



Routledge Advances in Transmedia Studies

TRANSMEDIA PRACTICES IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

Edited by
Christina Meyer and Monika Pietrzak-Franger



“[An] outstanding project [that] allows us to see both the forest and the trees, the particular as a way into mapping a broader ecology of media practices in the long nineteenth century.

The editors [do] a spectacular job of [...] describing why this period is important to our understanding of transmedia, why transmedia as a frame helps us to understand this period, why a practice-focus approach is valuable, and how the various contributors fit within this larger framework.”

Henry Jenkins, *Provost Professor of Communication, Journalism, Cinematic Arts and Education at the University of Southern California,*
USA



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Transmedia Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century

This volume provides engaging accounts with transmedia practices in the long nineteenth century and offers model analyses of Victorian media (e.g., theater, advertising, books, games, newspapers) alongside the technological, economic, and cultural conditions under which they emerged in the Anglo-phone world.

By exploring engagement tactics and forms of audience participation, the book affords insight into the role that social agents – e.g., individual authors, publishing houses, theater show producers, lithograph companies, toy manufacturers, newspaper syndicates, or advertisers – played in the production, distribution, and consumption of Victorian media. It considers such examples as Sherlock Holmes, Kewpie Dolls, media forms and practices such as cut-outs, popular lectures, telephone conversations or early theater broadcasting, and such authors as Nellie Bly, Mark Twain, and Walter Besant, offering insight into the variety of transmedia practices present in the long nineteenth century.

The book brings together methods and theories from comics studies, communication and media studies, English and American studies, narratology and more, and proposes fresh ways to think about transmediality. Though the target audiences are students, teachers, and scholars in the humanities, the book will also resonate with non-academic readers interested in how media contents are produced, disseminated, and consumed, and with what implications.

Christina Meyer is Associate Professor of American Studies, currently working at the TU Braunschweig, Germany. She is the author of *Producing Mass Entertainment: The Serial Life of the Yellow Kid* (2019).

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Routledge Advances in Transmedia Studies
Series Editor: Matthew Freeman

This series publishes monographs and edited collections that sit at the cutting-edge of today's interdisciplinary cross-platform media landscape. Topics should consider emerging transmedia applications in and across industries, cultures, arts, practices, or research methodologies. The series is especially interested in research exploring the future possibilities of an interconnected media landscape that looks beyond the field of media studies, notably broadening to include socio-political contexts, education, experience design, mixed-reality, journalism, the proliferation of screens, as well as art- and writing-based dimensions to do with the role of digital platforms like VR, apps and iDocs to tell new stories and express new ideas across multiple platforms in ways that join up with the social world.

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Transmedia Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century
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Foreword

I am thrilled to write the foreword for a book that promises to make such a rich contribution to our understanding of transmedia practices. Its aim to explore the workings of transmedia in the nineteenth century is in some regards long overdue, given that so many of the narrative, production, and cultural practices from that era share enormous similarities with what we now understand to be transmedia storytelling. Reading *Transmedia Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century* and the concepts analyzed here was like reviewing the study of transmediality, in which I became involved about a decade ago. When I first started researching the history of transmedia practices, which I think was around 2011, I was only looking at the US in the twentieth century in terms of geographical context and historical context. At that time, I was interested in the idea of looking to the past to help us better understand the present. Whenever people would ask me about my research I tended not even to frame it as a history project, but rather as a historicization project – which is about taking the phenomena of the present moment and reimagining it through the lens of a bygone past. As I say in *Historicising Transmedia Storytelling* (2016), “there is something exciting about digging into the past, not just to examine that past per se, but also to better understand the workings of the present” (ix).

Going back to 2011, I remember feeling quite alone in my own interests in thinking about the role or form of transmedia practices in a historical context. The term was very much seen as synonymous with contemporary media developments, like industrial or technological convergence. I would sometimes find myself needing to defend my use of the term ‘transmedia’ outside of such contemporary settings, as if I were somehow being anachronistic by using it in relation to early cinema, or the rise of radio. My feeling on this issue now is much the same as it was back then: transmedia is a practice, or a series of practices, that can be informed by a whole range of industrial and cultural factors – only some of which involve digital media. Our role as scholars, therefore, is to understand how such a significant practice like transmedia can be shaped by an array of different factors and context. We now see this thinking across the field of transmedia studies, be it studies of transmedia museums (see, for example, Kidd) or socio-political applications of transmedia storytelling in different countries around the

world (see Freeman and Proctor). I have argued elsewhere that, regardless of what form it takes or context in which it operates, the practice of transmedia works best as a series of alignments across industries, cultures, and audiences. In other words, transmedia practices emerge out of the alignments between these things. It is therefore a process of understanding where those alignments are and how they are formed, and indeed how those particular alignments inform specific opportunities for transmedia stories to be created. But if my aforementioned *Historicising Transmedia Storytelling* (2016) book revealed anything, it is that those all-important alignments can come from practically anywhere. In the twentieth century, I argued that that century's major developments towards industrialization, consumer culture and media regulation all provided the necessary industrial-cultural structures to enable literary authors, theater playwrights, film directors, and even newspaper cartoonists to craft their fictions across multiple media platforms. We see this in early transmedia storytelling pioneers like L. Frank Baum and his *Wizard of Oz* world, and Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan*.

But past builders of fictional storyworlds employed many different strategies for telling their stories across media, which showcase just how many possibilities there are for telling tales across multiple media. Much more work is needed to map the many faces of transmedia, and while I previously chose to start my own historicization at 1900, this was never about laying down a marker. Instead, I started at 1900 because it was important to pinpoint the *industrial* rise of transmedia storytelling, but transmedia practices long precede that particular date.

