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Handwritten Newspapers

An Alternative Medium during the Early Modern and Modern Periods

Edited by Heiko Droste and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander

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Editorial Office
SKS
P.O. Box 259
FI-00171 Helsinki
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Heiko Droste
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2729-0656

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0552-1801

Handwritten Newspapers. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Social Practice

The handwritten newspaper, as yet little studied, is a multi-faceted genre of scribal culture. It originated as an exclusive news service in the 16th century. It was then adapted to the changing 17th-century news market and the introduction of printed newspapers. Between the Enlightenment and the 20th century, handwritten newspapers served both the internal communication needs of small groups and communities, as well as the need for political debate.

This book is the first edited volume focusing on handwritten newspapers from a wide historical, international and interdisciplinary perspective. The editors have conducted long-term research on early modern printed and handwritten newspapers (Heiko Droste), and handwritten newspapers during the modern period (Kirsti Salmi-Niklander). The participants of a workshop in Uppsala in September 2015 discussed handwritten newspapers from different disciplinary perspectives (history, folklore studies, literary history, and media history), raising various research questions. However, our primary focus in this volume is on handwritten newspapers as a social practice and their role in literary cultures. Our aim is to contextualize the material with regard to how it relates to political, cultural, and economic history. The analysis reveals both continuity and change in line with the different forms and functions of the material.

To allow for comparison we started by discussing definitions and generic features. How should a handwritten newspaper be defined? What demarcates it from other genres of scribal publication, and from personal writings? How have writers and readers termed the papers (e.g. *nouvelles à la main* in 18th-century France, *lagsavis* in the Norwegian Labour Movement)? These questions can be addressed in various ways: analytically by discussing contemporary debates on handwritten newspapers based on generic markers such as titles, editors, and type of layout (columns or other imitations of printed papers), and not least by categorizing the content (news, advertisements, leaders, essays).

Another common ground was our focus on the writer's interests and motives: Why were handwritten newspapers still produced after the introduction of the printed press? How did the handwritten newspaper adapt to a changing news market? What role does censorship play? Were handwritten newspapers a means of creating an avant-garde medium for literary and artistic experiment, or for literary and editorial training? Alternatively, should we highlight its functions as a means of creating cohesion in small groups and promoting the use of vernacular language, or with an eye on the production of documents for future historical research?

Finally, we considered some material aspects. What distinctive practices related to the production of handwritten newspapers? How were these newspapers edited, published and distributed? How and where have they been archived? How are they related to printed publications and other forms of copying (hectograph, lithograph)?

The time span ranges from the 16th to the early 20th century, and the material includes case studies from various countries in Europe (Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Norway, Poland, Romania/Hungary, and Sweden), from the United States, and St. Barthélemy (Caribbean). Handwritten newspapers can be put into perspective in these different societies in the contexts of colonialism, socialism, nationalism, and religion.

Distinctions

Research on handwritten newspapers as a genre follows a number of defining distinctions. The most obvious one is that between early modern and modern material, which follows institutional settings at universities. It is a distinction that is based to some extent on the genre's changing design. Early modern newspapers tended to resemble personal letters, even though they could be produced in hundreds of copies.[1] The situation was the opposite in 19th- and 20th-century handwritten newspapers: they tended to imitate printed papers in terms of layout and content, giving the impression of being "real" newspapers with an established circulation, even though they were generally produced as one single manuscript copy.[2] This distinction is also reflected in the different readerships. Handwritten newspapers in early modern times were addressed to social elites, members of which were the only people who could afford their rather high prices. Handwritten newspapers in the 19th and 20th centuries, on the other hand, met the needs of social and political groups that, for different reasons, were marginalized or at least not part of any social or political elite.

The same distinction is also marked in the content of handwritten newspapers. Social elites were interested in news about other elites, particularly in court circles, thereby reaching out for more knowledge of their world. The newspapers thus served as a medium for enhancing understanding of contemporary history. More or less marginalized, sometimes clandestine groups in modern times used handwritten newspapers as a means of internal communication as well as social cohesion. This change in content thus signifies how the handwritten newspaper lost in terms of social recognition,

1 Love 1993, 9–12.
2 Cf. the chapter by Klimis Mastoridis in this volume.

changing from an expensive luxury to a rather mundane medium of communication.

For all of these differences, the 18th century represents a dividing line in the history of the genre, which could also explain why there are so few studies on 18th-century material. The purpose of the handwritten newspaper was somehow vague or shifting. The most prominent study on French material conducted by Robert Darnton emphasizes the clandestine character of French handwritten newspapers as a means of critical political discourse.[3] Two older German studies carried out by Ulrich Blindow[4] and Lore Sporhan-Krempel[5] on Berlin and Nürnberg, respectively, also stress the function of spreading sensitive news on matters of politics. However, in these cases the handwritten newspaper did not serve distinct political goals, but was rather a means of acquiring more exclusive news than the printed material could offer – due to the hardening state censorship.[6] It is obvious, however, that the public handwritten newspaper turned into something else, something private, although the exact meaning of this privacy is hard to pinpoint. This new sphere could be described as a semi-public (or semi-private) sphere, related to the expansion of literacy and the rise of popular movements in different European countries and in North America.

The early modern perspective

Most researchers clearly argue from an early modern perspective, analyzing the medium as part of a future that is framed by the Habermasian public sphere and an on-going state-building process. This framework is applied on all early modern material and inevitably demands an audience and public debate, thereby promoting the role of the (printed and handwritten) newspaper as part of a political discourse. Politics, in turn, requires a society, according to the definition of politics as power-based decision-making aimed at the formation of a social community.[7] The early modern handwritten newspaper is, unsurprisingly, largely a research object among historians, with few exceptions[8], analyzing a medium for political debate and information on politics, a medium that reaches outwards – into a more or less well defined publicness.[9]

Handwritten newspapers of the last 200 years, on the other hand, have generally attracted scholars of literature, ethnology, sociolinguistics, and cultural anthropology. Their studies follow new agendas, answer other questions, and offer different results that focus mainly on the social and

3 Darnton 2010a; 2000b.
4 Blindow 1939.
5 Sporhan-Krempel 1968.
6 Both studies therefore mostly concern censorship material from Berlin and Nürnberg. Cf. also Belo 2004.
7 Schlögl 2008, footnote 36.
8 Böning 2011.
9 Cf. Droste's chapter in this volume and Droste 2018.

literary aspects of the medium. The present volume clearly shows this shift in interest. So far, researchers working on early modern and modern handwritten newspapers have hardly talked to each other, which is why we as the organizers of this project distinctly invited scholars from different countries and different academic disciplines who have been doing research on handwritten newspapers from the 16th to the 20th century. The workshop presentations demonstrated obvious changes in the use and functions of handwritten newspapers in the long run, and not only due to dramatic changes in the news market in the last 500 years. There are, however, equally obvious similarities, which tend to disappear behind institutional settings that distinguish early modern from modern history, as well as the respective research materials.

As a result, the long-term perspective on handwritten newspapers is so far missing, and not only due to a lack of interest. Equally important is the fact that many studies are not very explicit in defining their source material. There are only a few discussions about the genre itself, and most studies do not address that question at all. In that respect, Michał Salamonik's chapter on the first Polish printed newspapers is of interest. The editor of that newspaper had been publishing a handwritten newspaper for quite some time before, for unknown reasons, engaging in editing a printed version, which existed for only a few months. However, he gives an extensive explanation of the significance of the printed newspaper, which conveys a lot about his understanding of both the handwritten and the printed material.

Most researchers argue their case on the basis of one particular collection of what is labeled handwritten newspapers or journals, manuscript newspapers, newsletters and such. On top of that, comparison suffers from shady concepts such as politics or the juxtaposition of the public sphere vs. privacy. The modern understanding of these terms has developed since the 18th century; nevertheless they are often used even for material from the 16th and 17th centuries without further explanation of their contemporary understanding.

The public sphere in particular has been the subject of intense debate among German early modern historians, without any clear result.[10] Nonetheless, early modern handwritten newspapers are still considered a medium for public debate. As a consequence, newspaper historians tend to predate the modern notion of a public sphere interested in politics.[11] Most of them simply cannot think of any other reason for reading newspapers, and therefore regularly focus on the "political" content. There are reasons to question this premeditated understanding. The chapter written by Heiko Droste casts doubt on these assumptions and offers a different interpretation, largely based on an analysis of the contemporary discourse on printed newspapers and the court culture.

10 Schlögl 2014 returns in his seminal study on present and absentees to an understanding that changes between publicness and publicity, within the limits of social groups and arenas.

11 Ettinghausen 2015; Behringer 2002, 429.

Heiko Droste asks his audience, metaphorically, to turn around in time and to try to understand even early modern newspapers as a medium for social cohesion and a form of literature. In this way he promotes a different understanding of the early modern material. There are obvious traditions and recurrent features, despite the genre's development over time. These traditions tend to disappear as the research questions change, not least because the terms of the investigations are different or are differently applied by scholars of early modern and modern handwritten newspapers. From this perspective, notions of publicness and the public gain a new meaning. Handwritten newspapers were both public and socially embedded.

News and information

Although one might meaningfully assume that handwritten – and printed for that matter – newspapers were a means of disseminating information, there is more about them and their consumption than the presumed professional interests of different consumer groups suggest. New studies on the so-called *Fuggerzeitungen* – the most renowned German collection of handwritten newspapers from the 16th century – show clearly that this particular one was not designed with the economic interests of this merchant family in mind, as had been assumed for decades.[12] The Fugger needed many more news sources to meet their business needs:

> The proportion of economic reports in the *Wiener Fuggerzeitungen* is by no means large enough to constitute an adequate economic information service, making it impossible to maintain the notion that the family's economic decision-making could have been based solely or even principally on the *Fuggerzeitungen*. The *Fuggerzeitungen* cover a multitude of topics.[13]

This also applies to the use of printed newspapers and their functions in the context of the court society. Contrary to our expectations, the newspapers contain rather little information on matters such as ceremonies, representations, and public displays of power, which according to early modern notions of politics were central in terms of understanding of court society. This information was given instead in other media forms.[14] Similar results are to be expected with regard to the content of handwritten newspapers, although so far there have been few studies comparing the content of both genres.[15] However, it seems that all known public news forms covered a rather similar collection of subjects, and shared a common understanding about what was important news in terms of public affairs, with few differences between handwritten and printed newspapers.[16]

12 Zwierlein 2011; cf. also Šimeček 1987, 76; Keller 2012.
13 Schobesberger 2016, 218. A similar comment appears in Sporhan-Krempel 1968, 30.
14 Bauer 2011; 2010, 187–191.
15 Böning 2008.
16 Cf. Droste's chapter in this volume.

Hence, the two genres are rather similar in that both were censored to protect the honor of the Prince and the authorities, as well as the neighboring princes and authorities. It seems that this censorship was less vigorous in the case of handwritten newspapers, which were more open to rumor and unsubstantiated reports that were often marked as unconfirmed. Handwritten newspapers could also accommodate last-minute updates – there was nothing like an original given that all copies were made by hand. It was therefore possible to add the latest news, and to include items that were meant for certain customers.

These striking similarities between handwritten and printed newspapers in the 17th century have caused problems for researchers. Why were there handwritten newspapers in the first place, given that the printed versions offered almost the same news at a far lower price? For one thing, the printing process took a lot of time, which gave the handwritten newspaper a head start: "Therefore, if you make an effort to get a copy [of some important news] on one day, this news probably will be printed in the common gazette the very next day."[17]

There is also the question of exclusiveness, reflecting the conspicuous news consumption of the social elite as a marker of social status. In that respect, the focus on content is misleading. The handwritten newspaper was a social marker, accessible to just a few privileged customer groups. The readers did get some news that did not reach the same audience as the printed versions, but the focus was about the same. The above-mentioned possibility to adjust the content of the handwritten newspaper to certain customers by way of taking in the very latest news is also significant. The fact that the handwritten newspaper regularly referred to the content of the printed version, which in many cases had the same editor, may have given it the exclusivity its customers treasured.

Strangely enough, although the handwritten newspaper had clear features and a particular function within the news consumption of social elites, contemporary interest in newspapers has focused mainly on the printed versions (Michał Salamonik). Treatises on printed newspapers appeared when the genre's audience reached beyond the social elites. Contrary to our perceptions, once again these discourses on newspapers and news in general did not focus on politics as a distinct sphere of society and government. Instead, they refer to a news medium that covers contemporary history, a history in the making that concerns the common good and public affairs. The assumed reader, the audience, is described as belonging to social groups that take care of these matters, the public elite.

In line with this focus on a privileged readership, most of the works strongly emphasized the didactical value of the newspaper, especially for younger members of the social elites. It was the dissemination outside of these elites that troubled contemporary thinkers given that public affairs were not to be discussed beyond these circles. Mere curiosity was not acceptable in the case of private groups. The handwritten newspaper was

17 Ludewig 1705, § 4.

hardly mentioned in this debate, the assumption being that its high price made it inaccessible to anyone beyond its elite audience. These newspapers were rather perceived as an internal medium, publishing news on public affairs for members of social elites who were the only people who could afford to buy them. It was thus the public display of handwritten newspapers in coffee houses that triggered general prohibitions in the 18th century.[18]

The handwritten newspaper – as had long been the case with the printed newspaper – was thus a socially embedded medium addressed to a public consisting of social groups holding public office. Social embeddedness and publicness are thus by no means a contradiction in terms, as it might appear from the perspective of modern society in which publicness as an abstract idea by definition encompasses all social groups. This notion does not make much sense with regard to early modern times, however, when there was no such thing as an abstract public sphere or a single society. The number of available handwritten *and* printed newspapers, their rather limited runs, and the high demands for literacy among their readers reduced the reading public to a very small elite. In any case, publicity was scarcely more than a theoretical option up until the 18th century, possibly achieved in cities such Hamburg and Amsterdam with their wide variety of almost daily publications. Even so, it is not clear what interest artisans would have had in handwritten newspapers, which did not report on their life-world or on local affairs.

Contemporaneity and participation

Newspapers, printed as well as handwritten, were about participation in an elite culture. The reader marked his or her belonging to this social elite by learning about on-going history at the same time as other members, in other words the public. This novel, "simultaneous" (depending on the speed and reliability of the postal services) participation in an elite culture gave rise to something like contemporaneity, which stretched over most parts of Europe.[19] It created a new mental map for those who learned about changes in all of the known world at the same time as other members of public elites did.[20]

This contemporaneity and participation demanded of the public elites a variety of news contacts and media forms. Handwritten newspapers were read among friends alongside printed newspapers, particular news-sheets and correspondence. All these different media served specific purposes and should be understood as fostering a more or less diversified news consumption. In that respect, the variety of news sources depended

18 Droste 2011.
19 Dooley (ed.) 2010.
20 Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik has worked on early 16th-century newspapers, which were circulated within networks as a means of transcultural communication in the Ottoman Empire; Barbarics-Hermanik 2010; 2011.

specifically on the readers' social status, literacy, economic means and place of residence (preferably at or close to one of rather few news nodes).[21]

Most studies on news, however, are limited to one genre, generally the printed newspaper although early modern writings are clear about the need to engage in different news forms. What is more, engaging in news did not merely entail passive consumption.[22] It was a marker for the reader's resources in that it demanded active news exchange, which in turn created and strengthened social structures. These social structures were the fabric of institutionalization processes in early modern times:

> The flow of correspondence that was mediated by the postal network, was a key to the integration of large scale economic and political institutional projects that increasingly had an impact on the everyday life in the communities. In itself, the postal network provided the correspondence networks, that transformed the mechanisms of social networks within a local environment and face-to-face relation such as trust, reputation, reciprocity, into the "virtual communities" that were taking shape as correspondence networks.[23]

This still seems to be an appropriate description of contemporary societies. What has changed since early modern times is the definition of publicness and society. Extending the outreach of handwritten newspapers, it turned the genre into a medium for rather small, marginalized social groups instead of social and public elites. However, this process is still not sufficiently understood. Did the handwritten newspaper lose its grip on elites? Was it eventually marginalized by censorship? Did the modern idea of one society de-legitimize a medium that was not meant to serve a socially diversified public?

The market for news

There is another difference that needs to be explained. Up until the 18th century, the handwritten newspaper was not only a means of social exchange, it was also a commodity, part of a news market that followed the economic rationale of the social groups that were engaged in it. It was, to some extent, a money-based economy in that news was a commodity that could be traded for money. The price of this commodity was about ten times higher than that of the printed newspaper. In that respect, the latter was obviously a legitimate offspring, although it by no means ended the need for handwritten versions. On the contrary, it seems as if the market for handwritten newspapers grew in the 17th and early 18th centuries alongside that for printed newspapers. They were regular market products, openly sold to customers who could afford them. They were censored and were considered part of the news market just like the printed newspaper.

21 Cf. Lamal, forthcoming, presenting a study on handwritten newspapers in 16th-century Italy.

22 Droste 2018.

23 Simonson 2009, 385.

It is problematic for researchers to describe the financial conditions of this business, and even more so with regard to its traders. There are far too few account records from news agents to make general statements on the profitability of this business.[24] It is known what the cost of a subscription to a handwritten newspaper was in the 17th and 18th centuries. They were obviously sold in major merchant cities, post offices, and other places. However, nothing is known about the run, which might have fluctuated heavily given there was nothing like an original.

This market for newspapers, handwritten as well as printed, did not alter the rules of socially embedded news exchange. It was still an aspect of social relations, in that investment in news fostered social relations and generated credit, and was thus mutually beneficial. It was – in a way – part of business without necessarily being business in itself. It seems as if news was – as it still is – less of a commodity and more of an investment in trust and mutual benefit. The exchange of news was therefore one way of developing social relationships and networks among court members, scholars[25], priests, and women[26]. In light of the social embeddedness of news as well as newspapers, one has to look for a different economy, one that is based on social resources and extends far beyond the public news market. One should think of resources in terms of trust, networks, and the ability to communicate with absent friends at a time when social contacts primarily focused on presence. Early modern institutionalization processes, foremost among them being the state-building process, were based on a social fabric of family, friends, and networks. These social institutions and their terms were described in a flood of treatises and educational writings.

The history of the handwritten newspaper as a commodity

It is claimed that handwritten newspapers started with news exchanged among merchants as part of their mutual correspondence.[27] They belonged to the world of internationally active merchants with an interest in events happening at other places that might affect their trade. This notion about their origins serves to justify the explanations offered by contemporaries as well as modern researchers. In fact, there is limited evidence to back this claim, apart from a few merchant archives such as the Datini[28], Fugger,

24 Even the very thorough studies conducted by Mario Infelise on handwritten newspapers in Italy do not pinpoint the income that the newspaper services generated, not least because there is very little information on news traders and their different business interests; Infelise 2010, 52. Lore Sporhan-Krempel showed in her study on Georg Forstenheuser, Nürnberg's most renowned news agent, that the news trade was part of a varied and probably far more profitable business; Sporhan-Krempel 1970.

25 Greengrass, Leslie & Raylor (eds) 1994; Bots & Waquet (eds) 1994; Stegeman 2005.

26 Pal 2012.

27 Werner 1975.

28 Origo 1957.

and Veckinchusen[29]. Nevertheless the assumption has merit, although the focus of the news frequently seemed to be the "world" and the "present day", instead of the particular interests of the participants. It looks as if there was similar news exchange between German courts, at least from the 16th century onwards.[30]

Another explanation for the origins of the periodical distribution of news as a commodity lies in Italy and the early diplomacy of Italian city states.[31] It may be that there were two different beginnings, the spheres of international commerce and international diplomacy. Given that much of the "diplomatic" news was still sent by merchants even in the 17th century,[32] these two explanations could be two sides of the same coin. There is as yet, however, too little evidence to resolve the issue. In any case, it is evident that handwritten and – later on – printed newspapers were mainly restricted to merchant cities, which also harbored the main postal offices that, in turn, formed the grid of an expanding European news market.[33] Contemporary writing therefore referred to merchants as *custodes novellarum*,[34] newspapers' protectors, although it is not clear if this refers to the merchants' role as producers and/or consumers. The label seemed to need no further explanation and was obviously widely accepted.

We therefore have to come back to the question of definition. What is it that distinguished the handwritten newspaper from a handwritten news-sheet or a letter of correspondence sent in a mutual news relationship? Although the printed newspaper with an (often changing) title, numbering, and periodicity is an easily identifiable product, both the letter of correspondence and the handwritten newspaper shared a number of typical markers. They were handwritten, often short and anonymous, lacked a title (although they usually had a headline stating the place and day of issue), and were periodical – according to the rhythm of the postal services. Few contemporary discussions about the handwritten newspaper survive. It was apparently considered a specific product. However, it was not taken as seriously as the printed newspaper, which after about half a century into its existence caused a rising tide of critical discourse on its use, lack of usefulness, supposed as well as legitimate readership, and quality. This discussion might serve as a reminder that our – researchers' – focus on newspaper content is misleading. Handwritten newspapers have always been a medium for social exchange and cohesion, and internal communication, and in that way they are both public and private.

Change happened when the need for social cohesion came up against the concept of a nation-state and politics that, unlike early modern

29 Lindemann 1978.

30 Kleinpaul 1930.

31 Mattingly 1955; Infelise 2010; Zwierlein (2006) attempts to show that early modern newspapers derive from diplomatic sources, in Italy.

32 Cf. the study by Droste 2018.

33 Behringer 2010, 51; Cowan 2007; Raymond & Moxham (eds) 2016.

34 Weise 1676, Chapter 1, folio A r. The term was used by Jürgen Habermas (1989, 20) to highlight the importance of economic change in explaining the change in public debate.

societies, feared public debate on politics and instead relied more and more on censorship. This is illustrated by Fredrik Thomasson, who analyzes handwritten newspapers in the Swedish colony of Saint Barthélemy in the early 19th century. The Swedish Crown tried to ban all kinds of public debate, by means of censorship and the strict control of access to the printing press. This handwritten newspaper thus acquired a different function, in addition to its role as a medium of social exchange and cohesion: it was used to replace the printed newspaper – and was consequently designed as such. Censorship and the policing of handwritten newspapers became meaningful.

Continuities and discontinuities

Thus, the handwritten newspapers of early modern times and of the modern period have some features in common besides the basic idea of writing a newspaper by hand. In Western Europe, the scribal culture flourished in aristocratic coteries, religious sects and revolutionary movements during the 17th and 18th centuries.[35] News correspondence, commonplace books and other genres of early modern scribal media closely resemble the handwritten newspapers of the long 19th century.

A major feature distinguishing early modern and modern handwritten newspapers is the title. Unlike the former, almost all modern handwritten newspapers have titles, which are a strong generic marker. The material form and layout of these newspapers varied considerably: some were visually very elaborate, others were written in empty ledgers without any columns or illustrations. *Lagsavise* edited by Norwegian labor movements were sometimes a collection of loose sheets wrapped together in an envelope, as Christian Berrenberg points out in the chapter co-written with Kirsti Salmi-Niklander. However, all these papers have titles, dates and the names of the editors, which distinguish them from other kinds of manuscript materials.

Another distinctive feature of modern handwritten newspapers is the process of editing and distribution, which tended to be collective and involved intense interaction between manuscript, print and oral communication and performance. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, Christian Berrenberg, Hrafnkell Lárusson and Risto Turunen explore handwritten newspapers in Finnish, Norwegian and Icelandic local communities and popular movements during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Even though the traditions in these countries differ somewhat, many parallel features can be observed. In most cases the newspapers were edited as a single manuscript copy, which was published by being read aloud in meetings or at more informal gatherings. Sometimes the writers addressed their words to the listeners rather than the readers of the paper. Many handwritten newspapers in Iceland circulated from house to house in villages; Emese Ilyefalvi refers to a similar practice in the chapter on manuscript papers edited and distributed by Calvinist minister Dezső Bonczidai in Hungarian villages in Transylvania.

35 Darnton 2000a; Ezell 1993; 1999; Gelbart 1987; Love 1993.

Practices of collaborative writing and oral-literary communication have their roots in early modern cultural phenomena. The salon culture involved various oral-literary practices: texts were published by being read aloud, and manuscripts were circulated among salon members. Handwritten newspapers [*nouvelles á la main*] were produced and distributed in salons in 18th-century France.[36] These oral-literary practices were adopted by popular movements in later centuries. Another predecessor of modern handwritten newspapers was the formalized correspondence in religious sects and political networks,[37] but unfortunately there is hardly any evidence of this social use of such newspapers in the 16th and 17th centuries.

New literary practices

Change is partially attributable to the fact that during the early 19th century the medium "declined" to a pastime and an educational activity for children and young people in families, schools and other educational settings.[38] This is the same process that memory books went through during the 19th and 20th centuries.[39] Apparently, some writers of school and family papers were familiar with the earlier traditions of newsletters and circular letters in religious movements.[40] The earliest archived example of a family paper in Finland was edited by Karl August Gottlund in his home, a parsonage in Juva in Eastern Finland, as a young teenager in 1810–1811.[41] Entitled *Jockas-Posten*, it bore some resemblance to 18th-century handwritten newspapers: small events in the social life of the family and the neighborhood were turned into items of news with royal characters. At the end of each year, "a key" was published revealing the real identity behind the pseudonyms. Robert Darnton observed similar systems of pseudonyms and "keys" in 18th-century French libels and clandestine writings.[42]

For political, practical or educational reasons, handwritten newspapers have survived or have been revitalized as an alternative medium for adults, often but not always young adults. They became a popular alternative medium in North America, especially in remote, isolated settlements in

36 Dulong 1993, 410–413; Klitgaard Povlsen 1993, 19–22; Goodman 1989, 340–347.

37 In Finland, theological dialogues by the Lutheran clergyman Abraham Achrenius (1706–1769), *Conventioner af Gamla och Nya Saker*, were distributed by mail among a circle of correspondents in the 1760s. Achrenius argued against the Moravian (Herrnhutian) Brethren, but the model of his journal was adopted from *Gemein-Nachrichten*, a correspondence journal circulated by the Herrnhutians in Germany. Similar journals were produced in Sweden and distributed in Finland. Mäkinen 1997, 126–127; Ruuth 1921, 146–148; Salmi-Niklander 2013, 77.

38 Heuschen 2006.

39 Henriksson 2007.

40 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 103–104.

41 Haavikko 1998, 199–200.

42 Darnton 2010b, 370–374.

both English-speaking and immigrant communities.[43] They were also a strong tradition in middle-class families. Mark Alan Mattes explores several collections of family papers written by young people in early and mid-19th-century US, interpreting them through the term "intermedial literacy" and focusing on the interaction of scribal and oral media and authorship.

Handwritten newspapers coincided or were replaced with some other educational and informative practices in North America: amateur journalism, which involved the so-called "novelty presses" or "toy presses," marketed to middle-class families in late 19th-century US. Teenagers and young adults could make a limited number of prints with these small hand presses, and they distributed them among a network of correspondents.[44] Another popular 19th-century tradition was the use of scrapbooks for both educational and political purposes.[45]

Handwritten newspapers have been edited in isolated communities such as boarding schools, sanatoriums, garrisons, prisons, people in exile, and even in concentration camps.[46] In such settings they served as a means for discussing inner tensions and maintaining mental capacities and hope for the future. Mary Isbell focuses on *The Young Idea*, written on board England's Royal Navy flagship, HMS *Chesapeake* in 1857–1859. This was both an intimate and a truly global medium, as officers, clerks and seamen depict their experiences on the voyages and in exotic harbor cities on the Arabian Peninsula and India. *The Young Idea* is an example of shipboard publishing, which was a common pastime both on long-distance passenger ships to Australia and New Zealand, and on Arctic explorations.[47]

Handwritten newspapers as a means of literary attainment, political education, and agitation

During the long 19th century, handwritten newspapers became a significant alternative medium for rural populations and urban working classes, supporting the attainment of literacy skills, political activism and democracy. The scribal culture of the working classes and rural populations has become a topic of interdisciplinary research in recent decades. Martyn Lyons coined the term "ordinary writings" that, he points out, reveal the emotions and experiences of their writers only to a limited extent: "Proletarian writings were characteristically laconic, pragmatic, concerned more with the price of

43 Atwood 1999; Radner 2010. On handwritten newspapers in Finnish immigrant communities, see Salmi-Niklander 2017.

44 Isaac 2016.

45 Garvey 2013.

46 Handwritten newspapers were edited by Finnish left-wing political prisoners in the 1920s and 1930s (Salmi-Niklander 1989; Kähkönen 2011) and by Greek political exiles in 1938–1943 (Kenna 2008). *Vedem* was written by teenage boys in the Theresienstadt (Terezin) concentration camp in 1942–1944. Klein 1965.

47 Hoag 2001; de Schmidt 2016.

essential goods than with personal feelings."[48] Contributors to handwritten newspapers rarely write about their personal emotions, but rather discuss collective experiences and tensions in local communities.

Handwritten newspapers served democratization processes and the political participation of the lower classes. Editorial tasks circulated among members in many communities, and all who belonged to the small community or society were expected (or even obliged) to contribute. However, the editors and the most active writers were among the most highly educated members of the community, albeit they tended to be autodidacts rather than formally educated. Another common trend in various case studies is the dominance of men in the editing process, even in mixed groups of men and women.[49] The editing and writing process could have proceeded in a dialogue between men and women.[50]

In many cases, handwritten newspapers were produced to avoid censorship. This was the situation in Finland during the 19th century, when all printed materials were subject to censorship: the first publications of the labor unions of pressmen in the late 19th century were edited handwritten newspapers, even though they could easily have produced a printed paper.[51] Avoiding censorship was only one reason for their popularity: they served as means of strengthening collective identities and discussing delicate issues in local communities. In fact, they may have been censored (both internally and externally), as Risto Turunen shows in the chapter on papers edited by workers at the Finlayson cotton factory in Tampere.

The chapters comprising this volume report many case studies on handwritten newspapers in various European countries. Klimis Mastoridis gives a long-term overview of their appearance in Greek history from the early 19th century until the Second World War, discussing their material forms and social functions in different historical contexts. Hrafnkell Lárusson focuses on extensive Icelandic materials produced by local associations in small villages. These journals were a vital part of the scribal culture, which flourished in Iceland until the 20th century. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and Christian Berrenberg present a comparative analysis of handwritten newspapers in Finnish student organizations and in the Finnish and Norwegian labor movements, addressing questions such as how these newspapers were used to create, strengthen and maintain a community identity. The terms social authorship and literary/literacy practice are used to explain different aspects of these processes. Emese Ilyefalvi and Risto Turunen report on case studies of the last phase of handwritten newspapers

48 Lyons 2013, 17. The term "ordinary writings", coined by Martyn Lyons (2013, 13–14) is based on the term *écritures ordinaires* introduced by Daniel Fabre. Albert & Fabre 1993. Ordinary writings and scribal cultures in the Nordic countries have been explored in multidisciplinary projects and publications. See Kuismin & Driscoll (eds) 2013.

49 Salmi-Niklander 2004; 2011.

50 Risto Turunen reports on the dialogue of men and women in working-class communities in his chapter. See also Salmi-Niklander 2004, 381–384, 435–441; 2011.

51 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 112.

during the first decades of the 20th century. They explore their significance in political and religious communication in relation to class, ethnicity, and ideology.

Archiving, editing, and digitization

Handwritten newspapers constitute a challenging topic of research in many ways. The source materials are often "hidden" in the archives, and they are classified in many different ways: as "Miscellania", "Varia", "Correspondence," "Publications" or "Manuscripts." Many of these papers were clandestine, hidden or even destroyed by their writers and editors. On the other hand, they have not been valued as documents in the same manner as minutes of meetings and membership records, given that their content tends to be humorous and fictional, and therefore difficult to interpret.

One example is the story about the preservation of *Valistaja*, a handwritten newspaper edited by young people in the industrial town of Högfors[52] in Southern Finland in 1914–1925, and the primary research material for Kirsti Salmi-Niklander's doctoral thesis. The newspaper was confiscated by the police in 1926, following the banning of the socialist youth club because it had chosen the communist turn in the division of the Finnish labor movement. The collection was found by accident in the attic of the local police station in the 1980s. The policeman who found it later admitted that he had kept the collection in his cupboard for some years and had read these interesting stories, finally handing in the manuscripts to the local Social Democratic Organization. In 1989 Kirsti Salmi-Niklander came across this collection, which comprised 550 pages, only about half of the original corpus. The first methodological challenge was to date the materials and put together the loose sheets. This was followed by a multi-phased generic, intertextual and narrative analysis.[53]

All researchers in the field of handwritten newspapers have similar stories to tell about miraculously saved or accidentally discovered source materials and multi-phased processes of interpretation and contextualization. Many chapters in this volume are based on relatively small, fragmentary or second-hand archival collections, of which only reproductions of the original texts are available (Fredrik Thomasson, Mary Isbell, Mark Alan Mattes, Klimis Mastoridis, Emese Ilyefalvi). These fragmentary materials demand careful interpretation and contextualization. Some other chapters discuss relatively extensive, but nevertheless fragmentary source materials (Hrafnkell Lárusson, Risto Turunen, Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and Christian Berrenberg). Methodological challenges in their interpretation and analysis are related to vernacular and nonstandard language, irony and parody, and references to local people and events. This interpretation and contextualization require

52 Högfors has been known as Karkkila since 1932 when it became an independent township.

53 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 15, 86–87. *Valistaja* is now in the collections of the Labor Archives in Helsinki.

comparative research based on different source materials. Methodologies in the fields of historical and literary research, book and media history, folklore studies and ethnology provide tools for this analysis.

Digital humanities open up new possibilities for the study of both extensive and fragmented archival collections. Mary Isbell has explored the opportunities emanating from the Text Encoding Initiative and digital scholarly editing for the analysis of both the material and textual aspects of handwritten newspapers. Her research on the digital edition of *The Young Idea* also involved project work with university students.[54] Risto Turunen applies computational methods to the content analysis of socialist handwritten newspapers of early 20th-century Finland.[55] Those involved in the Handwritten Newspapers Project, which was instigated by Roy A. Atwood, have collected information and digital editions from North America in the main, but also from various other countries.[56] The database Literary Bonds (University of Strathclyde) presents digitized editions of handwritten newspapers edited in Scottish literary and mutual improvement societies in late 19th and early 20th centuries.[57] The Finnish Literature Society has recently given access to internet-based learning material on self-educated writers and vernacular literacy in 19th-century Finland, including a section focusing on handwritten newspapers.[58] Digital methods provide the means for exploring visual, linguistic, generic and intertextual elements of handwritten newspapers.

We hope that this volume will open up the path for international co-operation in this exciting field of research. Many institutions and individuals have helped and supported us during the editing process. The workshop in Uppsala 2015 was funded by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences and the Academy of Finland. The editorial work has been supported by the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki. Special thanks to Ms Seita Soininen for assistance during the editing process. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander's research was funded through the Academy of Finland fellowship ("Between voice and paper: authorial and narrative strategies in oral-literary traditions," decision number 251289), and Heiko Droste's research was funded by The Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies. We appreciate the insightful comments of our peer reviewers, which helped us to improve the final version of the volume. We are grateful to the contributors for their chapters and for smooth co-operation and patience in the editorial process. Last but not least, we wish to extend our sincere gratitude to the Finnish Literature Society for publishing the volume in its *Studia Fennica Historica* series.

54 Isbell 2016.
55 Turunen 2016.
56 https://handwrittennews.com/
57 https://www.literarybonds.org. Weiss 2016. The database has been developed by Kirstie Blair and Lauren Weiss (University of Strathclyde) and Michael Sanders (University of Manchester).
58 https://kynallakyntajat.finlit.fi/tekstilajit/k%C3%A4sinkirjoitetut-lehdet The section on handwritten newspapers is based on Kirsti Salmi-Niklander's research.

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I

Print, publicness, and the state

Heiko Droste
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2729-0656

How Public Was the News in Early Modern Times?

News can be defined as a report that describes a recent public or particular event.[1] The spread of such reports in written form was made possible through the introduction of paper as a comparatively cheap and accessible writing material. The reports' dissemination also required an infrastructure of messengers or postal services. The establishment of European paper mills and postal infrastructures after the late Middle Ages made possible a hitherto unknown dissemination of newsletters. Their distribution gained momentum in the 16th and 17th centuries, not least because news acquired new functions when it was transformed into a publicly available commodity. An ever-denser grid of postal communications made news cheaper, more reliable, and in many ways more accessible. This has been described as a revolution in communications.[2] The postal infrastructure of nodes and routes was run by schedules which created a weekly news rhythm, providing, in turn, a sense of contemporaneity.[3] Members of functional elites (courtiers, merchants, priests, scholars) were prominent among those participating in the new news culture.

Three main news forms evolved over time. In the beginning, news was incorporated into correspondence between members of elites.[4] The term "correspondence" refers both to an exchange of news in letter form, and to a shared understanding or friendship between two persons, sustained by an exchange of letters. Correspondence thus formed a fabric of social structures: it created lasting mutual relationships, regularly confirmed.

1 Particularity in this paper describes news as well as social relationships that concern a particular person's interests, in contrast to public news and public affairs. Particularity is thus not an expression for privacy, as the persons and events in question are not necessarily private as the word is understood today. This is because they are regularly part of functional elites that as a rule are the basis for public institutions and are part of public authority.

2 Behringer 2006, 333–374. The role of the post is often underestimated and under-researched, even in media history; for example, Raymond & Moxham (eds) 2016, offers just one essay on the post as an underlying structure in all news networks, not as an integral part.

3 Dooley (ed.) 2010.

4 Werner 1975; Infelise 2002.

The exchange of letters constituted a mutual gift and was, hence, an investment. The social function of newsletters and correspondence allowed for what Giddens would term the disembedding of social, economical, and administrative institutions.[5] That is, these institutions worked over time and space, irrespective of the simultaneous and physical presence of its members.

During and after the 15th century, news correspondence of this sort was also distributed outside of particular social relationships. After the 1500s, in Northern Europe, this news was sold publicly in form of handwritten newspapers, which were complemented by irregular news prints on specific topics.[6] After 1605, news was printed on a weekly basis, a practice that started in Straßburg.

The first printed newspaper has often been perceived as heralding the advent of modernity.[7] However, the fact that as of the 16th-century news about public events became a publicly available commodity did not affect the social function of news exchange via correspondence. Among the functional elites, the use of news as a gift between correspondents and as an investment in new friendships persisted. To be sure, the price, content and literary style of the growing flow of publicly available commodified news targeted the very same elites. This public news was no longer a social gift or investment, and its importance for elite members diminished. But the exchange of this news still proved that writer and reader participated in public affairs and demonstrated their contemporaneity, both important features of the functional elites' lifestyle.

The relationship between these media forms – that is, news correspondence and handwritten and printed newspapers – is still an open question. It will be addressed in a number of chapters in this volume. Studies on news correspondence are still rare, due to the richness of the source material. Nonetheless, the changes brought on by the introduction of print are not as self-evident as usually presented.[8] First, the appearance of printed newspapers did not mark the transition from one media form to another. Second, the handwritten newspaper did not disappear. Because it fulfilled similar and complementary functions for the same functional elite, it continued to flourish alongside printed newspapers for almost two centuries. This is also true of particular newsletters exchanged as correspondence, a media form which continues to co-exist with publicly available news today.

Within this variety of news media, the handwritten newspaper is poorly researched, largely because it is difficult to define. The following chapter analyses the handwritten newspaper as a distinct news genre. This means we must both define the function of the printed newspaper, and the relationship between handwritten newspapers and news correspondence. The analysis focuses on the social functions of these news genres, both in terms of

5 Giddens 1990 on the concepts of disembedding and expert systems.

6 Roth 1914.

7 Weber 2005, 3; Welke 2008, 9: "The printed word constitutes the beginning of modernity."

8 Tenger & Trolander 2010, 1039: "[M]anuscript production was an important commercial contributor to 17th-century literary culture."

the economics of their production and distribution, and their degree of public availability.[9] Such a broad perspective is necessary to position the handwritten newspaper in the field of contemporary news genres and to answer the question of why, after the middle of the 18th century, handwritten newspapers turned into a private, secluded and even clandestine type of news.

Definitions

Our archives are packed with news of all kinds. While the news exchanged in correspondence between friends was often personalized, one cannot tell if particular news-sheets were exchanged as part of a mutual news relationship or functioned as anonymous newsletters or as handwritten newspapers intended for sale. The news reported does not readily betray the news-sheet's function, not least as the trustworthiness of the news depended on its being reported in an impersonal style, free from the writer's opinion (being similar and compared to other forms of historiography in this respect).[10] News was most often sent anonymously, both in order to avoid complaints from those whose "business"[11] they reported on, and to protect their exclusivity, which depended on anonymous contacts with reliable news agents.

We are faced, then, with the problem of singling out that news material which was a commodity that could be sold. The connection between senders and recipients is no longer visible, if only because news-sheets were so rarely archived. Even in the 17th century, there was nothing quite so old as yesterday's news. In other cases, cover-letters and their newsletters were split up by later generations of archivists, intent on establishing a meaningful order – by their lights – by filing anonymous news correspondence in one box and signed letters between correspondents in another.[12] It is for these reasons that studies of handwritten newspapers have been few and far between, and focus on a limited number of collections whose periodicity at least implies that their news was a commercial product. These studies rarely discuss, let alone define, the genre of the handwritten newspaper, and instead use a blanket approach to handwritten news material of all types.[13]

9 Droste 2011b.

10 The contemporary tracts are unanimous in describing newspapers as a kind of contemporary historiography. For a detailed discussion of these tracts, see Droste 2018.

11 Interestingly, the tracts use the word *Geschäft*, or business, for all personal and shared interests. Of course, any newspaper writer who reported on a prince or similar ran the risk of being attacked by that individual, intent on protecting his interests.

12 The collections of printed German newspapers in the National Library in Stockholm were a result of this ordering process. Most newspapers were originally part of diplomatic and other correspondence, and were held in the Diplomatica collections in the Swedish National Archives.

13 There has been a range of work on handwritten news forms in recent years, although the lack of a definition means that each deals with a rather different

The Fugger newsletters, a well-known collection of handwritten newspapers from the 16th century, demonstrate this problem, and also how our expectations concerning the use of newspapers affect what we "find" in the archives. For decades, the *Fuggerzeitungen* were believed to be the result of a news service run by members and associates of the Fugger family as part of its mercantile business; their news was supposedly intimately linked to the family's financial interests.[14] However, the Fugger newspapers contain far less "economic" news than one might expect.[15] They also turn out to have been less exclusive to the Fugger family than the (exceptionally well-kept) collection seems to indicate. The Fuggers, in fact, were just one important newsletter customer among many. The difference was that they, unlike others, could not bring themselves to throw away old newspapers.

In many cases, we lack the multiple copies of publicly available newsletters which would prove their role as a commodity. Or rather, we do not know if we have them or not, because copies could be stored in any of Europe's several hundred archives. One answer to this problem, which has gained traction lately, is to compare collections of handwritten news from different archives. Big data projects of this type are possible thanks to the vigilance of junior scholars, aided by recent advances in intelligent character recognition (ICR) technologies for historical handwritten material. Joad Raymond, Andrew Pettegree, and others have called for these kinds of big data projects.[16]

Most media historians, however, have chosen a different way to address the problem: they focus on printed news material. It is reasonably accessible and offers ready answers to the questions of the degree of news service publicness and commodification. Printed news material seems an ideal historical source by definition, as it was public, commodified, and impersonal, and therefore seems to have been the perfect marketable product – although we cannot prove that it really was good business. The prices seem to have been too low for that, and the number of copies too small.[17]

Compared to the media historians' enthusiasm for printed news material, their interest in 17th- and 18th-century handwritten newspapers is rather limited. Research on handwritten news material – not necessarily restricted to handwritten newspapers as public news medium – is largely restricted to historians of diplomacy and cultural transfer.[18] Diplomatic correspondence and handwritten newspapers are evidently related, but even this relationship is insufficiently acknowledged by historians, often with the argument that too little is known about the news agents. This is compounded

form. See, for example, Barbarics 2005, 179–205; 2006, 219–244; Timmermann 2000, 137–159. For an overview of collections in Western Europe in particular, see Moureau (ed.) 1999.

14 Kleinpaul 1921.

15 Bauer 2011, 585–620; Keller 2012, 186–204; Zwierlein 2011, 1–56.

16 Raymond 2016, 102–129. Similar ideas inform Andrew Pettegree's project, the Universal Short Title Catalogue or USTC http://www.ustc.ac.uk/ (accessed 10 October 2016).

17 For the economic potential of printed newspapers, see Droste 2018.

18 Windler 2000, 24–56; Fuchs & Trakulhun (eds) 2003; Rohrschneider & Strohmeyer (eds) 2007.

by the fact that many media historians assume handwritten newspapers were simply superseded by printed newspapers, which being cheaper and more accessible were (supposedly) better in every way. And in part this was true. Contemporaries saw the change in the publication of newspapers as a change in technology. In 1619, the Hamburg-based news correspondent Peter Topsen alerted Axel Oxenstierna, Swedish Chancellor of the Realm, about a change in his news service: ordinary newspapers were now being printed.[19]

The fact that the "ordinary newspaper" was thenceforth printed rather than handwritten obviously made little difference to Topsen. The new medium mattered less to him; it was just a different way of making an existing form of news available on an equally regular basis.[20]

In order to understand the particular functions of news, be it handwritten, printed or part of particular sets of correspondence, however, it is necessary to go to the roots of this news culture: the particular correspondence between friends.

News as gift, investment, and commodity

Early modern tracts discussing the norms regulating functional elites' social life, especially elites at the court, emphasized that the main function of news was to sustain and strengthen social relationships, which contemporaries broadly defined as friendships.[21] This notion of friendship was prominent among functional elites of all kinds, including merchants, clerks, scholars, and courtiers. Moreover, the notion that the mutual exchange of news is an essential part of friendship has existed since antiquity.[22] News constituted a gift in a social relationship, and, as such, a resource. This gift of news had to be reciprocated, primarily in the form of other news.[23]

This socially embedded news was for the most part concerned with particular events and people – that is, those of interest to particular persons. It was, therefore, limited to mutually trusting social relationships, not least because so much was dependent on the discretion of the recipient. This kind of news was not to be shared carelessly, as it could harm the writer if it were made public. Not all friendships offered this degree of trust; many friendships were unequal. Yet even there – in what historical studies often term patron-client relationships – news was a resource and an investment of sorts. The less powerful offered news to their more powerful friends, who to

19 Riksarkivet [Swedish National Archives], Stockholm (RA), Oxenstiernska samling, E 741, Peter Topsen to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 1 November 1619: "And because the ordinary newspapers are printed nowadays, they can henceforth easily be traded."

20 For a more detailed discussion, see Droste 2011a, 1–22.

21 The part played by news exchange in contemporary notions of friendship is an issue discussed in detail in Droste 2018.

22 Epp 1999, 62–65.

23 Ezell 1999, 40: "The manuscript text operates as a medium of social exchange … neither private nor public in the conventional sense of the terms."

some extent at least reciprocated with other resources, whether a promotion, a recommendation, or more news.[24] This latter type of correspondence mostly concerned news of public events, as the news did not ask for the same discretion.

Even when a news relationship was not mutually trusting, it was still meaningful to send news about public events, preferably those that had taken place elsewhere in Europe. This went some way in reducing the risks of reporting about particular interests. Another form of self-protection was to separate the correspondents' personal exchanges from their news reports. Increasingly, the news element was sent under separate cover – e.g., as a news-sheet which could be sent anonymously. This was not only insurance for the sender. It also made it easier for the recipient to copy the news and send it on to others; there was no need to edit it first.

Anonymous news was mostly concerned with everyday business and public events, and transcended particular social relationships by creating networks of correspondents. These specific social relationships remained the lifeblood of contemporary news exchanges, despite the breaking of the connection between the personal letter and the news-sheet – a dislocation that would introduce a degree of confusion for future media historians. We simply do not understand the details of news networks once the news became anonymous. It is often impossible to identify the members of the network.

The exchange of news was then transformed once again, when one particular type of news – reports about a changing world in the form of an on-going contemporary historiography[25] – was turned into a commodity. Initially, even this type of news was traded in a highly exclusive market. It was produced by a number of (mostly anonymous) news experts, who had access not only to news and the postal infrastructure, but also to individual customers who could afford their services.[26] This type of handwritten news no longer belonged within specific social relationships, and required no reciprocity other than money; although its transition from social gift to commodity is hard to pinpoint and was never fully accomplished. After all, news-as-commodity could in turn be redistributed within other social relationships, resuming its function as a gift. Most importantly, all three forms of news – gift, investment, and commodity – had co-existed since the 16th century. The early modern elites' news consumption can only be understood by considering all three functions, for each complemented the other and offered different kinds of news. And whatever its form, the news was valued according to its speed, reliability and exclusiveness.

The question for contemporaries who feared for the misuse of particular news, as well as for newspaper historians trying to define the terms of news as

24 These news services were omnipresent for those in royal service. Droste 2006.

25 Contemporary tracts in the late 17th century were unanimous about the close relationship between news and historiography, where news should be written in a "stylus historicus." Weise 1691, 132.

26 For a ground-breaking study of the early news agents in Italy see Infelise 2002; and for the German material, see Sporhan-Krempel 1968.

commodity, is the degree of the news' outreach or publicness. Seen from the perspective of handwritten correspondence within particular relationships, publicness means nothing more than losing control over the dissemination of the news.

A. I. Doyle defines "publication as the communication of a work from one person to others with permission (perhaps tacit), to pass it on to others; which *may* be preceded or followed by the growth of knowledge of its existence and interest, rousing desire for further copies, consequent reproduction and gradual dissemination."[27]

The publicness of printed newspapers

In the perspective of today's newspaper historians, publicness has acquired a completely different meaning. It refers to news that functions as public communication on and a venue for criticizing politics. This discussion continues to be heavily influenced by Jürgen Habermas's seminal work on the public sphere.[28] His point was that any debate about moral questions and politics was reliant on the public display of printed newspapers. In consequence, many historians still equate the appearance of printed news material with the advent of a reasoning public. While this assumption has been repeatedly questioned,[29] there has been no success in freeing the idea of the public sphere from the slowly evolving future-to-be as a shared point of reference in many media historians' minds. However, their view that the 17th century's printed newspapers are similar to later forms of printed newspapers is not convincing; in the 17th century, printed newspapers served an entirely different purpose, which had nothing to do with their supposed information value, nor yet the political news agenda.[30]

The major difference between particular news correspondences, handwritten and printed news, lies in their ability to meet the specific needs of their customers.[31] We therefore have to consider what it meant for the news to be in the public domain in 17th century. Printed newspapers were publicly available, to be read by anyone who could afford them. Beyond government-imposed, largely ineffectual censorship, we do not know of any concerted attempts to hinder the public display and sale of newspapers.[32] An artisan could probably afford to read a printed newspaper regularly. That does, however, not prove that he did so. In practice, the number of available copies, their rhetorical style and their content gave even printed newspapers a distinct air of exclusivity.

27 Tenger & Trolander 2010, 1040.
28 Habermas 1962.
29 While Habermas still seems to be an important point of reference in the Anglophone debate about printed newspapers in 17th century, German discussions about 17th-century media are something of a departure given their almost unanimous rejection of Habermas's notion of the public sphere; see Arndt 2013, 24–29.
30 See Michał Salamonik's contribution in this volume.
31 Droste 2011b, 67–83.
32 Bellingradt 2015, 62–107.

Printed newspapers did not make for easy reading, as they had neither commentary, background information, nor explanations for why things happened. Contemporary tracts recommended not only that one read newspapers regularly, but also advocated having books on history, politics, genealogy, and geography to hand in order to be able to fathom what the news was about. The language, modelled on contemporary official styles, tended to the elaborate. As a consequence, the most prominent tracts on newspapers, written towards the end of the 17th century by Christian Weise and Kaspar Stieler, saw newspapers primarily as a means to educate younger members of the functional elites, and in particular courtiers who wanted to prepare themselves for public service.[33] They promoted the idea of the newspaper as a repository of good examples, akin to history books.[34] Even princes could learn valuable moral lessons here.[35]

Reading newspapers called for distinct skills on the part of the reader, making the newspapers themselves a form of educational device. Newspapers were common reading material for university students, and featured in the education of princes.[36] Such material required advanced critical skills, which was in itself useful.[37] Apart from honing rhetorical skills, any understanding of the newspapers demanded a good, solid education. Stieler even put together a dictionary of the many foreign-language terms found in newspapers. All of this knowledge, important for courtiers-to-be, required them to be active newspaper readers, preferably extending their reading to different editions published at the same time.[38] In sum, the tracts recommended newspapers because of their rhetorical complexity and their lack of commentary and contextualization, and because trying to understand their contents gave one the opportunity to learn foreign languages almost in passing.[39]

The newspapers' usefulness for merchants was also a subject of discussion. Here, the situation was far more ambiguous than that presented in most tracts. The tracts claimed that merchants needed newspapers to do business in foreign countries, especially in order to learn about commodity prices in different ports; but this kind of information was not to be found in the printed newspapers. Price lists – first handwritten, then printed – circulated separately from the newspapers,[40] albeit through the same postal system and together with the newspapers. Most of the news important to merchants, moreover, came from their personal contacts in the shape of overseas agents

33 Stieler 1969, 109 compared the newspapers' educational value with those of travel; see also Juncker 1703, § 7, and Ludewig 1705, 93–94.

34 Hartnack 1688, 99–100.

35 Stieler 1969, 191.

36 "A student should diligently read the newspapers at the universities." Bohse 1706, 158; Hartnack 1688, 79; Ludewig (1705, 81–82) recommended regular newspaper colloquia for university students. For princes, see Stannek 2001.

37 Zeiller 1648, 555.

38 Juncker 1703, § 5; cf. Ludewig (1705, 109), who recommended newspapers for those who wanted to understand what Europe was like.

39 Juncker 1703, § 7: "Thus, a future politician will gain greatly if he learns the political Latin from the newspapers in a playful way."

