a translation may represent a litmus test of ideological strategies in shaping cultural discourse, revealing a short-circuit between different cultural polysystems.[50]

The idea that a translation is «at once self-determining and determined by human nature, individualistic yet generic,

44 Capp: How Li'l Abner Became the Intellectuals' Delight (US edition), p. 102.

45 Theo Hermans (Ed.): The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation. London (1985), p. 11.

46 Laura Chiara Spinelli: Traduzione e conflitto: il fumetto americano nella politica editoriale della rivista «Linus». In: Piano B. Arti e culture visive, 2.1 (2017), pp. 44-64, p. 47, https://pianob.unibo.it/article/view/7266/7014.

47 Capp: How Li'l Abner Became the Intellectuals' Delight (US edition), p. 102.

48 Cavallone: Pogo e la contea di Okefenokee. In: linus 4 (1965), p. 65. «[…] only the crumbs».

49 Lawrence Venuti: The Translator's Invisibility. Oxon, New York (2018), pp. ixf.

50 Spinelli: Traduzione e conflitto, p. 44.

transcending cultural difference, social conflict, and historical change»[51] is illusory. Every translation entails a degree of domestication and foreignisation, the former privileging immediate recognition of the source text in the target culture, the latter preserving its «otherness». Education to otherness was indeed also part of *linus*'s editorial project: the headlines contained many English words, while some comic strips, especially in the «Giro del mondo» section that appeared from issue 4, were left in the original language. However, also these attempts can be seen in the light of a foreignising process that lays bare «not the foreignness of the source text itself, but rather a foreignism […] subject to variation, depending on the changing cultural situations and historical moments of various interpreters and translators».[52]

As part of *linus*'s ambitious cultural project, there was indeed the need to ‹domesticate› a language and a sociocultural context with which Italian readers were just then becoming familiar. As Interdonato remarks, the magazine itself was, since its appearance, «an alien body grafted onto the papers on display in the homeland newsstands».[53] «Gradual acclimatization»[54] was an integral part of the editorial project. When introducing «Li'l Abner», for example, Bruno Cavallone explained that the language of the Yokums is «an ungrammatical and unruly American English, in which words are written as they are pronounced but according to a very peculiar pronunciation»; the translation of the episode was a first experiment to define the possibility of rendering those distortions into Italian,[55] and, in fact, the language of the strips would become more and more daring in the following issues. In the introductory sections to each strip, and sometimes in the footnotes, the characters and the way they speak, culture-specific and political references (Roosevelt, McCarthyism, Kennedy's presidency) were all explained to the reader, along with the problems encountered in the translation. As Spinelli underlines, the reader was informed about the cultural and linguistic difficulties inherent in the translation, of the problem of dealing with stories that referred to specific aspects of American politics, observed and consumed by a historically and ideologically dissimilar public.[56]

The geographical, political, and cultural spaces of comics strips could not be ignored. Since graphic elements cannot be modified by translation, comics are an artistic form that reveals more than others their foreign origin.[57] Moreover, «[S]tylistic elements of writing, such as lettering, typography, and fonts, as well as what has been called para- or quasi-balloonic phenomena, can be incorporated in a dialogue scene»[58] require a high degree of creativity on the part of the translator, to the point that, in the editorial of issue 9, the translators' imagination is compared to that of the cartoonists.[59]

Each comic strip posed different challenges. In the first issue, for example, Bruno Cavallone also introduced, along with the «Peanuts», culture-specific references contained in the strips, namely the celebration of Halloween. The rituals were somehow like those of All Saints, but the translator was aware of the cultural dif-

51 Venuti: The Translator's Invisibility, p. 67.

52 Ibid., p. xiii.

53 Interdonato: Linus, p. 45.

54 linus 2 (1965), p. 15.

55 Cavallone: Li'l Abner e gli Shtunk slobboviani. In: linus 2 (1965), p. 41.

56 Cf. Spinelli: Traduzione e conflitto, p. 44.

57 Valerio Rota: La marca dello straniero. Mottola 2004. See also Federico Zanettin (Ed.): Comics in Translation. Oxon, New York 2008.