Which brings me to this collection. *Transmedia Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century* provides the field of transmedia studies with a vibrant analysis of Victorian media, be it theater, advertising, books, games newspapers or comics, and uncovers the technological, economic, and cultural conditions under which they formed emerging transmedia practices. These and other practices and their implications I have not broached make the book an invaluable source for scholars from different academic disciplines as well as for non-academic readers. Meyer and Pietrzak-Franger offer us a selection of excellent papers that touch on under-researched phenomena in the long nineteenth century. The overarching parts in which the chapters are placed are "Technology, Culture, Democracy," "Crossroads of Fact and Fiction," and "Transmedia Sherlock." The book is also transnational in its scope, which is much-needed, as well as offering specific insights into key case studies, such as Sherlock Holmes and Kewpie Dolls. I myself have a vested interest in penny dreadfuls, the kinds of cheap but enormously popular serial literature produced during the nineteenth century in the UK. By looking across a range of examples, including work of Gothic thrillers and vampire fiction, one might argue that the industrial tendency for penny dreadfuls to publish reprints, rewrites, or even thinly-disguised plagiarisms of other popular literature from the era, established many of the world-building principles now associated with the art of transmedia

storytelling. For example, the penny dreadful format, informed by the era of publishing at that time, gave way to tropes of cameo introductions for characters, such as the non-renowned Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, as well as encouraging migratory practices for many working-class readers who, not being able to afford a penny a week, instead formed clubs where they could pass the flimsy booklets from reader to reader, sharing and building the story. Through analyzing cases such as this, this important collection proposes new ways to think about transmedia. Let us hope that *Transmedia Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century* will be the driving force for further research leading to the uncovering and a better understanding of cultural practices of the past; research that in turn might inform the scholarship on transmedia practices of the present.

Matthew Freeman

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1 Nineteenth-century transmedia practices

An introduction

Christina Meyer and Monika Pietrzak-Franger

Transmedia practices have a history. In the nineteenth century, they spanned a variety of phenomena that were spurred by growing industrialization, technologization, and urbanization of life. They encompassed diverse actants and networks that included individuals, institutions, particular types of materials along with a number of processes and everyday practices of production, dissemination, and consumption, which, in their complexity, created a *transmedia experience*. Three vignettes illustrate the range of these practices. What they also show is that it is necessary to study these time- and culturally specific tendencies in their complex contextualizations.

Vignette One

In February 1883, readers of the children's magazine *St. Nicholas* were introduced to the first installment of a new, illustrated series with the so-called Brownies: a group of unnamed elf-like creatures with the same immediately recognizable body shape (a round stomach, a round face with big eyes, pointed shoes, thin legs, and most of them wearing a pointed cap). The Canadian American illustrator and writer Palmer Cox penned the little sprites and wrote verses about them (in couplet rhyme scheme). Shortly after their first appearance in the juvenile magazine, the Brownies expanded beyond their original carrier medium and proliferated in different media formats, such as books, theater plays, musical compositions, and toys. Images of them appeared on all kinds of household and stationery items (see Cummins, esp. 101–102; 226–229; see also Meyer, “The Brownies”). The Brownie Kodak, introduced by the Eastman Kodak Company in 1900 as an affordable, mass-produced hand-held camera, was named after them. The Brownies were copied multiple times in two- and three-dimensional formats, and their popularity transgressed national borders (the stories and Brownie consumer items traveled to Canada and as far as Australia and Russia, for example). They moved between and

migrated across different media but always remained identifiable and allowed for different forms of (repeated, continued, extended) investment and experience for both children and adults. Letters sent to the editor of the *St. Nicholas* magazine suggest that children re-enacted the Brownies by playfully imitating the clothing style of the goblins and by emulating their behaviors and actions – that is, the pranks as described in the verses and depicted in the illustrations (see C., Theodora “Dear St. Nicholas”). As these developments make clear, the Brownies were a node that allowed for/was created by a convergence of various ‘actants.’ They are largely forgotten today but their history invites us to think about interconnected production and consumption practices in the nineteenth century, about all the instances when, where, and how a *figure* (its specific design) dispersed across multiple media channels and with what effects.

Vignette Two

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly* was originally published as a serialized, evolving narrative in the weekly abolitionist newspaper *The National Era* between June 5, 1851 and April 1, 1852. It circulated in different (print) media formats in the US, Britain, and continental Europe, as well as South America, East Asia, South Africa, and Australia, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth (and beyond; see Davis and Mihaylova, esp. 7–9, and 225–388). Plot elements of the story such as the scene of Eliza crossing the ice and characters like Topsy transcended the original carrier medium and expanded in the form of songs, poems, play-scripts (and posters advertising the plays), photographic plates, busts, and numerous consumer wares such as handkerchiefs, trinkets, and dolls (see Bernstein, esp. 14).¹ Different, competing theatrical compositions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* were produced throughout the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, and Tom Show troupes toured through the US and around the world. In her study *Racial Innocence* (2011), Robin Bernstein claims that the storyworld of Stowe’s narrative “existed in multiple genres (parlor performance, prose, poetry, visual art, and material culture) and physical practices (reading, looking, singing, showing, weeping, drying tears, and masking, to name only the actions scripted by the handkerchief)” (13). Bernstein uses the concept of the “repertoire” to describe these sets of entangled, simultaneous (sometimes repeated) activities and “stylized gestures [...] in

everyday life” (14; see also Hughes; Tompkins). *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (in print and beyond the written page) showcases how *tropes* in both words and images were passed on across different media simultaneously (or almost simultaneously) and created what might be called immersive realm(s) for a heterogeneous audience. It invites investigations of the transnational dispersal of media content, the transformations the tropes have undergone as they moved from one medium to another since their emergence in the 1850s, and the moments of audiences and their active expansion of the storyworld.

Vignette Three

Aware of the public controversies that their ‘cause’ had spurred over the years, suffragettes launched a series of practices to gain more followers and supporters. They engaged in – what from contemporary perspective resembles – a carefully orchestrated transmedia campaign. Next to pamphlets and periodicals, suffragettes organized public events, assemblies, and lectures. They also produced particular objects, jewelry, and memorabilia not only to target a variety of women but also to establish a community. While their distinct color coding was cleverly used to make participants easily recognizable; the performative marches and public events strengthened their visibility, the plethora of games (cards, board, etc.) they issued, together with the (short-lived) shops that they opened, became integral to their program. In this context, cups, cutlery, stamps, scarves, pins etc. should not simply be seen as trademarked consumables essentially unrelated to other activities. Rather, they may be seen as part of the vast ‘assemblage’ of suffrage: outcomes, products, and participants in various transmedia practices. As this example makes clear, these were not only fictional characters or particular tropes that spread through multiple media channels. Activist organizations also used a variety of practices to offer a (consumable) transmedia experience. This was a cleverly crafted-out scheme to build up a strategic community, and make the message palatable to broader audiences.

