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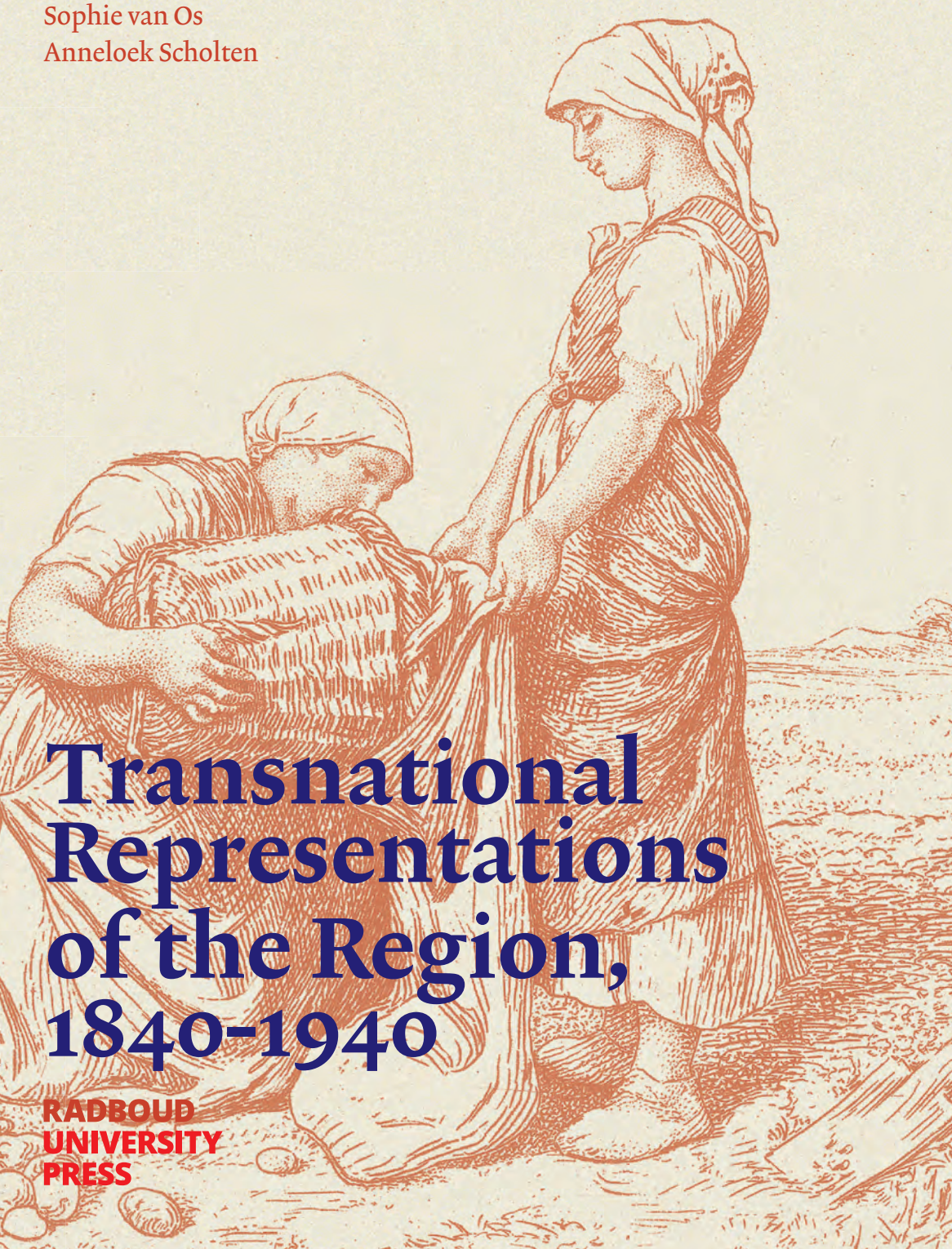

Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940

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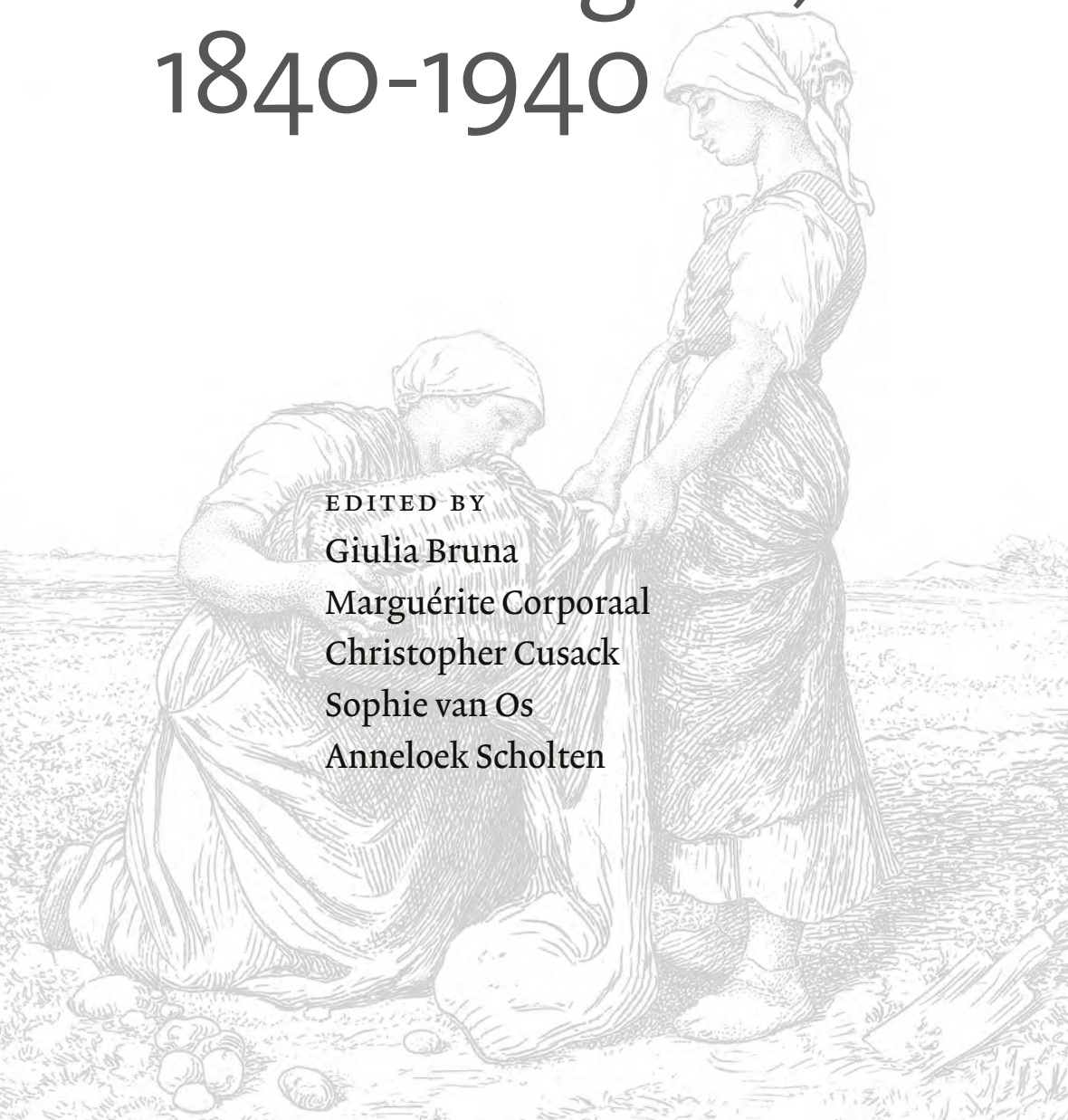

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Notes on Contributors

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Marguérite Corporaal holds a chair in Irish Literature and Culture in Transnational Contexts at Radboud University. She was the principal investigator of *Relocated Remembrance: The Great Famine in Irish (Diaspora) Fiction, 1847–1921*, for which she obtained a Starting Grant for Consolidators from the European Research Council (2010–15). Corporaal was awarded an NWO-VICI grant for her project *Redefining the Region* (2019-24). Furthermore, Corporaal is the PI of *Heritages of Hunger*, which is funded as part of the Dutch research council NWO's NWA programme (2019-24). Among Corporaal's recent international publications are her monograph *Relocated Memories of the Great Famine in Irish and Diaspora Fiction, 1847–70* (Syracuse University Press, 2017); *A Stage of Emancipation: Change and Progress at the Dublin Gate Theatre* (co-edited, Liverpool UP, 2021); *The Great Irish Famine: Visual and Material Culture* (co-edited, Liverpool UP, 2018); *Travelling Irishness in the Long Nineteenth Century* (co- edited, Palgrave, 2017), *The Famine Diaspora and Irish American Women's Writing* (co-edited, Palgrave, 2024) and *Famines and the Making of Heritage* (co-edited, Routledge, 2024).

Christopher Cusack is an assistant professor at Radboud University, where he was awarded his PhD in 2018. He recently completed a postdoctoral project on local colour in Irish American and German American writing. His research has appeared in a wide range of edited volumes and journals, including *Irish Studies Review, New Hibernia Review, Open Library of Humanities*,

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Christian Drury holds a BA from the University of York, an MA from University College London and a PhD from Durham University, where he is presently based. His current research looks at British exploration, travel and tourism in the Arctic during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly representations of modernity and landscape. His work also focuses on how the Arctic was imagined in European travel writing, as well as relationships between travellers and indigenous people in the Arctic.

Peter George holds a BA in French and History from the University of Oxford and a Research MA degree in History from the University of Leiden. Currently, he is completing the PhD project 'Discourses of Identity and Dialect Writing in the Press, c. 1890-1940', at the University of Oxford. His research is funded through the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the United Kingdom, with additional support from the Millennium Fund of the Société Jersiaise and States of Jersey.

Tim van Gerven obtained his PhD in European Studies at the University of Amsterdam in 2020. His dissertation Scandinavism: *Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Nordic World, 1770 -1919* was awarded the Nordic History Book Award and the NISE Award. He is currently associate professor of Nineteenth-Century History at UiT, The Arctic University of Norway.

Sophie Horrocks David is an Associate Fellow at Durham University, UK. Her research explores the artistic, social and political contexts of theatre production in provincial nineteenth-century France. She has recently published on touring adaptations of French *grand opera* in *Cambridge Opera Journal*, and has contributed chapters on Napoleonic military dramatics and on regional theatrical competition in edited volumes published by Helion and Ergon.

June Howard is Full Professor Emerita in the Departments of English and American Culture and holds a courtesy title in the Department of Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Michigan. Her first book was the widely read and still-cited *Form and History in American Literary Naturalism* (1985). The 1996 essay collection on Sarah Orne Jewett that she edited and contributed to, *New Essays on Country of the Pointed Firs*, was both controversial and influential. Howard's 2001 *Publishing the Family* is a microhistory that takes the serial publication in *Harper's Bazaar* of a collaborative novel by twelve authors, including Henry James and Mary Wilkins Freeman, as a window into the year 1908 and the "public/private" binary as constitutive of modernity. Her most recent book is on regionalism as a literary movement and cultural force, in the United States and beyond; it is titled *The Center of the World: Regional Writing and the Puzzles of Place-Time*, and was published by Oxford University Press in December 2018. Howard holds an Arthur F. Thurnau Professorship in recognition of her contributions to undergraduate education. She received the University of Michigan's Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award in 2004 and held leadership positions, including serving as Associate Dean at the Rackham School of Graduate Studies and chairing the Department of American Culture. She was Fulbright Distinguished Chair in American Studies at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense, in 2013.

Frank Mehring is Professor of American Studies at Radboud University, Nijmegen, and currently serves as the President of the Netherlands American Studies Association. His research focuses on cultural transfer, migration, intermediality, and the function of music in transnational cultural contexts. In 2012, he received the Rob Kroes Award for his monograph *The Democratic Gap* (2014). His publications include *Sphere Melodies* (2003) on Charles Ives and John Cage, *Soundtrack of Liberation* (2015) on WWII sonic diplomacy, *Sound and Vision: Intermediality and American Music* (2018, with Erik Redling), *The Politics and Cultures of Liberation* (2018, with Hans Bak and Mathilde Roza), *Islamophobia and Inter/Multimedial Dissensus* (2020, with Elena Furlanetto) and *The Multicultural Modernism of Winold Reiss* (2022). Frank is the co-founder of the European Digital Studies Network and the online journal *AmLit – American Literatures* (with Stefan L. Brandt and Tatiani Rapatzikou). Mehring organised the first performance of the Marshall Plan opera *La Sterlina Dollarosa* (2019), and co-curated exhibitions on Winold Reiss, Joseph Beuys, the Marshall Plan, and Liberation Songs in New York, Nijmegen, and The Hague.

Sophie van Os is an Information Specialist at the School of Management as well as a PhD Candidate at Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Her thesis, which is part of the NWO-funded VICI project *Redefining the Region: The Transnational Dimensions of Local Colour* examines the transnational dimensions of the region in European illustrated periodicals from the long nineteenth century. Van Os, moreover, is involved in the *European Society for Periodical Research* and the *Research Society of Victorian Periodicals*, and she is the International Representative (Europe) of the *Society for the Study of Nineteenth Century Ireland*. She has published in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, *De Moderne Tijd* and *Review of Irish Studies in Europe*.

Stephanie Palmer holds a PhD in English from the University of Michigan and is presently a Senior Lecturer in nineteenth-century American literature at Nottingham Trent University. Her research recovers and scrutinises women's writing in the context of place, social class, and national and transnational cultures. Her monograph *Together by Accident: American Local Color Literature and the Middle Class* (Lexington Books, 2009) traces a motif of ‹regional travel accident› through texts by Sarah Orne Jewett, Bret Harte, Rebecca Harding Davis, Thomas Detter, William Dean Howells, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps to show how writers scripted their contradictory relation to provincial places. Palmer's second monograph, *Transatlantic Footholds: Turn-of-the-Century American Women Writers and British Reviewers*, is the first major study of British reviews of American women's fiction, essays, and poetry between the periods of literary domesticity and modernism. Her current work examines new voices in the revolt from the village movement of the 1910s and 1920s, showing how the movement was led by white women and supported by African American men and women.

Anneloek Scholten is a lecturer in English Literature at Utrecht University. She wrote her PhD dissertation at Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, as part of the NWO-funded VICI project *Redefining the Region: The Transnational Dimensions of Local Colour*. Her dissertation considers the transregional and transnational dimensions of Dutch regional fiction from the period 1843-1919. She is co-editor of a special issue of *De Moderne Tijd* (2022) which concerns representations of soil in the nineteenth-century Low Countries, and has published in *Dutch Crossing* and *Journal of European Periodical Studies.* For her MA thesis on modernist print drama, entitled 'The Periodical as a Playhouse: Modernist Drama in the Little Magazines', she was awarded the 2020 Herman Servotte Prize.

Eric Storm is associate professor in General History at Leiden University. His investigations focus on the history of regionalism and nationalism from a comparative perspective. Among his publications are *Nationalism: A World History* (Princeton UP 2024) and *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester UP 2010). He also co-edited with Joost Augusteijn *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regionalism and Separatism* (Palgrave 2012), with Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day* (Bloomsbury 2019), with Stefan Berger *Writing the History of Nationalism* (Bloomsbury 2019) and with Joep Leerssen *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities: International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851-1958* (Brill 2022).

Aurélie Marks Toitot holds an MA from the University of Birmingham and previously studied in France. She is currently completing a PhD at Brunel University London, with funding from Technè AHRC doctoral training partnership. Her PhD project, 'The politics of memory in Alsace: Nationalisation and gender in the aftermath of the Second World War', investigates memory in Alsace, specifically the use of gender representations and their role in supporting the integration of Alsace into France, as well as Franco-German reconciliation.

List of Illustrations

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Many of the contributions to this volume have developed from research presented at the international conference "Cultural Representations of the Region: in Transnational Contexts, c. 1840-1940", which was held at Radboud University, Nijmegen, on 11-13 January 2023.

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Nijmegen, March 2025

Giulia Bruna
Marguérite Corporaal
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Introduction: Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940

SOPHIE VAN OS, ANNELOEK SCHOLTEN, CHRISTOPHER CUSACK

The region is going through a revival: folk museums are increasingly popular, artisanal local cuisine is fashionable, and courses in regional languages and dialects are in demand.[1] In England's West Midlands, the traditional practice of gleaning is experiencing a resurgence as a reaction to food waste; by popular request, a new Belgian heritage and folklore museum is opening in the historic Porte de Hal in Brussels; and Limburgish and Cornish language courses are seeing a rise in enrolment through online learning programmes and mobile apps.[2] Several newspapers have commented on the increased interest in regional fashion, music, and folklore, particularly among young people who locate in regional culture an embrace of community, connection to the environment and the seasons, and resistance to the establishment.[3] For example, in February 2023, *The Observer* published an interview with Simon Costin, co-curator of *Making Mischief*, an exhibition featuring regional customs from local festivals in the United Kingdom. Costin observes that "younger people [are] tapping into folklore", not out of nostalgia but because "they've realised seasonal traditions are a way to reconnect with the planet".[4] Activists throughout Europe are advocating for beleaguered regional languages such as Catalan, Welsh, and Asturian, or are fighting to achieve equal legal standing for regional languages and dialects. There has been a resurgence of interest in preserving and revitalising the Occitan language, for instance, which holds

1 Mark C. O'Flaherty, "British Folk Costumes Finally Get the Focus They Deserve", *Financial Times*, 25 February 2023, https://www.ft.com/content/37fb9825-6c91-4340-8d3f-b3354ce516c1; Alice Fisher, "Cool as Folk: Why Britain's Young Rebels Are Embracing Ancient Rites", *The Observer*, 12 February 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2023/feb/12/folk-customs-britain-young-generation.

2 Rachel Stevenson, "Why the Ancient Art of Gleaning is Making a Comeback Across England", *The Observer*, 19 February 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/feb/19/harvest-for-all-why-ancient-art-of-gleaning-is-making-a-comeback-food-banks-food-waste; Hanneke Drohm, "Cursus Limburgs een Doorslaand Succes", *De Limburger*, 28 March 2024, https://www.limburger.nl/cnt/dmf20240326_93288629; "Cornish Making a Comeback", *Language Magazine*, 22 May 2023, https://www.languagemagazine.com/2023/05/22/cornish-making-a-comeback/.

3 Fisher, "Cool as Folk".

4 Fisher, "Cool as Folk".

significant cultural and historical importance.[5] Transcending national borders, Occitan still serves as a symbol of regional identity for many in, for instance, southern France and the south of Piedmont, Italy.[6] There is, additionally, a noticeable regionalist trend among popular fashion designers in the United Kingdom and Ireland, many of whom are incorporating elements of folk costume, such as traditional embroidery, intricate textiles, and ornate accessories, into their shows and designs. Irish designer Simone Rocha's 2022 runway show at the London Fashion Week, for instance, featured models wearing tiered veils–"a reference to the tradition on the Aran Islands of wearing petticoats dyed red as headdresses to take part in funeral processions".[7] Similarly, John Alexander Skelton showcased his 2023 men's fall collection through an exhibition of photographs taken on the Orkney Islands, where local community members modelled his designs.[8] These are only a few examples of a widespread trend.

These movements and projects are not merely about preserving regional vestiges: the revivalist engagement with these elements serves as a form of resistance against processes and policies that accelerate the homogenisation of society and erasure of cultural diversity, and some advocates of local projects and movements perceive the celebration of local variety as an antidote against fascism and racism. For instance, French musician and activist TATOU states that "the fight against centralism has always gone hand in hand with the fight against racism".[9] By revitalising regional languages and cultures, these initiatives seek to reclaim and celebrate the unique identities and histories of their communities. While the revived interest in regional culture and tradition is often linked to conservatism (or even right-wing populism), the examples above illustrate that the phenomenon is more

5 Martina Niedhammer, "'Lou tresor dóu Felibrige': An Occitan Dictionary and Its Emotional Potential for Readers", in *Emotions and Everyday Nationalism in Modern European History*, ed. Andreas Stynen, Maarten Van Ginderachter, and Xosé M. Núñez (London: Routledge, 2020), 51-65.

6 Gianluca Tramontana, "'Our Government Sees It as Cute but Unimportant': The Musicians Keeping France's Occitan Language Alive", *The Guardian*, 5 July 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2023/jul/05/our-government-sees-it-as-cute-but-unimportant-the-musicians-keeping-frances-occitan-language-alive; Silvia Marchetti, "Coumboscuro: The Italian Village that Doesn't Speak Italian", *CNN*, 24 January 2022, https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/the-italian-village-that-doesnt-speak-italian/index.html.

7 Fisher, "Cool as Folk"; Valerie Flynn, "Aran Islands Traditions Inspire the Knit Wits of High Fashion", *The Times*, 25 September 2022, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/aran-islands-traditions-inspire-the-knit-wits-of-high-fashion-fb9rxxkpx.

8 Liam Hess, "John Alexander Skelton Fall 2023 Menswear collection", *Vogue*, 24 January 2023, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/fall-2023-menswear/john-alexander-skelton.

9 Gianluca Tramontana, "Our Government Sees It as Cute but Unimportant."

complex and multifaceted than this: regional culture can also be linked to anti-racist action or environmentalist causes.

The international popularity and cross-pollination of these developments moreover underscore the fact that regionalism frequently displays intrinsically *transnational* dimensions: regional movements (like many regions themselves) are not necessarily limited by national borders, and sometimes they influence each other. For example, movements that promoted the resuscitation of Catalan and the official promotion of Welsh have been credited with inspiring Occitan artists, activists, linguists, and cultural organisations to foster a renewed sense of pride and enthusiasm among Occitan speakers and enthusiasts.[10] These and other efforts are moreover supported through EU and EU-led policy-making, premised on international agreements such as the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which states that the protection of such languages "contributes to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions".[11]

Though notable, the current revival of interest in the region is not in fact new, and neither is its transnational resonance: the nineteenth century, too, witnessed an upsurge in interest in the region. Representations of the region were popular across Europe and North America, in media ranging from the village tale to the illustrated periodical and from visual arts to architecture.[12] Weeklies such as *L'Illustration* in France, the *Illustrated London News* in the United Kingdom, *Harper's Weekly* in the United States, and the *Illustrirte Zeitung* in Germany, for instance, exhibited a fascination with European regions, and frequently printed reports and engravings that detailed various dialects, folk costumes, regional labour practises such as gleaning, and local ceremonies and festivals.[13] Local colour fiction was popular throughout Europe, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and it

10 Ros Taylor, "The Lost Tongue of Provence", *The Guardian*, 6 September 2006, https://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2006/sep/06/thelosttongue1.

11 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe, *European Treaty Series* 148 (1992), preamble.

12 Linda E. Connors and Mary Lu MacDonald, *National Identity in Great Britain and British North America, 1815-1851: The Role of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Dirk de Geest et al., "The Case of Regional Literature as a Provocation for Literary Studies", in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Leuven: Leuven UP, 2008), 90-99; and Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011).

13 See Sophie van Os, "The Transnational Dimensions of the Region in European Illustrated Periodicals, 1842-1900" (PhD diss., Radboud University, forthcoming 2025).

was widely published, read, republished abroad, and translated.[14] The circulation of such representations across national borders was furthered by an expanding transnational infrastructure of cultural production through which media representations of and local colour fiction about European regions were transmitted transculturally across and beyond Europe. The second half of the nineteenth century especially saw the emergence, widespread adoption, and interaction of various new media innovations and technologies for "the electrical transmission of information (telegraphy, telephony), for mass print multiplication (mass dailies, illustrated magazines), and for technical reproduction (photography, phonography)".[15] Fuelled by such developments, the period witnessed an immense increase in the circulation of information about and representations of Europe's regions and regional identities.

Across these different media, regionalism offered a response to industrialisation and accompanying feelings of social alienation.[16] Additionally, the rise of regionalism has long been linked to nationalism and nation-building: scholarship suggests that it was a direct "consequence of a romantic search for the roots of the nation".[17] According to cultural historian Joep Leerssen, national identity is shaped by ideals of both progress and modernity and of continuity and tradition. The latter ideal is largely dependent on regions that are imagined as rooted in a premodern past and, by that token, as safeguarding traditional customs. At the same time, under the influence of modernisation theory–which attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies and seeks to explain the process of social evolution–many definitions of nationalism presupposed that an increase in societal communication and a weakening of local and regional identities were necessary preconditions for nation-build-

14 See Josephine Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature: National Tales, Dorfgeschichten, Romans Champêtres* (London: Continuum, 2010); June Howard, *The Center of the World: Regional Writing and the Puzzles of Place-Time* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018); Anneloek Scholten, "Peripheral Fictions? The Transregional Dimensions of Dutch Regional Writing, 1843-1919" (PhD diss., Radboud University, 2025).

15 Felix Brinker and Ruth Mayer, "Fleeting, Fast, and Everywhere: An Introduction to Periodical Modernity", 2.

16 Linda van Santvoort, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel, "Introduction", in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century: Architecture, Art and Literature*, ed. Linda van Santvoort, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven UP, 2008), 7.

17 Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, "Introduction: Region and State", in *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism*, ed. Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4; see also Joep Leerssen, "Notes Towards a Definition of Romantic Nationalism", *Romantik* 2, no. 1 (2013): 9-35.

ing in the nineteenth century.[18] This perspective has resulted in the region and its identities often being implicitly perceived as "pre-modern vestiges" and treated as "a symptom of weak nation building and a possible forerunner of minority nationalism".[19] Consequently, representations of the region have primarily been studied as forms of cultural resistance to "the enforcement of national social norms" and processes of national standardisation; within models which suggest the loss of the local through nationalisation; or, conversely, as emblematic of national tradition and identity.[20]

Such methodological nationalism has meant that the transnational dimensions of regionalism–in its themes, as well as its publication and circulation–have often been overlooked. In fact, media representing the region circulated across borders: literary depictions of the region were translated or republished abroad, local colour genres such as the village tale enjoyed widespread popularity in numerous languages, illustrations of regions were reprinted in different national contexts, and regional culture received attention at several world fairs between 1851 and 1913.[21] According to sociologists, times of increased globalisation are often linked with increased attention for regional culture.[22] However, this does not entail that region-

18 Henry Bernstein, "Modernization Theory and the Sociological Study of Development", *Journal of Development Studies* 7, no. 2 (1971): 141-60; Hans Blokland, *Modernization and Its Political Consequences: Weber, Mannheim, and Schumpeter*, trans. Nancy Smyth van Weesep (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006), and Peter Wagner, *Modernity as Experience and Interpretation: A New Sociology of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).

19 Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas and Eric Storm, "Introduction: Region, Nation, History", in *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day*, ed. Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas and Eric Storm (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 5. See also: Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, "Introduction: Region and State", in *Region and State in Nineteenth Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), 1-12, and Timothy Baycroft, "Introduction", in *Culture, Identity and Nationalism: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1-10.

20 Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature*, 68; Ad de Jong, *De dirigenten van de herinnering: Musealisering en nationalisering van de volkscultuur in Nederland, 1815-1940* (Nijmegen: SUN, 2001), 13.

21 See for instance Lynne Tatlock, *German Writing, American Reading: Women and the Import of Fiction, 1866-1917* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 2012); Thomas Smits, *The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870* (London: Routledge, 2020); Stephanie Palmer, *Transatlantic Footholds: Turn-of-the-Century American Women Writers and British Reviewers* (New York, Routledge, 2019); Marcus Twellmann, *Dorfgeschichten: Wie die Welt zur Literatur kommt* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019); Storm, *Culture of Regionalism*; Sophie van Os, "Contested Boundaries: Visual Representations of Travel to Colonial Regions within Europe, 1860-1900", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 56, no. 4 (2023): 625-47.

22 Manuel Castell, "Globalisation and Identity: A Comparative Perspective", *Transfer: Journal of Contemporary Culture* 1 (2006); Stefano Tartaglia and Monica Rossi, "The Local Identity Functions in The Age of Globalization: A Study on Local Culture", *Community Psychology in Global Perspective* 1 (2015): 106.

alism necessarily or merely *resists* globalisation. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, regional identities were articulated not only in relation to national identity but also in relation to transnational cultural repertoires. They were also informed, in part, by tourism, as regional identities were marketed for foreign visitors, who in turn sometimes published accounts of their travels.[23] Networks of regional writers and translators transcended national and linguistic borders.[24] Moreover, many regions extend(ed) across national borders, such as Frisia, or, conversely, emerged as a result of the geographical demarcation of political entities such as nation-states, like Northern Ireland. For some regions, such as Silesia and the Alsace, their national status changed at various points in history, for instance as a result of war or political crisis. Such complex processes highlight that regional identity and belonging cannot be articulated solely in relation to the nation-state.

Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940 attends to the often-overlooked transnational connections, cultural transfer, and categories of belonging that are involved in the cultural imagination of regions. Exemplifying the developments described above, it focuses on areas that are culturally *imagined* as regions, without pre-imposing a definition of what a region *is*, as definitions vary between disciplines and contexts.[25] In particular, the transnational perspective it offers centres the "sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders", as opposed to a focus on the *international,* which refers to relations between institutional and state actors.[26] The term 'transnational' "recognises the significance of national frameworks alongside the potential of cultural production both to reinforce and to transcend them".[27] It acknowledges that the local, national, and global are interdependent and shape each other, thus

23 Eric Storm, "Tourism and the Construction of Regional Identities", in *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day*, ed. Eric Storm and Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019); Herman Roodenburg, "Marken als relict: Het samengaan van schilderkunst, toerisme, volkskunde en fysische antropologie rond 1900", in *Volkskundig Bulletin*, ed. J. Helsloot (Amsterdam: SUN, 1999), 209.

24 Giulia Bruna, "Ian Maclaren's Scottish Local-Colour Fiction in Transnational Contexts: Networks of Reception, Circulation and Translation in the United States and Europe", *Translation and Literature* 30 (2021): 318-21; Marguérite Corporaal, "Irish Women Writers and Their (Trans) National Networks: Making and Translating Local Colour Literature", *English Studies* 104, no. 6 (2023): 1002-18.

25 See e.g. Laura Edwards, "What Constitutes a Region?", *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 3 (2012); Albert Guttenberg, "Classifying Regions: A Conceptual Approach", *International Regional Science Review* 2, no. 1 (1977); Luk van Langenhoven, "What is a Region?: Towards a Statehood Theory of Regions", *Contemporary Politics* 19, no. 4 (2013): 475.

26 Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 3.

27 Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney, "Introduction", in *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*, ed. Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 4.

allowing scholars "to grasp the multi-scalarity of socio-cultural processes", as Nina Glick Schiller argues.[28] Conceptualising the region as an inherently transnational phenomenon, the essays in this volume consider cultural representations of the region during the long nineteenth and early twentieth century across different media and from a range of disciplinary perspectives, including history, literature, media studies, visual arts, theatre, and musicology.

The period between 1840 and 1940 is, of course, one of significant political, social, and cultural tumult in Europe and elsewhere. Political and military conflict meant that national borders were often redrawn, most notably at the end of the First World War (1914-1918), a period which, for instance, witnessed the collapse and redistribution of Austria-Hungary and the German, Ottoman, and Russian empires. Geopolitical developments could have a significant impact on conceptualisations of the region and its relation to the nation-state, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine and northern Schleswig/Southern Jutland, but also in Europe's expansive colonies. The American Civil War (1861-1865) and the abolition of slavery in the United States redefined the meaning of the 'South' within the broader context of US political and cultural formation. Centralisation policies in France aimed at consolidating the primacy of the nation-state harmed the expression of regional identities and languages, while the unification of Germany in 1871 among other things similarly affected the position of regional language varieties, a development also visible in other nation-states that instituted national language policies, for instance through standardised school curricula. As such, the notion of the region and its political, legal, and cultural framing were undeniably in flux during this period.

Similarly, the idea of the region was influenced by increased mobility across borders, not just because of the emergence of mass tourism, but also as a result of mass migration and settler colonialism, to North America and elsewhere. Leaving home, emigrants did not instantly abandon regional self-identifications, even as they were becoming integrated in their new homes. On the contrary, regionalism could be a productive mode for the construction of new cultural identities, and transnational synergies emerged between regional identity formations. In German- and Irish-American local colour writing from the period, for instance, the regions migrants

28 Nina Glick Schiller "Transnationality, Migrants and Cities: A Comparative Approach", in *Beyond Methodological Nationalism*, ed. Anna Amelina, Devrimsel D. Nergiz, Thomas Faist, and Nina Glick Schiller (London: Routledge, 2012), 23.

had left were sometimes recoded and combined with American regionalist self-images, as in the work of Fernande Richter (who published under the pseudonym Edna Fern), which offers amalgamations of German and American regional affiliations.[29] A similar dynamic is visible in the work of the Irish-American priest-novelist John Talbot Smith, in whose narratives Irish regional antagonisms are often reproduced in the social hierarchies of the border region between the state of New York and Canada.[30] In the context of migration, too, the region thus proved a culturally dynamic and inherently multi-scalar category.