58 Kai Mikkonen: The Narratology of Comic Art. London 2017, p. 226.

59 linus 9 (1965), p. 1.

ferences between the Italian and American context. He also explained linguistic choices: the use of «Grande Cocomero» (= «big watermelon») instead of «Grande Zucca» for «Big Pumpkin» was justified by the need to find a name whose gender was male, since Linus's Great Pumpkin was supposed to stand for the sabbatical personification of a male, god-like figure.[60] We have then many other examples of cultural domestication: «marshmallows», which would turn popular among Italian children only much later, was translated as «toffolette» (= «little toffees») while instead of complaining about eating «figgy pudding» a month after Christmas, Snoopy protests about the stale «panettone». Intertextual references are domesticated as well: instead of writing another *Heart of Darkness* or *Daisy Miller*, Snoopy might have become Tomasi Di Lampedusa and authored *The Leopard*, which was then the epitome of fame for Italian readers, also because of the recent success of Visconti's film.

Each new strip was introduced as a world, at once geographically located and vague. Pogo's Okefenokee Swamp, for example, actually on the border between Georgia and Florida, was defined by translator Bruno Cavallone as «the temple of all the quintessentially American myths and traditions» and «socially speaking, the most atypical and abstract place that you may conceive».[61] He described Pogo as extremely complex, «a Baroque artwork» that had to be slowly and painstakingly assimilated before the reader could start appreciating it. It presented innumerable difficulties: different jargons (of politics, sports, advertising) and each jargon written in a different font (the Senator speaks in Gothic, the circus agent in fin-de-siècle font full of flowers, indexes, stars and comets).[62] At the same time, the translator was aware that these were not just linguistic and technical constraints: rhetorical and visual strategies allowed Kelly to outline a satire of American society expressed in terms of «a mock-pastoral».[63]

As highlighted by Spinelli, the study of translation in the first five years of the magazine reveals that overt political satire was subjected to «negotiations in power relations»,[64] aimed at either giving resonance to the ideology of the source text or showing a conflict with it. This was apparent, for example, in the omission of the strips of «Li'l Abner» which parodied Kennedy's ‹impartiality› in his run for presidency: «‹Impartial› is right!! He won't help anyone else to be president».[65] More generally, what the editors of *linus* witnessed in the second half of the 1960s was a re-conceptualisation of society and power[66] in which translation played a crucial role.

Satire in *linus*: From Parable to Chronicle

The dramatic events of the 1960s made the idea of a magazine as a self-contained world problematic. Occasional references to American politics were actually present in *linus* from the very first year of publication: Al Capp's criticism towards the contention of third-world countries by the two superpowers, for example,

60 linus 1 (1965), p. 5.

61 Bruno Cavallone: Alla scoperta dei Peanuts, p. 3.

62 Bruno Cavallone: Pogo e la contea di Okefenokee, p. 65.

63 Reuel Denney: The Revolt Against Naturalism. In: Davis Manning White / Robert H. Abel (Eds.): The Funnies. An American Idiom. Glencoe 1963, pp. 67-85, p. 71.

64 Spinelli: Traduzione e conflitto, p. 48 and p. 59.

65 Ibid., p. 59.

66 Ibid., p. 44.

was mentioned in the introductory note to the episode of «Li'l Abner» «Progetto PU», while the episode «Nomotocar» was defined as a modern parable on the Japanese threat as America's next economic competitor.[67]

The Vietnam war and Kennedy's role in it rekindled the association of comics with American imperialism, especially when the magazine published Jerry Capp's and Joe Kubert's *Tales of the Green Beret*, whose texts and actions set in Vietnam seemed animated by a pro-military intent, despite the authors' claim that their main purpose was the representation of adventurous situations. Gandini defended the editors' freedom to publish strips independently from the critical, social, and political ideas they conveyed and, conversely, the cartoonists' freedom from getting their editors' ideological consensus.