These three vignettes signal the guiding goals of this collection, which seeks to flesh out moments, dynamisms, and implications of pre-digital transmedia practices. It aims to provide historically-oriented approaches to transmediality, and to create an archive of tools and texts that will help to understand the structural, material, cultural, and medial forces in/of the past that enabled – and constrained – products to radiate outwards, across multiple platforms, and that enabled participatory practices.

This volume is an outgrowth of two novel tendencies in the field of Transmedia Studies: an emergent emphasis 1) on transmedia *practices* rather than *storytelling* and 2) on historicization, or *early histories* of transmedia practices. In 2006 Henry Jenkins penned the famous, albeit idealized, definition of transmedia storytelling as the flow of content(s) across multiple media formats and platforms in the digital era that spurs extended audience engagements.² Over the next decades, a variety of perspectives have emerged. Narratologists (esp. Thon, “Toward”; Thon, “Subjectivity”; Ryan; Ryan and Thon; Elleström; Wolf) have investigated, among other things, how audiences shape and expand fictional worlds (over longer periods of time), and how specific textual elements (e.g. characters) have the propensity to travel (redundantly) across multiple media formats. Media Studies scholars have punctually spotlighted specific media/platforms, their functions and social usages (e.g. Atkinson on film, Evans on television); there has also been extensive work in the migratory behavior of audiences or transmediality as a strategy leading to audience engagement (e.g. Mittell; Atkinson and Kennedy; Evans, *Transmedia Television*, and Evans, “Transmedia”; Bruns; Jenkins, esp. *Convergence*; Johnston; Ryan). Media archaeologists (e.g. Huhtamo and Parikka; Zielinski; Elsaesser; Ernst) have influenced the study of transmedia practices by drawing attention to ‘old media’ (e.g. the flipbook) that have often been marginalized in research but that are nonetheless culturally significant, by re-reading the relations between old and new media and by writing “alternate histories” of old media “that do not point teleologically to the present media-cultural condition as their ‘perfection’” (Huhtamo and Parikka 3).

Moreover, in recent years, such terms as transmediality, transmediatization and transfictionality have been introduced to differentiate between the particular type of storytelling and other practices that are characteristic of the contemporary media environment. Scholars such as, for instance, Henry Jenkins (2010) and Elizabeth Evans (2018), have stressed the importance of treating the adjective ‘transmedia’ as a meaningful modifier in order to describe changes in existing processes and practices, thus allowing for a more in-depth study of particular developments while ensuring classificatory precision. Next to transmedia *marketing* and transmedia *engagement*, there has been talk of transmedia *franchises* or transmedia *adaptations* (most recently: Lopez Szwydky). In line with this tendency, our collection goes beyond the study of transmedia storytelling in order to indicate that it is not always a story and not only fictional worlds that move through and span across different media platforms. Instead, these tendencies include a variety of actions, practices, and networks that generate what we could – retrospectively – call *transmedia experiences*.

By spotlighting the long nineteenth century, we are hoping to offer an unprecedented, more systematic look at transmedia practices that accompanied the birth of Western modernity. In this, we follow Matthew Freeman’s call for historical perspectives: “only by understanding those longer histories of production and consumption” he has claimed, “can we begin to

make sense of the contingencies and the affordances of our contemporary transmedia landscape” (Freeman, *Historicising* 7). This type of – what has become known as transmedia archaeology – attempts to identify “textual networks,” by looking for “textual ‘fossils’” in order to reconstruct “production and consumption practices” (Scolari, Baretti and Freeman 6) that they were involved in at the time. In fact, for Freeman, “industrial contingencies,” historically-bound “technological affordances,” along with “the constitution of audiences and the conditions of reception, or the thematic and narrative conventions of the period” are crucial to understanding the specificity of historical transmedia practices (qtd. in Jenkins, “Yes, Transmedia [...] (Part Two)” n. pag.; in this context see also Jenkins, “Transmedia Storytelling”). Unlike most historical studies of transmedia, which have gone back to the late nineteenth and the beginnings of the twentieth century, the focus of this volume is on the long nineteenth century, which famously saw the birth of the mass media and brought the “frenzy of the visible” (Comolli 122).

In order to offer a variety of perspectives on the study of historical transmedia practices and to enrich cross-disciplinary research, contributors to this volume include a number of international experts from literary, cultural, and media studies, as well as periodical studies, creative writing, and fan studies, with different types of expertise that can and will draw on one another. They offer historicized narratives of the variety of visual and verbal forms of expression and experience and the affordances of the different media forms, the conditions under which specific media options emerged (and converged), and the multiple agents involved in the spreading of content across multiple media. Our objective is to provide new insights into the studies of transmedia engagement and spread. The chapters in our volume also aim to offer further answers to how content in multiple media circulated across cultures, and the technologies that made this possible and contribute to the refining of existing methods and theories in the field. Tracing the processes, economies, and technologies involved in transmedia practices and the aesthetics of expansion and transgression in the long nineteenth century will allow for an enhanced understanding of specific configurations in the past that will then allow us to reflect on and reconsider the reconfigurations in our present moment.

Nineteenth-century Anglophone mediascapes

It is worth exploring the nineteenth century in its *longue durée* to highlight the evolution and complexities of various transmedial – and transnational – entanglements. Our focus in this volume is on networks, overlappings, “patterns of circulation [...] and] zigzagging movements” (Levine, “From Nation” 657), in particular in and between the United Kingdom and North America. The contributions in this volume seek to trace transmedia practices in the context of the industrial revolutions (beginning at around 1780) and the concomitant urbanization and technologization, the increasing

literacy and access to knowledge, and an “emergent globality” (Osterhammel xvi). This includes the growing importance of consumption,³ which accompanied the expansion of the transnational markets of diverse print products and manufacture, for example, and new forms and channels of advertising, marketing, and merchandising. This includes furthermore an expansive – colorful – visual landscape (see Freeman, *Historicising*, esp. 74) and entertainment industry, which brought about the birth of mass-produced, commercialized popular culture as we know it (see Storey).