Partly as a result of the developments and events outlined above, the period 1840-1940 witnessed important expressions of regionalism in various European countries, from the emergence of regional literatures to regionalist movements in architecture and the organisation of world fairs.[31] And in the way it was marked by changing borders, migration, and the increasing globalisation of culture, media, and politics,[32] it is not unlike our present moment. As such, while historical in scope, the essays in this volume are highly timely and offer important context for understanding the dynamics between regional, national, and transnational exchanges today. Our contributors underscore that regionalism is not solely (or primarily) nostalgic or conservative, but rather (potentially) expansive, generative, and disruptive. By thinking regions beyond nations, this volume highlights the multiple connections, communities, and entanglements that contribute to spatial identities. While its coverage is not comprehensive, the case studies surveyed in these chapters exemplify processes and phenomena that often also translate to other contexts not discussed at length here, for instance, transnational representations of regions in Central and Eastern Europe such

29 For more on Richter's fiction, see Christopher Cusack and Thomas Massnick, "'Wealthy American Farmers'?: German Americans and Transatlantic Regionalism in the Work of Fernande Richter", in *The Regional Fictions Podcast*, produced by Giulia Bruna, podcast, https://theregionalfictionspodcast.buzzsprout.com.

30 See Lindsay Janssen, "A Real American 'Spakes English': Ethnicity, Religion, and Respectability in John Talbot Smith's 'How the McGuinness Saved His Pride' (1891)", *Religion and Literature* 52, no. 3 / 53, no. 1 (2020-21): 146-53. See also Christopher Cusack, "'Here at least and at last is reality!': Catholic Graveyards and Diasporic Identity in Irish North American Fiction, 1859-92", in *The Graveyard in Literature: Liminality and Social Critique*, ed. Aoileann Ní Éigeartaigh (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2022), 159-73.

31 See e.g. Augusteijn and Storm, "Introduction", 2; Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature;* Marguérite Corporaal and Tom Sintobin, "'Gemeen Volk': Zigeuners in Europese streekliteratuur", *De Moderne Tijd* 3 (2019): 253.

32 See e.g. Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 153, 191.

as Bohemia, Transylvania, and Siberia. As such, it complements important recent scholarship that considers regionalism in multi-scalar terms.[33]

The collection was conceived and developed as part of the research project *Redefining the Region: The Transnational Dimensions of Local Colour* (PI Prof Marguérite Corporaal), funded by the Dutch Research Council NWO. The five subprojects of *Redefining the Region* considered the region and its cultural representations as dynamic, not static, always defined by a complex web of forces and relations, as well as forms of transfer, that run parallel to, transcend, or indeed subvert nation-based understandings of regional identity.[34] *Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940*, too, is premised on the contention that a comprehensive understanding of the concept of the region, be it historical or contemporary, must take into account not just local, regional, and national scales, but also the transnational.

Chapter overview

This volume–which covers a range of European regions as well as the United States–explores the transnational dimensions of regions around four themes: reception, mobility, cultural repertoires and cross-border regions. Each theme illuminates how regional belonging transcended national borders and how regional identities were conceptualised through transnational transfer and exchange. While this volume has neither the scope nor the ambition to provide a comprehensive overview of how regions were imagined between 1840 and 1940, since inevitably many regions and nations are not represented, the case studies it offers demonstrate in multiple ways the benefits of considering the transnational dimensions of the regionalist cultural imaginary.

The European and North American interest in regional traditions and modes of existence prompted the republication of regional fiction abroad–in its original language and in translation. For example, Rosa Mulholland's local colour novel *The Wild Birds of Killeevy* (1880), set in County Armagh, was translated into German by Clara Commer;[35] Ioan Slavici's local colour story of Transylvania "La Moara Cu Noroc" (1881) was published in English translation in *The Lucky Mill* by New York company Duffield and Co (1919);

33 See for instance Núñez Seixas and Storm, eds., *Regionalism and Modern Europe*, and Twellmann, *Dorfgeschichten*.

34 For an impression of how local colour fiction travelled across Europe and North America, see the project repository: Marguérite Corporaal et al., *Redefining the Region*, 2025, https://redefiningtheregion.rich.ru.nl/catalogue/.

35 See Corporaal, "Irish Women Writers and Their (Trans)National Networks", 1011.

and Grazia Deledda's *Cenere* (1900), a novel set on the island of Sardinia, was translated into German, Polish and English.[36] The first section, "Transnational Reception", examines the translation and/or republication of regional writings as an example of transnational cultural transmission. The first two essays in this section explore the reception and circulation of popular American local colour writer Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's fiction in various transnational literary circles, reader communities, and periodical markets. Stephanie Palmer's contribution demonstrates that regional fiction, which has often been characterised as a rooted genre, is in fact edited, published, disseminated, and read far beyond the confines of its region. Her essay considers this paradox by relating the writings of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman (1852-1930) to regional writing by the English author Mary E. Mann (1848-1929), the Irish writer Jane Barlow (1857-1917), and the German writer Ilse Frapan (1849-1908). Palmer demonstrates that each of these authors can serve as a lens through which we can reread and rediscover another. This lateral reading suggests that the nascent or subtle feminism associated with Freeman, Jewett, and other American women regionalists, for example, was shared, albeit unevenly, by other nineteenth-century women regional writers across the globe.

Giulia Bruna's essay dives into the early reception and translation of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's fiction by focusing on three francophone periodicals: the French *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and the Swiss *Semaine Littéraire* and *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*. Such periodicals often featured additional translations of regional fiction that were not always published in books and are important sources to contextualise the work of translators who have historically suffered from an invisibility complex. Bruna compares the French translations of Freeman's stories by, for instance, Thérèse Bentzon and Auguste Glardon, and underlines that these translations and adaptations illuminated the wider reception of Freeman's regional work in Francophone areas. In doing so, Bruna's contribution highlights the transnational resonance and adaptability of local-colour literature as well as the importance of translation in the transnational literary field.

In the final essay in this section, Tim van Gerven traces how the indigenous Sámi – and the transnational region of the Cap of the North they inhabited – have been imagined in both European and Norwegian culture.

36 See Marguérite Corporaal et al., *Redefining the Region*, 2025, https://redefiningtheregion.rich.ru.nl/catalogue/. The authors are grateful to Marguérite Corporaal for suggesting these examples.

In particular, Van Gerven discusses the hugely successful reception abroad of Norwegian scholar-author Jens Andreas Friis's Sámi narrative *Lajla* (1881), though he argues that its influence tends to be overstated, given the many representations of the Sámi that already circulated as well as the broader craze for local colour writing. Van Gerven analyses the ambiguities of Friis's characterisations and shows how the novel's reception often reflected regionally coded Social Darwinist views on 'primitiveness' and 'modernity'. The influence of Friis's novel and other representations of the Sámi, Van Gerven argues, demonstrate the complex interaction between transnational, national, and regional frames of signification.

Section II, "Travelling Regions", examines how notions of regionalism and images of particular regions were conceptualised through world fairs and (representations) of tourism. In his chapter, Eric Storm considers the representation of regional vernacular cultures at world fairs. The essay not only shows how the popularity of the region was boosted because organisers saw the need to be more distinctive in order to compete with other fairs. As Storm demonstrates, this process resulted in "cultural isomorphism": capitalising on the success of regional displays, organisers began emulating each other's approaches in representing vernacular culture. This, in turn, resulted in the transnational formation of specific templates for the representation of regional identities, such as dioramas and the ethnographic village, but also the demonstration of crafts and performances. Analysing this dynamic in relation to world fairs in San Diego and Seville, the essay concludes that these "global isomorphic mechanisms" were crucial elements of the construction of regional identity during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In his contribution, Christian Drury examines how transnational, national, and local processes interacted in the construction of Jotunheimen in Norway as a tourist region, beyond its existing national symbolism. As Drury shows, its emergence as a popular destination for travellers eager to experience its spectacular landscape – supposedly unspoiled by modernity – was the result of the concerted efforts of multiple actors, including the British mountaineer William Cecil Slingsby, and the Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT), which operated within transnational networks. Travellers such as Slingsby wrote extensively about their sojourns, and the DNT not only developed material infrastructure to facilitate easier access to the region but also provided channels for the distribution of information. Drury's chapter, then, demonstrates how the notion of an ostensibly national landscape such as Jotunheimen can in fact be a product of transnational co-creation.

Exploring nineteenth-century French conceptualisations of the centre-margin logic that often underpin regionalism, Sophie Horrocks David's essay considers seasonal tourism in mid-nineteenth-century French spa towns such as Dieppe in Normandy and Pau and Bagnères in the southwestern Pyrenees. In particular, she focuses on the central yet complex function of the state-mandated theatrical and musical repertoire transported from Paris to these resorts. With particular attention for Eugène Scribe's play *La Calomnie* (1840) and the European music it references, Horrocks David analyses how such repertoire engages with both rhetorical constructions of foreignness and the actual presence of travellers from abroad. In so doing, she demonstrates that the transnational nature of seasonal spa culture in these towns reconfigured discursive relationships between centre and periphery, and thus complicated the hierarchical construction of capital versus province or region that buttressed the centralist policies of the mid-century French state.

The third section, "Mapping Regional Identities", explores how borders, geopolitical redistribution, and internally constructed regional distinctions simultaneously reflect and influence transnational perceptions of both regional and national identity. Peter George explores Normandy as a transnational region, particularly in the local press of Jersey and mainland Normandy towards the end of the long nineteenth century. George argues that the transnationality of Norman identity was part of what made it distinctive: Normanness was constructed partly through historical connections with countries the Normans had conquered or where they had settled. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, the identity was shared across a national border, and similarities between Jersey and Normandy were part of its transnational identity. Simultaneously, for both Jersey and mainland Normandy, regional identity was subordinate to their respective national identities. Regional, national, and transnational levels productively collide in this essay: George demonstrates that regional identities could be based in a transnational past and cross national boundaries, while simultaneously being positioned within national frameworks.

Aurélie Marks Toitot writes about the border region of Alsace and its role in the construction of both France and Germany: the region changed nationality four times between 1870 and 1945, demonstrating the historical variability and contingency of the relationship between regional identity and national belonging. Alsace developed a hybrid local identity associated with French political culture and Germanic dialect and traditions. Moreover, its identity remained transnational, as the local population maintained networks and exchanges across the border. Toitot explores this hybrid identity

through the figure of the *Alsacienne* and analyses the use of her image on the political, social, and cultural scene. Toitot considers print media as well as performances by the local population to provide insights into how the *Alsacienne* functioned as a political character, and how her image was appropriated to support different political and national narratives.

Finally, Frank Mehring's chapter explores the external construction and national and international popularisation of the American South as a symbolic region by studying the composition and reception of the popular music of composers Stephen Foster and the German-born Kurt Weill, neither originally from the South. As Mehring shows, Foster's and Weill's remediations of Southern culture divest the region of its violent history of slavery, racism, and segregation. Instead, works such as Foster's exceptionally successful song "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night" and Weill's highly popular folk opera *Down in the Valley*, which repurposes well-known American songs, fashion and promote a romanticised image of the South as a quintessential rural locus of American culture and values. Highlighting the complicated regional, national, and transnational dynamics underpinning the composition and reception of works such as these, Mehring demonstrates the utility of music as a vehicle for both constructing and analysing regional identities.

Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940 concludes with a wide-ranging coda by June Howard that emphasises the urgency of transnational perspectives on the region. Howard brings everyday understandings of regionalism into conversation with scholarship on regional writing and with theories of geography and temporality. She considers the interrelationships of time and place, suggesting that rethinking place aids recognition of the multiplicity of *time,* integrating past, present, and future. Her essay, crucially, considers the implications of these insights for inhabiting the Anthropocene. For Howard, region is a powerful category for thinking about connections in favour of scales, hierarchies, and centres.

Together, these essays offer a variegated survey of the transnational dimensions of the construction and representation of the region. In so doing, they both enrich and move beyond existing scholarship that focuses on the relationship between nation and state. Moreover, they add to the growing body of research that advocates for a "multiscalar optics" attending to the multiple connections between local, national and transnational.[37] The vol-

37 Joep Leerssen, "Regionalism in the Low Countries", in *Regionalism and Modern Europe*, ed. Xosé Nuñez Seixas and Eric Storm, 228; See also Augusteijn and Storm, "Introduction: Region and State"; Nuñez Seixas and Storm, "Introduction: Region, Nation, History", 2-5.

ume thus aims to offer a useful starting point for explorations of the various ways in which the transnational dimensions of the region can be conceptualised and studied. Above all, *Transnational Representations of the Region, 1840-1940* emphasises the necessity of expanding our awareness of the scales at which the region and regional identity are identified, imagined, perceived, and promoted. As such, these essays present a vital contribution to our understanding of the interplay between scales in constructing spatial identities, from local to transnational.

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SECTION I

Transnational Reception

10.54195/FQTN2987–CH01

Travelling Regionalism and the Art of Comparison

STEPHANIE PALMER

Introduction

Regional writing is often assumed to be a rooted genre, but it is edited, published, circulated, and read beyond the confines of its original locality. This chapter considers this seeming paradox by relating the writings of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman (1852-1930) to regional writing by the German writer Ilse Frapan (1849-1908), the Irish writer Jane Barlow (1857-1917), and the English writer Mary E. Mann (1848-1929). These writers were compared to each other as writers of regional or dialect fiction in the reviews published in one prominent literary hub, London, so it is worth reading them in tandem with each other again, to see if their affinities still communicate something larger than the sum of their separate achievements today. For example, the *Bookman* reviewer noted that Ilse Frapan's story "God's Will" features the same situation as Mary Wilkins's "On the Walpole Road": "In both cases the heroine has drifted into a hopelessly unsatisfying engagement, has seen no way to cancel it, and actually stands at the very altar before she can nerve herself to try for liberty."[1] While "the somewhat austere New England writer" portrays a heroine who acts "from a stern sense of duty," Frapan "finds a more joyous way out of the dilemma."[2] The reviewer implies that Wilkins's stern sense of duty arises from her New England background, whereas Frapan's northern German sensibility (Frapan was originally from Hamburg, although she had settled in Stuttgart at the time of writing) is intrinsically associated with her comparatively liberal attitude toward love.

To note affinities between regional writers from different regions might draw accusations of formulaic or inauthentic writing on the part of the writers, because regional writing is supposed to be faithful to variations, not affinities, in dialect and culture. If we read the works of Frapan, Wilkins, Barlow, and Mann carefully, however, distinctions as well as affinities become apparent. Although nineteenth-century reviewers sometimes attributed these distinctions directly to different national traits–as in the

1 "Ilse Frapan," *Bookman*, April 1892, 16. In 1892 Freeman was still unmarried and known by her maiden name, Wilkins. Critics generally refer to her as "Freeman," although increasingly call her "Wilkins Freeman." I will refer to her as Wilkins occasionally, because I am discussing the reception of her work from a period before her marriage.

2 "Ilse Frapan," 17.

example above—these are distinctions in individual writers' sensibilities as well as distinctions between the regions they depict. This chapter addresses the theory that underpins comparative studies of regionalism today. As the chapter will address, today's comparatists shrug off the imperial origins of their method and examine writing from a variety of places without using European cities as their single standard of measurement.[3] Each of these writers can serve as a lens through which we reread and rediscover another.

This type of reading for correspondences between writers of different geographical contexts without direct lines of influence is similar to what Susan Manning calls "lateral" reading.[4] It illustrates that the nascent or subtle feminism that American critics have long associated with Freeman, Jewett, and other American women regionalists was shared across women regionalists from other national contexts. Often, critics who find feminism in American women's regionalism have associated this feminism with an unusual reworking of the genre; Cecilia Tichi, for example, argues that women regionalists are not interested in geography but "the geography of women's lives," and in their compendium of feminist approaches to regionalism, Majorie Pryse and Judith Fetterley quote Tichi approvingly.[5] More recently, critics of regionalism have argued that stories about sexual desire, heterosexual courtship, and the problem of female sexual choice are not unusual reworkings of regionalism but draw directly from regionalism's traditional themes of the conflict between local mores and translocal modern forces, as well as between older and younger generations.[6] Some

3 R. Radhakrishnan, Graham Huggan, Walter Mignolo, and Shu-Mei Shih have argued that scholars generally compare European and postcolonial literatures in an asymmetrical way. R. Radhakrishnan, "Why Compare?" in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses,* ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 15-33; Graham Huggan, "The Trouble with World Literature," in *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, ed. Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas (London: Routledge, 2011), 490-506; Walter Mignolo, "On Comparison: Who is Comparing What and Why?" in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, 99-119, Shu-Mei Shih, "Comparison as Relation," in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses,* 79-98. In a related line of argument, scholarship on regionalism often emphasises that the genre is written for metropolitan editors and circulated via metropolitan distributors and critics. In the US context, this argument was made most prominently by Richard Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 107-41.

4 Susan Manning, *Poetics of Character: Transatlantic Encounters, 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 157.

5 Cecelia Tichi, "Women Writers and the New Woman," in *Columbia Literary History of the United States,* ed. Emory Elliott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 598; Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse, *Writing Out of Place: Regionalism, Women, and American Literary Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 54-55.

6 For an analysis of the conflict between older generations and younger generations in regionalism, see Josephine Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature: National Tales, Dorfges-*

writers plumb these regionalist topics for feminist potential, and among those writers are many women regionalists. When we read comparatively, we can see that the feminism associated with American women regionalists is not just a remnant of the predilections of feminist critics who recovered the American writing in the 1970s through the 1990s. It can, in fact, also be found in regional texts arising out of other contexts that were recovered at different times or remain neglected today. Understanding the transnational dimension of this feminist regionalism should make critics' understanding of regionalism more cosmopolitan.

Updating the Art of Comparison

Frapan, Barlow, and Mann were compared to Freeman in reviews published in London. London was a large node in the supranational publishing network. London-based weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies were not the only source of authority about which fiction to import across national boundaries, but they were powerful. For instance, editors and librarians read the reviews and serialised fiction to decide what authors to republish or preserve, and thus, reviews were instrumental in determining which fiction was reprinted in different localities.[7] Their tendency to frame a text for their audiences seems to illustrate the appropriateness of Pascale Casanova's theory of the world republic of letters as a world system orchestrated by particular cultural brokers in the cultural capitals.[8] Or, to highlight the problem with another common metaphor, they illustrate that the global circulation does not "flow" evenly because it is always "subject to economic privileges and political agendas."[9]

In an example of the kind of rhetoric London reviewers spread, a reviewer for the *Athenaeum* opened with a comparison between Jane Barlow and Mary Wilkins, writing that imitation is impossible, because the New Englander is "shrewd, Protestant, and struggling" while "the Connaught peasant is idle,

chichten, Romans Champêtres (New York: Continuum, 2010), 116-117. For an analysis of the problem of female sexual choice as a Darwinian theme in literature, see Judith P. Saunders, "Mary Wilkins Freeman's 'Louisa' and the Problem of Female Choice," *Philosophy and Literature*, 43 (2019): 466-81.

7 I illustrate the centrality and power of New York publishers and London reviewers (and the cooperation between them) in *Transatlantic Footholds: Turn-of-the-Century American Women Writers and British Reviewers* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 17-18.

8 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M.B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

9 Noel B. Salazar, *Envisioning Eden: Mobilizing Imaginaries in Tourism and Beyond* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 8.

dreamy, and resigned."[10] The *Athenaeum*'s reviewer's words might serve as a textbook example of how not to compare in a decolonial twenty-first century. For one thing, the comparison brings with it a charge of being second in a footrace. Second, differences between the writers' representations are attributed directly to essentialised descriptions of national or ethnological identity, as if the reviewer is directing readers how to distinguish, classify, and rank national types. His overriding belief in ranking national types works against the Irish, who come across as lazy and deserving of a lowly fate. In this case, it works in favour of the Americans. The reviewer was adopting the prejudice against the Irish for being lazy, superstitious, and incapable of governing themselves that was typical of the century.[11] The reviewer overstates the case. New Englanders in Freeman's works often preach resignation to fate. Barlow's Connaught peasants sometimes rebel against theirs. For example, Lucy Greenleaf in Wilkins Freeman's "Arethusa" (1900), which I will address later, ends up marrying a man for whom she feels little attraction. Larry Sheridan in Barlow's "One Too Many" chapter of Jane Barlow's *Irish Idylls* (1892) goes to great lengths to reverse his family's tragic decision to send him to America.

Twenty-first-century comparison must try to reverse some of the excesses that are the legacy of the nineteenth century. Comparative literary scholars have held a rich and disputatious conversation about this very question. As R. Radhakrishnan writes,

> comparative studies are simultaneously epistemological and political. Insofar as they are epistemological, they are characterized by a certain critical, utopian idealism; and insofar as they are inescapably political, they partake in and are actively symptomatic of the unequal and asymmetrical relationships that have and continue to structure the world in dominance.[12]

Scholars, including Radhakrishnan, Graham Huggan, Walter Mignolo, and Shu-Mei Shih, emphasise that the asymmetrical relationship most often partaken in by literary studies is the ranking of Europe and its Others, in

10 Erminda Rentoul Esler, "Review of "Irish Idylls," *Athenaeum*, Jan. 14, 1893, 49-50.

11 Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); L. Perry Curtis, Jr. *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

12 R. Radhakrishnan, "Why Compare?," in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses,* ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 20-21.

which postcolonial literatures, in particular, must fit into Western categories or be seen as lacking.[13] In the case of the *Athenaeum,* comparing Jane Barlow to Mary Wilkins, the Irish peasants are constructed as a colonised Other internal to Europe, whereas the New Englander is constructed as the kernel of a newly ascendant American nation who is Europe's greatest inheritor. The comparison is less a discerning reading of the fiction than a rehearsal of popular prejudices about other nations.

Also relevant to a consideration of Freeman and her European contemporaries is the slanted landscape of American exceptionalism, in which American literature is assumed to be wholly different from European literatures and is interpreted in relation solely to American history and literary history. Studies of American regionalism relied upon American exceptionalism.[14] By reading Freeman alongside her European contemporaries, I hope to challenge this exceptionalism. I also hope to challenge the notion that American literature is inevitably belated and imitative of European literature. Transatlanticism as a topic in literary studies often announces itself as an analysis of the multi-directional traffic across the North and South Atlantic, but the tendency to re-establish the primacy of British, and specifically English, literature has not abated.

In contrast to Eurocentric or US-centric comparison, Walter Mignolo argues for a decolonial method of comparison, in which "Decolonial scholars look not for similarities or differences between two or more entities or texts but attempt to understand their location in the colonial matrix of power."[15] Mignolo, and separately Shih, argue for showing how texts relate rather than how they are similar or different. Shih explains, "Relational studies of literature in integrated world historical contexts can occur along various axes and pivots, from different perspectives, around different thematics, and in different scales."[16] Despite the potential for a comparison between Freeman and her European contemporaries to merely re-entrench American ascendency, decolonial methods of relational comparison seem possible. Similarities may be attributed not to slavish authorial imitation

13 Graham Huggan, "The Trouble with World Literature," in *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, ed. Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas (London: Routledge, 2011), 490-506; Walter Mignolo, "On Comparison: Who is Comparing What and Why?" in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, 99-119; Shu-Mei Shih, "Comparison as Relation," in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, 79-98.

14 Examples of studies of American regionalism that do not look beyond the borders of the United States are too numerous to mention here.

15 Mignolo, "On Comparison," 101.

16 Shih, "Comparison as Relation," 80.

but to similarity in production, translation, republication, and consumption of the texts in question. By reading regional literature, we are not, or we may not, be treating European literatures in their world dominance, but we are noting the complexity of Europe, and its regions that have not been successfully 'modernised' or standardised, culturally or economically. This anarchic method of comparison, in which one may pivot from any text to any other, may be just what some of the London reviewers were recognising was already happening by noting the influx of regional literatures from every direction into London-based taste-making coteries. That is, the world republic of letters need not depend exclusively on the power of particular metropolitan cultural brokers, but might actually be a more variegated and agentic field.

Contemporary theorists of regionalism have made significant inroads into new ways of thinking about the genre. Regional writing is no longer assumed to be a parochial genre produced by locally based writers and of interest primarily to locally based readers.[17] Josephine Donovan's book-length study, *European Local-Color Literature,* traces the history of regional writing (which she refers to by another of the genre's names, "local colour"). Her work explains how the conflict between premodern peasant cultures and the forces of the Enlightenment, with its promotion of rationalisation, standardisation, and technological advances, occurred in different countries at slightly different times and in slightly different ways, and hence the genre travelled and changed under different conditions. Both literary influence and socio-economic and political underpinnings are relevant to Donovan.[18] Drawing upon scholarship on England, Ireland, Scotland, and the United States, Giulia Bruna argues that recent "readings of nineteenth-century regional fiction have problematised assumptions of its embeddedness in a single locality, and have drawn attention to multiple, transnational and transatlantic affiliation."[19] Like Donovan, Bruna mentions that regional fiction is referred to by various names in different national contexts, such as "provincial novels" or "idylls."[20] In particular, she posits a "glocal village imaginary" in which the Irish writers Rentoul Esler and Katherine Frances Purdon treat Irish villages with reference to local dialect and mores at the

17 In opposing ways, Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, and Pryse and Fetterley, *Writing Out of Place*, earlier argued for national, but not transnational, functions for regionalism.

18 Josephine Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature*, 1-6, 22. 97-99.

19 Giulia Bruna, "Global Irish Village Imaginaries: Local-Colour Fiction of Erminda Rentoul Esler and Katherine Frances Purdon," *Open Library of the Humanities* 8, no. 2 (2022): 4.

20 Bruna, "Global Irish Village Imaginaries," 2-3.

same time as their tales "existed in a complex, supranational media environment."[21] The comparisons between Freeman and other regionalists in the London press do not merely reinscribe the centrality of London but serve as tantalising traces of this complex, supranational media environment.

Paratextual Invitations

The prefaces that accompanied transnational editions of regional fiction illustrate that regional writing can be accessible and attractive for readers transnationally in this supranational media environment. The prefaces frame the fiction for translocal readers, but interestingly, they advocate a culturally specific reading, not a universal one. For the regional writing of this period raised and continues to raise difficulties for translocal readers. Its often impenetrable dialect and its allusions to obscure social conventions and histories make regional writing as purposefully difficult to understand as modernist writing. Regional fiction introduces its own kind of disorientation. Writers, editors, and culture makers were aware of the difficulties regionalism could cause. The prefaces reveal the culture makers' consciousness of what their work demands from readers and what they believed its significance might be for new readers.[22] To illustrate this, I will discuss Wilkins's preface to the 1890 Edition of *A Humble Romance and Other Stories*, published by David Douglas in Edinburgh; the translator Helen A. Macdonnell's preface to the 1892 T. Fisher Unwin London edition of Ilse Frapan's *Heavy Laden and Old Fashioned Folk*; and Jane Barlow's preface to the 1894 Dodd and Mead edition of *Irish Idylls*, published in New York. Macdonnell also translated another collection of Frapan's stories for Fisher Unwin, and in a later section, I will analyse the story "God's Will" in Macdonnell's translation.

When Mary Wilkins's first story collection for adults, *A Humble Romance and Other Stories*, was published three years after its American debut in a briskly selling David Douglas of Edinburgh series on American Authors, it printed an author's preface introducing Wilkins's stories to a British readership. The preface contains the modest pose characteristically adopted by genteel women writers who ventured onto the public stage while wishing to maintain their feminine identity: "These little stories were written about

21 Bruna, "Global Irish Village Imaginaries," 5.

22 Like all prefaces, they are performances rather than transparent windows into the writer's mind or reader's actual needs.

the village people of New England."[23] Wilkins then offers a reason why British readers might be interested in reading her work: New Englanders were descended from Old Englanders. She writes, her stories "are studies of the descendants of the Massachusetts Bay colonists."[24]

Why should the British read Wilkins? This was a question that Wilkins asked herself and was somewhat nervous about, as evidenced by references to her British readership in her letters, and a defensive speech she planned to give in 1926 when awarded the William Dean Howells Medal for Distinction in Fiction.[25] In the 1890 preface, Wilkins seems to explain her British readership via blood relation: the British might be interested in reading her work because they are related to the characters. As I have written, this rhetorical move is potentially exclusionary, as she treats all of the British Isles as English, and she ignores the Irish and French-Canadian presence in New England.[26] In addition to this ethnocentrism, though, the preface should be interpreted as a provocation, announcing the stories as culturally distinct and inviting readers to read across cultural differences. The preface works against a universalist reading.

The translator of Ilse Frapan's stories, Helen A. Macdonell, who remains an obscure figure, wrote a preface for Fisher Unwin that also works against a universalist reading. Like David Douglas, Fisher Unwin republished many foreign titles. Adopting a similarly modest pose, Macdonell writes about how she is pleased to introduce Frapan to British readers. She excuses her German author for writing in the short story form, which had low status in Britain.[27] Macdonnell too authenticates the tales, assuring readers that Frapan writes equally authoritatively about her native Hamburg as about southern Germany, because she has lived there for many years and mastered the Bavarian and Wurttemberg dialects. Macdonell then raises one of the biggest obstructions to the portability of regional literature–the difficulty of its dialect: "It is to be feared, however, that this salient feature of her work may prove a barrier even to such foreign readers as know German pretty

23 Mary E. Wilkins [Freeman], "Author's Preface to the Edinburgh Edition," in *A Humble Romance and Other Stories* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1890), v.

24 Freeman, "Author's Preface," v.

25 For the speech, see Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "Preface", in *The Infant Sphinx: Collected Letters of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman*, ed. Brent L. Kendrick (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1985), xv.

26 Palmer, *Transatlantic Footholds: Turn-of-the-Century American Women Writer and British Reviewers* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 75.

27 Dean Baldwin, "The Tardy Evolution of the British Short Story," *Studies in Short Fiction* 30, 1993: 23-33.

intimately–a matter of true regret."[28] Macdonnell translates Germanic dialect terms into English near-equivalents. Any translator of regionalist texts can sympathise with Macdonell's plight, and teachers who have tried to teach texts written in dialect might also offer commiseration. In this way, Macdonnell offers a culturally specific interpretation of the stories she translates, even as she implicitly argues for cross-cultural understanding.

Jane Barlow attached a brief preface to the Dodd and Mead edition of her first collection consisting entirely of short stories, *Irish Idylls,* that makes a similar case for portability and translatability of culturally distinct fictions. Like Wilkins, Barlow explains why foreign readers might take a special interest in her work: because so many Irish immigrants have flocked to American shores. Barlow makes a plea for a greater understanding of both the Irish who leave and the Irish who stay behind:

> They will perhaps care to glance at his old home, and learn the reasons why he leaves it, which seem to lie very obviously on the surface, and the reasons, less immediately apparent, why his neighbours bide behind.[29]

Barlow makes a case for tolerance. The phrase "the reasons why he leaves it, which seem to lie very obviously on the surface" alludes to the poverty of the Irish people whom she depicts in her work, and the reference to reasons that are "less immediately apparent" makes a plea for seeing Ireland as a source of community and resilience rather than mere hopelessness. Like Freeman's work, Barlow's collection sold very well after cultural export: the Dodd and Mead edition was reprinted at least three times.[30] Barlow and Freeman offer one reason why regionalism should be studied in a transnational frame: the people featured in regional fictions were not rooted in place but migrants from one region to another. But Macdonnell offers another, even more compelling reason, which is that culturally distinct fictions are worth the hurdles that dialect and local customs put in readers' way. All three prefaces

28 Helen A. Macdonnell, preface, *Heavy Laden and Old-Fashioned Folk*, by Ilse Frapan (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), 7. https://archive.org/details/heavyladenandolooakungoog/page/n2/mode/2up

29 Jane Barlow, *Irish Idylls* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1894), 5. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063919685&view=1up&seq=13.

30 The Library of Congress lists an 1893 edition and an 1897 edition. Barlow's similar title Strangers at Lisconnel was published in 1895 by Dodd, Mead. The *Bookman* wrote in 1894 that the American run of Irish Idylls had been exhausted and a second one was being issued. "News Notes," *Bookman*, April 1894, 5-8.

actively work against a universalist reading: they announce their material as culturally distinct and yet eminently worthy of readerly attention and sympathy.

Leaving Men at the Altar

In her discussion of what comparison can be, Shi argues that the details of texts should be used to guide critics to extract the relevant socio-economic and cultural contexts; close reading is still an important component of criticism at a transnational scale.[31] This need to read the texts is true of transnational regionalism as well. In this section, I will discuss Wilkins Freeman's "Arethusa" (1900) and Frapan's "God's Will" (1890), two stories of awkward brides leaving their grooms at the altar, as examples of the kind of implicitly feminist spin that many writers were giving to traditional regional tales of courtship and star-crossed lovers.