> Qualcuno ci ha accusato di essere comunisti, perché pubblichiamo l'americano Feiffer, qualcuno ci ha accusato di essere fascisti, perché pubblichiamo l'americano Al Capp, qualcuno ci ha accusato di essere democratici, perché pubblichiamo il protestatario Feiffer come il qualunquista Al Capp […]. Il fumetto di guerra […] è collegato senz'altro alla politica, dato che la guerra di cui si tratta è quella amarissima del Vietnam. Immaginiamo, quindi, reazioni e proteste. […] Compiangiamo i soldati americani che vi muoiono, ma non possiamo non sentirci dal lato della barricata ove è il popolo che lotta per la propria libertà.[68]

In so doing, the magazine tended to ideologically mirror an implied readership of «radical socialists or liberals with anarchic fantasies».[69] Yet, until Gandini was editor-in-chief, it was difficult to define the political position of *linus*. In fact, Gandini was sceptical about the possibility of having an Italian satire, although he acknowledged the impossibility that a magazine might be *apolitical*, and humour (especially visual humour) non-satirical: «[P]olitical satire has always been part and parcel of humour, either graphic or other kinds of humour.»[70]

The youth protests of April-May 1968 could not be overlooked, but even those decisive events were treated with ironic distance. In the April issue (fig. 7), the cover showed Woodstock and another bird facing each other with wooden signs containing an exclamation mark and a comma, respectively; in the May issue (fig. 8), a dizzy Snoopy sat in the middle of a circle of Woodstocks rallying with signs containing either a question or an exclamation mark.

The protest was not represented through articulated discourse but visualised as a battle of paradigmatically different signs. The smooth-edged bubble that symbolised free speech was substituted by, or paired with, a square sign, the unyielding space of slogans. Of course, *linus* sided with the students who were fighting against institutional power and for the ideals of freedom and cosmopolitanism; at the same time, though, the magazine criticised the old-school rhetorical language used in student assemblies and manifestos.

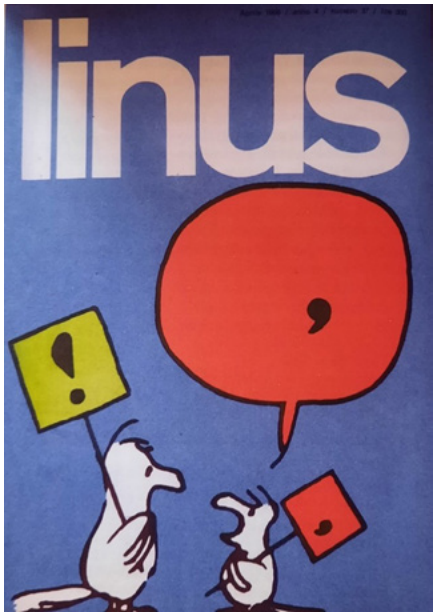
> Col nostro pezzo introduttivo incriminato volevamo solo…

67 «Li'l Abner». linus 5 (1965), p. 23.

68 linus 29 (1967), p. 62. «We've been accused of being communists because we publish the American Feiffer; of being fascists because we publish the American Al Capp; of being Democrats because we publish the protester Feiffer and the indifferent Al Capp alike. […] War comics […] are undoubtedly connected to politics, given that the war in question is the bitter Vietnam war. We could predict the reactions and protests. […] Our opinions on the Vietnam issue are unwavering. We pity the American soldiers who are finding their death there, but we can't help feeling on the side of the barricade where people are fighting for their freedom».

69 Ibid.

70 linus 29 (1967), p. 21.



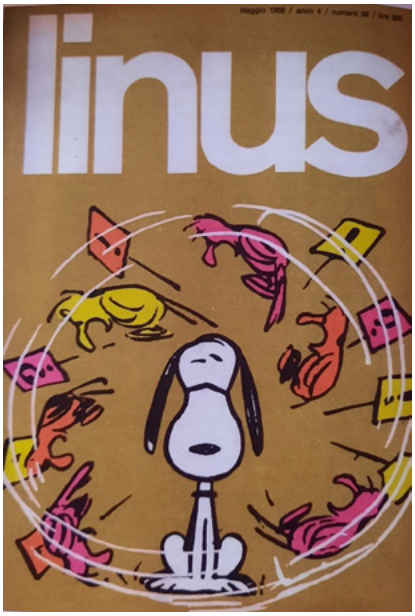


Fig. 7 linus N° 37, April 1968. Courtesy of *linus*.