It is especially in the decades 1860–1880 that we witness, borrowing from Osterhammel, “time-convergent” and “space-divergent” developments in different areas of cultural life in the UK and North America and an acceleration of these developments after 1890 (xviii). Our volume acknowledges the advances and changes during those years but wishes to widen the perspective and take into account also earlier medial, technological, economic, and social environments in which transmedia practices were enmeshed and with the help of which they were made possible. In the first half of the nineteenth century great transformations in the UK and the US had been possible due to a number of new scientific discoveries, technological innovations, their practical application and their regulation as well as due to the introduction of new regimes of consumption, for example.⁴ Technologies such as telegraphy and the expanding and improving transportation infrastructure (of railways and seaways) and extended postal service had an impact not only on work-life, enabling faster, wider, safer, and regular distribution of news and goods (and passenger traffic), and altering the conditions of communication and social interaction.⁵ They also transformed recreational and community life: “technology changed the way Americans [and Britons] amused themselves” (Boyer 215). Traveling shows such as magic lantern-slide lectures and circuses reached broader audiences, beginning roughly in the mid-nineteenth century. Popular – commercial, affordable – forms of entertainment included, among others: Minstrel shows,⁶ public museums, freak-shows, the diverse and growing numbers of periodicals, newspapers, cheap fictions, trade cards, melodrama and vaudeville, and, towards the turn of the twentieth century, cinema, amusement parks, as well as phonograph and kinoscope parlors. In this context, one should not forget the cultural significance of world exhibitions that saw their advent in 1851 when the Great Exhibition opened in London’s Hyde Park. They had an impact not only on the mobility of people – the international “‘expo tourism’ of the future” (Osterhammel 14) – but also on the traveling of goods and ideas and, thus, on the formation of knowledge and knowledge transfer.

The increasingly transnational and competitive print market, too, saw great changes with respect to production, distribution, and consumption. As Carl Kaestle and Janice Radway have pointed out, “the mobility of print forms not only was intensified and sped up but also extended geographically” (21). Different reading material and the carrier media in which it circulated – be that in the form of weekly or daily newspapers (such as the emergent penny press in the 1830s), in the form of pamphlets, periodicals,

or books, to name but a few examples here – was produced, reproduced, and distributed “more cheaply and more quickly” (Kaestle and Radway 21), and the “geographical scope of literary production” widened (Zboray, “The Transportation” 54). What we witness in the first third of the nineteenth century (though not everywhere in equal speed and to the same extent) is a gradually industrialized publishing of books, and a steady centralization, synchronization, and consolidation of book production, promotion, and dissemination. The story of Harper and Brothers publishers in New York City, and the London-based retailer W.H. Smith are representative examples in this regard. Smith began as a small store in 1792, selling newspapers, and gradually expanding to one of the leading distributors of reading material (first news, then also books and magazines) in the 1850s in Britain and, at the turn of the twentieth century, in continental Europe. Similarly, within about thirty years, beginning in 1817, Harper and Brothers developed from a small publishing house to a factory. They specialized in books, and, from 1850 onwards, also in magazines. The new building of Harpers and Brothers, which opened in 1853, housed not only different divisions such as management, inventory, or wholesaling, but also diverse (publishing and manufacturing) operations of book production, such as folding, fitting, pasting, trimming, etc. In addition to the increasing centralization and consolidation, the gradual shift from the correspondence system (on which book publishers had relied since colonial days) to the commission (and discount) system (which allowed booksellers to send back unsold copies) at around that time Harpers and Brothers started their business is another major factor in the transformation of book distribution. It is particularly the case in the US, where the dissemination of reading material to remote towns still depended on book peddlers (see Zboray, “The Transportation,” esp. 53; 58–60; 62). Booksellers welcomed this new system because it allowed them to expand their stock without increased risk to themselves (see Zboray, *Fictive*, esp. 58–59). That the advent and fairly quick expansion of the railroad routes in continental Europe, England, and North America impacted patterns of book (and also magazine and newspaper) distribution seems obvious.

Apart from that, new printing methods, such as stereotyping (introduced in 1811), and, a few years later, electrotyping (1838, in the US: 1841), had an impact on the print market: multiple reproductions as well as printing on demand were now possible (see Zboray, “Antebellum”; Zboray, “The Transportation”). The plates could be used over longer periods of time, and were often rented out – sometimes also sold – to other publishing firms (on the impact of stereotype plates on the relation between publisher and author, see Zboray, “Antebellum”). The introduction of the high-speed rotary press and typesetting machines in the first half of the nineteenth century contributed to the growing mechanization of (periodical and then book) printing, lowered production costs and sped up the whole process. The growing emphasis on and demand for illustrations could be sustained by a gradual replacement of woodblock engravings and letterpress with (photo-)lithography/offset printing.

The growing availability of (cheap) fiction and periodicals due to, among others, an expanding network of retail outlets (e.g. railway bookstalls in Britain and news kiosks and railway station sellers in the US), made reading an easy and rewarding pastime:

[n]o longer was it possible for people to avoid reading matter; everywhere they went it was displayed – weekly papers at a penny or two-pence, complete books, enticing in their bright picture covers at a shilling, and all fresh and crisp from the press.

(Altick 301)

Of course, the growing importance of circulating libraries both in the UK and in the US, discussion and book clubs (and, in the US, the lyceum circles that had started in the 1830s), newspaper rooms, cheap(er) subscription rates for both magazines and newspapers, or even the illegal practice of hiring out newspapers (Altick 316) greatly heightened the availability and accessibility of the material. It is therefore not surprising that, in the course of the nineteenth century, “[r]eading had become a popular addiction” (Altick 364). As Simon Eliot (2012) makes abundantly clear, the period between 1830 and 1900 marked a substantial change not only in the price, patterns of production and in the types of readership but also in the form of fiction (from serialized baggy monsters to sleek volumes).

Newspaper syndicates (and, a bit later, literary agents) played a key role in the wide(r) demographic reach of print material, especially fiction. Agencies such as the Associated Press, founded in 1848, and a few years later the United Press, or the S. S. McClure and other independent syndicates, shaped the way newspaper features such as news snippets, fictional stories (of different length and content) and visual material traveled to nearby and far-off regions. As Charles Johanningsmeier noted: “Every major American and British fiction author,” especially toward the end of the nineteenth century, “had at least one work first published through the syndicates, and from 1861 to 1900 these organizations probably exposed a greater number of American readers to more works of fiction than did books and magazines of all kinds” (1–2). Oftentimes, publishing firms and syndicate agencies cooperated to distribute features such as serialized novels. William Frederick Tillotson was a pioneer of feature syndication at that time, specializing in the serialization of British authors in American newspapers; he also sold serial rights in Australia as well as in New Zealand (see Nash 144). Tillotson’s arrangement with S. S. McClure in the mid-1880s, for instance, made the dissemination of newspaper and magazine features faster and easier (on McClure see ch. 1 in Gutek and Gutek; Johanningsmeier 64–98). In brief, newspaper syndicates played a decisive role in the “globalized production and dissemination” of diverse material (Osterhammel 38), which made a transmedia experience possible. These operations are also linked, of course, to the import–export relations between Britain and the US that had already existed and that grew closer in the course of the nineteenth century.