40 McCusker & Gravesteijn 1991.

and business partners. Their news was delivered in letters, and it is not likely that merchants found any reason to share it, as it constituted a major competitive advantage. In the end, merchants relied on corresponding with their partners; from their perspective, publicly available news could not have been more than a supplementary source of information, much as it was for princes.[41]

When it comes to the newspaper as a medium for political discussion, printed and handwritten newspapers rarely reported on local or even regional news, in order to avoid complaints by those who featured therein. Political discussions were relegated to pamphlets and other print forms that were not considered news and were accordingly not discussed in contemporary tracts.

Finally, there is the question of circulation. Martin Welke estimates the number of printed newspaper copies sold every week in 1700 in the Holy Roman Empire to have been between 20,000 and 25,000, and the number of readers between 200,000 and 250,000.[42] On the face of it, a large number. Yet, bearing in mind that many readers would have bought several newspapers from different places – following the recommendations of contemporary tracts – and that many readers lived beyond the Empire's borders, 20,000 – 25,000 copies for a population of some 20 million people still means that newspaper readers were a tiny elite consisting of, at most, about one percent of the population. The functional elites, the courtiers, priests, clerks, merchants, were far more numerous than one percent of the population, which makes it highly unlikely that the distribution of printed newspapers reached beyond the social, political, and economic elites, even if they shared their copies with others.

Differences and similarities

There were not nearly as many handwritten newspapers available (and we can do no more than guess wildly about their circulation). Nonetheless, the situation was practically the same for handwritten and printed newspapers. There were two differences. First, handwritten newspapers were far more expensive and thus most likely far more exclusive than printed ones. Second, they could be adapted to the specific needs of the recipient, as each newspaper was an original of sorts.

However, when it comes to the question of how handwritten newspapers complemented printed ones, we must acknowledge a number of similarities. Handwritten newspapers appeared equally regularly. Further, analysis shows that there were few significant differences in content – in fact, handwritten newspapers frequently referred to printed ones, and then offered additional

41 Stieler 1969, 183.

42 Welke 1976, 162. His estimates have subsequently been confirmed and quoted by many newspaper historians, see Ukena 1977, 45. Weber (1994, 20) estimates the number of newspaper readers to have been between 200,000 and 250,000 in the second half of the 17th century, or barely 2 percent of the population.

news.[43] The handwritten newspapers were equally subject to public censorship and were thus not a medium for clandestine debate or hidden agendas.[44] In fact, their scope and style closely resembled that of printed newspapers.

The differences between printed and handwritten newspapers were so minor that only one tract-writer, jurist Johann Peter von Ludewig, found it worthwhile to say more than a few words about manuscript newspapers as a distinct genre.[45] Ludewig, writing in 1700, argued from the perspective of the prince's use for and interest in the news. To Ludewig's mind, the value of news was intimately linked to its secrecy. The more publicly available, the less its value. A prince's most important source of news was thus diplomatic correspondence, especially letters written for his eyes only. In this sense, Ludewig wrote of handwritten newspapers as a distinct media genre. But they were also rather useless. News that anyone could buy was inevitably less useful than more exclusive news forms. Hence, there were few differences between printed and handwritten newspapers, except that handwritten newspapers were typically faster in communicating news, for it took until the next day to ready printed newspapers for distribution.[46] To them was left the task of publishing the most respectable version of events. Generally speaking, in fact, handwritten newspapers did not offer many advantages and were only available because they were good business for postmasters. Ludewig stressed the financial interests of the newspaper editors, while downplaying the differences between printed and handwritten newspapers.

It was true that handwritten newspapers appeared on the day of the post's arrival, whereas the printed ones appeared one or more days later. A standard printing press needed about one working day to produce 500 copies of a printed newspaper. Meanwhile, the price of a handwritten newspaper was five to ten times higher than the price of a printed newspaper. Handwritten newspapers were thus more exclusive – and more likely to retail rumor and uncertain news. They could also be adapted to the needs of particular customers, as well as to the day the post was dispatched to those customers if they lived elsewhere.[47] It seems that certain scribes at the Stockholm post office catered to specific customers.[48] The handwritten newspapers often referred to an available printed newspaper, thus creating a relationship between the two interrelated news formats, modelled to meet the needs of different groups of customers, as well as different price-ranges and degrees of publicness.

43 Böning 2008, 240.
44 Droste 2011b; Böning 2008.
45 Ludewig 1705, 80–111.
46 Ibid., 89.
47 Kungliga biblioteket [National Library of Sweden], Stockholm (KB), Manuscript D 850, handwritten newspapers to Eva Insenstierna; Carolina Rediviva (Uppsala University Library), Uppsala (UUL), Nordin 906, handwritten newspapers to merchant Jacques Möhlman, 1702–1718; UUL, Nordin 926, handwritten newspapers to several recipients in the Mälaren region, 1730s.
48 UUL, Nordin 926, handwritten newspapers, 1730s, show clearly how the newspapers could be adapted for individual customers; Droste 2011b.

The upshot was that newspapers were printed and/or written by members of an educated elite for members of the same elite who had both the cultural and economic resources to consume news. Such news came in different degrees of topicality and exclusiveness. Newspapers began to find a broader readership in the 18th century, when they started raising moral themes and reporting local events.[49] Until then, coverage of local debates and moral discussions, when it appeared in print at all, was mostly limited to other media such as illustrated tracts, pamphlets, and such.[50] Their appeal stemmed from their illustrations, a willingness to report on moral issues, a clear agenda, and (not least) far more accessible language. They avoided technical terms and the use of foreign languages, and were also given to explaining the background to events – which neither the handwritten nor the printed newspapers did.

Ultimately, there is no good reason to confuse the different news markets, each of which had distinct functions and audiences. In fact, we can find distinct but adjoining groups of customers, interested in different forms of media for a variety of reasons, separated by education, interests, and socio-economic resource. Separation followed function, not contemporary laws. This is why there is no evidence for attempts to restrict the availability of printed or handwritten media according to social estate or class: it was simply not necessary, even though contemporary tracts tried to draw such distinctions by discussing the moral implications of curiosity on the part of social groups whose members did not hold public office.[51] The same was true of handwritten newspapers, where we only know of – probably unsuccessful – efforts to prevent their public circulation in coffee houses.[52] Just as today, there were different types of audiences. The question is not how secretive and exclusive the handwritten newspapers were, or whether they operated wholly separately from the market in public news. The question is how public the printed newspapers were, and what were their exact functions for their readers.

Why did handwritten newspapers turn non-public?

Contemporary tracts about the use of printed newspapers took a clear position. They presented a range of arguments about courtiers' or princes' need to learn about developments in their vicinity. However, no news of that sort was to be found in printed or handwritten newspapers. These had nothing to do with the specific information that was important for the work

49 Forselius 2013. Even Habermas (1962, 52–58) stresses that public newspapers were a medium of critical debate about the arts before they were used for political purposes.

50 Bellingradt 2012.

51 Droste 2018.

52 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives], Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatskanzlei Patente 16, 25 May 1671 & 10 May 1672; *Der eingelauffenen Nouvellen, XIV. Stück*, Leipzig, 9 April 1740, 57 reported a ban on handwritten newspapers in Vienna.

of the functional elites. Printed newspapers did not meet specific information needs or answer particular questions. Nor did tracts mention these needs, being caught up in other concerns. Instead, there was a strong didactical perspective in the contemporary discourse on newspapers. Young men were supposed to improve their knowledge of the world by reading newspapers. Newspaper taught them how people of higher standing acted.

Printed newspapers reported on recent public events, presenting a kind of contemporary history. Newspaper consumers did not need this news in order to stay abreast with their work: for that there were other forms of media, particularly their personal correspondents' newsletters, which were more reliable, more exclusive, and more to the point. In fact, we have to rid ourselves of the notion that newspapers were about useful information. They were a way to partake of public affairs by learning about them – together with everyone else who might be so inclined. They were about contemporaneity,[53] and thus about participation in an elite news culture. The functional elites consumed printed and handwritten newspapers in order to prove that they were part of the elite. They exchanged news as a way of engaging in public life and high society, and in order to create lasting bonds with friends of different status.

Thus, given that the handwritten newspapers' advantages lay in their speed, exclusivity, and adaptability to their readers' particular interests, we have to look for changes in the media landscape that can explain why these factors ceased to matter, leaving customers unconvinced that the high price of handwritten newspapers was justified. There are no straightforward answers. It would seem that printing presses operated in much the same way in 1750 as they had done in 1650, meaning that newspaper runs were still rather limited. The setting and printing of newspapers still took a good deal of time, leaving handwritten newspapers at a clear advantage when it came to the speed of news delivery. That also meant that handwritten newspapers retained their exclusivity. However, we also know that customers objected not only to the price, but also to the lack of useful news in the handwritten newspapers. After 1750, though, such comments ceased altogether.[54]

That leaves the question of the printed newspapers' content. In the 18th century, they changed their tune, increasingly reporting events that in the 17th century would have been subject to censorship or self-censorship. There were also a variety of new media forms, such as journals. Handwritten newspapers would have faced further difficulties in justifying their high price when the same news could be found elsewhere.

And yet we still do not know why the handwritten newspaper disappeared as a public news medium. There are too few accounts by contemporaries that might help us explain it. It seems that the problem lay in the newspapers' exclusiveness, at a time when public debate and openness were favored in enlightened discourse. Handwritten newspapers were possibly perceived as a non-public medium, consequently giving rise to misgivings on the part of the readers as well as the authorities.

53 Dooley (ed.) 2010; Landwehr 2012, 1–34.
54 Böning 2008, 234–237.

Moreover, the handwritten newspaper as exclusive medium had the potential to be used as a non-public medium as well. It might then be used to create a different, restricted, or even clandestine "public." In this perspective, the term public is not particularly helpful, as the notion of a restricted public is a contradiction in terms. However, it highlights the handwritten newspapers' function of targeting peers and social groups that were assembled around religious, political, or social matters. Newspapers created bonds between readers by way of news and debate. The handwritten newspapers of the 19th and 20th centuries, which will be discussed in the second section of this book, often combined the social functions of newsletters with those of pamphlets. Their political or religious agenda alerted governments. However, the medium's social function remained at its core. It seems that it is the very idea of publicness that has changed. In consequence, so did the handwritten newspapers' publicity. The degree of the handwritten newspapers' publicity would, from now on, vary from open to quite secret.

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Michał Salamonik
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9121-5773

New Times Bring New Practices. Girolamo Pinocci and the *Merkuriusz Polski*

It was in Cracow in 1661 that an Italian-born merchant, Girolamo Pinocci, together with two printers, the first probably Georg Förster and later Alexander Gorczyn, started publishing Poland's first printed newspaper, *Merkuriusz Polski*.[1] Pinocci was the chief editor from 3 January until 22 July 1661, during which time he was responsible for a total of 41 issues.[2] Of those, 28 issues carried news from different parts of Europe, while the newspaper also published letters and the editor's comments – as in the first issue, for example – in which Pinocci informed readers of the new print medium. Importantly, Pinocci was also responsible for a handwritten newspaper before he embarked on this new publication. The primary interest of this text, therefore, is Pinocci's reasons for first starting and later closing down *Merkuriusz*, and ultimately the transition from handwritten to printed newspapers.

Despite the short time it was published – some seven months – the *Merkuriusz* has featured large in the research on the early press in Poland-Lithuania. When mentioned in the literature, the focus has been its founding, authorship, and contents, along with its influence on Polish-Lithuanian aristocratic society. Jan Lankau's history of the Polish press is

1 For Girolamo (Hieronim) Pinocci (1612–1676), an Italian merchant from Lucca, an alderman and later mayor of Cracow, a royal secretary, legate, and informer, and the author and translator of the handwritten accounts and the first printed Polish newspaper, see Targosz 1967; Tygielski 2005, 288–293; for Georg (Jerzy) Förster, a Gdańsk printer and bookseller granted printing privileges in 1645, and probably the *Merkuriusz*'s first printer until the end of March 1661, see Lankau 1960, 128; for Jan Alexander (often just Alexander) Gorczyn, a Cracow printer, author, and illustrator, and the publisher of the *Merkuriusz* both in Cracow from April 1661 and later Warsaw, see Targosz 1967, 55f; Lankau 1960, 102ff. The title of the newspaper changed over the years, having first been *Merkuryusz Polski, Dźieie wszystkiego świátá w sobie zámykáiący dla Inormácyey pospolitey*. The University of Warsaw Library digitized the newspaper in 2009 with the title standardized as *Merkuriusz Polski* (*Extraordynaryjny* for extra issues), available from http://buwcd.buw.uw.edu.pl/e_zbiory/ckcp/merkuriusz/start/start.htm (accessed 22 June 2015). All translations are my own.

2 Targosz 1967, 57; Zawadzki 1997, iii, 11.

a prime example.[3] His well-known and still much-cited work was published ready for the tricentenary of the Polish press, and to this day remains one of the key studies of the *Merkuriusz*. There have been numerous studies since that examine the Polish news and its dissemination in various media, which put the newspaper in a broader context, including Kazimierz Przyboś and Wojciech Magdziarz's study of press propaganda, Kazimierz Maliszewski's and Karolina Targosz's work on Pinocci and his authorship of handwritten and printed newspapers, and a more recent study by Artur Rejter which analyses the newspaper's genre.[4] Of course, the literature on the Polish press is much larger, yet the purpose of the present chapter is not to present it *in toto*, but to give an overview about the most significant works that take up Pinocci's newspaper production.[5] One of the most frequent questions in recent decades has been why the distribution of the *Merkuriusz* was stopped in the summer of 1661. It is perhaps no surprise that the focus here will be the newspaper's collapse, although the question is framed somewhat differently, as I ask *how* rather than *why* the newspaper ceased publication. I would argue that by formulating the research question in these terms, one can more readily chart the transition from handwritten newspapers to print media.

There is still much speculation as to the reasons for the *Merkuriusz*'s sudden end. Most historians have put it down to a combination of King John II Casimir Vasa's electoral politics and cultural developments at the time. John II Casimir had tried to push through changes to the electoral system, the *vivente rege*, which would have left the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under absolutist rule. Despite the king's and his supporters' attempts, the idea of electing a new king before the death of the previous one eventually collapsed during the session of the Diet in July 1661, just as the last issue of the *Merkuriusz* went to the presses. Historians seem to be in general agreement that the newspaper was nothing more than the mouthpiece of the royal court, determined to broadcast its plans for the election of the French duke of Enghien, prince of Condé, as next king of Poland. Besides this "political propaganda" argument, most studies also include the "civilizing" element seen in European developments and the emergence of the print media in Western Europe, with the *Merkuriusz* thus seen as an example of the modernization of the Polish press, and in turn the westernization of its information culture and flow.

I would argue, however, that the collapse of the *Merkuriusz* should not only be analyzed in terms of the authorities' political agenda or any "civilizing" role the newspaper can be accorded, but should also include the complexity of the editorial problems caused by delays in the postal system as a possibly influential factor. As Maliszewski points out, there is no detailed research on the interplay between the Polish press and the postal service in the 17th

3 Lankau 1960.

4 Przyboś & Magdziarz 1975, 167–188; Maliszewski 1990; Targosz 1967; Rejter 2000, 7–17.

5 For the Polish press, see Kolasa 2012, 1–20; for the *Merkuriusz*, see ibid., 19.

century.[6] Therefore, I believe that an in-depth study of the continuities in the news from different parts of Europe as published in the *Merkuriusz* and an examination of the problems with the postal service will shed a new light on its sudden demise. To that end, I offer here a quantitative study of the places of origin of the published news, together with a discussion of the ramifications of the postal conflict of 1661. This is preceded by a short biographical note on Pinocci and an examination of the *Merkuriusz*'s ambitions, as set out in the newspaper's first issue.

Pinocci

Girolamo Pinocci, who emigrated from Lucca to Poland-Lithuania in the late 1630s, became one of the main political and financial agents for the two Vasa kings, Vladislaus IV and John II Casimir. Pinocci was made a citizen of Cracow in 1640 and by the mid-1640s was already a city alderman. He went on to be mayor of the city twice. Besides his local political career, Pinocci was engaged in the royal mint and was head of the Mint of Lwów (Ukr. Lvov) in the mid-1650s. As early as 1645, he was appointed a royal secretary, and later was a royal legate to the Netherlands in 1658 and to England in 1659. Apart from his political engagements, Pinocci provided a steady flow of information for the royal court, and translated and edited books.[7] The evidence of his information service can be found in the Pinocci family archive, which is held in the state archives in Cracow.[8]

Not only do Pinocci's own handwritten newsletters survive for the years 1649–1650 in the Cracow collections, but so do various European handwritten newspapers written in French and German for the years 1659–1660. These sources allowed Lankau to claim that Pinocci's handwritten newspapers, which were first published in Italian, were destined for the royal court, Italian migrants in Poland-Lithuania, and foreign readers.[9] Targosz reckons that Pinocci himself composed and edited the contents of his newspapers, and that he had been producing handwritten newspapers [Pol. *nowiny*] from at least 1644.[10] This would have Pinocci providing a continuous information service from his first handwritten newspapers in the 1640s through to his last printed ones in the 1670s. However, the *Merkuriusz*, which was published solely in Polish, was obviously designed for a much wider domestic audience than his handwritten newspapers. Less is known about his years after the collapse of the *Merkuriusz*. Targosz suggests that Pinocci continued peddling information, but was more interested in chronicles that focused on Polish

6 Maliszewski 2006, 32.

7 My account of Pinocci's life and career draws on Targosz 1967, 7ff; and Tygielski 2005, 288–293.

8 For the handwritten newspapers in Italian, Latin, and Polish for the years 1649–1650, see the Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Archives in Cracow], Cracow (hereafter ANK), Archiwum Pinocchich "Pinocciana", 29/650/8; for the collection of handwritten newspapers for the years 1659–1660, see ANK 29/650/11.

9 Lankau 1960, 119.

10 Targosz 1967, 49, 50.

history than in continuing of his former newspaper business with European news.[11]

New times bring new practices

It was with these words that Pinocci, the author of the first issue of the *Merkuriusz* on 3 January 1661, explained the launch of his new newspaper.[12] The *new times* referred to the moment of the *Merkuriusz*'s appearance as a new kind of medium, while the printing press was the *new practice* in the Polish press. This *new practice*, as we will see, was intended not only to inform contemporary people, but also to accumulate knowledge for further generations. The idea of printed newspapers was probably generally known at that time, and the title suggests an English precursor; indeed, according to Lankau, Pinocci had been influenced by the *Mercurius Britannicus* during his legation to Britain on the behalf of the Polish king, John II Casimir, in the 1650s.[13]

According to Pinocci, humankind shared a behavioral requirement to stay up to date with what was going on in the world: "to know as much as possible [about other people]" were Pinocci's exact words in characterizing contemporary society's need for news.[14] In the opening lines of the *Merkuriusz*'s first issue, Pinocci also wrote about the joy and humor that drove the contemporary press as much as the readers' curiosity and thirst for knowledge. At the same time, Pinocci showed an understanding of "hierarchical knowledge," or the classification by importance of different kinds of knowledge and news [Pol. *wiadomości*]. As he wrote, "Of all news, after God, the first place […] is to have history presented as gently as possible for the knowledge of things and human actions," and he described history as "the mother of wisdom and the teacher of life."[15] In this way, the news was associated with history as much as with current political events. But how did a "knowledge of things and human actions" in the present relate to history, understood as a knowledge of past events?

Pinocci wrote about history as a way of understanding formed by the experiences of past generations in such a way as "teaches, warns, advises,

11 Targosz 1967, 63f.

12 *Merkuriusz Polski*, issue 1 (3 January 1661), 1: "Inße bowiem czásy/ co raz inße niosą obyczáie."

13 The title seems to have been taken from a British newspaper, *Mercurius Britannicus Communicating the affaires of great Britaine: For the better Information of the People*; see Lankau 1960, 126.

14 *Merkuriusz Polski*, issue 1 (3 January 1661), 1: "Ten iest/ że ták rzekę/ iedyny pokarm dowcipu ludzkiego/ umieć y wiedźieć iák naywiecey i tym się karmi/ tym się ćießy/ tym się kontentuie."

15 Ibid.: "Między wiádomośćiámi záś rzeczy rożnych/ záraz po Bogu/ naypierwße mieysce ma/ y naypotrzebnieyßa człowiekowi/ *cognitio rerum*, & *actionum humanorum*, ktora nayłácniey podawa historya/ iáko *mater prudentiae*, & *magistra vitae*."

reprimands, and makes possible the development of human actions."[16] Such explanations of people's historical interest are then countered in Pinocci's reasoning. He stressed the inefficiency of "old histories," and suggested that newer events could teach people more. Immediately after this contradictory disquisition on the role of history in informing people, he went on to write about the *new times*. "The new times bring new practices & the experience is no longer required, only the similarity of the times and morals [should be considered]" was the exact formulation, which closed Pinocci's account of the role of history in contemporary society, and of news as a "learning experience."[17] Pinocci's argument stressed two aspects in particular. The first was a point about the inefficiency of learning from history; the second was about the moment of change in those new times. But what, besides the use of history, could symbolize those new times? Was the *Merkuriusz*, as an example of the printed press, a vehicle of such change?

The answer to those questions seems to lie in the next section of the first issue, which refers to printed newspapers as a new medium. The issue began with the statement that because of the popularity of the historical narratives, no newspaper was produced in Poland.[18] Therefore, one may conclude that historical narratives were entrenched in the information systems of the Polish aristocracy in a way newspapers were not. In Pinocci's eyes, the historical narratives were an *old practice*. In addition, Pinocci wrote that no one had undertaken to publish a newspaper in Poland hitherto, and this was why his newspaper was a new phenomenon there. He wanted to "follow foreign nations to bring the news to the public every week."[19]

So, it could be stated definitely that the *Merkuriusz* was effected by the foreign press development taking place in the 16th and 17th centuries in the western part of Europe. Consequently, in Pinocci's eyes the Polish weekly newspaper, in a manner of its European analogue editions, was a carrier of changes in the news dissemination system. This is how the *Merkuriusz* became perceived by several scholars as the "civilizing" element and as the link with the "Western culture."[20] It should also be highlighted here that the objectivity issues were a part of the discussion presented in the *Merkuriusz*'s entry issue as well. The author of the text expressed his intention that he wished to publish the news as perfect as he can to well-inform about what is happening in Poland and in the entire world.[21]

16 Ibid.: "Tá przykłádámi y doświadczeniem uczy/ przestrzega/ nápomina/ strofuie/ y umieietność spraw ludzkich y postępkow czyni. Lecz historya stárych názbyt i niepámiętnych wieków nie jest do tego ták skuteczna/ iáko tych/ ktore nam są bliżße."

17 Ibid.: "Insze bowiem czásy/ co raz insze niosą obyczáie; & *experientia non aquiritur*, tylko *ex similitudine temporum* & *morum*."

18 Ibid.: "Ztądże nie náganioną podobno."

19 Ibid.: "lubo nową dotąd Polßcże rzecz przed są biorę/ gdym umyślił/ wieku teráźnieyßego, wiádomośći przykłádem obcych narodow/ co tydźień do druku podáwáć."

20 This "civilizing" aspect is to be seen in the demand for news, the popularization of knowledge, and the Protestant Reformation; cf. Rejter 2000, 7f.

21 *Merkuriusz Polski*, issue 1 (3 January 1661), 1–2: "y ile zdolność moiá znieśie

> I understand that my work will serve not only curiosity & refinement, but also to recognize great things for public wisdom and taking solid decisions by publishing such [noteworthy] news, but also about this country, because its achievements are worthy to memorialize for later generations, that I will be giving to the public.[22]

"Not only for the curiosity & refinement, but also for public wisdom and taking solid decisions:" this was how Pinocci expressed his reasons for publishing the *Merkuriusz*. His aim was not only to inform people about the contemporary world, and to exert a positive influence on their plans (perhaps in business), but also to glorify the achievements of his *patria*. The last argument hints at the fact that Pinocci naturally had the right to choose the news he wanted to make public. Of course, it was not only him, but also his milieu, or rather the patronage of the royal court, which had the right to control how and what would pass the editor. And the question of what news should be translated, published, and ultimately preserved for future generations was largely in his hands.

> I begin [publishing the newspaper] at the start of this year, 1661, and I begin rightly with the information of great importance – an overview of the political systems of the different countries for the reader who will be less skilled, to inform the reader about European politics from the very beginning, and from it an explanation of further news, which [the reader] would like to continue to read weekly.[23]

In the final section of his introduction, Pinocci gave his reason for publishing an overview of Europe's political systems. It was intended for less-skilled readers to acquaint themselves with contemporary politics and to learn about Europe's domestic and international affairs, but also by way of explanation for all subsequent issues. Hence, the *Merkuriusz* was thought of not as a sequence of stand-alone publications, but as a compilation, where the first issue should be kept. Once again, the intention of the editor was to publish a weekly subscription newspaper. In this way, the *Merkuriusz* appeared to be a continuous edition with what were likely to be regular readers, who were in effect obliged to take every issue of the newspaper if they were to understand future issues. This intention can be seen in the continuous page numbering

informowáć doskonále/ co się godnego wiedzenia/ ták w Ojczyźnie/ iáko po świećie wßytkim/ á miánowićie/ Europie/ y Chrześćiáństwie/ dźieie."

22 Ibid., 2: "Rozumieiąc/ że ta praca moia nie tylko *curiosis* & *politioribus ingenÿs*, wygodzę y usłużę/ y oraz do uznánia y uwagi rzeczÿ wielkich/ *ad prudentiam civilem*, *ad consilia solida capienda*, tákiemi wiádomośćiámi drogę otworzę: ále też *de hac Patria bené merebor*, gdy iey *res gestas* godne potomney pámięći/ do postronney podáwáć bedę wiádomośći."

23 Ibid.: "Záczynam to tedy/ day Boże ßczęśliwie/ od początku Roku tego 1661. á záczynam słußnie od potrzebney bárzo informácyey *de praesenti rerum omnium statu*: áby Czytelnik/ ktoryby tego był *minus peritus*, ná samym wstępie przeyźrzał się in Europea politia, y ztąd brał obiáśnienie dálßych wiádomośći/ ktore co tydźień *conituare* zechce."

of between issues. Finally, unlike the *Merkuriusz*, which was explanatory in character and was aimed at a less knowledgeable readership, the handwritten newspapers appear as the less common medium, with a limited audience narrowed to those who were well-oriented in European politics.

Contains the events of the entire world for the public

The subtitle of the *Merkuriusz Polski* proclaimed that it "Contains the events of the entire world for the public."[24] That it covered "the events of the entire world" was not only its contemporaries' perception, but also reflected the way the news was disseminated. *Merkuriusz*'s world consisted of a well-developed postal system, which made it possible to produce and distribute a weekly newsletter. The other part of the subtitle, "for the public," refers to the newspaper's broad audience, and at the same time its ambition to make public the editor's choice of news. What then was the *Merkuriusz*'s world? Where did the news it published originate?

Research on the dissemination of the news in 17th-century Europe requires an analysis of the development of the postal service, which is generally perceived as the basis for the establishment of the regular press. It was by post that letters and newspapers circulated around Europe, and it was the post that made it possible to publish the news. Not only were handwritten accounts dependent on the postal service in this way, but so were the printed ones, which drew their news from correspondence and the handwritten newspapers or *aviso*.[25]

When analyzing the *Merkuriusz*, it soon becomes apparent that the geographical origin of the news was given for every single item. Pinocci, to whom the authorship of the *Merkuriusz* was assigned, summed up the places of origin in such a way: "the homeland and the entire world, namely Europe and Christendom."[26] Hence it was the news from Poland-Lithuania and Europe that was the concern of the newspaper. The reference to Christianity should be understood as meaning all Christian confessions, but in practice it was limited to Western Christianity, as it was the news from Catholic and Protestant countries that dominated the newspaper's pages, to the exclusion of the Muslim and Orthodox worlds (there was no regular news about Russia).[27] In practice there was some news from the Ottoman Empire, but only about military developments in the region. Taken together, it is plain that the *Merkuriusz*'s world was limited mostly to the Western part of Europe.

24 Ibid., 1: "Dźieie wszytkiego świátá w sobie zámykáiący dla Inormácyey pospolitey."
25 About the *avvisy*, see, for example, Tygielski 2005, 291.
26 *Merkuriusz Polski*, issue 1 (3 January 1661), 2: "ták w Ojczyźnie/ iáko po świećie wßytkim/ á miánowićie/ Europie/ y Chrześćiáństwie."
27 See, for example, *Merkuriusz Polski*, issue 4 (5–11 January 1661), 74–76.

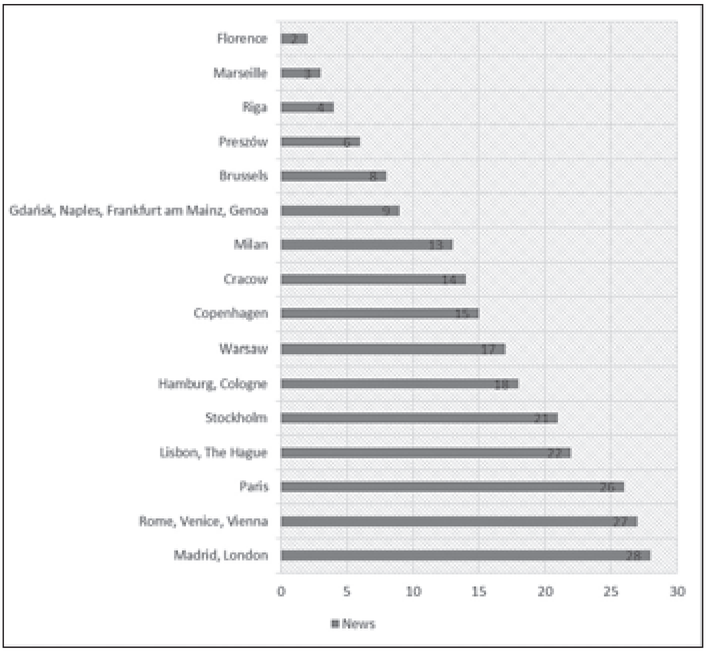

Figure 1. The places where the news printed in the Merkuriusz *originated (only those places mentioned more than once).*

The news published in the *Merkuriusz* can be categorized by its provenance, or rather by the place names as they appeared above each item of news. As the figure shows, the news from Madrid and London appeared in every issue – or at least, all 28 issues that carried news from elsewhere in Europe, the total number of *Merkuriusz*'s issues being 41. The news from Rome, Venice, and Vienna appeared in 27 issues; Paris, 26; Lisbon and The Hague, 22; and Stockholm, 21. The news from Hamburg and Cologne was published slightly less frequently, which featured in 18 issues; Warsaw, 17; Copenhagen, 15; Cracow, 14; and Milan, 13. Far less frequently, there was the news from Gdańsk (Ger. Danzig), Naples, Frankfurt am Main, and Genoa in 9 issues; Brussels, 8; and Preszów (Sl. Prešov), 6; Riga 4; and only very occasionally from Marseille, 3; and Florence, 2. Places which appeared just once have not been included in the figure because of their distinct character, but nevertheless are worth noting as they were so varied, running from Koszyce (Sl. Košice), Biała Cerkiew (Ukr. Biła Cerkwa), Bohusław (Ukr. Bohuslav), Stettin (Pol. Szczecin), Barcelona, Prague, and Bremen to Switzerland (without a specific place). The distinction in the continuity of the news on the basis of the frequency with which the place was mentioned gives a picture of the kind of world Pinocci inhabited as a newspaper writer. Thus the news from the Italian cities dominated, hovering around 40 percent of the total of those places that appeared in the newspaper more than once. It reflected Pinocci's origins in Lucca and his extensive contacts there, of course, but also the strong links between Poland-Lithuania and the Italian states.

The analysis of the figures bears out the impression that reports from Poland-Lithuania were in the minority, and that the news from Cracow and Warsaw was usually printed on the last page. However, it should be borne in mind that the news was always printed in date order, and this meant that the local news would be given at the end. Moreover, Pinocci distinguished between the news from his homeland (as he referred to Poland) and the rest of Europe, so giving the *Merkuriusz* a double track, with information about both domestic and foreign affairs. The figures for Cracow (14 issues) and Warsaw (17 issues) reflect the change in the newspaper's place of publication: in March 1661 it moved from Cracow to Warsaw, when there were 4 issues in which the news from both cities was published simultaneously, and thereafter the news from the one "capital city" replaced the other's. Apart from Cracow and Warsaw, there was news from places that were still in within the Commonwealth, but on its borders facing an unstable military situation, hence Gdańsk (9 issues); Preszów (6); and Koszyce, Biała Cerkiew, and Bohusław (1).

Like the press in general, the *Merkuriusz* was reliant on the postal service for its existence. In the sixth issue, it gave its views on the contemporary issues with the development of the mail, along with a description of the royal posts, which then consisted of two major postal nodes placed in Cracow and Gdańsk.

> To Cracow immediately [directly] come letters only from Vienna […] [sent] from Italy and partly from Germany.[28]

> In Gdańsk come the letters from Stettin and Berlin […] [sent] from Spain, Portugal, England, France, the Netherlands, and partly Germany.[29]

The reference to the Cracow post office "only" receiving letters via Vienna warrants special attention. The news from Italy and the Habsburg Empire – from the south and central parts of Europe, in other words – came to Cracow according to the *Merkuriusz*. The news from the Iberian Peninsula came along the northern postal route, passing France, the Netherlands, and Brandenburg-Prussia. While comparing these two routes and place of origin of the news, one thing emerges as very significant: the news from the northern route (from Hamburg, Cologne, Brussels, and to some extent even The Hague) featured far less frequently than the news from the Italian cities or the French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish capitals. The reason should be sought in the delays to the dissemination of the post.

28 *Merkuriusz Polski Ekstraordynaryjny*, issue 8 (25 January 1661), 58: "Do Krákowa *immediate* przychodza Listy tylko z Wiedniá […] przez Krákow *diffunduntur* po cáłey Polßcże Listy ze Włoskiey y po iedney częśći z Niemieckiey źiemi."

29 Ibid.: "We Gdańsku ze Szczećiná y z Berliná listy pospołu sie zchodza. […] Listy z Hißpániey/ Portugálliey/ Angliey/ Fráncyey/ Niderlándu/ y po drugiey częśći źiemie Niemieckiey."

> Thus there should be consideration of the significance of the regular dissemination of the Post, mostly the Gdańsk one, and how much all parts of society and mostly tradesmen depend on that.[30]

How important was the delay in the Gdańsk post for a newspaper that published regularly? According to the *Merkuriusz*, it was marked, not to say crucial, especially for those traders who needed the news in order to pursue business in Western Europe. Baltic trade as well as the import of various items depended on a fast and reliable flow of information, which was greatly limited by the postal conflicts. The Gdańsk postal conflict of 1661 is a clear example of such interference. What, then, was the influence of such a "postal struggle" on the *Merkuriusz*? To answer this question let us move to Gdańsk in the mid-1650s.

The postal conflict of 1661

In 1654, King John II Casimir made Francesco De Gratta head of the post office in Gdańsk ("*super administrationem Postae Nostrae Gedanensis*").[31] This meant that all postal communications to and from the city came directly under the jurisdiction of the Polish Crown. From that point on, postal services in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth expanded to Royal Prussia, and Gdańsk's city post office became the second Polish Royal post office in the Commonwealth (the first office had been founded in Cracow in 1562). In this way, postal communications in the whole country were transformed, becoming the royal prerogative [Lat. *regalia*] of the Polish king.[32]

Generally, the second half of the 17th century is considered a crucial period for the development of Europe's postal services. It was at that point almost all European countries saw the advent of government-controlled postal services. Thus, Gdańsk, which had managed its own communications thus far, was gradually transformed into a local agency of a larger crown postal structure. The case of this particular city demonstrates that even in a decentralized country such as Poland-Lithuania, an attempt was made to transform the communications system. *Post-regalia* signified in essence a degree of control over the territory and borders of a country and the gathering of revenue in the shape of fees and charges. Nevertheless, the character of the first national post service should be analyzed by looking at the reasons for its creation.

30 Ibid.: "Ztąd tedy snádno uważyć/ iák wielkiey importáncyey iest z ordynowánie Poßty/ osobliwie Gdanskiey/ y iak wiele Stanu wßelákiego ludźiom/ á miánowicie Kupcom/ ná tym należy."

31 A second document in which John Casimir appointed Francesco De Gratta to run the Gdańsk postal service in 1655 survives in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, BG PAN Ms. 719:29 Bl. 589.

32 Lenartowicz 1924, 14f; for the development of the postal service and Francesco De Gratta's part in the postal conflict, see Salamonik 2017.

The eighth (and special) issue of the *Merkuriusz*, dated 25 January 1661 – cited earlier on the subject of postal routes – gave the reasons for the delay to Gdańsk's posts, and indeed the news from other European countries. This issue included several arguments to explain why the postal service was a fundamental benefit to every society. One of them was that "the undisrupted transfer of letters and couriers' dispatch from country to country is the particular right of nations."[33] It showed that postal communications were a self-evident right of every nation to ensure "economic liberty."[34] The same issue went on to note that "the timely arrival of letters allowed for the well-functioning of public councils, the conduct of wars, and was necessary for prosperous commerce and trade."[35] Therefore, one may conclude that the newspapers addressed society at large, including merchants, traders, and government officials. The reader's attention was also drawn to the importance of receiving newspapers from other countries for social and military reasons.[36] Finally, the nature of the postal service pointing as "*inter Regalia*, especially belonging to His Royal Majesty" has been highlighted.[37] This *regalia* was in turn part of the sovereignty of crowns as defined in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years War.[38]

Thus *post-regalia* amounted to every country's freedom to organize its own postal service, the undisturbed passage of couriers, access to newspapers, and ultimately free trade. In the early 1660s, the conflict between the Polish and Brandenburgian sides arose. All the arguments about rights to the mail came together in this conflict, which seems to have been prompted by the founding of the Polish royal post office in Gdańsk and the politics of its head postmaster – Francesco De Gratta. It was typical of De Gratta's approach that he took over Gdańsk city's postal service too and removed the Brandenburg post office from the city in 1660, a course of action which almost led to the outbreak of war. Meanwhile, his achievements led to his promotion to General Postmaster of Royal Prussia, Courland, Samogitia, and Livonia in 1661.[39] In this way, the postal service in the whole territory of the Commonwealth was divided into two – Royal Prussia and the Polish north-eastern provinces on the one hand, and the Polish Crown with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the other – with Gdańsk and Cracow as their respective centers.[40]

33 *Merkuriusz Polski Ekstraordynaryjny*, issue 8 (25 January 1661), 57: "Przesłánie wolne Listow/ y wyprawienie Curryerow od Kráiny do Kráiny/ iest *liquidissimi Iuris gentium*."

34 Ibid.: "*intuitu libertatis Commerciorum*".

35 Ibid., 58: "Odebránie záś wczesne listów drogę otwiera zdrowym Rádom publicżnym: Zwyćięstwá dodáie pracom woiennym: A do ßczęśliwego prowádzenia pomaga *Commercÿs* y hándlom."

36 Ibid.: "*propter formam Consiliorum publicorum,* iáko *propter modum bellandi celerem*."

37 Ibid., 59: "*inter Regalia*, Máiestatowi Páńskiemu ßczególnie należące."

38 Following the Treaty of Westphalia, the political map of Europe changed with the shift to sovereign kingdoms with set borders – and rights to their own postal communications within their territories; see, for example, Croxton 1999, 569–591.

39 For more details about De Gratta's postal career, see Salamonik 2017, 181ff.

40 *Merkuriusz Polski Ekstraordynaryjny*, issue 8 (25 January 1661), 58: "Listy záś/ ktore

How did the postal conflict of 1661 affect the publication of the *Merkuriusz*? The problems associated with the postal conflict were evident in the irregular publication of the news from Hamburg and other North German cities. The news from Hamburg was missing for 15 December 1660 to 21 January 1661, 28 January 1661 to 11 February 1661, 20 April to 2 June (except for 12 May), and 16 to 30 June 1661. The winter of 1660–1661 brought general delays to the mail. Given that the whole eighth issue (25 January 1661) was devoted to the postal conflict, it seems clear that the published information was not only informative in character, but also took the form of propaganda. The delays in the mail were compounded by the problems with the city of Elbląg (Ger. Elbing) which on paper was to be returned to Brandenburg-Prussia under to the peace treaty that ended the Polish-Swedish War of 1655–1660, but the Polish side refused to do so.[41]

Returning to the delays on the "northern postal route," it comes as a surprise that the news flow from Madrid, Lisbon, Paris, and London remained constant enough for the newspaper to be published regularly during the postal conflict of 1661. The conclusion from this is that the news from these cities, even when included by Pinocci among those affected by the delay in the mail because of the conflict, was transmitted in other ways than via the Brandenburgian postal route. Two explanations offer themselves: the role of the Swedish postal office in Stettin; and the transportation of the news by water. However, the second option seems unlikely, because it took a vastly longer time, leaving us with the first option. To sum up, then, the correspondence and newspapers from the North German cities were delayed as a consequence of postal politics.

Finally, it would seem that the personal contacts between De Gratta and Pinocci had also an influence on the *Merkuriusz*. Both De Gratta and Pinocci had known each other since at least the late 1640s and their initial trade connections.[42] Moreover, one can also find De Gratta sending books from the Netherlands to Pinocci.[43] Given their close contact, the eighth issue of the *Merkuriusz* should perhaps be read as De Gratta's attempt to explain the delays in the Gdańsk mail in the best (and easiest) way for him. Finally, it seems reasonable to assume that their contacts were not limited to the report about the Gdańsk postal situation, as their business contacts may have been behind some of the trade news published in the *Merkuriusz*.

Concluding remarks

The reasons for the publication of the *Merkuriusz*, the editor's problems, and the overview of Polish news trajectories have been discussed. What then happened when the aims presented in the newspaper's first issue were confronted with the editorial problems?

do Polskiey od tychże Narodow przychodza/ máia (że ták rzeke) dwá skłády: Jeden w Krákowie: Drugi we Gdańsku."

41 For more details about Elbląg conflict, see Salamonik 2017, 176.

42 See Salamonik 2017, 159.

43 Targosz 1967, 81.

It was in July of 1661 that the last issue of the *Merkuriusz* was printed. After that a further twenty years would elapse, in which only handwritten newspapers and occasional printed newsletters were published in Poland-Lithuania, until the next printed newspaper arrived on the scene in 1683.[44] Pinocci's *new times* did not bring a permanent change to the press system. The *Merkuriusz*, as many scholars noticed, was destined to be an ephemeral occurrence or at best an occasional phenomenon in the Polish context. The *Merkuriusz*, unlike analogous publications in other European countries such as the *Gazette de France*, did not become the new medium on a continuous basis.[45]

Was then the *Merkuriusz* an alternative source of information during its brief existence? Pinocci, the author of both the handwritten for the royal court back in 1640s and of the first printed newspaper, saw the *Merkuriusz* as the embodiment of change and the westernization of Polish news culture. His publication, after all, followed the pattern of the foreign newspapers. The merchants were a possible target readership, and here the urban situation of Poland-Lithuania loomed large. The Commonwealth had only a few large cities worthy of the name of trade centre: Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Lwów, and Wilno (Lit. Vilnius), the great Prussian cities, and Gdańsk as the biggest – and these were potential centers where the *Merkuriusz* could be distributed. It should be borne in mind that plenty of foreign newspapers circulated in these cities, together with the cities' own ones. This is why the *Merkuriusz* should rather be seen as having a closed circulation, limited to aristocratic circles, especially at the point when production of the newspaper moved to Warsaw. Warsaw was a political center only during sessions of the Diet, and therefore the city was not as attractive for merchants and traders as, say, Cracow was. Consequently, the *Merkuriusz*, which mainly reported on trade, rapidly became superfluous in Warsaw. Another factor was the sheer time needed to publish the news, including news gathering and editing, which undoubtedly became an extra disadvantage for the Polish newspaper. The entire process took far longer than to receive the news from correspondence or other media (such as the handwritten German news-sheets that arrived via Gdańsk). To my mind, this last meant the *Merkuriusz* could not hope to compete with its foreign counterparts, which were already available in the Polish "information market." In addition, it should be remembered that merchants, who pursued their trade abroad, were of course skilled in many languages, and therefore could easily find the news that interested them in foreign newspapers.

Next, the delays in postal connections, and the incomplete news that resulted, made it even harder to challenge the foreign media. Another aspect of the ephemeral nature of the newspapers was evident in the much-emphasized fact of its propagandism. Looking at this information network and its significance, one cannot forget the patronage and the political agenda that lay behind it. According to Przyboś and Magdziarz, the royal court and especially the royal couple were personally engaged in the setting

44 Lankau 1960, 165.

45 Przyboś & Magdziarz 1975, 178.

up of the newspaper.[46] Certainly, this would seem to be confirmed by the visit of the King and Queen to Pinocci's at the end of 1660, just prior to the publication of the first issue. The name of Łukasz Opaliński, the Marshal of the Polish Crown [*marszałek nadworny koronny*] often appears in the analysis of the newspaper's publication.[47] The political decision to move the newspaper from Cracow to Warsaw changed its scope, as was seen in the far more frequent news about the Diet, for example. According to Lankau, it was then the editorial board changed, and Förster was replaced by Gorczyn as newspaper's printer.[48] Pinocci, meanwhile, continued as chief editor of the *Merkuriusz* until the end of July 1661, just as Lankau highlighted in his analysis.[49] The ties between the Gdańsk postmaster De Gratta and the Italian merchant Pinocci were there, and we should bear in mind that De Gratta was also a contact person of sorts for the other Italian-born merchants in Poland-Lithuania. The existence of such information networks, including the postal network, together with the political situation surrounding the Gdańsk Royal Post, suggests that the Gdańsk postmaster cooperated with *Merkuriusz*'s editor, and not only for information purposes.

To sum up, the most important findings of this chapter are, first, that the end of the *Merkuriusz* must be seen in terms not only of the end of the Diet, but also of the postal issues and the choice to move the newspaper from Cracow to Warsaw, where its audience was significantly reduced; second, that there was an information network consisting of the postmasters, editorial board, and the political patrons at the royal court, which laid behind the creation of the *Merkuriusz*; third, the speed with which the *Merkuriusz* and other news channels disseminated the news from the western parts of Europe via Gdańsk and Breslau (Pol. Wrocław) to the territories of Poland-Lithuania; and, fourth, the fact that handwritten newspapers were much more ingrained in the minds of the Commonwealth's aristocrats than were the printed media.

What of the final days of the *Merkuriusz*? While the production of the newspaper was moved to Warsaw, the crucial changes in readership that would bring about the end of the newspaper had probably already occurred. The trade news was no longer needed as it had been when the newspaper was published in Cracow. Having moved the *Merkuriusz* to Warsaw, the financial and economic news was at least a couple of days older than it had been when the newspaper was edited in Cracow. This reason, compounded by the end of the Diet session and the departure of the aristocracy for their country residences, made the further publication of a weekly printed newspaper redundant. Lastly, it must be stressed that there was no one cause, but rather several factors that might have hastened the end of the *Merkuriusz*, as the present text has shown. It is hard to pinpoint which had the greater significance; however, the move to Warsaw, the production schedule, and problems with the postal service all sound to me to be decisive at most.

46 Przyboś & Magdziarz 1975, 169ff.
47 See, for example, ibid., 171.
48 Lankau 1960, 138.
49 Cf. Kolasa 2012, 7.

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Fredrik Thomasson
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6849-9720

Gustavia Free Press? Handwritten and Printed Newspapers in the Swedish Colony Saint Barthélemy

In late 1831 rumors about handwritten newspapers were circulating in Gustavia, the capital of the small Swedish Caribbean island of Saint Barthélemy.[1] Copies of the English-language *Gustavia Free Press* were found posted to doors, and left in the shops which bordered the town's harbor. [Figure 1.] Great interest was manifested in the paper's content and people would meet up in stores to hear the paper being read out loud. Its stated aim was outlined in the third issue:

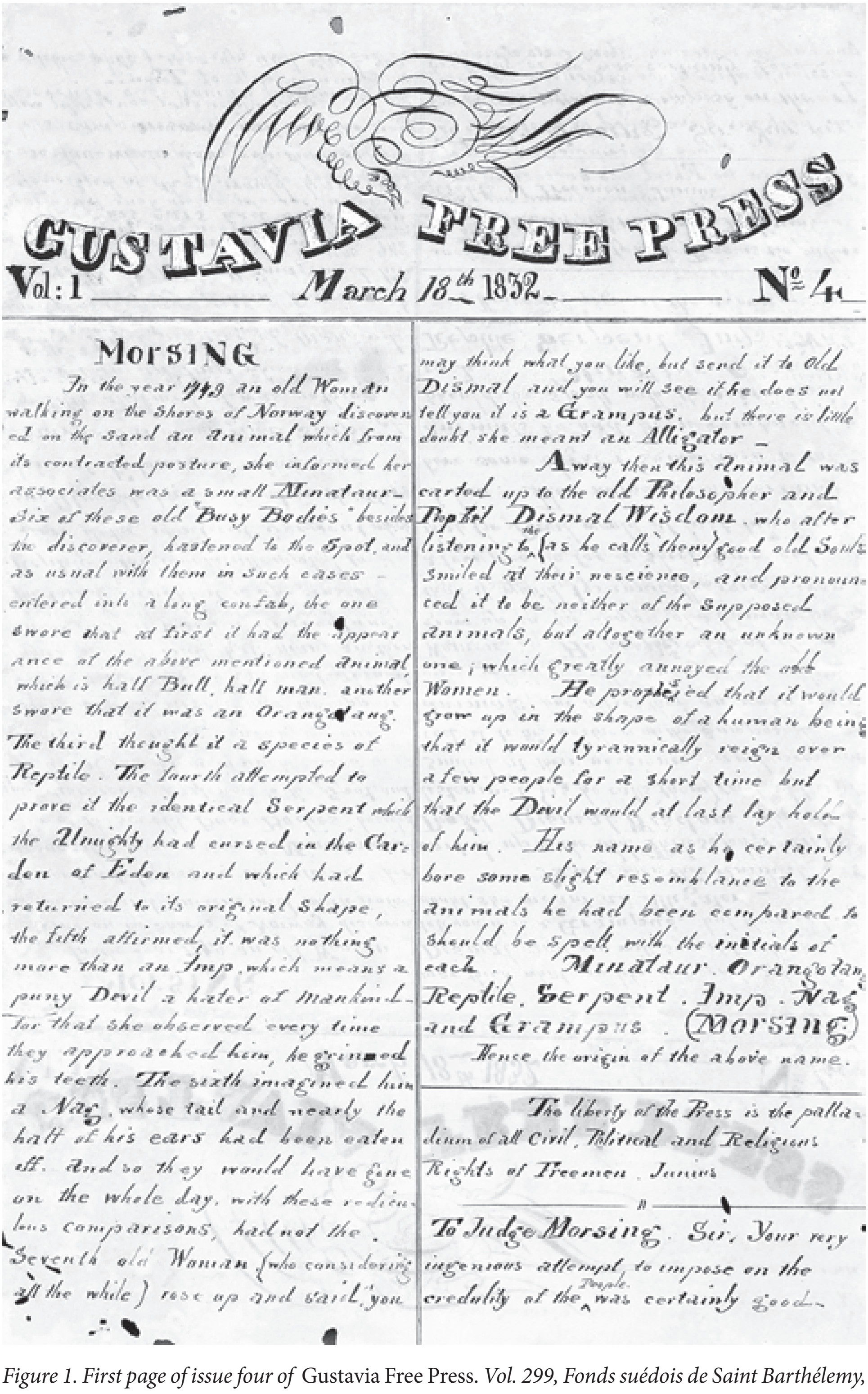
> Can lampooning tend to any good? Certainly! Could we communicate through a public paper without libelling – the villainous transactions of the judge to our most gracious sovereign? Could we attempt to assert, that only two counsellors in court ever open their mouths ... ? No. Well then lampooning must tend to good, since it exposes – all faults and the faults of all.[2]

The writer in the *Gustavia Free Press* claimed that it would not have been possible to criticize Swedish officials in a "public paper," that is a printed paper. Access to printing was limited in the Caribbean, and handwritten publications became a necessity when presses stopped working or were completely under governmental supervision.

As underlined by several contributions in this volume, it is difficult to discuss handwritten newspapers without considering their relation to printed papers. This chapter investigates the Swedish colony's handwritten pamphlets and newspapers as well as outlining the history of print in the colony. It aims to give an overview of Swedish Saint Barthélemy's history of freedom of the press and expression from the 1790s until the early 1830s. It is only possible to understand the publication of both news and satire at Saint Barthélemy as an interplay between handwritten and printed media. The colonial government's attempts to stymie both handwritten and printed

1 I would like to thank the conference organizers Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and Heiko Droste for their valuable comments. The research was supported by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Grant P15-0156:1).

2 Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), Aix-en-Provence, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 299, *Gustavia Free Press*, no. 3 (1 March 1832).



GUSTAVIA FREE PRESS

Vol: 1 ______ March 18th 1832 ______ No 4

MorSING

In the year 1749 an old Woman walking on the Shores of Norway discover'ed on the Sand an Animal which from its contracted posture, she informed her associates was a small Minataur – Six of these old "Busy Bodies" besides the discoverer, hastened to the Spot, and as usual with them in such cases – entered into a long confab, the one swore that at first it had the appearance of the above mentioned Animal which is half Bull, half man. another swore that it was an Orangotang. The third thought it a species of Reptile. The fourth attempted to prove it the identical Serpent which the Almighty had cursed in the Garden of Eden and which had returned to its original Shape, the fifth affirmed, it was nothing more than an Imp, which means a puny Devil a hater of mankind – for that she observed every time they approached him, he grinned his teeth. The sixth imagined him a Nag, whose tail and nearly the half of his ears had been eaten off. And so they would have gone on the whole day, with these ridiculous comparisons, had not the Seventh old Woman (who considering all the while) rose up and said, you may think what you like, but send it to Old Dismal and you will see if he does not tell you it is a Grampus. but there is little doubt she meant an Alligator –

Away then this Animal was carted up to the old Philosopher and Reptil Dismal Wisdom, who after listening to the (as he calls them) good old Souls smiled at their nescience, and pronounced it to be neither of the supposed animals, but altogether an unknown one; which greatly annoyed the old Women. He prophesied that it would grow up in the shape of a human being that it would tyrannically reign over a few people for a short time but that the Devil would at last lay hold of him. His name as he certainly bore some slight resemblance to the animals he had been compared to should be spelt with the initials of each. Minataur. Orangotang Reptile. Serpent. Imp. Nag and Grampus. (Morsing)

Hence the origin of the above name.