Both Wilkins Freeman's "Arethusa" and Frapan's "God's Will" feature heroines who are deceptively meek and obedient. Lucy Greenleaf and Marie Deininger are compared to "lambs,"–like lambs to the slaughter.[32] Lucy obeys her mother in most regards, being "gently acquiescent towards all wishes of others" (221), but she does not wish to marry. Rather than develop an ideology around women's freedom, she demurs and deflects when boys come to call. Only a boy named Edson Abbot continues to court her. Lucy's mother approves of Edson because he comes from a fine family and treats farming from a scientific angle. While Edson seems to symbolise modernity coming to the countryside, his is the wrong modernity. In "God's Will," which takes place in a Swabian country village northeast of Stuttgart, Marie Deininger has a similarly mercenary father who wants her to marry her cousin Pete because he feels that only Pete is capable of taking over his profitable wine-growing acres. With Marie's mother dead, the father rules the house with "industry, thrift, and good conduct," and Marie, who comes to love another, accedes to his desires.[33] The engagement lasts years, and even a sympathetic minister counsels Marie to obey her father, because it is "God's will." The phrase becomes a mantra throughout the story, until the actual wedding day, when Marie's inner conscience is portrayed in a muddle:

31 Shi, "Comparison as Relation."

32 Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "Arethusa," in *A Mary Wilkins Freeman Reader*, ed. Mary R. Reichardt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 222. Ilse Frapan, "God's Will," in *God's Will, and Other Stories*, trans. Helen A. Macdonnell (London: Fisher Unwin Pseudonym Library, 1893), 12, 93.

33 Frapan, "God's Will," 20.

> It is my father's will; but then he wants it because of Pete, seeing that he has no son of his own, and that Pete can do the work of three, and does it too. It is my uncle's will; but that is on account of my property. It is Urschi's will; but then she wants to get her own sons a show in the inheritance. It is Pete's will; he, however, wishes to have the farm. But it was my dead mother's will who loved me dearly and so it is also God's will and must therefore be mine.[34]

The repeated mantra of the phrase "God's will" empties it of meaning and endorses an ironic, anti-religious reading.

The stories resolve their conundrum differently, but in both cases, they find room for a sliver of female agency. Lucy marries Edson, but only after she convinces him not to pick her beloved arethusa orchid, and after she disappears embarrassingly on the day of the wedding to visit the orchid in the swamp, thus winning a concession and keeping her own identity in the midst of marriage. The story endorses a continuing preservation of local nature even in the midst of the drive toward modernity that Edson symbolises. In "God's Will," Marie makes it to the alter and then says "no" rather than "yea," so the marriage is off, Pete is free to marry Marie's younger, fun-loving sister Lena, with whom he is more compatible, and Marie is free to marry the serious and upwardly mobile Wilhelm. Unlike Pete, Wilhelm has studied and his carpentry skills have even won an award. As part of his understanding of the modern belief that the countryside can be picturesque, Wilhelm does not ridicule Marie for planting flowers. The question in the stories is not whether modernity or tradition is better universally, but which is better for a particular woman.

Like Freeman, Ilse Frapan had a complicated relationship to heterosexuality and marriage. The daughter of an instrument maker, she first worked as a teacher. In 1883, she moved to Stuttgart with her artist friend Emma Mandelbaum, where Frapan studied literature. In 1887, Frapan and Mandelbaum relocated to Munich and eventually Zurich, where Frapan studied the natural sciences. Although she was briefly married to an Armenian man, scholars attest that her greatest love was Mandelbaum.[35] Freeman scholars likewise agree that the writer's longest lasting and most nurturing relationship was with Mary Wales, and Freeman is regularly considered as a lesbian

34 Frapan, "God's Will," 88-89.

35 James J. Conway, Afterword, *We Women Have no Fatherland*, by Ilse Frapan, translated by James J. Conway (Berlin: Rixdorf Editions, 2018), 107-26.

or queer writer.[36] The gender radicalism of these two writers is implicit rather than explicit in their insistence that heroines have sexual choice.

The Archive.org version of the T. Fisher Unwin volume *Heavy Laden and Old-Fashioned Folk* was digitised from a copy at Harvard University, donated there from the library of Sarah Orne Jewett, a well-known New England regionalist closely associated with Freeman. Jewett, then, may well have read Frapan. Freeman rarely mentions her reading in her letters, which are the only archival materials that have come to light for her, so it is not known whether the writer also read Frapan, Barlow, or Mann. The presence of Frapan in Jewett's library demonstrates a transnational circulation of village idylls.

Valuing Elderly Women

In their joint focus on mature women struggling with poverty and pride and working to gain recognition from their neighbours and the readers, Jane Barlow's "A Windfall," a chapter from *Irish Idylls* (1894), is similar to Wilkins's "An Honest Soul" (1884). Reviewers of the day noted that Wilkins was talented at portraying elderly women, and this volume by Barlow was praised in similar terms.[37] In both stories, the elderly women symbolise hard-bitten elements of the region that have to contend with the passing of time and the changing of ways. Wilkins's Martha Patch in "An Honest Soul" spends each day doing piecework sewing for her neighbours without a front window in which to look out onto the road. Martha is proud, and she will not ask her neighbours for help in cutting out a window. Instead, she sits and sews each day with no view of the street. Two quilts for her neighbours take her longer than usual because she mistakenly sews Mrs. Bennett's unusual scrap into Mrs. Bliss's quilt. Painstakingly, she rectifies her mistake, by which time, she faints from exhaustion. When her kind next-door neighbour Mrs. Peters finds her, she deftly gives Martha more work to do and asks her husband to cut a window into her front wall.[38]

Barlow's Widow M'Gurk from "A Windfall" is, like Martha Patch, a proud but poor old woman whose story is told with droll hyperbole. Living alone since her husband's death, she manages her own farm of more than half an acre, planting the potatoes herself. Mrs. M'Gurk is proud because she originally came from a higher social status and suffered bad fortune when her

36 Susan Koppelman, ed. *Two Friends: And Other Nineteenth-Century Lesbian Stories by American Women Writers* (New York: Meridian, 1994).

37 Review of "Irish Idylls" by Jane Barlow. *Athenaeum*, Jan. 14, 1893, 49-50.

38 Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "An Honest Soul," in *A Mary Wilkins Freeman Reader*, ed. Mary R. Reichardt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 6.

father took to drink. For example, when a neighbour, Judy Ryan, comes to offer her charity in the form of potatoes, Mrs. M'Gurk sends her summarily out of the room. Thus, like Martha Patch, Mrs. M'Gurk suffers what Barlow calls a "tug of war between pride and penury" (20). One day Mrs. M'Gurk receives a windfall of fifteen shillings from a distant relative who had died in Connecticut, New England. The community gathers round Mrs. M'Gurk, helps her understand the money order, and gives her ideas about what to buy. On the morning before Mrs. M'Gurk sets off, she must stop and ask everybody if they need anything from town. She returns with a packed basket with gifts for everybody, including the children of Judith Ryan, for whom she buys a hoard of peppermint sticks, which reconciles the neighbours. Mrs. M'Gurk buys only a small bag of salt for herself and has only threepence remaining.

Both stories pay serious attention to ageing, independent women while maintaining a broad sense of humour. Both Martha and Mrs. M'Gurk are well-rounded and individuated. Both stories celebrate communal life. Whereas the courtship stories "Arethusa" and "God's Will" portray elders as domineering and misguided, these stories emphasise the usefulness of elderly people in building a community. The act of creating community cohesion is not idealised, however, but treated with irony and detachment. When Mrs. M'Gurk stops by at everyone's house before going to town to ask if they need anything, the narrator drily says, "This is a long established social observance, which to omit would have been a grave breach of etiquette; yet, like other social observances, it sometimes became rather trying."[39] When Mrs. M'Gurk fails to return by nightfall, the neighbours gather round and worry together about what pratfall might have occurred. Barlow said that American readers should recognise why some people stay in Ireland, and this story depicts Lisconnel as a trying place, sometimes fragile, but generous and nurturing as well. The spunkiness of these elderly women represents the region's contention with the winds of change.

Tolerating Abusive Husbands

Mary E. Mann's stories share an affinity with those by Barlow and Freeman, but unlike *Irish Idylls*, or "God's Will," Mann's stories are unremittingly stark. Her Dulditch is a fictional village in Norfolk similar to Mann's own native village of Shropham, with a moniker meant to be a play on the word "dull." There are few courtship narratives in these stories. Signs of the

39 Barlow, "A Windfall," 28.

agricultural depression that started in the 1880s are everywhere. Emphasis is laid on poverty and the coarseness that poverty can breed. Efforts have been made to recover Mann for contemporary readers throughout the late twentieth century, most notably by A.S. Byatt, who included Mann's story "Little Brother" in *The Oxford Book of English Short Stories* (1998). Byatt praises Mann's story for grim social realism without middle-class proselytising.[40] All of the Dulditch stories, which appeared in periodicals and were collected in volumes including *The Fields of Dulditch* (1901), *A Sheaf of Corn* (1908), and *Astray in Arcady* (1910), have recently been reprinted by Larks Press in Norfolk with a Foreword by D. J. Taylor and Introduction by Patience Tomlinson. Mann received mixed reviews and never became very famous. Her agent and reviewers often faulted her for being "gloomy" or "piling up the agony."[41] D. J. Taylor speculates that her reputation has not lasted because her best work was her short stories, which have proven a more difficult vehicle for canonisation in the UK.[42] The following comparison of Mann's "David Peck's Love Affair" and Freeman's "Gentian" (1886) illustrates how regionalism's focus on everyday, humble lives sometimes broached the serious issue of domestic violence. In both stories, economic depression in New England and Norfolk led to poverty and increased tensions within the home.

Mann's fiction is full of casual references to domestic violence. Wives are regularly clouted on the head by their husbands, and the belt is considered a useful instrument for disciplining children. It is the other side of the coin from comic courtship: after marriage comes the gruelling hardship of wives and husbands forced to get by and get along. The story "David Peck's Love Affair" relates to Freeman's many tales of bickering couples, including "Gentian."[43] Both stories involve stubborn, domineering husbands and submissive, timid wives. In "Gentian," an old man, Alfred Tollet, has been sick with an unnamed illness that causes mental lassitude; he complains

40 A. S. Byatt, "Introduction", in *The Oxford Book of English Short Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xx.

41 "Novels," *Saturday Review*, Feb. 4, 1893, 127-28; "Novels of the Week," *Athenaeum*, March 7, 1891, 307-8.

42 D.J. Taylor, foreword to *The Complete Tales of Dulditch*, by Mary E. Mann (Dereham: Larks Press, n.d.), 5.

43 Mann's willingness to portray cruelty and desperation also makes her work comparable to Freeman's and Alexandros Papadiamantis's regional tales of infanticide, as analysed by Myrto Drizou, "Transatlantic Lloronas: Infanticide and Gender in Mary E. Wilkins Freeman and Alexandros Papadiamantis," in *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman: Reading with and against the Grain*, ed. Stephanie Palmer, Myrto Drizou, and Cécile Roudeau (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 95-111.

of "great depression and languor" all spring.[44] Stubborn Alfred will not let his wife Lucy call the doctor, and since Alfred "had been the sole autocrat of all [Lucy's] little Russias," Lucy is afraid to act.[45] The line about "Russias" indicates the writer's recognition of a transnational frame of reference and one that links domestic squabbles between husband and wife to freedom fighting between subjects and rulers. Lucy's unmarried sister Hannah Orton suggests that Lucy give Alfred the herb gentian, disguised in his tea and food. Lucy eventually obeys, and Alfred's condition improves. When he discovers the ruse, he responds brutally, giving Lucy the silent treatment. David Peck, a gamekeeper in "David Peck's Love Affair", is similar to Alfred, except that he is physically violent as well, striking his wife and children when he comes home after drinking. The fact that David works as a gamekeeper makes evident the inequalities of the Norfolk countryside at a time when large landowners were monopolising land to raise pheasants instead of letting local labourers plant corn. David's wife Matilda Peck, who is not yet thirty years old despite her eight children, fails to cook supper for him one evening. When he storms upstairs to punish her, she takes her youngest child and leaves for her mother's, an "anxious, prating, uncomfortable" widow, who is reputed to have driven her own husband into his grave.[46] At first, Matilda sounds brave and defiant: "I'll h' done with havin' a child a year, and bein' at the mercy of that villain. I'll stop along o' you mother, as you've often arst me. And he can shift for himself at last."[47] But Matilda, like Lucy, is often submissive, deferring either to her husband or her mother.

Mann's story raises explicit and disturbing questions about social class and domestic violence. David follows Lucy to her mother's house, threatens to "break every bone in her skin," and breaks the widow's window.[48] Policemen witness the incident and take David Peck into custody. Eventually, he is dismissed because he is in good standing with powerful people. As the sardonic narrator says, "[b]ecause of his good looks, his honesty, and other good qualities which, spite of the little surface failings already indicated, he possessed, David was something of a favourite with the better classes."[49] David's landowning employer gives David extra money when he discovers

44 Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "Gentian," in *The Revolt of 'Mother' and Other Stories* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1998), 19.
45 Freeman, "Gentian," 18.
46 Mary E. Mann, "David Peck's Love Affair," in *The Complete Tales of Dulditch* (Dereham, Norfolk: Larks Press, n.d.), 130.
47 Mann, "David Peck's Love Affair," 130.
48 Mann, "David Peck's Love Affair," 131.
49 Mann, "David Peck's Love Affair," 131.

David is suffering from marital strife. A separation is agreed, and Matilda and the younger children move to the widow's home. Matilda's mother rules over her, however, not allowing Matilda to leave her mother's property because she fears for her daughter's life. David loudly boasts of his newfound freedom to the entertainment of the town, but secretly he cries.

Both couples eventually reunite, to wildly different effects. Freeman's story ends ambiguously but not unpleasantly. Lucy runs to Hannah's, where they make a living for several months by taking in sewing. Hannah is one of the writer's independent spinster heroines. Eventually, Lucy and Alfred realise their love for each other overrides their differences, and Alfred asks Lucy to come home and tend to his health by giving him gentian again. David and Matilda Peck also resolve their differences by the end of the story, and the "love affair" mentioned in the title consists of David throwing pebbles at Matilda's window and weepingly declaring his contrition. The sources of national and professional authority in the text all cooperate to keep the couple together. Mann's comparatively greater focus on issues of social class is welcome. It is less easy to extract feminist possibilities from her stories–unless one reads intertextually–as readers of the period's regionalism were likely to do.

Conclusion

This examination of regional fiction by Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Ilse Frapan, Jane Barlow and Mary E. Mann demonstrates echoes among regional writers across national and state boundaries. There is no question of servile imitation or secondary status, as they integrate recurring regional plot motifs into a locally specific fiction. When we read Freeman alongside Frapan, the prevalence of tales of love and courtship is leavened with a sliver of recognition of various types of female desire and a defiance against parental wishes. Both Barlow and Freeman focus not only on young women's inclinations, but elderly women's as well, and they portray women without men. When we read Freeman alongside Mann, issues of sexual abuse and the damages done to people by social class and economic penury become increasingly visible. When read alongside each other, the nascent feminism of the transnational regionalist movement comes into view.

In his essay on comparison, R. Radhakrishnan writes,

> Even more crucially, what happens to those areas in each work that remain 'indigenous' and are not relevant to the common ground area of the comparison? Would these areas be abandoned from critical-the-

> oretical consideration as mere hinterlands whose function is nothing more than prepping and propping up the avant-garde area of comparison?[50]

This comparative approach should not run roughshod over elements of the writing. Both "God's Will" and "Arethusa" contain fantasy moments involving nymphs and fairies that have fallen outside the scope of this comparison. Many of Frapan's stories are based on middle-class life in Hamburg, not a location typically considered set backwards in time and therefore "regional." Barlow wrote about the famine as well as a comparatively tame topic like proud elderly ladies.[51] All of these writers wrote novels as well as stories.

Nonetheless, these writers found a form that would make far-flung locations legible to metropolitan audiences and rural audiences in other locations. Eric Storm argues that World's Fair depictions of rural folk grew standardised as the fairs proliferated and agents discovered what styles of representations pleased audiences; the fairs' attention to peasant communities grew formulaic.[52] At times, writers like Freeman and Barlow have been dismissed as too mainstream, formulaic, or conventional.[53] Yet careful close readings can work against the trap of relegating regionalism to mere formula. Close readings can note the affinities between writing set in different locations and discern the differences that render texts unique and worthy of remembering. Scholars of regionalism might continue to embed regionalism into the fabric of specific places, even as they venture into the state of comparison.

50 Radhakrishnan, "Why Compare?", 18.

51 Christopher Cusack, "Sunk in the Mainstream: Irish Women Writers, Canonicity, and Famine Memory, 1892-1917," in *Irish Women Writers at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Alternative Histories, New Narratives*, ed. Kathryn Laing and Sinéad Mooney (Brighton: Edward Everett Root Publishers, 2020), 36-47.

52 Eric Storm, "Nationalizing the Vernacular: The Global Construction of Regional Identities at World Fairs" (keynote presentation, Cultural Representations of the Region in Transnational Contexts c. 1840-1940), Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands, Jan. 13, 2023.

53 For Barlow, see Cusack, "Sunk in the Mainstream." For Freeman, see Sandra A. Zagarell, "Why Mary E. Wilkins Freeman? Why Now? Where Next?" in *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman*, 273-75.

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Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's Regional Stories in France and Switzerland: Translators, Periodical Translation, and the Transnational Literary Marketplace

GIULIA BRUNA

Introduction: "Connected Histories" of Local Colour

Fiction that depicted regional mores and characters living in rural communities was popular in Europe throughout the nineteenth century.[1] Enabled by a transnationally interconnected literary marketplace with agents such as publishers reaching outside their national domain to foster business agreements and editors and contributors alert to international trends, these tales travelled beyond national confines both in their source language and in translation, and in turn inspired other localised expressions of village life. Josephine Donovan has looked at the phenomenon through a comparative lens, analysing the work of George Sand's *romans champêtres*, Berthold Auerbach's *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*, and the Scottish and Irish national tales of Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth as influential for traditions of regional fiction throughout Europe.[2] In the introduction to a special issue of *Romantisme* on regionalist writing during the long nineteenth century, Cécile Roudeau formulates "new scales" and "critical issues" for these writings, stressing that literary regionalism "can no longer be understood in its unilateral relationship with the construction of nation" but rather "considering the scale of globalization that 'connected history' has invited us to think not in opposition to the national scale, but as its extension."[3] Here, Roudeau refers to the notion of "connected history" first theorised by historian of the early modern period Sanjay Subrah-

1 See Josephine Donovan, *European Local-Colour Literature: National Tales, Dorfgeschichten, Romans Champêtres* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010); K.D.M. Snell, ed., *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

2 Donovan, *European Local-Colour Literature*, 98.

3 Cécile Roudeau, "Écriture Régionalistes (1800-1914): Nouvelles Échelles, Nouveaux Enjeux Critiques", *Romantisme* 3, no. 181 (2018): 8. My translation ("…une écriture qui ne saurait plus être comprise dans son rapport unilatéral à la construction de la nation, qu'il s'agit en fait de lire à l'échelle d'une globalisation que l'histoire connectée nous invite à ne pas penser en opposition à l'échelle nationale, mais comme son prolongement"). Henceforth, all translations from French source texts into English are mine. Direct quotes from French source texts will be provided for some primary and secondary sources for further clarity.

manyam. Subrahmanyam's approach seeks out "the at times fragile threads that connected the globe, even as the globe became to be defined as such."[4] As his analysis of early-modern millenarianism that connected distant and different cultures such as the Mediterranean, Asia, and America shows, these threads were "already plugged into some network, some process of circulation."[5] This relational approach is valuable to literary historiography because of its attention to minimised or overlooked connective elements that defy fixed geographical and epistemic boundaries: it shifts the point of view to a previously ignored and unexpected vantage point.

Translations of regional or local colour fiction in periodicals and book form, such as those which will be examined in this essay, are a valuable example of this understudied connectivity between national literary historiographies and a way to explore the relational nature of literary regionalism. Translations, by their intermedial nature, can be considered "key elements of connectedness and transmission" and are embedded in transnational networks of print culture.[6] Yet, in nation-centric literary historiographies they are often overlooked (along with translators). Famously, Lawrence Venuti speaks of the "translator's invisibility" and of the "unformulated" nature of "the translator's authorship" whereby translation is stuck in a conundrum: on the one hand it is perceived as "second-order representation," on the other hand it "efface[s] its second-hand status with the effect of transparency, producing the illusion of authorial presence".[7] This ambiguity is also currently reflected in the legal status of translation, "both in copyright law and contractual arrangements",[8] and even more so during the nineteenth century. By then, agreements on copyright were initially negotiated on an ad hoc basis and then gradually standardised internationally. The Berne Convention of 1886-87, for instance, was the first successful attempt to mobilise "an international legal regime"[9] for multilateral

4 Sanjay Subrahmanyan, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3, Special Issue: The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400-1800 (1997): 761.

5 Ibid., 762.

6 Ibid., 758.

7 Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 2006), 6.

8 Ibid., 8.

9 Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, "A Diplomatic Salto Mortale: Translation Trouble in Berne, 1884–1886," *Book History* 14 (2011): 88. Elsewhere, Wirtén notes that translation and intellectual property rights as outlined in these conventions often served a kind of inherent "cultural imperialism," and that countries which were not big exporters of literary works (e.g., Sweden and Portugal) but rather importers of translations initially objected to what they perceived as a bias towards France which was a major exporter of literary works. See Eva

copyright arrangements. Furthermore, as Anne O'Connor has shown in an Irish context, throughout the nineteenth century, "[t]ranslation was not a subsidiary activity but rather an element of a spectrum of literary possibilities."[10] Thus, the late-nineteenth-century translations of regional literature in this essay are important sources to understand literary translation as a widespread transnational practice at a time when it was also increasingly gaining international juridical attention.

Translation in periodicals, moreover, adds further complexity to the cultural transfer since nineteenth-century periodicals, as O'Connor argues elsewhere, were sites where "diverse forms of translation practices" appeared, ranging from "verse translations, paraphrases, quotations in review articles, unacknowledged works, and adaptations."[11] In addition, according to O'Connor, "the publication of translations in periodicals [...] gives rise to multifaceted considerations of authorship due to the presence of multiple voices including an original author, a translator, an editor and a collective ideology pertaining to that publication."[12] Literary periodicals were therefore crucial for enabling circulation, translation, and creative re-writings of texts, and for connecting people involved in these processes; in other words, they were key for the way they operated like networks. Scholarship has given much attention to the study of periodicals in relation to networks.[13] John Fagg, Matthew Pethers, and Robin Vandome have noted that "the periodical ... embodies the concept of network on both a material level (in the juxtaposition and interconnections it generates between different texts) and on an institutional level

Hemmungs Wirtén, *No Trespassing: Authorship, Intellectual Property Rights, and the Boundaries of Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 40.

10 Anne O'Connor, *Translation and Language in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 180.

11 Anne O'Connor, "Translation in Nineteenth-century Periodicals: Materialities and Modalities of Communication," *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 14, no. 2 (2019): 245–46.

12 Ibid., 254.

13 Arguing for a "transnational and large-scale approach to literary translation", Laura Fólica, Diana Roig-Sanz, and Stefania Caristia have examined case-studies of translation in periodicals from the 18th to the 20th century that cover geographical areas such as Europe, Latin America, and Asia and adopt quantitative network analysis methodologies. See, among others, Laura Fólica, Diana Roig-Sanz and Stefania Caristia, eds., *Literary Translation in Periodicals: Methodological Challenges for a Transnational Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2020), 1–17. Some of the case-studies in this collection combine both qualitative and quantitative methodologies such as network analysis to shed light on the relationship between translations in periodicals against materials in the source language, the relationship between translators and publishers, and more. See Fabio Guidali, "A Historian's Approach to Quantitative Analysis: The Case of Translated Short Stories in Italian Women's *rotocalchi* (1933–1938)," 153–175; Michele Sisto, "Literary Journals and Book Series as Agents of Consecration: Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka in the Italian Literary Field (1908–1938)," 69–92. In this volume, see also Regner's essay.

(in the collaboration between authors, editors, illustrators, publishers, and readers, which goes into producing it)."[14] Translation and translators in periodicals exemplify both the "material" and the "institutional" levels of the periodical network, a network that is also transnational.

Drawing on these intersecting premises about the transnational nature of regional fiction, the complexity of nineteenth-century translation culture, and the role of periodicals, this essay compares the French translations of popular American regionalist Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's stories in two different European francophone countries–France and Switzerland–as they appeared in a selection of their literary periodicals of the 1890s. In France, one of Freeman's short stories was featured in the prestigious *Revue des Deux Mondes* signed by translator, critic, and novelist Thérèse Bentzon.[15] In Switzerland, translators and writers Lydie Charlier and Édouard Tavan translated Freeman in *Semaine Littéraire*; Charlier, moreover, published a book of Freeman's village tales entitled *Au Village* (1894). In *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, translator, novelist, and journalist Auguste Glardon not only translated Freeman but, using a pseudonym, also wrote regional fiction directly adapted from her. This essay shows that Freeman's stories were adapted differently for local audiences despite the use of a common target language (French): in the Parisian *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Freeman's work is mediated as exemplary of a distinctive American culture that was perceived as radically different from French culture and arguably more difficult to decode. In Switzerland, this difference appears to be more easily surmountable, as testified by several translations in periodicals, a volume of her translated stories, and a creative adaptation of one of her stories into a Swiss regional context.

Mary E. Wilkins Freeman (1852–1930)[16] was a writer from Massachusetts who came to prominence in American letters in the late 1880s and 1890s with collections of short stories and novels set in New England. She was

14 John Fagg, Matthew Pethers, and Robin Vandome, "Introduction: Networks and the Nineteenth-Century Periodical," *American Periodicals* 23, no. 2 (2013): 94. Alexis Easley's introduction to a Special Issue of the *Victorian Periodicals Review* entitled "Victorian Networks and the Periodical Press" draws a similar distinction between "physical" and "virtual" networks enabled by periodicals. See *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, no. 2 (2011): 111–14.

15 In France, I could not trace any nineteenth-century book collection of Freeman's translated stories; to my knowledge, only Freeman's novels were translated and published in book form in the late nineteenth century.

16 In 1902, Mary E. Wilkins married Dr Charles Manning Freeman and after that her work appeared more frequently with both surnames ("Wilkins Freeman"). In this essay, she is referred to as Freeman for consistency, and Freeman has been added in square brackets when sources of the time (e.g., reviews) that only mention her maiden name are quoted directly.

part of a group of writers such as William Dean Howells, Hamlin Garland, and Sarah Orne Jewett, who wrote local-colour stories portraying people, customs, and manners of speech of specific American regions. This regionalist focus in American literature fell out of fashion in the mid twentieth century, and the regionalism of women writers such as Freeman and Jewett, in particular, suffered in reputation until recent feminist reappraisals, for example, in the seminal work of Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse, who read the regional positioning of these authors' fiction as a critique to male-dominated fiction and patriarchal discourses.[17]

In *Transatlantic Footholds*, Stephanie Palmer has mapped the transatlantic reception of Freeman's work in the British Isles, drawing on an extensive corpus of reviews in British and Irish periodicals. Her research has shown that Freeman's fiction was received along two very different lines: in the first instance, her work was appraised "with reference to Anglo-Saxonism, the self-conscious construction of bonds between Britons and Americans on the putative basis of shared bloodline;" in the second case, British reviewers read her fiction, especially with reference to her characters' religious dissent, as aligned with various causes of "dissent from the British establishment", such as "the dour, self-destructive Scottish character, Calvinism, and Irish and Scottish Nationalism".[18] Most recently, Sandra A. Zagarell has sketched new trajectories for the study of Freeman, such as the need for a continued attention to "the complexity of Freeman's regionalism, including its alignment with her understanding that New England [...] was always affected and partly shaped by national, even global, circumstances and conditions" and a "materialist-historical" examination of the relationship between Freeman's texts and paratexts such as book covers or illustrations.[19] Since Freeman's stories also had a wide appeal in translation, my essay partly contributes to this scholarship by inscribing Freeman's work in a wider

17 See Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse, *Writing out of Place: Regionalism, Women, and American Literary Culture* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Stephanie Palmer, Myrto Drizou and Cécile Roudeau, "Reading Freeman Again, Anew", In *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman*, ed. Stephanie Palmer, Myrto Drizou and Cécile Roudeau (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 1–21.

18 Stephanie Palmer, *Transatlantic Footholds: Turn-of-the-century American Women Writers and British Reviewers* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 72. Palmer's essay in this volume examines the "art of comparison" in a transnational and translocal network of regional writers compared to Freeman in British reviews which included the Irish Jane Barlow, German Ilse Frapan, and English Mary E. Mann.

19 Sandra A. Zagarell, "Afterword: Why Mary E. Wilkins Freeman? Why Now? Where Next?," in *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman*, ed. Stephanie Palmer, Myrto Drizou and Cécile Roudeau (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 279.

European framework and by looking at significant material aspects of her transnational resonance in another language, that is, the earliest French translations of her stories and the periodicals in which they first appeared.

Freeman in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*: "the English soul of the seventeenth century"

In France, Freeman's stories were published in several periodicals, including *Revue Politique et Littéraire: Revue Bleue* (1863-1939) and *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1829-). The *Revue Blue* featured a translation of "The Revolt of 'Mother'" (La Révolte de 'Mère') in 1898 and "The Cat" (Le Chat) in 1900, the latter being the only instance in which a translator is acknowledged ("W. P. Lafaije").[20] In the Parisian high-brow *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Freeman's work was translated and introduced to French readers by novelist and regular contributor Thérèse Bentzon (1840-1907), who signed her work "Th. Bentzon", thus leaving her gender identity ambiguous on paper, and who had built an expertise as critic of American literature: she was Sarah Orne Jewett's official translator and wrote frequent essays on Twain and other local colour writers. Bentzon translated Jewett's *A Country Doctor* (1884) for Hetzel as *Le Roman de la Femme-Médecin* (1894) after translated excerpts of this work and a critical essay had appeared a few years prior in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1885).[21] She also spent months in the United States and, for the *Revue*, wrote travel notes about New England and essays on the condition of women in North America. As is known, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* was an institution of French letters since its inception: it published leading French and European writers and was keen on building a bridge with other non-European cultures, including America.[22]

Karen Offen states that Bentzon was an example of a "'new woman' à la française, insofar as she was supporting herself through her writing"; yet, she "remained worried about the prospect of antagonism between the sexes and proposed that women should not push their claims for emancipation too far".[23] Jean Anderson has read one of Bentzon's novels, *Émancipée* (1887), in a similar way, as participating in the New Woman discourse, though

20 I could not retrieve any biographical information on this contributor.

21 Th. Bentzon, "Le Roman de la Femme-Médecin," *Revue Des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)* 67, no. 3 (1885): 598–632; *Le Roman de la Femme-Médecin* (Paris: Hetzel, 1894). Arguably, in her adapted title, Bentzon highlights the gender element of Jewett's country doctor also to differentiate the work from a notable predecessor, Balzac's *Le Médicin de Campagne* (1833).

22 "Qui sommes nous: L'histoire de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*", RevuedesDeuxMondes.fr, https://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/qui-sommes-nous/, accessed Feb. 8, 2024.

23 Karen Offen, *Debating the Woman Question in the French Third Republic, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 190.

advocating for less radical and more conciliatory positions.[24] Significantly for the comparison with the American local colourists, *Emancipée* is a novel about an Alsatian expatriate, Hélène, who studies to become a female doctor in Paris, also joining "New Woman" circles with her sister Charlotte, a novelist who writes under a male pseudonym. Even if Hélène completes her studies, she consciously chooses marriage and motherhood over a career in the medical profession. The ending radically contrasts the one in Jewett's *A Country Doctor*, in which Nan refuses the marriage proposal to follow her call to become a doctor. While both novels tackle the conundrum women faced when choosing between professions outside the home and the traditional role of homemakers, Bentzon's novel lacks the regionalist element that constitutes, instead, Jewett's trademark. Jewett's novel follows Nan's *bildung* by depicting distinctive New England village characters with their beliefs and idioms as well as the local landscape. Bentzon's *Emancipée*, on the other hand, only briefly mentions Hélène's Alsatian background to characterise her as an outsider, but is a novel set primarily in Paris and more concerned with laying out positions surrounding the woman's question through various characters: interacting with female medical students are also women writers and journalists, divorcées who had embraced leading roles in charity work, and women who rebelled against the constraints of female fashion advocating for more comfortable clothing.

While Bentzon's fiction of the 1880s and 1890s partook in New Woman discourses, her early novel set on the Island of Bréhat in Brittany, *Le Violon de Job: Scènes de la Vie Bréhataise* (1875), engages more closely with French regionalism and with George Sand's "romans champêtres".[25] In the 1870s, Sand "occupied a pivotal position in literary France" with an extensive network of emerging and established writers who corresponded with her throughout her life and visited her in Nohant.[26] As one of them, Bentzon also owed to Sand's intercession in 1872 the beginning of her collaboration with the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, subsequently strengthening her profile as both a novelist and a critic.[27] While Bentzon's acknowledgement of Sand's

24 Jean Anderson, "Une Histoire de Bas-Bleus: Émancipée de Thérèse Bentzon," in *Passées Sous Silence: Onze Femmes Écrivains à Relire*, ed. Patrick Bergeron (Aulnoy-lez-Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2015), 89–91.