Along with this, the changes in copyright did not only increasingly regulate the print market, they also lead to the solidification of the institution of the professional literary agent and, clearly, had impact on transmedia (and transnational) practices. Prior to the installment of the Chace Act in 1891, the transatlantic literary marketplace was quite volatile, and literary piracy common. Bound not by legal protection but rather by a contract (see Thomas; Adams), authors' ownership of their works was on shaky ground. The early decades of the century saw a series of complaints and anxieties regarding (in Britain) an illegal reprinting of copyrighted material abroad and its re-introduction onto the British market (Seville, *The Internationalisation* 23; see also Seville, *Literary Copyright*; in this context see furthermore, "The Editorial"; Alexander; Richardson; Tetreault). Dickens was painfully aware of and frustrated by the amount of money he lost (clearly there was no revenue from unauthorized editions of his books). He fought (often with little success) the copycats, lobbied (along with Mark Twain, for example) for an introduction of an international copyright (also to Americans who were not particularly pleased by the suggestion) or went into partnerships with international publishers (like Tauchnitz in Germany) or theater producers (such as, for instance, Frederick Yates) as a way of authorizing particular versions both of the theatrical adaptations as well as translations of his works. Mark Twain, similarly, went to Britain to negotiate an authorized publication of his works with Routledge and Sons (see Adams). This tiny snippet shows the extent to which this lack of regulation and transparency regarding the copyright, intellectual property rights, and licensing was in fact conducive to the (international) transfers of media content and to the concomitant transmedialization of narratives. The audiences, as Amanda Adams makes clear, were uncertain about "nature and extent of an author's authority over his own work" (223). Seen in this context, international public reading tours enacted "a symbolically important connection between authors and their peripatetic books" (224). As a type of transmedia practice, these performances did not only expand the imaginary world of their fiction, solidified their authorial position but also served as a space of negotiation between this world and audiences' expectations (see Adams 224).

This unregulated copyright and licensing made Victorian fiction exceptionally mobile. That texts traveled across periodicals and various codex forms is not new; that they often led exciting transmedia lives (as stage adaptations, lectures, illustrated text versions, songs and gadgets) is not unusual; nor is it particularly surprising that they reappeared as pirated versions not only in penny dreadfuls, but also as semi-translations and appropriations across various cultures. Besides at times proving very lucrative to their authors (or, as in Dickens' case, a continuous source of financial frustration), the pirated texts also underwent a series of metamorphoses, of which the style was the most obvious. Of course, such piracy did not only have economic effects but also contributed to the popularity of certain characters and stories and affected audiences worldwide.

Indeed, the expansion of print production, the reorganization and diversification of the literary market, and the licensing/copyright vagaries influenced consumption practices and the modes of reader engagement. Serialization was central to these practices. As Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund (2012) argue, serialized texts were particularly suited to capture the Victorian “expansive vision of life” (53), as they highlighted the idea of (individual) progress, and “harmonised in several respects with capitalist ideology” (56). The authors continue that “[w]e need to see that the serial form was more than an economic strategy. It was also,” as they emphasize, “a literary form attuned to fundamental tendencies in the age at large” (60). Serialized texts published in the periodical press offered what life did: “a continuing story over an extended time with enforced interruptions” (53). The serial form, then, while apparently mirroring and shaping the modern experience, was also considered detrimental to existing cultural forms and values. It also greatly transformed the reception process (see Middeke and Pietrzak-Franger 13). Periodicals required particular types of reading and spurred a series of social rituals and cultural practices: from regular gatherings to read and listen to chosen stories, to magazine days on which the life of (almost exclusively) middle and upper classes feverishly revolved around the new issue, to Christmas specials that were collected and filled the scrapbooks of many a lady, to copying practices that middle-class readers engaged and participated in, to calls for establishing reading clubs. Importantly, as newest studies of periodical fiction make substantially clear, such reading seldom differentiated between ‘fictive’ and ‘factual’ texts, but rather saw literary works as an intrinsic part of the multimodal and multi-generic continuum offered by every periodical. Various companies made frequent use of these dependencies by cleverly positioning their advertisements in the vicinity of chosen texts: utilizing Dickens’ *Bleak House* to promote various items of clothing is a case in point. Contemporary readings sensitive to these practices highlight the ways in which these paratextual extensions influenced readers’ interpretations of the texts (here see, for example, Steinlight).

Apart from capturing the spirit of the era and shaping the novel, serialization had certain affective powers. The interstices that appeared between the issues had a particular effect on audiences, who did not only identify with the characters but also had time to make assumptions, speculate, exchange their views on the characters to the point of considering them real. Apart from spurring what today may be considered proto-fan-fiction, Arthur Conan Doyle’s famous creation Sherlock Holmes appeared to come to life in a Pygmalion-like fashion to audiences who read interviews, (probably) wept over his obituaries, and certainly wrote him letters. These and other strategies meant that stories, characters etc. expanded across media and genres. They traveled across cultures, class divides and realms of the factual and fictional. These processes of expansion took a variety of forms. In a different context, Ruth Mayer speaks about the “semantics of spread” (Mayer 6) that finds different, transmedial “actualizations” (ibid.) in specific features of, especially, but not exclusively, literary characters such as

Sherlock Holmes, or the figure of supervillain Fu Manchu. According to Mayer, spread is the *modus operandi* that we can trace in such careers as those of Holmes and Manchu, and many others, most of which saw their emergence in the nineteenth century (see also Denson and Mayer; Meyer, *Producing*). And so, although transmediality is still fairly recent, it has historical precursors a.o. in various nineteenth century transmedia practices.