The liberty of the Press is the palladium of all Civil, Political and Religious Rights of Freemen. Junius

To Judge Morsing. Sir, Your very ingenious attempt, to impose on the credulity of the People was certainly good–

Figure 1. First page of issue four of Gustavia Free Press. *Vol. 299, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, ANOM.*

publications is an interesting example of how similar the situation was in colony and metropole in the beginning of the period, and how it diverged when royal power was curtailed in Sweden.

Swedish Caribbean historiography and freedom of the press

It is challenging to align Sweden's involvement in slavery and the slave trade with the narrative which culminated in the creation of the modern Swedish state. Indeed, Swedish freedom of press and expression laws have sometimes been singled out as important elements in the often teleological narrative describing Sweden's path to modernity.[3] Saint Barthélemy is not part of this story and the examples given account for here nuance this narrative by illustrating how freedom of the press and expression were handled in the colony. Sweden's Caribbean colony is understudied and previous historiography has regarded Saint Barthélemy as an insignificant episode and mostly treats the territory as an isolated space with little bearing on Swedish history.[4] Another facet of Swedish colonial amnesia is a reluctance to recognize that administrators in Stockholm were well aware of what was happening in the colony. As shown below, the metropolitan authorities interceded frequently, and, with regard to prosecution against the *Gustavia Free Press*, the king himself intervened.

Sweden was one of the last nations to enter the race for Caribbean colonies. King Gustav III was obsessed with gaining a foothold in the Americas in order to participate in the sugar and slavery economy. After negotiations with France Sweden acquired Saint Barthélemy in 1784, and thus became a slaving nation. Swedish Caribbean slavery was finally abolished in 1847. Saint Barthélemy is a small arid island where plantation agriculture was never going to be possible. It was declared a free port in 1786 and its capital Gustavia became a bustling cosmopolitan town. By 1810 Gustavia was one of Sweden's five or six biggest towns, with around 5,000 inhabitants and a majority black population. The colony was retroceded to France in 1878.

Vive la République

Only a few years after Sweden acquired the colony, political circumstances changed radically in the Caribbean. The period of 1789 to 1815 in Saint Barthélemy was politically chaotic. The French Revolution and the wars that

3 There is abundant Swedish literature on the regulation of printing and freedom of the press, most recently an anthology published by the Swedish parliament commemorating 250 years of the 1766 Freedom of the press act: Wennberg & Örtenhed (eds) 2016.

4 However, Swedish colonial historiography is presently expanding and the third and fourth doctoral dissertations (the first was in 1888 and the second in 1951) on the Swedish possession were defended in 2016: Wilson 2016; Pålsson 2016. For an overview of the present state of research: Thomasson 2016, 280–305.

followed it led to the abolition of French Caribbean slavery and the Haitian Revolution. Saint Barthélemy was mainly neutral throughout this period and became a destination of choice during several waves of emigration from neighboring islands. Two examples are planters who left French islands after the Revolution, and black people who fled Guadeloupe when French slavery was reintroduced in 1802.

An early example of how the island government controlled political expression is when it prevented an unwanted publication from being released in 1797. Samuel Augustus Mathews had recently moved to Saint Barthélemy and was already known as a writer of a pro-slavery tract printed at the Dutch island Sint Eustatius in 1793: *The lying hero or An answer to J. B. Moreton's manners and customs in the West Indies*.[5] Mathews ended up in court after having told a local merchant that he intended to print a gazette in support of the French Revolution, the manuscript ended with: "Vive la République." His intention was probably to print it on one of the neighboring islands as there was as yet no press in Saint Barthélemy.

Mathews denied the charges made against him in court. As material proof was lacking the court could not sentence him. The court nevertheless informed Mathews "that if he wants to stay on the island he must improve his behavior, and stay calm."[6] He followed the court's order. By the following year he had changed his allegiance from the French Republic to the Swedish monarchy and wrote a "Song on His Majesty's High Birthday ... sung by him at the Celebration of that day [1 November 1798] ... in the Government House." In time Mathews became an established merchant in Saint Barthélemy. [Figure 2.]

At this point in the 1790's the suppression of Mathews' planned paper was similar to what would have been the governmental response to such a publication in Stockholm where even news about the French Revolution was prohibited. In Sweden the levels of government control and print censorship had fluctuated since the first proclamation of a freedom of the press law in 1766. Gustav III then immediately restricted the press's freedom after coming to power in 1771, and went on to become increasingly autocratic during his reign.[7] The decades following the assassination of Gustav III in 1792 until the coup that deposed his son Gustav IV Adolf in 1809 have been called "the iron years" [*järnåren*], a term which particularly refers to a lack of freedom of the press and expression.

5 For Mathews' eventful life: O'Flaherty 1999, 49–58; for his position on slavery: Brereton 1999, 59–62.

6 ANOM, Aix-en-Provence, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 141, Council protocols, 17 November 1797: "que s'il veut rester en l'isle, il doit mieux se comporter, se tenir tranquille."

7 The main titles on Gustav III and freedom of the press remain: Boberg 1951; Nyman 1963. Criticism against Gustav III was circulated in a large range of handwritten pamphlets: Mattsson 2010. For an introduction to early Swedish newspaper history: Holmberg, Oscarsson & Torbacke 2000.


THE REPORT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

No 7. Monday the 14 May 1804.

Figure 2. The Report of St. Bartholomew. *Right-hand page, number seven (14 May 1804) with Samuel Augustus Mathews' song in praise of the Swedish king. Uppsala University Library.*

The Report of St. Bartholomew

During the early years of Swedish rule there were no obvious plans to bring a printing press to Saint Barthélemy. However, printing soon became necessary. The first example of government printing I have found dates from 1787 when the council (the island's governing body) printed a summary of local tariffs and fees. In 1790 the council ordered new customs tariffs to be "printed in a sufficient number to make it known all over this part of the world." It was not stated where the work was carried out, but in 1793 other regulations were printed on Sint Eustatius.[8]

In 1803 the island's judge, Anders Bergstedt, bought a used press from Stockholm.[9] In April 1804 Bergstedt began printing an English-language

8 Riksarkivet, Swedish National Archives (SNA), S:t Barthélmysamlingen, vol. 1B; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, MSS Z-A 4 BANC, Saint Barthélemy council protocols, 12 March 1790: "l'impression d'une quantité d'exemplaires suffisante pour le faire connoitre par tout dans cette partie du monde;" Saint Barthélemy council protocols, privately held ms, digital photographs in the author's collection, 28 March 1793.

9 For an overview of printing at Saint Barthélemy: Thomasson 2018c.

newspaper called *The Report of St. Bartholomew*. [Figure 2.] *The Report* is in many respects a typical Caribbean colonial newspaper and while it was fairly regularly published during the early years it soon ran into financial difficulties.[10]

Handwritten and printed satire

More than twenty years after having initially sought to print revolutionary propaganda Samuel Augustus Mathews was back in court in 1818. It appears that he could not stop writing, or publishing. Mathews and the free black man John Allan, the printer that had succeeded Bergstedt in publishing *The Report*, were accused of: "that the former had authored and the latter had printed an immoral song." The song was read to the members of the court, but "was of such a nature that it could not be included in the protocol."[11]

This case was not exceptional in itself, but what is notable is that the song was printed. The Swedish governor had extensive legislative powers and tried to prohibit expressions of dissent. In 1813 a proclamation was issued "prohibiting the writing and diffusion of anonymous pamphlets in the countryside."[12]

As with the printed song, these have not been preserved for posterity. The fact that we at all can follow these affairs in the court protocols is nevertheless exceptional in a colonial Caribbean context. The Swedish surviving judicial archives are unusually rich and on many of the other islands very little court documentation remains from this period.[13] Printed ephemera from the Caribbean is likewise very rare. *The Report of St. Bartholomew* survived because almost complete runs of the paper were brought to Sweden already in the early 19th century. Neither the climate nor political circumstances were conducive to the long-term survival of paper. [See figure 4 for an example of insect damage.]

That the island's satirical writers continued their work is obvious from *The Report of St. Bartholomew*. It published announcements offering rewards for information leading to the capture of authors: "Two hundred dollars will be given to any person who will discover or give such information as will lead to a discovery of the Author or Writer of a scurrilous Libel which was posted on a Window, fronting the road ... on last Sunday afternoon about 4 o'clock." The notice claimed that "yet there is a circumstance, not quite light

10 The most comprehensive study concerning printing in the Caribbean: Cave 1987, which also reprints his article on *The Report of St. Bartholomew*: "Printing in the Swedish West Indies" 1978, 205–214. Swedish titles that analyze *The Report of St. Bartholomew* are especially Pålsson 2016, ch. 6; Franzén 1974, 63–69.

11 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 188, court protocols, 9 January 1818: "för det den förra författat och den senare tryckt en otucktig Sång," "var af den beskaffenheten att den ej kunde till protocollet tagas."

12 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 134, 4 April 1813: "förbjudande anonyma skrifters författande och utspridande på Landet."

13 For an introduction to the history of the Swedish Saint Barthélemy archive: Thomasson 2018a, 78–90.

as air, that almost points to the Author. If he will avow himself, he may be assured that none of the individuals he has abused, will seek for legal remedy against him!"[14] 200 dollars could buy a normally priced slave at this time.

"Libels" continued to be posted in town. A few months later the reward was reduced: "As a Libel against me was yesterday found affixed with wafers on the corner of the Store belonging formerly to the late Mr. Bonnet, I do hereby promise a reward of One Hundred Spanish Dollars, to whomsoever will detect and make known the Author thereto or the person who affixed it." This announcement was given in the form of a proclamation and thus had legal validity. In addition to the cash payment the Governor promised another type of reward: "To His Majesty the King I will besides Petition that a Mark of his gracious Favour may be conferred in him or those that detect or contribute to the detection of the Offender, suited to their rank and situation."[15]

I have found no judicial cases connected to these events. It is probable that they were handled outside of court. Official proceedings required protocols and would result in even greater publicity of the fact that government was being criticized.

It is also possible that the efforts to police the distribution of these tracts were efficient as writers resorted to publication channels in neighboring territories. The next installment was played out in a different island's paper. Number 575 (21 July 1818) of *The St. Christopher Advertiser and Weekly Intelligencer* contained "a Copy of a letter transmitted to the Editor from St. Bartholomew, and whereas the said Letter is a most infamous libel against this Government." A proclamation admonished all "faithful and loyal Swedish subjects to communicate immediately ... the culpable part ... as far as they wish to avoid heavy responsibility and to be eminently entitled to the consideration of Government." To take the battle to another island was obviously considered a worse affront and the reward was now upped to 500 dollars "for the detection and legal conviction of the said authors if he be a resident of this island."[16]

The end of newspaper printing

The island government felt like it was being attacked from all sides, and while *The Report of St. Bartholomew* did not print matters that could be considered libel against any specific individual, many of the satirical letters and stories John Allan published could certainly be interpreted as veiled attacks on the government. The governor decided to deal with the matter and informed the Colonial Department in Stockholm about his decision in March 1819:

14 *The Report of St. Bartholomew*, no. 296 (1 September 1817).
15 *The Report of St. Bartholomew*, no. 315 (26 January 1818).
16 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 134, 27 July 1818. I have not been able to locate the issue of *The St. Christopher Advertiser*.

> The printing press and newspapers here have long been very neglected and completely in the hands of the mulatto who prints free of editorial control. Not only have indecent and libellous things against individuals been printed, but even the Governor was pasquinaded ... I have therefore ordered the press's owner to run all impending publications past the Government Secretary, who in turn will report on them to the Governor before they are printed.[17]

Pre-publication censorship is complicated and would have been difficult to implement in the long run, especially considering the pared-down nature of the colony's administration. Censorship was certainly one of the reasons which led to the demise of *The Report of St. Bartholomew*. The last known issue was published 28 October 1819, and contained an article copied from a London paper promoting freedom of the press.

With regard to printing on Saint Barthélemy it has generally been believed that the island's press then ceased printing newspapers. However, two newspapers were printed on the island in the 1820s, *The St. Bartholomew Chronicle, and Gustavia Gazette* and *The West Indian*. The last known edition of *The West Indian* is dated 27 October 1827. In August 1828 a government protocol stated that an announcement had been published in the island's paper.[18] Until any additional numbers of *The West Indian* or any other title surface, the end date of newspaper printing on the island during the Swedish period can be set at August 1828.

Gustavia Free Press

The first evidence of the handwritten paper *Gustavia Free Press* is a prospectus dated 25 November 1831. It lamented the lack of a printing press: "Fellow country men, we have long since been deprived of a press, we have been deprived of a proper channel to express our wrongs, our enslaved state, and the despotic & arbitrary sway of this government." The prospectus added that the first number had already been published, and that ensuing numbers would appear at the beginning of every month. No copies of the first issue survive but copies of numbers 2–4 (two of them in two copies) are extant. [Figure 3.] These copies only survived as a result of being confiscated by the authorities. As with many printed newspapers of the day the *Gustavia Free Press* consisted of a single folded sheet, with four pages of two columns.[19]

17 SNA, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, vol. 6A, report from Governor Berghult, 20 March 1819: "Boktryckeriet och avisorne härstädes har på längre tid varit på det högsta försummadt och helt och hållet lemnat till den Mulatt som trycker, utan någon redaction. Derföre hände, redan längesedan att ej allenast oanständiga och smädliga saker emot individuer trycktes, utan efven Gouverneurens person pasquillerades ... Derföre har jag ålagt Boktryckeriets ägare att innan utgifvningen af skrifter som derifrån emaneras, besörja att desamma upvisas för Gouvernements Secreteraren, hvilken sedan derom till Gouverneuren rapporterar."

18 Thomasson 2018c, 2–25.

19 All issues of *Gustavia Free Press* in ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 299.

Figure 3. Two mastheads of Gustavia Free Press. *The lower image is the second copy of number four, compare Figure 1. Vol. 299, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, ANOM.*

It was distributed in at least three copies. An undated supplement gives information where: "Supplement to Gustavia Free Press, at F. Bayley's Store 3d Copy, (1st at Marcial's [store], 2d at Vendue office)." It may be discussed to what extent such information should be trusted as it greatly facilitated the police's efforts to sequester copies. However, a few notes survive which give additional information about where issues were found. The "Vendue office" belonged to auction master Gustaf Ekerman. A couple of issues were brought to the police by his slave "Sambo Ekerman." Another paper was found by a Mrs Duprat on her door, other issues were posted on shop doors or delivered to various townspeople. As the ensuing court case made clear, knowledge about the paper in Gustavia was widespread, if not universal, among the English-speaking white population.

Another question concerns the number of people involved in the paper's production. The colophons cited several fictitious names, but this might be a strategy to spread responsibility. However, there was more than one scribe involved in copying the issues.

There are several indications that the author(s) were educated. An example is a quotation in number four of a British 18th-century pamphleteer: "The Liberty of the Press is the palladium of all Civil, Political and Religious Rights of Freemen, [signed] Junius."[20] [Figure 1, second column.]

The *Gustavia Free Press* and its supplements used a series of print metaphors, such as "reprinted in the last number," and mimicked printed newspapers: "To be inserted in the Gustavia Free Press by a correspondent" as well as alluding to the adaptability and speed of the handwritten medium: "our corrected copy will be out this week."

While the *Gustavia Free Press* mocked local power holders, the aim was to also influence local politics. Such a goal presupposed wide popular knowledge of the paper and its contents. The author(s) teased the island's judge who ordered the police to confiscate the paper: "Your Honor is aware that before Mr Mathews can possibly lay his itching fingers on them, the contents are publicly known. Only two copies of one piece you succeeded in depriving our friends of Perusing, and this but for a short time." This was vice fiscal Samuel Augustus Mathews whose father ironically was the eponymous writer who previously had been accused of publishing and printing political and salacious material.

The author(s) further challenged the authorities by claiming that issues of the *Gustavia Free Press* were "finders, keepers" items: "We caution every man, against locking up our productions, they belong to those alone who find them, we desire they may be returned, or else Judge, what will the consequences be?"

It is difficult to reconstruct satire, and the results are often tedious for a reader without intimate knowledge of the context. The *Gustavia Free Press* was heavy-handed, especially in its criticism of Lars Gustaf Morsing. He was the island's judge as well as acting governor during the appointed governor's absence from April 1831 to October 1833. There was infighting among the Swedish officials who governed the island, to the extent that several parties wrote to Stockholm to plead their cases.[21] Such conflicts were fertile material for satire.

Morsing was, for instance, accused of favoring Danish merchants from Saint Thomas: "He has no doubt, a great fellow feeling for his Sister Isle, in iniquity, and despotism ... with all the national qualities of Hypocrisy and dissimulation about him." The author(s) doubted the situation would improve: "but how can we expect such conduct from a mind of the blackest Hue, from a man who without any regard to truth or Justice, will always hold out his itching palm and receive the 'Spanka [sic] Dollars.'"

20 Some merchants in Saint Barthélemy had large collections of books. For example, the estate inventory of John Joseph Cremony, who died in 1820, contains Junius' letters, Pålsson 2016, 260.

21 SNA, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, vol. 11, letters and documents dated 3 January, 3 & 9 March, 2 & 20 April, 3 May 1832.

Mathews also got his fair share of criticism. The paper wondered whether the government was unaware that he had participated in the illegal slave trade: "the Viper Mathews, was an aider and abettor to the notorious Almeida? Can he deny that he is aware of Mathews having smuggled African Slaves, for that reprobate, into this port? ... His Swedish Majesty must and shall know all these things." José Joaquín Almeida was a famous privateer and slave trader. When he was executed in Puerto Rico in February 1832, this was reported with satisfaction in the *Gustavia Free Press*. According to other sources, Mathews had indeed served on Almeida's ship. It is also true that slaves were smuggled via Saint Barthélemy right into the 1820s. The paper used various metaphors connected to skin colour and slavery, such as "No alternative is left ... but to break the fetters of our Slavery." However, there is no explicit criticism of the institution of slavery itself in the paper.

Investigation and trial

In April 1832 the Gustavia merchant Abraham Haddock submitted a petition to the court. He and his brother Henry had been mocked in the *Gustavia Free Press*: "these two individuals have like the Mushroom sprung from a dunghill into notice." They were, among other things, accused of theft, perjury, insurance fraud, and for having colluded with the judge, as well as paying him bribes. Abraham Haddock was an alderman in Gustavia, an elected office. He complained that "a practice of lampooning unfortunately prevails, to an extent before unprecedented in this place, by which a system of organized malice is carried out by a concealed bevy of abandoned characters." He continued by listing all the ill effects of slander and stated that it might also lead "to acts of riot in the community".[22] Haddock demanded that an investigation be started.

The government did not itself formally initiate judicial procedures, which may mirror the strategy used in the cases from the 1810s recounted above. If, for instance, Judge Morsing had brought a case to court, he would have exposed himself to further ridicule and attacks.

The ensuing court case produced long protocols, but the name *Gustavia Free Press* was never mentioned, it was usually called "lampoon" or "libel" in the proceedings. There is, however, no doubt that the documents referred to are the handwritten papers. For example, the name of the aforementioned slave Sambo Ekerman appears on one of the notes accompanying a sequestered issue. He was indeed interrogated in court about how and where he found the copy of the *Gustavia Free Press*.

Many witnesses were interrogated and most of them admitted that they had heard about the paper, in some cases read it, and in other cases having heard it read out loud. Even an eight-year-old boy was interrogated as he had found an issue of the paper. The paper was read aloud in shops and a French-

22 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 227, court protocols, April 1832; SNA, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, vol. 11, extracts sent to Stockholm.

speaking witness recounted how the paper had been translated to him at one of Gustavia's many taverns.

As the court did not discover who the author(s) were, it chose to prosecute the owner of the shop which, according to the petitioner Haddock, had served as the distribution center for the paper. Haddock himself claimed "that he who publishes slander, though not the author, is guilty with the author, and ought to be punished to the same extent as if the author."

The first person accused was John Lamitt, a Gustavia shop owner. He denied all involvement in the production but could not deny that he had been present when it was read in his shop. After a long trial, the sentence was an anticlimax. The shop owner was fined 5 dollars for insults against Haddock. The court explained: "This may be considered a trifling punishment. But it is not so in reality. You stand thereby again recorded on the minutes of the court for a breach of the law." During the investigations it had turned out that it was Lammit's son Lambert who had invited people to attend readings of the paper in the shop. It was suggested that the reading of the paper was a way to generate business for the store. No proof was found that Lambert was the author. The court accused his father of being a bad example and "that the defendant has been actuated upon by some designing persons, to whom he has served as a tool for spreading the effusions of their spleen or malice." Worse was that a personal conflict had arisen between Lambert and Haddock. Haddock accused Lambert of attacking him physically in the street and witnesses confirmed this. Lambert Lamitt was sentenced to eight days' imprisonment on bread and water.

During the trial it became obvious to the members of the court that the existing Swedish legislation was not suited to their perceived needs. They were not happy with the "trifling punishment." The governor decided to proclaim a new law concerning the distribution of "defamatory rumors" and in the preamble the Swedish code of 1734 was cited: "If someone distributes such writings with malicious intent to make them widely known, he shall be punished as if he had written them himself."[23] That the person distributing the paper could be condemned for the same crime as the author was to the court's liking, but its members knew they would have problems proving malicious intent. The court proclaimed a regulation that changed the Swedish law and made it possible to sentence a distributor without proving intent.[24] The new law also raised the fine to 500 dollars, a substantial amount of money. It was meant to act as a strong deterrent against further written attacks on the government and prominent merchants.

23 Code of 1734, Section of crimes [*Missgärningsbalken*], ch. 60, § 5: "Utsprider någon annar sådana skrifter i ondt upsåt, at them rychtbara giöra; straffes lika som hade han sielf them skrifvit."

24 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 228, court protocols, 24 April 1832, FSB; SNA, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, copy in vol. 11.

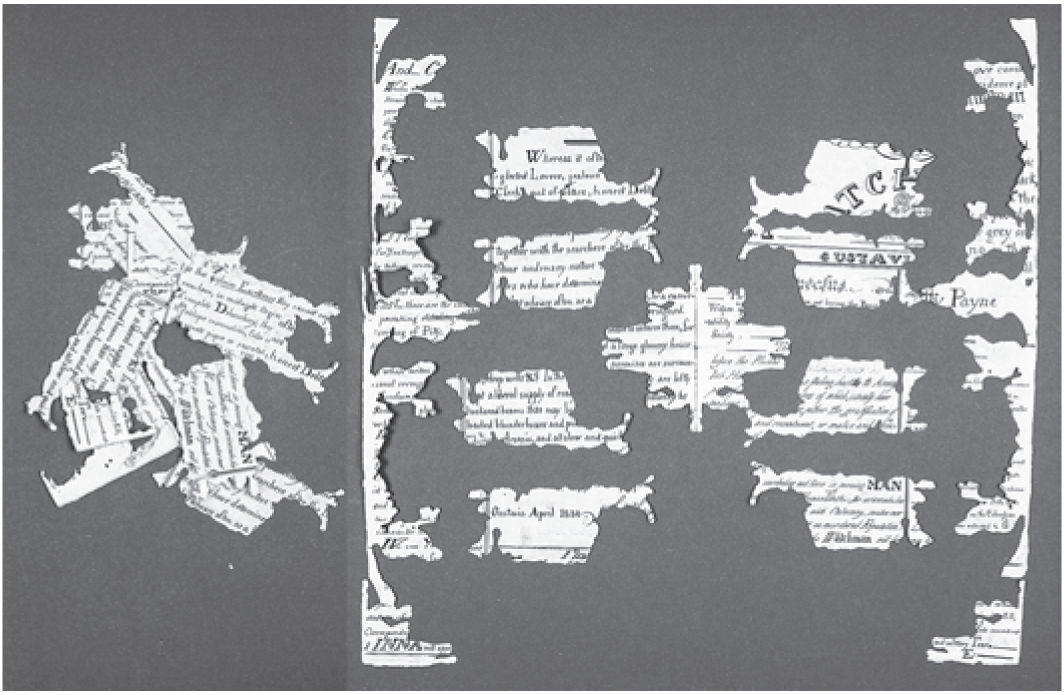


Figure 4. Left, insect-damaged paper fragments. Right, the same pieced together to form the only known number of another handwritten Gustavia paper, The Watchman, *dated April 1832. This is the only proof of its existence. It may have been an attempt to start a new title after or during the prosecution of the* Gustavia Free Press. *Vol. 299, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, ANOM.*

Royal intervention

Sweden had gone through major political changes in the first decades of the 19th century. Gustav III's son Gustav IV Adolf was deposed in 1809 and the French field marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was elected crown prince in 1810, adopting the name Karl-Johan. Though he only became king in 1818, he had been the de facto leader of government since his arrival in Sweden. A new freedom of press act was introduced in 1810, but the crown prince found it too liberal. It was changed in 1812. The state was given extensive powers to confiscate publications and to prosecute publishers and printers. Although it remains debated as to just what extent the sharpening of the press laws had any effect, a fair number of publications were, however, confiscated and a few writers jailed during Karl-Johan's reign.[25]

Karl-Johan was well aware of the possible economic advantages of Caribbean colonies. Before arriving in Sweden, he had been at the political-military center of French politics for almost two decades, at a time when the

25 Boberg 1989. For Karl-Johan's management of publicity and press: Almqvist 1929, 134–160; Rosengren 1999; 2008, 147–168.

colonies had played an important role in the French economy. He strove to enlarge Swedish colonial territories in the Caribbean which led to the brief Swedish acquisition of Guadeloupe in 1813–1814. At the Swedish parliament of 1812 Karl-Johan managed to have the ownership of Saint Barthélemy transferred to himself and the royal family. During a few profitable years in the 1810s money from the island was an important source of income for the crown prince. The transfer of ownership also meant that the legal situation at the island became even more ambiguous as Swedish law now could be overridden by the personal intervention of Karl-Johan. He was personally involved in the running of the colony until his death in 1844.[26]

The Lamitt case was reported to Karl-Johan who sought a more severe punishment for criticism of the island government. The official responsible for colonial affairs in Stockholm wrote to the Saint Barthélemy governor informing him of the king's decision. The letter was in French but the passage concerning the punishment was translated into English and the royal decision was communicated to the culprit Lambert Lamitt:

> His Majesty has found the crime for of which [sic] you Lamitt have been accused by Mr Haddock & duly convicted before the Court, that of assisting in publishing a defamatory libel, to be of such heinous nature, that, in commuting the punishment incurred, according to the recommendation of the Court, He has been pleased to ordain, that you shall be banished from the island for the time of one year. The said order is to be carried in effect within eight days and you, Lamitt, must, therefore leave the Colony on or before Tuesday next week.[27]

Banishment was extremely rare in Sweden and was usually used at Saint Barthélemy as a punishment meted out to slaves who were sold off the island never to return, a penalty which often broke up families and social bonds.

Satire and dissent in metropole and colony

Governor Morsing noted in his report to Stockholm dated 24 September 1832, that "the pasquinades have entirely ceased after the court case against Lamitt."[28] However, the month after the king's decision to banish Lamitt was made public, *The St. Christopher Advertiser and Weekly Intelligencer* published a letter to the editor satirizing the Swedish court.[29] The anonymous writer, "An Observer," compared the British 1832 Reform Bill which had been passed earlier the same year with Swedish governance. The letter accused the court of disregarding Swedish law in its sentences.

26 For an introduction to Karl-Johan's colonial interests: Thomasson 2018b, 105–122.

27 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 229, court protocols, 17 September 1832.

28 SNA, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, vol. 11, Morsing report, 24 September 1832: "Les pasquinades ont entièrement cessé depuis la poursuite contre Lamitt."

29 *The St. Christopher Advertiser and Weekly Intelligencer*, no. 1350 (30 October 1832). ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 228.

Once again 1810s tactics were being used. There was no longer a printed paper in Saint Barthélemy, but that may not have made a great difference. Just as the author(s) of the *Gustavia Free Press* remarked, it was impossible to print such material anyway, while the neighboring islands' papers probably published these "letters" with a certain glee. To publish material – satirical or not – concerning other colonial territories was also a way of communicating with the local government. This was a strategy used by *The Report of St. Bartholomew* when, in 1819, it reported on political struggles on Barbados, a conflict which bore uncanny similarities to infighting in the Swedish colony.

A Gustavia burgher was accused of being the author of the St Kitts satire, but no proof was found. Morsing, probably knowing it was useless, stated: "As defendant Wilson, although suspected of the insertion in the St: Kitts papers of a perverted statement of a sentence of this court, has not given any explanation in this respect, I further am of the opinion, that said paper be submitted to the Executive with a view of promoting the discovery and punishment of the real author."[30] But irrespective of the facts, the *Gustavia Free Press* affair and its sequel tainted Morsing's reputation. He left the island the following year.

As in the Swedish metropolitan case, it is doubtful whether censorship was successful in the long run. In some respects the Caribbean, with its highly connected territories, represented a geographical space where satire was easier to spread. English, as one of the *lingua francas* in the Antilles, also facilitated the publication and diffusion of satire and political critique. Few Stockholmers read foreign papers, while in Saint Barthélemy and surrounding islands *The St. Christopher Advertiser and Weekly Intelligencer* remained a common point of reference. News spread quickly in the Caribbean and European, American, and local newspapers were widely circulated. In addition, manuscript and oral news about the surrounding islands governments' shortcomings were consumed avidly. One of the most discussed cases of such spreading of information is how news about the French Revolution spread and to what extent this knowledge influenced the rebellion and wars that led to Haitian independence.[31]

The policing of dissent in the colony, and the prosecution of the *Gustavia Free Press* in particular, highlight both similarities and differences between metropolitan and colonial attempts to stymie political opposition. The grievances of the Gustavia authors were often different to those of the writers and printers whose publications were confiscated or prosecuted in metropolitan Sweden, but there were also common complaints. Justice and corruption have always been fertile areas for satire and criticism. The objects of satire – local powerholders – were the same, and neither the governors of Saint Barthélemy, nor the king in Stockholm, were happy to be criticized in public.

The colony's distance from Sweden was both geographic and political. When Gustav III urged his Paris ambassador in 1779 to step up his efforts to

30 ANOM, Fonds suédois de Saint Barthélemy, vol. 227, court protocols, 14 December 1832. The quotation is from an undated protocol in the same volume.

31 For a discussion of these themes: Gaspar & Geggus (eds) 1997.

acquire a Caribbean territory, it was precisely this remoteness which formed an explicit goal. In addition to dreaming about a sugar island, the king also envisaged a trans-Atlantic possession as a place "where one could send all the hotheads of the realm."[32] After the transfer of Saint Barthélemy to royal property in 1812 the colony became increasingly forgotten in Sweden. Karl-Johan had little incentive to publicize Swedish participation in slavery and in the transatlantic slave trade. As the authors of *Gustavia Free Press* had pointed out, Saint Barthélemy inhabitants were still at least into the 1820s involved in the illegal trade in new captives from Africa, notwithstanding that Sweden had already in 1813 signed a treaty that bound it to abolish the trade. The colony only surfaced in the Swedish debate again in the 1840s when the abolition of slavery had become an international issue.

Far away from Stockholm and the cumbersome Swedish legislative processes, the island governors used their local law-making powers to stem criticism. Anders Bergstedt, in his role as the island's judge, had been taken to task by the Supreme Court in the 1810s for excessive independence in legislation. In the prosecution of *Gustavia Free Press* such independence was not anymore criticized. The overzealous legislative efforts of the Saint Barthélemy governor were instead superseded by Karl-Johan himself.[33] Without being reined in by his advisers and an often recalcitrant parliament, he could afford himself the luxury of personally increasing the penalty against someone – far away on the small Swedish Caribbean island – who had been involved in the mockery of Swedish officials, and thus, royal power.

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32 Uppsala University Library, F 479, Gustav III to Gustav Philip Creutz, 10 September 1779: "ou on pourroit envoyer touttes les tetes inquiettes du Royaume."

33 Thomasson 2016, 297.

Rare books and newspapers

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Material aspects and intermediality II

Mark Alan Mattes
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6490-3693

The Intermedial Politics of Handwritten Newspapers in the 19th-Century U.S.

Handwritten newspapers appeared in a variety of social contexts in the 19th-century U.S.[1] The largest extant portion of 19th-century handwritten newspapers emerged from home and school settings. More far-flung examples include those written aboard ships during exploratory and military voyages. Others were produced within institutions such as hospitals and asylums. Such works were written during times of privation, including life in an army regiment or a prisoner-of-war camp during the Civil War. At other times, handwritten newspapers accompanied efforts at westward settlement and transcontinental railway journeys. Impromptu papers could follow in the wake of natural disasters that knocked out print-based means of communication, and they could become part of a convent's social and spiritual life. For scholars of Native American studies, the most well-known handwritten newspaper (which might be better termed a literary journal) is *The Muz-ze-ni-e-gun*, or *Literary Voyager*, in which appeared works by the Ojibwe writer, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft.

Two key figures in recent Americanist scholarship on handwritten periodicals and books are Joan Newlon Radner and Karen Sánchez-Eppler, both of whom concentrate on the history of manuscript juvenilia, examples of which form the bulk of this chapter's archive. Radner's work provides a localized social history of New England communities in which handwritten periodical publication thrived. What is so compelling about Radner's work for the purposes of this study is her direct and sustained consideration of the interrelation of scribal and oral media practices in the publication of handwritten periodicals. Sánchez-Eppler is similarly sensitive to the interrelation of media. Her scholarship is profoundly useful in how it approaches the study of scribal culture as a means of historicizing how writers and readers theorized media themselves. Specifically, her scholarship figures

1 Thank you to V. Joshua Adams and Jean Lee Cole for their close readings and helpful suggestions. Thanks, as well, to the Early Literature and Material Texts Workshop at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies and the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Handwritten Newspapers as an Alternative Medium Workshop in Uppsala, Sweden, and the Paleofuturisms Reading Lab at the University of Louisville for providing feedback on various drafts of this chapter.

scribal practices as both elaborating existing meanings and developing new theories of how to use and think print in the 19th century. For example, she has read manuscript juvenalia as a kind of training for the later navigation, reproduction, and expansion of a 19th-century documentary culture that helped underwrite the social order of adult life – a process she calls "practicing for print." More recently, Sánchez-Eppler has focused on how a variety of scribal works simultaneously rethink the signifying possibilities to which 19th-century industrial publishing put the material practices of printing, bookbinding, and related media. In their "scripted and unscripted" uses of normative documentary culture, such writers constituted what Sánchez-Eppler describes as an "unpublished republic" heretofore unrecognized by American literary history.[2]

This chapter acknowledges the importance of scribal practice's crucial role in producing new futures for print. At the same time, this chapter recasts the study of 19th-century scribal works. Rather than seeing such works as "for print," or "unpublished," this chapter situates handwritten newspapers within another history: the futures of handwriting. This chapter combines Sánchez-Eppler's interest in alternative historical understandings of normative print media with Radner's explicitly interrelational approach to media practices in order to explore how handwritten newspapers provide evidence of how historical actors theorized handwriting itself during the 19th century.[3] Crucially, handwriting cannot be understood merely via handwriting. Such an analysis requires a close attention to what Kirsti Salmi-Niklander describes as the "intense interaction between manuscript, print and oral communication and performance"[4] that characterizes 19th-century handwritten newspapers. This kind of attention is what Andrew Piper calls an "intermedial literacy," which "move[s] us away from the study of individual media and draw[s] attention instead to larger media "ecologies," how individuals express themselves and interact with one another by using a variety of different media, modes of speech, and languages."[5] An intermedial approach, and a recognition of historical scribes' own intermedial literacies, can "help us understand how people potentially encode meaning" in their newspapers via "any number of their media ecology's" technologies and practices.[6]

2 In addition to Radner 2010; and Sánchez-Eppler 2008 and 2018, key works on 19th-century handwritten newspapers in American contexts include Atwood 1999, and Atwood, *Handwritten Newspapers Project*; Berkey, "'Prisoner & Co.'s steam press of thought': Handwritten Prison Newspapers of the Civil War". Paper presented at The Society of Nineteenth-Century Americanists' fourth biennial conference held at Pennsylvania State University, 2016; Blum 2014; Parker 2007; and Smith 2011. For recent analyses of 19th-century amateur journalism and periodical production in American contexts, see Cohen 2013; 2014; and Isaac 2012.

3 The key historical work on 19th-century handwriting in U.S. contexts is Thornton 1996.

4 See introduction in this volume.

5 Piper 2009, 16.

6 Mattes 2018, 713.

The intermediality of the handwritten newspaper is on clear display in Samuel H. Jenks, Jr.'s *The Fire Fly* (1842), held in the *Robert Walsh Papers* at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Jenks published his handwritten newspaper at age fourteen. His father, Samuel Haynes Jenks (1789–1863) had been the editor and publisher of a professional, printed newspaper, the *Nantucket Inquirer*. Interestingly, the father wrote a regular column for the *Inquirer*, also called *The Fire Fly*, and so it seems the junior Jenks was inspired by his father's work as a publisher and an author.

Jenks, Jr. produced each (extant) issue of his *Fire Fly* on a 9.5x15-inch sheet, which was pre-printed with the paper's masthead. He folded the sheet in half to create a folio – two pages, four sides. The third issue of *The Fire Fly* contains a minstrelized sermon accompanied by a grotesque, hand-drawn image of an African-American in a pulpit. The sermon, like the image, is deeply racist: "A man dat born of a woman, hab long time to lib; he trowble ebery day too much; he grow up like a plantin, he cat down like a bannana." It is possible that such minstrel humor was a staple of Jenks' paper; in issue number six, he included an additional "Negro Sermon," wherein he named the preacher, "Deacon Snowball."

According to the editor, *The Fire Fly*'s images were created using engravings that were either made or obtained by a fictional job printer, "Simon Sheepshanks," whose advertisement appears in the image. Sheepshanks had recently returned from London, where he had access to the latest and greatest printing images, and from which he brought back a number of engravings – engravings that may have included the "Negro Sermon."

Jenks' image and mock sermon together call forth a socially myopic readership by attacking African-American evangelical publics and communicative practices. Jenks Jr. imagined a future for an American civic life that rejects African American oral performances as legitimate forms of public discourse while reserving such legitimacy for his handwritten newspaper, and for (Anglo-American) newspapers more generally. Of course, Jenks' *Fire Fly* is a failed attempt to repress how the antebellum circumscription of black lives – legal and otherwise – fueled black counterpublicity.[7] As such, Jenks' handwritten newspaper reveals how imagined communities, and the futures toward which they are oriented, are in part contingent upon the cultural politics that emerge during the integration of new and existing media.

The racist imagined community of *The Fire Fly* shows how handwritten newspapers could be politically charged, poetic responses to the increasing prevalence of new communicative forms and practices. Building on extant scholarship that treats handwritten newspapers as evidence for understanding the history of the news and the social life of specific communities, institutions, or demographics, this chapter claims that works like *The Fire Fly* also tell us a great deal about the politics of technology, poetics, and media. In the remaining portions of this chapter, I examine how their writers and editors' various responses to changes in printing, imaging, communications, transportation, postal exchange, as well as various modes

7 For studies of 19th-century, black counterpublic responses to racist media, see Cohen & Stein (eds) 2012.

of oral publication, entailed a common theme – that 19th-century media could provide new opportunities for imagining and circumscribing the publics that handwritten works forge. These futures for handwriting were crucially rooted in the newspapers' modes of production and transmission and their material and visual elements – handwritten and illustrated content on single, folded, and/or sewn sheets. Subsequent sections of this chapter more deeply explore the politics entailed by the temporalities that these intermedial texts posit for both their readers and for manuscript practice itself. I focus on three more such works – Elizabeth Waterhouse Allen and Lucy (Allen) Powers' *The Gleaner* (1846–1850); *The Ladder* (1849–1853), written by four brothers of the Whiteman family in Philadelphia; and James Johns's *Vermont Autograph and Remarker* (1832–1874) – as well as a representation of a handwritten newspaper, *The Pickwick Portfolio*, described by Louisa May Alcott in her novel, *Little Women*, and based in part on Alcott's own experiences in producing manuscripts with her sisters.

Practicing for an intermedial print culture

The Gleaner was a handwritten newspaper published in Massachusetts by Elizabeth Waterhouse Allen and Lucy (Allen) Powers. The Allen sisters came from "a Congregationalist/Unitarian family of good education, excellent character, and moderate means." The sisters' interest in producing this periodical was likely encouraged by their mother, Lucy Clark Ware Allen, who "acted as the manager and taskmaster necessary to the production of two early student newspapers – The Meteor and The Nosegay, printed in 1835–1836."[8] As young adults, Elizabeth and Lucy published *The Gleaner* from 22 April 1846, until 5 February 1850. The newspaper, which is held by the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, comprises a running correspondence between the Allen women, complete with personae and rules for their creation, short fiction, letters and dispatches, poems, riddles, articles, and obituaries. *The Gleaner*'s mode of publication and circulation involved the passing of a book between two sisters who met and read the issues aloud after writing each edition in the columns of a bound, pre-ruled, commercially available octavo. The production schedule started with small intervals of one or two weeks. These intervals gradually lengthened until it soon took one or two months to put out an issue.

One particularly interesting article from the recurring column, "Extracts from a Correspondence," advocates for the penny post.[9] Written under the pseudonym, "Dragonfly," Lucy offered a nationalist theology of communications: "Only establish the one-cent postage, and every man, woman, and child, would become a scribbler – paper mills would become as numerous as cotton, and pens would run as spindles do now." Dragonfly's

8 Quotations from the finding aid for the *Allen-Johnson Family Papers*.

9 This article appears in *The Gleaner* vol. 2, no. 11, which was issued sometime between 8 February and 22 March 1848. The date of publication is not included in this issue.

fantasy entailed the near-infinite production of communications "by pen and ink, and transported by steam," wherein, "[f]eeling, thought, sentiment, [and] narrative, will be flying about the country in every imaginable shape and garb."

According to Dragonfly, postal reform would animate vast structural changes in writing culture as people took advantage of the chance to send inexpensive letters to one another. Much like Elizabeth and Lucy were doing in miniature, Dragonfly imagined that the nation itself would engage in the "self-culture and education" afforded by participation in written correspondence. Moreover, the amplification of writing's pedagogical register, according to Dragonfly, "would be in proportion to the pleasure [men and women] received in sending and receiving communications." All of this,

> would bind together the different parts of the land…by a thousand bonds of affection and goodwill, crossing and interlacing each other, till, in a short time, thro' the multiplication thus of individual ties and sympathies, the whole country would become wove into one solid, compact body, that no power could tear asunder. And that is just what we ought and must be. Railroads, electric telegraphs, and cheap postage will do it.[10]

The Gleaner's Dragonfly articulates the politics of practicing for print within the rhetorical registers of a sentimental culture that existed in the decades preceding the U.S. civil war. A similar case of practicing for print grounds the most well-known *fictional* handwritten newspaper from the 19th century, *The Pickwick Portfolio* described in Louisa May Alcott's novel, *Little Women* (1868–1869). The *Portfolio* is published by the Pickwick Club, a secret society populated by the pseudonymous authors Samuel Pickwick, Augustus Snodgrass, Tracy Tuppman, and Nathaniel Winkle, key figures in Charles Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers*. Under these names, characters Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy March produce miscellaneous articles, including literary works, news reportage, advertisements, announcements, and moral advice.[11]

The dealings of the Pickwick Club negotiate the gender politics of women's publication. Take, for example, the publication mode of their *Portfolio*: reading aloud. Reading aloud to a semi-private circle of collaborators, or in more expansive forums such as schoolrooms or the public spaces of villages, was a key feature of numerous mid-19th-century handwritten newspapers.[12] One can observe this tradition on display in Alcott's novel when the oldest sister, Meg, reads the *Portfolio* to her sisters. Significantly, Meg reads aloud in the persona of Samuel Pickwick. Importantly, Alcott's characters do not simply reproduce the hetero-normative social order of mid-19th-century life; instead, through such "queer performances," they develop strategies

10 Allen & Powers, *The Gleaner* vol. 2, no. 11.

11 Alcott alludes not only to Dickens' novel; she was also drawing on her earlier life experiences with her sisters in producing handwritten family newspapers. In fact, poetry that appears in the fictional *Pickwick Portfolio* was based on a work Alcott had authored years earlier for such efforts. See Shealy 1992.

12 See Radner 2010.

for women's entrance into sites of public discourse by pseudonymously inhabiting the male-constructed space of the newspaper.[13]

The gender politics of women's writing and publication are particularly at stake when Jo – as Augustus Snodgrass – proposes to the rest of the Pickwick Club that they invite the neighbor boy and romantic interest, Laurie, to join their secret society. Meg and Amy object, with Amy (as Nathaniel Winkle) stating: "We don't wish any boys; they only joke and bounce about. This is a ladies' club, and we wish to be private and proper."[14] Jo's rejoinder is equally telling of the anxieties over women's writing and publication Alcott is working through in her depiction of the club: "Sir! I give you my word as a gentleman, Laurie won't do anything of the sort. He likes to write, and he'll give a tone to our contributions, and keep us from being sentimental, don't you see?"[15] Jo's response to Amy is to defend against the potential criticism that she and her sisters are, as the fiction writer Nathanial Hawthorne would have it, "scribbling women."[16] Ultimately, Jo wins the day and secures a unanimous vote for Laurie's entrance into the Club. And Laurie's membership indeed provides the antidote to Jo's aesthetic concerns about her compositions: "[Laurie] certainly did add 'spirit' to the meetings, and 'a tone' to the paper, for his orations convulsed his hearers and his contributions were excellent, being patriotic, classical, comical, or dramatic, but never sentimental."[17]

It is tempting to read Alcott's version of the Pickwick Club as a utopian rhetorical drag show that enables a relatively progressive social politics with regards to women's publication. However, Laurie's major aesthetic contribution to the Pickwick Club – his modeling of a "never sentimental" spirit and tone – seems to be a retrograde solution for countering lowered expectations of women's writing and mitigating the so-called problem of women engaged in public writing and reading practices while among men. Indeed, Jo's sense that her writing improves due to Laurie's compositions seems to grant Hawthorne's misogynist premise. It is certainly at odds with the narrator's tone: "Jo regarded them [Laurie's orations] as worthy of Bacon, Milton, or Shakespeare, and remodeled her own works with good effect, *she thought*."[18]

Alcott's implicit critique of Jo's praise for Laurie's orations is made clearer when one turns to the other woman reading aloud in Alcott's chapter – Miss Oranthy Bluggage – a character in one of the *Portfolio*'s fictional advertisements: "Miss Oranthy Bluggage, the accomplished, Strong-Minded Lecturer, will deliver her famous Lecture on 'Woman and Her Position,' at Pickwick Hall, next Saturday evening, after the usual performances."[19] "Oranthy Bluggage" was one of Alcott's "parodic" pseudonyms for publishing

13 Alcott 1868–1869, 73.
14 Alcott 1868–1869, 153.
15 Ibid.
16 See Nathaniel Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor, 19 January 1855, in Hawthorne 1987, 304.
17 Alcott 1868–1869, 156.
18 Ibid. Emphasis in italics is mine.
19 Alcott 1868–1869, 152.

her early writing. Alcott scholar Elaine Showalter describes this name as "self-mocking…revealing [Alcott's early] fear that female intellectualism and strong-mindedness would invite ridicule."[20] At the same time, it is important not to see such self-mocking as a mere defense mechanism. Alcott's incorporation of the Bluggage pseudonym into the handwritten newspaper of *Little Women* is a rebuke to her younger self, as well as to both men and women who, like her characters, Laurie and Jo, come to see normatively masculine forms of publication across media as legitimizing strong-minded intellectual content produced by women.

Perhaps Alcott's most compelling rebuke to normatively masculine forms of expression comes, though, in the power inversion represented by the pseudonyms drawn from Dickens' novel. When Laurie is allowed to join the March sister's club, he takes the name of Sam Weller. In Dickens' novel, Weller is technically a subordinate of Mr. Pickwick, and as such, potentially inverts the gender politics represented by Laurie's compositions. Yet Alcott's rebuke has its limits. In Dickens' work, Weller is often credited with the clear sightedness often denied to the titular character, Pickwick – a clear sightedness that seems borne out by the supposedly superior aesthetics of Laurie's oral performances.

Other futures for handwriting

The failed utopia of the Pickwick Club in *Little Women* partially supports a practicing-for-print reading. However, practicing for print through handwritten newspapers did not necessarily entail subordinating oneself to the dominant social politics of one's culture. After all, Laurie's subordinate status in the March sisters' club orients mid-19th-century readers of Alcott's novel toward a future in which women's publications are subsequently consumed by both men and women. As such, Alcott's representation of handwritten news points to the ways in which "[hand]writing in Victorian American was charged with tensions generated by changing gender roles as well as by a changing social and economic order."[21]

More generally, *The Pickwick Portfolio* demonstrates how scribes could combine dominant and alternative political registers while practicing for print. Such was the case in the Whiteman brothers' *The Ladder* (1849–1853), published in or near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and held in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[22] The main editor and publisher, John G. Whiteman, produced the newspaper along with his brothers, William, James, and Horace. The brothers ranged in age from eleven to twenty at the beginning of the publication's run. They produced an assortment of articles on natural history, museum exhibitions, past and current technology, and recent events. They also wrote poetry, satire, stories, puzzles, riddles, and reflections on holiday festivities. Many issues include sketches, watercolors,

20 Showalter 1997, xxvi–xxvii.

21 Thornton 1996, 43.

22 See *Whiteman Family Papers.*

or colored pencil illustrations. Often, multiple issues were bound together in single volume or multi-volume books. Sometimes these books contain works written and inserted at later dates. These handmade books measure approximately three inches by four inches. They have paper covers and hand-stitched bindings.

The Ladder, as a kind of practicing for print, involves a scribal "culturing" of the social order. The religiously inflected improvement that the Whiteman brothers wished to establish in themselves – as the producers and as the main readers of the newspaper – is succinctly articulated by the title and masthead of the inaugural edition, in which a ladder ascends to the heavens.

Many of the Whitemans' articles and illustrations offer readers a temperance-reformist vision of their potential futures, especially in the early years. In the first book, in which are bound volumes one and two of the newspaper, the brothers illustrate what awaits those who are open to the moral outlook of *The Ladder*: salvation, here represented as a suit-and-top-hat-wearing, print-newspaper-reading figure of socioeconomic respectability. For those closed to such a vision, because they do not read *The Ladder*, the Whitemans offer a warning – you court self-destruction, here represented as a scraggly inebriate fond of gin. In volume ten, there appears another image, which depicts the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The image suggests what awaits those who persist in drinking: hellfire. A man stands in the middle of the illustration, surrounded by flaming thunderbolts while holding a bottle of liquor. In moments such as these, the Whitemans articulate a very clear social politics with regard to newspapers: one must make a choice in the world – read to improve one's self, or die.

And yet, the Whiteman brothers did not only inculcate normative beliefs about the relation of reading and writing literacies to upward-striving, middle-class, Christian life. *The Ladder*'s long-term material production – from newspaper to bound volumes to altered books – reveals a kind of reimagining of the mid-century documentary culture that undergirded the perceived power of the liberal individual to act on one's own (financial) behalf. Consider, for example, an insertion into volume nineteen of the *The Ladder*. The Whitemans altered a blank form to craft an imaginative world in a way that has seemingly nothing to do with becoming an adult.[23]

Before the Whiteman brothers used the blank form, it had already been used as a financial instrument to transfer an amount of silver totaling thousands of dollars. The form is cut length-wise, the bottom is trimmed, and the remaining portion is folded across its width into a folio. On the backside of the used blank is the writing of a Whiteman brother. The recto of the folio's first leaf lists a series of "Addenda" with numbers listed on the left and the corresponding textual addenda on the right. The addenda continue on the verso of the folio's second leaf.

The addenda-laden blank serves as a sleeve for a poem that runs 236 lines across two signatures – one a folio, the other an accordion fold with three

23 For a study of how handwriting and other material traces found among used blank forms illuminate "the subjective life of their users," see Brown 2017. Quotation from page 229.

panels. The poem makes clear that the written addenda on the blank are actually revisions to an original composition. The numbers of the addenda correspond with the line numbers of the verse that the repurposed blank encloses. The resulting work is "Canto One" in a projected mock epic, "Mr. Wolfe, or, Beef in the Larynx."

So, what does a poem about a guy who almost chokes to death on a piece of beef have to do with the politics of *The Ladder*? It helps to consider the temporalities of the blank form. Blanks, as Peter Stallybrass puts it in a recent lecture on printing history, show how "printing precedes manuscript." Stallybrass writes:

> [B]lank forms reverse… [a] before/after model [of manuscript and print]. Printing records what is already… The fact that we 'fill in' or 'complete' blank forms registers the pastness of what has been printed and their manuscript future. The blank spaces are there because we do not know in advance… Blank forms transform 'manuscript' into the technology of the future.[24]

The writing in the proscribed spaces of the Whiteman's repurposed blank form activated a future involving the transfer of silver specie from one party to another at some point in 1853. This is a transaction of adulthood that the top-hat wearing reader of *The Ladder* can get behind!

But the Whiteman brothers' use for the blank form goes further. The revision and enclosure of the poem within the blank renders the bound volume of newspapers as a site where multiple futures for manuscript practice are oriented toward radically different social politics. The "Addenda" to "Mr Wolfe, or, Beef in the Larynx," retools the transformative power of handwriting into the technology of a different future – a future unimagined by the "what is already" that the printed elements of the blank register. The telos of the blank form is fundamentally altered by the scribes of *The Ladder* – scribes whose world-making simultaneously inverts an understanding of such written juvenilia as practicing for the print culture of, in this case, finance. Instead, what we find in the blank/poem placed among the pages of *The Ladder* is a rich example of play for play's sake. To be clear, this repurposing of a printed-and-handwritten financial instrument is not a self-conscious subversion of capitalism. The Whitemans' use for the blank does reveal, though, how this written culture's literary and material practices could animate possible futures for manuscript that the proscribed sections of the printed form at first seem to foreclose.