25 Bentzon's *Le Violon de Job* was first published in 1874 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (2, no. 3 [1874]: 531–62).

26 Alison Finch, *Women's Writing in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 83.

27 Cécile Roudeau, "'In Gallic Dress': L'Amérique Travestie, ou la Traduction du Biais Régionaliste. Le Cas Th. Bentzon," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 138, no. 1 (2014): 63.

influence is overtly stated in novels such as *Un Divorce* (1872),[28] Bentzon's early Breton novel also carries on the legacy of Sand's "roman champêtres" in interesting stylistic choices. Like Sand, who gathered the story of *La Mare Au Diable* (1846) directly from the protagonist and who documented a traditional Berry wedding as a member of the local community, Bentzon also includes herself in the narrative as a participant observer who had become acquainted with two of the main protagonists, Job and the priest M. Clech, while attending the traditional Breton festivals of the *Pardons* in Bréhat.[29] Another echo of Sand in Bentzon's novel is the love story between Job and Jeannie, which recalls moments in the development of the bond between the two protagonists of *La Mare Au Diable*, Germain and Marie. Bentzon's protagonist Job is, like Germain, a widower who falls in love with a younger peasant girl whose kindness and generosity ultimately help both overcome tribulations and social ostracism.

Very similar in the two texts is the pivotal scene when Germain and Job realise the intensity of their feelings for Marie and Jeannie, respectively. In Sand, Germain, his son, and the young peasant girl Marie have undertaken a journey together: Germain is going to pay a visit to a widow with the intention of re-marrying and providing a mother for his child; Marie is seeking work in a nearby village. During the journey, they are forced to spend the night together near a pond in the countryside, the titular "Devil's Pool", and at night, Germain's child falls asleep on Mary's lap. Germain contemplates the tenderness of the scene, which increases his feelings for Marie, and the chapter closes with the child awaking briefly and asking his father to choose Marie as his new mother.[30] This scene is also chosen for one of the engravings by Tony Johannot and Maurice Sand for an early 1857 edition of the work, captioned "In the firelight of the shelter, Germain was looking at his little angel asleep on the young girl's heart" ("A la lueur du feu du bivouac Germain regardait son petit ange assoupi sur le coeur de la jeune fille").[31] In Bentzon, Jeannie, who had a child out of wedlock, is forced to spend the night in Job's rustic abode on the island of Lavrec, off the coast of Bréhat. In looking at the girl sleeping on a straw bed in the stable while holding her daughter to her chest–"a vision of the Bethlehem crib" ("une vision de la crèche de Bethléem")–Job kneels down to contemplate Jeannie's beauty

28 Finch, *Women's Writing in Nineteenth-Century France*, 85.

29 George Sand, *La Mare au Diable*, in *La Mare au Diable – André – La Noce du Village – La Fauvette du Docteur* (Paris: Édition J. Hetzel, 1857), 6, 28. Th. Bentzon, *Le Violon de Job: Scènes de la Vie Bréhataise* (Paris: Michelle Lèvy, 1875), 14–15.

30 Sand, *La Mare au Diable*, 16.

31 Ibid., 17.

and falls in love.[32] Similarly to Sand, then, Bentzon also constructs a tableau reminiscent of pictorial scenes of Madonna with Child.

Bentzon's familiarity with novelistic trends such as regionalism and novels depicting women's changing roles in society, coupled with her expertise as a critic of American fiction, had her well-positioned to discuss Freeman. In 1896, Bentzon introduced Freeman's work to the readers of the *Revue* in a dedicated piece where she reviews and translates "A New England Nun" and parts of Freeman's novel *Pembroke*. In her assessment, Bentzon compares Freeman to Harriet Beecher Stowe and Jewett, praising her painterly way of synthesising a landscape or a person in "a few bold strokes" ("en deux ou trois touches hardies"), at times using a single word that can "move to laughter or tears or both at the same time."[33] She also links her depiction of New England culture to Anglo-Saxonism, outlining the connection between seventeenth-century England and its early colonial provinces in America–"the English soul of the seventeenth century, transplanted into what had become the old America in comparison to the provinces colonized ever since".[34]

Cécile Roudeau has noted that in Bentzon's translations of Bret Harte and Hamlin Garland, Bentzon renders their dialect in the stories not through a specific French regional idiom, but with a more general "peasant type" ("paysan type") of language.[35] In other words, Bentzon chooses to "render the local dialect with the voice of the social class" as this is the only viable strategy that makes the translation possible to a French audience, at a time when language and literary policies in France pushed for standardisation and centralisation, while American nation-building discourses in language and literature, instead, saw national unity as decentralised and plural.[36] In translating Jewett's *A Country Doctor* as *Le Roman de la Femme-Médecin*, Roudeau continues, Bentzon invests in a different interpretative key to draw in French readers, and in the revised title leaves out the rural element and instead combines two other spaces she sees as common between France and the United States: the novel and the growing importance of women in the public sphere.[37]

32 Bentzon, *Le Violon de Job*, 63-64.
33 Th. Bentzon, "Un Romancier de la Nouvelle-Angleterre: Mary E. Wilkins," *Revue Des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)* 136, no. 3 (1896): 557 ("[L]a puissance rare d'émouvoir d'un mot, d'imposer à sa guise le rire ou les larmes, de les provoquer même ensemble, ce qui est le triomphe de l'humour").
34 Ibid., 569: "[L]' âme anglaise di xvii ème siècle, transplantée dans ce qui comparativement aux provinces colonisées depuis, est devenu la vieille Amérique".
35 Roudeau, "'In Gallic Dress'," 63.
36 Ibid., 64, 58-59 ("rendre le dialecte local par la voix de la classe sociale").
37 Ibid., 67.

Differently from these writers, Bentzon admittedly compromises less to translate Freeman's regional writing and to render her distinctive use of language and style. Her translation of Freeman's story "A New England Nun" in the *Revue* is quite literal in both text and paratext, with the title being translated as "Une Nonne de la Nouvelle Angleterre."[38] Freeman's spare and minimalist style in the story, exemplified also by the scant dialogue and the lack of dialectal expressions more prominent in other stories, calls for less creative strategies of adaptation as Bentzon confirms in her introduction: "If she doesn't give the full measure of a talent made of minute observation and robust originality, on the other hand, she has the merit of losing less in translation than many others where dialect and local specificities play a bigger part".[39] Thus, Freeman's no-frills but evocative prose arguably poses fewer linguistic challenges for the translator, yet another type of problem arises in the process of cultural transfer.

In referring to Freeman's successful novel *Pembroke*, Bentzon states that the novel "will never find a translator in France because too many things are against our nature, and it is impossible for us to understand most characters, even if we feel them deeply human, but it is a different humanity from ours so to speak."[40] According to Bentzon, this fundamental difference is the Puritan spirit of those communities founded on the Bible, along with the irremediable stubbornness and austerity of the characters; this mentality, in Bentzon's reading, has not been influenced by German or Irish cultures which she sees as pervasive in the rest of the United States.[41] Bentzon's reference to the receiving culture as very different from Freeman's may also be interpreted in terms of religious cultures, since Bentzon was a Catholic writer.[42] While, as Roudeau has shown, Bentzon seems to have found important solutions to translate American regionalists such as Harte, Garland, and Jewett, and while appreciating the evocative realism of Freeman's

38 Bentzon, "Un Romancier de la Nouvelle-Angleterre," 544.

39 Ibidem. ("Si elle ne donne pas l'entière mesure d'un talent fait d'observation minutieuse et de robuste originalité elle a, en revanche, le mérite de perdre moins à la traduction que beaucoup d'autres où le dialecte et les particularités locales tiennent plus de place").

40 Ibid., 558 ("[ce roman] ne trouvera jamais de traducteur en France parce que trop de choses y sont au rebours de notre nature et qu'il nous est impossible d'en comprendre tout à fait la plupart des personnages, encore que nous les sentions profondément humains, mais c'est une humanité différente de la nôtre pour ainsi dire").

41 Ibid., 558, 560, 562, 569.

42 See Gérard Fabre, "Thérèse Bentzon, Une Féministe Française Catholique en Amérique du Nord (1897)," in *Atlas Historique du Québec: La Francophonie Nord-américaine*, ed. Gérard Fabre, Yves Frenette and Mélanie Lanouette (Québec: Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études Québécoises, 2018), https://atlas.cieq.ca/la-francophonie-nord-americaine/therese-bentzon-une-feministe-francaise-catholique-en-amerique-du-nord-1897.html, accessed Jan. 8, 2024.

world, she surrendered to what she perceived as an almost insurmountable cultural distance. Ultimately, she regarded Freeman as second only to New England predecessors Harriet Beecher Stowe and Jewett.[43]

Bentzon's assessment and translations of Freeman in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contribute to establishing Bentzon's role as a leading spokesperson for American fiction in France. For such a high-profile personality in French letters as Bentzon, who worked in the literary business for about three decades at the end of the nineteenth century, translation played an active part in enhancing this reputation and in her role as a creative writer. Even if Bentzon arguably invested more energy (and translations) in other American regionalists (e.g., Jewett) who seemed to have had a greater influence on her own fiction, Freeman's rising popularity evidently could not have been left unexplored in such distinguished venue as the *Revue* and by an established critic of American letters such as Bentzon.

Freeman in Switzerland: the "simple mores" and "quiet gaiety" of the village

In Switzerland, two prestigious periodicals–*Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* (1861-1924) and *La Semaine Littéraire: Revue Hebdomadaire* (1893-1927)–featured Freeman's short fiction quite extensively, and a book of her stories was also published by F. Payot in 1894. In this section, I first contextualise the outlets in which Freeman's translations appeared and the translators; then I compare strategies of translation and adaptation of Freeman's work using the story "An Independent Thinker" as an example. As it will become evident, Freeman's work was favourably disseminated due to a common Presbyterian-Calvinist culture and a shared idea of village life that was prominent also in the receiving literary and cultural production.

Bibliothèque Universelle was one of the oldest Swiss monthlies devoted to literature, politics, economics, and society. Originating from the Swiss periodical *Bibliothèque Britannique* (1796-1816) that translated academic material from British publications into French, *Bibliothèque Universelle* became an institution in Swiss Francophone letters in the nineteenth century, after the rebranding as *Bibliothèque Universelle de Genève* (1816-1861) and the incorporation of the *Revue Suisse* in 1861.[44] In this final shape, the periodical showcased a transnational European outlook: it was published in Lausanne, with distribution in Paris by Firmin-Didot, London by Hachette, and Leipzig by Twietmeyer and Brock-

43 Bentzon, "Un Romancier de la Nouvelle-Angleterre," 557.

44 Daniel Maggetti, "La vie littéraire en Suisse romande entre 1815 et 1848," in *Histoire de la littérature en Suisse romande*, vol. II, ed. Roger Francillon (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1997), 23–26.

haus, and featured an eclectic selection of Swiss and European fiction in translation along with sections called "Chroniques" about Parisian letters, Swiss, Italian, English, Scandinavian, Russian and/or German culture.[45] In 1896, the year of its centenary anniversary, it counted more than 3.000 subscribers in Europe.[46] In literature, *Bibliothèque Universelle* was alert to international trends in fiction but also to literature with a rigorous moral grounding, especially under the editorship of Édouard Tallichet (1828–1911) from 1866 to 1909.[47]

La Semaine Littéraire was published in Geneva since 1893 by publisher Maurice Reymond and was "the first example in francophone Switzerland of a weekly entirely dedicated to literature with contributions by both Swiss [...] and foreign writers".[48] As one of the literary periodicals that enriched the Swiss literary landscape from the 1880s, it partly undermined the previous monopoly of *Bibliothèque Universelle*.[49] By the start of the First World War, *La Semaine* had gained profound influence and reached a high number of subscribers together with *Bibliothèque Universelle*.[50] Aimed at a Swiss readership, *La Semaine* provided a forum for Swiss writers to be appreciated by their national public but was also interested in foreign writers with the strongest connections with Swiss "intellectual and moral nature", and therefore announced dedicated translations of foreign works "most deserving of interest". [51] It counted among its inspirators and contributors Swiss novelist, editor, and academic Édouard Rod (1857–1910), who was well connected with the Parisian literary circles of the day and had written regional novels set in the Vaud region as well as psychological and social commentary fiction.[52] *La Semaine* rapidly became one of the most prominent venues for most Swiss-Francophone authors, and, for instance, saw the debut of acclaimed poet and novelist Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz (1878–1947) in 1904.[53]

45 See for instance *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* 1, n. 1-3 (1896): frontmatter, 670–672.
46 Gilles Revaz and François Vallotton, "La vie littéraire de 1850 à 1900," in *Histoire de la littérature en Suisse romande*, vol. II, ed. Roger Francillon (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1997), 111, 117.
47 Gilles Revaz, "Tallichet, Edouard," *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 14 Sept. 2011, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/016009/2011-09-14/, accessed Jan. 8, 2024.
48 Daniel Maggetti, "Semaine Littéraire, La," *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 8 Dec. 2010, accessed Jan 8, 2024, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/024584/2010-12-08/.
49 Gilles Revaz and François Vallotton, "La vie littéraire de 1850 à 1900," in *Histoire de la littérature en Suisse romande*, vol. II, ed. Roger Francillon (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1997), 110.
50 Françoise Fornerod and Roger Francillon, "La vie culturelle en Suisse romande de la Belle Epoque au début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale", in *Histoire de la littérature en Suisse romande*, vol. II, ed. Roger Francillon (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1997), 237.
51 "A Nos Lecteurs", *La Semaine Littéraire* 1, no. 1 (1893): 1, 2.
52 Firmin Roz, *Édouard Rod* (Paris: Libraire E. Sansot Éditeur, 1906); Daniel Maggetti, "Rod, Édouard" *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 16 May 2012, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/016004/2012-05-16/, accessed Jan 15, 2024.
53 Maggetti, "Semaine Littéraire, La".

La Semaine Littéraire was the venue connected to Freeman's translator Lydie Charlier, who was acknowledged as the official translator of Freeman's works that appeared in book form: a collection of short stories, *Au Village*, published in 1894 with a second edition in 1895, and *Pour Sa Fille* (1901), a translation of *Jane Field* (1893). In the pages of *La Semaine*, Charlier published literary criticism and non-fiction under "L. Charlier," translated many of Freeman's stories, and in 1898 wrote a review with a partial translation of Freeman's novel *Jerome, A Poor Man* (1897) ("Le Roman d'un Pauvre Homme"). In the periodical, Freeman's stories were also translated by another literary figure, Édouard Tavan (1842-1919), whose name was fully displayed in the magazine as "M. Édouard Tavan." His translations of Freeman in *La Semaine* are classified as "inédite," or previously unpublished. Tavan was a regular contributor to the periodical, both through his own poems in the Parnassian style and through translations of writers such as Giovanni Verga, Enrico Castelnuovo, Rudyard Kipling, S. R. Crockett, and Armando Palacio Valdés.[54]

While Tavan did not introduce his translations, Charlier's prefatory note to Freeman's stories in the volume *Au Village* provides some background. Charlier describes New England as "a distinct country" ("un pays à part") for its "simple mores, [...] primitive customs and [...] strongly tempered and blunt characters" that "tend more and more to disappear under the rising and levelling tide of civilization".[55] Here, "civilisation" may be read as synonymous with modernisation, whose standardising effects on regional cultures ultimately lead to their demise. Nonetheless, she mentions that these "mores" and "characters" can still be found "in the countryside, in the village" ("à la campagne, au village"), and bringing Freeman to French-language Swiss audiences is therefore a way to positively highlight these local communities. In this case, what conjoins Freeman's work with Swiss culture is village life, summarised also in the title (not in fact the title of any of Freeman's collections and possibly Charlier's invention), which is simply *Au Village* without specific geographical attributes. *Au Village* therefore can refer to any village, thus drawing in more French-speaking readers and in particular Swiss readers, who would have already been familiar with modes of life in small, alpine communities.

Village life was at the core of the image that Switzerland showcased internationally, for example, at world fairs.[56] Even if many of these exhi-

54 Lazarille, "Échos de Partout," *La Semaine Littéraire* 9, no. 392 (1 July 1901): 322.

55 "[L]es mœurs simples, [...] les coutumes primitives et [...] les caractères fortement trempés, tout d'une pièce [...] "tendent de plus en plus à disparaître sous le flot montant et niveleur de la civilisation."

56 Louis-Ed. Coulin, "Le Village Suisse," Special Issue "La Suisse et le Village Suisse à l'Exposition Universelle," *Revue Illustrée* (1 Apr. 1900): 3.

bitions placed an emphasis on progress, new technology (for instance, the first line of the Paris metro was inaugurated during the Paris 1900 expo), or lavish architecture (e.g., temples, mosques, palaces), some participating countries drew on their peasant traditions, building rural villages as part of their pavilions and populating them with actors in peasant dress.[57] The construction of the Swiss village at the 1900 Parisian Exposition Universelle mobilised a large number of professionals, such as famous architects, and was inspired by the real village of Appenzell with its traditional houses and interiors.[58] Despite an emphasis on the authenticity of the national heritage displayed, world fairs were privileged sites of transnational cultural transfer, where the staging of regional and national folklore in urban, international contexts contributed to create a kind of supra-national "exhibition language," one that was first European, then transatlantic, and ultimately global.[59] Far from being unique to New England, village life, along with the nostalgia for older ways of life, is the powerful imaginary that travelled transnationally and worked as the interpretative key Charlier adopted to make Freeman translatable to French-speaking audiences and that found fertile ground in Switzerland. Hence, drawing attention to a kind of universal knowable community in both the book title (*Au Village*) and the prefatory note is Charlier's editorial strategy that connects Freeman's New England with Switzerland and beyond.

In addition, Charlier adapts some of the characters' names to French. For instance, in "Le Tricot d'Esther" (a translation of "An Independent Thinker" originally included in *A Far-away Melody and Other Stories*), Charlier maintains the English surnames, but slightly changes some characters' first names into French-friendly equivalents (e.g., Lavinia/Lavinie; Hatty/Hettie). She also translates monetary currency, such as when Esther, who lives with a pension of 96 dollars, is described as living with "700 francs."[60] While the translation is generally attentive to Freeman's language and detailed description

57 See Eric Storm's essay in this volume and Shahmima Akthar, *Exhibiting Irishness: Empire, Race and Nation, c. 1850-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024).

58 Coulin, "Le Village Suisse".

59 Angela Schwartz, "The Regional and the Global: Folk Culture at World's Fairs and the Reinvention of the Nation," in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 99–100, 110. See also Akhtar on artificial constructions of Irish villages at the Chicago 1893 Exposition "rooted in the diasporic realm of nineteenth-century Irish America". (Shahmima Akhtar, "Learning 'The Customs of their Fathers': Irish Villages in Chicago's Columbian Exposition, 1893," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 28 [2023]: 5.)

60 Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "Le Tricot d'Esther," in *Au Village*, trans. L. Charlier (Lausanne: F. Payot, Libraire-Éditeur, 1894), 209.

of landscapes and interiors, these minor changes enhance readers' comprehension of and identification in Freeman's village world. Charlier's familiarisation strategies have also been noted in a contemporary review of her translation of Jane Field, in which the reviewer, though, criticises the fact that Charlier "spoke francs instead of dollars", translating only some proper nouns in French and leaving some in English.[61] This lack of consistency, according to the reviewer, actually diminishes the "local colour" effect ("la couleur locale")[62] since it simultaneously evokes two very distinct national traditions, therefore defamiliarising readers.

As one of the oldest Swiss literary periodicals, *Bibliothèque Universelle* was key for the dissemination of Freeman's work in Switzerland, thanks to the efforts of Auguste Glardon (1839–1922), a Swiss Presbyterian pastor who had trained in Geneva and Scotland and had served as a missionary to India. In *Bibliothèque Universelle,* Glardon also published his own fiction under the pseudonym of Paul Gervaix and Marcel Valmont[63] and penned numerous reviews of the latest American, Scottish, and Irish local colour fiction.[64] The periodical featured the French translation of "A Gatherer of Simples," rendered in French as "Herboriste" in 1893; between 1894 and 1895, it also published a translation in four parts of Freeman's novel *Jane Field* (1892), so nine years prior to Charlier's book translation. However, in all these pieces, unlike in *La Semaine*, the translator is not acknowledged.

In March 1894, Glardon wrote a long essay on Freeman as part of a series entitled "Romanciers Anglais Contemporaines" in which he provides a short biography of Freeman and discusses her works that circulated on the continent in English editions (e.g., the collections *A Humble Romance*, *A Far-away Melody*, *A New-England Nun*, published by Heinemann and Balestier in Leipzig).[65] In the essay, Glardon mentions Freeman's Scottish connections, both with Scottish literary predecessors like J. M. Barrie and Walter Scott, and with Scotland's religious milieu of Puritan stamp:

61 D. A., "Mary E. Wilkins, *Pour Sa Fille*, d'après l'anglais, par Mlle L. Charlier. Lausanne, chez Henri Mignot: Paris, chez Fischbacher," (review), *La Semaine Littéraire* 9, no. 366 (1901): 12 ("Je regrette qu'une chose, c'est que le traducteur ait parlé francs au lieu de dollars, et qu'il ait traiduit jusqu'à certains noms propres. Pourquoi pas tous, alors ? Porquoi ne pas appeler Ida Star, par example, Ida Etoile, puisque, de Green River il fait : Verte-Rivière ? Mince détail, assurément, mais détail regrettable, parce que la couleur locale y perd").

62 Ibidem.

63 Paola Crivelli, "Glardon, Auguste," *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 12 July 2007, accessed Jan. 8, 2024, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/011132/2007-07-12/.

64 See Auguste Glardon, "Un Nouvel Humoriste Écossais: Jan Maclaren," *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* 1, no. 1 (1896): 564–586; "Les Idylles Irlandaises de Jane Barlow," *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* 3, no. 7 (1896): 82–108.

65 Freeman's work also circulated in English in Tauchnitz editions.

> Coming from an old Puritan family that left Scotland at the time of the persecutions, she has preserved this heritage of austere virtue, rectitude of conscience, and moral rigidity, which has made the strength of the American nation at its beginnings. Only, she has added to it that exquisite sentiment of a quiet gaiety which captures the amusing side of things, that "quaint humour" which is not a vulgar gift, even in the homeland of Walter Scott and Barrie.[66]

Due to his Presbyterian background and training in Scotland Glardon was certainly partial to novels depicting close-knit religious communities; moreover, the emphasis on the religious milieu of both Freeman and her stories also aligns with the periodical's moralising agenda.

Glardon also creatively adapted one of Freeman's tales in *Bibliothèque Universelle*, transplanting characters and location to the Swiss village of Vallorbes, in the Vaud Canton. Under the pseudonym of Marcel Valmont, he penned "Tante Sophie" from "An Independent Thinker" in 1893. In a footnote, he carefully credited his inspiration: "The subject of this short story was taken from Miss M. Wilkins [Freeman], an American author whose interesting story 'Herbalist' was published recently (August 1893) in *Bibliothèque Universelle*".[67] While the interactions amongst the four main characters (the aunt, her niece, the niece's suitor, and the suitor's mother) remain almost the same, the village in "Tante Sophie" is clearly referred to as Vallorbes (in Freeman's story it is simply "a little village"[68]), and some local specificities are also noted, such as its inhabitants gathered around the fountain with the watering trough for the cows and the mention of a "file factory" near the river.[69] In its deliberate joining of two traditions and locales, Valmont/Glardon's creative reimagining of Freeman's story in a Swiss context becomes

66 Auguste Glardon, "Romanciers Anglais Contemporaines: Mary Wilkins," *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* 61 (Mar. 1894): 314–15 ("Comme l'Ecossais Barrie, elle s'est contentée du petit coin de pays qui l'a vue naître, où elle connaît tout le monde, où tout le monde la connaît et elle a su y découvrir des trésors. [...] Issue d'une vieille famille puritaine, sortie d'Ecosse à l'époque des persécutions, elle a conservé intact ce patrimoine de vertu austère, de rectitude de conscience, et de rigidité morale, qui a fait la force de la nation américaine à ses débuts. Seulement, elle y a ajouté ce sentiment exquis d'une gaieté tranquille qui voit partout le côté amusant des choses, ce *quaint humour* qui n'est pas un don vulgaire, même dans la patrie de Walter Scott et de Barrie").

67 Marcel Valmont, "Tante Sophie: Nouvelle," *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* 60 (October-December 1893): 258 ("Le sujet de cette nouvelle a été emprunté à Miss M. Wilkins, auteur américain dont la Bibliothèque Universelle a publié récemment (août 1893) un intéressant récit: *Herboriste*").

68 Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, "An Independent Thinker," in *A Far-away Melody and Other Stories* (Leipzig: Heinemann and Balestier, 1891), 106.

69 Valmont, "Tante Sophie," 258–59.

a transnational local colour story and testifies to the potential of periodicals as sites of experimentation for translation, fiction (the village tale in this case), and multifarious understanding of authorships. Far from being a unique case, similar practices of rewriting in periodicals can be observed elsewhere: for example, in a German-American context, politicised "rewritings" or "manipulations" into German of Frank Norris's *The Octopus: A Story of California* (1901) appeared in the German-American periodical *Pionie*, issued by the Socialist Cooperative Publishing Association in New York.[70]

Interestingly, Valmont's story omits a key theme in Freeman's story, that is, the religious transgression of the Sunday rest. Esther Gay is initially frowned upon by the community because she does not go to church on Sunday but continues working at her knitting on a holy day; this perceived transgression also endangers her niece's chances of becoming engaged to her suitor. In Valmont, former tutoress Tante Sophie, in overseeing the propriety of the suitor's house visits to her niece who is studying for her final exams, acts arrogantly in front of the suitor (a factory worker) and scares him away. While Glardon/Valmont had highlighted the religious background of Freeman's communities, for his Vaud-based adaptation, his focus arguably was on another feature of Freeman's writing he admired, the "stubbornness" ("entêtement")[71] of her female characters.

Moreover, while both Esther and Tante Sophie eventually win their pride for the sake of their nieces and intercede with the suitor's mothers to allow them to return to visit their nieces, Valmont's story ends on a sentimental note rather than with Freeman's pungent irony. In Freeman's story, Esther both enables the continuation of her niece's courtship and still does not go to church on Sunday, but *this time* it is with the approval of the whole community because she is now busy with a more acceptable activity: the care of a sick neighbour she had generously taken in to live with her. The story ends in Esther Gay's own words, as she remarks, in an ironic way, that she managed to do things her way after all: "Standing at the well, looking up at the windows, she chuckled softly to herself. 'It's all settled right,' said she, 'an' there don't none of 'em suspect that I'm a-carryin' out my p'int arter all'."[72] In Valmont, the final scene focuses on the betrothed reunited by Tante Sophie, who, giving them a bit of privacy, goes into the garden and con-

70 Florian Freitag, "Translation and Periodical Studies: The Pionier's Rewriting of Frank Norris's The Octopus", in *Periodical Studies Today. Multidisciplinary Analyses*, ed. Jutta Ernst, Dagmar von Hoff & Oliver Scheiding, (Amsterdam: Brill, 2022), 276, 265.

71 Glardon, "Romanciers Anglais Contemporaines: Mary Wilkins", 323.

72 Freeman, "An Independent Thinker," 129.

templates the stars, wondering if "in those far-away worlds there are also incomprehensible mysteries and love stories."[73] The very final lines are the narrator's interposition, announcing that the niece did not even take the final exams, possibly implying an engagement.[74] Even if Valmont/Glardon completely re-imagines the final scene of his story, the irony of Esther's final words is not lost to him and actually much appreciated in his 1894 critical essay, whereby he translates Esther's lines in Freeman's story as follows: "[E]lle ne peut s'empêcher de rire doucement 'Tout est arrangé à présent, et pas un d'eux ne se doute qu'en définitive j'ai eu le dernier mot'."[75]

In Charlier's traditional translation of the story, Freeman's subtle irony uttered by the protagonist herself in the final sentence is slightly adapted. While maintaining a sentence indicating that the outcome was, in the end, what Esther had wanted ("wasn't it what she had wanted?"), Charlier adds a further explanatory sentence not to be found in the source text: "How could she have regretted a sacrifice that had made many happy?".[76] This addition is arguably ambiguous–an ambiguity that is not as evident in Esther's final words uttered as her own direct speech. If we read the word "sacrifice" at face value, with this sentence Charlier seems to draw the attention to the fact that Esther ultimately has given up some of her independence and convictions for the common good and to conform to family and societal expectations, and therefore that she has not in fact skilfully navigated social and religious obligations to maintain her own nonconformist, independent contribution to village life. The question, however, can also be read as a rhetorical question, with Freeman's ironic assertion of independent thinking being somewhat preserved.

In Switzerland, Freeman's stories found several outlets for translation in both periodicals and book form. As this section of the essay has shown, Freeman's translators saw common ground between Switzerland and New England essentially in nostalgic modes of village life that they synthesised in paratextual elements (Charlier's preface and title of the translated collection) or in creative rewritings (Glardon/Valmont's Swiss tribute to "An Independent Thinker").

73 Valmont, "Tante Sophie," 283 ("s'il y avait aussi dans ces mondes lointains des mystères incompréhensibles et des histoires d'amour").

74 Ibid., 283.

75 Glardon, "Romanciers Anglais Contemporaines: Mary Wilkins," 324.

76 Freeman, "Le Tricot d'Esther," 232 ("n'était-ce pas ce qu'elle avait voulu ? Comment aurait-elle regretté un sacrifice qui faisait tant d'heureux ?").

Conclusion

The examination of Freeman's translators and their modes of translation into French expands our understanding of local colour fiction beyond strictly national traditions towards a transnational frame of reference. It illuminates multiple agents and hubs in the literary field that were crucial in the early international circulation, adaptation, and impact of this genre, notably literary periodicals with their intrinsic power of functioning as transnational networks on many levels. In France, Freeman's work in translation featured only in periodicals, and in the prestigious and internationally oriented *Revue des Deux Mondes* was translated by the established novelist and critic of American literature Thérèse Bentzon. Bentzon, however, did not capitalise on Freeman as much as she capitalised on other local colour writers such as Jewett. While praising the simplicity of Freeman's language as more conducive to foreign translation, Bentzon also assumed a more difficult cultural barrier to overcome: the staunch Calvinism of her characters that, in her view, made them less relatable to French readers. In Switzerland, Freeman's fiction was disseminated in two important literary reviews (*Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* and *La Semaine Littéraire*) keen on wider European and American trends thanks to three different translators: one of them (Charlier) also edited a book of her stories and another (Glardon) creatively turned one of them into a Swiss regional tale. These retranslations of Freeman in France and Switzerland testify to the malleability of the village tale and how transnational circulation and adaptation are as intrinsic to the genre as supposedly its distinctively local character. Putting translations centre-stage increases the understanding that texts are already automatically part of transnational networks that they contribute to shaping. Examining translators' own imprint and strategies to localise foreign literature shifts received hierarchies of authorship in favour of more nuanced, multiple, and at times collaborative understandings of authorship.