Of course, characters, like stories, did not only spread across books, periodicals, various types of illustration or theater. In the era of increasingly cheaper and easier production methods, the appearance of modern department stores and advertising strategies, in times of ‘conspicuous consumption,’ they appealed to audiences in forms of photographic portraits, porcelain figurines and dolls as well as on a number of other articles (jars, cigarettes, matches, etc.) that catered to the tastes of various classes and gratified Victorian desire for collecting. The evolution of photography – from daguerreotype and calotype to dry plates – contributed to the pervasiveness of visual culture and made it easily accessible to everyone so that while the middle classes not only brought photographs from their journeys and displayed these “on their crowded walls, above their fireplaces or on the tops of their pianos” (Briggs 113), the working classes hang this or other image from a periodical and thus adorned their walls. Historian G. M. Trevelyan complained that the “‘uneducated mass’ was beginning to live in a world not of words but of pictures” (Briggs 148). Indeed, concerns about the impact and consequences of “reproductive technologies of modern life” (Glenn 58) became recurrent topics in the periodical press (see Marzio).

The late nineteenth century also saw the advent of new marketing strategies, namely, the creation and promotion of branded products (and their logos). Brand-centered marketing “could develop because the serial production of articles of mass consumption was now a new possibility” (Osterhammel 233), and because of the improved transportation routes, but also because of the birth of new distribution and consumption channels such as, for instance, circulars and mail-order catalogues – the latter first appeared in the US and then in other countries, too (*ibid.*). One consequence of brand-centered marketing strategies and mass production was that branded goods such as Coca Cola or the Singer sewing machine, canned soup or cigars “rapidly spread around the world, so that by the early years of the new century the petroleum lamp burning oil from Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company, along with Western artificial fertilizer and cigarettes, could be found in remote Chinese villages” (233). Brand-centered marketing functioned (and still does) not only as a means to produce knowledge but to create cultural value and the desire for ownership with regard to consumer products.

Victorian celebrity culture greatly profited from (or perhaps was only possible due to) the introduction of ever-mechanized reproduction technologies as well as from the birth of the moving pictures. Eadweard Muybridge’s serialized photographs of movement, Thomas Edison’s kinetoscope (1894) and Lumière’s cinematograph (1895), amplified the visual experience afforded by dioramas, panoramas, and the *laterna magica*. Briggs sees the year 1896 as

“a remarkable first year of cultural convergence in the history of what were to be called in the twentieth century ‘the media’” (117). That year, a.o. Edison introduced his cinematograph to the Empire Theatre in Leicester Square and Harmsworth launched the *Daily Mail*. Although historians can argue as to the significance of this date, it is undeniable that the nineteenth century saw a growing intertwining of storyworlds and merchandise, with Shakespearian characters in forms of china figurines, Florence Nightingale Staffordshire portrait figures and Parian ware Dickens available for purchase (Briggs 132–136).

Of course, the widening trade relationships, and the improvement of intercontinental travel facilitated the spread of particular media content and expanded existing transmedia practices of previous decades. Charles Dickens’ works were not only translated and pirated in different countries, they also spurred the appearance of Pickwick clubs in Britain, that, in turn were transcontinentally echoed in Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* (1868/69). As mentioned at the outset of this introduction, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1851–1852) was experienced transnationally and across multiple media. At the end of the nineteenth century, newspaper comics, printed in the Sunday supplements of many American city papers (and syndicated to other newspapers in the US and Canada, to Europe, and to South America), began their way to international success.⁷ As the three vignettes that we started with show, all these socio-cultural, medial, technological, and legal metamorphoses spurred a series of transmedia practices that were central to Victorian culture.

What are transmedia practices?

Though by no means exhaustive, the above section clearly demonstrates the complexity of the changes that modernity brought about. It spotlights a variety of actants and networks that need to be taken into the consideration in the study of Victorian transmedia practices. The concept of transmedia practices is larger than the notion of transmedia storytelling. Elizabeth Evans (2011) sees transmediality as “the increasingly popular industrial practice of using multiple media technologies to present information concerning a single fictional world through a text of textual forms” (1). Following this broad understanding, and with reference to the three vignettes provided at the beginning of this introduction, we consider a transmedia practice to describe any culturally significant action (repeated or not) that is hinged on multiple – interconnected – mechanisms. These mechanisms include not only acting individuals and institutions (such as, for instance, a lithographic company or a syndicate agency, a publishing house or a manufacturing firm). They also encompass diverse technologies involved in processes of production, distribution, and consumption of ‘texts’ – be that in the form of fictional or non-fictional reading material, visual artefacts or material goods, for example. In fact, these deliberate or random actions contribute to and create an imaginary ‘world’ that is contiguous to producing a kind of transmedia experience.

The term *practice* is meant to refer to paid and/or unpaid labor, and to (short- or long-term) engagements by individuals and institutions/companies and technologies. These can be commercial, affective, social, or cognitive investments. Following the Cultural Studies' predilection for studying everyday practices, we consider 'transmedia practices' to be cultural- and time-specific mundane actions that enable, produce, disseminate, draw, and build on *transmedia experience*. These actions are facilitated and generated by a series of what Jane Bennett (2010) calls "assemblages," which include a variety of actants that – in themselves and as an assemblage – exhibit a particular type of agency. Exemplarily, if we center one of such assemblages, characteristic of nineteenth-century transmedia practices, around the periodical, it would have to include, but would not be restricted to: print materials and their production, technologies of their production, workforce in any of these areas, print setters and their unions, newspaper boys, illustrators, authors (either commissioned or not), editors, subscribers, retailers, waste collectors, etc. In this context, a transmedia practice could denote anything from the various everyday activities that went into the production of a periodical that aimed at offering a transmedia experience. Or a series of 'reading' practices that centered on a reception of a particular character (e.g. reading Dickens' *Little Dorrit* in installments, scrapbooking the playbill of its theatrical performance, restaging parts of the performance at home, engaging in correspondence about the said performance and e.g. using it to propound certain feminist contexts at a rally). In other words, and against the backdrop of Bruno Latour's *Reassembling the Social* (2005), we would like to trace how cultural products – that include, but also go beyond the literary market – emerge; how they circulate and how they are consumed or discarded; how objects become actants. What social, technological, economic, political, and medial conditions make this possible?

To take into consideration the complexity of the thus created networks, we follow Latour (and, after him, Bennett) in assuming the variety of possible actants and their role in transmedia practices. To quote from Latour's "Where Are the Missing Masses?": "You discriminate between the human and the inhuman. I do not hold this bias (this one at least) but see only actors – some human, some nonhuman, some skilled, some unskilled – that exchange their properties" (236). The agency that individual persons and institutions give to objects may, but does not have to, be economically or psychologically motivated. Objects and subjects are defined by movements and activities, or, to use our term here, practices. We hope to get a better understanding of how these practices are enacted, how "entities [...] do things" (Latour, "Where" 241). Upon what basis are these practices possible?