The Whiteman brothers' repurposing of a used blank form not only illuminates how the work's intermedial conditions shape its politics. Its insertion into a volume of *The Ladder* simultaneously suggests that the newspaper's political registers may have been unevenly available to its writers and readers over time. This insertion encourages a juxtaposition between, on the one hand, the futures of manuscript entailed by the blank in both its use as a financial instrument and as a list of addenda used to

24 Stallybrass, "Miræus Lecture: 'Why Printing Precedes Manuscript'". Paper presented at Flanders Heritage Library, 2013. Also see Stallybrass 2007; 2008.

bind a poem, and on the other hand, the media theory that the Whitemans espouse in moments such as its cartoon on newspaper reading. Crucially, the blank and the poem it encloses are inserted among multiple issues that were bound together after their initial publication. Moreover, the processes and rationales for assembling and reassembling the Whiteman's pages in the ways that enable my preceding interpretation are not completely knowable. It is unclear, therefore, whether the political juxtapositions entailed by the blank and the newspaper were an interpretive consideration for mid-19th-century writers and readers of *The Ladder*.

The changing artifactual condition of *The Ladder* reveals how the intermedial politics of handwritten newspapers – and of material texts more generally – are always ephemeral. In this respect, James Johns's *Vermont Autograph and Remarker* is unique. Extant issues of the *Autograph*, copies of which can be found at the American Antiquarian Society and the Newberry Library, record an editorial self-consciousness about the intermedial conditions through which one scribe shaped and reshaped his authority as a writer and publisher over four-plus decades of adulthood.[25] Johns "pen-printed" numerous works, including *The Green Mountain Miscellany, or Huntington Magazine* and the *History of Huntington*, but by far his most prodigious venture was the *Autograph*. [Figure 1.][26] The *Autograph*'s content included "stories, poems, essays, local history and folklore, acrostics, and political commentary," ranging from support for "the abolition of slavery," to "specimens of other letters than Roman," to the crotchety disquisition, "Things I don't like."[27]

Johns published his handwritten newspaper from 1832 until 1874, usually in runs of one copy per edition, or as he put it in his 1 October 1864 edition, "one copy of a date is all I pretend to get out at a time." In addition to local distribution of these single copies, Johns claimed to have penned multiple copies on occasion in order to exchange copies with publishers of printed periodicals. In addition to sending his newspaper to publishers, Johns sent at least one copy to a federal political representative. Sometimes he kept a publishing schedule of five days per week, though this level of output was likely quite rare since it sometimes took him upwards of half a day to pen one copy.[28] Johns used various formats and materials in making his *Autograph*, such as "white writing paper…sometimes folded in two leaves, and sometimes broadside…sometimes issued…larger; that is to say half a sheet, and is in four or five instances on a whole sheet of foolscap paper folded, and occasionally I nowadays sometimes make eight pages of it."[29]

Political participation was a major impetus for producing the *Autograph*. For example, Johns sent copies of the *Autograph* to a member of the Vermont

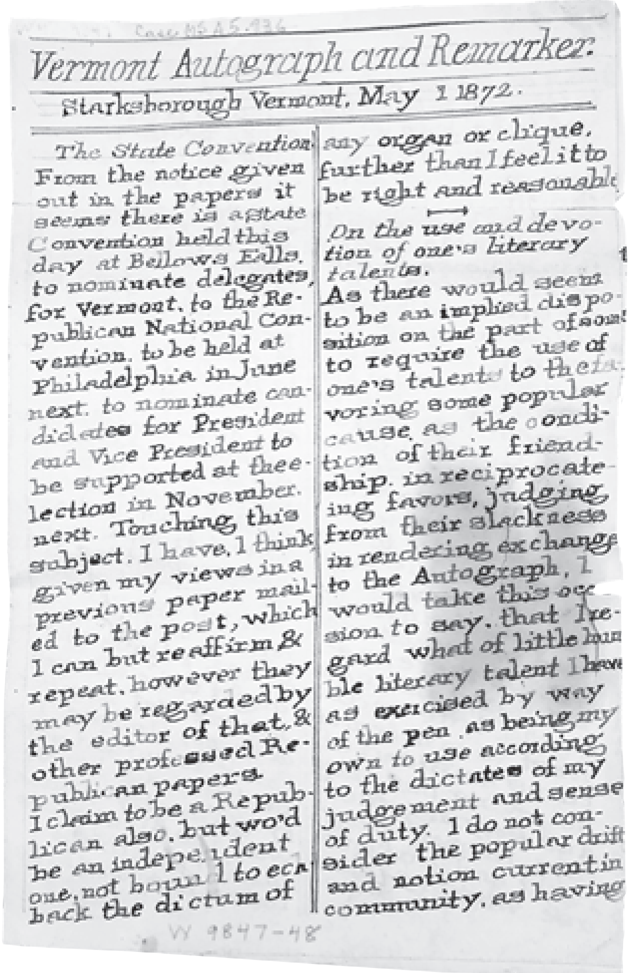
25 Additional copies can be found at the University of Vermont, the Newberry Library, and the New-York Historical Society.

26 For an in depth study of Johns's career as an author-publisher in script and print, see Vail 1933. Also see Federal Writers' Project 1937.

27 Johns, *Autograph* (1 October 1864; 24 June 1867).

28 See Citro 1999, 3–6.

29 Johns, *Autograph* (1 October 1864).



Vermont Autograph and Remarker.

Starksborough Vermont, May 1 1872.

The State Convention

From the notice given out in the papers it seems there is a State Convention held this day at Bellows Falls, to nominate delegates for Vermont, to the Republican National Convention, to be held at Philadelphia in June next, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President to be supported at the election in November next. Touching this subject, I have, I think given my views in a previous paper mailed to the post, which I can but reaffirm & repeat, however they may be regarded by the editor of that, & other professed Republican papers. I claim to be a Republican also, but wo'd be an independent one, not bound to echo back the dictum of any organ or clique, further than I feel it to be right and reasonable.

On the use and devotion of one's literary talents.

As there would seem to be an implied disposition on the part of some to require the use of one's talents to the favoring some popular cause, as the condition of their friendship, in reciprocating favors, judging from their slackness in rendering exchange to the Autograph, I would take this occasion to say, that I regard what of little humble literary talent I have as exercised by way of the pen, as being my own to use according to the dictates of my judgement and sense of duty. I do not consider the popular drift and notion current in community, as having

Figure 1. Vermont Autograph and Remarker *(1872) – Example of Johns's "pen-printed" newspaper. Image courtesy of the Newberry Library.*

delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives, James Smith Morrill, in order to strengthen the pro-Union sentiments of likeminded legislators. In a 4 February 1861, letter to Morrill, Johns writes: "I take the liberty once again of forwarding you one of my papers, the Vermont Autograph and Remarker, hoping that the receipt and perusal of one among you Northern Republicans in Congress will not be unacceptable as showing what a Green Mountain boy has to say on the subject of the rupture at the south."

The tenor of Johns's desire to engage in politics can be discerned in the early hopes he held for the *Autograph*. The 10 October 1834, edition opens with a telling quotation from the Book of Job: "I also will show you mine opinion. –Elihu." Here Johns refers to the biblical Elihu. Specifically, he refers to Elihu's decision to overcome of his reticence to speak in order to condemn what he sees as the faulty reasoning in both Job and his friends' explanations for God's treatment of the titular figure. Through this reference, Johns articulates a feeling of being compelled to affect public discussion and opinion about crucial matters – a feeling that is prevalent in his 1860s articles in favor of abolition and the maintenance of national union.

Scribal practices, for Johns, were critical in reaching readers, shaping public discourse, and affecting matters of political significance – whether through editorials regarding "the great topic of the day," the U.S. Civil War, or through columns on more prosaic topics such as children's literature and education or federal fiscal policy.[30] As such, Johns constantly marked issues of the *Autograph* with unapologetic testimonials on behalf of "pen-printing."

The 10 October 1834, *Autograph* emblematizes Johns's zeal for theorizing handwriting, especially as it relates to printing: "…the reader may be assured that every paragraph is composed and written by the Editor himself and that too without having first to draft it on another piece of paper which is more than can be said of the hundreds and thousands of super royal and imperial folios issued from the press." Here Johns argues for his originality and genius by favorably contrasting the temporality of the *Autograph*'s composition against the voluminous output of presses. In his accounting, printing-press output is to be devalued because it requires a transitional step from medium to medium – from manuscript to print (in his telling, at any rate). Johns later elaborates on the significance of this transitional step:

> Writing with a pen was the only method of communicating ideas on paper till within four hundred years ago when the art of printing with types was invented; and even all the mighty works of learning that are issued from the press, are originally written with pen and ink under the author's own hand so that the world is still indebted to that simple instrument the pen for all the printed knowledge that ever filled a library from the first invention of letters down to the present day.[31]

Johns asserts the primacy of handwriting over printing by "historicizing" the relationship of pen to print. He claims that his readers should celebrate handwriting's role in the production of knowledge in the terms of debt and credit. Johns's economic diction is helpful in thinking about the relationship between his meditations on handwriting and printing and his correspondences with other publishers. His theories on handwriting and printing both respond to and shape the micropolitics at work in these exchanges.[32] As Johns put it on 1 October 1864: "The papers so issued I send mostly to other editors of ordinary newspapers." Johns exchanged works with Joel Munsell, for example, a New York printer, publisher, and editor of numerous works, as well as a historian of printing and paper. Johns also engaged in periodical exchanges and letter correspondences with Ticknor and Fields.

Extant copies of the *Autograph* reveal Johns's deep frustration over his exchanges involving Ticknor and Fields' publication, *Our Young Folks*,

30 Johns, *Autograph* (1 October 1864).
31 Johns, *Autograph* (10 October 1834).
32 For a study of the authorial politics of 19th-century periodical exchange networks, see Jackson 2008.

a print magazine of children's literature. In his 4 December 1866, issue, immediately following mention of "a former occasion in forwarding one of my papers to the publishers of 'Our Young Folks,'" Johns complained that "there are those among the type & press publishers who turn up their nose at, and give the cold shoulder to any production on paper that [does not] come in the imposing form of great sheets as big as a table cloth print on types in thousands of copies." On the next page, Johns acknowledged his previous receipt of a copy of *Our Young Folks* "sometime last year," and expressed his desire for an exchange copy of the same title upon Ticknor and Fields' receipt of the 4 December 1866, *Autograph*.

All was not well, however, for Johns then complained about receiving too many exchange papers. Johns, directly addressing Ticknor and Fields, demanded on 4 December 1866, that they, "tender exchange only in reasonable proportion to the extent I am able to furnish it." Here Johns claimed that he was being overburdened with the lengthy task of producing multiple copies of his own work in order to adequately reciprocate the publisher's largesse.

By 17 May 1867, Johns's perception of Ticknor and Fields had taken a turn for the worse. This sentiment pervades a column in which he writes that publishers have directly engaged in written correspondence with himself: "I have had ere now some considerable experience of intercommunication with divers publishers in Boston, (I mean by mail, for I never was there myself,) and have found some of them obliging and courteous, at least for a time. Have had some fly off the handle because I didn't flatter them to the extent of their vanity." It is almost certain that Johns is writing about Ticknor and Fields in this passage, for elsewhere in the same issue he writes, "I feel rather just now impelled to recur to a subject nearer to heart suggested by the neglect with which my last Autograph mailed to the publishers of 'Our Young Folk[s]' has been treated that concern where I ventured again to bespeak the favor of an exchange."[33]

Johns went on to speculate on the lack of reciprocity in his 17 May 1867, issue. One possibility that he considered was whether "they took exception to something expressed" in the *Autograph*. The particular controversy to which Johns referred was his critical reading of *Our Young Folks*'s inclusion of youth fiction that he felt might have dangerous effects on children's morals and manners. In response to the possibility that Ticknor and Fields took offense to his arguments, Johns attempted to shift the micropolitics of paper exchange in his favor by claiming the highroad. In the same 17 May 1867, issue, he posed his understanding of an editor's ethical relationship to one's content in light of the exchange economies in which such an editor might be engaged: "I do not and should not back down to get any publisher's favor. It is ones duty as well as right in what he says, or put on paper for others to give his opinion such as it is without mincing. Short of this he cannot be a straight forward man." In articulating his vision of what it means for a newspaper

33 Considering that in his 4 December 1866, edition, Johns directly addressed Ticknor and Fields with a clear expectation of reply, it is likely that he also sent a copy of his 17 May 1867, issue to them.

writer to navigate textual exchanges among publishers successfully, the stakes became no less than the gender politics of authorship.

Johns also suggested in his 17 May 1867, issue that Ticknor and Fields refused send a copy of *Our Young Folks* because they were critical of the size and mode of the *Autograph*'s production. Such speculation provided another opening to assert the vitality and viability of handwriting:

> Respecting what may be said or thought by connoisseurs in literature of one's expending time and pains with pen on such a small matter as the little Autograph…I would just observe that tho' I am conscious of its inferiority in size and style…It is no more good reason against one's using his pen in imitation of printing because there are presses and type to be had, than there is for our not condescending to go on foot at all because there are horse carriages and railroad cars to ride in.[34]

Beginning with a pejorative remark, "connoisseurs in literature," Johns imagined Ticknor and Fields as looking down their noses at him and his *Autograph*. Johns then pretended to agree with Ticknor and Fields that his publication format is "inferior." Finally, Johns developed an analogy between old and new publishing technologies and transportation technologies in order to reject the assumption of inferiority which he accuses Ticknor and Fields of harboring. In the analogy, Johns argued that the speed, efficiency, and uniformity promised by advocates for a practice or technology do not preclude the use of the one it supposedly supersedes. Crucially, Johns's point is not merely theoretical. It is important to remember that he had directly experienced the limits of printing his small-scale works in the previous decade.

Johns finally received copies of *Our Young Folks* by late June. In the 24 June 1867, *Autograph*, Johns continued to criticize the other periodical's "improbable fiction," but he did offer significant praise of its printedness: "The typography however is first rate. I could not wish for better long primer than is exhibited in 'Our Young Folks.'" Having reestablished reciprocity within his paper exchange, Johns claimed *Our Young Folks*'s typography as a model of good design for himself. He pivoted away from deploying his scribal practice's intermediality as a defensive spur to jumpstart his exchange with Ticknor and Fields. Instead, his praise of the typography was a gesture of good will that may have renewed bonds with his interlocutor. Such was the hope at any rate, for he requested a copy of the *Atlantic* in the same issue.

Conclusion

The importance of print's aesthetic dimensions, material registers, and exchange networks to James Johns's scribal practice and authority illustrates how the intermedial conditions of communication inflected a wide range of 19th-century social relations. Moreover, by elevating the status of scribal

34 Johns, *Autograph* (17 May 1867).

authorship within a predominantly print-based set of exchanges, Johns rejected supercessionist thinking about media. Thus, the making of Johns's *Autograph* marks the imagining of a future – or at least a newly present importance – to handwriting's meanings and affordances. His writing is an important contributor to and example of a shift that cultural historian Tamara Plakins Thornton has observed regarding Victorian-era handwriting in America, that "print…endowed handwriting with its own, new set of symbolic possibilities" such that "[h]andwriting thus became a level of meaning in itself."[35]

More generally, Johns's handwritten newspaper illuminates how the social meanings of specific communicative forms and practices exist in relation to their larger media ecologies. Similarly, the fictional characters of Alcott's novel combined oral, handwritten, and printed forms of publication to work through constructions of gender and imagine future publics for women's writing. By sketching cartoons and repurposing printed matter, young men made class-inflected claims about the moral utility of writing and reading newspapers and then avoided those claims altogether; young women advocated for reforms in postal communication that might enable nationalist utopias of sentiment; and by lampooning the communicative practices of socially marginalized Americans through grotesque caricatures, one boy elaborated racist ideologies which invited the very forms of black counterpublicity that his newspaper denigrates. In all of these cases, scribes developed and questioned perceived social logics about handwriting, and about media more generally, by incorporating a wide range of communicative forms and technologies, including printed newspapers, presses, blank forms, and postal exchange, as well as various modes of oral performance. Ultimately, these scribes interwove the shifting elements of their media ecologies to make their newspapers, and in the making, they theorized the social politics of handwritten communication.

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Mary Isbell
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2333-4148

Diplomatic Editions of a Handwritten Shipboard Newspaper

The handwritten weekly shipboard newspaper, *The Young Idea*, was conceived during the 4-month voyage of HMS *Chesapeake* to the British Royal Navy's East Indies and China station, where the ship served as flagship for three years.[1] The paper was edited by A. D. McArthur, a clerk aboard the *Chesapeake*, who was encouraged to take on the role by a group of young officers with whom he socialized. I argue that while *The Young Idea* was an amateur endeavor, it signified a professional opportunity for McArthur, who exercised diplomacy in his work as editor to make the most of the unpaid role. The best evidence of McArthur's success is the beautiful lithograph edition of the paper's complete run (58 issues), which was printed with Admiral Harry Edmund Edgell's support in 1867.[2] In what follows, I interpret early issues of *The Young Idea* to offer insight into why shipboard newspapers were typically produced and how they fit into the 19th-century media landscape.[3]

In his preface to the lithograph edition, McArthur explains that the idea for the paper emerged after the ship's company had endured a 52-day journey from Sheerness to Cape Town. I offer here only the start of the incredibly long sentence McArthur uses to present the origin story of *The Young Idea*:

> The good ship "Chesapeake", newly commissioned, was speeding on her way to the burning coasts of India in the last month of 1857, and all hands were shaken

1 *The Young Idea* is the primary artifact inspiring an ongoing digital humanities project chronicled at http://www.maryisbell.net.

2 A. D. McArthur, *Young Idea. A Naval Journal Edited on Board the H.M.S. Chesapeake* (London: Published by Paul Jerrard & Son, 1867). J. W. L. Bampfield, chaplain aboard the *Chesapeake*, includes extracts from *The Young Idea* in his diary, which is held at the National Maritime Museum (the Museum currently spells the name "Bamfield" in its record for the artifact): Bamfield, J. W. L. 1857–1859: MSS. Journal kept by the ship's chaplain, the Rev. J. W. L. Bamfield. National Maritime Museum, NWT 3. Each citation to *The Young Idea* in this chapter references the issue in which the passage appears in both Bampfield's extracts and McArthur's edition, as well as the location of the contribution within that issue.

3 For scholarship on shipboard newspapers, see Roberts 1988; Barwick 1899; Stam & Stam 2008; Blum & Rudy 2013.

> into their proper places by a voyage of 52 days from England to the Cape, where we had touched for a day or two; when a party of young Officers were skylarking outside the midshipmen's berth, vainly endeavouring to dispel the monotony of the voyage, and suddenly one proposed that a newspaper should be got up.[4]

"The burning coasts of India" references the immediate aftermath of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which was the conflict at the forefront of shipboard readers' minds. McArthur notes that 52 days at sea had resulted in all hands being "shaken into their proper places," a rather innocuous way of mentioning that the day-to-day operations of this 51-gun screw frigate had been set in motion; that the company of 515 men had learned their places in the strict disciplinary hierarchy. The conflict in India and the hierarchy aboard the *Chesapeake* are important contexts to understand the functions that a handwritten newspaper could serve aboard a naval vessel, as I will discuss in this chapter. I will begin with the monotony that McArthur references in his origin story. As one might expect, shipboard newspapers were often produced as an antidote to the boredom and sense of disconnectedness regularly attending sea travel. Shipboard newspapers performed this function by finding meaning in events that might pass by unnoticed in other, more connected, circumstances.

Antidote to monotony

McArthur explains why shipboard newspapers are a particularly effective antidote to monotony in an editorial that opens the second issue of the paper. He writes, "We lack amusement: tis found in the knowledge of others, who, too reserved to give it forth in public, may not refuse to see it appear in black and white, springing from an unknown source."[5] Here, McArthur lays out one of the most important features of a shipboard newspaper: the anonymity of its contributors. As he explains it, this anonymity is crucial if one's goal is to coax contributions from shipmates who might be hesitant to share their ideas in public. I suggest that the importance of anonymity is a byproduct of shipboard newspapers as an amateur endeavor. The editor does not pay contributors, and so anonymity becomes an inducement to contribute. This means that McArthur is also at the mercy of his contributors' interests. He might solicit an article on a particular topic, but it will only happen if a shipmate wants to write it.

4 This preface was produced for the 1867 edition of *The Young Idea*, so it does not appear in Bampfield's extracts from the manuscript paper. To read the entire preface and the relevant selection from the first issue, visit the edition published with *Scholarly Editing*, "Extracts from *The Young Idea*," available from http://scholarlyediting.org/2016/editions/intro.youngidea.html

5 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857). In Bampfield's diary, this article also appears as the first contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857). In the diary's handwritten numbering, it appears on page 55. Bampfield attributes it to "A. D. McA."

The name of the paper is an allusion to a line from James Thomson's *Spring* (1728) that emphasizes the communal nature of this endeavor: "Delightful task! to rear the tender thought, /To teach the young idea how to shoot."[6] McArthur explains the allusion in the first issue of the paper, asking readers to compare the opening of the journal "to the sowing of a seed, which, when put into the ground is of no present worth, but which by due care and attention being paid to its culture, shoots up and increases in growth every day till its flowers burst forth and well repay the labour bestowed upon its infancy." The popularity of the poem with Victorians is illustrated by the way it occurs to the midshipmen as a possible title. McArthur explains how the name was determined in the preface to the lithograph edition:

> "What is it to be called?" asked one, "'Chesapeake Times'" cried one; 'Steerage Gazette', shouted another, while various other appellations were offered, but all agreed that they were common, and this must be something uncommon – "What do you say to the "Young Idea"? at last proposed one, "Yes! Yes! that will do", they shouted, "we'll teach it to shoot." and thus it was that the Chesapeake Journal was christened with the title of the "Young Idea."[7]

McArthur builds on the enthusiasm evident in this origin story with a savvy call for contributions. He suggests in the same editorial that only the feeble-minded members of the ship's company will struggle to find events that they can convert into something valuable:

> Amongst so many it is next to impossible that good ideas should be wanting, and although our monotonous and never changing everyday life may not produce matters of interest among the feebler imaginations, yet the stronger seize and retain events of the slightest moment, and can easily convert them into a combination of information and amusement, which can never fail to be highly appreciated.[8]

McArthur encourages his readers to join him in dispelling their collective monotony. He does not suggest that the paper will communicate important news and events to all aboard; instead, he presents the paper as an instrument of amusement, a tool that will make something interesting out of the mundane. It seems natural that he would set this goal for the paper in December of 1857, while the ship was still traveling to its station and the ship's company had not yet been able to venture ashore or experience anything other than the repetitive routine of a ship traversing the sea through a combination of sail and steam power.

Who were McArthur's readers? It seems clear from his origin story that his idea emerged in conversation with a small group of young officers aboard the ship. McArthur likely lived on the gun deck, meaning these officers were his messmates. It seems likely that the paper was written by and for this relatively small portion of the ship's company. The events covered in the

6 Thomson 1788, 39.
7 As noted above, the preface only appears in the lithograph edition.
8 Same location and pagination as first quotation in both witnesses.

paper also suggests that contributors were high-ranking members of the ship's company, not ordinary sailors. The very first issue includes a detailed account of a dinner given by the Ward Room officers to their Commodore. The account recreates the evening in a manner that conjures the exclusivity of the event:

> There is little occasion to name the Bill of Fare, as it might make sundry people's mouth's water to no purpose; suffice it to say, the table was served in a most "recherche" style; the good looking and well dressed sailor boys, being remarkably attentive.[9]

There are readers, we should gather, who might not have been invited to the dinner. Was McArthur at the dinner? It is also hard to know for sure. The contributor then ventures into a description that would be most entertaining for those who had attended:

> Scandal, says, that several cries were heard from the background, much resembling the noise that boys make when under punishment, and therefore avers, that the boys' good conduct arose from the fact of a corporal, having been seen to enter the Ward room previous to dinner, with what sailors call a "persuader" in his hand. But as I make it a practice to turn a deaf ear to scandal, (altho' readers may draw their own conclusions) still I am of opinion that they (the boys) have been too well drilled, and the system too good, to allow such derogatory report to gain ground in any right minded person's opinion.[10]

Those who were present would know, one imagines, that the boys were likely being reprimanded during the dinner and it is amusing to insinuate that this was not obvious during the event.

McArthur's origin story would suggest that he only took on the role of editor after learning that the young officers aboard the ship would be enthusiastic contributors to the paper. The first issue is filled with clever commentary upon events that might otherwise seem too ordinary to mention. The cleverness pivots, in this early issue, on insider information. Many articles contain allusions that would make sense only to certain members of the ship's company, which suggests that they were contributed by officers and were intended to be understood only by others who associated regularly with those officers. For example, a letter to the editor entitled "Street Nuisances," describes a disturbance in the night with details that would allow some readers to identify the "gentlemen" described and imagine what they were doing, while it might leave some other readers out.[11]

9 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the second contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

10 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the second contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

11 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the sixth contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

The letter recounts five men singing loudly and resisting the attempts of the "guardian of the night" to subdue them. The anonymous contributor goes on, "These disturbers of the peace quickly retired arm in arm, without being recognized; they were however all in uniform and one wore a glengarry." He then goes on to describe one of the men in uniform:

> one was partially recognized from the circumstance of his making use of an invention which he has patented, whereby one may descend from top to bottom of a flight of steps in one movement, alighting safely on the seat of honor, without the slightest genuflexion of the knee joints.[12]

It is hard to imagine the whole of a ship's literate population recognizing a man who has a tendency to leap (or fall) down a flight of steps safely. It does seem likely that a small group of friends would enjoy being chastised for their late-night rambles in a coded way.

There is also an element of play apparent as McArthur responds to various correspondents who submitted items for inclusion in the first issue in his section, "Notices to Correspondents".[13] He tells "Snookes," who would seem to have asked a rude question of the editor that, "we do not consider ourselves compelled to answer impertinent questions" and suggests "Beelzebub can supply your wants," essentially sending "Snookes" to the devil. "An Observer" is thanked for his contribution, but encouraged to get a "writing master" as McArthur was "unable to decipher [his] hieroglyphics." There is even an element of flirtation as McArthur notes that "A Young Lady's Kiss shall be returned if the fair writer will call the Office No. 1 Port Street, 'Chesapeake.'" Female impersonation is a component of the imagined in-person exchange between the editor and the writer of the letter he is responding to. All readers would know that no women were aboard the ship, and they might have fun imagining who had sent the letter that prompted such a generous response from McArthur and what that letter said. Important context for interpreting this bit of flirtation comes from Hester Blum's exploration of the print culture of polar exploration in *The News at the Ends of the Earth*, in which she explains that "polar newspapers gesture to queer desire and practice infrequently but playfully."[14]

Disrupting discipline

Within McArthur's strategy for finding contributors to the *The Young Idea*, we also find one of the biggest impediments to a long-running newspaper.

12 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the sixth contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

13 In McArthur's lithograph, "Notices to Correspondents" appears as the tenth contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

14 Blum 2019, 127.

Anonymity, as anyone alive in the Information Age can attest, can be disruptive. A shipboard newspaper could introduce a subversive element into a space of rigidly maintained discipline. This certainly was the case for other shipboard newspapers, as McArthur notes in his preface to the lithograph edition:

> Newspapers are not generally regarded on board men-of-war with a friendly eye by the Officers in command, on account of the opportunity which they afford the Juniors of quizzing them, and the Superior Officers, and making impertinent remarks upon their acts, thus setting discipline at defiance.[15]

In the case of the *Chesapeake*, a ship executing orders to expand Britain's power, a 21st-century scholar blinded by presentism might imagine contributors recognizing the harsh realities of Britain's imperial endeavors and criticizing those missions. It seems more likely, however, that McArthur refers to a more local sense of subversion of the ship's disciplinary hierarchy.

This latter situation seems to have been the case for a handwritten paper edited by Clements R. Markham, who served as an officer for the Franklin search expedition from 1850 to 1851. Markham is celebrated as a major 19th-century geographer and explorer, so the events of his life are better-documented than those of McArthur. His personal journal from the expedition recounts that during the many frozen months in the arctic, a number of different handwritten newspapers were produced. Markham contributed articles to these periodicals anonymously, though he makes note of what he contributed and the pseudonyms he used in his private journal.[16] Markham's biographer notes that he also created his own paper, entitled *Minavilins*, but that this paper was suppressed.[17] Markham includes no reference to this other paper in his journal, and he left the service soon after the expedition. In this case, at least, we do not have direct evidence of what exactly would have warranted "suppression." We do have some insight into the mechanism for suppression as it functioned on voyages of arctic exploration, which certainly applied to Markham's *Minavilins*. Blum argues that "throughout the long nineteenth century, the Admiralty required that 'all persons' on polar expeditions submit any journals, memoranda, logs, and notes, 'both of a public and private nature,' composed throughout the course of the venture."[18] These documents were held as the official narrative of the voyage was prepared and published (often with the London house of John Murray), and then returned when they were no longer needed, provided

15 This preface was produced for the 1867 edition of *The Young Idea*, so it does not appear in Bampfield's extracts from the manuscript paper. To read the entire preface and the relevant selection from the first issue, visit the edition published with *Scholarly Editing*, "Extracts from *The Young Idea*," available from http://scholarlyediting.org/2016/editions/intro.youngidea.html

16 Clements R. Markham, "Private journal from HMS Assistance, 1851" (CRM/3) *The Sir Clements Robert Markham Collection*. Royal Geographical Society.

17 Markham 1917, 120. Available from http://archive.org/details/lifeofsirclement00markiala

18 Blum 2019, 191.

they did not contradict the official narrative of the expedition. The mention of *Minavilins* in Markham's authorized biography coupled with its absence from the detailed journal he kept during the voyage can be interpreted in a number of different ways. Perhaps he found the contents of the paper personally embarrassing or likely to interfere with his own advancement at the time. It seems more likely, however, that reference to *Minavilins* was never entered into his journal (or removed by the Admiralty) because it would not be considered in keeping with the official narrative of the voyage. Unlike McArthur, I argue, Markham was not a diplomatic editor seeking advancement through his amateur endeavor. Instead, his paper was critical of the events unfolding in the arctic.

If McArthur had felt compelled to include all contributions submitted to him, *The Young Idea* would likely not have run for 58 issues and prompted a lithograph edition. But he did not feel so compelled; in fact, he was encouraged to do just the opposite by one of his readers, who calls himself "Spero Meliora" (or, "I hope for better things"). McArthur includes the letter, which begins by praising the project of *The Young Idea*, in his second issue.[19] The second paragraph is the most pertinent:

> Many like attempts have been made, and have been carried on with success, until some unfortunate affair has arisen, to promote discord where harmony existed; and enmity in the place of friendship; against these you must guard yourself, and a firm hand is required to control the many headstrong articles which you will find pour in fast and thick upon you, as your columns gain strength.[20]

McArthur did not take this advice lightly, and his editorial opening the second issue clarifies his rules on what will and will not be published:

> It is not our intention to give a place to articles which are intended to throw any reflection upon the conduct or habits of others, and we most earnestly desire that no such communications may be forwarded to use, as we shall consign them without the least compunction to our waste paper basket; we wish to stir up a better motive amongst our readers for the occupation of their pen.[21]

19 In McArthur's lithograph, this letter appears as the fourth contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857) and is followed by a response from the editor. In Bampfield's diary, this letter appears as the second contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857), but it does not include an editorial response. In the diary's handwritten numbering, it appears on page 56. Bampfield does not offer any initials for the author.

20 In McArthur's lithograph, this letter appears as the fourth contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857) and is followed by a response from the editor. In Bampfield's diary, this letter appears as the second contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857), but it does not include an editorial response. In the diary's handwritten numbering, it appears on page 56. Bampfield does not offer any initials for the author.

21 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857). In Bampfield's diary, this article also appears as the first contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857). In the diary's handwritten numbering, it appears on page 55. Bampfield attributes the article to "A. D. McA."

This, I argue, was McArthur's move toward diplomacy. Even if he did not undertake the paper with this resolve, McArthur certainly decided to edit diplomatically as he prepared the second issue. Had he resisted this advice, and courted controversy as the most expedient antidote to monotony, *The Young Idea* would not have been in a position to find favor with the highest ranking members of the ship's company.

The absence of news

The first six issues of *The Young Idea*, published while the ship was traveling to Calcutta, demonstrate McArthur's efforts to dispel monotony by turning the mundane into the interesting. Part of the reason for that monotony was a lack of connection to traditional print media. Simply put, members of the ship's company did not know what was happening in the world until they visited a port or encountered another vessel that could share information. While the pursuit of amusement might have inspired the paper, McArthur soon began addressing the absence of news and disseminating the scattered reports emerging from encounters with other vessels. The primary news McArthur's shipmates sought concerned the latest events in the British effort to suppress and avenge the rebellion in India.

The British had a major victory in Delhi in September, which the ship's company likely learned about when they arrived at Cape Town in November. The second issue of *The Young Idea*, published on 19 December 1857, includes an account of the *Chesapeake* serving as a source of news when the ship encountered another vessel in the Indian Ocean. Through the use of flags, officers determined that the English vessel, *Lord Metcalf*, had been at sea, without contact with other vessels, since September:

> Sunday 13th At 5 o'clock this morning a large ship was discovered on our weather quarter, and on hoisting her colors and number she was found to be the English ship "Lord Metcalf." She kept up with us in light breezes, but we left her astern whenever the wind freshened, however, in the evening she still maintained her position on our weather quarter, and the wind falling light she gradually drew ahead.
>
> Some little interest was occasioned in the evening, by signalizing her, she was 102 days out having left Liverpool on 3d September We informed her of the fall of Delhi, at which she expressed much pleasure.[22]

In this instance, *The Young Idea* is able to report that the company of the *Chesapeake* were in possession of much-sought-after news. It is not so much news for the readers, as a report on the extreme lack of news suffered by other vessels at sea. It offered a sense of perspective for readers, a reminder that life at sea meant being disconnected.

22 In McArthur's lithograph, "Naval Intelligence" appears as the sixth contribution to issue 2 (19 December 1857). "Naval Intelligence" is not included in Bampfield's extracts.

Before drawing attention to the fact that there were other vessels that actually had less information than the *Chesapeake*, McArthur had taken time in his first issue to reflect upon what *was* known about the enemy, expressing concern that the lack of fresh news might weaken his readers' resolve.

> 'Tis no common enemy we are going to meet, for our blood is stirred by the harrowing accounts with which our daily Journals teemed when we left our "own dear isle".
>
> A long voyage has most likely in a great degree softened the asperity of these narrations in our mem'ries, and some may have almost forgotten the fact that the most horrible atrocities have been committed upon our countrymen and women, that they have met with sufferings and tortures unparallelled in any age, sufferings which will ever remain among the annals of history as the darkest, and blackest deeds ever perpetrated by barbarians.[23]

Here we see McArthur's commitment to the mission and the larger goals of the imperial project.

The ship's log for this period reveals that the *Chesapeake* moored off the coast of Trincomalee in early January, and this brief moment of contact with land gave McArthur and his contributors access to new reports about India.[24]

> We have now visited two of our Indian Ports, Point De Galle, and Trincomalee, although our short stay at the former, was merely a flying visit. At each of these places we have received accounts, which have tended to quicken and invigorate our movements
>
> At Point De Galle we learnt of General Havelock's deeply lamented death, General Wyndham's disaster, the gallant conduct of our blue-jackets, and Sir Colin Campbells victorious onset.
>
> We naturally looked forward to a speedy arrival at this port, in order that we might complete our arrangements, and start for the scene of our operations, but unfortunately adverse winds delayed our progress
>
> We now learn that affairs in India, wear a very gloomy aspect, indeed! Every arrival of news has brought more wretched accounts: but still there appears to be a vagueness + want of authority in what we have heard; but yet it is evident that every available man is wanted to aid in quelling the disturbances.
>
> We hear of heavy losses on our side, and that altho' conquerors in our engagements yet those same engagements weaken our resources and decrease our strength to such a degree that we might almost say "Another such a battle and we are lost"[25]

McArthur's allusion in this commentary to a Pyrrhic victory (that is, a victory that weakens) introduces a sense of pessimism to the ship. While news of heavy losses in India pushes McArthur to despair, it would seem he

23 In McArthur's lithograph, this letter appears as the fourth contribution to issue 1 (12 December 1857). Bampfield's extracts begin with the second issue, so this article does not appear in his diary.

24 "Chesapeake" (21 July 1857), ADM 53/6978, The National Archives, Kew.

25 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 5 (9 January 1858). The article is not included in Bampfield's extracts.

is most disappointed to learn that the crew will not engage in combat, but instead will be helping with practical concerns like transporting supplies and dignitaries. This is where we can see McArthur's diplomatic efforts in full force. Now he is not just deciding to avoid controversy, he is offering a way for his shipmates to process bad news:

> Our long voyage has now come to a close, we may consider that we have arrived at our destination, that our future prospects centre in Calcutta.
>
> What these prospects may be, we are unable to determine at present, although, we may almost dispel the idea of seeing service before the enemy, as we had hoped, our proceedings will most likely consist in various kinds of extra duties, as unpleasant as they are unremunerative.
>
> But, at this, we must not repine, for, as our gallant Commodore expressed in his speech last Sunday, we do as much good, in assisting the arrival, or departure of vessels, in provisioning, storing, repairing, conveying troops or other equally tame work, as though we were in the field; no doubt, some may be inclined to say, that this is merely a propitiatory view of the case, but, we say, it is the fact, and although our inclination leads us to think otherwise and to feel dissatisfied with the failure of our dearest hopes, yet, this should not lessen our zeal in the exercise of our various duties, and hope must brighten our path with the expectation, of not always having such unsatisfactory employment.
>
> We cannot disguise the fact that we are "too late for the fair," but yet an old adage says "better late than never" and who knows, or who can foretell, what fortunate circumstances may occur, to reward us for our present disappointment.[26]

McArthur refers to the words of the Commodore and encourages his readers to hold out hope that they will be rewarded in some other way.

Alternative to professional print media

McArthur's editorial commentary on the scattered bits of news the ship received about India was occasionally skeptical of the quality of that news. Extended time in Calcutta with shore leave meant that *The Young Idea* became an alternative to abundant English-language news printed in Calcutta. The best example of this emerges when a group of sailors aboard the *Chesapeak*e, who had been preparing for a theatrical performance during the journey, decided to make their debut on shore at the Calcutta Lyric Theatre. Contributors to *The Young Idea* had offered encouragement to the sailor-amateurs of the *Chesapeake*, so when their production was mocked mercilessly in the local press, *The Young Idea* provided a forum to reflect on the negative reviews.[27] McArthur positions the English-language paper published in Calcutta, *The Hurkaru*, as a "shore-going paper" as he offers his own assessment of the event: "We cannot speak too highly of the creditable

26 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 7 (23 January 1858). It does not appear in Bampfield's extracts.

27 Isbell 2014.

manner in which the performers acted, although a shore going paper has been pleased to insult them, and to cast a baneful shadow over their efforts to please."[28] The need for anonymity has fallen away at this point, though the convention still remains in place.

While in some ways a ship of the line could seem disconnected, waiting for the mail to arrive from another ship, it was also in some ways incredibly connected, with immediate access to events occurring at the frontier of British imperial expansion. Regular sections of *The Young Idea* – "Naval Intelligence," "Promotions and Appointments," and "Epitome" – include updates on the official activities of ships in the squadron, while articles from contributors to the paper offer detailed, though unofficial, accounts of important diplomatic events, such as the public execution of three men found guilty of murdering Europeans in Jeddah on 12 January 1859.[29] This event was surely reported in British papers, but since even the *Chesapeake*'s company were not allowed ashore during the diplomatic negotiations, it seems likely that the account of the execution provided by one of the contributors to *The Young Idea* was more detailed than what was reported in London. The lengthy account begins "Dear Sir," addressing the editor personally and commenting on the horror of the experience. The contributor writes, "As one of those whose duty it was to witness the Execution on Wednesday last (12th), I beg to send you some slight account of what took place, tho' indeed I write even now with a feeling of horror at the spectacle." The contributor narrates how each prisoner entered the site of execution, making special note of one who, it was rumored, did not know he was to be executed: "I can well believe the story that is told that he knew not his approaching fate till that moment he casts his eyes around, and as they rest on our 'colours' he seems to comprehend all, and gives himself up to prayer." The contributor then struggles to describe the horror of the execution, concluding with a perspective that positions the executioner not as the righteous arm of the Empire, but a butcher:

> The old man is the first to suffer: as he bends his head forward, the executioner seems to try his distance carefully with the sword, two or three times; -yet his first blow strikes too low down the back: again the sword is raised, and the blow falls on the neck but does not enter deeply; the old man who is still murmuring in prayer, turns his head, as though reproachfully; a third blow is struck, and he falls forward on his face; the gush of blood seems to choke his utterance: his last words of prayer, gurgle out with his lifeblood, but the head is not yet severed; it is butcher's work that follows: the remaining flesh is sawn through with the sword, and the head rolled away from the body: a pool of blood rushed out upon the

28 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the fourth contribution to issue 12 (27 February 1858). The article does not appear in Bampfield's extracts.

29 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the second contribution to issue 5 in volume 2 (15 January 1859). In Bampfield's diary, this article also appears as the second contribution, though he numbers issues continuously and calls it issue 49 (15 January 1859). Handwritten page numbers are not available in this section of the diary. Bampfield attributes the article to "J." and clarifies that this is "Major Masters."

> ground, the executioner lifts the robe of the deceased, and wipes in it his sword and bloodstained fingers.[30]

The proximity to conflicts on the imperial frontier gave McArthur and his contributors unprecedented access to events even the most experienced correspondent would not be able to attend, reminding us that the reports sailors received from other ships about Delhi and other events in India might have actually been superior, or more accurate, than what was being reported in London.

Diplomatic editions

Though McArthur was not a commissioned officer, he claims that the midshipmen, or young officers in training, considered him the obvious choice to serve as editor. McArthur writes that, "amidst the roar of delight which greeted the proposal, it was further carried 'nemine dissentiente' That I should be the Editor of the same." I have suggested that McArthur's liminal position in the ship's company made him the safest choice for an editor. His advancement in a naval career depended upon his ability to find favor with the officers he worked alongside. It would seem he navigated this successfully. He stopped publishing *The Young Idea* when he was promoted to assistant paymaster and secretary clerk in 1859.[31] I have argued that the long run of the paper is directly related to McArthur's diplomatic editorial approach. He positions the paper as informed by official news and actively works against the tendency of handwritten papers to subvert authority.

I have, to this point, described McArthur's editorial approach as diplomatic. This adjective, "diplomatic," has significant implications for the study of handwritten newspapers because of its multiple (and interestingly contradictory) meanings. First is the meaning I have used to this point: "Skilled in the art of diplomacy; showing address in negotiations or intercourse of any kind." This differs from an earlier usage cited by the OED: "Of, pertaining to, or concerned with the management of international relations; of or belonging to diplomacy." [32] This seems a natural progression. Those speaking officially in the interest of international relations might necessarily be selective or "artful," and so someone serving in an official diplomatic capacity would also need to be diplomatic (that is, speak diplomatically/artfully). The earlier usage (relating to international relations) is an appropriate description of

30 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the second contribution to issue 5 in volume 2 (15 January 1859). In Bampfield's diary, this article also appears as the second contribution, though he numbers issues continuously and calls it issue 49 (15 January 1859). Handwritten page numbers are not available in this section of the diary. Bampfield attributes the article to "J." and clarifies that this is "Major Masters."

31 "Muster Book of Her Majesty's Ship Chesapeake Commencing 1st April 1859 Ending 30th June 1859," held by the National Archives at Kew (ADM 38/2886).

32 "Diplomatic, adj. and n." in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press).

the recurring sections of the paper described above: "Naval Intelligence," "Promotions and Appointments," and "Epitome." The fact that McArthur had access to such official news offers one way of understanding why he was "diplomatic" in presenting the more subjectively captured experiences of his contributors. His proximity to those in power and access to the information they possessed shaped his representation of day-to-day life aboard the *Chesapeake*.

Another usage for "diplomatic" pertains to the realm of scholarly editorial work.[33] The definition, "Of or pertaining to official or original documents, charters, or manuscripts; textual" is supplemented in the OED with the explanation that a diplomatic copy or diplomatic edition is "an exact reproduction of the original."[34] Though it is not my primary focus in this chapter, my understanding of *The Young Idea* has been shaped by my larger project to produce a digital documentary edition of the paper's full run.[35] This handwritten newspaper was created by an unknown clerk in the Royal Navy, and it is not typical to approach such an artifact with the level of scrutiny typically given to the writing of important historical figures (like Early American Presidents) or canonical authors (like James Joyce or Samuel Beckett). And yet this unknown newspaper by an unknown editor has a complex textual history and I have transcribed and encoded the witnesses in a way that can reconstruct that complexity.

These definitions of "diplomatic" are particularly important for handwritten shipboard newspapers, which can include reference to official naval activity without actually serving as an official diplomatic record. Because the commanding officers of naval vessels functioned as diplomats in their interactions with foreign dignitaries, it follows that accounts of their activity in a shipboard newspaper can serve as a report on diplomatic events. But handwritten shipboard newspapers were not produced by editors focused solely on the production of a paper; they were the amateur endeavors of editors who fulfilled other paid roles aboard a ship. This necessarily influences what events are chronicled in a shipboard newspaper and how they are handled. I have argued in this chapter that McArthur used his role as editor of a handwritten shipboard newspaper – an unpaid role contributing to an amateur endeavor – to advance his professional career. As we continue to uncover the history of handwritten newspapers it will be important to consider how the editors and contributors to these papers used them, even as we reveal the ways in which they diverged from the conventions of professional print media.

33 I situate my use of these terms within recent commentary on the very long history of scholarly editing, specifically Pierazzo 2014.

34 "Diplomatic, adj. and n." in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press).

35 I have found it useful to consider McArthur's editorial work in relationship to my own editorial work on *The Young Idea*, an approach supported by Paul Eggert's careful definition of "editor," which accounts for the wide range of editorial roles available: "An editor mediates, according to defined or undefined standards or conventions, between the text or texts of documents made or orally transmitted by another and the audience of the anticipated publication" Eggert 2009, 156.

My editorial project has, to this point, revealed that McArthur produced a paper aboard the *Chesapeake* between 1857 and 1859 (selecting and arranging contributions diplomatically so as not to disrupt established systems of discipline). He then built on the connections he had cultivated with his superior officers to publish a lithograph edition in 1867 that further refined his diplomatic editorial approach for a new audience.[36] Instead of select shipmates, McArthur edited the lithograph edition for the Admiralty and their social circles.[37] In other words, I argue that McArthur's lithograph edition was not diplomatic (an exact reproduction of the manuscript) because it was diplomatic (artful).[38] One could congratulate McArthur on a job well done; an opportunity well-seized. One could just as easily criticize him as an opportunistic editor who included only what he knew would be palatable to his target audience.

The 1867 lithograph of *The Young Idea* provides no reliable way of assessing whether McArthur's editorial persona reflected his genuine perspective on the Royal Navy. Luckily, the lithograph edition is not the only artifact providing insight into *The Young Idea*. My notes throughout this chapter have made reference to another witness to the original manuscript paper. John William Lewis Bampfield, the ship's chaplain, transcribed extracts from the paper into his journal, which is held at the National Maritime Museum. Unlike many of the papers discussed in this volume, the original pages of *The Young Idea* are not extant, which makes it difficult to know if McArthur produced multiple copies of each issue or a single copy that was circulated for silent reading or recitation for a group of people. Without access to the originally circulated pages, I am interpreting variances between Bampfield's handwritten transcriptions and McArthur's lithograph edition. I am documenting these variances through a process called descriptive markup to create a diplomatic documentary edition and I have published extracts (issues 7–13) from this project with *Scholarly Editing*. To stretch this thread of the "diplomatic" to the absolute extreme (with apologies), I offer the following: only a diplomatic edition (exact reproduction) of *The Young Idea* will allow us to see how McArthur's diplomatically (artfully) edited newspaper, which combined diplomatic (official) reportage with anecdotes of day-to-day life, was produced at sea and later shared with readers on land.

One of the affordances of a diplomatic documentary edition of *The Young Idea* is the ability to share information about witnesses with readers, while still offering a readable text. Contributors to this volume on handwritten newspapers have uncovered the ways in which this alternative medium occasionally gave editors and contributors an opportunity to push back against dominant discourses and power structures. It would seem at this point that McArthur did not do this, but there is likely more to this story. In *Securing the Past*, Paul Eggert explains that the work of scholarly editing

36 Isbell 2016. Available from http://scholarlyediting.org/2016/editions/intro.youngidea.html

37 *The Young Idea* is mentioned briefly in an article discussing the lithographer who produced it, Paul Jerrard, as discussed in Leathlean 1991.

38 Pierazzo 2014, no page.

becomes most important to the study of texts when they restore "missing or altered material." He offers the example of Georgiana McCrae, who chronicled her experiences in early Melbourne in a diary that was edited in 1934 by her grandson, the poet Hugh McCrae. Only through careful scholarly editing was it revealed that "the 1934 publication amounted to a rewriting of the early colonial period in Melbourne during a decade in which the strivings of the early pioneers were being resuscitated and hailed." Eggert's note on the work clarifies that the editorial methodology was a photofacsimile and an annotated diplomatic transcription; the work of a PhD thesis.[39] My hope is that a documentary edition that diplomatically reproduces McArthur's lithograph edition and its variants will help us avoid some of the missteps that have occurred when artifacts emerge and enter scholarly conversations without careful consideration of their mediation.[40]

Though my goal in this chapter has been to tell the story of McArthur's early decisions as an editor of *The Young Idea*, some evidence of his editorial work on the lithograph edition is necessary. The notes to this edition demonstrate that contributions in McArthur's edition occasionally did not appear in Bampfield's extracts, or appeared in a different position. It is hard to say at this point (that is, without the entirety of both texts already transcribed and collated) what this level of variance reveals about either text. But a difference in the content of a particular article gives a hint at what we might learn from this editorial work. In an article about the experience of approaching Calcutta for the first time, we find a significant passage from Bampfield's shipboard extracts from *The Young Idea* missing from the lithograph edition. The article, entitled "Up the Hooghly," was contributed by an author referred to by Bampfield as "B." I do not think this was Bampfield himself, as he refers to himself elsewhere as "J. B." Of course, it is not necessary to fix authorship before interpreting the absence of the passage in the lithograph. In the lithograph edition, we find the following description of what is seen as the ship makes it way up the river:

> Now we observed traces of the European settler, the tall factory of red brick, the neat white house with green blinds drawn down over the windows, the regular avenue of trees, the cultivated patches of sugar cane, the brick field with piles of bricks, furnished from the dark alluvial clay, of which doubtless, the whole Delta of the Ganges is composed.[41]

In Bampfield's diary, the reference to "traces of the European Settler" is preceded by a much more detailed description:

39 Eggert 2009, 157.

40 A model for this careful and deliberate recovery of a previously un- (or under-) studied artifact can be found in Amy Hughes and Naomi Stubbs' masterful print edition of the diary of Harry Watkins *and* the accompanying digital edition of the entire, uncorrected diary. Hughes & Stubbs (eds) 2018.

41 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the third contribution to issue 7 (23 January 1858). In Bampfield's diary, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 7. Handwritten page numbers are challenging to decipher in this section of the diary. Bampfield attributes the article to "B."

> Native boats [indecipherable] of strange shape, with manned by a swarthy crew, floated up with the tide, & here and there a dark, loathsome object on the surface of the water marked the presence of a putrefying Hindoo Corpse.
>
> Still the river narrowed: & the channel of the stream wd sometimes sweep us close in to one of its banks, as the widening course offered some new Reach before us. Native Villagers, generally clustered about some creek, where a smaller stream joined the main river, now & then called our attention: their huts, built of mud & thatched, overshadowed by [indecipherable]; the almost naked inhabitants watching us from the shore: their Canoes, sharply pointed & curving upwards at bow & stern, drawn up on the sloping mud banks of the River.
>
> These, in their turn, gave way to the traces of the European Settler[42]

While a shipboard audience would have no trouble with an accurate description of the experiences shared by the entire readership, McArthur might have reasoned that a landed audience of readers that certainly included women (McArthur explicitly addresses "fair readers" in his preface) would recoil at certain descriptions. In this narrative of revision, I interpret McArthur as editing diplomatically, or artfully; this time, though, his artfulness prompts him to eliminate the unpleasant.

This brief example offers one possible way of understanding the variance between McArthur's lithograph and Bampfield's shipboard extracts from *The Young Idea*. Until the entire edition is complete, it is best to consider it a working theory. As Eggert notes, "Intelligent literary criticism needs reliable texts upon which to work, but textual reliability does not […] drop from the clouds ready for our use."[43] I take this statement as a reminder that there is often considerable work to be done before we can incorporate handwritten newspapers into our understanding of the particular historical moments in which they participate. Multiple copies of McArthur's lithograph edition survive and each of those copies includes marginalia, dedications, and insertions that provide additional information. The British Library holds a copy, as does Yale's Beinecke library. I own one copy (purchased with grant funds from a bookseller in Greenwich, England), and one is currently for sale, purportedly with original manuscript pages, from a bookseller in Massachusetts. As additional copies emerge and are authenticated, our understanding of *The Young Idea*, and shipboard newspapers more generally, will surely expand.[44] Handwritten newspapers, whether edited diplomatically or with a sense of defiance, by the powerful or the subjugated, are, without a doubt, complex artifacts of social practices. As we increase our

42 In McArthur's lithograph, this article appears as the third contribution to issue 7 (23 January 1858). In Bampfield's diary, this article appears as the first contribution to issue 7. Handwritten page numbers are challenging to decipher in this section of the diary. Bampfield attributes the article to "B."