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Children of Nature in an Untouched Wilderness: Jens Andreas Friis's *Lajla* (1881) and the European Imagination of the Sámi and the Cap of the North

TIM VAN GERVEN

Introduction

The regions of Norway, Sweden, and Finland located above the Arctic Circle–today collectively known as *Nordkalotten*, *Pohjoiskalotti* or 'Cap of the North'–stand out in the geocultural imagination of nineteenth-century Europe for at least two reasons. First, the diverse landscape of majestic fjords, alpine peaks, and unending mountain plateaus–illuminated seasonally by either the midnight sun or the northern lights–was considered one of the continent's last true wildernesses.[1] Second, this rough and pristine natural landscape offered another unicum in that it was, and still is, home to the reindeer-herding Sámi, Western Europe's last nomadic people. The very nature of the reindeer-herding economy, which requires the unobstructed crossing of state borders, along with the presence of a region-spanning Sámi culture, contributes greatly to typifying the region as inherently transnational. Contemporary accounts, be they fictional or non-fictional, of what in the English language is popularly called 'Lapland', generally stereotyped the local population as 'happy savages' and portrayed the region as a kind of fairy-tale land that, besides its awe-inspiring natural splendour, offered the (male) traveller plenty of opportunity for wholesome adventures in unspoiled surroundings, far from the hustle and bustle of modern life.[2]

A key text in understanding the dissemination of such images in a transnational European context is Jens Andreas Friis's (1821–96) popular novel *Lajla* from 1881, which was initially published under the title *Sketches from Finnmark* (*Fra Finnmarken. Skildringer*).[3] The romantic story of a Norwegian girl growing up in a Sámi family and finding love with a Norwegian merchant found a large international audience. The original Norwegian version has appeared in fifteen editions and, over the course of the 1880s and 1890s, was translated into Swedish, German, English, Dutch, Finnish, and

1 Peter Fjågesund and Ruth A. Symes, *The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 335–45.

2 Fjågesund and Symes, *The Northern Utopia*, 196–207.

3 Finnmark is the name of Norway's northernmost county.

Russian.[4] In Norway, individual chapters were regularly included in reading curricula for primary and secondary schools, thus forming a primary source of knowledge about Sámi culture for generations of Norwegians.[5] The text's canonicity was cemented further through its adaptation into an opera (1908) and no less than three films, of which George Schnéevoigt's (1893–1961) silent movie from 1929 was particularly popular. A drastically adjusted sound version by the same Danish director, but featuring a different cast of actors, came out in 1937. A final Swedish production followed in 1958. All three films were distributed internationally. Last but not least, the procreativity of Friis's novel shaded over into the tourism market: postcards with a picture of a woman in traditional Sámi dress habitually had the name 'Lajla' as a caption.[6] Indeed, the very name Lajla (not of Sámi provenance, it should be noted) became a widely popular first name in Norway after the novel's first publication.[7] Owing to its incredible popularity, Hans Lindkjølen in 1983 likened *Lajla* to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, describing its titular heroine as "perhaps the most important ambassador for the Sámi people in the world."[8] Already in 1948, the literary historian Thor Frette had claimed that the fact that the average European knew of the existence of the Sámi at all was thanks to the popularity of *Lajla* alone.[9]

More recent studies have taken a more critical–postcolonial–approach, however. Taking Homi Bhabha's concept of ambivalence as a starting point, both Anne-Kari Skarðhamar and Cato Christensen have pointed out that in both book and films there is fundamental tension between admiration and fascination on the one hand, and an ethnically biased attitude on the other, which ascribes an inferior position to the Sámi vis-à-vis the Norwegian majority.[10] There is a bitter irony here in that Friis had intended his novel

4 Owing to the large number of translations and its rich afterlife, *Lajla* stands out from a small wave of novels dealing with the Sámi appearing around the same time, most notably Laura Kieler's (1849–1932) *André from Kautokeino* (1879, translated into Swedish and Finnish) and Magdalene Thoresen's (1819–1903) *Pictures from the Land of the Midnight Sun* (1884–86). Several novels by the Sámi author Matti Aikio (1872–1929) were translated into different European languages at the start of the twentieth century.

5 Hans Lindkjølen, *J.A. Friis og samene* (Trondheim: Sámi varas, 1983), 70–71.

6 Sigrid Lien, "Assimilating the Wild and the Primitive: Lajla and other Sámi Heroines in Norwegian Fin-de-siècle Photography," *Openarts* 3 (2007): 208–24.

7 Troy Allan Storfjell, "Colonial Palimpsest: Tracing Inscriptions of Sápmi and the Sámi" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 216.

8 Lindkjølen, *J.A. Friis og samene*, 68. Orig.: "[...] kanskje den viktigste ambassadør for samene i den store verden." The translations in this chapter are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

9 Quoted in Storfjell, "Colonial Palimpsest," 215–16.

10 Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Cato Christensen, "'Overtroen er stor blant viddenes folk': Om religion og koloniale relasjoner i samisk filmhistorie,"

as a critique of the Norwegian government's unrelenting assimilation policies directed at the Sámi.[11] At the end of the day, however, *Lajla* did little else than perpetuate romanticised and even derogatory stereotypes, not least through its multiple remediations, which all lacked the critical overtones of the original. As Christensen argues, contrary to Friis's intentions, *Lajla* actually contributed to harnessing the state's 'Norwegianisation' policies.[12] Furthermore, the fact that Friis, himself a 'southerner', was the founder and first professor of 'Lappology' in Norway, and indeed the world, and had a long list of scholarly publications to his name, granted exceptional authority to the stereotypes circulated throughout his fictional works.

Nonetheless, others have taken a more balanced view of Friis's work. While acknowledging the discriminatory aspects at play, Annegret Heitmann has directed attention to different notions of mobility in both the novel and the silent film, which she interprets as negating boundaries between different ethnic groups.[13] Sigrid Lien employs a feminist reading of the visual representations of Lajla, seeing her as a role model for Norwegian middle-class women who paired notions of feminine beauty and sensuality with intelligence, refinement, activity, and sportiness.[14] Lars Ivar Hansen and Einar Niemi, finally, paint a tragic picture of Lajla's spiritual father, who indeed had good intentions and an indispensable impact on the professionalisation of Sámi studies, but who was unable to truly challenge the discriminatory categories dictating the ethnographic sciences in his day.[15]

Admittedly, this chapter will regrettably further contribute to this interpretation of the novel as a failed political intervention. Through an imagological analysis of *Lajla* and its reception in both Norway and Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands, it will be argued that, contrary to Frette's and Lindkjølen's claims, the novel taught its foreign readers little new about the Far North and its indigenous population, while it did not change popular perceptions of the Sámi in Norway either. The fact that the novel (and indeed its many remediations) met with general

Tidsskrift for religion og kultur 2, no. 1 (2012): 5–26; Anne Kari Skarðhamar, "Changes in Film Representation of Sami Culture and Identity," *Nordlit* 23, no. 1 (2008): 293–303.

11 Annegret Heitmann, "Zwischen zwei Welten: Aspekte der Mobilität in J.A. Friis' and G. Schnéevoigt's *Lajla*," *Journal of Northern Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014): 73; Lindkjølen, *J.A. Friis og samene*, 30.

12 Christensen, "Overtroen er stor," 13.

13 Heitmann, "Zwischen zwei Welten, 71–87.

14 Lien, "Assimilating the Wild and Primitive," 221.

15 Lars Ivar Hansen and Einar Niemi, "Samisk forskning ved et tidsskifte: Jens Andreas Friis og lappologien – vitenskap og politikk," in *Vitenskap, teknologi og samfunn: en innføring i vitenskapens teori og praksis*, ed. Eli Seglen (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, 2008), 350–377.

acclaim and found a well-willing international audience is exactly because it resonated with images of the Sámi already widely extant in a European middle-class culture characterised by a growing interest in 'exotic' peoples. Romantic imagery of the Sámi could, for instance, with irregular intervals, be found on the pages of the *Illustrated London News*.[16] At the same time, *Lajla*'s more critical aspects were all but ignored, and sometimes even actively removed. Comparing the representation of the Sámi and their transnational homeland in this seminal novel with the images already circulating in a number of European countries will go a long way to showcase the viscosity and selectivity characteristic of ethnotypes: the iconoclastic potential of a single text, however popular, in this case stranded on the affective power of the intertextual tradition as well as Social-Darwinist ideas about human evolution typical of European culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[17]

Lajla: Critiquing Assimilation and Confirming Stereotypes

Lajla is not so much a novel as a collection of novellas, or indeed 'sketches from Finnmark', some of which had earlier been published in the daily *Morgenbladet*. In his foreword, Friis writes that he had received such positive feedback on these episodes that he decided to piece them together, add a couple of new ones, and tie everything together through an overarching plot line that concentrates on the triple rescue of a Norwegian girl by the rich reindeer herdsman Laagje. The first time the girl needs saving, she is lost by her parents while on the run from a menacing pack of wolves. The childless Laagje finds the baby child in her basket, decides to raise her as his own daughter and names her Lajla. He, however, returns her when he finds out who her real parents are. Not long after, Lajla's parents die from plague, and Laagje and his wife take her in again. Lajla grows up, unaware of her roots and convinced that she is a 'Finn girl' (the Sámi were, in Norwegian, generally called 'Finns' at the time). She is destined to marry her adoptive half-brother Mellet, but she feels more attracted to the Norwegian merchant Anders Lind. After some trials and tribulations, Lajla's true identity is revealed (including the fact that Lind is her full cousin), and she and

16 Iver Tangen Stensrud, "'Europe is becoming dreadfully used up': Travelling Images of Norway in the Illustrated Press," in *Nordic Travels,* ed. Janicke S. Kaasa, Jakob Lothe and Ulrike Spring (Oslo: Novus Press, 2021), 125–28.

17 On the analytical trinity of text-intertext-context in the critical study of ethnotypes, see Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 27–29.

Lind are wedded in a scene that can be regarded as Friis's imagination of the ideal Northern-Norwegian society, with the region's three ethnic groups harmoniously assembled in the local church: Norwegians, Sámi, and Kven, the descendants of Finnish immigrants from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lajla needs Laagje's helping hand a third and last time, when she and her husband are forced to move to Bergen after his business has gone bankrupt as a consequence of the harsh economic policies of the 'south' directed at northern Norway. A financial injection from Laagje provides Lajla and Lind with the means to leave the unhealthy environment of the big city and return to the invigorating nature of Finnmark.

The oppositions between urban and rural, culture and nature, south and north, centre and periphery reflect the criticism Friis wove into his novel, pinpointing the ignorance and even the cruelty of the authorities concerning the northernmost parts of the country. Although the story is set in the late eighteenth century, it becomes clear that Friis takes issue with the assimilation policies which the Norwegian government had set in motion from about 1852, and which had as their goal the creation of a culturally and ethnically homogeneous Norwegian population; counteracting the threat of Russian expansion in the north provided an ulterior motive for the stringent minority policies.[18] In explicit passages, Friis objects to the ousting of the Sámi languages in favour of the forced use of Norwegian in education, administration, and religious life, as well as to the dispossession of Sámi lands and the closing of state borders. It is from the outset made clear that the Norwegians are basically strangers in the Cap of the North, which is emphatically imagined as a transnational space, where the indigenous people should be free to travel from the Russian coast on the one end to the Norwegian on the other: "Unlike today, crossing the border was not prohibited in those days [...] This was beneficial to all parts and did not disadvantage anyone."[19]

The boundaries between different ethnic groups are equally porous in the novel, as Heitmann argues.[20] Although Lajla marries another Norwegian in the end, other possibilities are not dismissed as implausible or undesired. Lajla does not reject Mellet because of his ethnicity; she is sim-

18 Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi, *Den finske fare: sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860-1940* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981), 26–86.

19 Jens Andreas Friis, *Fra Finnmarken: Skildringer. (Lajla)* (Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyer, 1881), 40. Orig.: "Der var nemlig ikke dengang, saaledessom nu, noget Forbud mod at flytte over Grænsen [...] Dette var til Gavn for begge Parter og ikke til Skade for Nogen."

20 Heitmann, "Zwischen zwei Welten," 78–81.

ply more attracted to Lind. Similarly, Lind upholds that he would have married Lajla even if she had been Sámi.[21] What is more, the Norwegians are far from always in a dominant position in the novel. Most notably, the affluent Laagje has a higher economic position than Lajla and Lind, who are, in the end, saved by his material wealth and kind-heartedness. It is also suggested several times that Norwegians might be well-advised to take over certain aspects of the Sámi lifestyle in order to thrive in the harsh Arctic environment. To illustrate, all the way at the beginning of the novel, Lajla's mother is advised to breastfeed her child 'the Sámi way' in order to withstand the biting winter air. Indeed, at the time of writing his novel, Friis propounded a 'three-race-model', which envisioned the harmonious mixture of Norwegians, Sámi, and Kven.[22]

Yet Friis's critique of the Norwegianisation process is at the same time highly ambiguous. While on the one hand in his scholarly publications he repeatedly objected to the widespread belief that the Sámi were a 'dying race', his work, both scholarly and fictional, was on the other hand also meant to record Sámi culture for posterity, as he could also go along with a deterministic vision on human evolution that foresaw the disappearance of cultures that were deemed weaker than others.[23] These colliding perspectives can perhaps be reconciled through the observation that Friis had nothing against Norwegianisation as a natural process, but that he objected to all forms of "coercion or strong measures" that, according to him, would lead to "nothing but dissatisfaction and ignorance."[24] It was exactly therefore that making the Bible unavailable in the local tongue was so harmful, as becomes clear in the novel: this policy formed a serious hindrance for the spreading of God's word, the primary step in raising the Sámi to Norwegian standards, before "the cultural and the linguistic, if possible, would follow after."[25]

A similar ambivalence, to return to Bhabha's concept, can be detected in Friis's portrayal of his Sámi characters. On the one hand, the novel has

21 Friis, *Lajla*, 168, 194.

22 Hansen and Niemi, "Samisk forskning ved et tidsskifte," 367–68.

23 He expressed this critique for example in his *En Sommer i Finmarken, Russisk Lapland og Nordkarelen: skildringer af Land og Folk* (Christiania: Cammermeyer, 1871). See also, Hansen and Niemi, "Samisk forskning ved et tidsskifte," 372–373; Kristin Kuutma "A Sámi Ethnography and a Seto Epic: Two Collaborative Representations in Their Historical Contexts" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2002), 92–93.

24 Friis, *Lajla*, 114. Orig.: "[...] uden Tvang eller voldsomme Forholdsregler, der kun havde avlet Misnøie og Uvidenhed."

25 Friis, *Lajla*, 114. Orig.: "[...] og saa overlade det folkelige eller sproglige til, om muligt, at følge efter."

a strong didactic approach through its long ethnographic and historiographic passages that are meant to raise awareness among a Norwegian readership of the Sámi and their culture, customs, crafts, beliefs, myths, and language, which are described, mostly, in a documentary or even appreciative manner. The reindeer-Sámi lifestyle in closeness to nature is presented as wholesome and invigorating, and as something from which the Norwegians could learn a thing or two: "Nomadic life has its attractions, not only for the Mountain-Finn, but I think for all of Adam's children, on whichever step of the evolutional ladder they may find themselves."[26] Here, Friis connects back to the other half of his authorship: the promotion of outdoor activities (hiking as 'nomadic life') as a popular pastime, in which he can also be considered a pioneer and also reached an international audience through the translation of his *Sporting Life on the Norwegian Fjelds* (1876) into English.

On the other hand, however, that referencing of the "evolutional ladder" already points to the fact that the novel regurgitates prevailing stereotypes of the Sámi that pin them down as primitive and inferior. At best, this means that they comply with the cliché of the 'noble savages' who, in their naivety, have remained uncorrupted by modern society and have maintained their authentic national character (Friis saw the Sámi as forming their own nation). At its worst, the Sámi are likened to animals–in other words, degraded to the lowest rung on evolution's ladder. These negative stereotypes concentrate in the figure of Jaampa, Laagje's most seasoned servant and next to Lajla the most prominent character in the novel. He is described as being "of true Sámi blood and true Sámi appearance," meaning that "he didn't look good, not even in the eyes of Sámi girls."[27] When excited, "he was no better than a wild animal."[28] Later on, he is called "half a wolf himself," "a dog," and he screams and cheers "as a complete savage."[29] He is furthermore illiterate, a heathen, and an alcoholic, who "lives two lives: a drunken one, and a sober one."[30] But he also has his redeeming qualities, the reader is assured, and he is in highly paternalistic terms described as a diamond in the rough who softens up through his taking care of the infant Lajla.

26 Friis, *Lajla*, 56. Orig.: "Nomadelivet har sine Tillokkelser ikke blot for Fjeldfinnen, men jeg tror for alle Adams Børn, hvilketsomhelst Kulturtrin de end indtage."

27 Friis, *Lajla*, 15. Orig.: "Jaampa var af ægte finsk Blod og ægte finsk Udseende. […] Han saa ikke godt ud, ikke engang i en Finnepiges Øine."

28 Friis, *Lajla*, 17. Orig.: "[…] da var han ikke bedre end et vildt Dyr."

29 Friis, *Lajla*, 17, 181, 139. Orig.: "Halvt en Ulv selv […] Hunden […] hujende og skrigende som en fuldstændig Vild."

30 Friis, *Lajla*, 138. Orig.: "[…] førte saaledes en Slags dobbelt Tilværelse, en drukken og en ædru."

Lajla indeed serves as the contrast agent that brings out the stereotyping of the Sámi characters. Although she has internalised these stereotypes herself ("I have no talents, I understand nothing, I know nothing, I'm just a simple Sámi girl from the mountains"), it is repeatedly made clear that she stands out from her environment because of her exceptional beauty and intelligence: "Those who understood something about the particularities between the different races of people, easily would detect that there was something finer, more noble or in the whole essentially different from an ordinary Sámi child."[31] Yet she is equally often, like her Sámi fellows, described as a 'child of nature', who combines the best qualities of both groups. Lajla as such answers to a recognisable trope from colonial literature–Natty Bumppo from Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* comes to mind–of the westerner growing up 'among the natives', often functioning as a double-edged sword used to both chastise western decadence and reaffirm the superiority of western civilisation at the same time.

One last, and very important, aspect of the literary representation of the Sámi, both in *Lajla* and more generally, is that it is concentrated almost entirely on the most exotic group: the nomadic reindeer herdsmen, who in fact formed just a small minority of the Sámi population. Members of other Sámi groups only feature as nameless extras in the story; the same goes for the Kven, despite a longer passage recounting their migration to Norway. As we shall see, the popular imagination of the Sámi in Europe likewise exclusively focused on the Sámi involved in (semi-)nomadic reindeer-herding.

Lajla's Reception and Remediation at Home and Abroad

Lajla received exclusively positive reviews, both at home and in the many countries where it was published in translation. The reasons for this general praise were also the same everywhere. First of all, the novel's subject was deemed interesting in its own right, as the sketches transposed the reader to a distant, exotic, little-known place in the company of "one of the most interesting races in Europe," as the British periodical *The Academy* would have it.[32] Even Norwegian newspapers (most of which, of course, appeared in the more populous south of the country) highlighted the remoteness of

31 Friis, *Lajla*, 96. Translation by Lien is: "Assimilating the wild and primitive," 216. Orig.: "den, der forstod sig noget paa forskjellige Folkerasers Ansigtsdannelse, let vilde se, at der var noget usædvanligt ved dette Barn, noget finere, noblere eller i det Hele grundforskjelligt fra et almindeligt Finnebarn."

32 *The Academy*, 1 Dec. 1883.

Finnmark, "where life is completely different from what we are used to."[33] The novel was furthermore highly appreciated for its successful merging of different genres–part travelogue, part ethnography, part romance–which nonetheless formed a coherent whole that managed to both entertain and educate. Almost all reviews underscored Friis's authority on the subject to assert the truthfulness of his representations. Finally, Friis was generally commended for the simpleness of his style, which, according to one Swedish newspaper, was "very well-suited for the depiction of the naivety one always finds among primitive peoples."[34] Because of this, as well as its "chaste", "correct" storyline, the novel was deemed especially suitable for children and Christian readerships, something which was explicitly mentioned by the Dutch, English, and German press.[35]

The simplicity of style and story, in combination with the idyllic, romantic setting, were furthermore taken as a welcome escape from the recent turn towards realism and naturalism in European literature. As such, *Lajla* traded on the success of naturalistic Scandinavian authors like Ibsen, Bjørnson, Strindberg, and Bang in a paradoxical way. On the one hand, *Lajla* had certainly shown up on the radar of foreign publishers owing to the breakthrough of Scandinavian literature on the global stage. On the other hand, as a Hamar newspaper put it, "these sketches, easy and exciting, and morally pure as they are, distinguish themselves in a particularly pleasant way from the more than questionable things our so-called great writers have offered us recently."[36] The German *Konservative Monatsschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst* drew a similar conclusion: "Here there are no far-fetched 'psychological problems', no ethical or social conflicts that need to be overcome."[37] At the same time, the customary emphasis on the exoticness of the location betrays that *Lajla* appealed to the general popularity of local colour

33 *Kongsberg Adresse*, 15 Dec. 1881. Orig.: "[...] hvor Livet vistnok former sig helt anderledes end det, vi er vant til."

34 *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, 19 Dec. 1882. Orig.: "[...] lämper sig särdeles väl för at skildra den naivitet, som man alltid återfinner hos ett naturfolk."

35 See for instance, Anonymous, "Kroniek," in *Nederland: Verzameling van oorspronkelijke bijdragen door Nederlandsche letterkundigen*, ed. Jan ten Brink, C.E. Broms, H.J. Schimmel, and F. Smit Kleine (Amsterdam: J.C. Loman Jr., 1885), 130–31; Anonymous, "Litterarische Neuigkeiten," *Das Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes* 55, no. 27 (1886), 430; Anonymous, "Notices," *The Literary Churchman* 15, no. 6 (1884), 121.

36 *Hamar Stiftstidende*, 23 Dec. 1881. Orig.: "Kvik og spændende, samt sædelig ren, som denne Skildringsrække er, adskilder den sig paa en særdeles behagelg Maade fra hine mere end betænkelige Sager, som vore saakaldte store Forfattere i den senere Tid byder os."

37 *Konservative Monatsschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, July 1887. Orig.: "Da sind keine mühselig zusammenphantasierte 'psychologische Probleme', keine ethische oder gesellschaftliche Kollisionen zu überwinden."

fiction of the time as well, forming an additional explanation for the book's exceptional reception.[38]

This judgment is somewhat perplexing, considering the sentence that came just before it: "It is moving to read about the encounters between the Finns, who tenaciously hold on to their language and customs, and the Norwegians."[39] The majority of the reviews indeed take note of the problematic nature of these 'encounters,' but do not seem to consider Friis's depiction of them a form of social criticism. Especially the Norwegian and Swedish papers–whose readers must have been most aware of the current state of affairs–take the historical setting of the novel as a kind of 'get-out-of-jail-free-card' for the present-day Norwegians (and Swedes). *Stockholms Dagblad*, for instance, emphatically described the linguistic repression as a thing of the past.[40] Similarly, the Norwegian *Kongsberg Adresse* writes that "the Lapps used to suffer a great deal of inconvenience" and that "a satisfactory solution has yet to be found, but from both the Norwegian and the Swedish side one works hard to find one and there is good hope that this goal will be reached soon."[41] Such remarks sit uneasily with the actual situation in Norway at the time, which, for instance, saw the implementation of ever stricter regulations regarding the use of Sámi in education.[42]

Alternatively, "the history of the Finns and their struggle for national liberty," as the *Pall Mall Gazette* phrased it, was understood within a Social-Darwinist framework, undercutting the critical potential of the novel as it went along with the idea that Sámi culture was destined to disappear no matter what.[43] This is most obvious in the short review in *The Nation*, which speaks of the Sámi's "meek acceptance of their position as an inferior race, and their pathetic opposition, notwithstanding, to a merging of their language in that of the 'haughty Daro'."[44] The notion of inferiority is a recurring trope throughout. The Norwegian *Akershus Amtstidende* is surprised to encounter

38 This point is most bluntly made in the review in *Nederland*, which simply states that there is "[a] lot of local colour in this book." Anonymous, "Kroniek," 130. Orig.: "Er is veel locale kleur in dit boek."

39 *Konservative Monatsschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, July 1887. Orig.: "Es is ergreifend zu lesen, wie diese an Sprache und Sitte zähe festhaltenden Finnen den Norwegern gegenüber getreten sind."

40 *Stockholms Dagblad*, 24 May 1882.

41 *Kongsberg Adresse*, 15 Dec. 1881. Orig.: "[...] Lapperne vistnok i ældre Tid har lidt megen Overlast. [...] Nogen tilfredsstillende Løsning af dette Forhold er endnu ikke naaet, men der arbeides naa fra baade norsk og svensk Side at hidføre en saadan, og man har godt Haab om at naa Maalet."

42 Hansen and Niemi, "Samisk forskning ved et tidsskifte," 363–64.

43 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1888.

44 *The Nation*, 9 Aug. 1888.

"a good heart, even among a people we normally consider as inferior."[45] *The Academy* speaks of "those good-natured, harmless little beings" and a "complication of adverse circumstances that might well have cowed a stronger and more enlightened race."[46] Only the reviewer in the Danish *Randers Amtsavis*, while still coming from this paternalistic position, expressed a ringing condemnation of modern life with its "many bad things," and accordingly wished that the local population "may never reach the standard of modern culture."[47]

What prevails above all in the reception of *Lajla* is a romantic fascination for the local colour of the high north, represented by the magnificent wild and primitive landscape (though called "shrill and dreary" by the *Pall Mall Gazette*) and the figure of the nomadic reindeer herder, who, as is revealed by the quote from *The Academy*, is stereotyped as harmless, innocent, naïve, simple, wild, primitive, inferior, and kind-hearted–in short, a 'child of nature'. Several reviews present Jaampa as the archetypal Sámi and, in fact, the most interesting character of the book. One Swedish newspaper even posits his name as a better, more representative title, had it not "sounded so unpleasant to the common ear."[48] The Danish *Fredericia Dagblad*, in typical fashion, describes Jaampa's character as "wild and pugnacious," while remarking that he does not "differentiate between man or animal when encountering a stranger," thus ascribing animal-like qualities to his figure, and the Sámi as a people as a whole, as well.[49]

The novel further contributed to the spreading of romantic imagery of the Sámi through the inclusion of illustrations. The original Scandinavian publications had just one: a portrait of Jaampa in traditional dress, betraying the contemporary obsession with human physiognomy already reflected in Friis's description of Jaampa. The review in the *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* describes his face as "rugged, weathered," which inadvertently, through its invocation of the third line of the *de facto* Norwegian national anthem "Ja, vi elsker dette landet" ("Yes, we love this country"), tied Jaampa directly to the Norwegian landscape.[50] The English and American editions

45 *Akershus Amtstidende*, 20 Dec. 1890. Orig.: "[...] ogsaa blandt de Folk, som vi gjerne vil betragte som staaende udenfor Civilisationen, ogsaa findes Hjertelag."
46 *The Academy*, 1 Dec. 1883.
47 *Randers Amtsavis og Adresse Contoirs Efterretninger*, 4 Jan. 1882. Orig.: "[...] mange slette Ting [...] forhaabentlig heller aldrig kommer paa Høiden af Nutidskulturen."
48 *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, 19 Dec. 1882. "[...] ej klingat alltför stötande för vanliga öron."
49 *Fredericia Dagblad*, 3 Oct. 1882. "[...] vildt og stridigt [...] og overfor Fremmede gjør han liden eller ingen Forskjel paa, om det er Dyr eller Mennesker, som der staar for ham."
50 *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, 19 Dec. 1882. "fårade, väderbitna."

were more richly illustrated, with one image for each of the twelve chapters. These were made by the Norwegian painter Wilhelm Peters, who was well-versed in ethnographic pictures of the Sámi, and usually showed either the most dramatic moment of the chapter in question or Sámi and their reindeer in the imposing Arctic landscape.

All in all, this swift overview of *Lajla*'s reception shows that the novel helped consolidate ambivalent notions of the Sámi as exotic, fascinating, and authentic on the one hand, and culturally inferior and primitive on the other. The critical aspects of the novel were either ignored or rationalised away. In some cases, 'unwanted' information had been removed beforehand. The German translation omitted the passage in which Laagje saves Lajla and Lind from financial ruin.[51] Later remediations of Friis's novel steadily move away from the relatively complex representation of the relation between Norwegian and Sámi in the original. Ole Olsen's opera from 1908 promotes Norwegianisation rather than challenging it. The plot shows how Lajla gradually Norwegianises over the course of the play, culminating in the revelation of her Norwegian birth; this development is reflected in the musical accompaniment, which to an increasing degree makes use of motifs from Norwegian folk music.[52] Similarly, Heitmann has demonstrated how the silent movie from 1929 still maintains a fluent vision on identity as it highlights how Lajla is beneficially formed by her environment; by contrast, the remake from 1937 primarily focuses on the strangeness of the Sámi, whose wild and erratic behaviour contrasts with the rationality of the Norwegian characters.[53]

Tourism and Human Zoos: The Mobility of Sámi Images

The Sámi and the Cap of the North fascinated readers because they were *little* known, not because they were completely *un*known. By the 1880s, the advent of modern tourism had also done much to unlock this remote part of the continent in the popular imagination. Two reviews, in fact, made this link with tourism explicit. The *Berliner Tageblatt* welcomed the German translation of *Lajla* because of the recent enthusiasm for Scandinavia as a tourist destination: people, therefore, naturally wanted to read more about the place.[54] *The Academy* even appealed to the familiarity of the Sámi: "Every traveller in the northern parts of Norway must have seen something of the

51 Heitmann, "Zwischen zwei Welten," 80.
52 Egil A. Gundersen, *Ole Olsen: Mennesket, musikken, majoren* (Skien: Eget Forlag, 1997), 108–9.
53 Heitmann, "Zwischen zwei Welten," 82–85.
54 *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, 10 Dec. 1886.

Mountain Lapps."[55] Of course, the number of readers that would indeed be struck by recognition was admittedly low, as travelling was still a privilege of the happy few, and the Cap of the North hardly topped the list of favourite destinations.[56]

Yet, helped by the opening of new steamship connections, tourism northward seriously picked up in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Norway as the more popular destination. The country and its splendid nature were regarded as the ideal opposite of the more developed and urbanised parts of the continent, as well as other typical holiday destinations that were deemed "dreadfully used-up."[57] Norway, by contrast, was still uncovered ground and, in the words of H. Arnold Barton, "fondly envisioned as the land of simple living and primitive innocence."[58] Mainly Brits and Germans, but many other nationalities as well, flocked to the north to enjoy the dramatic landscapes and the picturesque countryside, which in addition offered ample opportunity for such activities as hunting and fishing. Popular notions about human evolution form part of the picture here as well: many Brits and Germans, again, as well as Americans, regarded a visit to Norway as a visit to the land of their ancestors.[59]

Although most tourists would stay south of Trondheim, a trip further north was not uncommon. Guidebooks usually supplied their readers with plenty of information on these parts of the country as well. Especially *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway and Sweden* (first edition published in 1871) contained a thorough description of the Sámi and their culture, not least through long excerpts from an earlier travel account from 1841 by one John Milford. The reader of *Lajla* encounters a familiar imagery: "the scenery [...] is exceedingly wild and grand", and the Sámi are "honest, simple, and hospitable people."[60] As in later travel accounts, it is highlighted that despite their good nature, "the Lapps are a despised race amongst the Norwegians, whose feeling towards them is very much akin

55 *The Academy*, 1 Dec. 1883.

56 Jakob Lothe, Jannicke S. Kaasa and Ulrike Spring, "Introduction," in *Nordic Travels*, ed. Janicke S. Kaasa, Jakob Lothe, and Ulrike Spring (Oslo: Novus Press, 2021), 11–12.

57 Stensrud, "'Europe is becoming dreadfully used up'," 121.

58 H. Arnold Barton, "The Discovery of Norway Abroad, 1760-1905," *Scandinavian Studies* 79, no. 1 (2007): 30.

59 The English-speaking tourist was serviced by the travel agency which Thomas Bennett had opened in Christiania (presently Oslo) in 1851. Next to transportation, equipment and good advice, the agency sold a rich selection of travel literature, as well as the English translation of *Lajla*.

60 *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden* (London: William Cowes and Sons, 1871), 130, 132.

to that of the people of the United States to persons of colour."[61] The guidebooks are usually more benevolently inclined towards the Sámi, but in all their admiration still generally strike a condescending tone, as this statement by Milford can testify: "These Lapps, although 'dwellers in tents' all the year round, are in many respects far from uncivilised."[62]

The armchair tourist, it should be clear by now, could thus likewise transport themselves to these faraway tracts and get a mediated experience of Sámi life: in Britain alone, close to two hundred travel accounts were published over the course of the nineteenth century; the German book market did not lag far behind.[63] Arguably, the most popular of these was *The Land of the Midnight Sun* (1882) by the French-American anthropologist Paul Belloni du Chaillu (1831–1903), which would have had an impact on the popular perception of the Sámi that was at the very least on a par with that of *Lajla*. Du Chaillu provides a very detailed insight into the Sámi and their history, customs, culture, and occupations that has much in common with that of Friis, owing to the fact that Du Chaillu cites Friis's academic work as an important source. Like Friis (and Milford) before him, he stresses that the Norwegian prejudices against the Sámi ("murderers and thieves") are unfounded. His account also stands out by highlighting that reindeer herding is just one means of livelihood available to the Sámi, and that the nomadic Sámi actually form a minority. And yet, more narrative passages in this two-volume work focus strongly on reindeer and the "Mountain Lapps," and especially his descriptions of the Sámi physique betray a tendency for scientific racism ('the old women [...] are certainly among the most hideous specimen of humanity').[64] Again agreeing with Friis's standpoints, interracial marriage is seen by Du Chaillu as something beneficial: "the mixed offspring of the three nationalities [Norwegians, Kven and Sámi] form an excellent race."[65]

The familiar stereotype of the Sámi reindeer-herding family was disseminated further by the tourist industry. As stressed by the many available guidebooks, a visit to the 'Lapp encampment' in Tromsdalen near Tromsø was a staple of every tourist's visit. This was a highly staged exhibition of authenticity in which the Sámi families themselves played no passive role, as becomes clear from the commendation in *Bennett's Handbook for Travellers in Norway*:

61 *Murray's Handbook*, 130.
62 *Murray's Handbook*, 131.
63 Barton, "The Discovery of Norway Abroad," 26–27.
64 Paul Belloni Du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun: Summer and Winter Journeys Through Sweden, Norway, Lapland and Northern Finland*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882), 93.
65 Du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, 145.