Slightly rephrasing this, we regard nineteenth-century sprawling media content as being generated and transported by different cultural agents, comprised not only of acting individuals – who carry out activities (sometimes repeatedly, regularly, continuously) – and institutions such as newspaper syndicates, salons, or circulating libraries, for example, but also of action conducting (carrier) media, technologies, and products. These include, but

are not restricted to, “circulation boosting stunts like prize contents and insurance schemes” of such papers as *Tit-Bits*, *Answers to Correspondents* and *Pearson’s Weekly* (Altick 363; see also McClellan and Meyer in this collection), or, in the 1890s in particular, Joseph Pulitzer’s *The World* and William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal*, to internationally syndicated periodicals such as the humor magazine *Punch* (founded in 1841) or the above-mentioned *St. Nicholas* (founded in 1873), to authorial public readings, to public performances (e.g. cartoon theatricals that were performed on the streets of New York City), to suffragette shops, to co-production of content (see the two chapters in Part III of this collection). Traveler guidebooks offer exciting examples of nineteenth-century audience engagement that, as Ana Alacovska powerfully argues, is not a domain of contemporary convergence culture. John Muihred, the English editor of Baedeker, thus conceives of the negotiating processes – in our understanding, transmedia practices – that go into a writing of a traveler’s guide:

A guidebook is not made, it grows. [...] It is the way in which travellers respond to the invitation for amateur aid [...] that is one of the chief elements in the growth of guidebooks. When a new edition is being prepared, the first thing we do is to go carefully through the mass of correspondence, generally very voluminous, which has come to hand. This consists of hotel bills, notes, complaints, and suggestions. [...] Many of the letters thus received from tourists are most useful, not only so as to make corrections of matters of detail, but in suggesting additions of one kind or another, improvements in maps and arrangements.

(qtd. in Alacovska 662–663)

Practices are forms and ways of agency, performance and action that are *discursive, material and systemic* (networked) rather than simply individual, isolated acts. With the chapters in this collection we are hoping to shed light on what might be termed the motors of spread, to use a machinic metaphor here, and channels and motivations of proliferation, continuation, and expansion – in other words, the infrastructure that provides the basis of interaction, circulation, and transformation, and the different affordances (obvious and latent, to refer to Caroline Levine) of cultural artefacts and their various implications. At the same time, we would also like to address those “structural and material forces that constrain autonomy” and agency and action (Levine, “Reading” 136). For examples in America in the nineteenth century, think of exclusionary, often discriminatory methods and customs in diverse cultural fields and institutions along the lines of race, gender, class, and ethnicity. Think of legal restrictions (which would determine where one could sit in public spaces, such as theaters, and public transportation, for example). Throughout the nineteenth century “careers in and access to high culture verged on inconceivable [for African Americans]” William Brundage has pointed out (5). The playwright and actor Ira Aldridge, who migrated to England in 1824 and performed

roles in Shakespeare plays and whose popularity, while touring through continental Europe (in the 1850s), extended to Russia, is one of the few exceptions (in this context see Brundage, esp. 7–9 and 27–29, for a discussion of nineteenth-century African American sculptors, composers, choreographers, and vaudeville performers and theater owners). Thus, while we witness an “accelerated and spatially extended mobilization of resources across the boundaries of states and civilizations” (Osterhammel 911) in the nineteenth century and while media content became more mobile, this does not necessarily mean a democratization of accessibility and availability. Social hierarchies shape and dictate creative opportunities and the availability to consumers (see Brundage 5). There are power relations and social hierarchies in transmedia practices, which necessitate further consideration.

In overall, then, asking questions about transmedia practices in the nineteenth century means, we think, to inquire not only how these actions, proceedings, or exercises are implicated in economic, judicial, socio-political and media-technological environments but also into dynamics of transnationalism, the “movement, traffic, and interplay between nations and languages,” as Sharon Marcus has summarized (qtd. in Levine, “From Nation” 649; see also Wiele in this collection). While it is impossible for us to offer a thorough study of the transnational character of various transmedia practices, it is a study that, we hope, can take cue and profit from the thematic, theoretical, and methodological considerations in this volume.

The structure of this volume

Transmedia practices rely on multiplier causes (modes and means of industrial reproduction), while themselves causing multiplier effects. All the chapters in this collection have been subsumed under three thematic categories that account for the various dimensions, developments, and implications of transmedia practices in the past: (a) Technology, Culture, Democracy, (b) Crossroads of Fact and Fiction, and (c) Transmedia Sherlock. They all have something to say about concepts, about material, medial, and national borders and their transgressions, about actions, moments, and channels of content spread, and about the immersive realms that they generated. For us, the examples used here represent the most conspicuous developments of the nineteenth century and signal a much larger scope of transmedia practices that are yet to be uncovered. The volume then, should be considered to be the first step towards and a springboard for a larger, more systematic, typological study.

“Technology, Culture, Democracy” tackles some of the issues of the ‘wired’ world. Eckart Voigts looks into the mechanisms of what he calls transnational narrative sprawl in his chapter on “Literary Events and Real Policies.” Taking as examples George Chesney’s *The Battle of Dorking* (1871) and Walter Besant’s *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), Voigts shows how ‘spreadable’ nineteenth-century literature is enmeshed in institutional, architectural, and social concerns. In “Telephonic Conversations:

The Phone and Transmedia Competition in the Culture of the Progressive Era,” Martin Lütke reads the literary and advertising conversations about the phone as competing transmedial practices in the telephonic imaginary as attempts to approach, to make sense of, and to ultimately manage progressive modernity via – precisely – practicing/doing transmediality. Heidi Liedke’s “Transmedial Experience in Nineteenth-Century Live Theater Broadcasting” investigates in what ways the intertwining of technological innovation, the democratization of culture, and the experience of audiences that characterizes contemporary phenomena such as livecasting have its roots in these nineteenth-century transmedia practices. The section concludes with Ian Gordon’s “Rose O’Neill’s Kewpies and Early Transmedia,” in which he examines the origins of Kewpies in illustrated stories, and analyses the development of different forms of seriality from stories to comic strips, paper dolls and postcards, tableware and household tools and even as a Japanese mayonnaise brand from 1925. The chapter aims to offer a better understanding of the technologies, processes, and individuals and institutions involved in the – transnational – popularity of the Kewpies. It argues that the career of O’Neill’s Kewpies in the US, Europe and Asia is a precursor of today’s global transmedia franchises.