43 Eggert 2009, 161.

44 This is the situation of many papers collected in *The Handwritten Newspapers Project*, which provides bibliographical data, and, where possible, links to digital facsimiles of hundreds of papers. This digital project, which receives regular contributions from readers, surely illustrates the value of the careful study of handwritten newspapers as a social phenomenon that persists in and around print newspapers. Available from https://handwrittennews.com/

understanding of the larger trends in these social practices, we will become even more adept at navigating the complexities.

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Klimis Mastoridis
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1468-3394

On the Graphic Language of the Handwritten Greek *Ephemeris*

Research about Greek handwritten newspapers has never been carried out in a systematic way. Despite the fact that a number of these newspapers have been recorded, they have not managed to take the place they deserve in the few important works on the history of the Greek press published up to now.[1] One reason for this might be that they are seen as "auxiliary" or even inferior to those set and printed by mechanical means. Another is their nature, as most of those existing constitute short term personal or collective efforts towards the production of political or satirical-political publications against different modes of authoritarian suppression.[2] To the above we could also add the lack of substantial data about the usually badly preserved artefacts that are scattered in various collections around the country or abroad. Their ephemeral nature, however, as well as their content, visual appearance, and even the methods of reproduction and distribution could provide arguments in favor of a different story; a story that values modern scribal culture and approaches its study as part of the broader research into the conversion of verbal to visual graphic language.

The present chapter constitutes an attempt to introduce aspects of the little known and largely neglected modern Greek scribal history to a wider audience discussing the physical properties and the typographic features of the handwritten *ephemeris*. Moreover, it suggests that visual graphic language constitutes an integral part of that history and it should be studied alongside and in combination with already established research objectives.

Ephemeris

Many words of Greek origin found in various languages are employed in a different way, conveying meanings other than in Greek. The English word "newspaper", the German *Zeitung*, the French *journal*, and the Italian *gazzetta*[3] are translated in modern Greek as *ephemeris*. But what does *ephemeris* mean?

1 See, for example, Droulia & Koutsopanagou (eds) 2008.
2 Mastoridis 2005, 185–190.
3 About the "gazzetta", see Infelise 2016, 241–260.

The word derives from ancient Greek; *epi* means about and *hemera* means day. Consequently, an ephemeron is an item that is short-lived and temporarily valid; that is to say something which is actually valid for a day. The word was used in a context more or less similar to modern usage since the time of Plutarch, and as Samuel explains, "it could mean daily record and it was used in that sense by the middle of the third century B.C." Samuel concludes his discussion by stating "this brief study of the meaning of the word *ephemeris* has shown that the meaning is not limited to 'daily journal', but can include 'business ledger', and simply 'journal' as well."[4]

For artefacts to be categorized as *ephemerides*, time is an important factor. But time is also critical for those items which are not *ephemerides*, are produced at regular (or not so regular) intervals, and are usually identified as periodicals, magazines, or journals and the like. Again, this word has its origin in Greek, for *periodos* means going round in a circle, which also applies to time. Nowadays, time and physical appearance may seem enough to determine the nature and define the boundaries between different genres of ephemeral publications. But it was not always so. For example, the first Greek newspaper, titled *Ephemeris*, whose first issue appeared in Vienna in 1790, looked like a book and was coming out twice a week.

In the case of the English compound word "newspaper", it is obvious that the first noun is important to this definition exercise. We should bear in mind, however, that the "news" in the 18th century differed dramatically from what we think of as the "news" published nowadays. In a letter of 1794, Georgios Afxentiadis Zoupaniotis writes to Konstantinos Koumas:

> You are asking about the gazetes, what they are, and the noveles, ephimerides, saitunkia, from Zeit, which means time in German. These are printed in Vienna by dedicated people, including every item that is new in the whole of Europe, and Turkey, and – so to speak – in the whole world, and everybody who loves and is eager to learn about the new things concerning the wars and other events, pays 14 florins to receive them biweekly.[5]

It seems clear to Afxentiadis that despite the different terms used to describe such publications, content and use played a significant role.

The Greek ephemeris

The small number of Greek *ephemeridoperiodika* of the Enlightenment era, mostly printed in Vienna from the 1790s up to the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, signaled the beginnings of the Greek press.

4 Samuel 1965, 1–12.

5 Academy of Athens, Digital archives, KEMNE collection: *Ioannis Oikonomou Larissaios Codex~1~059-60*, Letter, copy, "Georgios Auxentiadis [Zoupaniotis] to Konstantinos [Koumas]", 15 January 1794. Also, Tabaki 2005, 93. The Greek words are written as follows: *γαζέταις* [gazettes], *νοβέλαις* [novels], *εφημερίδες* [ephimerides], *ζαϊτούνκια* [Zeitungen].

Their size and look were similar to books and their articles were primarily educational and encyclopaedic.[6] Nine years later, the Greek state was established and it was recognized for the first time by the Great Powers in February 1830 through the London Protocol.

Although the printing of Greek has a history almost as old as that of other European countries, as the first book set entirely in that language came out in 1476,[7] systematic printing and accordingly publishing in the area of what is now Greece only started in the 1820s, after the uprising against Ottoman rule. But before the appearance of the first printed newspaper of the Greek Revolution in August 1821, a handful of handwritten ones were produced. There was an urgent need to convey the message of the struggle, not only across the country but also abroad, and the handwritten papers constituted the only alternative to the absolute lack of printing equipment and materials, as well as of experienced craftsmen.[8]

Social, political, economic, and cultural factors played a significant role throughout time, shaping not only the character of the medium called newspapers, but also that of their readership. In cases such as Greece, we should be prepared to further discuss a number of special "contextual issues" that affected the character of the *ephemerides*. Here is an example: the extent of road construction, even as late as 1867, did not exceed 381 kilometers in the whole country; obviously, this situation had, among other things, a major impact on newspaper production and distribution. In general, the idiosyncratic development of printing in the country created a condition that affected not only the practice but also the study of the art.

Some scholars claim that newspapers were not strictly printed artefacts, for they could also be published in non-printed forms. Indeed, there is an element of truth in this statement but it would be hard to deny that the birth of the *ephemeris* in the modern sense owes much to the invention of the printing press and that its growth is closely related to technological advancements.[9] Apart from the nature of the newspaper that can be studied through its content and readership, there is always the actual artefact – the examination of its physical properties is important to understand how and why it was produced. Different characteristics need to be described and analyzed through a discussion of areas such as the design, the methods and materials, and the producers. Finally, regardless of the "form", it is hardly disputable that the need for communication lies at the core of all attempts towards the publication of an *ephemeris*.

6 For a discussion about the layout and the production of these early newspapers, see Mastoridis 1999, 24–74.
7 Koumarianou, Droulia & Layton 1988, 49.
8 Mastoridis 1999, 75, 78.
9 For such a discussion, see Atwood 1993.

The Greek handwritten ephemeris *of the 19th century*

Three handwritten newspapers are known to have been produced in the early 1820s, after the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire began, but only two survived. Information about the newspaper of Galaxidi, also known as "*pseudoephemerida*" because of the lies printed as facts in it, is based on a single reference from almost 150 years ago.[10] Five issues of *Aetoliki*, the handwritten *ephemeris* that was coming out at five-day intervals in Messolonghi between August and September 1821, are now known, as well as a single issue of the third paper of this group, *Acheloos*, that was produced on 24 February 1822 in Vrachori (Agrinio).

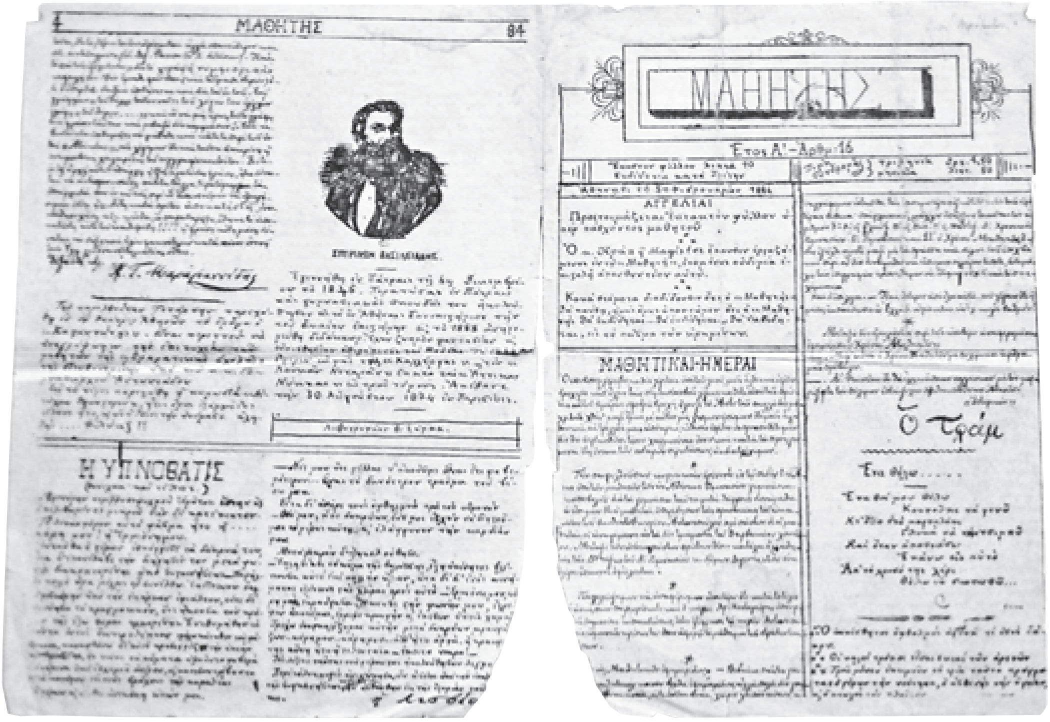
No information has yet been traced as to how many copies of these newspapers were produced. The way in which they were produced, however, makes the gathering of such data almost impossible. The first copy was written by the originator, who might also have produced a couple more, and then it was reproduced by others, in Greece or abroad. An indication of the need for single-leaf documents – such as official proclamations and acts printed by the Central Administration – might, however, give us a rough idea; in a letter sent on 8 February 1822 from the senators of Western Greece to the Minister of the Interior we read that "fifty copies of each act are not enough in order to please everybody in Western Greece..."[11]

Acheloos is bigger in size than *Aetoliki* (430x265 against 390x240mm) but apart from that their layout is very similar, with their arrangement falling within the conventions of the double-column printed newspapers. They both bear a masthead but *Acheloos*' is more thoroughly organized and better executed; overall, *Acheloos*' content is carefully arranged and "the 'imitation' of different sizes of the letters, from the title down to the text letters, and the symmetrical placement of the headings owe much to printing conventions. Moreover, the lines under the first and second title, as well as the double line underneath the date, show a printing influence."[12] The first printed newspaper produced on Greek soil was titled *Salpinx Elleniki* [Greek Trumpet] and its first issue came out in August 1821 in Kalamata.

A special kind of ephemeris*: The satirical press*

As was the case with the *ephemerides* of the 1820s, two examples dating from the last decades of the 19th century show clearly that decisions favoring the production of Greek handwritten newspapers were absolutely technology-dependent. The first is probably the earliest lithographed example of a Greek handwritten newspaper; the weekly *Mathitis* [Student] was printed at the "lithographeion of Th. Sarkas" in Athens in 1886. [Figure 1.]

10 Sathas 1868–1869, 212–216.
11 Mastoridis 1999, 78.
12 For more on the layout of *Acheloos*, see Ibid., 75–78.


ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ 84

ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ

Ετος Α'- Αριθ. 16

ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΙ

ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΑΙ-ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

Η ΥΠΝΟΒΑΤΙΣ

Ο Τράμ

Figure 1. Mathitis.

Lithography was employed as an alternative to the dominant letterpress, offering to the editor of *Mathitis* the freedom to produce his handwritten newspaper quickly and in as many multiple copies as necessary.[13] The size of this short-lived *ephemeris* was 315x235mm, the text was divided in two columns, and the headlines were all in capital letters. The arrangement of all title matter, with information about subscription fees, imitated that of the newspapers printed by letterpress. Even a feuilleton is found on the lower part of the second page, continuing onto the last one. The handwriting ornamentation and illustrations, as well as the personal signatures of the contributors underneath their pieces (articles, poems etc.), made *Mathitis* look different from other newspapers.

Twelve years later another handwritten lithographed newspaper appeared, but it was for only one issue and can be accounted for by special circumstances. The weekly satirical *Sphyra* [Hammer] first came out in 1896 measuring 347x246mm, and according to the Ministry of Interior Affairs official figures published in 1900, it had a circulation of 2000 copies.[14] The Sunday 11 October 1898 issue was handwritten and lithographically printed due to a (letterpress) printers' strike. Its editor, M. Athanasiadis, apologized to readers for the handwritten issue, saying that some of them may think that

13 About lithography, its techniques, use and impact, see the works by Michael Twyman. For example, Twyman 1998, 47–50, as well as Twyman 2001.

14 Ministry of Interior Affairs 1900.

it was "written with the feet." However, in a small "statement" addressed to the editor, one of the paper's contributors wrote:

> The printers' strike broke out onto our pens. Enough troubles we had with the letterpress misprints, now we must worry about the lithographed mistakes too... I'm afraid, I now realise that my handwriting is not as miserable as I used to think before I lithographed this, and thus I lose all chance of not being read. Conclusion: If lithography became popular, as popular as the lithographed hearts of the young ladies, the teachers of calligraphy would die from starvation, exactly as the letterpress printers would. However, because they are angry due to the strike, I will not make such a wish now but I will state that if you are going to publish another lithographed issue I will not write and I will stop bothering your readers.[15]

The articles in both lithographed examples referred to above were first written by the editor and the contributors themselves on transfer paper; then, they were transferred to the stone in reverse and in the end they were printed the correct way round. It seems some of them were anxious as to whether their "calligraphy" would be legible or not. Nevertheless, there was no reason for the contributor to *Sphyra* to reconsider his opinion: after that issue, the newspaper continued to be printed letterpress.

Most of the time the overall style and playful content of the satirical newspapers was reflected in their layout too. This was especially true for the handwritten ones, which were more "loosely" designed without any pretentious attempts to imitate slavishly their printed counterparts. Almost all editors tried to come up with an interesting masthead, which occasionally turned out to be an elaborate text and image combination. Not so much due to the paper sizes employed, but mainly because their producers were trapped in a printing conventions logic, two and less frequently, three-column arrangements were preferred to accommodate their content. But in general, the layout of most handwritten papers, especially those of the 1880s, looks similar to the arrangement of the ones printed by letterpress.

ELIA, the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive based in Athens, is the place where a good number of mostly satirical, Greek handwritten newspapers of the late 19th and early 20th century are preserved; they constitute part of a voluminous corpus of publications that belong to this genre. The moving spirit behind the unrivalled collections and the great work accomplished by ELIA, the late Manos Haritatos, wrote in 2002:

> Why the handwritten form after all? An immediate response would be that there are many practical reasons for this: absence – or for any other reason unavailability – of a printing press, without excluding the possibility of a decision based on aesthetics. When somebody feels an urgent need to communicate (not just once and in one way), then he devotes the necessary effort and time to create a handwritten newspaper. In most cases, special care is given to the imitation of a printed, 'regular/normal' newspaper. The masthead is very important; there are elaborate logos, artistic, sometimes completely childish and other imitations of

15 Mastoridis 1999, 264–265.

> the 'adult printed matter'. As far as the content is concerned, the existing variety depends on the kind of the paper and the readership, to which it is directed, as well as of the age, the mood and the interests of the editor or the editors. The handwritten newspaper constitutes a valuable asset, for each issue is unique.[16]

In 1983 Anastasios Peponis wrote that "the satirical papers belong to a noteworthy category of newspapers... The political satire constituted one of the basic means of political control and of expression of the tendencies prevailing in public opinion."[17] Despite the fact that satirical newspapers have been classed as "underground" publications along with a number of left-wing, socialist and anarchist publications, neither their circulation nor their content justified such an action. Furthermore, the introduction of caricatures into Greek newspapers and the unconventional style of writing, which inspired many journalists of the "sober" press, owed much to these papers. The fact that they have been seen as second-class publications led to their condemnation into oblivion. Things would have been even worse if a number of Greek dailies had not been direct descendants of satirical newspapers, something that helped the latter to find indirectly a place in the history of the Greek press.

Social units and their handwritten ephemerides

In an article from 1993 Roy Alden Atwood stated that "communities capable of publishing a newspaper were not just geographically fixed entities, like towns or cities, but included social units that could be geographically mobile, like soldiers, sailors, construction crews, or train passengers."[18] The most identifiable communities that published handwritten Greek newspapers were the Asia Minor front soldiers, after their retreat at the beginning of the 1920s, and communist political prisoners and exiles, mainly of the period 1936–1949.

The largest number of handwritten newspapers produced during the last stage of the Greek military expedition in Asia Minor could be regarded as part of the broad family of satirical Greek newspapers, mainly due to their content. Many of them were reproduced by the use of spirit duplicators that were kept at military headquarters. The weekly *I Loghi* [The Spear], for example, has an elaborated masthead that covers ¼ of its front page; a spear cutting through the three-dimensional capital letters of the title. Information is well arranged, the letters are thoughtfully designed, and an impressive – in execution – image, drawn within a circular area, covers more than half of the page area of the 16 April 1922 issue. Although there are distinct differences among the various newspapers in relation to the quality of their graphic language, their overall arrangement imitates that of the printed papers. *To Tsarouchi* [The Rustic Shoe] of May 1922 constitutes another such example.

16 Haritatos 2005, 506.
17 Peponis 1983, 112.
18 Atwood 1993, 450.

Figure 2. I Loghi *(left) and* To Tsarouchi *(right).*

[Figure 2.] The campaign, which started in 1919 and ended up with the catastrophic defeat of the Greek army in 1922, led to a massive and violent exchange of populations. According to Konstantinos Papalexandrou, around twenty handwritten papers were probably published between 1921 and 1922. In a 1929 article he wrote:

> Boredom was the main reason behind the publication of the ephemerides of the Asia Minor front; they sprung up as the army, after the retreat from Sangarios, settled in permanent camps without any military activities ... The front had its own life, its own psychology and interests, sentiments, emotions and gossip – which the Athenian Press could not even think of ... This strange community had its own needs, one of which was for members to communicate with each other.[19]

The above extract provides some hints for answering the question who were the originators, editors and publishers of these newspapers? There is, however, a parallel story with a strong political aspect that needs further research. A small number of communist soldiers of the Asia Minor front risked their lives communicating their strong anti-military views through the publication of their newspapers.[20]

19 Papalexandrou 1929, 224.
20 Harontakis 2003, 18–26.

Two decades later, in the first issue of *Avgi* [Dawn], a 1943 handwritten newspaper published by EPON (United Panhellenic Organisation of Youth) in Efxinoupoli, the front-page editorial read as follows: "After many sacrifices and efforts we have managed to publish the first issue, handwritten, because we are encountering large technical difficulties. We hope that later, after improving our finances, we will be able to present a better paper, design and content wise."[21]

In the case of Greece, political prisoners and exiles were the most active and important originators of handwritten *ephemerides* in the 20th century. During the 1930s dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas, Second World War, and the Greek Civil War of 1946–1949, the sociopolitical conditions in Greece led to the production of a large number of handwritten newspapers, something that was to be repeated, though in a different context and on a smaller scale, during the years of the military dictatorship of 1967–1974. The defeat of the communists during the Civil War signaled the repeat of attacks and repression against them which was to last for the next twenty five years. Left-wingers were persecuted and sent to prisons, labor camps, and into exile. For example, almost 30,000 people were detained in August 1950 on the island of Makronisos. These communities, under dramatically difficult conditions, managed to produce a significant corpus of handwritten newspapers whose content tried to help people survive with dignity.[22] A large number of these handwritten newspapers were discovered after a flood in the basement of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) building in Perissos, Athens, in 1994.[23]

Apart from the broadsheets, which were to be hung on a door or the wall, measuring from 580x860 to 500x1350mm, there were also others published with four or more pages and in small sizes (210x300, 300x400mm etc.).[24] Many were written as single copies and their content was read aloud at group gatherings; the latter being an old common practice in the history of the press worldwide. Others were reproduced through the use of carbon paper, a few were copied by hectographs and rarely – when prisoners managed to have access – by the use of manually driven duplicators.

Among the many impressive – in terms of their typographic execution – examples, we find *Desmotis Agonistis* and *Filakismeni Agonistria* [Imprisoned Fighter] and *I Efimeridoula mas* [Our Small Newspaper] of 1946, as well as *Eleftheros Desmotis* [Free Prisoner] of 1957, and *Spitha* [Spark]. [Figure 3.] At first sight, it becomes clear that those responsible for their production spent time making great efforts to achieve a pseudo-printed result, not only in the overall design of the paper (macrotypography) but also in the very structure and arrangement of the letters (microtypography). Common sense design issues, like the hierarchy of various information units or legibility

21 *Avgi*, Year 1, issue 1 (1 December 1943), Efxinoupoli, item no. A3.1.3.4.4., Educational Centre, Library–Archive "Charilaos Florakis", Athens, Greece (offered by ELIA). A significant collection of Greek underground newspapers of 1936–1974 is kept by the Contemporary Social History Archives (ASKI) in Athens.

22 See, for example, the Anafi case in Kenna 2008, 115–157. For a discussion about the role of handwritten newspapers in popular movements, see Salmi-Niklander 1997.

23 Servos 2003.

24 For a contemporary approach to wall newspapers' reality, see Crowley 2007.

ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΕΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ
1 τοῦ Μάη
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΕΤΑΙ
ΑΠΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΧΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ
ΑΡ 20

ΦΥΛΑΚΙΣΜΕΝΗ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΡΙΑ

ΟΡΓΑΝΟ ΟΜΑΔΑΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΙΣΜΕΝΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΝ. ΕΘΝ. ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΗΣ

ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΓΙΑ

Ἀπ' τὴ Ζωή μας

Τὰ Ἑλληνικά

ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΗΜΑ

Πάσχα μὲς τὴ φυλακή

Η ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΜΑΣ

Ἡ ἐπίσκεψη τοῦ ΕΑΜ στὴ φυλακή μας

Στὴν Ε.Α. μας

ΠΑΣΧΑΛΙΑΤΙΚΟ

Figure 3. Filakismeni Agonistria.

when reading under difficult conditions, are taken into consideration. If the handwritten letters of the scribes of the 1820s *Acheloos*, for example, owe much to the Aldine/Garamond printing types, which were based on calligraphic forms of the 15th and 16th century, the letterforms created for the headings of *Filakismeni Agonistria* or the masthead of *Spitha* imitate – with a certain degree of freedom due to the methods and the tools employed – the printing types found in printers' typecases.

The "imitation" of different letter sizes, from the title down to the text letters, and the symmetrical placement of the headings, owe much to printing

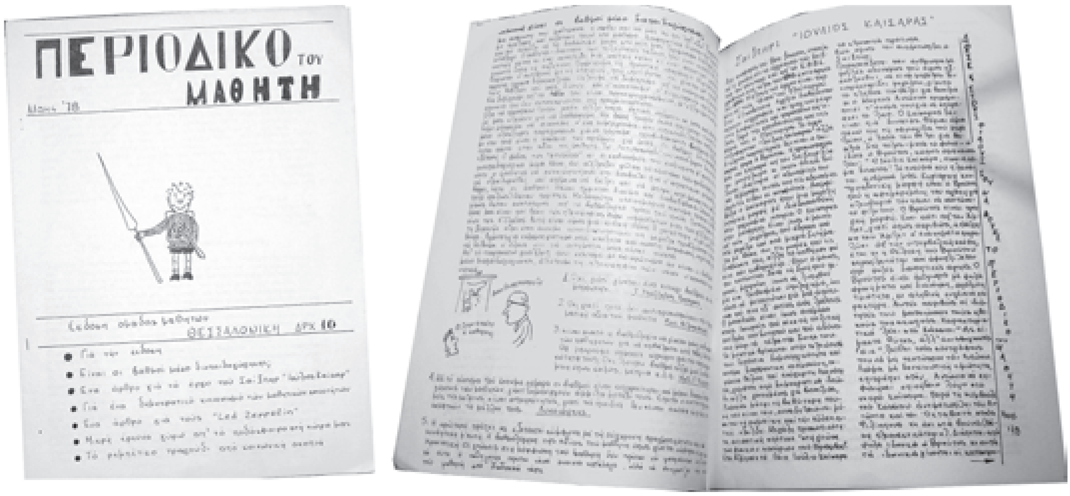


Figure 4. Periodiko tou Mathiti.

conventions. Similarly, the way the originators integrated text and images, or even the "look" of the latter, drawings and caricatures alike, relates directly to printing conventions and style. Some use a second color, but even a few fully colored examples can be found. Mostly from oral testimonies we know that those who could write beautifully were chosen to perform this duty – something confirmed by visual evidence. Others developed their skills in a technique called *psilographia* (handwriting in tiny but legible letters) so that editors could make the best possible use of the space available. When we talk about "editors", in the case of these newspapers it is obvious that various people were involved in the writing as well as in the production process. Somebody, on behalf of the communist party, had overall supervision and was responsible for the content of these publications.

Conclusion

Communication is at the core of all past attempts at publishing a handwritten newspaper, exactly as it is in the case of the machine-made or the printed ones. Communication was also at the heart of our attempt to produce a handwritten periodical as secondary school students in the late 1970s. The decision to do it that way was mostly resource-dependent; we could not afford the photocomposition costs. Everything was handwritten and then printed by offset litho. Flipping through its A4 pages now, forty years after publication, I realize that the overall design of the issue of May 1978 of the *Periodiko tou Mathiti* [The Student's Magazine] looks unconventional. [Figure 4.] This is not so much because it departed from common patterns found in printed items as because of its handwritten flavor. Moreover, as it was meant to be a journal and not a newspaper – something that was clearly stated in the inaugural editorial – this had an obvious effect on "design" decisions. For example, a blank page follows the front page, there is a mixture of single and double-column arrangements in the same double spread, "promotional" text runs vertically on a page, and, finally, the overall arrangement of the front page is much closer to that of a periodical. *The Student's Magazine* example indicates the importance of the physical properties of an artefact when studying its nature through content and readership.

As was stated in the beginning of this chapter, research on the design and printing history of the Greek *ephemerides* remains limited mainly due to a lack of local and national records centers and accessible specialized archives, but also due to the poorly organized and maintained libraries within the country; the latter were hit hard by the financial crisis in past years. Furthermore, the ephemeral nature of the newspaper turns the preservation of records and artefacts into a cyclopean task, especially in a country like Greece where politics always intrudes into everyday life. This is even more true of the handwritten *ephemerides*; their non-print (or non-mechanically reproduced) nature – even when they "came out" in multiple copies and not as single items to be hung on a wall – placed them until recently in a field not worth studying. The way in which they were originated and used was most of the times governed by special conditions which need to be further researched. This is a difficult task due to the nature and scarcity of the material. Hopefully, the digitization projects that have been initiated by a number of Greek libraries on EU funds will continue, thus providing a chance for researchers to study the existing artefacts of a scribal culture which constitutes an integral part of Greek visual graphic language history.

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Social practices and in-group communication

III

Christian Berrenberg
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6132-9115

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0552-1801

Handwritten Newspapers and Community Identity in Finnish and Norwegian Student Societies and Popular Movements

Publishing and editing practices in the production of handwritten newspapers have served as a means for creating, strengthening, and upholding communities based on their local, ideological or professional identity. Our aim in this chapter is to explore these practices and community identities on the basis of our research on handwritten newspapers in Finnish student organizations and popular movements (Kirsti Salmi-Niklander) and in the Norwegian labor movement (Christian Berrenberg). The most common form of handwritten newspapers in Finland and Norway was as a single manuscript copy, which was published by being read aloud at meetings and social evenings.[1]

Handwritten newspapers are a hybrid medium of print, manuscript and oral communication. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander[2] applies Margaret Ezell's term "social authorship" in interpreting their special features and complex social meanings. Criticizing the simplified idea of the early modern manuscript medium, Margaret Ezell argues against equating "public" with "published", and "private" with "personal." She describes the social sphere of writing that resides between the private and the public spheres, in which texts are produced collectively, and are available to an extensive, albeit select, group of people.[3] Handwritten newspapers created by individual writers were produced for others to read and directly to comment on. The production of individual pieces tended to be collective: many people participated in the creation of a single text.

"Literacy practices" and "literary practices" are basic terms in our research and have somewhat different meanings. "Literacy practices" are closely related to "literacy events," a term used by Shirley Brice Heath. A written text has a strong effect on the interaction and interpretation

1 We have explored Swedish handwritten newspapers to some extent. They were common in Swedish student organizations and popular movements, but little research has so far been conducted on these materials. See Ambjörnsson 1988; Josephson 1996; Burman 2013.
2 Salmi-Niklander 2013a.
3 Ezell 1999, 22–40; 2015.

processes of the participants in a literacy event.[4] David Barton summarizes the relationship between a literacy event and literacy practice as follows: "Literacy practices are general cultural ways of utilizing literacy that people draw up upon in a literacy event."[5] As Niko Besnier points out in *Literacy, Emotion and Authority*, "a focus on practice entails that close attention be paid to persons as social agents, as loci of understanding, and as intentional or (more commonly) unwitting mediators between social structure and everyday action, the macroscopic and the microscopic, and the past and the present."[6] The term "literary practice," which was developed by Schröder & Grage[7] and applied to handwritten newspapers by Berrenberg, reflects the re-negotiation of the concept of literature around 1900, when new technologies, and faster and more extensive methods of publication challenged the literary field and led to a reassessment of the relationship between "good" literature and mere entertainment.[8] Literature, understood as literary practice, is in this sense both text and practice and allows for a broad analysis of handwritten newspapers with regard to its production, its performance and how it is perceived.

Even though handwritten newspapers have been produced in very different communities, common practices were adopted in their production. Their reading aloud could be described as a literacy event, occurring within a complex system of literacy practices. Oral publishing facilitated direct oral feedback. The use of pseudonyms was a common practice in both handwritten and printed texts in 19th-century Finland. According to Laura Stark, editors of printed newspapers encouraged new local correspondents recruited from the peasantry and the landless to sign their texts with their real names, or at least to give their name to the editors.[9] Many of the more experienced editors encouraged the use of pseudonyms in handwritten newspapers, however.[10] Sometimes the norms of pseudonymous publishing were set out in the minutes of editorial meetings, and the editor-in-chief was not supposed to reveal the real identity of the contributors to other members of the community.

Both "social authorship" and "literacy/literary practices" emphasize the social nature of writing. Conceiving of handwritten newspapers as social authorship sets the focus on individual writers. How did they utilize various means of publication (oral, scribal, print) and communication networks? On the other hand, analyzing their production as literacy or literary practices sets the focus on the community. How were the norms of collective and collaborative writing (editing, anonymity, censorship and contents) established, negotiated and maintained? Both perspectives are relevant in the research on orality and literacy in local communities, but our focus in this

4 Heath 1982, 93–94.
5 Barton 1991, 5; 2000.
6 Besnier 1995, 4.
7 Schröder & Grage 2012.
8 Berrenberg 2012; 2013
9 Stark 2011, 51–59.
10 This was the case in the first handwritten newspapers edited in Finnish agrarian youth societies in Ostrobothnia. Salmi-Niklander 2013b, 400.

chapter is on the literacy/literary practices and their role in the formation of community identity.

Medium, practices and contents

Handwritten newspapers tended to follow the printed press in their layout. Texts were written in columns decorated with drawings or glued-in pictures from other publications. The covers of many handwritten newspapers from the Norwegian labor movement are works of art depicting current events of general or local interest, overwritten by a calligraphic version of the newspaper's title. It was common practice to publish several issues in larger single-copy notebooks, in which the content of the newspapers was either written directly or gathered from loose pieces of writing. The editor(s) are named on the cover of each issue, very often as being responsible for several consecutive issues. The material appearance of handwritten newspapers in Finland varied a great deal: student societies in the 19th century had extravagant, illustrated papers, which sometimes had a half-printed front page. Some of those edited in the labor movement and agrarian youth societies were elaborately illustrated, but many were written in empty notebooks, and rather resembled a diary or a commonplace book.

Handwritten newspapers cannot be described simply in terms of their medial or textual form given the unique way in which they were both produced and received. Depending on the social and institutional context, each one could have been written by many authors. The process of editing and revising articles and issues is usually traceable through notes, insertions and cancellations. Some papers gave their readers the opportunity to add their own articles and comments – such as, in a very sophisticated way, in *Fyrstikka*, the handwritten newspaper of a Norwegian workers' youth club, which has an envelope glued to the last page with the words "All loose existences are to be placed in here. Please add date to excrement."[11]

Although many handwritten newspapers were read by being passed around among the audience, or were placed at a central point in the club's facilities, most were disseminated orally. The newspaper was commonly read aloud in meetings in front of an audience numbering between a dozen up to several hundreds of people, and sometimes was staged either by the editor or a member of the club. This activity was a main item on the agenda of every club meeting of the Norwegian labor movement, and on more grand occasions the newspaper might be presented both to entertain and to inform the guests, or to provoke discussion on current political developments.

The textual content of the newspapers varied greatly in terms of genre and theme. Typical genres parody those of the printed press: news, reports, leaders and advertisements. Parody is embedded in the imitation of print in handwritten newspapers, expressed in the layout, the illustrations and the

11 Bryn AUL håndskrevet lagsavis "*Fyrstikka*" ("Tendstikka") 1926–1928. ArbarkNO: Archive "Bryn AUL" (ARK-1424/F). "Heri legges alle löse Eksistenser! Påför dato på Ekskrementene!"

"editorial remarks." Learning to use and interpret irony and parody was one of the major skills that were developed in schools and universities, and in popular movements, although such skills were acquired in informal, even forbidden activities rather than via the formal curriculum. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander observed two kinds of parody in the handwritten newspapers of working-class young people in early 20th-century Finland: ideological parody was targeted at political opponents, whereas generic parody involved playing with literary conventions and linguistic norms.[12]

"Local event narrative" is one of the typical genres used in handwritten newspapers, outlined and analyzed by Kirsti Salmi-Niklander.[13] These narratives tend to be simple and laconic, but sometimes they are very elaborate depictions of events in the local community, such as meetings, outings, social evenings, and sports occasions. The newspapers also served as means of documenting local and community history: genres related to community history include annual chronicles and transcriptions of speeches, jokes, and songs that were performed at meetings and celebrations.

Although the mass media, particularly the press, had its heyday in the late 19th century as it became easier both technically and financially to print and publish on a larger scale using new and cheaper printing techniques, handwritten newspapers did not disappear in proportion to the rise of the press. Quite the contrary: in certain communities (e.g. the labor movement, the Finnish agrarian youth movement, and student societies) there was a clear rise in their number. This is indicative of the fact that these newspapers were not mere carbon copies of another medium, but represented a unique medium in themselves. One handwritten newspaper is still being published in Norway, by Trondheim's student society: first published in 1910, it is claimed to be Scandinavia's oldest student paper. Entitled The Prophet [*Propheten*], it is published as a wall-newspaper with almost exclusively satirical content.

The functions of handwritten newspapers

Although handwritten newspapers were compiled by people from different social classes, many of their producers and recipients were disadvantaged: oppressed politically by authorities or culturally by hegemonic groups, educationally underprivileged, and very often also structurally and financially deprived. All of these hindrances made it difficult if not impossible to produce and use official and more sophisticated publishing methods. The handwritten newspaper enabled these communities to create a more or less segregated public sphere with minimal financial and personal resources. However, it did not simply imitate the printed press as a substitute for something that could not be achieved. Given the close relationship between the producers and the recipients, it represented a medium with more or at least different functions than the press.

12 Salmi-Niklander 2007.
13 Salmi-Niklander 2014; 2015; 2017.

According to Rolf Hofmo in a newspaper article from the 1920s, one of the main functions of the handwritten newspaper aimed at labor communities was to activate silent members of the club: "Not everyone can speak at once, but most people can write, even if it's just a bit."[14] In particular, the process of writing the newspaper served an important training function for members of local communities, enabling them to write for wider audiences and thereby develop their political commitment. On the lowest educational level, too, the handwritten newspaper served a training purpose. University students in Finland could practice and use Finnish, their "new" language that replaced Swedish as the hegemonic standard language; in Norway, members of the "language movement" were publishing handwritten newspapers in the new Norwegian literary language *nynorsk*[15], which was meant to replace the Danish-based literary language *bokmål*. Writers who were already skilled could develop their style by publishing texts in handwritten newspapers that offered space for completely different genres than were common in the labor movement. Instead of being limited to stylistically rigid minutes or protocols, writers could experiment with literary genres for a change.

Whereas minutes represented the official documentation of community activities and resolutions, handwritten newspapers documented the decision-making process, commenting on and at times ridiculing it. Apart from being able to express ideas that would not have been approved by the authorities, community members could also rebel against authoritarian leadership within the community. In political movements in particular, the handwritten newspaper thereby provided a training ground in terms of understanding democratic structures.

Given the close relationship between the producers and the recipients, both spatially and mentally, the practice of publishing a handwritten newspaper was highly interactive and collaborative. Readers could easily become writers, and writers could become presenters attracting new readers. The fact that practically anyone could contribute to the publishing process is reflected in the vernacular language of the articles. However, this does not necessarily mean that all authors of linguistically less substantial articles were less highly educated or less intellectual than authors of articles in the printed press. Most articles were written to be performed in what was often an intimate context, requiring a different, more vernacular and oral style. They were manuscripts for oral performance, not pieces of text to be disseminated as such in the press, and after the performance they were discussed among the audience. Handwritten newspapers could thus be described as a quasi-synchronic form of communication[16] compared on the one hand to the press or a book, which are completely asynchronic, and on the other hand to a telephone call, which is synchronic.

14 Hofmo, Rolf: "Lagsarbeidets organisering. (For 'Klassekampen' av Rolf Hofmo)", *Klassekampen* 13:30 (1922); *Den røde ungdom* 2:26–27 (1924). "Det er ikke alle som kan snakke med engang, men de fleste kan skrive, om det end er aldrig saa lite."

15 Almenningen, Løkensgard Hoel, Pilskog & Tangen 2003.

16 Dürscheid 2003.

The significance of the newspaper within the activities of communities, the involvement of many people at any one time, and the high status of the artefact handwritten newspaper as evidenced in the artistically decorated issues and the often well-preserved booklets, show that they represented an integral part of the respective groups, enforcing community identity both outwards and inwards. Alfred Nilsen, long-term editor of *Samfunnsavisa*, the handwritten newspaper of Oslo's labor communities, puts this in a nutshell: "It [the handwritten newspaper] is rather an important document for the present and the future, as well as it is an organ for Oslo workers' club, which through its significance and commitment for the development of society is about to become a legend. Newspaper and protocol represent the pride of an organization with traditions."[17] One of the purposes of handwritten newspapers was to record events and activities "for historians in times to come", as young working-class poet Kössi Ahmala stated in 1914 in his first leader for the handwritten newspaper *Nuorukainen*, edited by the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Club.[18]

Finnish university students and young workers

Handwritten papers were popular in the students' societies [*konventti*] of Finnish secondary schools and in upper- and middle-class families during the first half of the 19th century.[19] The main reason for their revitalization as a medium for political discussion was the strict censorship and control of student activities during the rule of Czar Nicholas I. This was related to the unstable political situation in Europe after the revolutionary year of 1848. Provincial student organizations [*osakunta*, "nations"] were prohibited between 1852 and 1868, even though many of them continued their activities underground. Because publishing in print was difficult, students utilized manuscript media and oral performance to discuss and distribute their ideas.[20]

Two case studies highlight the communities in which handwritten newspapers were edited in 19th- and early 20th-century Finland. The first is the Savo-Karelian provincial student society, which was founded in 1833 and had its heyday in the 1880s, when new ideologies such as liberalism, socialism, and the women's cause were hotly debated among students. The majority of students in the Savo-Karelian student society supported Fennomanian ideology, promoting the Finnish language and identity and

17 Nilsen, Alfred: "No title", *Samfunds-Avisen* (26 October 1929). ArbarkNO: Archive "Oslo arbeidersamfunn" (ARK-1113/E). "Den er tvertimot et viktig aktestykke for nutid og fremtid, saasandt som den er organ for Oslo Arbeidersamfund om hvis betydning og innsats i samfundsutviklingen der er iferd med aa danne sig en legende./ Avis og protokoll er stoltheten for en organisasjon med tradisjoner."

18 Cf. the papers by Michał Salamonik and Heiko Droste in this volume, highlighting the importance of printed newspapers for the understanding of history according to 17th-century tracts.

19 Salmi-Niklander 2013a, 77; Haavikko 1998, 202–203; Krook 1949, 203–211.

20 Klinge 1967, 135–137; Ruutu 1939, 65–66; Salmi-Niklander 2013a, 77; 2018.

arguing against the Swedish-speaking elite.[21] The handwritten society paper *Savo-Karjalainen* was founded in 1864.

The second case study is the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Society, which was founded in 1899 but had its heyday during the years 1914–1918, preceding the Civil War of 1918. The society attracted working-class young people who had moved to Helsinki from different parts of Finland. It produced two handwritten newspapers, *Nuorukainen* [The Young Man, 1899–1929] and *Itseopiskelijat* [The Self-Educated, 1915–1929]. *Nuorukainen* served as an alternative medium for young working-class intellectuals leading the society, and the latter as a training ground for less experienced writers.[22]

Finland was officially at war during the First World War, but Finns were not called to arms by the Russian government. The official state of war brought strict censorship and control of organizational activities. Aarne Arajärvi reflected on the spontaneous *communitas* created in the group of working-class young people in the Christmas issue of *Nuorukainen* 1915. Formal meetings were forbidden once the First World War had begun, and the members met each other on the frozen sea gulf in the middle of Helsinki:

> However many evenings we met each other there, the ice always had its peculiar charm, whether it was raining or blowing. The dusky silence on the ice, where the noise of the city only came as distant waves, suited our emotions very well.[23]

Both the Savo-Karelian student society and the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Club functioned as semi-public spheres, in which new ideas and practices could be discussed and tested in close interaction. Meetings and social evenings provided opportunities for developing skills in different performative genres (speech-making, telling comic stories, drama, singing), and these performances were evaluated by other members. Various social events (club and social evenings, meetings, canvassing tours, sports competitions, music and drama performances, public speeches and lectures) were documented, commented on and discussed in handwritten newspapers and other written records.

The most significant event for collective self-reflection in the Savo-Karelian student society was the annual celebration in February,[24] with many speeches reflecting the most memorable events of the previous year. Transcripts of these speeches were preserved in the archives. Remembering deceased members was an important part of them. On the other hand, each year a member of the society was elected to write the annual review: a separate account was written for the fall and the spring term. These historical records varied quite a lot depending on the writer: some of them were quite formal lists of events, whereas other writers gave more reflective accounts of political discussions and turning points.

21 Ruutu 1939.

22 Salmi-Niklander 2011; 2015.

23 *Nuorukainen*, Christmas issue 1915; Salmi-Niklander 2011, 24–25.

24 Celebrating the statute of February 1865, which promoted the use of the Finnish language in official situations.

Handwritten newspapers contained information on many intense discussions and arguments that went on in these communities. The most heated debates in the Savo-Karelian student society were between conservative and radical members, and religion was "the hottest potato". Most of the texts in the handwritten *Savo-Karjalainen* were published under pseudonyms, which was common practice. It seems that the editor-in-chief was the only one who actually knew the identity of each writer, and he was not supposed to reveal the real identity behind the pseudonym.

Members of the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Society debated on socialist politics and aesthetic ideals. However, the most intense argument was related to the cause of women and arose in January 1916. Maiju Lehti had been elected as the first female editor-in-chief of *Nuorukainen*. The editor-in-chief usually read the paper aloud during social evenings. Maiju Lehti refused to read out a text written by Aarne Arajärvi, which she thought was insulting to prostitutes and to women in general. The original text is not included in the preserved issues of *Nuorukainen*, but it was discussed in detail: apparently, it was a dialogue on prostitutes conducted by three young men, one of whom felt that prostitutes had no prospects for improvement. In the end, it was the writer who read out the text, and many young men commented on the debate.[25] Matters discussed in great detail in *Savo-Karjalainen* included annual festivals and club evenings, whereas writers representing the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Society focused on boat excursions to the summer resort of Tuurholma and other local events. The author of a story about a social evening on Palm Sunday in 1914 (*Nuorukainen*, 9 April 1914), using the pseudonym "Pessimist," depicts events from a critical perspective: the program focused on dance and party games with no enlightening elements, and many participants were apparently drunk: "Half-drunk couples sit around the table, the girls are competing to establish who could say the foulest words, the boys are laughing at them. Lemonade, tobacco smoke and accordion noises from the next room." The gender of the writer is not openly revealed, and in the end he/she returns home alone and disappointed.

Handwritten newspapers facilitated literary experimentation with different genres and styles. Pieces of realistic writing (short stories, often written in regional dialects) were published in late 19th-century student albums, whereas the handwritten newspapers included satirical and parodic pieces that were widely divergent from realistic ideals. One of the most extraordinary texts from *Savo-Karjalainen* is the lengthy story (defined in the subtitle as a "Historical novel") "The Last Sueco-manian" ["Viimeinen svekomaani", 29 November 1886, 7]. The title refers to supporters of the Swedish language, who were called "Sueco-manians," and the author uses the pseudonym "Häh?" ["Eh?"]. The story depicts a kind of utopia (or dystopia) on New Year's Eve 1999 in Jyväskylä, a small town in central Finland: it has become a large city with skyscrapers, a subway and a university. It is a family history based on reversed gender roles, which was a common theme in the late 19th century.

25 Salmi-Niklander 2011, 32–33.

> It was the year 1999 A.D. I was in a great hurry; the door from the kitchen to the parlor was open and my wife was sitting in the parlor looking towards the kitchen every now and then to see if I was being lazy. This was only a secondary job for her, however: in fact, she was writing an article for a newspaper, which like the other suburban papers – we lived in one of the suburbs of Jyväskylä – was smaller than the city papers. It came out once an hour, but not at night as most of the other papers did.[26]

In this story about Finland in 1999, only women are allowed into the university to listen to a guest lecture by a feminist professor, as the men stay at home with the children. "The Last Sueco-manian" is an odd man who suddenly appears from behind the door of the modern family house, looking for his lost brother. The satirical text had many edges: it ridiculed both Swedish-speaking Finns in the comic character of "The Last Sueco-manian," and speakers supporting the women's cause by depicting imaginary family life with reversed gender roles.

The Oslo Workers' Community

The Norwegian labor movement archives and library in Oslo contain more than 70 different handwritten newspapers published between the 1880s and the 1960s, with a peak between 1910 and 1940. According to Sigvart Tøsse, the Typographical Union started the tradition of handwritten newspapers in Norway.[27] Most of them were published in proletarian youth clubs. As in Finland, it is likely that many more handwritten newspapers are to be found in smaller local and private archives.

Norway's largest proletarian organization, The Oslo Workers' Community [*Oslo arbeidersamfunn*], produced three different handwritten newspapers: The Wasp [*Hvepsen*], which was edited by the choral society, contained reports about performances and excursions as well as the obituaries of deceased club members. The Society Paper [*Samfunnsavisa*] was similar to *Hvepsen,* but also included articles on recent political activities. The Beehive [*Bikuben*], the organ of the Youth Organization, represents the more culturally oriented handwritten newspaper with its poems and other literary contributions. It published many humorous and satirical articles, many of which ridiculed the host community's main newspaper *Samfunnsavisa*. These three handwritten newspapers show the variety in the genre. Whereas *Hvepsen* was a neat and nicely designed booklet with

26 "Leikattiin vuosilukua 1999 j. Kr. minulla oli tawattoman kova kiire; sillä owi kyökistä saliin oli auki ja salissa istui waimoni tuontuostakin silmäten kyökkiin, josko laiskottelin. Tämä oli kumminkin vain sivutyönä waimollani; sillä oikeastaan hän sepitti artikkelia erääseen sanomalehteen, joka, niin kuin muutkin esikaupungin lehdet – me, näet, asuimme yhdessä Jyväskylän esikaupungeista – oli pienempi itse emäkaupungin lehtiä. Se ilmestyi ainoastaan kerran tunnissa, mutt'ei yöllä, niin kuin useimmat muut lehdet."

27 Tøsse 1998.

little political or provocative content, *Samfunnsavisa* and *Bikuben* had more of an edge to them with regard to the political and social content and their form. Alfred Nilsen, editor of *Samfunnavisa*, reported in 1929 that the newspaper had appeared in the form of loose notes for several issues. "People come here reaching in their pockets for pieces of crinkled paper, which they read and after that everything disappears."[28] Nilsen was eager to systematize *Samfunnsavisa*'s issues, amongst others for future researchers, and to document the community's activities.

As mentioned earlier, many of the handwritten newspapers' contributors were less prominent figures. However, given that The Oslo Workers' Community was so influential in Norway's socialist political development before the First World War it is not surprising that several of its junior politicians went on to achieve prominence: amongst the authors of *Bikuben* was Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister of Norway in 1945–1951, 1955–1963 and 1963–1965.

Spheres, practices and authorship

The wide range of topics is typical of the handwritten newspapers produced in the youth clubs of the Norwegian labor movement. At first sight *Bikuben* seems to be a dull collection of jokes, amateur poetry, absurd short essays and plagiarized versions of well-known poems. Issue no. 3 from 1917, for example, contains excerpts from a so-called encyclopedia including entries on the national poet "Björnstjerne Björnson," alongside an entry on "bosom" and even on the newspaper "Bikuben":

> Bikuben. Samfundslaget's [the club's] newspaper, one of the capital's largest papers, by the way, always packed with news, lyrical insertions and obituaries of celebrities. Comes out whenever the editor Mr. Auerdahl is so inspired, every second issue fails to appear due to machine malfunctioning, every fifth for unspecified reasons. It is thus the most modern newspaper in the country.[29]

This shorter ironic insert underlines the pride the club took in its paper. It could also be seen as evidence of self-awareness in the references to *Bikuben*'s erratic publication schedule.

28 Nilsen, Alfred: "No title", *Samfunds-Avisen* (26 October 1929). ArbarkNO: Archive "Oslo arbeidersamfunn" (ARK-1113/E): "Her kommer man og trekker op av jakkelommen endel kröllete papirark, leser dem op, og efterpaa saa forsvinner alt sammen."

29 "Konversationsleksikonet", *Bikuben* no. 3 (7 December 1917). ArbarkNO: Archive "Samfundslaget, Kristiania arbeidersamfunds socialdemokratiske ungdomslag" (ARK-1440/F). "Bikuben. Samfundslagets avis, forövrig et av hovedstadens störste blade, altid pakket med nyheter, lyriske avertissementer og jublende dödsfall. Utkommer vergang redaktören Hr Auerdahl overfaldes av Aanden, hvert andet nummer uteblir paa grund av masjinskade, hvert femte paa grund av manglende grund. Altsaa landets mest moderne revolutionære avis."

However, the handwritten newspaper had functions that went beyond the microcosm of the club. One issue from 1918 contains an article written by "Eva" in which she refers to women who are too shy when it comes to saying something during a club meeting. She writes: "Why didn't we protest about this, one might ask. Why? The reason is just that – I mean – that we women are reserved, we don't like being the center of attention, we still haven't learnt to use our elbows like men do. And we would still be sitting unnoticed if a man had not interfered with his strong-arm tactics – I mean."[30] Most articles provided food for thought and later discussion. In this sense, the handwritten papers provided a training ground for political work, or as in this case for women's emancipation. It was not training behind locked doors, however, as in a study group, for example. Through these papers the club members created a public sphere, which was limited of course, but was large enough to allow budding politicians to act like real ones.

Jürgen Habermas calls this precursor of the public sphere [*Vorform der Öffentlichkeit*]:

> Even before the control over the public sphere by public authority was contested and finally wrested away by the critical reasoning of private persons on political issues, there evolved under its cover a public sphere in a political form – the literary precursor of the public sphere operative in the political domain. It provided the training ground for a critical public reflection still preoccupied with itself – a process of self-clarification of private people focusing on the genuine experiences of their novel privateness.[31]

In terms of Habermas' ideal typical development this training ground is primarily literary, in the normative sense of "fictional written works." Although mostly literary with their poems on recent political activities and songs of praise about local or national persons of interest, however, these newspapers were not exclusively so. Christian Berrenberg[32] highlights the literary quality and function of handwritten newspapers. He refers to them as an ideal type of working-class literature, taking into consideration not only definitions of the concept of "literature" that are based on the author, the text or the intended recipients, but also the literary practices evoked by or instigative of the texts.

Jürgen Habermas' term "precursor of the public sphere" could also be applied to the Finnish labor movement and student societies. However, the Finnish case studies highlight the complexities of these forms and processes. University students had already entered the public sphere, but their

30 Eva: "Til dig Sven Svensson, damernes ridder", *Bikuben* vol. 2 no. 2 (1918). ArbarkNO: Archive "Samfundslaget, Kristiania arbeidersamfunds socialdemokratiske ungdomslag" (ARK-1440/F). "Hvorfor har vi ikke protestert mot dette, kan der spørres. Ja, hvorfor? Aarsaken er simpelthen den altsaa, at vi kvinder er beskedne, vi trænger os ikke frem, vi har endnu ikke lært at bruke albuerne i den grad som mændene. Og vi hadde vel blit sittende i vor ubemerkthet, hvis ikke en mand hadde grepet ind med sin sterke haand altsaa."

31 Habermas 1991, 29.

32 Berrenberg 2014.

attempts were controlled and restrained by the authorities. The handwritten student paper *Savo-Karjalainen* served as a training ground for the public sphere, and many of its editors and contributors later became professional writers or journalists.[33] *Savo-Karjalainen* allowed for satire and literary experimentation, and conducted long debates on issues related to religion and the language struggle. Printed student publications favored realistic fiction and essays on Finnish culture. Parallel processes were valid for the young working-class intellectuals in the Helsinki Social Democratic Youth Society. Many of them had already entered the public sphere as writers, but their plans were suppressed in the tight political situation. Nevertheless, they were able to publish the first versions of their poems, essays and short stories in handwritten newspapers and received immediate feedback from the audiences. Moreover, these newspapers were the only means of publishing available to young working-class women.[34] The political stands taken sealed the fate of the writers in later life: many leading figures in society were killed in the Civil War of 1918, or they went into exile, were imprisoned or marginalized in its aftermath.[35]

The complex network of oral-literary practices in student societies and workers' associations could be interpreted as social authorship, to use Margaret Ezell's term. Pseudonyms and pen-names created and maintained a social sphere of authorship and publishing in which the identity of individual authors was hidden. The social sphere of writing facilitates literary experimentation and the discussion of delicate issues.