> The Lapps of the Tromsødal [*sic*] are accustomed to tourist visitors and fully alive to the advantages of trafficking with them in their native productions. They expect a fee for bringing the reindeer down to an enclosure near their huts, and for displaying, the driving, and general mode of management of these animals. This performance is perfectly genuine and very interesting.[66]

In this era of burgeoning mass tourism, Sámi culture was rapidly turned into a touristic commodity. The interested tourist could buy Sámi souvenirs–including those picture postcards featuring 'Lajla'–not only in Tromsø, but indeed throughout the country. Paradoxically, during the exact time that the assimilation policies were intensified, Sámi culture was turned into something closely resembling a national symbol, or at the very least an emblematic feature that tourists expected to encounter when visiting the country. The tourist industry was keen to supply. After 1897, tourists could even spare themselves the expensive and cumbersome trip to the far north when a Sámi encampment was opened in Bjørndalen, close to Bergen. Many hotels, some of them as far south as Lillehammer and the Hardangervidda, even employed Sámi families–complete with tents, reindeer, and traditional dress–in order to attract tourists.[67]

But Europeans interested in the Sámi needed not even travel to Scandinavia, or Finland, or Russia. From the 1870s, the fascination with 'exotic' peoples found expression in the increasing popularity of so-called ethnographic expositions, or 'human zoos'. Responsible for popularising this phenomenon was the German animal trader Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913), who claimed that his expositions offered something new in comparison to older traditions by showing the natives in a recreation of their 'natural environment'. The very first such expositions concerned Sámi from the Tromsø area, who agreed to a paid position at Hagenbeck's zoo in Hamburg. The 'show' these Sámi employees performed included that they broke up their tents, packed them on their reindeer, walked a couple of meters and reassembled them in order to demonstrate their nomadic lifestyle.[68] Hagenbeck would not limit himself to his own zoo but would also tour the continent with massive success. Ethnographic expositions would soon become a sta-

66 *Bennett's Handbook for Travellers in Norway* (Christiania: T. Bennett, 1896), 226.

67 Cathrine Baglo, "Sameleire i Tromsø som turistmål, fotmotiv og møteplass," *Ottar*, no. 306 (2015): 35.

68 Nigel T. Rothfels, "Bring 'Em Back Alive: Carl Hagenbeck and Exotic Animal and People Trades in Germany, 1848-1914" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1994), 50–53.

ple of the World Fairs. The Sámi, for instance, gave *acte de présence* at the Fairs of 1872 in Vienna and 1878 and 1889 in Paris. Pairing education with entertainment, the ethnographic expositions served to affirm the superiority of Western society, but the Sámi in this case should not be exclusively understood as passive victims; they often had economic motives to cooperate or had a genuine ambition to spread knowledge about their culture.[69]

Lajla thus appeared on the European book market at the back of a decade in which several Sámi families had toured Europe's main cities in the employment of men like Hagenbeck. This book market, moreover, already contained dozens of titles on the Sámi and their home region. An increasing number of tourists had been to these far-off places and brought back stories, images, and souvenirs. Stereotypes about the Sámi, in short, were already in heavy circulation throughout the continent before the novel came out. *Lajla* accordingly did little to raise awareness or change perceptions. Quite the contrary: the novel's exceptional success can in part be attributed to the fact that it resonated so well with already existing notions. These concentrated on the stereotype of the nomadic reindeer-herder, a noble, tough, and kind-hearted character, who nonetheless was inferior to Western civilisation and whose culture, therefore, was destined to become extinct. The fact that Friis had reproduced this stereotypical character in the figure of Jaampa drowned out the more subversive elements of his novel, such as his portrayal of the complex socio-economic relations in the north, the (misleading) depiction of the Norwegians as strangers in this part of their own country, the desirability of interracial marriage that had the potential to negate the otherness of the Sámi, and his criticism of language suppression.

As Einar Niemi has shown, Friis's fictional and academic output would mainly serve to strengthen the state's stringent minority politics in the end. Case in point are the two sequels Friis wrote to *Lajla*: *The Monastery in Petchenga. Sketches from Russian Lapland* (1884) and *Sketches from Finnmark* (1891), both of which were also translated into English and German. In these books Friis has exchanged his three-race-model for a binary one in which the Kven, in Niemi's words, have been 'sacrificed' in order to 'save' the reindeer or mountain-Sámi from further encroachment by the authorities, while the mountain-Sámi, who answered best to Friis's notion of the 'noble savage', in turn

69 Cathrine Baglo, *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika* (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk Forlag, 2017), 21–25.

are placed hierarchically above the so-called Sea-Sami.[70] The ideal Norwegian society sketched by Friis is a highly segregated one that further romanticises the mountain-Sámi, now firmly set apart from the Norwegians (there is no more talk of mixing and mingling) as well as the Kven and Sea-Sámi, who are stigmatised and repudiated. Through the authority of their author, the *Lajla* sequels would have a harmful impact on both minority politics and the popular perception of minority groups among the majority population. It was only in the 1950s that the Norwegian government started to take serious action against the discrimination against ethnic minorities. A Truth and Reconciliation Committee was appointed by parliament in 2018, which submitted a detailed report on the experiences and consequences of the Norwegianisation policies in June 2023.

Romantic Norway moves to the Arctic

It would take just a few decades before also holiday-Norway, much like the rest of Europe, moved dangerously towards its saturation point. The many travel books wearing down the bookshelves in British and German libraries already point in this direction. Hunting, to mention one other indication, quickly needed to be seriously restricted as many species, wild reindeer among them, were headed for extinction before the smoking guns of mainly British tourists.

This fatigue affected the less-travelled north of the country to a lesser degree. And whereas the romantic image of a country of simple peasants living in harmony with nature clashed with the reality of increasing industrialisation and urbanisation, this image could still be upheld in the northern parts of the country with relative ease. One could very well argue that the romantic image of Norway slowly shifted northwards, while the stereotypes of simplicity and primitivity were projected on the Sámi instead: something that many a Norwegian, keen to be taken seriously as a modern European nation, might have welcomed with enthusiasm. This might also offer a clue as to why Sámi culture was so eagerly deployed and commodified as a touristic unique selling point: it made it possible to still advertise Norway as a country of wholesome pre-modern primitivity, while simultaneously cultivating a confident self-image as a developed nation. The northernmost regions of the country, in other words, accommodated the

70 Einar Niemi, "Vitenskap og politikk: Lappologen Jens Andreas Friis og de etniske minoritetene 1860–1890," in *Veiviser i det mangfoldige nord: utvalgte artikler av Einar Niemi: festskrift*, ed. Fredrik Fagertun (Stamsund: Orkana Forlag, 2014), 203–7.

contemporary ambivalence toward modernity perfectly; the local colour of the pastoral Sámi lifestyle offered a release from the anxieties of modern life, while the great economic opportunities the transnational region had on offer, owing to its abundance of natural resources, promised a bright future for the Norwegian nation.

This study of the transnational reception of *Lajla* has brought this complex interplay between regional and national identities to light. The various reviews almost without exception describe Finnmark, or the Cap of the North, in terms of primitivity, exoticism, wilderness and adventure, terms that previously had been reserved for Norway in its entirety. This transfer of romantic Norway to the Far North occurred under the influence of the external gaze represented by these reviews, as well as travel literature and the tourism industry. In one thing, then, Friis did succeed: Northern-Norway and the Sámi at long last had become part of the national narrative, something in which they had scarcely featured before. Yet, this new role was that of a largely passive internal Other that preserved an alluring and illusive core of what modernised Norway once had been.

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SECTION II

Travelling Regions

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The Global Vernacularisation of Regional Identities: Cultural Isomorphism at World Fairs, 1851-1939

ERIC STORM

Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, world fairs increasingly focused on exhibiting the vernacular culture of rural areas, thus contributing to the definition of recognisable regional identities. Regional pavilions, dioramas with folkloric scenes and full-scale ethnographic villages could be encountered not just at major world fairs, but also at myriad national and regional expositions. The fierce competition in capturing the attention of the visitors at these large-scale events clearly favoured the growing prominence of vernacular culture. Extraordinary vernacular buildings, colourful folkloric traditions, striking artisanal products and typical dishes were used increasingly to symbolise both the region and the nation, leading to a focus on traditional heartlands – such as Tyrol in Austria, Andalusia in Spain or Dalarna in Sweden – on the one hand and a growing emphasis on the nation as a unity in diversity on the other. However, the way regional identities were represented was very generic. World fairs, in fact, constituted a global platform to learn how to represent a region's identity and thus had a strong isomorphic effect, meaning that increasingly equal – iso – forms were used. This chapter aims to show how the need to stand out clearly bolstered the role of vernacular culture at these international expositions, while pouring them into very similar moulds.

Since the 1990s, the construction of regional identities has been studied extensively.[1] Generally, these investigations were strongly influenced by nationalism studies, understanding the 'imagined community' of the region as a social construct, while focusing primarily on the period from the late nineteenth century onwards. Most scholars focused on the agency of the inhabitants themselves – mostly domestic elites – they were the ones who selected the building blocks to construct their unique regional identity. This was mostly done in national historiographic traditions, focusing on *Heimat* in Germany, decentralisation in France or the rise of peripheral

1 Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, eds., *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm, eds., *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

nationalisms in Spain. This methodological nationalism was supplemented by a methodological regionalism, explaining the construction of regional identities merely from internal factors.[2] This internalist bias cannot just be detected in many regional case studies, but also in more ambitious overviews. Thus, in an already classical book, Anne-Marie Thiesse presented the rise of French regionalism as a "réveil des provinces" (awakening of the provinces), while explaining this revival primarily from the unique impact of the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.[3]

The renewed appreciation for vernacular culture has also been studied primarily from a national or regional perspective in a rapidly growing number of case studies. Nonetheless, a few generic trends can be detected. The Romantic era, for instance, quickly disseminated a new fascination for folklore, rural traditions and fairy tales, best embodied in the collections published by Johann Gottfried Herder and the Grimm brothers. They presented vernacular culture primarily as a way to study the supposedly authentic character of the nation, the *Volksgeist* (folk spirit).[4] By the halfway point of the nineteenth century, many newly founded local associations and learned societies began to study the contribution of the region to the nation. As a result, regional particularities were primarily appreciated in relation to a larger national whole.[5] Only towards the end of the nineteenth century did the unique identity of each region receive more attention. This process has not only been linked to the emancipation of provincial society and the broadening of the membership of regional associations, but also to the rise of consumer society and the growing marketing of regional identities, primarily by entrepreneurs in the tourism sector and the agribusiness.[6] Several

2 Xosé M. Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm, "Conclusion: Overcoming Methodological Regionalism," in *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day*, ed. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 343–55.

3 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Écrire la France: le mouvement littéraire régionaliste de langue française entre la Belle Époque et la Libération* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991) all translations are my own; see also: Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

4 Martin Thom, *Republics, Nations and Tribes* (London: Verso, 1995); Joep Leerssen, ed., *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

5 Stéphane Gerson, *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Georg Kunz, *Verortete Geschichte: regionales Geschichtsbewusstsein in den deutschen Historischen Vereinen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Sören Brinkmann, *Der Stolz der Provinzen: Regionalbewusstsein und Nationalstaatsbau im Spanien des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005).

6 Eric Storm, "The Birth of Regionalism and the Crisis of Reason: France, Germany and Spain," in *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism*, ed. Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012),

case studies, moreover, have made clear that world fairs played a prominent role in constructing clearly identifiable regional identities. Martin Wörner even provided an ambitious overview of the role of European vernacular culture at universal expositions during the second half of the nineteenth century.[7] Most of these studies on world fairs, however, are rather descriptive. Therefore, it remains unclear why vernacular elements rapidly gained prominence at these mega-events.

The aim of this edited volume is to show that transnational influences were vital to understanding the development of regionalism. This fresh approach enables us to overcome the inward-looking traditional interpretation, but a disadvantage of this new emphasis on transnationalism, cultural transfer and hybridity is that this is mostly applied in detailed case studies that implicitly argue that circumstances matter. As a consequence, they seem to produce a different outcome for each individual case, creating a very fragmented overall picture. Nonetheless, there were many similarities in the way regional identities were constructed throughout the world, both in timing and in form. In order to detect these similarities and patterns, we will have to adopt a very different approach. This chapter, therefore, examines regional identity construction as a global learning process by focusing on the representation of regions at world fairs. In order to do so in a systematic way, I will apply the concept of isomorphism.

The concept of isomorphism was introduced in the 1970s by the sociologist John W. Meyer from Stanford University as part of his approach, known as Sociological Institutionalism or World Polity Theory, to explain the surprising homogeneity of state institutions around the world. Meyer argues that after 1945, the institutions of the nation-state showed ever more similarities around the globe. All modern nation-states have a constitution defining both state power and individual rights; they have a cabinet system, very similar institutions for statistical record keeping, universal welfare

36–57; Patrick Young, *Enacting Brittany: Tourism and Culture in Provincial France, 1871-1939* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Kolleen M. Guy, "Regional Foods," in *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day*, ed. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 83–99.

7 Bjarne Stocklund, "The Role of International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century," *Ethnologia Europaea* 24, no. 1 (1994): 35–44; Marta Filipová, "Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15–36; Daniel Alan DeGroff, "Artur Hazelius and the Ethnographic Display of the Scandinavian Peasantry: A Study in Context and Appropriation," *European Review of History* 19, no. 2 (2012): 229–48; Martin Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung: Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen 1851-1900* (Münster: Waxmann, 1999).

systems, growth-oriented economic policies, standardised health care institutions, mass education systems with comparable curricula, etc.[8]

Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell further refined Meyer's theories by distinguishing three mechanisms of isomorphic change: coercion, mimesis, and normative pressure. Recently, Jens Beckert added a fourth mechanism: competition. Examples of coercive isomorphism by external powers are the imposition of democratic institutions on Japan and West Germany after the defeat in the Second World War. More subtle forms of coercion are exerted by international organisations, such as the International Monetary Fund–imposing uniform accountability mechanisms as a precondition to receive loans–or the European Union–formulating accession criteria for new member states. Mimesis occurs very often, when countries adopt certain institutional templates or practices from leading powers. Probably the most famous case is the Meiji Restoration in late nineteenth-century Japan, in which reformist politicians decided to mimic the principal nation-states in Western Europe and the United States by wholesale adopting state institutions, educational systems, law courts, army organisation, etc. The third mechanism of isomorphic change consists of normative pressure, which mostly operates through a process of professionalisation. This implies, for instance, requiring a standardised formal education for specific jobs, while all kinds of (international) professional associations establish shared models for professional behaviour and organisational norms. The emphasis on standard procedures, routines and a shared hierarchy of status is best visible in the medical profession, but can also be detected among civil servants, legal experts or people working in the financial sector. Beckert argues that competition should be considered as a fourth mechanism of isomorphic change. Companies and state institutions tend to adopt cost-efficient procedures, effective regulations and functional standards that have proven their worth elsewhere.[9]

In this chapter, I will argue that world fairs also had a strong isomorphic effect by imposing regulations for representing national and regional identities, enabling countries to learn from and compete with others, while stimulating a process of professionalisation.[10] Therefore, I will first provide

8 See for example John W. Meyer et al., "World Society and the Nation-State," *The American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 1 (1997): 144–81.

9 Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60; Jens Beckert, "Institutional Isomorphism Revisited: Convergence and Divergence in Institutional Change," *Sociological Theory* 28, no. 2 (2010): 150–66.

10 See also: Eric Storm, "Introduction: The Study of National Identities at World Fairs – from Methodological Nationalism to Transnational Approaches and Cultural Isomorphism," *Studies on National Movements* 13 (2024): 5–35.

a brief overview of the role of world fairs, while showing how vernacular culture proved to be very attractive, rapidly gaining visibility. This continued until the 1920s and 1930s, when the focus of world fairs shifted towards cultural modernism, which moreover, coincided with the decline of international exhibitions as trendsetting events. I will then show how a process of isomorphism can be detected in the representation of regional identities. This will be illustrated with examples taken from the Panama-Pacific Exhibition in San Diego (1915) and the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville (1929), two somewhat peripheral exhibitions at which regionalism largely determined the entire outlook of the exhibition.

Exhibiting Territorial Identities at World Fairs

The first world fair, the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations, held in London's Crystal Palace in 1851, was a great success with over six million visitors and thousands of exhibitors from twenty-five different countries. Quickly, other world fairs were organised on almost all continents. Myriad regional and national exhibitions–which often also attracted millions of spectators–showed the latest trends to domestic audiences while preparing the ground for a country's participation in the next world fair. These exhibitions, thus, could be seen as one of the most important mass media of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their impact was enhanced through written and visual media. Guidebooks and catalogues provided ample information to the visitors, but also reached millions of armchair travellers across the world. Exhibitions, moreover, received extensive coverage in the press, in newspapers, illustrated magazines and specialised journals and increasingly also reached many people through souvenirs, posters, newsreels and documentaries. Their worldwide influence would only decline from the 1930s onwards when their role was slowly overtaken by specialised trade fairs and amusement parks on the one hand and by new visual media such as cinema and television on the other.[11]

At the Great Exhibition, the role of vernacular elements was very limited. In the Canadian section, for instance, one could admire skins, stuffed animals and canoes, while elsewhere artisanal objects such as chandeliers and clocks could be found. However, most craft products did not show any

11 Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai 1851-2010* (Winterbourne: Papadakis, 2011); Marta Filipová, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Farnham; Burlington: Routledge, 2015); Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm, ed., *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities: International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851–1958* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

national or regional distinctiveness. The second world fair, the New York Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations of 1853-54, organised by a private enterprise, introduced an entertainment zone in order to attract more visitors. The Paris Universal Exposition of 1855–which, like all its successors, was organised by the national government–put more emphasis on agriculture and art, areas in which France excelled.[12] Thus, instead of becoming a rather dull industrial show, world fairs became spectacular mega-events targeting the masses, and this tendency would only augment in subsequent decades.

Nonetheless, the differences between national sections–showing primarily raw materials, machines, manufactures, scientific inventions and fine arts–were not very striking, and this was increasingly seen as a disadvantage. At the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris, it was decided that countries could also build a national pavilion in which they could show objects that did not fit the ten groups and ninety-five classes into which the industrial production of humankind was classified, such as artistic treasures, archaeological finds or historical objects. Many peripheral countries, such as Japan, Siam, Egypt, Tunisia, the Ottoman Empire and Romania, used the opportunity to attract attention by building a pavilion in a characteristic exotic style, appealing particularly to the expectations of an international audience. France, which at the time tried to put the Habsburg Prince Maximilian on the Mexican throne, built an Aztec temple for Mexico, while the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, led by a British diplomat, represented the Qing Empire by constructing a Chinese garden with some typical buildings. Another curious example was the Swedish pavilion, which was a copy of the Dalarna farmhouse from which Gustav Vasa in the late sixteenth century had initiated the War of Liberation against Denmark.[13]

The new emphasis on amusement and the addition of national pavilions created a very favourable environment for exhibiting vernacular culture. In many cases, the most extraordinary, colourful and striking examples--build-

12 Florian Groß, "From the New York Crystal Palace to the World of Tomorrow: World Fairs as a Transnational Series," in *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 84–106; Wolfram Kaiser, "Vive La France! Vive La République? The Cultural Construction of French Identity at the World Exhibitions in Paris 1855–1900," *National Identities* 1, no. 3 (1999): 227–44.

13 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 21–57 and 191–210; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 95–107; Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 44; Susan R. Fernsebner, *Material Modernities: China's Participation in World's Fairs and Expositions, 1876-1955* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 2002).

ings, costumes or practices–were selected, and these generally proved to be very successful in attracting large crowds. Their popularity among the visitors did not just mean that these exhibits were commercially viable–through the sale of products or by charging additional entrance fees–but that they also were instrumental in drawing visitors to a wider (national) section or pavilion. As a result, these formulas were rapidly copied at later exhibitions, often becoming an indispensable element in successive world fairs.[14]

World fairs did not operate in a vacuum; there were frequent crossovers with museums and the world of entertainment. One exhibitionary practice that world fairs adopted from museums was the use of period rooms and dioramas, which were both very suited to show folkloric scenes. At the 1878 Universal Exposition in Paris, the Netherlands showed a Hindeloopen room, which had previously drawn attention at the Frisian Historical Exhibition in Leeuwarden. The colourful room with antique furniture showed life-size mannequins in beautiful traditional costumes preparing for a baptism ceremony. Instead of peeping into the scene from the outside, the public could enter the room as if they were visiting this family home in the Frisian town of Hindeloopen. This proved to be a great success, and the format was widely adopted in ethnographic museums and international exhibitions.[15]

National pavilions could also be found at most world fairs after 1867, and they were even systematised in the Rue des Nations (Street of Nations) at the Parisian Universal Expositions of 1878 and 1900. The former only showed characteristic facades, while in 1900, entire pavilions lined up along the Seine. Although initially Classicist styles and Historicist buildings dominated towards the turn of the century, Neo-Vernacular constructions became popular as well. Nonetheless, from the 1920s, Modernist pavilions rapidly became more popular, eventually entirely dominating the scene.[16] Another successful formula was the ethnographic village, which was entirely focused on vernacular culture. All buildings had an authentic feel and were

14 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 237–303; Alexander C. T Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 101–34; Robert W. Rydell, "Self Becomes Nation: Sol Bloom and America's World Fairs, 1893–1939," in *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 217–36.

15 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 246–72; Adriaan A. M. de Jong and Mette Skougaard, "The Hindeloopen and the Amager Rooms: Two Examples of an Historical Museum Phenomenon," *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 2 (1993): 165–78.

16 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 21–49; Eric Storm, "The Transnational Construction of National Identities: A Classification of National Pavilions at World Fairs," in *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities: International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851-1958*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 53–84.

inhabited by traditionally dressed villagers engaged in all kinds of characteristic activities, thus offering a lifelike environment in which the visitors were immersed in a different world. Already at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867, Austria and Russia had built a village with typical buildings from various parts of the empire, inhabited by real peasants. This formula was repeated at the Vienna World Fair of 1873. Five years later, at the Paris Universal Exposition, one could visit a Street of Cairo and a Moroccan Quarter. The amusement sector of Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition contained no less than ten ethnographic villages, most of which were commercial ventures. They represented Germany, Austria, Ireland, Lapland, Turkey, China, Japan, Java and Dahomey, while setting a new standard for the future. Most of these ethnographic villages appealed to a sense of curiosity for faraway lands, but on other occasions, such rural ensembles primarily targeted a domestic audience. Thus, the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895, Hungary's Millennial Exhibition and the Swiss National Exposition, both from 1896, the Romanian Jubilee Exhibition of 1906 and Italy's International Exhibition of 1911 all contained a large-scale ethnographic village with pavilions representing each of the countries' diverse regions.[17]

The urban equivalent of the ethnographic village–where one could not so much travel to exotic parts of the countryside, but to an idealised urban past–was the historical ensemble. This template was invented in 1884 at the International Health Exhibition in South Kensington, where twenty-five copied buildings represented "Old London", and simultaneously in Turin, where during the General Italian Exhibition, a "Borgo medievale" (medieval borough) could be visited. Like the ethnographic village, these historical ensembles were inhabited by traditionally dressed townspeople engaged in all kinds of typical activities, mostly of an artisanal nature. Their success was copied at almost all subsequent international exhibitions, leading to magnificent examples such as Old Edinburgh (1886), Oud Antwerpen (1895), Alt Berlin (1896), Ős-Budavára (1896), Gamla Stockholm (1897) and Vieux Paris (1900). Sometimes these historical pastiches represented the rich urban patrimony of a major region, such as Oud Holland (1895) or Vieille Flandre (1913).[18]

17 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 49–145; Storm, "Construction of National Identities," 71–72; Luis A. Sánchez-Gómez, "Human Zoos or Ethnic Shows? Essence and Contingency in *Living* Ethnological Exhibitons," *Culture & History Digital Journal* 2, no. 2 (2013): e022.

18 Wilson Smith, "Old London, Old Edinburgh: Constructing Historic Cities," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipová (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), 203–29; Daniela N. Prina, "The Belgian Reception of Italy at the 1885 Antwerp World Exhibition," in *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915*, ed. David Raizman and Ethan Robey (London: Routledge, 2018), 54–55; Storm, "Construction of National Identities," 71.

In national pavilions, ethnographic villages and historical ensembles, visitors could encounter various vernacular practices enacted before their eyes. Artisans were engaged in traditional crafts, while people dressed in folkloric costumes played characteristic instruments, sang folk tunes or performed traditional dances. There were also large shows with historical enactments, such as in the commercial venture "L'Andalousie aux temps des maures" (Andalusia in the Times of the Moors) at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900. In the shadow of a life-size copy of the Giralda-tower – which could be mounted on a donkey – there was a large court where fights between Moors and Christians, caravan raids, flamenco spectacles and gypsy weddings were staged. The most famous of such shows was without a doubt Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which was hugely successful as a sideshow of the Chicago world's fair of 1893, going on various world tours.[19] All major exhibitions also had a variety of cafés and restaurants, many of which offered regional fare and typical beverages. Mostly the buildings were in a Neo-Vernacular style, while waiters and waitresses were donned in regional attire.[20]

Examining the advance of vernacular culture at world fairs, we can detect a clear process of isomorphic change. Templates such as the diorama, the national pavilion, the ethnographic village and historical ensembles were quickly standardised, while all participating countries highlighted the same aspects of their vernacular patrimony, such as traditional buildings, arts and crafts, regional costumes, folk tunes, traditional dances and artisanal food.

The four mechanisms of isomorphic change – coercion, normative pressure, mimesis and competition – can easily be applied to the growing standardisation of the representation of vernacular culture at world fairs. Probably the most important mechanism of isomorphic change at world fairs was *competition*. Countries and companies vied for the attention of the visitors. Thus, pavilions and exhibits had to be bigger, more attractive, colourful and extraordinary than the others. This had paradoxical consequences; countries and regions tried hard to distinguish themselves from others, but they all did so in a very similar way. Size, location and financial means were

19 Eric Storm, "The Canonization of the Artisan Around 1900," in *Networks, Narratives and Nations: Transcultural Approaches to Cultural Nationalism in Europe and Beyond*, ed. Marjet Brolsma et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022), 138–46; Luis Sazatornil Ruiz, "Fantasías Andaluzas. Arquitectura, Orientalismo e Identidades En Tiempos de Las Exposiciones," in *Andalucía. La Construcción de Una Imagen Artística*, ed. Méndez Rodríguez and Rocío Plaza Orellana (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2015), 135–37; Robert W. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna the Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

20 Peter Scholliers and Nelleke Teughels, eds., *A Taste of Progress: Food at International and World Exhibitions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2015).

vital, and participating countries tried to raise their budget, get the best location and build a larger pavilion than their neighbours.

In the highly competitive environment of these mega-events, however, more important than size was spectacle, either in appearance or performance. In order to attract visitors, exhibits had to stand out. This had important implications. For a domestic audience, national and regional pavilions or exhibits should represent their unique identity in a dignified way. However, the international public at world fairs had a strong preference for striking, quaint and extraordinary images and experiences. Ideally, they should also conform to existing stereotypes, such as those defined in other media, such as travel writing, plays or paintings. This is what Joep Leerssen has defined as the "typicality effect".[21] Spanish officials and elites, for instance, preferred to represent themselves as a modern, civilised nation, building a Renaissance pavilion that was only recognisable as Spanish by connoisseurs, whereas visitors craved for exotic stereotypes associated with Al-Andalus. Because of the fierce competition for attention, over time, the strong demand for the extraordinary was too strong to ignore.[22] Instead of profiling a country or region with parts of their heritage that were widespread and quite common or could provide a dignified image, the most exceptional and colourful building blocks were preferred, creating a world of nation-states with easily recognisable, unique identities. Hetero images, thus, often trumped auto images. Moreover, each of these nations consisted of a wide variety of regions, each of which had to be presented as unique and different as well.

The other processes of isomorphic change were less ambiguous in nature. *Coercion* was primarily limited to the guidelines imposed by the central organisation of a world fair or to metropoles taking decisions for their colonies. At the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878, for instance, countries were required to construct their section of the Rue des Nations in a characteristic style. In Chicago's Century of Progress International Exposition of 1933, pavilions in historical or vernacular styles were prohibited in favour of modernist buildings.[23] *Normative pressure* as a consequence of a process of professionalisation was widespread. As world fairs were serial events in which many organisers, architects, impresarios, business people, museum officials, showmen, arti-

21 Joep Leerssen, "Trademarking the Nation: World Fairs, Spectacles, and the Banalization of Nationalism," in *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 31–52.

22 Manuel Viera, *El imaginario español en las Exposiciones Universales del siglo XIX: exotismo y modernidad* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2020), 133–269.

23 Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 28; Lisa D. Schrenk, *Building a Century of Progress: The Architecture of Chicago's 1933–34 World's Fair* (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2007).

sans and musicians participated several times, they set professional standards to which newcomers generally adhered.[24] *Mimesis* also occurred frequently. Most governments produced extensive reports, not just when they organised a world fair themselves, but also when they participated in an international exhibition abroad. They tried to learn from their own failures, while signalling promising innovations that could be found elsewhere at the fairground as a source of inspiration for the future. Museum officials, entrepreneurs and other professionals, moreover, were keen to explore fresh opportunities, especially those that had been a success. Thus, the template of the Hindeloopen room was quickly copied, and so were Chicago's ethnographic villages.

These four mechanisms of isomorphic change operated within the context of the existing international order, which was ingrained in the entire setup of world fairs. The main participants were countries, while private exhibitors were mostly also divided according to nationality, as the large exhibition halls were divided into national sections. Thus, in general, the governments of the participating countries, or imperial authorities in the case of colonies, organised or coordinated the contribution of their nation or empire. This meant that vernacular culture, even if it was structured around regions, was almost always represented in a national context. This was also generally the case for ethnographic villages organised by private entrepreneurs. Even colonies were part of the international order, and implicitly they were presented as nations in the making.[25] This implied that regional identities were subsumed under a larger national identity and that vernacular culture was used to show the regional diversity of the nation, without threatening its fundamental unity.

However, there were some exceptions. Several world fairs or large-scale exhibitions were organised in "stateless nations", in peripheral regions or by cities. Major cities in "stateless nations", such as Antwerp and Ghent in Flanders, Edinburgh and Glasgow in Scotland and Barcelona in Catalonia, were particularly active on the exhibition front. They mostly aimed to present themselves as active participants in modern, industrial civilisation.[26]

24 Groß, "The New York Crystal Palace"; Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 261–79; Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

25 See for instance: Sharon L. Hirsh, "Swiss Art and National Identity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, ed. Sharon L. Hirsh and Michelle Facos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 250–87; Abigail McGowan, *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

26 Craig Lamont, *The Cultural Memory of Georgian Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 169–91; Ignasi de Solà-Morales, *La Exposición Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929: arquitectura y ciudad* (Barcelona: Feria, 1985).

There were also many provincial cities–such as Cork, Wolverhampton, Nancy, Valencia, Naples and Lemberg/Lviv in Europe or Omaha, Buffalo and Seattle in the United States – that organised a major exhibition. Sometimes, these exhibitions were meant to underline the modernity of the city and its surroundings. This was, for instance, the case with the International Electro-Technical Exhibition in Frankfurt am Main, held in 1891, or Newcastle's North-East Coast Exhibition of 1929.[27] On other occasions, the emphasis was more on tradition and vernacular heritage, which was the case with San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915 and Seville's Ibero-American Exposition of 1929 and which will be analysed in the next section.

Vernacular Culture and Regional Identities in San Diego and Seville

How then did the peripheral cities of Seville and San Diego deal with the mechanisms of isomorphic change, the typicality effect and the self-evident context of the international order? Both expositions had their origins among the local business elite, which around 1910 aimed to put their city on the map and boost the local economy. Their proposals were quickly taken up by the city council, which moreover hoped to use the opportunity for a major restructuring of the urban landscape. In both cases, the organisers decided to avoid the Beaux-Arts Classicism, which had been the preferred style for official pavilions at world fairs until then, in favour of an architecture that fitted the local climate, geography and historical traditions. At both expositions, the pavilion in a characteristic architectural style was the main template that was adopted from earlier world fairs. Both also had one ethnographic village, while within the pavilions, artisans showed their traditional skills. The organisers mostly used experienced professionals for the organisation, the design of the buildings, the layout of the venue and for the shows that could be visited.

San Diego was a modest city in Southern California that expanded rapidly in the late nineteenth century and was proud of its roots in the late Spanish colonial era. The Panama-California Exposition was organised to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal, and according to the official request for federal support, its aim was to "portray the romance, history and beauty and native arts of the Great Southwest and of Latin America".

27 Thomas Großbölting, *"Im Reich Der Arbeit": Die Repräsentation Gesellschaftlicher Ordnung in Den Deutschen Industrie- Und Gewerbeausstellungen 1790-1914* (Munich: De Gruyter, 2008), 290–92 and 351–56; Michael Barke, "The North East Coast Exhibition of 1929: Entrenchment or Modernity?," *Northern History* 51, no. 1 (2014): 153–76.