Fig. 8 linus N° 38, May 1968. Courtesy of *linus*.

> mettere le mani avanti e, semmai, fare dell'ironia su di un solo punto: il linguaggio che il movimento studentesco, e gli altri raggruppamenti, sprecano in assemblea, nei manifesti, nei comunicati. Si vuole rinnovare tutto; si cominci allora dal linguaggio. Invece, per il momento, non si è fatto altro che rispolverare l'oratoria vetusta di autentico primo maggio, e la si è condita con l'oscuro gergo socio-filosofico di moda. Se invece di dire: «Il Rettore ha strumentalizzato le forze repressive dell'autoritarismo», si dicesse più semplicemente: «Il Rettore ha chiamato la polizia», forse anche la lamentata diffidenza della classe operaia verrebbe meno. E quella di Pasolini.[71]

In Italy, the *Sessantotto* went unheeded by a political class paralysed by the unproductive efforts made by the secretary of the Communist Party Giorgio Amendola and the secretary of the Christian Democratic Party Aldo Moro to open to a wider centre-left alliance. On 12 December 1969 the far-right attacked the National Bank of Agriculture in Piazza Fontana, Milan: 17 people were killed and 88 injured. One year later, the Italian National Front leader Junio Valerio Borghese attempted a coup d'état. History was knocking at the door.

This dramatic situation was accompanied by a radical change in the editorial line of the magazine. In December 1971 Milano Libri ceased to be the publishing brand of *linus* and Gandini its editor-in-chief. For the next decade, the weekly would be published by Rizzoli under the direction of Oreste Del Buono. Its contents showed that the magazine uncompromisingly espoused the cause of the students and factory workers who were striking and demonstrating in the streets. Now the satirical vignettes of Italian cartoonists – particularly Altan (fig. 9), but also Lunari, Sozzari, Calligaro, Pericoli, Vincino & Vauro – acquired more visibility than the strips of Schulz, Capp, Kelly, Herriman, Segar, and Jordan.

Linus incontestably became a satirical magazine that no longer shot arrows only at distant political targets, or laid

71 linus 40 (1968), pp. 22f. «With our blamed introductory piece, we just wanted... to pre-empt and, if anything, to make irony on just one point: the language that the student movement, and other groupings, lavishly use in their assemblies, posters, and announcements. Do we want to make it new? Then let's start with language. So far, instead, what has actually been done is to brush up an outdated, genuine Labour Day rhetoric, spicing it up with the obscure socio-philosophical jargon that has nowadays become so fashionable. If instead of saying ‹the Rector exploited the repressive forces of authoritarianism› they would plainly say ‹the Rector called the police›, maybe the working class would stop distrusting them, as they claim. And so would Pasolini».

bare social conflicts through parables set in the haze of oneiric places. It now shot them at close and recognizable targets – the government, the Catholic Church, Italian social gaps – using satire as a tool for analysing the country.[72] In the 1970s Milan was a place where tensions could be literally breathed, and people wanted to experience the spell of comics while remaining wide awake. Yet this politicisation of comics leading to a one-sided satire generated mixed feelings even in the editors of the magazine. Oreste Del Buono remarked that too much theory about something as simple as political satire, whose sole target should be the abuse of power, was no longer fun, and by «fun» meaning participation, passion, anger, an inner excitement.[73]

Fig. 9 linus Anno 14, N° 7 (1978).

72 Cf. Interdonato: Linus, p. 337.

73 Oreste Del Buono, p. 142. «[…] la partecipazione, la passione, anche la rabbia, insomma un certo sommovimento interiore».

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