Norms of social authorship were created via complex literacy practices in Finnish popular movements and local communities. One of the reasons for this was the strong ideology of collective activity, which united student societies, agrarian youth movements, and the labor movement. Handwritten newspapers and other forms of scribal culture created a social, semi-public sphere in local communities. It provided useful training for public life, writing for printed publications and participation in political activities. Many self-educated people learnt to circulate between handwritten and printed publications, and between social and individual authorship. Nevertheless, for many people handwritten newspapers provided the only medium in which they could present their ideas, opinions and dreams to a wider audience.

Handwritten newspapers in both Finland and Norway served as an alternative medium in many respects. The process of editing was highly educational for the writers: people who did not have the opportunity to contribute to official journalism or other genres could publish their writing on extra-curricular and non-hegemonic topics, representing various genres and styles. On the meta-level, the alternative character of handwritten

33 These included writer Arvid Järnefelt, and the controversial socialist activists Matti Kurikka and A. B. Mäkelä, who had transnational political careers in Finland and North America. Salmi-Niklander 2018.

34 Salmi-Niklander 2011; 2015.

35 The young writers Kössi Ahmala (1889–1918) and Kasperi Tanttu (1886–1918) were killed in the Civil War. See Salmi-Niklander 2015.

newspapers meant that contributors participated in the general discussion on what could be published and what could not, be it by writing about forbidden topics such as communism or offering non-hegemonic, "low-cultural" literary texts such as sleazy jokes or persiflage. This social mode of production allowed writers and communities to decide what topics were relevant to them and what styles were acceptable. The negotiable character of handwritten newspapers is underlined by the fact that they contained so many satirical and ironic texts. This did not necessarily provoke countercultural or even revolutionary tendencies, as we have shown in our case studies, given that the acquired skills could be used outside the community in which the handwritten newspaper was published. After all, many of the writers went on to become famous authors or politicians. Apart from being highly educational, the handwritten newspaper served as a medial and performative anchor of social identity within the community: it represented a vernacular historiography on the one hand, and provided an incentive for – very often entertaining – practices that strengthened the respective community identity. Therefore, from a scholar's point of view, handwritten newspapers represent valuable sources in the reconstruction of small communities, and for cross-checking or differentiating the history and development of communities that are well documented in "ordinary" sources such as minutes, letters and official publications.

Last but not least, handwritten newspapers are a significant – and thus far frequently overlooked – part of the media history of the long 19th century. As a form of social authorship and as precursors of the public sphere they represent a link between the public and the private, the vernacular and the canonical. As a literary practice they serve as an example of the bottom-up construction of an alternative concept of literature. As a literacy practice they serve as a link between official curricular and unofficial extra-curricular literacy. As a medium they could be considered a precursor of "postmodern" forms of communication such as blogs and social media. Common features of social media and handwritten newspapers include interactivity and the collective creation of texts. These communicative phenomena did not appear from nowhere at the beginning of the 21st century, but they lived for centuries in the shadow of a hegemonic literary culture. Marginal forms of alternative publishing can be used for entertainment and social interaction, but they can also be applied as tools for political resistance.

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Hrafnkell Lárusson
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5161-4131

Handwritten Journals in 19th- and Early 20th-Century Iceland

Icelandic historiography from the late 19th until the late 20th century was overly focused on Iceland's independence struggle and other aspects of the country's politics. What the Icelandic public of the time was thinking and what they discussed gained little attention. For a long time, it was taken for granted that the general public in Iceland were like their leaders, preoccupied by the independence struggle. The image of Icelanders as a co-ordinated group behind their leader and independence hero Jón Sigurðsson has endured and still exists, even though it is now fading. This image, which served political purposes rather than being good history, is a great simplification of Icelandic society and public opinion of the time. Writings in the journals, supported by other sources and new researches, show a broader and more credible image of the mentality of the Icelandic public in the late 19th century.

From the beginnings of printing in Iceland in the 16th century until the middle of the 18th century, Christian literature was almost the only printed material.[1] During the last decades of the 18th century, secular reading material, in the form of books and magazines, became more prevalent. Its emergence increased the diversity of available reading material, bringing current information to readers to a greater extent than previously. During the 19th century, the publication of Icelandic magazines grew, and around the middle of the century printed newspapers became a permanent feature. The secular media and publication of magazines grew steadily in Iceland in the 19th century, especially during the last two decades.

In this chapter, my aim is to analyze the nature of Icelandic handwritten journals at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. What role did they play in the community and how did they influence it? I will attempt to analyze the social impact of the publication of handwritten journals in local communities, and their links to Icelandic scribal culture and the publication of printed newspapers and magazines.[2]

1 I want to thank Simon Knight and Ingunn Snædal for their assistance with the English translation of this chapter and Stephen Davies for reviewing the translation.
2 This chapter is mainly based on my master's thesis in history at the University of Iceland entitled: "Í óræðri samtíð með óvissa framtíð. Áhrif sveitarblaða á viðhorf

In the late 19th century, Icelandic literary culture already had a long and thriving tradition. The scribal culture which had survived through the centuries was still a vital element of Icelandic literary production.[3] Through transcriptions of manuscripts much of Iceland's old literature was saved from destruction; writers also recorded many tales and poems that previously had only existed by way of oral preservation. The scribal culture and publication of secular contemporary reading materials coincided with the handwritten journals [*sveitarblöð*], which are the subject of this chapter. In summary, handwritten journals contained a variety of reading material intended for general publication. They were circulated among residents in a defined area, often a rural district or a single parish, or read out loud at general meetings.

Only a few issues are preserved of many of the journals that I have studied, although the volume and issue numbers show that more issues were published. Therefore, the testimony of preserved issues is often fragmented, which makes it difficult to analyze the debate that was produced in them. Many preserved journals contain published responses to articles from issues that now are lost. We can assume that the same can be applied vice versa.

I prefer to use the term *journal* rather than *newspaper* about this type of publication in Iceland. This choice of terminology differs from the tradition in other countries, such as Finland, where the English term used for similar publications has been *handwritten newspapers*.[4] Handwritten journals in Iceland were not used for domestic news. A slow medium like the journals was not a suitable venue for such news. The editors of the journals neither had the means nor saw it as their role to convey domestic news to their consumers (my use of the term consumers is explained in the next chapter), which was the task of printed newspapers. The authors of articles in the journals had a narrower focus and concentrated on issues which were of particular significance for their local communities and which were rarely covered by printed newspapers. Handwritten journals in rural areas did not need to deliver local news. They circulated in a traditional way, from household to household, so news written in a journal would have been out of date before it reached consumers.[5]

íslensks sveitafólks og samfélagslegar breytingar um og fyrir aldamótin 1900", [In Unfathomable Present with Uncertain Future. Icelandic Handwritten Journals and Changes in Society at the Turn of the 19th Century]. The thesis was published, with a few corrections and changes, in a limited edition, in the same year I graduated. See Lárusson 2006. The chapter also borrows from my current PhD dissertation project in history at the University of Iceland entitled: "Lýðræði í mótun. Viðhorf, iðkun og þátttaka almennings" [Democracy in the Making. Public Views, Practice and Participation].

3 For sources (in English) on Icelandic social history and scribal culture in the 19th century, see e.g. Magnússon 2010; Kuismin & Driscoll (eds) 2013.

4 Salmi-Niklander 2017, 10.

5 In Icelandic this form of publication is called *sveitarblað* (plural *sveitarblöð*). This term was used by those who published these papers and also by others who commented on the publication at the time. A direct English translation of the Icelandic term *sveitarblað* is *countryside paper*. The Icelandic term does not say much about the publisher, the content or the form. It is also misleading in a way, because some of those papers were published in towns and villages. When I write

Icelandic literary culture and demarcation of my research

In the last two decades of the 19th century, several schools which provided what could be called a general education for youth were founded in Iceland. However, the education they provided normally lacked any training in oral expression and writing skills. This can be seen in school reports from the time. The majority of young people in Iceland still did not have the opportunity to receive any other kind of formal education. In some of these schools students gained experience in oral expression and public writing by publishing an alumni magazine or by taking part in debating societies.[6]

From the mid-19th century onwards, there was a regular demand in Icelandic society for the increased publishing of books, magazines and newspapers. One major obstacle which had to be overcome was the poor and haphazard postal service. Fortunately, the situation improved towards the end of the 19th century. The publication of magazines and newspapers in Iceland grew relatively slowly until 1880, whilst in the period 1881–1910 growth reached around 300 percent.[7]

Although handwritten journals are considered part of Icelandic scribal culture, they also used printed material as a model, especially printed newspapers and magazines of the 19th century. Icelandic intellectuals in Denmark started publishing literature and magazines of practical content in Icelandic around the mid-19th century. These magazines gained significant popularity among Icelanders. Newspapers were published regularly in Iceland in the middle of the 19th century, although until 1870 the newspapers were few in number and most of them short-lived. Many handwritten journals contained essays of practical content, similar in content to the articles in printed magazines and newspapers, so there are obvious links between the printed newspapers and many of the handwritten journals. It was also common for journals and printed newspapers of the time to include serialized stories. The things which distinguish these two forms of media are also quite clear. Handwritten journals selected their content according their distribution area, which was always small and well-defined. They built their existence in the local community through personal connections and the general participation of their recipients.

Many of the handwritten journals were similar to printed newspapers in terms of layout, and there are some cases of clear imitation, particular of the mastheads. The handwritten journals also contained references to printed newspapers in the content; for instance, when editors addressed readers at the beginning of publication. These references often reveal the opinion that those behind the handwritten journals regarded them as closer to the public than printed newspapers. The form of the journals will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

about this topic in Icelandic I use the term *sveitarblað*, because it is the original term (despite its flaws). However, in English I wanted to use a more illustrative term, which is why I chose *handwritten journal*.

6 Rastrick 2003, 105–109.

7 Guttormsson 2003, 44.

During my research, I had to consider more factors than just the publication of handwritten journals and other similar reading materials. The journals cannot be studied in a vacuum; it is necessary to view them within the context of social developments at the time.

Icelandic society was changing more rapidly in the late 19th century than it had for centuries. Society was disrupted in many areas, especially after 1880. Migration from farming areas to towns and villages on the coast, as well as the migration of Icelanders to North America, created disturbance and worry among those who wished to preserve the dominant social structure. By the last decades of the 19th century, Iceland was no longer a virtually homogeneous community of farmers, the workforce, and a small group of officials. Agriculture was no longer the only livelihood that mattered. Fisheries, commerce and industry were growing. Cultural factors also had to be considered. After 1880, all Icelandic children were supposed to learn rudimentary arithmetic and to write. There was enormous growth in publication, and various free associations were established. Many of these associations focused on reading and education. All these factors must be taken into account when considering the emergence, growth and development of handwritten journals.

Icelanders were granted formal freedom of association with the Constitution of 1874. Before this, various associations had been established in Iceland since the middle of the 18th century, as no laws had prohibited people from establishing and operating associations. Legislation concerning associations and their establishment, before the Constitution of 1874, involved more indifference on behalf of the authorities than interference. For most of the 19th century, free associations in Iceland were closely linked to domestic officials, thus the risk of a clash between them and the government was slim.[8] Participation in associational activities was not universal, and attendance of meetings was generally poor until the last decades of the 19th century. This began to change in the last quarter of the century when the number of free associations increased dramatically. They also covered more areas of public life and participation became more general, including people who did not have full civil rights. The best example is the participation of women. Until 1915, Icelandic women did not have full civil rights. However, women participated in the establishment and operation of many associations, both with men and without them. The first sorority was founded in 1869 in the rural district of Skagafjörður in northern Iceland.[9] Over the following decades many more were established, both in towns and rural areas. They operated in different ways; some focused on specific issues while others had a wider spectrum of interest. Some were open to all women in the area, others were more like clubs. Eligibility and suffrage in Iceland were very limited throughout the 19th century and less than 10 percent of the population (exclusively men) had the right to vote in parliament elections in the period 1874–1903.

8 Róbertsdóttir 1990, 15–18, 41, 100.

9 Halldórsdóttir 2003, 270, 276.

My research is based on handwritten journals published in the north and east of Iceland. These were rural areas where the inhabitants based their livelihood largely or entirely on agriculture, especially sheep-farming. Transportation was primitive and proper roads hardly existed until the end of the century. Instead, people travelled on paths or rough trails, either on foot or on horseback. The timeframe of my research is the period 1860–1910. During the first two decades of this period, handwritten journals were spreading across the country. Their expansion grew markedly around 1880, when the number of titles increased dramatically, and handwritten journals became a significant part of Iceland's rural culture. The heyday of this publication in Iceland is the period 1880–1910. Although I choose to mark the end of my study in the year 1910 many free associations published handwritten journals until the mid-20th century. However, their role seems to have been limited after 1910, and after 1930 this form of publication became rare.

What triggered the publication of handwritten journals in Iceland in the 19th century and where and when the first journals were published remains unclear. It was not the purpose of my research to look for a specific starting point or location of the publication of the first journals. The preservation of the journals relies in many cases on chance. As time passes, paper wears away and is disposed of, or it becomes damaged if it is not properly preserved.

Due to the different relationship that people had with handwritten journals, I prefer to use the term "consumers" about this group rather than "readers". The reason I do this is because the term readers only applies to a limited extent. A significant number of people who became familiar with handwritten journals heard the material but did not read it. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use the term "consumers" as synonymous with "reader" and "listeners". The only way for the consumers to participate directly in the publication was to provide material for the editor(s).

Light and power

The number of subscribers of newspapers and magazines in Iceland in the 19th century does not tell the whole story of how many people became acquainted with their content. Individuals borrowed reading material from others, and reading associations bought newspapers and magazines that members could borrow. They were then read out aloud in each home. In this way dozens of consumers could make use of a single copy of a newspaper, magazine or book. The handwritten journals entered this tradition. They did not need to be widely distributed or published in large editions. The readers of each copy that was distributed were many, and listeners more still. In this way most people became familiar with the journals, at least until the end of the 19th century. The majority of people heard the material but did not read it themselves, even though literacy was common in Iceland in the 19th century. The person who read material out aloud for others had certain powers over its reception. He could emphasize what he liked, answer arguments which he did not like, or even skip content that he disagreed with or did not care for. Therefore, the opinion and emphasis of the reader could influence the experience of those who listened. It would have been easier to agree with the reader's emphasis than to oppose it, particularly if it was the master of the house who was reading.

Limited access to light created a psychological power for masters of the house – the guardians of the light – over other household members. The traditional Icelandic living quarters [*baðstofa*] were dark and fuel for light was expensive. In the *baðstofa*, the master controlled the light – when it was turned on and when it was put out, and also what was being read. It was considered necessary to keep children and workers away from reading materials, which could distract them from their work and upset what was considered their mental well-being. Therefore, the most common reading materials until the last quarter of the 19th century were biblical writings and Icelandic medieval sagas.[10] Reading religious texts out aloud in the evenings in Icelandic homes was one of the cornerstones of Icelandic household culture for most of the 19th century. However, this tradition was in retreat by the end of the century. Although the church and Christianity continued to be strong forces in society, faith was losing its hold as a key element in the literary culture of households as secular and contemporary reading materials gradually took its place.

Most Icelandic *baðstofa* were very small, so each resident was aware of every movement and noise from the others. Generally, all the members of a household ate and slept in the same room. Private life, which was later considered the natural right of every person, was only possible to a minimal extent.

In addition, Icelandic rural homes in the 19th century were both the workplace and the home of those living there, whether it was the family of the farmer or his workforce. For those who were mostly tied to their homes, the division between the private and public spheres of life was meaningless as they had little access to public life.[11]

After 1870, housing arrangements in Iceland started to change, reducing the number of those living in *baðstofa*. The new houses, which were normally made of wood, had improved lighting. This created a basis for individual reading, which encouraged the publication of more diverse reading material. Oil lamps entered Icelandic homes at the same time and this led to cheaper lighting. By 1900, such lamps were found in almost every home.[12] This decreased the psychological power that masters of the house had over the household.

Handwritten journals had a built-in factor that deterred individual reading. Both publishers and consumers demanded that the journals should travel as rapidly as possible between households. This process could be facilitated by reading it once out loud in each household in lieu of everyone reading it privately. Icelandic farm-households in the 19th century were densely populated, with many containing more than ten residents. In many

10 Gunnlaugsson 1991, 62–63.
11 Hálfdanarson 2008, 109.
12 Gunnlaugsson 1991, 64–65.

homes there were also people who could not read (for instance due to childhood, old age or illness). Also, when a journal came to a home, there was often little spare time for reading.

The reception of handwritten journals which were read out aloud at general meetings was different from those which were read at home. A journal that was read to an audience at a meeting was the responsibility of the individual or association which held the meeting. The chairman of the association or the editor of the journal (possibly the same person) is likely to have read it to the audience. It was vital that he read the text clearly and that his personal opinions concerning the material were not made obvious. The survival of a journal depended on the interest of the audience, and there was a tendency to avoid conflict. When journals were read out aloud at meetings, the consumers were almost exclusively listeners, not readers. Therefore, it was extremely important that the silence was undisturbed while the journal was being read, since it was the only time the audience would hear the content. This method of bringing handwritten journals to consumers was a double-edged sword. If the audience was interested in what they heard and the silence was not disturbed, this method could lead to a general discussion of the content among listeners. However, there was still no guarantee that such debate would lead to the writing of material for the journal. In fact, if the audience was not interested in the content of the journal, if they could hardly hear or paid little attention to it, due to noise during a meeting, for example, the journal could face serious problems.

There was a common respect towards written texts in Icelandic society of the 19th century. It was believed to be both maturing and character-building for people to put their thoughts into written form. For most of the century the writing of essays and articles had been monopolized by the educated elite, but respect for public expression was not restricted to the written text. Good public speakers were also praised and bad ones were criticized.[13]

The publication of handwritten journals can be viewed as an element in the democratization in Iceland. The journals expanded the public sphere by creating possibilities for participation in public debate for people who had been excluded from it and had limited democratic rights. Some of these people used this forum to criticize authorities and to demand social and economic reform. These new participants also discussed issues, which had not previously received much attention, while intellectuals, officials and wealthy farmers dominated public debate in the printed media. The old rulers of Icelandic rural society, farmers and priests, were criticized in many handwritten journals. Articles about gender equality and the status of the workforce compared with the farmers were published frequently during the last two decades of the 19th century. Many journals published articles under pseudonyms where both spiritual and secular authorities were being criticized. These journals provided an opportunity for such views to enter people's homes and minds.

Jean Grugel argues that the dominant democratic ideas of the 19th century were generally aimed at protecting and maintaining states rather

13 Jónasson 2010, 377–382.

than enhancing their citizens' rights. Democracy was not regarded as the right of the people, rather it was believed that the lower classes, who did not have full democratic rights, should learn how to become citizens and behave ethically. The greatest challenge of liberal democracy therefore was to identify who belonged to the "people", what rights they should receive and what duties they should fulfil.[14] Where liberal democracy existed in the 19th century, it was closely connected to elites. Large social groups, such as women and workers, were excluded from participation. In fact, this model of liberal democracy was conceived to support the market economy and capitalism rather than to enhance the rights of the people.

Liberalism and conservatism were the two main trends in Icelandic politics in the late 19th century. Conservatives preferred little or no changes to the democratic system. Liberals embraced some sort of representative democracy, but there was no consensus of what it should be. There was a tendency to tie democratic rights to social status because the ruling class feared the possible "repression" of the poor. Though liberals encouraged more social participation, they did not promote social equality as a goal.[15] It is therefore worth considering whether those who had full civil rights (eligibility and the right to vote) in Iceland in the late 19th century considered others than themselves ineligible for public debate on social issues. Were the journals perhaps a tool for the public to gain more influence in Icelandic society?

Layout, extent and structure

What was needed to produce a handwritten journal was paper, writing materials and writing skills. The handwriting quality of the writers was not uniform, although it was generally legible and sometimes admirable. There are many examples of real ambition when it came to writing the journals. It was also very important for their reception. People had to be able to read the journals smoothly and unambiguously. In some journals, writers are named individuals, but in most cases it was not specifically stated who held the pen. In those cases, it must be assumed that the editor, or someone from the editorial board, had written the journal. In any event, the consumers probably knew who the writer was, so it was unnecessary to state his or her name.

The content of the handwritten journals was generally only text. Individual charts appear, but illustrations were rare exceptions and only seen as a minor ornamentation. There was great variation in how much thought and work were put into the masthead. Usually, it was simple and contained only the name of the journal, the year, volume, and issue number. Other information or decoration was rare.

14 Grugel 2002, 15–16; Grugel & Bishop 2014, 21–22.
15 Hálfdanarson 2001, 50.

Differences in page size and numbers could vary greatly, from a single page up to 60 pages.[16] Although a variety of paper sizes were used, quarto (4to) was the most common. Folio and octavo (8vo) formats were also used, especially the latter. To describe a typical handwritten journal, in these terms, it would be in quarto size and have eight, twelve, or sixteen pages. However, the number and size of the pages does not tell the whole story of the amount of reading material in each journal. Line spacing, character size, and density were determined by the writer's style, varying between journals, even between issues of the same journal. It was also common for writers to reduce the character size and line spacing at the end of an issue to make space for content and to avoid having to divide articles between issues. Usually there was only one column on each page in the journals. If there were more, it was almost unknown for there to be more than two columns.

Methods of arranging content varied between the handwritten journals. Two main methods were predominant, one quite formal, the other rather chaotic. In the formal journals, the content was arranged in a similar order in each issue. In these journals, submitted articles and writings from editors were ranked first. Notices from the editors and advertisements were either at the very front or at the very back. In these journals, longer articles were prioritized and consistently placed in front of other material. The emphasis on issues and debate led to stories, jokes and riddles being placed at the back. Such content only seemed to serve the purpose of filling the gaps that the "priority material" did not fill. However, there were exceptions, especially regarding the stories. They seem to have enjoyed more respect than other entertainment material. The method for content structure that has been described here was most common in the journals.[17]

The other main method of arranging content is much more confusing and chaotic. In those handwritten journals, the content was arranged randomly. The journals sometimes started with entertaining material, and jokes and riddles could be found in between articles. Content from the editors was sometimes placed in the middle of the journal, although more often either at the beginning or at the end. The result of this arrangement was that the last article in the journal sometimes had to be divided into two parts due to lack of space. The second part of the article would appear in the following issue or even the one after that. The articles which were divided this way were not always long and, for that reason, did not need to be divided.[18]

It appears that the working procedure determined which method was used. The journals that were more formal seem to have been written consistently and their material seems to have been collected and sorted before writing. In these journals there was little emphasis on entertainment and that which did appear was used to fill gaps. The "chaotic" journals appear

16 One issue of the journal *Ung-Templar* was only a single page (in folio) (see *Ung-Templar* [no volume or issue number] (April 1906), HerAust. Mjó. 14, 8). However, one of two preserved issues of the journal *Vopni* was 60 pages (in quarto) (see *Vopni*, [no volume number] issue 3 [March 1901], HerAust. Vop. 16, 1).

17 See e.g. *Styrkur*, HSk. 520–522, 4to; *Vísir*, Lbs. 2434, 4to.

18 See e.g. *Hafrænan*, Hérþing. E/20–6.

to have been written over time, probably as and when they received material. When material was received was a controlling factor of its location in the journal much more than its actual content. As a result, the chaotic journals received less editing than the formal ones.

Distribution and costs

The handwritten journals which were distributed among consumers were usually published in a single copy and then were passed between households in a single rural district or parish. However, there were examples of two or more copies of the same issue being circulated. Publishers provided very little information about the size of the edition. However, this information sometimes appeared indirectly if, for instance, the route the journal took was submitted. The route was written in the journal, in some cases, on the cover or an attached note.[19] Such information can show whether a copy travelled around the entire publishing area or only a part of it. The general rule, however, was to say nothing about this because the journals invariably went the traditional route from one household to the next in the publishing area. The route of communication was well known to the consumers of the journal and therefore hardly necessary to convey.

If the publication of handwritten journals, especially those which were meant to be a live forum for debate and exchange of information, was to achieve its goals, the distribution area could not be too large. The journal had to be delivered to all its consumers in as short a time as possible to avoid discriminating against those who were late on its route. If an issue did not travel fast enough, it was likely to cause frustration. Slow and difficult transportation in Iceland in the 19th century helped tie the journals to a clearly defined and manageable area; one rural district, one parish or one association.

Although the distribution of fully-written issues of handwritten journals among households in a defined area, where each copy was read out loud to the residents, was the most common practice, it still was not the only way. The other main method of distribution was when a journal was written in a book and then read out aloud at public meetings. This method was common in associations. When it was used, the consumption of the content became quite different. Consumers had to come to the journal, so to speak. The journal then had only one reader but a group of listeners who, when they returned home, could tell others of the content. This method of distribution was more limited than the above-mentioned method in which an issue travelled from household to household. Attendance at meetings was usually poor in Iceland in the 19th century and it is highly unlikely that most or all of the residents of a distribution area were present to hear the content of a journal. Many people had to settle for a summary.

19 See e.g. *Vísir*, Lbs. 2434, 4to; *Baldur*, HerAust. A6 324, 5–8.

It was very rare that consumers were required to pay a subscription fee for access to a handwritten journal, though there were some such cases.[20] It was more common that publishers of journals sought direct financial support from consumers.[21] Although the practice was not widespread, participation in the costs of publishing was sometimes a condition for obtaining the journal.[22] The general rule was that journals were sent out free of charge. On the other hand, it was quite common for publishers to state in journals the penalties which would be imposed if an issue was damaged, destroyed or lost. The fines were normally supposed to be paid to some active association in the area, usually a reading association. If the fines were mentioned in the journals, it was normally for a reason. However, the fines were low and it is unclear how strictly they were collected. It is likely that their existence was rather symbolic and intended to encourage restraint and promote joint responsibility towards the journal.

Lifespan, frequency of publication and conservation

In many cases it is difficult to estimate the lifespan of handwritten journals. Even though volume and issue numbers are stated, it is sometimes unclear whether publication ended with the last preserved issue. The tendency seems to have been for the publication of handwritten journals to slowly peter out rather than being formally shut down. This can be explained by the closeness between the journal-writers and their consumers. All of those who needed to know soon became aware of whether a journal was still being published, without the news being specifically announced.

The publication of handwritten journals was a winter activity. A typical publishing year lasted from November to April. The journals that this study is based on were published in rural districts, where both editors and consumers were influenced by the seasonal fluctuations of agriculture, with the busiest time from May to October each year. The summer, with higher temperatures and more daylight, had to be used as much as possible for work like haymaking, fence-building, etc. There was little time left for social or cultural life, such as reading, attending meetings or publishing journals. These kinds of activities had to wait until the winter came with less daylight and poorer weather conditions which hindered working outdoors.

The publication year for handwritten journals did not follow the calendar year. In almost every case it started with the first published issue in the autumn. The beginning of publication each year was in direct relation to the social and cultural life which arose from its “summer-slumber” in the autumn. Public consumption of a text was linked to the winter months. It was therefore logical to adjust the publication of the journals to this situation in order to attract more attention. Cultural and social events that took place

20 See e.g. *Gestur*, Lbs. 1672, 4to.

21 *Fjalla-Eyvindur*, vol. 1, issue 1–2 (January 1882), Lbs. 525, fol.

22 *Helgfellingur*, [no volume number] issue 1 (1904), HSk. 1863, 4to.

during the summer were mostly in the form of gatherings, such as wedding receptions and occasional festivals.[23]

Despite it being uncommon for a handwritten journal to be published during the summer or in early autumn (from June to September), the summer was often a time when the fate of a journal was decided. When the last issue was published in the spring, the journal's future was often uncertain. Editors always bade farewell to consumers with a few words, thanking them and wishing them a good summer, but also reminding them to be vigilant. In these statements, consumers are normally addressed without reference to the future of the journal. If something was said about continuation, it was usually based on uncertainty. To underline the uncertainty that characterized this form of publication, many editors wrote in the opening statements of new volumes that it had not been certain that the journal would continue to be published.

Preserved handwritten journals give the impression that the publication was transient and delicate. Providing material and writing a handwritten journal was time-consuming. Primitive transportation and unstable weather during the winter months made publication even more difficult. Therefore, it is not surprising that the journals which have been preserved from the beginning to the end give the impression that the lifespan of journals was normally short; one, two or three years seems to have been common.

How handwritten journals were treated by consumers seems to have been quite varied. The treatment was very important because a torn or smudged journal was not easy to read and the shabby appearance of a journal could also reduce its credibility. Destroyed or lost journals could not be read. Careful treatment proved that the consumers took care of the journal and also increased the chances of its long-term preservation. Good treatment was therefore understandably a high priority for the publishers.

It is likely that the handwritten journals, which had associations as backers generally had a longer life and enjoyed greater security than those published by individuals. In these cases, the journal stood or fell with its editor. Preservation of journals published by associations has also probably been more reliable. The formality within associations led in most cases to more careful preservation of archives, compared to the preservation of private archives, which owe their existence to the file creators and their heirs.

The treatment of handwritten journals reflects the status that each journal had among its consumers. If the publisher was an association, perhaps with the vast majority of inhabitants of the area as members, it had a much stronger social status than a journal published by an individual. With an association as the backbone of the publication, it was easier to demand that consumers took care of the journal and helped in its rapid circulation. In these cases, editors could stress the collective accountability of the consumers towards the journal. Another important factor was that editors of association-backed journals could invoke the responsibility of members when they were calling for material. Therefore, it is easy to assume that the

23 Jónasson 2010, 241–248.

life expectancy of association-backed journals was probably greater than those published by individuals.

The amount of time between issues of handwritten journals varied. It was common for them to be published when the editors had received enough material.[24] Therefore, the time between each issue could vary greatly, ranging from a few days to a month or two. Normally there was internal consistency within each journal. There is no apparent connection between frequency of publication and the longevity of journals.

Editors and authors

Becoming an editor of a handwritten journal could be a useful platform for ambitious individuals to prove themselves in their local community. They would become prominent in public debate and have a better chance of increasing their own cultural capital. Although the inhabitants of an area where a journal was published had the possibility of shaping it and affecting its content, for instance by raising certain issues in it, the editors always had a dominant position. Generally, there was less involvement of inhabitants in the publication of journals than the editors expected, which led to the editors themselves having to gather, write, transcribe or translate most of the content. They also had to foster or sustain the debate that was created. The dominant position of the editors made their views and perspectives more prominent. This position gave them the opportunity to strengthen their status in the public sphere and to have a formative impact on the community.

When there was more than one editor of a journal, it was most common for two to four persons to form an editorial board. Even though the board members were presented as equals, there was still a strong tendency for one person to lead and others to follow. If an association was the publisher of a journal, it was common for the board of the association to also be an editorial board for the journal. Another way was that the board or a general meeting would appoint editors for the journal. It is difficult to generalize about the people who were chosen to be editors or to sit on editorial boards, but the following description seems to apply to many of them: editorial staff consisted mainly of young males who had finished secondary education, they were progressive and socially active and had either recently become farmers or were on their way to further education. The authors of articles in the journals were a more diverse group, including old farmers, teenagers and community leaders.

Among both editors and authors there were few women. Only two journals I have studied had a woman on their editorial board and in both cases the journals were published by associations. These women editors were prominent and their presence clearly not just to equalize gender ratios. They came with new perspectives and topics and seem to have been equals to their male colleagues.

24 *Helgfellingur*, [no volume number] issue 1 (1904), HSk. 1863, 4to.

Women were authors of articles in various handwritten journals. But, the proportion of women in a tally of authors is low compared to men. However, there could be more articles written by women than it appears at first glance. In many journals a substantial number of articles were published anonymously or under a pseudonym. Due to the fact that women had articles published in printed newspapers or handwritten journals so rarely in late 19th-century Iceland, I consider it likely that women wrote a larger proportion of the unmarked articles than of the marked ones. Another reason to support this argument is that most of the published articles written by women are characterized by low self-esteem and excuses for their own qualities and style. Many editors of journals tried to appeal especially to young people when they were looking for material. Women were included. Their participation was sought and they were encouraged to express themselves and share their experiences.

Many articles submitted by consumers to handwritten journals express their satisfaction with the existence of the journal. The same can be said of consumer statements, which reveal opinions about the necessity and utility of such journals. Despite this, the editors usually wrote most of the content or it was compiled by them. The general attitude towards the journals was that people wanted them to exist but were not interested in submitting material or considered themselves not to have the time to submit material. It was very difficult for a single person or a few individuals to go on publishing a journal with little or no support from the local community. The fate of many journals was therefore to fade away due to lack of interest from those they were supposed to serve.

Classification by content

The handwritten journals can be sorted into three categories according to their content. This sorting is not straightforward as there may be an overlap between categories and, in some cases, it may be argued that a journal belongs to more than one category. However, this classification is necessary in order to reveal substantive differences within the material classified in Iceland as handwritten journals [*sveitarblöð*]. What is common to the three categories are the form and methods of distribution.

The first category contains handwritten journals that were mainly a forum of communication. This is the largest group and the one I have focused on. In these journals the emphasis was on motivating consumers and getting them to comment and engage in discussions. The editors of these journals usually claimed in their opening statements that it was in the consumers' hands how the journal would turn out. In this way consumers were reminded of their social responsibility and that their role was not only to be passive receivers. The stated goal of these journals was to foster discussions in the area and to convey content and ideas that affected the interests of the population.

The journals also served their social role by publishing announcements and advertisements. It was a part of their purpose to increase the social activity of the consumers and to make efforts to enhance communication concerning their interests. These journals also published entertainment, like stories and poems (both Icelandic and translated – even composed by a local person), jokes and riddles. However, there was a clear tendency to limit the amount of entertainment. The emphasis was on contemporary social issues. A clear signal that journals in this category were showing signs of decline was when their entertainment content grew and even became the bulk of the content. The publication usually ended soon after, when the journal had moved away from its original goal.

The second category contains journals, which were published by an association and served its interests. Many of these journals played a similar role to the journals in the first category, but the connection with an association distinguishes them from the others. These journals focused on the issues the association was formed around, such as education, literacy or abstinence. However, issues unrelated to the association's activities were also discussed. The content of these journals was, in some cases, quite general and similar in style to the content of journals of the first category. What could be called "pure-breed association journals" also fall within this category. These were solely focused on the affairs of the association in question and (almost) the entire content of the journal covered issues, which were of central concern to the association. These were journals with clear messages, most often only aimed at members of the association, and thus with limited distribution.

The third category includes journals that differ significantly from the other two categories. This is by far the smallest category of the three and, apart from what is stated here, the journals which belong to it are not discussed in this chapter. These journals only published entertainment and literary content (usually translations). They did not reach out to consumers for participation in the publication and they played a very limited role. An example of this kind of journal is *Tíminn* [The Time], which was published in Reykjarfjörður in Strandasýsla in the northwest of Iceland.[25] The preserved issues of this journal can be found in a single book, a total of 19 issues. Volume and issue numbers indicate that more issues of the journal were published than are preserved.

The content of the first 18 issues, and half of the 19th, is a translation of the story *The Mystery of M. Felix* by B. L. Farjeon. The 19th issue sees the beginning of the story *Rudrikshall* by M. Widdern, and its continuation is promised. *Tíminn* was a journal defined as a descendant of the Icelandic scribal culture. This is basically a handwritten publication of translated novels. Copying various texts was a major element in the Icelandic scribal culture. In that respect, preservation was the key factor, rather than publication. *Tíminn* does both. The journals in this category had a purely recreational value. They were one-way media which did not try to open up debate or seek participation. However, the impact of the community is likely to have been indirect. It is unlikely that someone would have made the effort to translate and publish foreign novels if there was no demand or interest in the area.

25 *Tíminn*, vol. 10, issue 1–19 (January until May 1900), Lbs. 4834, 4to.

What did people write about?

The handwritten journals are substantially diverse, but there are certain subjects which can be found in most of them. As the nature of the journals was marked by their distribution area, the general principle was that much of the content was about the interests of the people in that area.

A few subjects predominated. Agriculture is a prominent issue in the journals, reflecting the fact that the journals I have studied were published in farming districts. The situation of agriculture, its development, innovations and changes, were all common topics. Articles on these topics are either general or specialized. Different opinions appear and agriculture is viewed from a variety of perspectives, ranging from a discussion of farming practices[26] and building of cowsheds[27] to articles on the economic integrity of exported products[28] and the status differential between farmers and the workforce.[29]

Education was another common issue discussed in the journals. It became particularly prominent in the last years of the 19th century. Generally, the discussion was about education for children and adolescents, and the study opportunities that young people could seek in their home district. Teaching methods and what young people should and should not learn were discussed, which is in accordance with the journals' common goal. They defined themselves as "grassroots power" and their main target groups were farmers, the workforce and young people in rural communities, not intellectuals or civil servants.

Topics that related to the activities of associations were common in the journals, which is hardly surprising since many journals were backed by associations. Reading associations were close to many journals which enjoyed their support and the activities of agricultural associations had a direct impact on the lives of the consumers of the journals. Those associations were considered to be an instrument for improving people's well-being. Abstinence associations tried to influence public consumption, not only by having an impact on alcohol consumption, but also on coffee and tobacco. People were encouraged to save money and to invest reasonably. Discussion on issues regarding reading and agricultural associations was ongoing during the last quarter of the 19th century, but topics raised by members of the abstinence associations became more prominent in the journals as the end of the century drew closer.

The tone is often heavy in articles about the establishment and functioning of associations. The reason for the writing was often that a certain association was in trouble due to a lack of interest in its activities or financial difficulties. Sometimes it is unclear whether the association in question was still in existence.[30] Repeated complaints are made about the lack of public spirit

26 *Vopni*, vol. 2, issue 1 (January 1902), HerAust. A6 365, 13.
27 *Gestur*, vol. 1, issue 5 (February 1907), Lbs. 1672, 4to.
28 *Vísir*, vol. 3, issue 4–5 (March 1885), Lbs. 2434, 4to.
29 *Viljinn*, vol. 1, issue 3 (December 1879), Hérþing. E/22–1.
30 *Mývetningur*, vol. 6, issue 2 (January 1889), Hérþing. E/20–14.

and the need for improvement.[31] Negligence and lack of interest in local issues seems to have been deep-rooted and stronger than social concern, if repeated complaints about lack of the latter are taken literally. The premature end of some journals, blamed on the negligence of their consumers, lends the above-mentioned complaints more weight.

The concept of progress is widely discussed in handwritten journals in the late 19th century, as well as in printed newspapers and magazines in Iceland during the same period. Most often when this term was used, the authors were calling for improvements and urging people to consider them. Social activities and, in particular, public meetings of many sorts were directly linked to progress. Articles gave testimony to a general and widespread belief that more dynamic and effective social activities would automatically lead to progress. Examples of this belief are to be found particularly among members of abstinence associations, many of whose members claimed that an increase in membership and activity in their association would save money that would otherwise be used for the purchase of alcohol, tobacco, or coffee. This money could instead be used for practical projects from which society would benefit.[32]

The progress that people were focused on was chiefly economic and technical. They wanted to improve their working conditions, but spiritual progress was also discussed. Its importance, however, was normally introduced as the basis of practical and technical progress, rather than being seen as important in itself. The progress that the people wanted was to be achieved within the framework of traditional Icelandic agricultural society and ideas were based on its existence and endurance. The communities where the journals I have studied were published based their livelihood on agriculture and wanted it to prevail. However, this did not mean that other industries were automatically excluded.

Education, entertainment, public expression, and reception

From writings in handwritten journals in the 19th century, a wider understanding of the Icelandic media of this era as an acknowledged hierarchy can be established. At the top were printed magazines with quality content. Next came printed newspapers which aimed to serve the whole country. The third level was occupied by printed newspapers that were aimed at certain areas. Handwritten journals constituted the fourth level. They were closest to the people and therefore considered to be a suitable platform for beginners to practice shaping their thoughts in a published text. When people gained more skills and knowledge, they could enter the "higher" levels.

31 *Baldur*, vol. 3, issue 2 (1906), HerAust. A6 324, 7; *Gestur*, vol. 2, issue 3 (November 1907), Lbs. 1672, 4to.

32 *Vísir*, vol. 1, issue 7 (February 1883), Lbs. 2434, 4to; *Vísir*, vol. 1, issue 13 (May 1883), Lbs. 2434, 4to; *Gauti*, [no volume number] issue 3 (January 1882), Hérþing. E/20–2; *Viljinn*, vol. 1, issue 3 (December 1879), Hérþing. E/22–1.

The opening statements of handwritten journals normally reveal how the editors wanted them to function and serve consumers. Many of these statements are quite similar and by simplifying the goals presented in them they can be narrowed down to the terms education and entertainment. Most editors called for articles and essays from consumers, and they were also keen to receive stories, poems, and other entertaining material. Many of them reserved the right to reject submitted material and often stated that the journal was not to be used as a forum for polemic and squabble. It was emphasized that articles should be objective, constructive and free from personal attacks. The desired topics were often clearly stated.

Handwritten journals were aimed more at young people (aged 15–30) than any other age group, and it was common for them to be addressed specifically. The journals were defined as a training ground for youngsters to exercise their writing skills and express themselves publicly. Editors repeatedly encouraged young people and some submitted articles did the same.[33] This encouragement was not only aimed at those who were willing to come forward but also to those who were more reticent about becoming involved.

In order for the goals of increased social activity to be achieved, the rural districts needed as much participation as possible, especially by young people. Nevertheless, when it came to writing articles, handwritten journals also sought the participation of local community leaders. Material written by them helped the journal to increase its credibility among consumers. By writing articles, people were both praising the existence of the journal and strengthening it, though sometimes these objectives worked against each other. If young and inexperienced people wrote the bulk of the content of a journal, it might be labelled as juvenile by consumers, which could lead to hesitation by more experienced writers.

On the other hand, contributions by more experienced writers could discourage inexperienced writers from expressing themselves. The problem was that young authors making their debut in a journal could find their work placed between articles by experienced authors, thus highlighting their inexperience. This cannot be considered immaterial as contributors were concerned about their position in the community and the proximity of the journals to their consumers, where everyone knew everyone, meant that courage was needed for amateurs to write articles for publication. The fear of being ridiculed by the community was a distinct possibility and must have discouraged some from writing. This may also explain why a significant number of writers of articles for the journals chose to do it anonymously or under a pseudonym. Mitigating the fear of failure was the hope that a well-written article could increase respect for the author in the community. Each person had to evaluate whether the potential prestige was worth the risk, although it was not only the inexperienced who hesitated.

33 *Vísir*, vol. 2, issue 5b–6 (December 1884), Lbs. 2434, 4to; *Vökustaur*, vol. 2, issue 2 (January 1901), Hérþing. E/22–5; *Vekjandi*, vol. 1, issue 2 (January 1895), HskjAk. G–11/6.

A democratic conversation?

Before a handwritten journal began publication, it had to find a basis on which to work. It had to appeal to prospective consumers by publishing content that would create interest and be relevant to them. The journals were more or less shaped by their prospective consumers; therefore, a good understanding of the views of local people was very important for an editor. However, it was not always easy to assess public opinion, as attitudes varied and were not always obvious. People experienced journals in various, often contradictory, ways and sometimes the ideas of the editor and consumer expectations were incompatible. Some journal editors found this out the hard way.

Many journals provide evidence, in both editorial writings and submitted articles, as to how well or badly they managed to appeal to their consumers. There is no evidence of the beginning of a publication being met with direct opposition from consumers.

To approach the consumers of journals, it was advisable to publish content in a manner with which they were familiar. A popular form of expression in handwritten journals was the "conversation". This form of written expression was well-known in Iceland in the latter part of the 19th century. It offers a more figurative text than traditional articles and enables the author to convey their message through different characters without the author's views becoming too obvious. In these conversations, the characters became the incarnation of certain ideas and beliefs that the consumers stood for. The application of the conversational form also facilitated the presentation of different viewpoints, whilst subtly favoring one particular view. The conversational form, therefore, had an advantage over typical articles, holding the attention of readers who were accustomed to various sorts of literature rich in characters.

The conversations in the journals were always short and simple and tied to certain issues. Most often the conversation was between two men who were acquaintances and equals; both farmers, both workers, etc.[34] Although this was the most common formula, it was far from being the only one.[35] Some conversations did not address the social status of their characters but the topics discussed were almost always ordinary issues related to the interests of the journal's consumers. Various aspects of agriculture were discussed, as well as commerce,[36] emigration to America,[37] household habits[38] and

34 *Vísir*, vol. 1, issue 6 (February 1883), Lbs. 2434, 4to. The journal *Vísir* published many such fictitious conversations. In this one, two men are discussing abstinence and forming an association. They speak on behalf of contrary viewpoints. The objective of this conversation, like many other similar conversations, was to educate the consumers of the journal about different opinions on the issues.

35 *Vísir*, vol. 2, issue 5b–6 (December 1884), Lbs. 2434, 4to.

36 *Vísir*, vol. 2, issue 4–5a (March 1884), Lbs. 2434, 4to.

37 See e.g. *Vopni*, vol. 2, issue 1 (January 1902), HerAust. A6 365, 13; *Jökuldælingur* [no year, volume or issue number], HerAust. Jök. 7, 11. In the vast majority of the journals I have studied emigration to North America is discussed.

38 *Vísir*, vol. 3, issue 1 (January 1885), Lbs. 2434, 4to.

handwritten journals.[39] There are also examples of more philosophical and poetic conversations with ethical messages. The conversational form was also used to discuss associations, argue their importance, and encourage people to participate in them.[40] Thus, a clear effort was made to break the monopoly of the farmers, who normally were the only residents within a household taking part in the public sphere, thereby increasing the number of people involved. This chopped at the roots of the social structure which had hitherto prevented participation in the public sphere by the vast majority.

Conclusion

Handwritten journals played an important role in the Icelandic literary tradition in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In these journals, ideas which concerned the interests of consumers were presented and discussed. The journals also served as entertainment during the long, dark Icelandic winter. Although most of the journals seem to have failed to achieve their goals, they still played an important part in shaping their consumers' opinions. Their role has been passed over in most research on the history of ideas in Iceland during this period. The role of the journals in Icelandic culture and the democratization of the late 19th century has been underestimated.

Inhabitants of Icelandic rural districts in the last decades of the 19th century were not preoccupied with the independence struggle or other national affairs when they expressed themselves in handwritten journals. The local community and the interests which directly affected them was what people were concerned with. People wanted their offspring to receive a better education and they wanted a better quality of life for themselves (as well as their offspring) than the present time had to offer. Progressive thought was widespread and the survival instinct was strong. People did not want to wait until a better form of government would (possibly) increase their prosperity. They wanted to achieve this themselves.

The journals drew influences and ideas from various sources. Generally speaking, in terms of layout, they were in many aspects similar to printed newspapers of the time, but their content was more influenced by contemporary magazines. The main difference was perspective. The handwritten journals were limited to their local community when it came to content. Editors of journals neither tried nor wanted to do anything other than serve their publishing area by distributing entertainment and content that dealt with their consumers' vested interests.

There was more that characterized Icelandic society in the late 19th century than increased urbanization, industry, and commerce. There were also great cultural changes. Demands for more contemporary secular reading

39 See e.g. *Helgfellingur*, [no volume number] issue 1 (1904), HSk. 1863, 4to. In many of the journals, articles about the purpose of publishing handwritten journals are to be found.

40 *Stígandi*, [no volume number] issues 8, 9 and 10 (May and June 1877), HskjAk. G–63/29.

material were answered and such content pushed the biblical writings to the periphery. Handwritten journals were a part of the increase of more diverse reading material. The authority of masters and pastors was decreasing and eventually disappeared, like the old farming society itself. Household culture was changing and the regular reading of biblical writings steadily vanished under an avalanche of secular material and entertainment. The consumption of texts also changed, but more slowly. Despite more literacy and increased writing skills, residents of rural homes listened to written texts rather than reading them. The situation in rural homes did not provide a space for everyone to read in private. It was also too time-consuming and would have interrupted daily work. Therefore, texts were commonly consumed – they were read out aloud. When this tradition began to fade and secular reading material started to take over in the culture of households, new views, and democratic currents were increasingly brought to the public. Increased social participation and individual reading by the end of the 19th century prepared the way for further democratic development and participation, which the old powers were struggling to control.

Handwritten journals reflect the mentality of the districts they were published in. They highlight conflicts and exchanges of views in times of great change. Different views of life clashed in the Icelandic society. This included a certain democratic thought based on the belief that more people should actively participate in society. The public were expected to play a larger part in how society was governed and be more responsible to society as a whole, not just to their homes.

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Risto Turunen
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8898-1274

From the Object to the Subject of History. Writing Factory Workers in Finland in the Early 20th Century

The Grand Duchy of Finland experienced a heyday of handwritten newspapers at the turn of the 20th century. Educated middle- and upper-class people had already published handwritten newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries, but in the end, it was the rise of civil society and popular movements that caused handwritten newspapers to flourish.[1] At the beginning of this process, the youth associations and temperance societies of the 1880s produced most Finnish handwritten newspapers.[2] Later, this innovation was adopted by folk high schools [*kansanopisto*] and workers' associations in the 1890s,[3] and later by the Christian labor movement and the YMCA in the early 20th century.[4] The briefest glimpse at the quantitative

1 Salmi-Niklander 2013b, 77–78.

2 On youth associations' handwritten newspapers in the 1880s, see e.g. *Laatokka* (23 March 1882), 6; *Sanomia Turusta* (30 December 1887), 2; *Aura* (23 September 1888), 2. On temperance societies' handwritten newspapers in the 1880s, see e.g. *Uusi Suometar* (9 September 1886), 3; (11 October 1887), 3; (28 February 1888), 3; *Kaiku* (5 January 1887), 3; *Turun Lehti* (18 August 1888), 2.

3 On handwritten newspapers written at folk high schools [*kansanopisto*] in the 1890s, see e.g. *Uusi Suometar* (30 January 1894), 3; *Tampereen Sanomat* (30 March 1894), 3; *Uusi Suometar* (1 April 1894), 3; *Pohjalainen* (31 May 1894), 2; *Karjalatar* (9 August 1894), 3; *Tampereen Uutiset* (23 November 1894), 4; *Uusi Suometar* (22 December 1895), 3; *Aamulehti* (9 February 1896), 2; *Uusimaa* (11 February 1896), 3; *Wiipuri* (14 February 1896), 2; *Päivälehti* (16 May 1896), 3; *Wiipurin Sanomat* (26 July 1896), 3; *Uusi Aura* (29 April 1897), 2; *Wiipurin Sanomat* (11 July 1897), 2. On workers' associations' handwritten newspapers in the 1890s, see e.g. *Päivälehti* (3 February 1891), 3; *Laatokka* (1 March 1893), 2; *Haminan Sanomat* (17 October 1893), 1; *Kaiku* (5 March 1894), 2; *Sanomia Porista* (26 October 1895), 3; *Karjalan Työmies* (23 November 1895), 4; *Pohjalainen* (9 July 1896), 3; *Työmies* (28 November 1896), 4; *Tampereen Sanomat* (3 February 1898), 3; (13 April 1898), 3; *Päivälehti* (27 October 1898), 3; *Työmies* (15 February 1899), 3.

4 On handwritten newspapers of the Christian labor movement, see e.g. *Veljeys* (18 October 1907), 2; (1 November 1907), 2; (20 March 1908), 3; *Työkansa* (12 October 1908), 3; (24 February 1909), 2; (18 February 1910), 3; (14 June 1911), 3; *Tähti* (22 December 1911), 1; *Työkansa* (18 October 1912), 3; (7 May 1915), 3. On handwritten newspapers by YMCA, see e.g. *Wiipurin Sanomat* (22 February 1905), 3; *Kotimaa* (19 April 1906), 2; *Otava* (14 July 1906), 2; *Aamulehti* (6 July 1916), 5.

evidence shows the magnitude of handwritten newspapers as a mass cultural phenomenon. Based on annual reports in printed newspapers, about half of all youth associations published a handwritten newspaper at the turn of the 20th century. In 1895, 45 out of 81 youth associations had their own paper. Five years later, in 1900, the number had trebled to 136 out of 247. By 1916, there were already 392 different handwritten newspapers produced by 935 youth associations.[5]

While the youth association movement was primarily a movement of the countryside, in the industrial town of Tampere – the "Manchester of Finland" – workers organized into trade unions from the late 1890s onward, and many of these nascent unions started to publish their own handwritten newspaper. There were at a minimum over twenty of them circulating in a town with less than 50,000 inhabitants in the early 20th century.[6] In addition, the town's central workers' association had an orator's society, youth society, and women's society, each of which had its own handwritten organ.[7]

These handwritten newspapers are a rich source material both in quantitative and qualitative terms, and they enable a multitude of alternative approaches. In this chapter, I scrutinize the link between the growth of handwritten newspapers and the political awakening of the working people in the early 20th century from three entangled questions: How did the workers produce handwritten newspapers (the form)? What did they write in their newspapers (the content)? And – most importantly – why did ordinary working people want to express their ideas in the form of a handwritten newspaper in the age of the printed word (the meaning)? These questions will be answered by focusing on one of the many handwritten union newspapers in Tampere, namely *Tehtaalainen* [The Factory Worker], the organ of the cotton workers at Finlayson & Compagnie. This factory was the largest in Finland at the time, and it had a very pious reputation throughout the long 19th century. The workers were the most church-going of all the town's citizens, and they owned more religious literature than any other workers' group in the city.[8] However, in 1905 these workers established a socialist trade union.[9] They also started to publish a handwritten union newspaper, which was circulated in 1908–1914 and again in 1917.