Aware of earlier world fairs in the United States and the plans of their main competitor in San Francisco, the organisers clearly sought to emphasise the regional distinctiveness of their project.[28] The initial plan was to use the typical style of the Spanish mission buildings, such as the one that was dedicated to San Diego de Alcalá in 1769 by Father Junípero Serra. However, according to Bertram Goodhue, the main architect of the exhibition and an expert on colonial architecture in Mexico, the mission buildings had been merely a minor, vernacular part of a much larger colonial heritage. Thus, he preferred to use the more spectacular Spanish colonial architecture of Mexico as the source of inspiration for the main pavilions of the exhibition, as it was more suited to attract the masses. In an illustrated book on the exhibition, Clarence Stein, Goodhue's assistant, argued that the colonial architecture had not been imposed integrally by the metropole, but had been adapted to the New World, primarily by indigenous artisans employed by the colonial administration. Stein therefore asserted: "During three centuries these Aztec and Mextizo [sic] artisans developed a style of artistic workmanship that combined not only the crowded–almost Oriental–splendor of Aztec carving and love of rich coloring, but much of the best of the artistic inheritance of the Spanish masters".[29]

Thus, Spanish Colonial Baroque was used for the impressive California Building at the main side of the California Quadrangle, while the minor buildings surrounding the other sides were done in the more austere Mission Style (figure 1). The location of the exhibition in the new Balboa Park, with a spectacular bridge over the canyon as the main entrance (figure 2), added to the fairy-like outlook of the exhibition grounds. A brochure, published in 1914, boasted that San Diego would host "the most different exposition you ever saw". However, it was not an arbitrary fantasy. The anonymous author asserted that the Spanish conquistadores and padres had planted the seeds of "civilisation" on American soil before the Dutch and English even set foot in New England.[30] Using the cultural heritage of neighbouring Mexico, moreover, was not a sign of irredentist tendencies. The organisers in San Diego were proud of their "own" exceptional heritage

28 Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 1–80, quote 26.

29 Clarence Stein, "A Triumph of the Spanish Colonial Style," in *The Architecture and the Gardens of the San Diego Exposition*, ed. Carleton Monroe Winslow et al. (San Francisco: Elder, 1916), 12–13.

30 *Panama California Exposition* (San Diego, 1914).

Fig. 1: Bertram Goodhue, California Building, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego 1914 (Source: postcard, with permission of The Wolfsonian – Florida International University, Miami).

that, according to them, deserved to be recognised as a crucial part of the national patrimony of the United States.[31]

New Mexico had also appropriated the Mission Revival Style for its pavilion at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, organised in St. Louis in 1904. However, another exhibit from New Mexico had attracted more attention: the Cliff Dwellers, a kind of ethnographic village with Pueblo Indians. The archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewitt, the first director of the newly founded New Mexico Museum, drew his conclusions and began to promote the Pueblo Style for the redevelopment of Santa Fe. In subsequent decades, this would prove to be a huge success, providing the city with a unique and attractive profile. Hewitt was also responsible for New Mexico's contribution to the

31 See also: Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs*, 109.

Fig. 2: Official guidebook of the Panama California Exposition in San Diego 1915 (Source: Official Guide Book 1915, cover).

Panama California Exhibition, and he commissioned a pavilion that mixed the terraced forms of the Pueblo Style with the balconies and towers of the Spanish missions (figure 3). The official guidebook of the exposition justified the choice, arguing that "the Spanish settlers used Indian ideas and Indian materials", further implying that the Santa Fe or Pueblo Style was a unique contribution to America's regionally and ethnically diverse cultural heritage.[32] Hewitt also closely collaborated with the Santa Fe Railways and local Native Americans to organise a large ethnographic village at the Panama California Exposition: the Painted Desert (figure 4).

32 *Official Guide Book of the Panama California Exposition San Diego 1915* (San Diego: 1915, n.d.), 31; See also: Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 91–92, 112–31.

Fig. 3: Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson, New Mexico Building, San Diego (Source: Wikimedia).

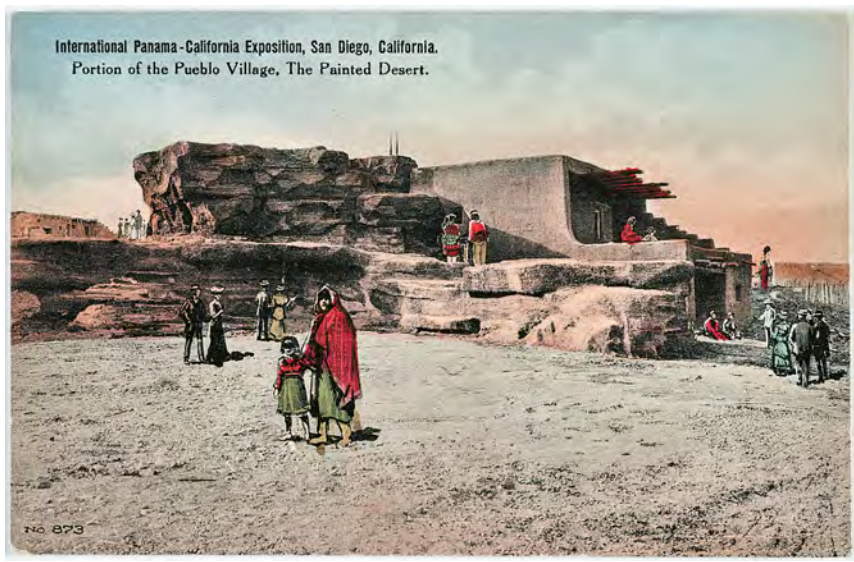

Fig. 4: Postcard, International Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, California. Portion of the Pueblo Village, The Painted Desert, 1915 (Source: Published with the permission of The Wolfsonian – Florida International University, Miami).

In a village with Pueblo houses, Native American showmen and artisans earned their money by weaving rugs, pounding out copper or giving folkloric performances for large crowds. The celebrated Pueblo artisan María Martínez and her family were also present. She collaborated closely with the staff of the New Mexico Museum to reinvent the indigenous earthen-

ware that had been excavated around Santa Fe.[33] Thus, even the re-invented vernacular traditions of Native Americans, who still suffered widespread marginalisation and discrimination, were appropriated as another attractive part of the country's regionally diversified heritage.

Seville's international exhibition had to be postponed several times. Finally, it only opened its doors in 1929. Moreover, it was held at the same time as the International Exhibition of Barcelona, so some form of coordination was needed. A central theme of both exhibitions was art, in which Spain excelled, but Barcelona also focused on industry and sport. Even though industry and commerce were not absent in Seville's Ibero-American Exhibition, in line with the Andalusian context, more emphasis was put on history, agriculture and cattle breeding. Seville hosted pavilions from Portugal, the Americas and the few remaining Spanish colonies, whereas Barcelona welcomed European countries. Both exhibitions had one ethnographic village: Seville had a Moorish neighbourhood, while Barcelona housed an impressive Spanish Village.[34]

Like in San Diego, the Sevillian organisers argued that the exhibition should be in harmony with the climate and character of the city. However, they were also averse to associating Seville with flamenco dancers, bullfighters and other stereotypical images traditionally linked to Andalusia. Instead, they preferred to provide a dignified and sanitised image of the city. Nonetheless, they made many direct and indirect references to the impressive heritage of Al-Andalus, which, like the references to the Spanish colonial patrimony in San Diego, served as an exotic source of inspiration for a spectacular exhibition. The organisers commissioned Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier with the task of redesigning the Maria Luisa Park where the exhibition would be held, while taking into account local traditions. Thus, the experienced French designer took his inspiration mostly from the gardens of Andalusia's most famous Moorish palaces. The main architect, Aníbal González Álvarez, promised to apply "un tradicionalismo regional" (a regional traditionalism) to his designs for the main exhibition pavil-

33 *Official Guide Book*, 14; Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs*, 114–38; M. Elizabeth Boone, *"The Spanish Element in Our Nationality": Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876-1915* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020).

34 Eduardo Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de La Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla de 1929* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1994); Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*.

Fig. 5: Aníbal González Álvarez, Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts
(Source © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

Fig. 6: Aníbal González Álvarez, Plaza de España
(Source © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

ions.[35] Nevertheless, he did not slavishly copy the well-known monuments of Al Andalus, as had already happened at several earlier world fairs outside of Spain. His attempt to develop a new Sevillian regionalist style was best visible in his Neo-Mudéjar Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts (figure 5) and the exhibition's centrepiece: the Plaza de España (figure 6). The latter, an impressive elliptical building, was a kind of synthesis of the highlights of Spanish architecture from the Renaissance and Baroque. A canal with four bridges and beautiful ceramic decorations heightened the attractiveness of the ensemble. However, his profuse use of brick, tiles, wrought iron, and glazed ceramics can be explained by his wish to revive local artisanal traditions, most of which originated from Al-Andalus.[36]

Thus, the similarity with San Diego is striking. Even though organisers in Seville and San Diego aimed to give an original twist to their exhibition projects, they both adopted tried and tested templates and they both used the most outstanding building blocks of their local heritage to create a recognisable overall product, using primarily attractive vernacular elements and exotic architectural traditions that could even be appropriated from a neighbouring country, an exotic distant past or a disdained indigenous group. Clear examples of the typicality effect. But the mechanism of competition can also be detected. San Diego rivalled with San Francisco and earlier North American world fairs, while Seville had to compete with Barcelona. The Latin American countries that participated in the Ibero-American Exposition also felt the urge to stand out. The main problem was that they all shared a similar Spanish colonial heritage from which most of them drew inspiration for the design of their pavilion. Thus, Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia and Cuba opted for a Neo-Colonial style. By selecting a Neo-Californian building, even the United States adopted the same formula. Nonetheless, each of them tried to give their pavilion a national flavour.[37]

The most remarkable national pavilions, however, were those that selected a different source of inspiration. Peru and Mexico – like New Mexico – made use of their rich indigenous heritage to give their pavilions an

35 Alberto Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla, 1900-1935* (Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 167–81 and 191–238, quote 234; Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 86–94 and 146–61; Manuel Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana: la transformación urbana de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1980), 58–90.

36 Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 86–94 and 146–66; Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana*, 58–90; Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 250–54, 274–85 and 418–27; See for earlier Moorish pavilions: Sazatornil Ruiz, "Fantasías Andaluzas."

37 Amparo Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla de 1929* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010), 178–207, 313–56, and 372–88.

exotic twist. In the case of Peru, architect Manuel Piqueras Cotolí clad a typical Baroque colonial palace in indigenous decorative forms, mostly inspired by the pre-Colombian ruins of Tiwanaku and Chavín de Huantar, which thus were redefined as a kind of national heartland (figure 7). The courtyard was decorated with typical columns, stepped zig-zag frames and statues of characteristic animals, such as condors and lamas. The Mexican pavilion, designed by Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, was inspired by the indigenous civilisation of the Toltec Empire, more specifically by the impressive ruins of Uxmal and Chichén Itzá in his native Yucatan, another new regional heartland (figure 8). In an illustrated book on his masterpiece, he argued that the heritage of "nuestros más lejanos abuelos" (our most distant grandfathers) had been unjustly ignored by the country's elites. However, these remains were still alive among the popular classes, and like Stein in San Diego and González in the Plaza de España, he hoped to revive the traditional arts and crafts. According to him a "sedimento inalienable de la raza" (inalienable sediment of our race) was "en el corazón y en los dedos del indio, que tejía sus telas con los iris y matices de sus abuelos y pintaba sus ingenuidades encantadoras en su cerámica, en los templos de sus pueblos, en los muros de sus humildes moradas, en los bordados y en las labores de sus trajes típicos" (nested in the heart and fingers of the Indian, who weaves the fabrics with the colours and hues of his grandparents and painted enchanting and simple motifs in his pottery, in the temples of his villages, in the walls of

Fig. 7: Manuel Piqueras Cotolí, Pavilion of Peru
(Source © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

Fig. 8: Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, Pavillion of Mexico
(Source © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

Fig. 9: Juan Gutiérrez Martínez, Pavilion of Chile
(Source © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

his humble dwellings, in the embroidery and needlework of his typical costumes).[38]

The wish to stand out was very prominent in Chile as well. The architect of the national pavilion, Juan Gutiérrez Martínez, designed a "cold" building inspired by the snow-covered Andes peaks, which enabled the country to distinguish itself particularly from its tropical neighbours (figure 9). In order to attract European immigrants, the Chilean ambassador in Spain even argued that the authorities should put much emphasis on the moderate climate of the country, which was perfectly suited "para el desarrollo de la raza blanca" (for the development of the white race). In order to stand out, the most extraordinary aspects of a country's natural patrimony could also be used. Thus, in the case of Mexico and Chile, salient aspects of the indigenous heritage and the natural patrimony of some of the most outstanding regions were used to represent the nation on an international stage, redefining them in the process as ethnic or natural heartlands. Even though the outcome supposedly was uniquely tied to a particular nation, in fact all countries and regions suffered similar pressures to define their territorial identities and they responded in very similar ways by looking for the most extraordinary aspects of their cultural and natural heritage, while adopting generic templates and forms that had proven their worth at earlier occasions.[39]

Conclusion

The construction of regional identities undoubtedly was a global process that gained pace during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even though each region supposedly had a different and unique identity, processes of regional identity formation showed many transnational similarities. Although domestic actors had some leeway to craft their own territorial identities, they were also severely restrained by participating in a global quest for regional authenticity. This collective learning process of how to best construct a credible and attractive territorial identity can be apprehended by focusing on world fairs. International exhibitions, first of all, were instrumental in producing a rapidly growing interest in the vernac-

38 Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, *El pabellón de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1929), 21–22; see also: Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 200–241; Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial*, 127–78 and 207–32.

39 Sylvia Dümmer Scheel, *Sin tropicalismos ni exageraciones: la construcción de la imagen de Chile para la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla en 1929* (Santiago de Chile: RIL, 2012), passim, quote 169.

ular culture of the regions. Because of their quaintness, expressions of vernacular culture were very successful in drawing the attention of the crowds. This implied that territorial identities were increasingly constructed, not through their contributions to a cosmopolitan high culture, but – and this was particularly true for rural regions – by using their vernacular heritage.

However, this chapter has also shown how "heritage" had to be defined. The mechanisms of such a definition or selection process functioned in very similar ways around the globe. Pushed by the highly competitive environment of the world fairs, organisers were under strong pressure to select the most extraordinary, colourful and spectacular building blocks of their vernacular heritage, even if they had a questionable reputation at home, such as the Islamic heritage of the Moorish invaders in Southern Spain, the vestiges of Spanish colonial conquerors in Mexico and the United States or the "primitive" traditions of the Native Americans that had barely escaped annihilation at the hands of the European settlers. The isomorphic mechanism of competition led to the typicality effect: all regions and countries suffered heavy pressure to show themselves to be unique.

However, they did so by employing very similar means. Aspects of vernacular heritage at world fairs were primarily shown through successful templates, such as the diorama, the pavilion, the ethnographic village, traditional arts and crafts and typical performances. The personnel, moreover, consisted increasingly of experienced specialists, such as impresarios, architects, showmen and women, artisans, etc., who adopted the transnational professional standards that began to dominate the world of exhibitions throughout the globe. Moreover, the international system was not just taken for granted by almost all decision-makers, participants and visitors; it also provided the framework for most international exhibitions, thus subordinating regional identities to larger national or imperial identities. We may therefore conclude that the construction of regional identities was not merely caused by an "awakening of the provinces", nor by myriad individual transfers within transnational networks, but primarily by global isomorphic mechanisms that operated within the established international framework.

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Escaping Modernity, Accessing the Past: The Transnational Construction of the Remote in Late-Nineteenth-Century Norway

CHRISTIAN DRURY

Introduction

In his retrospective account of three decades of climbing in Norway, the British mountaineer William Cecil Slingsby reflected on his ignorance of the places he visited in the 1870s. This was something that he believed, by the first decade of the twentieth century, no mountaineer reaching Norway would experience again. Slingsby wrote that his lack of knowledge "cannot easily be appreciated by the tourists of to-day who find a comfortable hut wherever one is needed, guides who can at least lead them to the foot of any mountain which they may wish to climb, and last, but not least, improved maps and most excellent guide-books."[1] Slingsby was commenting on a striking change in the way that mountaineers were able to access the remote areas of Norway, and, moreover, this was a change he had influenced significantly. His writing made mountainous areas like Jotunheimen and others increasingly appealing for British visitors, and Slingsby himself offered advice to many in private and in print. He also worked closely with Norwegian organisations like *Den Norske Turistforening* (The Norwegian Trekking Association / DNT), writing for DNT's yearbook and climbing with significant members of the organisation, such as Emanuel Mohn. DNT built cabins, bridges and paths, and published guides and maps for an urban bourgeois Norwegian audience, newly engaged with the rural areas of the country. However, their work, while involving transnational networks of communication and cooperation with figures like Slingsby, also relied on the expertise of local people in rural areas. This chapter will argue that the construction of Jotunheimen as a tourist region was influenced–and co-produced–by travellers from outside the region and local people, whose lives were disrupted but who also found new livelihoods and roles in socially restructured areas. Far from the narrow "discovery" of Jotunheimen, the region was produced by local and transnational forces which are usually

1 William Cecil Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground. Sketches of Climbing and Mountain Exploration in Norway between 1872 and 1903* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), 95.

overlooked. Using travel writing from British travellers, this chapter will investigate changing representations of Jotunheimen, as well as the influence of local people on travellers' texts.

Norway was an increasingly popular destination for tourists in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly from Britain, who were drawn by spectacular landscapes and imaginative connections. This scale of travel made a significant contribution to public discourse: around two hundred travelogues by British travellers about Norway were published between the late eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century.[2] Travel writing is a valuable source for historians interested in the travel and leisure cultures of the period, providing a rich range of representations of Norway. As well as revealing how British travellers thought about Norway and Norwegians, it also provides useful insight into the practical experiences and perceptions of travel.

Travel writing often reveals more about the infrastructure of accommodation and transport, for example, than the texts might initially suggest. In this chapter, a close reading of the accounts of British travellers to Jotunheimen, published in Britain and Norway, reveals the transnational construction of Jotunheimen as a region in which travellers sought to escape modernity. Yet they were also central in constructing modern networks of infrastructure, both physical and textual, promoting and enabling travel to the region. Jotunheimen held a significant place in the Norwegian national imaginary, influencing cultural work and increasingly being visited. However, the organisations which enabled travel to the region from outside were often transnational. Moreover, the texts of British travellers also reveal their dependence on and cooperation with Norwegians, both visitors to the region and local people, despite the discourses of escape and exploration which predominate in their texts. Local people helped to physically construct the infrastructure of the region, as well as acting as guides for mountaineers. As I will demonstrate, Jotunheimen as a region served as an important place for travellers to think about the rural and remote more generally, whilst also having its own specific history of change and development as it became a popular destination in the late nineteenth century.

2 Peter Fjågesund and Ruth A. Symes, *The Northern Utopia: British Receptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 14.

The Appeal of Jotunheimen

The appeal of Jotunheimen for travellers from outside the region in the nineteenth century lay mainly in two developments: increased tourism to Norway from the rest of Europe and beyond, and the Norwegian National Romantic movement. Individual British travellers visited Norway in the early nineteenth century, followed by increasing numbers of upper-class sportsmen, interested mainly in fishing and hunting, by the middle of the century.[3] Improved travel infrastructures, across the North Sea and within Norway, led to a further increase in travellers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with Norway becoming an accessible destination for a wider social range of travellers, as well as increasing numbers of women.[4] Norway appealed as a place where British travellers could escape from the pressures of modernity, away from the urban and industrial, as well as connecting to a supposedly shared Old Norse past.[5]

Norway was not simply popular with British travellers; large numbers of particularly German and Austrian travellers also visited in the latter half of the nineteenth century, often motivated by similar reasons to travel.[6] Regions like Jotunheimen were key for this escape from the modern into rural and remote landscapes, where British travellers could imagine themselves travelling back in time into romanticised (and Romantic) landscapes. Norwegian nationalists of the nineteenth century also sought meaning in the country's rural and mountainous landscapes. Rural Norway was seen as home to the authentic version of the nation, away from the influences of unions with Sweden and Denmark in the urban areas of the country.[7] Norway's landscapes, and particularly its mountains and fjords, appeared in the work of National Romantic artists like Johan Christian Dahl, for whom they seemed to symbolise the essence of the nation, whilst also being in dialogue

3 Pia Sillanpää, "'Turning Their Steps to Some Fresh and Less-Frequented Field': Victorian and Edwardian Sporting Gentlemen in Mid-Scandinavia," *Studies in Travel Writing* 3, no. 1 (1999): 172.

4 Kathryn Walchester, "Beyond the Grand Tour: Norway and the Nineteenth-century British Traveller," in *Continental Tourism, Travel Writing, and the Consumption of Culture, 1814-1900*, ed. Benjamin Colbert and Lucy Morrison (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 205.

5 Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000).

6 See, for example, Ulrike Spring on German tourists in Tromsø: "Arctic and European In-Betweens: The Production of Tourist Spaces in Late Nineteenth-Century Northern Norway," in *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects*, ed. Kate Hill (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016): 13-36.

7 Gro Ween and Simone Abram, "The Norwegian Trekking Association: Trekking as Constituting the Nation," *Landscape Research* 37, no. 2 (2012): 157-58.

with wider cultural developments across Europe.[8] Organisations like DNT were founded in part to allow Norwegians access to these national landscapes and to get in touch with supposedly authentically Norwegian people and places.[9] Together with travellers from abroad, these movements saw an influx of travellers to Norway's mountains, eager to walk and climb in symbolically rich landscapes.

Jotunheimen itself is a mountainous region of central Norway, home to the highest mountains of Northern Europe. The area is roughly 3500 square kilometres and the twenty-six highest mountains in Norway are found there, most notably Galdhøppigen, Glittertinden, and Store Skagastølstind or Storen, the three highest and best known to mountaineers.[10] The name was given by the poet and travel writer Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, a founding member of DNT, in 1862, updating the previous version, "Jotun-fjeldene" (the Jotun mountains), given by Baltazar Mathias Keilhau, a geologist and leading early mountaineer, in the 1820s.[11] Both names drew on Norse mythology, in which Jotunheim was the land of the giants–a further nod to a deep national past.[12] Jotunheimen was a key location for the founding of DNT and the rural turn in Norwegian national thinking. Moreover, the naming was part of a wider move to construct a recreational culture in Norway and Jotunheimen as a centre for early DNT activity.[13] DNT was formed in 1868 in Christiania (now Oslo) by a group of elite men, eager to spend more time in rural and mountainous spaces and also enable their fellow Norwegians to do so.[14]

Central to this was the construction of infrastructure. DNT constructed roads, paths, and bridges, as well as providing huts, maps, and guides.

8 Charlotte Ashby, *Modernism in Scandinavia: Art, Architecture and Design* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 17-21.

9 Finn Arne Jørgensen, "The Networked North: Thinking about the Past, Present, and Future of Environmental Histories of the North," in *Northscapes: History, Technology, and the Making of Northern Environments,* ed. Dolly Jørgensen and Sverker Sörlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 275.

10 Geir Thorsnæs and Svein Askheim, eds., "Jotunheimen," *Store Norske Leksikon*, https://snl.no/Jotunheimen, last accessed 11 October 2023.

11 Rune Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet* (Oslo: Dreyer Forlag, 2018), 108-11.

12 Ibid., 112.

13 Geir Grimeland, "Alpine Club i tekstene til A.O. Vinje," in *Tvisyn, Innsyn, Utsyn: Nærblikk på A.O. Vinje*, ed. Arnfinn Åslund, Fjågesund, Kristian Hanto, Sveinung Nordstoga, and Johan M. Staxrud (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2021), 357.

14 Ween and Abram, "The Norwegian Trekking Association," 157. Histories of DNT in Norwegian include Inger Johanne Lyngø and Aina Schiøtz, *Tarvelig, men gjestfritt: Den Norske Turistforening gjennom 125 år* (Oslo: Den Norske Turistforening, 1993); and Nils U. Hagen, *Fra Slingsby til Bregruppen: Den Norske Turistforening og fjellsport* (Oslo: Den Norske Turistforening, 1992).

Regions like Jotunheimen were not simply promoted, but made accessible through the development of these provisions for travellers. Made together with local people, although not without tensions, these changes show a shift in the societies, economies, and representations of Jotunheimen in particular. We can trace the creation of this recreational landscape through travel writing, particularly from mountaineers who were writing for their domestic audiences but also for the DNT yearbook. Slingsby in particular took an active role in Norwegian mountaineering communities. For historians, the shift can be observed through the writings of travellers, whilst their reflections also provide important insight into how they understood their own travel and leisure culture more generally.

Mountains were undoubtedly part of the appeal of Norway. Writing in 1928, in English for a British audience, the Norwegian historian S.C. Hammer noted the appeal of Norwegian mountain regions such as Jotunheimen for British travellers keen to visit Norway, "a tourist country."[15] While Hammer wrote, "access to the Jotunheim has been made considerably easier than it used to be [...] [the area] still retains all its wild, picturesque grandeur of former days."[16] Hammer regarded the shift to the mountains as apparent in Norwegian culture in the nineteenth century. He wrote that:

> readers of Ibsen will find reminiscences of the Jotunheim both in *Brand* and in *Peer Gynt*; in both dramas the poet reveals himself fascinated by the grandeur of Nature and shows the youth of Norway the road to the mountain peaks whence the vision may range unhampered. It was not by chance that the appearance of these works in 1866 and 1867 respectively was followed in 1868 by the foundation of the Norwegian Tourists' Association [DNT]. Thus the Jotunheim has contributed not only to making mountaineering a sport in Norway, but to turning men's minds towards the heights.[17]

Hammer made the connection between DNT and Norwegian culture explicit, making clear the interplay of Norwegian national identity, literature and theatre, and outdoor recreation, referencing texts familiar to British audiences. This entanglement remains,[18] but Hammer made clear the role DNT was seen as playing in constructing tourist landscapes.

15 S.C. Hammer, *Norway* (London: A. & C. Black, 1928), 10.
16 Ibid., 54.
17 Ibid., 55.
18 Ween and Abram, "The Norwegian Trekking Association."

British Mountaineers in Jotunheimen

The transition of Jotunheimen into a recreational landscape can also be seen in other writings, as can the developing Norwegian national interest in mountain spaces. The work of Slingsby, for example, is clear on these developments, as well as complicating the idea of these changes as simply national histories. Slingsby was a well-known figure–Hammer mentions his "energetic efforts"[19]–and wrote extensively of his trips to Jotunheimen from the 1870s onwards. He was unusual amongst British mountaineers of his generation in beginning his mountaineering career in Norway, rather than the Alps, making his first visit in 1872.[20] In 1876, he made the first ascent of Storen, a climb that secured him fame and renown in Norwegian mountaineering communities. In his obituary in the *Alpine Journal*, he was referred to as the "father of Norwegian mountaineering."[21] His most notable work was *Norway: The Northern Playground*, published in 1904 as a retrospective account of his three decades of mountaineering in Norway. Slingsby's long perspective makes changes in places like Jotunheimen visible in his text. Moreover, Slingsby was keen to reflect on these changes himself. He regarded Jotunheimen as "quite unknown to, and unheard of by, civilisation" until Keilhau's mountaineering in 1820, and also praised the work of members of DNT like Thomas Heftye, DNT's founder, and Emanuel Mohn, who was to become a close friend of Slingsby's, to make the region more accessible from the 1860s.[22] Slingsby also made it clear that this work was far from complete in the 1870s, when he first visited. This was a "wild free life," but also "real sport."[23] At times, Slingsby's tone is elegiac, writing that "now is the time of prose and plenty. We had the poetry and hunger."[24]

As the quotation at the start of this chapter shows, Slingsby was aware of the changing conditions of Jotunheimen. On his 1874 visit, he and other mountaineers had a "strange ignorance" of the location of Storen; by the beginning of the twentieth century, there were guidebooks and maps, as well as the physical infrastructure to support travel.[25] At times, control over Jotunheimen could seem provisional: caught in a storm in 1889, Slingsby wrote that "Jotunheimen seemed to have been reconquered by the Jotuns,"

19 Hammer, *Norway*, 54.
20 Paul Readman, "William Cecil Slingsby, Norway, and British Mountaineering, 1872-1914," *English Historical Review* 79, no. 540 (2014): 1101-2.
21 Ibidem.
22 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 38-39.
23 Ibid., 39.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., 95.

the giants of Norse mythology.[26] Yet he also noted that the tourists of the 1900s had little sense of the "difficulties with which we, in the early seventies, had to contend."[27] Slingsby was clear: Jotunheimen was far easier to travel in, but something of its Romantic appeal had been lost.

Slingsby was not a mountaineer who was keen to keep other mountaineers away from the regions he enjoyed climbing in. As Paul Readman has put it, "Slingsby wanted to see more people on the fells, not fewer."[28] He was a useful source of information for other mountaineers who were eager to climb in Norway–he wrote that there were "mountaineers who have applied to me for suggestions," and seemed happy to oblige.[29] Slingsby was also closely involved with DNT, who were responsible for many of the infrastructural improvements that had changed the approach of mountaineers to Jotunheimen. He climbed together with Mohn, his "fjell kammerat" ["mountain comrade"],[30] and other Norwegian mountaineers like Therese Bertheau, a pioneering female climber.[31] Slingsby's writing for the DNT yearbook was mostly published in English, with his first article appearing in the 1875 edition.[32] Between 1875 and 1895, he wrote ten pieces for the publication, as well as being a life member of the organisation from the mid-1870s.[33] However, he was far from the only British mountaineer to be published in the DNT yearbook, with its international readership of mountaineers and travellers interested in the mountain regions of Norway. Most editions from 1875 onwards featured multiple articles in English, and trips to Jotunheimen were a frequent subject. A notable article on Jotunheimen was published in 1889, written by a British female mountaineer, Margaret Sophia Green.[34] In 1888, Green was the first woman to ascend Store Styggedalstind, which she recounts in the yearbook, along with her impressions of her guide Torgeir Sulheim–"a capital guide and a very pleasant compan-

26 Ibid., 242.
27 Ibid., 135.
28 Readman, "William Cecil Slingsby, Norway, and British Mountaineering, 1872-1914," 1124.
29 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 108.
30 Ibid., 124.
31 Readman, "William Cecil Slingsby, Norway, and British Mountaineering, 1872-1914," 1108. See also Anne-Mette Vibe, *Therese Bertheau—Tindestigerske og Lærerinde* (Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, 2012).
32 Slingsby, "An English Lady in Jotunheimen, with an Ascent of Glitretind," in *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1875* (Christiania: A.W. Brøgger, 1875), 102-18.
33 Slingsby is listed as a life member from 1875. *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1875*, 194.
34 [Margaret S. Green], "A Visit to the Hurrungtinder in 1888," *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1888* (Christiania: Albert Cammermeyer, 1889), 77-79.

ion"–and her wishes for more infrastructure to be built by DNT.[35] In the same volume, a British mountaineer called Richard F. Ball gave an account of a journey to Jotunheim, inspired by Slingsby and also praising the work of DNT to "render this region accessible to the tourist."[36] These contributions, alongside those of Slingsby and others, were significant in their provision of a textual infrastructure which British travellers could use to guide their travels to Norway. The DNT yearbooks became multilingual texts, with articles in Norwegian, English, German and other Scandinavian languages, and formed part of broader networks of infrastructure that were constructed, used and advertised by both Norwegians and travellers.

British publications also formed part of the transnational network of textual guidance for travellers to and in Norway. The *Alpine Journal*, the foremost publication of British mountaineering, featured accounts of and advice for travel in Norway. Slingsby, for example, reviewed the 1894 edition of the DNT handbook in the 1894-95 edition of the *Journal*, noting the "admirable work" of DNT and how it "provide[d] most excellently for the wants of travellers."[37] He also wrote accounts of his travels in Norway, as well as providing information for would-be travellers, listing, for example, guides who were available in certain locations and their particular skills.[38] An early account of an ascent of Glittertinden was reported in the *Journal* by T.L. Murray Browne in 1871, who detailed his travel through Jotunheimen before Slingsby's first visit.[39] Browne had some help from guides, but relatively little accommodation. By 1886, Claude Wilson, another British mountaineer, was positioning himself as one of Slingsby's "followers"–he wrote that "Slingsby's name stands alone; he is at the head of mountaineering in Norway."[40] Wilson praised DNT at length, writing that "mountaineers visiting Norway should certainly enrol themselves as members of this club," where they could receive priority access to huts, as well as copies of the yearbook.[41] For Wilson, DNT was "an institution which is not so well known in

35 Ibid., 79. Green later married a Norwegian hotelier, Knut Kvikne, who built Kviknes Hotel in Balestrand, a popular destination for tourists on the Sognefjord, which was completed in 1913. She died of tuberculosis in 1894 and Kvikne built an Anglican church, in the style of a Norwegian stave church, in her memory. Vibe, *Therese Bertheau*, 26-28.

36 Richard F. Ball, "A Week in Jotunheim," *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1888*, 68-76.

37 "Reviews and Notices," *The Alpine Journal* 17, no. 127 (1895): 370-71.