“Crossroads of Fact and Fiction” makes clear that it was not only fictional texts that spurred transmedia experiences. It examines the intersections and implications of factual *and* fictional media content production and its distribution in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The section begins with Lisanna Wiele, who deals with the antebellum city mystery novel and its transmedia circulations. The city mystery novel of the 1840s, which began with the French *roman-feuilleton*, quickly became a transnational literary practice in the 1840s and 50s. Wiele’s main goal is to illustrate how the popularity of the city mystery novel was also reliant on practices of transmedial proliferations, including illustrations and literary adaptations. The proliferations furthermore include the cross-pollinations of newspaper reportage (in the *National Police Gazette*, for example) and fictional narration in works by American as well as German-American city mystery authors. In “‘She lectured and attended lectures’: Transmedia Practices and Female Vocality in Late-Nineteenth-Century Cultures of Public Lecturing and Mass Print,” Anne-Julia Zwierlein investigates feedback loops between late-nineteenth-century oral and print cultures, examining how public speech events, omnipresent in all cultural fields from politics to higher education and rational recreation, traveled through the medium of print in order to resurface in different oral performances. In “Mobilizations: How Nellie Bly Traveled the World.” Christina Meyer deals with one of the first female newspaper stunt reporters in America in the nineteenth century, Nellie Bly (Elizabeth Jane Cochran). The chapter sets out to analyze the characteristics of Bly’s travel stunt (of 1889/90) in the original carrier medium and the historically conditioned dispersal across multiple platforms. Meyer looks into the when, where, and how Bly ‘traveled’ the (journalistic) Anglophone media world of the nineteenth century.

“**Transmedia Sherlock**” concludes the volume by bringing together all the above considerations to bear on one of the most popular creations of the Victorian transmedia practice, which has successfully produced a (Neo-)Victorian global transmedia franchise in the twenty-first century. In “‘To just steal the name of a character’: Arthur Conan Doyle, Sherlock Holmes and the Conditions of Transmedia Dispersion,” Roberta Pearson traces the conditions for the geographic and transmedia dispersion of the detective figure at the turn of the twentieth century, focusing in particular on the British periodical industry as an action conducting force, on the one hand, and practices of authorial control and management of intellectual property, on the other. While offering a close reading of such material as (fan) letters, advertisements, and contests, and while reflecting on the role of *The Strand* magazine in promoting Doyle’s stories and in particular its protagonist, Pearson cautions us that a textual analysis does not suffice to explain the success and popularity of Sherlock Holmes. This is followed by a chapter on fan activities, entitled “Creating Transmedia Fan Engagement in Victorian Periodicals: The Case of Sherlock Holmes,” in which Ann McClellan argues that Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes series established the foundation for contemporary fan transmedia practices and acts as a case study for the expansion of transmedia storytelling in the early twentieth century.

While the practices, processes, networks, and actants we have spotlighted here enable but a glimpse at the rich landscape of the nineteenth-century transmedia experience, we are hoping that the volume will become a springboard for further work. A lot needs to be done in the areas of transcultural and transnational transmedia practices as well as in un- and recovering the yet invisible actants and networks that they activated. This said, we are hoping that the notion of *nineteenth-century transmedia practices* will enable precisely such – systematic and thorough – investigations that shall go beyond the tradition of transmedia storytelling.

This book would not have been possible without the generous support of a number of institutions and individuals. While the idea itself was born at the University of Hamburg, it developed as we moved to Vienna and Berlin, respectively. The conference we organized in January 2020, shortly before the pandemic made international travel impossible, allowed for a more thorough discussion and interdisciplinary exchange. With this in mind, we would like to thank Ulrike Zillinger, who made sure that the event was not only a spiritual feast but also an unforgettable Vienna experience. This was only possible with the support of Tamara Radak and Mirjam Nöbauer, who made sure that the delegates felt at home. The book profited greatly from the dialogue that the symposium made possible. Hence, we would like to thank all its participants for their expertise and willingness to share their ideas.

Considering the variety of disciplinary traditions our contributors work in and the interdisciplinary exchange the volume has necessitated, we would also like to thank everyone who has read through the various versions of this

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Notes

- 1 In this context see also Hughes, *Spectacles*, esp. chapter three, on the refraction of tropes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in public debates about abolition and the trans-medial and transcultural sprawl of the image of Eliza's flight.
- 2 In this context see also Jenkins, Ford, and Green, on the "effectiveness and impact of messages [due to] their movements from person to person and community to community" (21). Furthermore, see Jenkins, "Transmedia 202"; Freeman and Gambarato.
- 3 As Joanna Cohen (2014) has convincingly argued, commercial ephemera such as retail advertising, letterheads, or broadsides give insights into the changing political economy in the first half of the nineteenth century; in the US we witness a gradual shift in ideas about consumption, which had been perceived, up until about the 1840s, a national duty and patriotic act (in simplistic terms: buy American, help American manufacture, do your duty as a citizen), and that then started to be conceived of and promoted as pleasurable and sensually delightful activities.
- 4 To speak of transformations also means to think about other forms of expansion and their implications such as the political, economic, and territorial – imperial, that is – expansion both in the UK and in North America, for example, that occurs during the nineteenth century, though we cannot go into detail here. Likewise, when talking about trade relations (as we do a bit later in the introduction), one has to keep in mind the labor migrations across continents (see Osterhammel 144), on the one hand, and the transatlantic slave trade and its legacies, on the other. All these 'networks' developed simultaneously (see Levine, "From Nation," esp. 657–658).
- 5 By the mid 1880s, the underwater cable system was quite elaborate already so that "Europe could be reached from nearly all large cities" (Osterhammel 37).
- 6 Here see Sarah Gatson and Robin Anne Reid (2011) who provide an insightful discussion on minstrelsy's "influence across the media landscape" (n. pag.).
- 7 For a discussion of the evolution and development of a transnational comics industry at the turn of the twentieth century, with a special focus on Argentina, Europe and the US, see Gandolfo and Turnes.

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