This particular handwritten newspaper appeared roughly 50 times during its short lifespan. It is one of the best-preserved socialist handwritten newspapers in Finland.[10] Most of the Finnish handwritten papers were

5 *Keski-Suomi* (29 February 1896), 1; *Kaiku* (2 October 1901), 1; *Kajaanin Lehti* (26 July 1916), 1. These statistics include only those youth associations that sent their annual reports to the central organization.

6 The number is based on the information found with the fuzzy search "käsinkirjoitettu" [handwritten] in the digital collection of printed newspapers. Available from http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti?language=en

7 *Kansan Lehti* (24 May 1900), 3; *Tampereen Sanomat* (14 February 1906), 3; *Kansan Lehti* (3 November 1908), 3.

8 Kortekangas 1965, 87–88, 98–99, 189–190, 295–296.

9 Turunen 2012, 56–58.

10 Comparing the number of issues in the archives with the total number mentioned in the annual reports of the trade union suggests that most likely all the issues

produced in towns that already had a socialist press.[11] Tampere, the first truly industrial town in Finland, had a respected workers' newspaper, *Kansan Lehti* [The People's Paper], which appeared six days a week and had a circulation of around 10,000.[12] Thus, it seems unlikely that the main reason for producing a handwritten newspaper would have been spreading information about socialism, since the printed socialist newspapers were executing this function effectively. It is worth underlining that workers' handwritten newspapers were not only a Finnish phenomenon; they also appeared in other Nordic countries and in Finnish immigrant communities in North America and Australia.[13] They were part of the socialist labor movement's rich counterculture, which included collective singing, public speeches, poetry, plays, literature, dances, and workers' sport clubs.

Tehtaalainen consists of diverse writings. There are usually notifications and an editorial at the beginning and jokes and anecdotes at the end of the paper. In addition, there are questions, replies, advice, reports, news, news parodies, advertisements, histories, memoirs, descriptions of dreams, essays, aphorisms, short stories, tales, poems, folk songs, citations, and fragments of novels or the printed press.[14] I have coded these texts into a digital corpus.[15] This micro corpus consists of 39,990 words. Since my sources are in machine-readable form, I can analyze their content by simple computational methods. This quantitative approach could be called distant reading.[16] In addition, I have also conducted a more traditional close reading of one text

of *Tehtaalainen* have been preserved. See the annual reports of the Finlayson cotton factory union 1908–1912. Tampere City Archives; the annual reports of the Finlayson cotton factory union 1913–1917. The People's Archives.

11 It is impossible to estimate accurately how many handwritten newspapers existed in reality. Based on my research in the Workers' Archives and the People's Archives, at the very minimum at least 60 different newspapers and more than 600 issues have survived to date in these archives. It is probable that socialists destroyed handwritten newspapers along with other documents at the end of the Finnish Civil War of 1918. At worst, handwritten evidence of agitation against the bourgeoisie could lead to a death sentence. See also Ehrnrooth 1992, 369. It is known that at least one Finnish youth association burnt issues of its handwritten newspaper during the first period of Russification in the early 20th century for fear that these writings would cause problems with the Russian authorities. Numminen 1961, 570.

12 Sirola 1908, 99.

13 On handwritten newspapers in Sweden, see Ambjörnsson 1988, 161–173; in Norway, see Berrenberg 2014, 292–327; in Canada, see Salmi-Niklander 2002; in Australia, see Heimo 2016.

14 This classification of texts draws heavily on Salmi-Niklander 2004, 544.

15 In total, 47 issues of *Tehtaalainen* were coded. The issues that could not be dated (numbering five) were ignored. All the nouns, verbs, and adjectives appearing in the texts were coded. These words were coded in their lemmatized form. I ignored the two most common verbs in Finnish, i.e., "to be" and "no" ("no" is a verb in Finnish). All the particles, pre- and postpositions, adverbs, and numerals were ignored as well. The spelling mistakes were corrected to the word form that I interpreted to be the writer's meaning based on the linguistic context. The name and sex of writer and time of writing were used as variables.

16 The term "distant reading" comes from the literature historian Franco Moretti. See Moretti 2007, 1–3.

titled "The Meaning of The Factory Worker." As supplementary materials, I have used the biggest socialist and bourgeois newspapers in Tampere, which allowed me to explore the differences between printed and handwritten socialism. I have also chosen one handwritten newspaper from a different milieu – that is, from the small village of Niinivedenpää in Northern Savo province in Eastern Finland – to provide contrast. Whereas Tampere was an industrial town of factory workers in the south, the Niinivedenpää paper was written by crofters, tenant farmers, and agrarian workers in the periphery.[17] The point of this comparison is to evaluate how consistent the language of handwritten socialist newspapers was in different economic, political, and social environments.

The form: Production, presentation, and reception

In order to understand a handwritten newspaper's rich content, one must problematize and contextualize the form. If a handwritten newspaper is seen as a chronological process of communication from the writers to the listeners, it involves three main phases: text production, text presentation, and text reception. Each issue of *Tehtaalainen* was supposed to have three creators: an editor-in-chief, a subeditor, and a reporter. In printed newspapers, the editor had the final word and legal culpability. However, in *Tehtaalainen*, the subeditor had unlimited power to edit the texts. The reason for this was practical: the subeditor would usually write up the whole paper. If a text was written under one's own name, the writer had full responsibility.[18] This leads to the question of what exact role the chief editor played. It seems that he/she often wrote the editorial and made sure that there was enough material to be published. If the editors failed to produce a single, complete copy of the paper, separate manuscripts were read aloud in the meeting instead.[19]

In theory, any member of the union could write to the paper by dropping his/her text in the wooden letterbox of the union or by delivering the text personally to the editor.[20] In practice, the editors often had to produce the paper alone, as workers did not provide enough material. This might explain why there were so many refusals when appointing new editors.[21] Workers did not have much time for writing, since an ordinary working day at the

17 Ehrnrooth 1992, 376–378.

18 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 9 January 1910. Tampere City Archives.

19 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 3 July 1914 and 15 May 1914. The People's Archives.

20 "Ne toverit, jotka…", *Tehtaalainen*, no. 2 (1909). This, however, is not a unique feature of handwritten newspapers. The press published writings from their readers as well. In many printed newspapers of the time, there was a special section for letters from readers. The socialist newspapers, always struggling with finances, used this section as a cheap way to produce content. Nygård 1987, 132, 135.

21 "Tehtaalaisen tarkoitus", "I. W." (Ida Vihuri), *Tehtaalainen* (25 February 1917); the minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 6 December 1910. Tampere City Archives.

factory lasted twelve hours with breaks.[22] The women with children were obviously in an even worse position to contribute to the paper.[23] The workers did not achieve the eight-hour working day until the spring of 1917, after strikes in the metal industry. This gave them new opportunities for personal leisure and public activities.[24]

I have identified about twenty different writers, of which half are women.[25] The two most active writers produced one fourth of all the texts in the paper.[26] The use of pseudonyms and anonymous writing makes identification difficult. The number of identified writers is not great, especially considering that the factory had more than two thousand workers at the time. Before the revolutionary year of 1917, socialist union members were only a small minority in the factory.[27] Compared to the printed newspapers of the time, the role of women was substantially more significant in *Tehtaalainen*.[28] The quality of texts was probably better in the print medium, since there was more time and money available for people to work on them. However, this qualitative gap between printed and handwritten socialist texts should not be overstated, since most writers of the labor press came originally from the working class and lacked the theoretical education of the bourgeois journalists.[29] One obvious difference was publishing frequency. Unlike the daily newspapers in Tampere, *Tehtaalainen* was published once a month at the most. During its first year, *Tehtaalainen* was published nine times, but it appeared only three times in 1913. By contrast, *Kuritus*, the handwritten newspaper against which *Tehtaalainen* will be compared later in this chapter, appeared usually every two weeks, even weekly at its prime.

This kind of special form of text production has been described as "collective writing"[30] or "social authorship."[31] Several people took part in creating a single text. The main difference compared to print was that the editor, subeditor, and reporter changed after every issue. The workers regarded this editorial choice as "the latest model as far as we know," and defended it with a proverb: "Knowledge is not in one man's head."[32]

22 The Rules and Regulations for the Workers in the Finlayson Factory 1897 and 1911. Main Library Metso, Tampere City Library.

23 The hardships of working women were discussed in *Tehtaalainen* several times. See e.g. "Mitä hyötyä on korkeammasta työpalkasta", Ida Vihuri, undated *Tehtaalainen* and "Työläisnainen ja sivistys", *Tehtaalainen* (6 February 1914).

24 Haapala 1986, 183–184, 311.

25 Women produced 25.7 percent of all the words in the corpus (10,292/39,990), men 31.6 percent (12,625/39,990), and 42.6 percent (17,073/39,990) could not be recognized or were direct quotes from books, journals, or other newspapers.

26 Jussi Mantere produced 15.1 percent of all the words in the corpus (6,055/39,990) and Ida Vihuri produced 8.4 percent (3,376/39,990).

27 The union had about one hundred members in 1908–1916 and about one thousand members by the end of 1917. Kanerva 1986, 214.

28 There are no exact statistics, but it has been estimated that the amount of women in the press was "very low" in 1906–1917. See Nygård 1987, 109.

29 Ibid., 114, 149.

30 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 46–47.

31 Ezell 1999.

32 "Tilausilmoitus", *Tehtaalainen* (19 January 1913).

Collectivity sometimes led to internal censorship. One member of the union promised to be editor only if he was allowed to censor all he considered vulgar and indelicate in the texts.[33] Some members complained when their texts had been edited too much.[34] In addition, at least one text was not published at all, for it could have offended "the sexual majority of the union," which meant women at the time.[35] Here, the important issue is that the censorship was practiced by the writing community itself, not by the party organ. Overall, the degree of internal censorship must have been lower in the handwritten newspapers than the printed socialist newspapers, for the Social Democratic Party had neither the resources nor the motivation to control the countless self-made papers appearing all over Finland.

One illustrative example of collective text production is a text on civilization and the fatherland:

> Teach them to love their fatherland (we do not have a fatherland, only the bourgeoisie has it – a note by the subeditor) and their neighbor, for love is the greatest.[36]

The subeditor, Ida Vihuri, wanted to remind the original writer about the orthodox socialist discourse in which the fatherland should not exist, or at least it should not have a positive connotation. We know for sure that this text was presented orally on Friday, 20 December 1912, but we do not know if the note was included in the presentation or not.[37] One person, evidently the subeditor, read aloud a single copy at the end of the monthly meeting of the union.[38] Union membership was required to attend these events.[39]

This does not mean that handwritten newspapers could be categorized as purely internal communication. Despite claims to the contrary in some previous research, not all handwritten socialist newspapers were free from external control.[40] Censorship was temporarily abolished as the result of the General Strike of 1905, but it was restored during the second wave

33 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 31 March 1912. Tampere City Archives.
34 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 15 December 1909. Tampere City Archives.
35 "Kirje vaihtoa", pseudonym "Toimitus," *Tehtaalainen* (19 January 1913). Unfortunately, the censored text has vanished.
36 "Pimeiden aikojen turva", pseudonym "Hakoniska", *Tehtaalainen* (December 1912).
37 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 20 December 1912. Tampere City Archives.
38 "Tehtaalaisen viime numeron toimitussihteerille", pseudonym "Reportteri", undated *Tehtaalainen*. See also the minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 6 December 1910 and 14 January 1912. Tampere City Archives.
39 The union fees were low, only six Finnish marks a year. "Osaston jäsenmaksuista", *Tehtaalainen*, no. 5 (1917). The average yearly income for a worker in Tampere in 1900 was about 500 Finnish marks. Haapala 1986, 280.
40 See Ehrnrooth 1993, footnote 2: "Handwritten newspapers are an especially valuable source of mental history, for external control did not disturb their formation."

of Russification from 1908 onwards.[41] According to the law, the board responsible for Finnish printing (*painoylihallitus*) had to take libel action against articles that contained insults and disrespect to God, the church service, state authorities, or the Czar and his family; incitements to treason; lies and rumors to misguide people and misrepresent government actions; or confidential information or state secrets.[42] The socialist printed newspapers were sued for libel more than two hundred times in 1909–1913. Tampere's *Kansan Lehti* was summoned to court most often.[43] Finlayson factory workers collected money for the sued socialist newspapers.[44]

The tightened censorship reached the factory as well. According to *Tehtaalainen*, the paper was censored – albeit lightly – from 1910. The paper had to be shown to a local censor, who announced orally those sections that might "hurt listeners or decent morals" and should therefore be excised.[45] What the censorship meant in practice remains a mystery, for this censor is not mentioned in the paper or the minutes of the trade union ever again.[46] Nevertheless, it does not seem probable that all the issues of *Tehtaalainen* were checked before publishing. More likely, the censorship was a temporary intervention in the beginning of the second Russification period. For example, there is a very offensive poem about Czar Nicholas II published in 1914. In the poem, Nicholas makes love to maids of honor, overrules the Parliament, hires butchers, blesses torture, and distills spirits.[47] Originally, the poem had appeared overseas in uncensored Finnish-American magazines a couple of years earlier.[48] One wonders what exactly was censored if this poem was allowed to be published in *Tehtaalainen*. The paper was threatened with court action only once, when it had insulted the editor-in-chief of the local Christian newspaper.[49] In my opinion, this minor incident supports the argument that a handwritten newspaper operated not in a private but rather a semi-public sphere of communication. The outbreak of the First World War brought full military censorship to the Grand Duchy of Finland. There are also references of the presence of police officers in the minutes of this

41 Based on libel case statistics, the years 1906–1907 were the most free period for the newspapers before Finnish independence in 1917. Nygård 1987, 93.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., table 19.

44 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory workers union's board meeting 5 March 1908. Tampere City Archives.

45 "Tehtaalainen", pseudonym "Toimitus", *Tehtaalainen*, no. 0 (1910).

46 The censor is called "this Kanninen" in *Tehtaalainen*. Volmari Kanninen (1860–1942) was the head of Finnish censorship. However, "this Kanninen" is more likely a reference to Tampere's local censor Ernst Sjöström (1861–1946) who had the nickname "Little Kanninen" in the labour press. See Leino-Kaukiainen 1984, 321; *Sosialidemokraatti* (15 June 1911), 4.

47 "Hallitsiat Jumalan armosta", *Tehtaalainen* (6 February 1914).

48 "Armosta", pseudonym "Ananias", *Amerikan Matti*, no. 1 (1910), 6; "Hallitsijat 'Jumalan armosta'", pseudonym "Tolle Kaivola" (Kalle Toivola), *Säkeniä* no. 11 (1911), 27.

49 "Paino kanne pahoilainen", pseudonym "A–E" (Alfred Wuolle), *Tehtaalainen*, no. 2 (1909).

union's meetings.[50] Censorship was one reason why the paper lay dormant for three years in 1914–1917.[51]

When *Tehtaalainen* appeared, it was read at the end of the monthly meetings, which were usually held on Sunday evenings, the factory workers' only day off. *Tehtaalainen* was not published at all in the height of summer. Presumably, the workers had more interesting things to do during the short Finnish summer. There were at worst around twenty members and at best more than one hundred members present at the union meetings before 1917. They would usually meet at the people's hall of Tampere, also known as the Stone Castle.[52] This huge building held a similar meaning for socialists as the church held for Christians: it was the physical center of the movement. According to one union activist, unorganized cotton factory workers feared the hall "like the plague."[53] In 1917, the number of the union members grew from about one hundred to about one thousand, which meant that the union had to be divided into smaller branches.[54] Organizing an effective mass meeting for a thousand people without megaphones or loudspeakers would have been too difficult for the union.

It is difficult to form an overall picture of the worker's reception of the paper. If *Tehtaalainen* was too long, people could complain or even leave the meeting.[55] The length varied from four pages up to twenty pages. Assuming that two pages took about five minutes to read, the longest presentations would have lasted almost an hour.[56] If a paper was unusually good, it might receive praise from its listeners.[57] Quite often, the minutes of the meeting report that the paper "was read and accepted"[58] or that "there was nothing to be reminded of in *Tehtaalainen*."[59] In other words, each issue had to tackle a collective critique before it could be stored in the precious archives of the

50 See e.g. the minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union 24 January 1915. The People's Archives.

51 "Muistelmia Tehtaalaisen elämän taipaleelta", pseudonym "I. V." (Ida Vihuri), *Tehtaalainen* (18 December 1917). The writer also mentions the members' own passivity as a reason for the paper's temporary death.

52 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union 1905–1912. Tampere City Archives; the minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union 1913–1917. The People's Archives.

53 The annual report of the Finlayson cotton factory union 1913. The People's Archives.

54 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 13 April 1917. The People's Archives.

55 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 11 October 1909 and 14 January 1912. Tampere City Archives.

56 This rough estimation is based on my own reading aloud of a small sample of the writings in *Tehtaalainen*.

57 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 26 May 1909 and 6 December 1910. Tampere City Archives.

58 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 9 January 1910 and 20 December 1912. Tampere City Archives; the minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 17 April 1913. The People's Archives.

59 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 30 November 1909 and 23 March 1910. Tampere City Archives.

union. Nonetheless, direct feedback was rare, especially compared to one handwritten socialist newspaper of the time that collectively graded every single text it published.[60]

To sum up, one could not write anything in the handwritten paper due to some degree of internal and external censorship. The forms of production (social authorship), presentation (reading aloud in a shared place), and reception (listening together) were all *collective* by nature. This aspect of group solidarity separates the handwritten newspaper from individualistic forms of workers' writings, such as personal diaries or letters. The main difference between socialist handwritten and printed newspapers lies in orality. A text in a handwritten newspaper was created with an awareness of its final oral presentation. Orality affected the content. Many of the texts became extremely context-dependent.[61] They contain multiple references to local personalities, events, and places.[62] Irony and parody, which perhaps opened up self-evidently to the listeners at the meeting, but are difficult to understand for those who are outside the writing community, is a typical stylistic choice in the handwritten papers.[63] Compared to print, the relationship between the creators and the audience was livelier, closer, and more intimate in the handwritten papers.

The art and science of creating subjects

When some Finlayson cotton factory workers wrote critically about their conditions in the newspapers in the late 19th century, the management replied that working men should not contribute to newspapers.[64] Prejudices towards common people's public writings existed in both Finland and Europe in general.[65] In the dominant ideology of paternalism, there was no room for self-directed working-class action. This huge factory was an enclosed micro-society with its own housing, church, hospital, canteen, school, orphanage, bank, library, and fire brigade.[66] To exaggerate only slightly, thousands of workers were controlled by one omniscient and omnipotent owner, who rewarded and punished his "children" for their behavior. The General Strike of 1905 challenged paternalism not only in the Finlayson factory, but also everywhere else in Finland. It began as a national strike against the Czar, but when workers' political demands grew, the strike revealed hidden domestic tensions as well.[67] In the factory, the director himself came to the workers' meeting that took place a month after the strike. He was angry with his workers, for several foremen had been thrown out of the factory by the workers without asking permission from the director. The director

60 The newspaper was *Walon Kipinä* in Alavus. See Ehrnrooth 1992, 414.
61 Berrenberg 2014, 315, 322–323.
62 Salmi-Niklander 2006, 113.
63 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 154–157; Berrenberg 2014, 315.
64 *Uusi Suometar* (4 April 1874), 5; *Uusi Suometar* (15 May 1874), 3.
65 See Mäkinen 2016.
66 Kanerva 1946, 152–153.
67 Alapuro 1988, 114–115.

threatened to close down the factory if the workers continued "to act as prosecutors and judges" in the future. The workers responded by singing a labor song, "The March of the Workers" [*Työväen marssi*]. The German director did not speak Finnish, but he surely got the message.[68]

What happened in the micro-society of the factory also took place everywhere else in the Grand Duchy: the General Strike of 1905 meant the final breakthrough of socialism in Finland. In the following year, the four-estate system dating from the 18th century was officially abandoned. The vast majority of Finns had no political representation in the old system, but now industrial and agrarian workers, crofters, and servants were enfranchised. Socialists polled 50 percent in Tampere in the first parliamentary election of 1907,[69] and the Finnish Social Democratic Party became the largest socialist party with parliamentary representation in Europe.[70] The word "vote" has a double meaning in many European languages, including Finnish: *ääni* can mean both the political vote in an election and the voice people use to communicate in everyday life.[71] In my interpretation, the political awakening of the masses in the form of socialism and the abundance of handwritten newspapers written by ordinary working people and read loud in their meetings are two interconnected phenomena. Of course, the political reform that was put into practice after the General Strike included freedom of speech, press, and assembly, which made public debate easier. However, instead of the lighter censorship, I would emphasize the growing urge of the working people to take part in public conversations, to enter the public sphere. A handwritten newspaper was one of the few media in which a worker could voice an opinion publicly.

The birth of the handwritten *Tehtaalainen* should be understood in this revolutionary context when the old authorities – the owners of the factory, the Czar of the Russian Empire, and even the God of the state church – were collapsing and new authorities were being created. Decades of political silence had been broken, and workers were defining their identity anew. Before I analyze this process more carefully, I wish to highlight some comments made by previous research. Currently, there are only two monographs on socialist handwritten newspapers published in Finland.[72] Jari Ehrnrooth's interpretation emphasizes the irrational and emotional aspects of handwritten socialism.[73] Methodologically, he aims to study

68 The minutes of the weaving section workers' meeting 30 November 1905. The People's Archives.

69 The story of Finnish socialism before the Civil War of 1918 is presented extensively in Finnish in Soikkanen 1961 and Soikkanen 1975, 1–262. In English, see Alapuro 1988, especially 101–139.

70 See Eley 2002, 66, table 4.2.

71 See entry on *ääni* in *Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, a dictionary of standard Finnish, http://www.kielitoimistonsanakirja.fi/

72 Salmi-Niklander 2004; Ehrnrooth 1992.

73 See e.g. Ehrnrooth 1992, 574: "In these [handwritten newspapers] the influence of revolution in the printed and spoken word was confused with perhaps still more original popular notions and emotional dynamics; of these the most important were Christianity as a natural law with the desire for salvation, original stubbornness,

"systems of knowledge without subject" in the Foucauldian sense.[74] This discourse-analytical approach can reveal some interesting internal structures of socialist writings,[75] but to my mind, it does not pay enough attention to the wider linguistic and materialistic contexts of the time.[76] Kirsti Salmi-Niklander is more sensitive to local, national, and international contexts in her folkloristic dissertation, which concentrates on the industrial writing community of Högfors in 1914–1926. She carefully takes into account the oral and printed traditions that affected workers' writings. In addition to the socialist discourse, she was able to find vernacular, romantic, modernist, and educational discourses. These discourses created different subject positions for the workers. For example, in the socialist discourse, a worker could be a submissive slave exploited by the capitalists, or a strong comrade fighting against this exploitation, whereas in the educational discourse a worker could be an irrational and violent hooligan or a rational and sophisticated activist.[77]

One reductive but possibly effective approach to study these subject positions is to analyze the names the workers use to refer to themselves. I concentrate here on the nouns that aim to unify workers rather than on individual pen names.[78] It is logical to start with the paper's title, *Tehtaalainen*, which means "factory worker" in the singular. A title referring to a trade either humorously or seriously was common among socialist handwritten newspapers.[79] Some other papers sought to highlight their educational mission with titles such as "The Ray of Light," "The Torch of Light," "The Enlightener," "The Contributor," "Towards the Truth," and "The Self-Educated."[80] The title matched the content in the case of *Tehtaalainen*, for there are many terms connected to working-class identity in the list of

hatred and vengefulness, also community sense in extreme terms of black and white. In handwritten revolution the lines of perceptive orthodoxy and archaic revenge are intertwined."

74 Ehrnrooth 1992, 40.

75 For example, the positive self-image of the workers is constructed in relation to negative attributes of the bourgeoisie, and the misery of present-day capitalism is contrasted with the glorious future of socialism. Ehrnrooth 1992, 493, 497–498.

76 For example, was the aggressive style of writing specific to the handwritten newspapers, or were the political languages of the early 20th century – such as socialism, nationalism, and Lutheranism – generally more aggressive than today's language in general? How was actual economic, social, and political power distributed – i.e., was Finland a black-and-white class society not only in the discourse of the handwritten newspapers but in material reality as well?

77 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 179–181.

78 On the meanings of pen names in handwritten newspapers, see Salmi-Niklander 2004, 127–131; 2013a, 398–401.

79 Some examples: "The Housemaid" [*Palveliatar*] in Helsinki, "The Iron Hand" [*Rautakoura*] in Vaasa, "The Sooty Nose" [*Nokinenä*], "The Hammer" [*Vasara*], and "The Tinker" [*Tinuri*] in Tampere.

80 "Ray of Light" [*Valon Säde*] in Alavus, "Torch of Light" [*Valon Soihtu*] in Iisalmi, "Enlightener" [*Walistaja*] in Högfors, "The Contributor" [*Edistäjä*] in Töölö, "Towards the Truth" [*Totuutta Kohti*] in Uusikaupunki, and "The Self-Educated" [*Itseopiskelijat*] in Helsinki.

the most frequent words appearing in the paper: "worker," "laboring people," "proletariat," "employee," and "working population."[81] These terms emphasize the shared position of the working-class in capitalist society. A minor detail, which might be relevant, is that these workers preferred the traditional Finnish word *köyhälistö* [the poor] to the international *proletariaatti* [proletariat] that was used in Marxist theories when referring to people without capital or property. Perhaps this was a wise rhetorical choice when approaching the common people, most of whom had never read Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, or Karl Kautsky.[82] It is somewhat surprising that the party-political nouns "socialist" and "social democrat" are quite rarely used by the ordinary factory workers. However, there are some alternative terms that are used more actively in the forging of a collective political identity: "member," "comrade," "group," "movement," "labor movement," and "class." The number of collective nouns – that is, terms that are almost exclusively used in the singular but denote more than one person – is substantial.

I have compared the vocabulary of *Tehtaalainen* to a newspaper published in Niinivedenpää, a small village of Northern Savo. This newspaper was written by the rural proletariat. Another important distinctive feature was a completely different culture of handwritten newspapers. Tampere had over twenty handwritten union newspapers in the early 20th century. Numbers this high were obviously not possible on the rural periphery. However, there had been a handwritten newspaper in this remote Northern Savo region even before the rise of the labor movement. A local youth association had published at least sporadically a handwritten newspaper entitled *Yhdistäjä* [The Connector] in the late 1890s.[83] After socialism had penetrated the countryside first during the General Strike of 1905 and then during the first election of 1907, Niinivedenpää established its own workers' association, and the orator's society of this association began to publish its own handwritten newspaper in 1909.[84]

Based on the title, *Kuritus* [Punishment], and statistics, the discourse seems to be more political and emotional. For example, the five verbs that are statistically most significant[85] in *Kuritus* compared to *Tehtaalainen* are

81 See the exact numbers in Appendix 1, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix1.docx

82 Socialism came to Finland as an ideology mainly through Karl Kautsky's writings, especially *The Erfurt Program* that was translated into Finnish in 1899. Thus, Finnish socialism of the time has been described as "simplified Marxism". Soikkanen 1961, 28.

83 *Suomalainen* (13 January 1897), 2.

84 Thirty issues of *Kurittaja* from 1909 to 1911 have been preserved in the Workers' Archives.

85 These comparisons were made with *Antconc*, a freeware corpus analysis toolkit, available from http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/. The statistical significance of keyness values throughout this chapter are calculated using the log-likelihood test. If the keyness value is higher than 6.63, the probability of the result happening by chance is less than 1 percent. If the keyness value is higher than 3.84, the probability of the result happening by chance is less than 5 percent. For more information on the log-likelihood test used here, see http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html

“to offer,” “to vote,” “to oppress,” “to betray,” and “to want.” Looking at the nouns connected to identities, agrarian workers use terms such as “people,” “socialist,” “party,” “proletariat,” “crofter,” and “citizen” much more frequently than their comrades in the industrial city of Tampere.[86] The words that unite these workers – who were separated by more than two hundred kilometers – are perhaps the most interesting. We see that handwriting workers especially liked to identify themselves with the terms “human being,” “member,” “worker,” “group,” and “people.” The abstract nouns that appear in the top 200 wordlists both in the industrial town and the countryside include “knowledge,” “freedom,” “justice,” “force,” “power,” “interest,” “mind,” “peace,” “struggle,” “work,” “time,” “future,” “society,” and “Finland.” Overall, these two handwritten socialist newspapers seem to have had more common ground than differences: 68 percent of the 200 most frequent words are the same in both cases.[87]

Many of these uniting words are common in Marxist terminology, but, curiously, the word “socialism” is not so popular in the political language of handwritten socialism.[88] The reason might be the weight of “-ism” words.[89] It required a firm commitment to defend “socialism” or, even more radically, to define oneself “a socialist” at the time when the word had for decades been demonized in the bourgeois press,[90] whereas praising eternally good values such as “freedom,” “justice,” and “knowledge” might have been psychologically easier for the working people. This could also explain why the workers refer to themselves as workers, human beings, or people rather than socialists or social democrats.

Focusing on personal pronouns in the study of identities has turned out to be a fruitful strategy in disciplines such as conceptual history and social psychology.[91] In particular, the word “we” is decisive when defining who belongs to the group and who does not. According to Salmi-Niklander, “we” was used in the handwritten newspapers especially when describing local events and in political essays and columns, whereas “I” was used mostly when describing personal experiences.[92] In *Tehtaalainen*, “we” was used altogether 461 times and “I” 383 times. It is impossible to create a general rule from this case only, since in *Kuritus* “we” was mentioned 309 times and “I” 341 times.

86 See the exact numbers in Appendix 2, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix2.docx

87 See all of these uniting words in the right column of Appendix 1, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix1.docx

88 “Socialism” is mentioned 16 times in *Tehtaalainen* and 12 times in *Kuritus*.

89 In general, -ism words are rare in the language of handwritten newspapers. The only -ism-words in *Tehtaalainen* are “socialism” (16 hits), “capitalism” (3), “alcoholism” (1), “antimilitarism” (1), “deism” (1), “materialism” (1), “parliamentarism” (1), “rheumatism” (1), and “big capitalism” (1). Only four -ism-words are mentioned in *Kuritus*: “socialism” (12 hits), “capitalism” (3), “altruism” (1), and “egoism” (1).

90 Marzec & Turunen 2018.

91 Conceptual history, see Koselleck 2004, 85; Social psychology, see Mehl 2006, 154–155.

92 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 169–170.

"He/she" was the most frequent personal pronoun in both of these cases.[93] In the biggest socialist and bourgeois printed newspapers in Tampere, "we" was more popular than "I" in each year from 1908 to 1910.[94] Thus, it appears that the frequency of "we" was not a divider between the socialist and bourgeois press, or between the handwritten and printed newspapers.

However, one can find some intriguing differences in the use of personal pronouns when studying the linguistic contexts in which they are used. I calculated the words that appear more frequently than expected by chance in a window of five neighboring words to the right and left of "I" and "we" in *Tehtaalainen*.[95] In my interpretation of these calculations, "I" was used especially in the context of expressing personal emotions: love, happiness, and spiritual feelings. "I" is most often in dialogue with the singular "you" who can be, for instance, a beautiful girl or God. Quite often, "I" is approaching the plural "you" as well. In these instances, the positive "you" can be an object of an educational speech, while the negative "you" is the recipient of a political rant.[96]

"We" serves a very crucial political function in *Tehtaalainen*. It appears most significantly with terms that are negative in the socialist discourse or imply social conflict. In the list of the top 50 terms that are close to "we," one can find "opponent," "unorganized," "enemy," "battle," "employer," "bourgeois," and "struggle." These findings support the argument that socialists indeed built their identity through a bipolar negation in which good needs evil. In the same list, the positive "we" is created with the words "collective," "position," "celebration," "will," "crowd," "line," and "organization."[97] The single most frequent word that was written right behind "we" was "union," forming the powerful idea of "our union."[98] Meanwhile, in the printed socialist newspaper of the town, the most common identity word that was used directly after "we" was the class-conscious "we, the workers," whereas in the bourgeois paper it was nationalistic "we, the Finns."[99] To summarize,

93 As a matter of fact, "he/she" (*hän*, the third person in Finnish, is gender neutral, so it may refer to a man or a woman) was the most frequent word in both corpora. It was mentioned 605 times in *Tehtaalainen* and 454 times in *Kuritus*.

94 See Appendix 3, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix3.docx

95 These words are called "collocates" in linguistics. I calculated these collocates with *Antconc*, using mutual information equations as described in Stubbs 1995. The minimum collocate frequency used here was five.

96 See Appendix 4, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix4.docx

97 See Appendix 5, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix5.docx

98 The combination "we" [*me*] + "union" [*osasto*] appeared 10 times in *Tehtaalainen*.

99 The combination "we" + "workers" [*työläinen*] appeared 28 times, "we" + "the people" [*kansa*] 25 times, and "we" + "socialists" [*sosialisti*] 17 times in the lemmatized raw text files of *Kansan Lehti* in 1908–1910. The combination "we" + "the Finns" [*suomalainen*] appeared 158 times, "we" + "the people" [*kansa*] 84 times, and "we" + "the people from Tampere" [*tamperelainen*] 24 times in the lemmatized raw text files of *Aamulehti* in 1908–1910. The files were lemmatized using Language Analysis Tool, freely available from https://github.com/jiemakel/las

the function of personal pronouns certainly varied in the papers and even within an individual piece of writing, but in general, "I" was used to express individual urges and "we" to create collective identities.

The language of socialism not only varied locally; there were also differences between genders. In the Finlayson factory, the use of personal pronouns in particular had a strong gender-based variation. Men used "I" and "you" (singular) more often than women did, whereas women used "they" more actively than their male counterparts did.[100] One could speculate that using "I" in the public sphere demanded a certain kind of self-confidence that was more common among men than women in the early 20th century. However, this would most likely be a false interpretation for in the previously analyzed handwritten newspaper of the countryside, there is no gender-based variation in the case of "I."[101] The patriarchal tradition of the Finlayson factory and Finnish society shows more clearly in the topics chosen by the socialist working women writers who should, after all, have represented the rising forces of modernization that wanted to crush conventional gender roles.[102] In general, women write more about the home, family, women, children, the body, food, wages, and religion. It is hardly surprising that women use the word "woman" and "working woman" more often than men, whereas men use the word "man" more frequently.[103]

Men talk abundantly about other men with their proper names.[104] As Salmi-Niklander has noted, local publicity – the description of local events with local people – is a characteristic element of handwritten papers.[105] The names of the factory workers are mentioned much more often than the names of famous socialist public figures in Finland or abroad. For example, the major intellectual authority of Finnish socialism, Karl Marx (1818–1883) is mentioned only once. The top five list of notable foreign figures consists of the English pacifist William Randal Cremer (1828–1908); the American dancer Isadora Duncan (1877–1927); the Emperor of Russia and Grand Duke of Finland, Nicholas II (1868–1918); the Pope; and the prime minister of United Kingdom, William Gladstone (1809–1898). However, references to them are so rare that their meaning should not be exaggerated.[106]

100 Men used "I" 1.6 times and "you" (singular) 1.6 times more often than women did in *Tehtaalainen*. Women used "they" 1.9 times more often than men did in *Tehtaalainen*.

101 Men used "I" 77 times in 6,386 words in *Kuritus*. Women used "I" 46 times in 3,609 words in *Kuritus*.

102 On gender and gender discourses in the 19th-century press, see Stark 2011, especially 70–77.

103 See the list of the words that women used more often than all the writers did in Appendix 6, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix6.docx

104 See the list of the words that men used more often than all the writers did in Appendix 7, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix7.docx

105 Salmi-Niklander 2006, 113; 2004, 59–60, 137–138.

106 See the exact numbers at the very bottom of Appendix 1, https://github.com/rt80119/fromtheobjecttothesubject/raw/master/appendix1.docx

If the language of handwritten newspapers changed depending on location, gender, and the individual, does it make any sense to treat it as a combined totality and to use concepts such as "the language of socialism?" I think it does, but with some important reservations. Firstly, the paper did not contain only or even mainly classical political texts, which typically introduce a practical problem and then solve it more or less analytically. The former definition of "political" is too narrow for a fruitful analysis of any handwritten newspaper. There are weird anecdotes and inside jokes, detailed descriptions of berry-picking trips to the woods, and clumsy love poetry in them. This aspect should not be trivialized, although one could present a counter-argument that socialism as the workers' master ideology offers the best framework to decipher even their humor or fictional stories.

Secondly, based on only two case studies, one from a southern town and one from northern countryside village, it is difficult to make any serious generalizations about "the common features" of all socialist handwritten newspapers. More material needs to be analyzed before we know what is specific and what is truly general in the content matter of these handwritten papers.[107] However, in the tentative analysis above, the differences in content between *Tehtaalainen* and *Kuritus* seem trivial when compared to the differences between the socialist labor movement and the Christian labor movement. For example, I have found one text in the printed newspapers that was originally published in the handwritten newspaper produced by the Christian trade union at the linen factory opposite the Finlayson factory. In this writing, a woman from the neighboring factory describes her personal belief in God in a way that cannot be found in any of the fifty issues of *Tehtaalainen*, nor in the thirty issues of *Kuritus*.[108]

Thirdly, although studying large text masses mainly by quantitative methods can reveal some interesting language patterns that could not be observed with close-reading methods, it can also lead to the weak contextualization of primary sources. In other words, language should not be reduced to wordlists that tell us what kinds of words the socialists used. More importantly, it is the historian's task to explain why they used their language in a certain way. Next, I close read one piece titled "The Meaning of The Factory Worker." I have chosen this text, as it is the most thorough and explicit analysis of a handwritten newspaper as a socialist phenomenon by one of its own writers that I have encountered.

The meaning

In the evening of 25 February 1917, the following text was read aloud at the union meeting, where about one hundred people were present:

107 For example, Jari Ehrnrooth's interpretation was criticized – in my opinion correctly – for concentrating only on texts that contained hatred and vengefulness, thus neglecting other aspects of handwritten newspapers. See Salmi-Niklander 2004, 61.

108 *Työkansa* (18 October 1912), 3.

> The meaning of this newspaper is to present ideas among the union members and to improve our literary tendencies by writing to this paper. Almost everyone sometimes thinks something worthy of a greater audience than themselves, but if they never speak these ideas to others nor write them down on paper, their ideas won't reach anyone else.
>
> Very few workers even dare to wish to see their ideas printed, even if they manage to write some ideas down on paper. They don't have the courage to offer these writings to newspapers or periodicals, so they will never see the joy of saying to other people what they feel inside their minds. And it is not easy to get published through ordinary newspapers, and not all of those who can write do so well enough that it would meet the standards of the public word. That is one reason why we – beginner writers – cannot use the printed press, and thus we need to have other media to get our opinions to the public.
>
> These handwritten newspapers have been established for us. We have to cherish them very carefully, so that they live and flourish and so that we who want to say something publicly would have the chance to do so. We shall have this chance if we don't let our paper die as it has already done once before.[109]

The text was written under the pseudonym "I. W." The woman behind these letters was Ida Vihuri (1882–1929). She was the second most prolific writer of all the factory socialists. As the daughter of a poor agricultural laborer, she – like so many other unemployed girls on the agrarian periphery – had moved to Tampere to work in a factory. In the town, she could take evening classes and improve her scarce education.[110] It is likely that the majority of these writing factory workers represent the first fully literate branch of their family trees. According to a study from 1880, about 85 percent of the Finns could read at least to some extent, but less than 13 percent were able to write.[111] Before the end of the 19th century, the church had taught people to read the fundamentals of Lutheran religion, but not to express their own opinions publicly. The rise of Finnish nationalism led to the organization of the elementary school system in the 1860s, which slowly improved literacy among the masses.[112] This gradual change is one of the major structural contexts of the workers' writings, such as Vihuri's text here. It was this profound cultural turn that made the idea of a workers' handwritten newspaper possible in the first place.[113] However, the new literacy skills of the non-privileged were more of a precondition than the primary reason for the rise of handwritten newspapers in the early 20th century.

Ida Vihuri became a union activist in the factory. When interpreting the piece above, it must be taken into account that the text was written by one

109 "Tehtaalaisen tarkoitus", pseudonym "I. W." (Ida Vihuri), *Tehtaalainen* (25 February 1917).

110 Pekkalainen 2011, 166.

111 Leino-Kaukiainen 2011, 348.

112 On the history of Finnish literacy, see Leino-Kaukiainen 2007.

113 Literacy practices of the common people in Finland during the long 19th century have been analyzed extensively in recent years. In English, see e.g. the articles concerning Finland in Kuismin & Driscoll (eds) 2013 and Edlund, Ashplant & Kuismin (eds) 2016.

of the leading figures of the local labor movement.[114] Who is she writing for, then? Here, the moment of writing plays an important role. *Tehtaalainen* had been dormant since 1914, and this was the first issue in three years. Politically, these were turbulent times. The protests and strikes had escalated in Saint Petersburg in January and February. Social protest led to a full revolution at the beginning of March.[115] This revolutionary spirit flew 400 kilometers northwest to Tampere. In the Finlayson cotton factory, many new comrades joined the union in February, and the union had run out of membership cards by the end of March.[116] Hence, Ida Vihuri was writing for the new members of the union who did not yet know the function of the newspaper. This is a question of domination as well. Vihuri wanted to define the correct way to use this medium, which had been very dear to her for years. She stresses the importance of both practical ("to improve our literary tendencies") and ideological ("to present ideas among the union members") functions. These educational motives were always subordinate to ideology. The plan was not to change the color of the collar from blue to white, but rather to learn new skills that were needed in order to improve the condition of the poor.[117]

Besides the ideological and educational reasons, there were also other sources of inspiration. For example, the most active writer from the factory, Jussi Mantere (1878–1957), preferred love poems and jokes to serious political analysis.[118] In addition to socialism, his motivation was to show his indisputable writing talents to women and to make his comrades laugh. Although the contrast between Ida Vihuri's party-political, formal, and practical writings and Jussi Mantere's personal, humorous, and often fictional texts is undeniably great, both of them believed that they were fighting for the same cause – the liberation of the workers from the tyranny of capitalism.[119]

114 Vihuri was even elected as a socialist MP after the Civil War. She drowned during the sinking of the *SS Kuru* in 1929.

115 Saint Petersburg was known as Petrograd in 1914–1924. For a lively account of the revolutionary events of 1917, see Figes 1997, 307–353.

116 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union's board meeting 26 March 1917. The People's Archives.

117 A great example of this is a heated debate on adult education in *Tehtaalainen* in the autumn of 1917. According to two writers, adult education spread information that was harmful to the working classes. These writings received a quick response from another worker who asked sarcastically whether it was arithmetic or written composition that leads workers astray. The point of the latter was that workers should learn even from the bourgeoisie, since they did not have their own intelligentsia yet. See "Yhä edelleen työväenopistosta", pseudonym "Entinen opistolainen", *Tehtaalainen* (9 September 1917); "Wieläkin työväenopistosta", pseudonym "Eräs mukana ollut", *Tehtaalainen* (23 October 1917); "Edellä olevaan kirjoitukseen hieman selitystä", pseudonym "Eräs oppilas", *Tehtaalainen* (23 October 1917).

118 See e.g. "Minka ma taian syömellen", pseudonym "Jaska" (Jussi Mantere), *Tehtaalainen* (November 1910); "Kesällä Pyynikillä", pseudonym "J. M." (Jussi Mantere), *Tehtaalainen* (August 1908).

119 "Hiukan tehdas elämästä", pseudonym "J. M." (Jussi Mantere), *Tehtaalainen* (11

According to the workers' own understanding, the handwritten paper was a public mode of communication. Vihuri stresses this view several times in her text above. It was a paper for "we who want to say something publicly". It was an attempt to surpass the limits of oneself as an individual. There was something very powerful in publicity, and this power could be used in various ways. When some unorganized workers did not want to support the strike fund that the union was collecting for neighboring factory workers in 1906, union members threatened to publish the names of these disloyal workers in *Kansan Lehti*, the socialist newspaper.[120] Similarly, the union debated if it should publish in *Tehtaalainen* the names of those union members who did not want to take part in the print workers' national strike by paying an extra contribution.[121] Although the explicit function of the paper was to give workers a chance to express their opinions completely freely, the implicit function was to guide workers towards orthodox opinions and actions. It was not a medium for all the workers of the factory. For example, older Christian women who were afraid of socialism and still believed in the good will of the factory masters were held up to ridicule several times in *Tehtaalainen*.[122] The handwritten newspaper created unity under the red banner of socialism, not in the sense of unidirectional party-political brainwashing but rather as a constant dialogical negotiation over the meaning of socialism in the local context of the factory.

In this reading, I explored some fundamental contexts that must be noted when interpreting any text in a handwritten newspaper. These include at least the writer (a long-term union activist), the audience (a rapidly growing union), the historical situation (the February Revolution), and the long-term structures (the rise of literacy and publicity). These very standard procedures are easily forgotten when applying statistical methods. The synthesis of the distant reading of large text masses and the traditional, close reading of individual writings typical to humanities produces the best results. The movement between the abstract level of atomized words and the concrete situations of real people – or the structure of language and the language event – is far from easy, but it serves as a methodological ideal.

Conclusion

In the 19th century, the Finlayson cotton factory workers were seen as the children of the factory owner, the Czar of the Russian Empire, and the God

February 1908); "Taantumusta vastaan!", Ida Vihuri, *Tehtaalainen* (19 March 1908).

120 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 19 November 1911. Tampere City Archives.

121 The minutes of the Finlayson cotton factory union meeting 5 March 1908. Tampere City Archives.

122 See e.g. "Kaikki työhön", pseudonym "J. M." (Jussi Mantere), *Tehtaalainen*, no. 2 (1914); "Pelastuksen aikakausi", pseudonym "I.", *Tehtaalainen* (28 August 1910); "Voi sinä pyhä yksinkertaisuus", pseudonym "E. H." (Erika Helle), *Tehtaalainen*, no. 4 (1914).

of the Church. This paternalistic ideology was challenged when Finnish workers embraced socialism in the early 20th century. The factory owner was transformed into the power of capital, the Czar was ridiculed and eventually murdered by the Bolsheviks, and God either became more proletarian or vanished. Socialism offered a completely different ideological story in which the workers were not passive victims but rather the main protagonists. It was through language – by writing, speaking, and singing together – that these workers changed themselves from the object to the subject of history. When factory workers took a pen and paper after a hard day's work and wrote that they were the primary force moving history, they were in the process becoming the very force they were trying to define.

Salmi-Niklander has argued that handwritten newspapers are often born in closed communities in periods of transition when a new group is born or the ideology of a group changes dramatically.[123] This general observation can shed light on the specific case of the Finlayson factory as well. *Tehtaalainen* signifies both the disintegration of the traditional factory community and, on the other hand, the re-attachment of a small but self-confident minority inside the larger community to the national, even international brother- and sisterhood of factory workers. In the language of factory socialists, the meaning of *Tehtaalainen*, "the factory worker," was not limited to the workers inside their own factory walls; rather, it referred to the factory workers of the world. Printed socialist newspapers, such as *Kansan Lehti* in Tampere, were essentially telling the same story about the fundamental unity of all workers, but in a handwritten newspaper, the workers could connect the dots with their own hand.

Thus, *Tehtaalainen* was definitely not a newspaper written by a harmonious local community. It was born in the context of a socialist trade union. In a way, it was an extension of class struggle from wages and working hours to the area of language and meanings. The self-conscious Finnish working class was not born automatically as the result of objective economic interests; it had to be imagined first. The collective forms of production, presentation, and reception indicate that the ultimate goal of the socialist handwritten newspaper was to create a Collective Subject. Words glued workers together. The collective terms, especially collective singulars – such as "laboring people," "working population," "proletariat," "group," "labor movement," and "class" – were frequently exploited in the handwritten newspaper in order to create political awareness. The personal pronoun "we" united the workers' hands in the battle against concrete and abstract enemies.

In addition to the form and content in general, the individual text chosen for the close reading stresses the collective brainstorming potential of the handwritten newspaper. In my interpretation, these are all signs of a shared identity project. Of course, the social aspect is present in every form of writing – even the most personal diary can be read as a dialogue between the self of the past and the self of the future – but I would claim that this sociality is stronger in the handwritten newspapers than in any other mode of writing

123 Salmi-Niklander 2004, 122–123.

in the early 20th century.[124] The handwritten newspaper was a womb of words in which the local dialect of the new political language of socialism was gestating. Language is never the private property of individuals: the praxis of creating, changing, and destroying language is always collective by nature.

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124 In fact, present-day online discussion forums resemble handwritten newspapers in their collectivity. From a historical perspective, it is curious that the Finnish far-right movement used a discussion forum (*Hommaforum*, established in 2008) as a springboard to their great electoral success in 2011. See Ylä-Anttila 2017. Berrenberg and Salmi-Niklander have also compared handwritten newspapers to modern online media. Berrenberg 2014, 316 and Salmi-Niklander 2013a, 409.

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Emese Ilyefalvi
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6677-5843

Further Contexts of a Writing Practice. Alternative Protestant Newspaper Culture in Transylvania in the First Third of the 20th Century[1]

Dezső Bonczidai was a Calvinist minister in Kide (Chidea)[2] who for three years between 1932 and 1935 wrote handwritten circular letters to his congregation under the title of *Lelkipásztori levél* [Pastoral Letter], which fulfilled the function of a congregational newsletter. I found his letters accidentally during my very first ethnographic fieldwork in the village (summer of 2007) as a BA student. At first glance it did not catch my attention at all, I was rather interested in folklore, the village and the villagers; just like folklorists of earlier paradigms I ignored the role of the local elite and nearly everything that was not "pure" orality. After my university years I returned to the topic and began to research the Minister's life and his letters.[3]

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC grant agreement № 324214.

2 Dezső Bonczidai born in 1902 Szilágyballa (Borla) and died in 1946 Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). The events described in this chapter relate to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, Romania, therefore all place names are given in both Hungarian and Romanian. When first referred to, the Hungarian version of a place name appears first followed by official Romanian in parenthesis. In subsequent references only the Hungarian name appears.

3 Ilyefalvi 2012; 2016. I managed to find 107 letters altogether, but of these only 40 are different. It means that there are letters, which have survived in several copies. The letters are from three sources: I found 24 in the village of Kide from four different local people; then I found 22 further letters in the Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese in the city of Kolozsvár. Letters with number 2–23 and posters advertising religious and foreign mission soirée, from the file *Kide község vegyes ügyei* [Miscellaneous issues of Kide] (1927–1946) in the Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Levéltára [Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese] (hereafter: EREL) in the Kolozsvári Egyházmegye Levéltára [Archives of the Diocese of Kolozsvár] (hereafter: KEL) but most of the *Pastoral Letters*, 61 in number, were found in the town of Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc, România), which are owned by Dezső Bonczidai's distant relatives. To imagine the volume of these 40 different letters, they are approximately 150 pages transcribed into a WordDoc text file with single spacing. For the diplomatic transcripts of all the *Pastoral Letters* see Ilyefalvi 2012, 75–141.

According to the well-defined, general interpretative framework of Francophone research on writing (Roger Chartier, Henri-Jean Martin, Martyn Lyons etc.) and new Anglo-Saxon literary studies and anthropology of writing (David Barton, Mary Hamilton, Niko Besnier, Cushla Kapitzke etc.), literacy is a social practice, which always reflects its own social, historical, and cultural contexts; moreover, it can only be interpreted in relation to these.[4] From this scientific aspect my previous approach to the material involved processing Dezső Bonczidai's letters; this included placing and understanding the source material in its immediate social context, first by studying the life course of the minister, second, by exploring what life in Kide was like between the two world wars, and third, by analyzing the content of the *Pastoral Letters*.[5] Viewed thus, the initially unusual, bizarre and unique writing style,[6] perfectly suited its environment; the minister's motivations became clear and the purpose of what he wrote made perfect sense. However, the method of execution still appears to be due to the ingeniousness of Bonczidai as author and the strange graphomania of this individualist. The initial focus of the study, which was the Calvinist religiosity of a Transylvanian village between the two world wars, the relationship between the lower clergy and the villagers, the new type of religiosity that put the ideals of a Home Mission into practice, and the conflicts that accompanied this process – left no space to place the early, congregational journalistic practice of the minister from Kide in its context as regards the history of writing.

The present study sets out to explore and understand a collective writing custom in order to better understand the writing activity of Dezső Bonczidai as the continuation and the reproduction of earlier, existing patterns. Moreover, it will show that it is a phenomenon closely related to simultaneously existing writing habits which form a network; this phenomenon is influenced, defined and regulated by these other writing customs and is far from being unique. At the early stages of research, the singularity of the *Pastoral Letters* was manifested: (1) in their being handwritten, (2) in the idea of a village/congregational newspaper, (3) in the phenomenon of a one-man editorship and the resulting tone of the newspaper, and (4) the problem of the genre chosen by the minister, that is, a newspaper in the form of a letter. This study takes on the contextualization of the first item on this list (being handwritten), thus pointing out the traditions and parallels in the history of writing that can be associated with Dezső Bonczidai's writing practice.

4 Keszeg 2008, 153; Barton 1991, 1; Kapitzke 1995, xv; Barton & Papen 2010, 9. On the points of connection and the common questions between the two disciplines and different national research traditions in detail see Barton & Papen 2010.

5 Ilyefalvi 2012; 2016.

6 This form of communication was unique in Transylvania and also in Hungary at that time, because no similar pastoral activity has been found. The village was very small, consisting only of two streets, with 388 Calvinist believers; and although all the people had daily connections, the minister chose a new form of communication.

A newspaper in handwriting

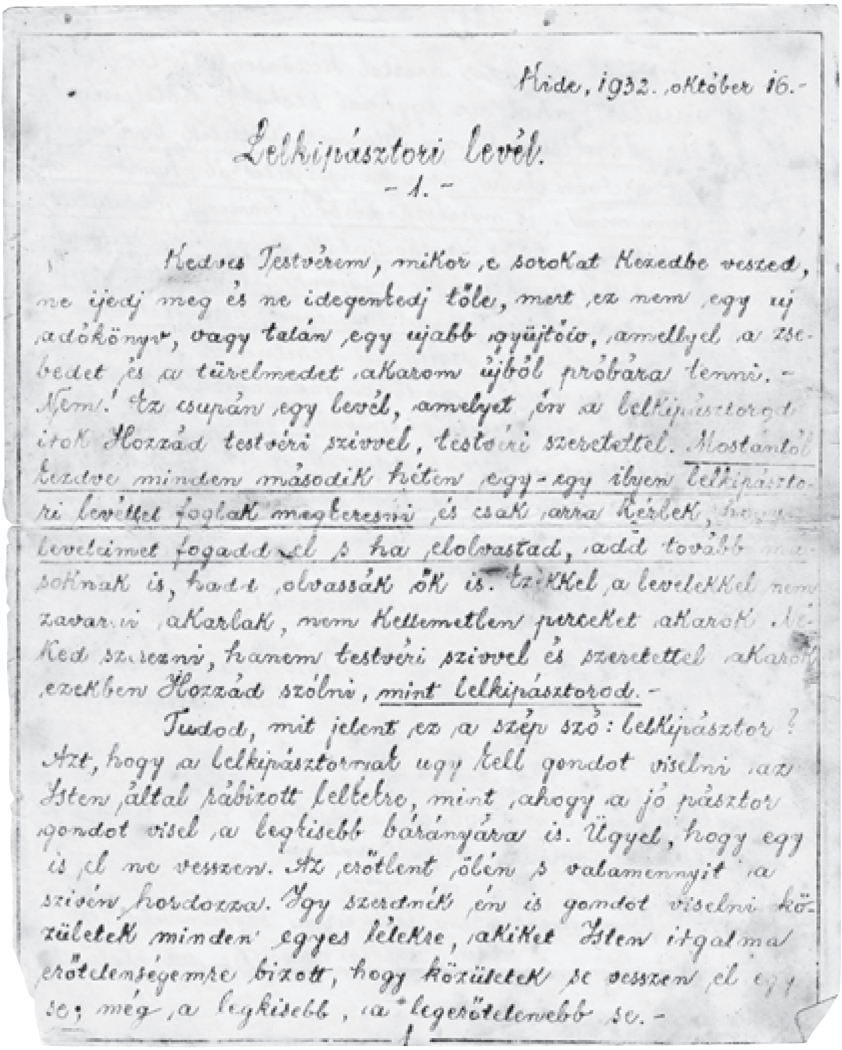
Dezső Bonczidai wrote handwritten congregational newsletters, which he duplicated manually with a hectograph in approximately 100 copies and gave a copy each to groups of four or five neighboring families. The handwritten form immediately raised the question of why the minister took the effort to write and edit a congregational newspaper by hand in the 20th century. Why make such an effort? Why was the printed religious press no good or not good enough? Why did the Calvinist congregation in Kide need a separate newspaper in 1932? All this constitutes an interesting problem considering that the Transylvanian press, and especially the Transylvanian religious press, evolved substantially after the Paris Peace Treaty following the First World War, with press organs targeting various audiences appearing one after the other: neither Calvinist nor other Protestant religious reading material was in short supply in the 1930s.[7] The focal question of this study joins the discourse of international research on handwritten newspapers that explores the motivations behind handwritten press production in an age after the appearance of printing. Why do the authors of these newspapers resort to handwriting? Why would they not use the already existing technology of printing? How does the type of the medium influence its content? Is handwritten content the same as its printed equivalent?[8]

The primary motivation behind Dezső Bonczidai's *Pastoral Letters* was to convey an active, vital Christian way of life in accordance with the "Home Mission"[9] and to implement it, to transmit the mission mentality, the

7 Sipos 2002, 28–30; Fleisz 2005, 117, 183; Győrffy 2014, 102. The Paris Peace Treaty (commonly referred to among Hungarians as Trianon) was concluded on 4 June 1920. One of its main consequences was that approximately 1.5 million Hungarians became a minority in Transylvania. For comparison at that time 2.85 million Romanians and 550,000 Germans and other minorities lived in this region. Fischer-Galați 1985, 194. The new Romanian constitutions (1923, 1938) did not acknowledge ethnic minorities, only religious minority ones. Bárdi 2008b, 91. In this minority context the Hungarians and the former Hungarian institutions were discriminated against by the Romanian authorities in several ways. Primarily they attempted to abolish the usage of the Hungarian language, and education in Hungarian (e.g. Romanian authorities closed Hungarian elementary schools), and banned Hungarian cultural and civil associations. Thus, all important political, cultural and economic activities could only take place within the Hungarian historical churches (Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian). This is one of the reasons, why the Hungarian church press flourished in this period. See in detail the section entitled "The situation of the Hungarian press between the two world wars" of this chapter. For further information about the Hungarian minority in Transylvania in the interwar period and the realignment of the institutions see Bárdi 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; Bíró [1989] 2002; in English Bíró [1975] 1992; with further references Fischer-Galați 1985, 190–215.

8 Salmi-Niklander 2006, 110; 2013, 76.

9 According to Réka Kiss's definition "Home Mission is primarily the sum of religious-ecclesiastical renewal efforts under the new urban conditions of capitalism, especially the actions and the intellectual impact of the 'father of the German Home Mission' F. Johann Heinrich Wichern (1808–1881)." Kiss 2006, 1344. Although the



Kide, 1932. október 16.-

Lelkipásztori levél.
- 1. -

Kedves Testvérem, mikor e sorokat kezedbe veszed,
ne ijedj meg és ne idegenkedj tőle, mert ez nem egy új
adókönyv, vagy talán egy újabb gyűjtőív, amellyel a zse-
bedet és a türelmedet akarom újból próbára tenni. -
Nem! Ez csupán egy levél, amelyet én a lelkipásztorod
írok Hozzád testvéri szívvel, testvéri szeretettel. Mostantól
kezdve minden második héten egy-egy ilyen lelkipászto-
ri levéllel foglak megkeresni és csak arra kérlek, hogy
leveleimet fogadd el s ha elolvastad, add tovább má-
soknak is, hadd olvassák ők is. Ezekkel a levelekkel nem
zavarni akarlak, nem kellemetlen perceket akarok Ne-
ked szerezni, hanem testvéri szívvel és szeretettel akarok
ezekben Hozzád szólni, mint lelkipásztorod. -
Tudod, mit jelent ez a szép szó: lelkipásztor?
Azt, hogy a lelkipásztornak úgy kell gondot viselni az
Isten által rábízott lelkekre, mint ahogy a jó pásztor
gondot visel a legkisebb bárányára is. Ügyel, hogy egy
is el ne vesszen. Az erőtlent ölén s valamennyit a
szívén hordozza. Úgy szeretnék én is gondot viselni kö-
zületek minden egyes lelkekre, akiket Isten irgalma
erőtlenségemre bízott, hogy közületek se vesszen el egy
se; még a legkisebb, a legerőtelenebb se. -

Figure 1. Lelkipásztori levél *[Pastoral Letter] No. 1. Kide, (16 October 1932), page 1.*

history of the Hungarian Home Mission in the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be traced back to various roots (American, Scottish, English, German, Swiss, etc. impacts), whose influence allowed the Home Mission to profit from several renewal concepts; it can be established in general that all of these currents and their leaders accepted and embraced the following areas of activity in the framework of different societal or associational work programs: the education of children and youth (Sunday School Society); the mission among servants; missions to the poor and to orphans; the mission to addicts, especially alcoholics (Blue-Cross Society) and to prostitutes (White-Cross Society); the Jewish mission; missionary publications; the foreign mission; public education. The main manifestations of the Home Mission are as follows: Bible circles, home religious services, prayer communities, religious social events, love feasts, conferences, camps, society meetings, journalistic publications. Hereafter in the study, Home Mission refers to these activities in a broad sense.

message that encourages "real" conversion to Christianity, urging in writing that the "right/true/believer" lifestyle be followed.[10] In order to uncover the context relating to the history of writing that explains the functionality of the handwritten form, I searched for parallels, primarily among handwritten or homemade newspapers and subsequently among printed alternative newspapers that are somehow related to the 20th-century Transylvanian Protestant Home Mission movements, the target audience of which was not religious leadership, but a wider public: laymen, urban and rural inhabitants, and students.[11] So far, I have been able to identify two handwritten newspapers from this period, both in Transylvania, also duplicated with a hectograph.[12] One of them is the *Evangéliumi Munkás* [Evangelical Worker], launched in 1921 Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca).[13] The other is the newspaper of a youth conference in Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) organized in 1926, *Tábortűz* [Campfire].[14] In order to understand why these two newspapers were published in handwriting it is necessary to outline the most important characteristics of the Transylvanian Home Mission's religious publication efforts, and to describe the circumstances and possible options of the Hungarian minority press between the two world wars. Therefore, in what follows, I will discuss these two contexts.

Home Mission and missionary publications

One of the most important instruments of the Home Mission was the press, which had already started to rapidly evolve in this period[15] and which manifested itself in the distribution of missionary publications. At the beginning of the 20th century the various religious clubs and conventions

10 Ilyefalvi 2016, 122.

11 Since the 18th century, a variety of examples and types of handwritten newspapers are known in western European Protestant religious and intellectual circles. For this cf. for instance the German journal of the "Moravian (Herrnhut) brotherhood" *Gemein-Nachrichten*, or the journal of Lutheran minister Abraham Achrenius (1706–1769). Kirsti Salmi-Niklander refers to further Swedish and Finnish examples with reference to the research of Ilkka Mäkinen and Martti Ruuth. Cf. Salmi-Niklander 2013, 77. In the Transylvanian context we can mention the handwritten journal *Egyházi Lap* [Ecclesiastic Newspaper], edited from 1860 by Unitarian theology students. Gaal 2011, 175.

12 The difficulty of discovering sources is that the often short-lived handwritten journals and newspapers without a continuous institutional background were not entered at the time (or in many cases later, either) into a library. They have either been destroyed, ruined, lost or lie hiding in private collections, religious archives, or personal manuscript collections. I stumbled on the issues of the two newspapers described in this study accidentally while researching the Transylvanian Home Mission.

13 There is only one single copy of the newspaper (vol. 1, no. 3) in the library of the Protestant Theology Institute in Kolozsvár. Reference number: F 380.

14 Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist Diocese, Archives of the Diocese of Kolozsvár (hereafter: EREL KEL), legacy of Dezső László.

15 Kristóf 1938; Monoki 1941; Fleisz 2005.

produced countless press products – of varying quality, scale and target audiences – with the aim of distributing and propagating the work of the Home Mission. In Transylvania, one of the most important publications was *Kis Tükör* [Little Mirror], edited by István Kecskeméthy Csapó.[16] This "illustrated, family weekly paper," published from 1892, established its base in Kolozsvár when Kecskeméthy moved there, and the paper thus became known all around Transylvania.[17] Although, as a professor in theology, Kecskeméthy was a member of the religious elite, he, as an evangelical, was in constant conflict with the representatives of the dominant liberal theological views prevailing at the time, especially with Gerő Szász, chief diocesan notary. Tensions escalated to a point where, on one occasion, liberal supporters ripped a copy of the *Kis Tükör* out of the theologian's hands,[18] and the bishop was forced to close down the Sunday school movement.[19] Although *Kis Tükör* ceased publication in 1907 (mostly because of the attacks on Kecskeméthy's person and activities), by the 1910s there were numerous other press products that distributed the ideas and objectives of the Home Mission within the Austro-Hungarian Empire: *Mustármag* [Mustard seed], *Diákvilág* [Student world], *Ébresztő* [Wakening], *Élet és Munka* [Life and Work], *Hajnal* [Dawn], to name just a few.

The important role of the missionary publications and the surge of new (printed) newspapers founded in the 1910s is well demonstrated by the lesser known, monthly home missionary edition of *Gyertyafény* [Candle light] launched by the Calvinist minister, Miklós Torró,[20] in 1914

16 István Kecskeméthy Csapó (1864, Paks–1938, Kolozsvár) theology professor, religious author. For more see Molnár 1996. Kecskeméthy arrived in Transylvania on the invitation of Domokos Szász, bishop of Transylvania; he was posted first to Nagyenyed (Aiud) in 1894 to the Department of Old Testament Theology; then in 1895 he started to teach at the newly established Department of Theology in Kolozsvár. From the very beginning of holding services in Kolozsvár, Kecskeméthy started to organise the organs and societies of the Home Mission. (Evangelical Society, Sunday school, White Cross Association). Szász 2007, 970.

17 For the short description of *Kis Tükör* see Ibid., 994–995. From 1905 for three years (basically until the paper was cancelled) *Kis Tükör* had an annexe for the young called *Napsugár* [Sunshine], also edited and written by Kecskeméthy. Biró 1939, 3.

18 Nagy 1937, 217–219; Szász 2007, 971.

19 Following this incident Kecskeméthy organised the Sunday school session at his apartment for a while but the schools officially banned the children from attending. Meanwhile the Church organized services for children, but according to Kecskeméthy it was unable to fulfill its original function. Szász 2007, 971, 987–988.

20 Miklós Torró (1886, Brăila?–1928, Szilágypanit (Panic)) studied Calvinist theology in Sárospatak, then until 1912 he was a curate in Újcsanálos in Miskolc District. Between 1912 and 1915 he served as the Calvinist minister of Pókafalva (Păuca) of the Alba Iulia diocese, and between 1915 and 1921 he was the minister of Ikafalva (Icafalău) in Háromszék (Trei Scaune) County. Between 1921 and 1928 he worked for the diaspora Mission among the Regat Hungarians in Brăila. From 1928, he was the minister in Szilágypanit, where he suddenly passed away from illness after four days in service. Cf. K. G. [Géza Kádár] 1928. He was a founding member of the *Vécsi Szövetség* [Vécs Society] (1921), see Fekete Jr. 2011, 584. In the 1910s he published works such as *Korszerű bibliamagyarázatok* [Modern Bible

in Pókafalva.[21] In the first number of the journal the editor himself asks the question: What justifies the foundation of a new journal if there are countless other existing and accessible publications that have similar defined goals? Torró claims that the specificity of *Gyertyafény* is that it promotes the cause of the diaspora mission;[22] this is what distinguishes it from the rest, because it wants to show the readers how a diaspora mission can and should be implemented and how the work of the Home Mission and saving the nation can and should be carried out in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious settlement in Hunyad County (Județul Hunedoara), and thereby, obviously, evangelize the most readers possible. Torró's – almost obsessively performed – duty to produce missionary publications and to maintain this activity under all circumstances becomes conspicuous when he is forced to flee his post as a minister with his entire family when the Romanians enter Transylvania, and the newspaper "flees" with him. Despite the hardships of the First World War, Torró published his newspaper regardless of place or circumstances.[23]

In the journals associated with the religious awakening of the early 20th century, besides discussing Home Missionary goals and ideals, the followers of the movement often criticized the activities of conservative ministers who represented liberal theology and the ecclesiastical leadership of the official religious elite. They also often published news describing how the local leaders of the Church hindered the work of the Home Mission and the various activities of religious awakening. For instance, Miklós Torró published a news piece in *Gyertyafény* from Zemplén County about a woman who was threatened with prison by a local minister for hosting Sunday school

Interpretations], in 1915 *Brassay Zoltán jogász úr kálváriája. Inkább diákoknak és a köznép fiainak* [The calvary of Mr Zoltán Brassay, attorney. Rather for students and the public]. See its critique: "Kritikus" [Critic] 1916.

21 Pókafalva (Păuca/Törnen). According to the estimates of Miklós Torró, including the diaspora, there were 116 Hungarians, 513 Saxons, and 768 Romanians living in this settlement in 1914. *Gyertyafény*, vol. 1, no. 8, 13.

22 "Diaspora" here refers to Hungarian minorities in Romania before 1914, outside what were the "borders" of Transylvania as it was defined before the Paris Peace Treaty.

23 After a long and adventurous journey – which Torró describes later in the columns of *Gyertyafény* – he first settles down in Nyírkarász with minister Sándor Keresztessy Jr., therefore he asks the readers in vol. 3, no. 9 to send the manuscripts and their letters to that address. On the cover of this issue the usual header depicting the Calvinist church of Pókafalva and a lit candle is missing – Torró even kept the header after moving to Ikafalva – because it was destroyed in the printing press when the Romanians took over Transylvania. The first number of volume 4 was published in Pribékfalva, which was also where he awaited subscriptions; the second issue of this volume was published in Gyula. In this issue Torró indicated to his readers that due to the lack of paper supply because of the war he would only be able to produce the newspaper every other month, or half an issue a month. The fourth number of the fourth volume of *Gyertyafény* is issued in Ikafalva again, after which the newspaper is forced to be in intermission for five years. In 1923, already as the minister of Brăila, he restarts *Gyertyafény*, which by this time is promoted as the only Hungarian home missionary and literary monthly journal of the Regat.

in her home;[24] and three issues later the author commented on the following Transdanubian story: "X.Y. a Lutheran dean said to an acquaintance of mine: The Evangelist Christian student movement is poisoning the core of the student youth. – Well, well, has anyone heard a darker declaration, especially from the mouth of a priest, and no less a dean!"[25]

Even though "religiosity, the exercise of piety, the impediments to observing religion, and participating in a religious experience has incited people, for centuries, to express themselves in intensive writing practices,"[26] the phenomenon of how the new media (the press) became the new instrument for this practice and how it conquered the public sphere can be considered as specific to this age. In the first half of the 20th century both the Home Mission ideologies and its instrument of choice (that is, the press) had to become legitimate. From the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century we encounter attitudes which considered newspapers and magazines to be unsuited to religious communication. For instance, the first edition of *Kis Tükör* published a story in 1892 about an English priest who read out loud an excerpt from a London newspaper during his sermon. This provoked a negative reaction from some of the readers: "Thank God we have not yet resorted to reading the paper from the pulpit." However the editor of the magazine commented: "And we say, thank God that there are still newspapers from which one can read out loud, even from the pulpit."[27] In 1914, in the columns of *Gyertyafény*, Miklós Torró also felt the need to point out the Christian and positive aspects of modernity, while also acknowledging its disadvantages: "[…] but really, can the workers of God's land neglect the useful achievements of our age? Just because the winged wheels (the train) has brought sin to many isolated territories and taken the livelihood of thousands of poor people (namely the smallholders working as carters in the Székely land), should I not ride on it if I want to take an important message to a distant place?"[28]

By the 1920s, however, the ecclesiastical press (and simultaneously the alternative religious press) not only became a legitimate instrument, but it practically became a Christian duty to write, edit, read and promote these media in the widest range possible. This new duty is well captured in a catchphrase by László Ravasz, which encouraged people to buy press products and was used as a slogan in several newspapers: "The press is a pealing bell, the press is a church, and whoever supports the Church press, builds the Church."[29] The visual representation on the front page of *Református Naptár* [Calvinist Calendar], a picture depicting a Calvinist family the members of which all hold or read some type of newspaper or religious publication, conveyed the same message.

24 *Gyertyafény*, vol. 1, issue 5, 15–16.

25 *Gyertyafény*, vol. 1, issue 8, 13.

26 Keszeg 2008, 157. For the short overview of the relationship between literacy and religion see Kapitzke 1995, 22–54.

27 *Kis Tükör*, vol. 1, no. 2, 8.

28 *Gyertyafény*, vol. 1, no. 4, 13.

29 This slogan by László Ravasz was used in Calvinist newspapers between the wars as an advertisement to buy more Calvinist religious publications; see, for example, *Református Ifjúság* [Calvinist Youth] 1936. III (9–10), p. 76.

Figure 2. Cover page of the Református Naptár *[Calvinist Calendar], 1933.*

The situation of the Hungarian press between the two world wars

Behind the sense of duty to produce ecclesiastical and religious press in Transylvania and to promote press culture there was more than just the innovative religious ideas described above. The Paris Peace Treaty transformed the situation of the Transylvanian press completely and since the system of press institutions was the first to recover after the war, "public space became the main internal power of self-organized society and also the primary actor of a self-defense struggle."[30] The quick restoration of the press was facilitated by the fact that establishing new newspapers was relatively simple because the interests of the Romanian government were to completely separate the Hungarians annexed to Romania as fast as possible from any type of Hungarian institution.[31] As regards the freedom of press,

30 Győrffy 2014, 98.
31 Ibid., 98.

the picture was not so positive. Although the 1923 constitution ensured the freedom of press in principle, in reality the institution of "temporary" censorship established during Martial Law continued to prevail between the two world wars.[32] Censorship targeted the prevention of articles that (1) referred to the strengthening of solidarity among Hungarians (or to the explicit organization of some sort of resistant Hungarian group); (2) discussed national consciousness or praised the Hungarian people; and (3) cast a favorable light on Hungary or published photographs in relation to Hungary.[33] The Calvinist Church took on the cultivation of the minority Hungarian national culture, because in such a situation "religion and religious life are re-evaluated and become parts of ethnic culture, they become the single practical form and institution of survival."[34]

Evangéliumi Munkás *[Evangelical Worker] (1921)*

When the *Evangéliumi Munkás* was established in 1921 the press had become an accepted new mass medium and the Home Mission had become an accepted, new type of religious concept; moreover, despite their minority circumstances the infrastructure for establishing the newspaper was also present. Why was the *Evangéliumi Munkás* still issued in handwriting? According to the front page of the newspaper it was meant to be "a home missionary journal to aid in evangelizing work," published by the *Evangéliumi Munkások Erdélyi Szövetsége* [Transylvanian Alliance of Evangelical Workers] (hereafter EMESZ). EMESZ was founded in 1918 in Kolozsvár by István Kecskeméthy, its predecessor being *Evangéliumi Szövetség* [Evangelical Alliance] (1896), also founded by him, which basically laid down the groundwork for CE Societies in Transylvania. The *Christian Endeavour Society* (CE) is a movement initiated in Boston in the 1880s, the primary initial goal of which was to maintain the faith of young Christians; later, however, they basically embraced all the work associated with the Home Mission.[35] In terms of its operations it was supra-congregational; but its members were also members of one or another of the Christian congregations and churches. The movement spread rapidly: by 1902 there were approximately 52,000 societies with more than 3.5 million members around the world. In 1906 an organization encompassing the European

32 Although censorship was dropped between 1928 and 1933, the continuous harassment of the editors and journalists of Hungarian newspapers and journals and the practice of press trials did not stop. Győrffy 2014, 106.

33 Bíró [1989] 2002, 428; Győrffy 2014, 113.

34 Keszeg & Becze 2001, 16.

35 CE is an abbreviation of something different in every country; in Hungarian it stands for *Célegyenest Előre* [Straight ahead] or even more commonly the expression *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* [For Christ and for the Church]. Cf. Szász 2007, 966. Footnote 1. For an overview of the history of Transylvanian CE Societies between the two world wars see Szász 2007. Also see Buzogány & Jánosi 2011, 88–91.

societies was established, followed by the establishment of the CE Society.[36] In Budapest the CE Bethánia Association was created in 1903, led by Aladár Szabó, its vice-president being Kecskeméthy. The first significant CE Societies in Transylvania at the beginning of the 20th century, besides Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), were in Zilah (Zalău), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) and in the Zsil (Jiu) Valley.[37] The broadly-defined home missionary efforts, and, within them, the work of the CE Societies, initially provoked fervent resistance from the religious leaders representing the views of the former, liberal theology. For them the warriors of the Home Mission were too pious, pietistic, socialist, etc. They criticized their elitist seclusion, their declaration of being "more vivacious", "more believing" Christians, and the fact that they grouped the most zealous workers of the Church into a separate system of societies with their separate charters. Among the continuously recurring accusations was that there were too many laymen fulfilling ecclesiastical functions. They attacked societies – such as CE Societies – which they imagined to be organized into a supra-congregational structure, for being unfaithful to the Church and anti-nationalistic.[38]

The editor of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* was Arthur K. Tompa,[39] who had filled the position of secretary and travelling secretary within the EMESZ since the beginning and, after Kecskeméthy's death, became the president of the EMESZ until his death in 1944. K. Tompa contributed to the efforts of the Home Mission and especially that of the Transylvanian CE from the very beginning; mostly by promoting the missionary publications. Before the *Evangéliumi Munkás*, he had been the responsible editor of *Remény* [Hope], from 1912 until its cancellation in 1917. This was the monthly journal of *Kék-Kereszt Egyletek Reményszövetsége* [Hope Society of the Blue Cross Organizations] in Krasznahorvát (Horoatu Crasnei) in Szilágy County (Județul Sălaj), aimed at the leaders of the society whose mission included fighting alcoholism. It is important to mention that the first volume of *Remény* was also published in handwriting, one of the reasons for which might have been that initially the grassroots society did not have sufficient financial resources for print production. The subscription fee for *Remény* was a "fraternal prayer," which meant that the reader could access the journal for free, and the editor tried to cover distribution costs from donations.[40]

36 Szász 2007, 966–967.

37 Ibid., 971. The society was outlawed in 1947 by the Romanian State; however, it continued its operations illegally until 1990; since 1990 to the present day it has continued to carry out missionary work. Kiss 2003, 55–56; Szász 2007, 974.

38 Szász 2007, 997–1022; Kiss 2003.

39 Arthur K. Tompa (1872, Kolozsvár–1944, Kendilóna (Luna de Jos)): for more on his biography see Szász 2007, 973. Footnote 29.

40 The National Széchényi Library in Budapest has only a few issues of this journal from its second volume, which was also the basis for the description of the journal, which also confirms its initial handwritten form. We also know about the non-printed production of the first volume from the first issue of the second volume, which includes an article from the editor informing the readers that thanks to donations from supporters *Remény* will be printed in five more copies. The support was extended to include the newspaper *Fecske* [Swallow], which was founded for

K. Tompa had wide-ranging experience in distributing publications, he knew exactly the working mechanism and he even had the network for it. In 1921, in the same year that he launched the handwritten *Evangéliumi Munkás*, he also became the co-editor of *Fölfelé* [Upwards], the newspaper of Transylvanian students edited by Andor Járosi, printed at the Minerva press in Kolozsvár.

The launch of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* was justified by the establishment of EMESZ, since the independent society required its own official news outlet.[41] At the 1918 foundation of the society, Kecskeméthy sent its charter to be registered at the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Interior; this, however, was never completed because Transylvania was annexed to Romania under the Paris Peace Treaty. The charter translated into Romanian was eventually accepted by the new Romanian government in 1923 and, thus, EMESZ was registered as a legal entity.[42] Hence, underlying the reasons for the handwritten publication of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* one can detect the uncertainty of a newly established structure. In 1921, when compiling the first issue, EMESZ was essentially legally non-existent. Furthermore, the organizational restructuring after the Paris Peace Treaty did not eliminate the tension between the CE and the official Church; on the contrary, it further complicated matters. It was not only the CE society that had to be reorganized, but the Calvinist Church as well, which quickly started to operate as the missionary "people's Church" [*népegyház*] of the Hungarians, who now found themselves in the minority in Romania after the Treaty. The Calvinist Church became one of the central organs of self-organization and resistance.[43] In order to maintain this central unity, on 24 November 1923, the Transylvanian Diocese led by Bishop Károly Nagy dissolved every society within the Church, because they believed that the societies and organizations were weakening the central role of the Calvinist Church.[44] EMESZ, however, continued its autonomous activity, since it was a legal entity outside the Church.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the CE Society was mostly criticized precisely because of its organizational independence.[45] At this point the Transylvanian

Sunday school teachers, and could be sent out to every subscriber. The subscription fee remained a "fraternal prayer" even after it was published in print, the readers' attention was drawn to the necessity of financial donations. *Remény*, vol. 2, nos. 1–2, 1–2.

41 Earlier, because of Kecskeméthy and the *Kis Tükör*, the Transylvanian CE Societies had been in close contact in their missionary publication efforts with the Bethánia Society of Budapest. Szász 2007, 971.

42 Szász 2007, 972.

43 Bíró [1989] 2002, 347. About the organizational transformation of Transylvanian churches between the two world wars and about the problem of an only theoretical religious freedom see Bíró [1989] 2002, Chapter III: *A magyarok egyházi helyzete Nagy-Romániában* [The ecclesiastical situation of Hungarians in Great Romania], 322–350. For more on the system of institutions of the Transylvanian Calvinist Church between the two world wars see Sipos 2002.

44 Nagy 1995, 175; Szász 2007, 972.

45 Szász 2007, 1004–1006. For a sociological and phenomenological analysis of the organizational conflict between the CE and the Calvinist Church see Kiss 2003.

Calvinist Church wished to organize all Home Mission activities concerning every target group and every aspect of life from within the Church.[46] The relationship between the CE and the official Church was further complicated when a new group of Calvinist ministers enthusiastically fighting for the Home Mission established the *Vécsi Szövetség* [Vécs Alliance] in 1921.[47] The "alliance" imagined themselves as a new alternative offering a middle ground, as opposed to the previous groups of ministers, namely the Association of Ministers, which had focused too much on material issues and ecclesiastical politics, and EMESZ, which put piety and universalism too much in the centre, was rather indifferent towards ethnic issues and had autonomy from the official Church, which they criticized sharply.[48] As regards their operations, the Vécs Alliance showed great similarities with the CE Society (they even overlapped, since the Vécs Alliance did not exclude their members from also being members of the CE Society: one such person was Miklós Torró); however, they carried out all of their activities as part of the official Calvinist Church. Although initially they also had to fight their battles with the current religious leaders, gradually the Vécs Alliance developed their own press organs (*Az Út* [The Way], *Kiáltó Szó* [Exclamation], *Kálvinista Világ* [Calvinist World]); and as the founding members gained more and more influence within the ecclesiastic leadership, their goals became the general objectives of the Church.[49]

Due to the differences of opinion, and to the fact that by then CE was a movement looking back on a two-decade history of its own, they were understandably reluctant to be officially integrated into the Church, even in light of their minority position; they considered their supra-congregational, independent and autonomous nature to be crucial for the success of their mission. In order to have their own missionary publications they first had to be established officially. Following their 1923 registration, the society

46 Nagy 1995, 172–173; Bíró [1989] 2002, 347. The Calvinist Church's own home missionary commission the *Belmissziói Tanács* [Home Mission Commission] / *A Kolozsvári Lelkészek Társasága* [Society of Pastors from Kolozsvár] was established in 1922. Buzogány 2000, 13–16; Szász 2007, 986. About the debates see the articles of Géza Nagy in the *Református Szemle* [Calvinist Review] and the replies of Kecskeméthy and others CE ministers published in the pages of *Kis Tükör*. Szász 2007, 998–1000. Furthermore, lectures on the legitimacy of CE were often among the topics of the CE conferences in the 1930s. Szász 2007, 983–985. In 1928, the Board of Directors of the Transylvanian Diocese conducted an inspection and asked their ministers to report on the activities of CE members and on local circumstances. The reports paint a mixed picture, depending on whether the given minister was in support of the CE, perhaps even a member of it, or against the CE movement. For more on the conflict see also the abstracts of the reports of the CE travelling secretaries. Szász 2007, 1007–1022. Nonetheless, in many cases the CE and the official Church were able to successfully cooperate, as for instance when the Calvinist Church Community of Kolozsvár asked the EMESZ to help in the work of the Home Mission in the following fields: Sunday school, servicing the poor, missionary publications, visiting patients. Cf. Szász 2007, 998.

47 Nagy 1937, 227; Fekete Jr. 2011.

48 Nagy 1995, 151–152; Fekete Jr. 2011, 591.

49 Fekete Jr. 2011, 589–590.

immediately launched their independent publishing office in Trefort Street, Kolozsvár, under the name *Evangéliumi Misszió* [Evangelical Mission], led by K. Tompa, and complemented by a bookstore in Nagydisznód (Cisnădie). After this the *Evangéliumi Munkás* was produced and distributed in print. As part of the CE's missionary publications, also edited by K. Tompa, a children's newspaper (*Vasárnapi Iskola* [Sunday School]) and the CE newspaper in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) (*Örömhír* [Good News]) were launched in 1924. The *Evangéliumi Munkás* was probably cancelled when Kecskeméthy re-launched *Kis Tükör* after a nineteen-year hiatus in 1926, now as the official newspaper of the CE Society, which was published until 1933, the time of the Great Depression. After its second cancellation, it was replaced by the CE journal *Keresztény Élet* [Christian Life], which became the official newspaper of the Transylvanian CE Society from 1936.[50]

In terms of content and style, the handwritten copies of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* were not different from any other earlier or parallel printed home missionary newspaper of the age.[51] The editorial started with a sermon based on a Bible text, which was followed by articles on accepted Home Mission topics. It published Sunday school guidelines and short instructive stories, quoted letters written by readers from the countryside and encouraged other members to send their stories; they also launched a prayer group and published information on its program and on how to pay for membership. In terms of appearance, the *Evangéliumi Munkás* is a four-page A4 format newspaper with densely filled, difficult-to-read writing; its journal-like appearance is given by its hand-drawn cover. Furthermore, the editor of the journal did not make any effort to resemble printed format and style, already accepted in the 20th century, such as columns; he simply divided the segments with an underlined title. He paid no particular attention to its appearance; rather, one could observe strategic considerations regarding how to use up the space in the most efficient way.

As we have seen above, Arthur K. Tompa had substantial experience in editing journals, and was well aware of the various typographical practices. However, he did not try to replicate those practices in the *Evangéliumi Munkás*; it is as if he was trying to indicate and proclaim that conveying the message, reinforcing the relationship among brothers (the CE Society members) and maintaining the practice were more important than the format of the medium. The significance of publishing the *Evangéliumi Munkás* in handwriting is well demonstrated in the following reader's letter:

> I have received the second issue of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* to the great joy of my heart and soul. Lord knows the strength, relief and rejuvenation it has given me and my weary, faint soul in my solitude. It has been a long time since I received anything from my brothers and I felt left alone. I am living under difficult

50 Szász 2007, 995–996.

51 I have not been able to gain access to the later, printed version of *Evangéliumi Munkás*. There are no copies in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, the Ráday Library and Collection of Budapest, the Library of the Protestant Theologian Institute of Kolozsvár or the BCU (Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "Lucian Blaga") in Kolozsvár.

> circumstances; Lord only knows how much trouble I have. I have ever awaited the next letter; awaited the calendar of the prayer week to arrive, because I did not know that of the previous year; and now that the paper has arrived it feels like water slaking my great thirst. Thank you, my brother, for not having forgotten about me. I ask that I shall not be forgotten in the future either, not be left alone.[52]

The editor underlined the CE Society's sense of belonging to an international brotherhood by publishing the entire text of the letter written by the Swiss Blue Cross Society's president in the *Evangéliumi Munkás*. Another example of the importance of taking up the fight, of informing the members of the society and of strengthening the sense of belonging to a community, is the letter of CE Society member Mrs. J. M., which took up the discourse about the previously described conflict with local religious leaders who were hindering the Home Mission. The reader of the *Evangéliumi Munkás* complained about a local Calvinist minister who had deprived her of the possibility of holding Sunday school services, which he justified by saying that there were already Bible classes and children's masses at school, therefore her work was redundant. Mrs. J. M. claimed that "they did not welcome that [she] was meddling with their work," namely that she had criticized the activities of the society of confirmed girls. She observed damaging shifts of emphasis in their activities: they organized a charity fair for the poor, but as a result they did not have Bible classes for six weeks. The outcome of her criticism was that she was no longer welcome in the Bible circle.[53]

Tábortűz *[Campfire] (1926)*

Considering the above-discussed newspaper-founding frenzy, it is perhaps no surprise that at a several-day-long Calvinist camp the participants created another, new handwritten newspaper. *Tábortűz*, which means campfire, was founded by students of the *Ifjúsági Keresztény Egyesület* [Christian Youth Association][54] during a conference in Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) in 1926.[55] Beyond its interwar socio-historical context, described above (Home Mission and the minority status of Hungarians), the newspaper of the Sáromberke conference was also an integral part of the tradition of the history of writing, because it fitted well into the newspaper culture of Transylvanian high school and college students.[56]

52 *Evangéliumi Munkás*, vol. 1, no. 3, 5.

53 Ibid.

54 IKE was founded in 1921; its first chairman was István Kecskeméthy, followed by Lajos Imre in 1924. It is possible that making a handwritten newsletter or newspaper was common practice in IKE camps; I have not found any reference to or data on this so far.

55 It was preserved in the legacy of Dezső László (1904–1973), the former director of EREL and later Calvinist dean. At the age of 22, Dezső László was a participant in the conference himself. EREL KEL, legacy of Dezső László.

56 The practice of editing handwritten newspapers in Transylvanian Protestant colleges dates back to the late 1820s. Through their various book clubs and study

Although the life of students, the school system and the whole of society changed significantly in the course of the 20th century, the colleges remained faithful to the tradition of editing handwritten newspapers throughout it, though with transformed content, appearance and function. Student papers fulfilled an important function in the 1920s among the Hungarians forming a minority in Romania, a social role going beyond the college.[57] Seventy high school students participated at the Sáromberke conference in 1926, coming from among other places Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), Nagyegyed (Aiud), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Dézs (Dej) and Szászrégen (Reghinul Săsesc).[58] Handwritten student newspaper publications had a great tradition in almost all these cities, and especially their Protestant colleges.[59]

What were the topics that were written about and why was it necessary to launch a newspaper during a student conference? The primary functions of *Tábortűz* were to publish short summaries of conference events[60] as well as various advertisements –: for instance, one could buy or trade foreign stamps in color from László Makkai; Sándor Babos gave swimming lessons in Kolozsvár – and to give information about the upcoming events of the week. Besides the important ideological message (encouraging evangelical sermons, giving a Christian evaluation of the First World War, stressing the importance of the self-organization of Transylvanian Calvinist youths as a "Hungarian cultural interest," etc.) and transmitting practical information, the newspaper also continued the facetious, witty tradition of student newspapers[61] and published funny dialogues and scenes from the conference. This humorous content typically captured slips of the tongue and comical situations of the seniors, theologians and young ministers leading the students.

groups the students of the Reform Era played an important role in conveying new ideas. For instance, the primary goal of their handwritten newspaper was initially to cultivate literature and art in the Hungarian language, thereby protesting, first against the usage of the Latin language, and secondly, after the repression of the 1848 Hungarian independence uprising, against the usage of the German language. Also cf. Gaal 1981; 1974; 2011. In Finland, 19th-century handwritten newspapers can also be mostly associated with secondary school groups, study groups, book clubs and societies. Salmi-Niklander 2013, 77.

57 Gaal 1981; 1974; 2011.

58 *Tábortűz*, Last volume, no. 4, 3. Further participants at the conference were as follow: three secondary school students, two merchants, fifteen theologians, two university students, nine assistant and deputy pastors, five ministers, three teachers of religion, two theology teachers. Including the secondary school students, there was a total attendance of 110.

59 Gaal 1974.

60 Lecturers at the conference included such leading figures from the Vécs Alliance and the Calvinist Home Mission as Sándor Tavaszy, Lajos Imre and Ottó M. Nagy.

61 In 1931, the first newspaper of the Calvinist girls' high school (*Lányok lapja* [Girls' paper]) was ridiculed in the satirical newspaper, *Contra*, by the students of the boys' high school. For more on the short (only a few pages long) handwritten satirical, parodying, humorous magazines of early 20th-century colleges see also Gaal 1974, 275–276.

Tábortűz defied the rhetorical rules of the standard newspaper genre, or rather exaggerated them, and used a more informal style to communicate its message, which resulted from the atmosphere of the young students and the summer camp. For instance, on its front page, instead of "Volume 1" it said "Last volume," which facetiously referred to the temporary and paradoxical situation of the newspaper, since in their case their first volume was indeed their last. The authors and editors used various nicknames, pseudonyms, and abbreviations (owner of the newspaper: "eagle" "A." "T", "Sentinel", etc.); even the most information we can find about the editor is that it was "edited by the editor." The readers are also encouraged in the first issue to write: "Editor's message: Please write, because otherwise I will!"[62] However, the newspaper was presumably edited by more than one student: the total of three issues of the paper were written in various handwritings, which suggests a collective journalistic and editorial practice, which is also why real names were not really important.[63] Unlike the editors of the *Evangéliumi Munkás*, the students of Sáromberke considered it important to have their newspaper look exactly like real printed press materials. The authors tried to reproduce the exact same typography on the A5-sized pages as seen in the printed press: they drew the frame, and a different cover for each issue, the editorial article was all in capitals, and the advertisements were edited in columns.

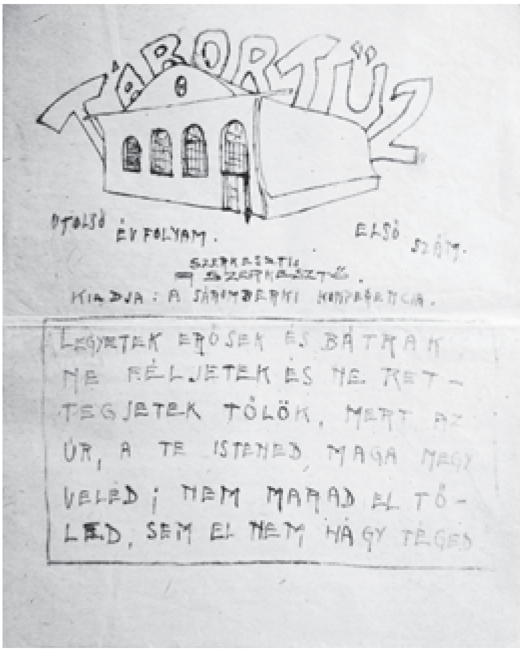
The medium of duplicating with a hectograph proved to be quick, feasible, necessary, and important, and a handwritten paper was such an indispensable element of secondary school student culture that even the temporary context of the summer camp was sufficient to justify its existence. The students executed the publishing obligations of the Home Mission and of the minority Hungarian press employing their own means and following their own traditions. The main purpose of the camp newspaper was to diffuse the camp discussion content. It is thanks to *Tábortűz*, that the events and the message of the conference were recorded in writing and thus became suitable for further distribution. The students took the newspaper home with them, where they could show it to their parents and to the members of their Bible circle, and they could lend it to their fellow students. They could later revisit these pages to find a summary of the camp, as a spiritual guide, or to recall the good memories from the camp.

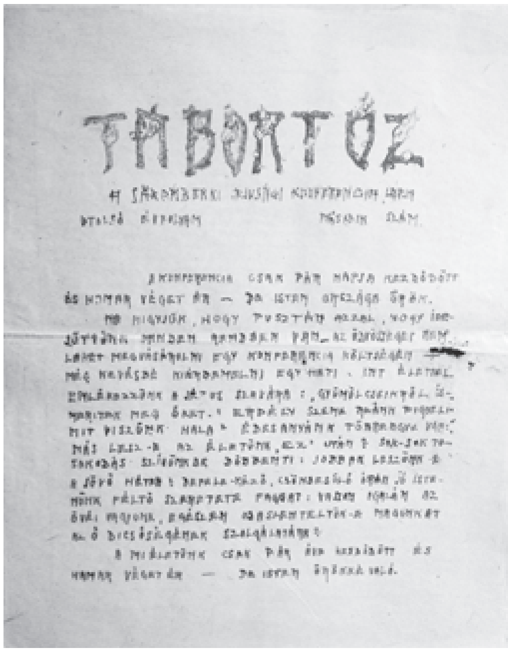
Writing under all circumstances

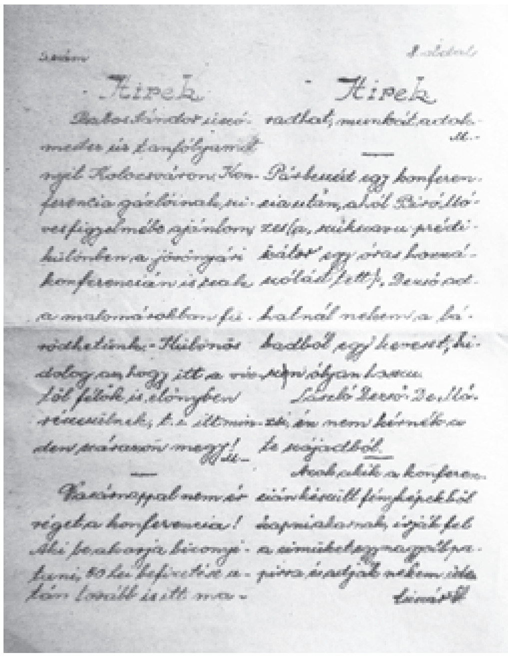
Is there any additional meaning in the handwritten format? Why did Arthúr K. Tompa, Dezső Bonczidai and the participants of the Sáromberke conference produce newspapers in handwriting? The answer seems obvious: out of necessity, since the *Evangéliumi Munkás* switched to print production as soon as it had the chance; Dezső Bonczidai stopped writing the *Pastoral Letters* in Kide after three years; he did publish one exceptional letter in 1942,

62 *Tábortűz*, Last volume, no. 1, 4.

63 For the early 20th-century parallels from Finland see Salmi-Niklander 2013, 83–84.







Figures 3–6. Tábortűz *[Campfire] launched for a 3-day camp, 1926.*

but he wrote it with a typewriter. Handwriting was not a voluntarily chosen form in any of the cases, but the only possible way, forced by necessity. However, there are further reasons underlying the handwritten format: the changing and uncertain infrastructure at the time of the launch of the *Evangéliumi Munkás*; the attempts to preserve its autonomy; its battle for legitimacy against the official Church; the passive attitude and the financial situation of the target audience of Dezső Bonczidai's *Pastoral Letters* (if people did not buy official religious press, then he would create a free congregational newspaper himself). The justification for *Tábortűz* being in handwriting is its temporary nature and its traditional student newspaper aspect (in the context of a three-day youth conference). Despite their different features, the three handwritten newspaper editions are driven by the same motivation, which is the strength and the faith attributed to missionary publications, embraced and promoted by the Home Mission, which, in the case of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, was further bolstered by the new role taken on by the press.

A newspaper published in handwriting in the age of printing was often a means of protest against an oppressive power.[64] On the basis of the few handwritten newspapers presented above, which can be associated with the awakening movements of the period between the two world wars, it would be an exaggeration to talk about open resistance; however, the Home Mission's newspaper culture did define itself against and in opposition to several things from the very beginning. It fought against 20th-century secularization and empty religiosity, as well as against the secularized, rigid, official ecclesiastical structure. It stood up against the damaging consequences of urban modernization; against the world wars and the oppression of the Hungarian minority culture in Transylvania that followed. The Home Mission evangelized through its resistance, which was maintained at any cost. When there was no other means for survival, it resorted to an earlier, existing and established practice: the medium of the handwritten newspaper.

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64 Cf. Salmi-Niklander 2013.

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List of Contributors

Christian Berrenberg (https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6132-9115) has a PhD in Scandinavian Studies from the University of Cologne, Germany. His co-written chapter in this volume is based on a part of his thesis on literature and literary practices in the Norwegian labour movement (*Es ist deine Pflicht zu benutzen, was du weißt! Literatur und literarische Praktiken in der norwegischen Arbeiterbewegung 1900–1931.*) His other research interests include Scandinavian national identity constructions as well as queer and gender studies.

Heiko Droste (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2729-0656) studied history, library science and political science at different German universities. He worked from 2007 to 2015 at Södertörn University. Since July 2015 he has been Professor of History and head of the Institute of Urban History at Stockholm University. Heiko Droste's research concerns German, Swedish and Baltic history between the 14th and 18th centuries, mainly questions of town and court history, friendship and patronage, cultural transfer, and different aspects of the early modern media history. His book about the news market in the 17th century *Das Geschäft mit Nachrichten. Ein barocker Markt für soziale Ressourcen* (Edition Lumière 2018) will be published in English in 2020: *The business of news. A baroque market for social resources* (Brill).

Emese Ilyefalvi (https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6677-5843) studied folkloristics, religious studies and philology at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She worked from 2013 to 2018 as a junior research fellow in the "East–West" Research Project ("Vernacular religion on the boundary of Eastern and Western Christianity: Continuity, changes and interactions", ERC project No 324214). Within the framework of this project, she published a new Hungarian charm collection in 2014 co-authored with Éva Pócs and the *Digital Database of Hungarian Verbal Charms* in 2018. (See: http://raolvasasok.boszorkanykorok.hu/) She finished her PhD thesis in 2019 about the theoretical, methodological and technical questions of computational folkloristics. At present, she is an assistant professor at the Department of Folkloristics (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary) and a research fellow at MTA-ELTE Lendület Historical Folkloristics Research Group.

Ilyefalvi's chapter in this volume is part of the MTA-ELTE project focusing on Protestant media culture between the two World Wars in Transylvania.

Mary Isbell (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2333-4148) is an Assistant Professor of English at the University of New Haven, where she directs the Writing Center and the First-Year Writing Program. Her work has appeared in *Victorian Literature and Culture* and *Leviathan: A Journal of Melville Studies*. Her current book project, "Not Crossing the Line. The Sailor Amateurs of H.M.S. *Chesapeake*," offers a history of 19th-century shipboard theatricals through the productions mounted aboard the flagship of the East India China station between 1857 and 1860. With Judith Hawley, she co-directs the international interdisciplinary network known as RAPPT (Research into Amateur Performance and Private Theatricals; https://rappt.org).

Hrafnkell Lárusson (https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5161-4131) has an MA in history from the University of Iceland. His chapter in this volume is based on his MA thesis *Í óræðri samtíð með óvissa framtíð. Áhrif sveitarblaða á viðhorf íslensks sveitafólks og samfélagslegar breytingar um og fyrir aldamótin 1900 [In Unfathomable Present with Uncertain Future. Icelandic Handwritten Journals and Changes in Society at the Turn of the 19th Century]* (2006). Hrafnkell is now close to finishing his PhD in history from the University of Iceland. His PhD thesis has the title *Democracy in the Making. Public Views, Practice and Participation* and focuses on the role of the general public in democratization in Iceland in the years 1874–1915. Hrafnkell's chapter in this volume is his first publication in English on the topic of handwritten journals, but earlier he has published articles on that topic in Icelandic history journals.

Klimis Mastoridis (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1468-3394) is a Professor of Typography and Graphic Communication at the University of Nicosia, Cyprus. He is also director of the Institute for the Study of Typography and Visual Communication and a Fellow of the International Society of Typographic Designers. Klimis is the founder of the International Conference on Typography and Visual Communication, director and editor of the academic journal *Hyphen*, a typographic forum, and the author of the books *Θέματα αναπαραγωγής και εκτύπωσης [Reproduction and printing issues]* (1998; 2010) and *Casting the Greek Newspaper. A Study of the Morphology of the Ephemeris from its Origins until the Introduction of Mechanical Setting* (1999). He has more than 40 years of professional publishing and design experience and his research interests include printing history and technology, and typographic design for visual communication.

Mark Alan Mattes (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6490-3693) is Assistant Professor of English (Term) at the University of Louisville. His articles have appeared in the journals *Early American Literature* and *Early American Studies* and will appear in the collection *Apocalypse in American Literature and Culture* (Cambridge UP). He is currently editing a collection of essays, *A History of the Futures of Handwriting in Early America*, and he is working on a book manuscript, *Archival Apocrypha. Indigenous Writing and the Figure of Logan in Colonial and Native American History*.

Michał Salamonik (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9121-5773) is a historian and lecturer in history at Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden. In his PhD thesis *In Their Majesties' Service. The Career of Francesco De Gratta (1613–1676) as a Royal Servant and Trader in Gdańsk* (Huddinge, 2017), Salamonik studied the administrative and economic career of Francesco De Gratta as Royal Postmaster, Royal Secretary, and trader within the postal and fiscal systems of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This investigation focused mainly on De Gratta's network and career strategies and was based on various sources from several European archives and libraries, mainly those situated in Italy, Poland and Germany. In his current project he investigates war reporting in 17th-century's media using the example of the Polish-Swedish War, a part of the Second Northern War (1655–1660).

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0552-1801) is University Lecturer in Folklore Studies at Department of Cultures, University of Helsinki. Her long-term research has focused on handwritten newspapers as an alternative medium in 19th- and early 20th-century Finland, and in Finnish immigrant communities in North America. Her doctoral thesis *Itsekasvatusta ja kapinaa* [Self-education and Rebellion, Finnish Literature Society 2004] focused on handwritten newspapers, and she has published many articles and edited volumes related with this theme. Her other fields of interest include oral history research, working-class culture, immigrant culture and the history of youth. One of her recent publications is an article in *Oral Tradition and Book Culture*, (eds Pertti Anttonen, Cecilia af Forselles & Kirsti Salmi-Niklander), *Studia Fennica Folkloristica* 24, 2018.

Fredrik Thomasson (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6849-9720) is a historian at Uppsala University, Sweden, who for several years has worked on the Swedish possession (1784–1878) of the Antillean island Saint Barthélemy (aka St Barths). He has published extensively about various aspects of Swedish Caribbean colonialism and is preparing a monograph on Swedish slave law and colonial justice, as well as being the initiator and project manager of the digitization of the Swedish governmental Saint Barthélemy archive now held in the French National Colonial Archives in Aix-en-Provence.

Risto Turunen (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8898-1274) is a PhD candidate in history at Tampere University. He is finishing his dissertation on the political language of Finnish socialism, 1860–1918, using various distant and close reading methods to analyze both handwritten and printed newspapers. Turunen has written in Finnish on labor history and published joint articles in English on conceptual history and digital humanities.

Abstract

Handwritten Newspapers
An Alternative Medium during the Early Modern and Modern Periods

Edited by Heiko Droste & Kirsti Salmi-Niklander

This book is the first edited volume focusing on handwritten newspapers as an alternative medium from a wide interdisciplinary and international perspective. Our primary focus is on handwritten newspapers as a social practice. The case studies contextualize the source materials in relation to political, cultural, literary, and economic history. The analysis reveals both continuity and change across the different forms and functions of the textual materials.

In the 16th century, handwritten newspapers evolved as a news medium reporting history in the making. It was both a rather expensive public commodity and a gift exchanged in social relationships. Both functions appealed to public elites and their news consumption for about 300 years. From the late 18th century onwards, changing notions of publicness as well as the social needs of private or even secluded groups re-defined the medium. Handwritten newspapers turned more and more into an internal or even clandestine medium of communication. As such, it has served as a means to create social cohesion, political debate, and religious education for non-elite groups until the 20th century. Despite these changes, continuities can be observed both in the material layout of handwritten newspapers and the practices of distribution.

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