38 Slingsby, "Brief Notes on a Campaign in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 12, no. 88 (1885): 267-68. See also Slingsby, "Stray Jottings on Mountaineering in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 11, no. 79 (1883): 142-58.

39 T.L. Murray Browne, "The Glittertind and Uledalstind in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 5, no. 32 (1871): 154-70.

40 Claude Wilson, "Climbing in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 13, No. 95 (1887), 144.

41 Ibid., 148.

England as it ought to be" but that "exists for the purpose of opening up beautiful tracts of country, and facilitating travel in every way."[42] Wilson, like Slingsby, supported the development of transnational connections, as well as noting the work which DNT had done to support access to the regions of Norway.

Other British mountaineering publications also included accounts of trips to Jotunheimen. The first edition of the *Yorkshire Ramblers' Club Journal* (*YRCJ*), published in 1899, contained a long article by Slingsby on the appeal of Norway and especially Jotunheimen.[43] The *YRCJ* also featured an article by J.A. Green on a trip to Jotunheimen where he climbed with Therese Bertheau and the well-known Norwegian guide Ola Berge.[44] Travelogues also included accounts of travel in Jotunheimen. John R. Campbell's *How to See Norway* was published in 1871 and included sections on Jotunheimen, as well as noting that "here is a society in Christiania called Den Norske Turistforening, which deserves the thanks of English travellers–especially of those who are mountaineers."[45] Perhaps the best-known travelogue from Jotunheimen was *Three in Norway, by Two of Them*, published anonymously by James A. Lees and Walter J. Clutterbuck in 1872.[46] *Three in Norway* was republished several times in both Britain and Norway and recounts a comic fishing and hunting trip to Jotunheimen by three upper-class British gentlemen. It hints at the increased tourist interest in the region, part of a consistent pattern of British travellers acknowledging the development of tourism infrastructure.[47] Lees and Clutterbuck are particularly notable for their statement of travel to Norway as temporal escape. For them, Norway offered "Freedom–freedom from care, freedom from resistance, and from the struggle for life. What a country! where civilised man can relapse as

42 Ibid., 147-48.

43 Slingsby, "The Northern Playground of Europe," *The Yorkshire Ramblers' Club Journal* 1, no. 1 (1899): 13-28. Slingsby's particular local identity as a Yorkshireman, and his identification with the North of England more generally, in light of his interest in Norway is explored by Readman, "William Cecil Slingsby, Norway, and British Mountaineering, 1872-1914," 1117-19.

44 J.A. Green, "A Holiday Among the Horungtinder," *The Yorkshire Ramblers' Club Journal* 2, no. 6 (1904-5): 123-33.

45 John R. Campbell, *How to See Norway* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), 31. Campbell's travelogue was based on two pieces in the *Alpine Journal*: Campbell, "Travelling in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 4, no. 21 (1868): 1-38 and Campbell, "Excursions in Norway," *The Alpine Journal* 5, no. 30 (1870): 48-62. The latter was reproduced in a Norwegian translation in the DNT yearbook of 1870. I.R. [sic] Campbell, "Skisser fra Norge," *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1870* (Christiania: Albert Cammermeyer, 1870): 68-83.

46 [James A. Lees and Walter J. Clutterbuck], *Three in Norway, by Two of Them* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1882).

47 Fjågesund and Symes, *The Northern Utopia*, 276.

much as seems good for him into his natural state, and retrograde a hundred generations to his primeval condition."[48] This was a striking expression of the British desire to escape to Norway and how, for many, travel through space was also travel through time.

Norwegian publications also supported travel to Jotunheimen. The DNT yearbook featured both practical advice and travel accounts and could be used on the hill. Slingsby wrote of using the "most useful map" in the 1871 yearbook to get to Vettisfoss waterfall in Jotunheimen.[49] Mohn, Slingsby's climbing partner and close friend, wrote numerous articles for the yearbook and also included illustrations, especially lithographs which illustrate particular mountain landscapes.[50] A schoolteacher from Bergen, Mohn published collections of his lithographs, as well as a guidebook to Jotunheimen in 1879.[51] Mohn's lithographs were a crucial visual component in constructing the tourist landscape of Jotunheimen, making it comprehensible and knowable to potential climbers.[52] Mohn's guidebook also shows the attraction of Jotunheimen: by the late 1870s, there was a market for a specific guide to the region. 1879 also saw the first publication of Yngvar Nielsen's *Reisehaandbog over Norge* ["Travel Handbook for Norway"], an extremely popular guidebook to Norway, usually known simply as "Yngvar." Published in twelve editions until Nielsen's death in 1915, the guide included specific volumes for local areas, such as the mountains of eastern Norway, including Jotunheimen.[53] Nielsen also published guides in collaboration with Thomas Bennett, the well-known travel agent who particularly catered for British travellers. Nielsen was chairman of DNT between 1890 and 1908, and the publications of guides follow the pattern of developing infrastructure, be it textual or physical, to further contribute to the project of making Jotunheimen known and accessible.[54]

48 Lees and Clutterbuck, *Three in Norway*, 175.

49 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 58.

50 Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet*, 141. See also Christian Drury, "Norwegian Mountain Lithographs: Mapping the Nation and Guiding the Tourist," *NiCHE: Network in Canadian History & Environment*, February 2023 https://niche-canada.org/2023/02/09/norwegian-mountain-lithographs-mapping-the-nation-and-guiding-the-tourist/.

51 Emanuel Mohn, *Jotunheimen* (Christiania: Chr. Tønsbergs Forlag, 1879).

52 Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet*, 158.

53 Ibid., 179.

54 Nielsen was also the head of the University of Oslo's Ethnographic Museum and his work on knowing the nation extended to population statistics. His work was also part of a project of excluding Sámi from the Norwegian nation and he was known for his views on Sámi inferiority and rejections of Sámi claims to land. See Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet*, 191 and Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, *Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014), 77.

Local Involvement in the Construction of Jotunheimen

Yet, the construction of Jotunheimen as a tourist region would not have been possible without the contributions of local people in the region, particularly when it came to constructing infrastructure and guiding visitors. Slingsby was notable for climbing with local guides, mainly local men who were familiar with the region, if not with all the techniques required for high-level mountaineering. These guides, such as Torgeir Sulheim, Ola Berge and Knut Lykken, were central to constructing infrastructure in the region, as well as helping with making ascents. Several cabins were built by Sulheim, a local farmer, or adapted from existing huts used by local herders when grazing livestock.[55] This was part of the general shift to Jotunheimen becoming part of a wider tourist economy. DNT opened a number of cabins in the region, with Gjendebu being the first official DNT cabin in Jotunheimen in 1872.[56] This was followed by others such as Spiterstulen, which gave access to Galdhøpiggen and Glittertinden. Opened in 1881, Slingsby wrote that Spiterstulen was "a great boon for mountaineers."[57] A cabin, Skagastølsbu or "Hytta på Bandet" ("the cabin on the band"), was also opened below Storen in 1890 by Sulheim.[58] New hotels were also founded, such as Turtagrø, which opened in 1888 and was run by Berge, another mountain guide.

Turtagrø was soon recognised as a centre of mountaineering in the area, giving access to the Hurrungane area of Jotunheimen, which includes Storen. Slingsby noted its busyness, seeing this as a sign of the development of mountaineering in Norway by 1900. It had become a "famous resort for mountaineers" by then, with a rich culture of evening entertainment and an international clientele.[59] Berge also climbed as a guide with mountaineers, including Green and Slingsby. Another climbing centre was the Røisheim hotel, from which the guide Ole Røisheim led ascents of Galdhøppigen.[60] The development of accommodation for mountaineers–both hotels in the valleys and cabins higher up–was part of a wider shift in the development of tourist infrastructure in Norway. Before the 1860s, private homes and vicarages were often used by travellers.[61] However, with increasing numbers

55 Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet*, 134-35.
56 Ibid.
57 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 68.
58 Slagstad, *Da Fjellet Ble Dannet*, 134.
59 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 203.
60 Ibid., 64.
61 Bjarne Rogan, "From a Haven for Travellers to a Boarding House for Tourists: The Vicarage in the History of Travelling and Hospitality in Norway," in *The Discovery of Nineteenth-Century Scandinavia*, ed. Marie Wells (London: Norvik Press, 2008): 83-96.

of tourists arriving, new hotels were built to accommodate and meet the expectations of visitors.

This infrastructure combined with the networks of publication and recommendation that developed. Publications like the *Alpine Journal* recommended locations to stay, as well as guides–Røisheim and Sulheim are specifically mentioned by Slingsby, for example.[62] Wilson chose to seek out Sulheim, Johannes Vigdal and Lars Jensen as well-known guides when he visited Jotunheimen, at least partly on Slingsby's recommendation. He then reviewed the guides himself, writing: "therefore, I say, take Vigdal by all means; he will be invaluable unless you can speak Norsk, and he will be able to tell you what has been done and what has not, and still you will get your practice in climbing without guides."[63] Well-known guides featured beyond specialist publications for mountaineers. The eighth edition of *Cook's Handbook to Norway* (1911), for example, mentioned Røisheim and Knut Vole, who established Juvasshytta below Galdhøppigen in 1884, by name.[64]

The cabins built by DNT were also frequently praised by climbers. Slingsby was glowing in his praise for them, if not for some of the mountaineers who followed him. In the *YRCJ*, he wrote:

> within a stone's-throw of some of the most uninviting sæters where, years ago, we were glad enough to crave the boon of a night's hospitality, luxurious log-built and boarded-floored Tourist Club [DNT] huts, to all intents and purposes small inns, have been erected, and the climber of to-day who–this is between ourselves–does not show any startling originality in making his very numerous ascents, can climb every peak and cross every fine glacier-pass in Jotunheim without either sleeping in a sæter, a tent, or at a bivouac.[65]

The benefits of the new cabins for accessing the mountains were clear, as was the improved comfort compared to the more Spartan conditions mountaineers experienced in the 1870s and earlier.

Slingsby continued to promote Jotunheimen into the twentieth century. In 1920, writing on Norway in an anthology of mountaineering advice edited by his son-in-law, Geoffrey Winthrop Young, he noted that "comfort-

62 Slingsby, "Brief Notes on a Campaign in Norway," 268.
63 Claude Wilson, "Climbing in Norway," 150.
64 *Cook's Handbook to Norway and Denmark with Iceland and Spitsbergen with Maps, Plans and Vocabulary. Eighth Edition, Revised and Enlarged* (London: Thos. Cook and Son, 1911), 197.
65 Slingsby, "The Northern Playground of Europe," 19-20.

able inns and mountain huts are to be found here, there and everywhere" in the region.[66] Other British travellers also praised DNT's infrastructure. A.F. Mockler-Ferryman wrote that "this excellent institution every traveller in Norway who leaves the beaten track must at one time or another be indebted, and it is not too much to say that without the Norske Turistforening more than half Norway would be a sealed book."[67] He added that "in every inaccessible place where anyone is ever likely to travel it has erected snug little huts" and recommended membership of DNT to his readers.[68] Mockler-Ferryman also noted that mountaineering was "one of the most popular forms of recreation" amongst Norwegians.[69] DNT had made life "smoother for the adventurer" with its huts and paths, for Norwegians and foreigners.[70] Another British mountaineer, E.C. Oppenheim, regarded DNT membership as "very important" and himself took advantage of the "very useful privileges" for access and accommodation.[71] The British artist Alfred Heaton Cooper noted in his guide to Norway that Jotunheimen had "been considerably opened out to travellers in recent years by the efforts of the Norwegian Tourist Club," praising the accommodation, paths, bridges and guides provided by DNT.[72] He also recommended membership, which "ensures them certain privileges, and preference of accommodation over all other travellers who are not members."[73] British travellers recognised the extent to which DNT infrastructure made travel to Jotunheimen possible. They were clear in their praise for the accessibility of the region, as well as the increased comfort of their accommodation. While many travellers were seeking to escape from the modern in Norway, searching for forms of the past, the development of Jotunheimen as a region suited them, even if something was lost in the process. Moreover, the publication of this praise, in Britain and in Norway, reinforced the popularity and development of the region, encouraging travel and directing like-minded mountaineers towards certain locations and people.

66 Slingsby, "The Mountains of Norway," in Geoffrey Winthrop Young, *Mountain Craft* (New York, NY: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1920), 540.
67 A.F. Mockler-Ferryman, *In the Northman's Land: Travel, Sport, and Folk-lore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896), 64.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., 278.
70 Ibid., 217.
71 E.C. Oppenheim, *New Climbs in Norway: An Account of Some Ascents in the Sondmore District* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 11-12.
72 Alfred Heaton Cooper, *The Norwegian Fjords, Painted and Described* (London: A. & C. Black, 1907), 111.
73 Ibid., 112.

Alongside cabins, paths were also an important development that DNT supported and constructed. Slingsby, after climbing in the Hurrungane, noted in the DNT yearbook how a "new path constructed by Sulheim for the Turist-Forening [...] will prove a boon for all who tread these wilds."[74] Recent historiography, however, has called for scholars to rethink histories of travel, and DNT specifically, in a way that pays attention to what came before the organisation. Karen Lykke Syse has noted that travel writing, while a useful source, has a tendency to present Norwegian rural landscapes simply as wilderness, overlooking local patterns of life, as well as what DNT constructed.[75] By reading against the grain, historians can instead focus on the lives of local people and the non-human actors also present. Syse emphasises how many of the paths used and shelters built were based on the existing networks of movement and shelter used in transhumance. For her, DNT was able to "expand, label, formalise and take ownership of a material movement heritage that habit had already created."[76] This is vital to consider when thinking about the work of DNT to make Jotunheimen accessible: how the perspectives of the outsider, both Norwegian and foreign, are prioritised and how the existing practices of local people are overlooked or reduced to precursors of development. Re-emphasising the involvement of local people is vital, particularly the role of figures like Sulheim in making the leisure landscape, but also examining the role of those further outside of the tourist economy and society.

Ellen Rees has noted that in the nineteenth century, the Norwegian nation was found not in nature itself but in the cabin.[77] Cabins, for Rees, are an example of what Michel Foucault called a heterotopia, a space where cultural identities and meanings are particularly visible and open to formation.[78] Rees sees *hytter* as "in step with a nationally-inflected mythos" and part of a nostalgic imagination of the past, particularly apparent in literature.[79] Moreover, their place in the national imaginary has shifted through

74 Slingsby, "Round the Horungtinder in Winter," in *Den Norske Turistforenings Årbog for 1880* (Christiania: Albert Cammermeyer, 1880), 89.

75 Karen Lykke Syse, "Hefting the Land: A Locative Heritage of Hooves and Feet," in *Pathways: Exploring the Routes of a Movement Heritage*, eds. Daniel Svensson, Katarina Saltzman, and Sverker Sörlin (Winwick: White Horse Press, 2022), 99-101.

76 Ibid., 106.

77 Ellen Rees, "Cabins and National Identity in Norwegian Literature," in *Imagining Spaces and Places*, ed. Saija Isomaa, Pirjo Lyytikäinen, Kirsi Saarikangas, and Renja Suominen-Kokkonen (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 127.

78 Ibid., 125-26. The term was developed by Foucault in Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27.

79 Ibid, 127.

changes in use and type.[80] This change was particularly notable in the shift from the agricultural uses of the more rudimentary *seter* to the tourist cabin or *hytte*.[81] Many of the cabins built by Sulheim and others, supported by DNT, were originally shelters used in agricultural life, particularly by the dairymaids who often stayed in them. Known as *seter jenter* (*seter* girls), these women played an important part in the romanticisation of the place and lifestyle. The change from *seter* to *hytter* was observed by Slingsby and others. Slingsby romanticised *seter* life as part of the appeal of Norway on his early trips, where the sense of adventure and wilderness was connected to material hardship. Slingsby's relationship to Norway, where he supported DNT and the development of tourist infrastructure while also romanticising his past visits, is summed up in his celebration of *seter* life, as well as his praise for the new cabins of DNT. The *seter jente* was a key figure in the transition from the *seter* to the *hytte*. Slingsby wrote that "in spite of the very hard rough life which the 'saeter jenter' necessarily have to lead, their huts are cleaner and more inviting than their equivalents, presided over by the men in the Alps."[82]

As Kathryn Walchester has noted, the *seter* had an important place in romanticised images of Norway, which focused on the sense of difference from modern Britain.[83] While some travellers did focus on the poverty and basic conditions of *seter* life, they still formed an important part of a British imaginary which saw Norway as prelapsarian and appealingly pre-industrial, particularly in the middle of the nineteenth century.[84] The construction of the *hytter* by DNT, however, changed this understanding of cabin space. As Rees notes, DNT also drew on the masculine heroism of Norwegian national figures like the polar explorer Fridtjof Nansen at the end of the nineteenth century to create mountain spaces coded as masculine, unlike the previously feminine connotations of the *seter* with its *jente*.[85] While the focus was still on being in nature, the *hytte* was now a place of survival, even if increasingly comfortable, and a space that allowed the traveller to be in the region. Local people were increasingly sidelined, even as they worked

80 Ellen Rees, *Cabins in Modern Norwegian Literature: Negotiating Place and Identity* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2014).
81 Rees suggests "shieling" as the closest English translation of *seter*, with "cabin" the usual English translation of *hytte*.
82 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 48.
83 Kathryn Walchester, *Gamle Norge and Nineteenth-Century British Women Travellers in Norway* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), 42-43.
84 Ibid.
85 Rees, *Cabins in Modern Norwegian Literature*, 15.

to construct these cabins, and the traditional places of travel and shelter provided the framework for the development of tourist infrastructure. The British traveller or bourgeois urban Norwegian could now experience the 'authentic' Norwegian landscape in increased comfort and with apparently less mediation from the local people, even as their work to build up and guide was occluded.

While guides were still praised and recommended, Slingsby also hinted that not all relationships with local people in Jotunheimen were as wholesome as his texts otherwise suggest. When staying at the cabin Tvindehougen (now Torfinnsbu), next to Tyin lake, he noted that the man in charge, named only as Gulbrand, had sold a powder horn to a British traveller, which Gulbrand had forged to appear significantly older than it was.[86] Locals could use their knowledge–or travellers' lack of it–for their own ends. As Gro Ween and Simone Abram have written, there was a tension between outsiders' views of Jotunheimen and other Norwegian mountain regions as untouched wilderness and the reality of land use by local people.[87] A view of rural Norway that saw it as the authentic version of the nation tended to overlook local people or see them as simply part of the scenery.[88] Even the naming of Jotunheimen was part of this process: for Ween and Abram, "Vinje willingly ignored what he knew was rural people's use and shaping of the nature that the urban elite defined as high mountain wilderness."[89] Jotunheimen as a national space did not, therefore, belong to local people, even as their lives and labour played important roles in the construction of the recreational landscape.

Conclusion

Emphasising two perspectives–the local and the transnational–provides alternative perspectives on Jotunheimen as a tourist landscape at the end of the nineteenth century. Considering the local recentres the efforts of guides like Sulheim, who constructed cabins and led mountaineering trips, and questions who belonged in national landscapes. Moreover, the transnational perspective is important in emphasising that national landscapes received visitors from outside the nation. Moreover, these visitors, particularly mountaineers like Slingsby, were active in the construction of travel infrastructure and forming textual networks which informed and guided

86 Slingsby, *Norway: The Northern Playground*, 135-36.
87 Ween and Abram, "The Norwegian Trekking Association," 160-61.
88 Ibid., 159.
89 Ibid., 160.

travel to the region. The nation-building work of DNT would not have been possible without these transnational connections. Jotunheimen has kept its symbolic importance, with mountains like Galdhøppigen featuring in the placards and campaigns run by DNT, and the late-nineteenth-century construction of a tourist landscape has a legacy into the present. DNT is still a prominent organisation in Norway, with around 300,000 members. It still maintains huts, roads, and other infrastructure which Norwegians and foreign tourists use to access rural areas of Norway. In many ways, it also continues to be a project of nation-building.[90] Jotunheimen is therefore a multiple region: a national symbol, developed transnationally and locally. It retains specific national meanings as a paradigmatic area of Norwegian wilderness, but its construction on a local level complicates its simple role of meaning-rich national space. Jotunheimen has been contested. Moreover, its place is not simply national; not only has it long attracted visitors from outside Norway, but, through the work of organisations like DNT and the dissemination of writing about the region, foreign travellers have made significant contributions to the idea of Jotunheimen as a wild but networked space.

Crucial to understanding the appeal of Jotunheimen in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as well as the change in the nature of the region, is the tension around accessibility. For visitors, the draw of the region was escape from the urban and industrial, in search of an authentic past, either closer to ideas of the Norwegian nation or to an imagined British past. Yet to do so meant the construction of modern infrastructure, and networks of information and transport that allowed for travel to be smooth and comfortable. Seeing wilderness required existing ways of being in mountain space to be overwritten and proclaimed anew. This transnational co-creation of a region also offers an insight into alternative ways of thinking about national histories, from Norwegian nationalism to British mountaineering. Moreover, we can think about how the construction of place as something produced by the co-operation of different groups and organisations. Organisations and journeys that look simply national were also often constructed through transnational networks, cooperation, and imaginings. Jotunheimen's place in different imaginaries remains intriguing.

90 Ibid., 168. See also, Hege Westskog, Tor H. Aase and Iris Leikanger, "The Norwegian Trekking Association: Conditions for Its Continued Existence with New Tourism Patterns," *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 21, no. 3 (2021): 341-59.

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Province, Paris, World: Forging Spatial Relationships through Theatrical Performance in Nineteenth-Century French Spa Towns

SOPHIE HORROCKS DAVID

Introduction

The plot of Eugène Scribe's play *La Calomnie,* which was set in the spa town of Dieppe and premiered on 20 February 1840 at the Théâtre Français in Paris, takes a surprising turn in the final scene of Act 2.[1] The play revolves around the spread of gossip concerning Cécile, a "provincial beauty" from rural Normandy who visits Dieppe in order to be married to Lucien, the deputy Prime Minister of France.[2] In the opening scenes, naïve provincial spa manager Coquenet misreads Cécile's closeness to her guardian, Prime Minister Raymond, as indicating a liaison. In act 2, scene 8, this suspicion is then expanded into a full-blown rumour that Cécile has had several lovers, following a moment where Coquenet and others watch her perform an extract from an Italian opera as part of an evening of amateur entertainment in the spa's salon. In this pivotal scene, the assembled spa goers' initial impression of Cécile as a country innocent is irrevocably upturned through the immoral implications of her singing in a quartet from Giacomo Rossini's Italian opera *La Donna del Lago* (1819), known in French as *La Dame du Lac*.[3]

The spa scene depicted by playwright Scribe was a recognisable one for his intended Parisian audiences, and one in which they had most likely themselves participated. Every summer, the capital's residents left the city *en masse* and flocked to spa centres across France for the healing waters of mountain resorts or the fresh sea air of coastal towns, both of which formed the backbone of a booming nineteenth-century European spa industry.[4] Beyond the

1 Eugène Scribe, *La Calomnie* (Paris: Imprimerie Mme de Lacombe, 1840), 19-20.
2 Ibid., 9.
3 The opera's plot was inspired by Sir Walter Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake* (1810).
4 Léon Escudier, "Vivier à Plombières," *La France musicale* (7 Sep. 1856): 290. On spa culture in France and Europe, see Géraldine Baglin and Nicolas Meynen, "Introduction au dossier 'Les stations thermales secondaires en France aux XIX^{e} et XX^{e} siècles. Une autre histoire du thermalisme?'," in *Les Cahiers de Framespa*, 38 (2021), https://journals.openedition.org/framespa/11518; Matthieu Magne, "Une scène en Bohême: mobilités et performances artistiques dans la ville d'eau de Teplitz au tournant des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," *Diasporas* 26 (2015), https://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/414; Marie-Reine Jazé-Charvolin, "Les stations thermales: de l'abandon à la renaissance. Une brève histoire du thermalisme en

purely medical benefits of time spent in one of these resorts, attending musical and theatrical performances lay at the heart of the spa-going experience, whether these were amateur productions like Cécile's or evenings staged by professional companies. Indeed, throughout the century, town councils or individual entrepreneurs who managed resorts invested in larger and more lavish entertainment infrastructures to appeal to their visitors, creating dedicated theatre buildings to host a professional acting and singing troupe, as well as new casinos where orchestras often played.[5] The real-life spa in Dieppe, where Cécile's story takes place, for example, progressed from hosting performances in the general purpose *grand salon* in the early nineteenth century to a dedicated theatre by 1826, demonstrating the increased importance placed on providing specific spaces in which socialising, pleasure-seeking and performance mingled and took centre stage.[6]

It is the circumstances and repercussions of the theatrical performance culture of mid-nineteenth-century French spa towns and its interaction with transnational elements, as glimpsed by Cécile's Italianate Rossinian performance, that I examine in this chapter. I take Scribe's *La Calomnie* as one of two case studies, alongside my exploration of the real-life spa culture of the time in towns such as Dieppe, Saint-Malo, Pau and Bagnères-de-Bigorre, via archival and primary sources. I examine this context first, demonstrating the relationship between cosmopolitan audiences and professional theatre companies and the impact of transnational influence upon spa theatrical life and the function of theatre troupes in small-town society. Second, I return to *La Calomnie* to analyse Scribe's depiction of Italian and German

France depuis l'Antiquité," *In Situ* 24 (2014), https://journals.openedition.org/insitu/11123; Carole Carribon, "Villes d'eaux, villes de loisirs: L'exemple des stations thermales françaises de la fin du XIX^e siècle aux années trente," *Histoire urbaine* 41, no. 3 (2014): 83-103; Ian Bradley, *Water Music: Making Music in the Spas of Europe and North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Géraldine Baglin, "Les petites stations thermales des Pyrénées centrales: des investissements privés au service d'une offre thermale de proximité," *Les Cahiers de Framespa*, 38 (2021), https://journals.openedition.org/framespa/11705; Viviane Delpech, "Dans l'ombre du prestige: Établissements de bains isolés et micro-stations thermales des Pyrénées occidentales," *Les Cahiers de Framespa*, 38 (2021), https://journals.openedition.org/framespa/11533.

5 Constant Taillard, *Guide résumé du voyageur aux environs de Paris, suivi d'un itinéraire aux principales eaux minérales de France* (Paris: Verdet et Lequien fils, 1826); Jean-Baptiste Pirault des Chaumes, *Voyage à Plombières en 1822* (Paris: A. Belin, 1823), 33-36; Jean Benoît Désiré Cochet, *Étretat, son passé, son présent, son avenir: archéologie, histoire, légendes, monuments, rochers, bains de mer* (Dieppe: E. Delevoye, 1857), 120-22; Hyacinthe Audiffred, *Quinze jours au Mont-Dore: souvenir de voyage* (Paris: Dawin et Fontaine, 1853); Marie-Eve Férérol, "Lust, Tranquillity and Sensuality in French Spa Towns in the Heyday of Balneotherapy (the Belle Époque and the Roaring Twenties)," *Via* 11-12 (2017), https://journals.openedition.org/viatourism/1763.

6 Taillard, *Guide résumé du voyageur,* 196-97.

music making in Dieppe around 1840 and his characterisation of Parisian and provincial figures in light of these European elements. In both case studies, the region, as embodied by Dieppe (Normandy) and Pau and Bagnères (the Béarn/south-western Pyrenees) remains at the same time specific and broad, in line with contemporary writers and artists' perceptions of 'les provinces / la province' as both a series of specific historical territories that made up modern France and, at the same time, a more general term signifying all of the the nation except the capital.[7] This dual identity was enabled by the fact that, between 1790 and 1954, there was no official administrative unit for the French regions. With the nation subdivided politically only into departments, with the identity of the *ancien régime* provinces persisting primarily through common parlance, artistic representation and social discourse.[8] In this chapter, I suggest that Scribe's play and the contemporary spa-going theatrical environment together characterise a complex representation of regional France articulated through regional-transnational encounter. I argue that the resulting depiction of transnational influence over the regional, in Scribe's play and in real spa contexts, is significant in that it moves away from the more traditional configuration of spatial relationships between the French centre and peripheries glimpsed in other artistic representations, cultural systems, and discourse at this time.

French Spaces: The Provinces and Paris

Before moving on to my case studies centred on transnational influence, it is important to first contextualise the normative configuration of French hierarchical power that lay at the centre of the country's cultural infrastructure and imagination during the mid-nineteenth century, and how *La Calomnie* and provincial spa environments related to this conception. The provinces were typically depicted as firmly secondary to the nation's centre (Paris) throughout the period, and well beyond, in various types of cultural representation, and in artistic and social discourse, as well as in many centralised administrative actions.[9] The capital was understood to be at once

7 Alain Corbin, "Paris-Province," in *Lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1997), 2851-88. Philippe Martel, "Province/Provincial," *Le 'Théâtre provincial' en France (XVIe-XVIIe siècle),* ed. Bénédicte Louvat and Pierre Pasquier (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2018), 25-34.

8 *Collection générale des décrets rendus par l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: Badouin, 1790), 11:16; Marcel Roncayolo, "Le département" in *Les lieux de mémoire,* ed. Pierre Nora, vol. 2 (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1997), 2937-74; Jacques Revel, "La region" in *Les lieux de mémoire*, 2907-36.

9 Corbin, "Paris-Province," 2851-88; Hervé Lacombe, "Introduction," in *Histoire de l'opéra français: Du Consulat aux débuts de la IIIe République*, ed. Hervé Lacombe (Paris: Editions Fayard, 2021), 14-15.

the head of the nation, but also itself representative of the entire national space.[10] Such dual status was exemplified in the nineteenth-century provincial theatrical environment that, like schooling, education and linguistic policy, among other issues, was controlled centrally by the French government between 1806 and 1864.[11] During this period, in terms of artistic and musical education, for example, both provincial conservatoires and regional troupes were set up as satellite bodies of the capital, considered to be the first steps in training performers for eventual careers, success and status in Paris.[12] At the same time, the hundreds of professional companies working throughout France were required by law to programme the latest Parisian plays, operas and vaudevilles.[13] With little funding or infrastructure to establish a sustainable tradition of local creation in the regions, provincial companies were instead tasked with the essential duty of circulating the capital's repertoire and, in doing so, establishing it as a national tradition.[14] Many cultural representations also mirrored the power dynamics inherent within theatre's ministerially determined infrastructure at this time. In literary and theatrical portrayals of regional figures and spaces, writers from Honoré de Balzac to Jules Michelet and Stendhal, among others, portrayed the regions as subservient and secondary spatial units that symbolised backwardness, marginality and absence, in direct comparison with the capital's embodiment of the nation's progression, power and presence.[15]

There was also nuance, however, in these relationships, in which the negative and positive aspects of each space were partially reversed. Stéphane

10 Martel, "Province/provincial," 25-34; Katharine Ellis, *French Musical Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 2-20.

11 Cyril Triolaire, *Tréteaux dans le Massif: Circulations et mobilités professionnelles théâtrales en province des Lumières à la Belle Époque* (Clermont-Ferrand: Université Blaise Pascal Clermont-Ferrand, 2022); Romuald Féret, *Théâtre et pouvoir au XIXe siècle: L'exemple de la Seine-et-Oise et de la Seine-et-Marne* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009); Robert Gildea, *Education in Provincial France, 1800-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Stewart McCain, "The Language Question under Napoleon" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2014).

12 Sophie Horrocks, "Performing for the Provinces: Travelling Theatre Troupes and the French Political Imaginary, 1824-64" (PhD diss., Durham University, 2024), 134-83. https://etheses.dur.ac.uk/15414/.

13 J. B. Duverger, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens, et avis du Conseil-d'État* (Paris: Guyot et Scribe, 1826), 16, 139.

14 There were rare provincial premieres throughout the century and these were hailed as disrupting the centrality of Paris in terms of French theatrical power, especially when in *grand opéra:* see Horrocks, "Performing for the Provinces," 27.

15 Philippe Martel, "Province/provincial," 25-34; Stéphane Gerson, "Une France Locale: The Local Past in Recent French Scholarship," *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 3 (2003): 539-59; Corbin, "Paris-Province." Sylvain Nicolle describes the prevalence of this dynamic in parliamentary debates about French theatre in "La Tribune et la Scène: Les débats parlementaires sur le théâtre en France au XIXe siècle (1789-1914)" (PhD diss., Université Paris Saclay, 2015), 127-33.

Gerson, for one, has highlighted a concurrent pervading nostalgia for a pre-Revolutionary and pre-Industrial past evident in literary depictions of the provinces, in which lay a simplistic life and primal morality,[16] while many playwrights also displayed the capital as a place of decadence and potential immorality.[17] Similarly, aspects of provincial theatrical practice also worked to partially erase Parisian control and influence, for example in the adaptation of certain genres such as *grand opéra* away from the capital's norms to fit the much-reduced conditions of smaller towns,[18] or in the resistance of certain local prefects in borderlands such as Alsace to accept centralised theatrical repertoire, official troupes, and even the primacy of French onstage in their department.[19]

La Calomnie offers an intriguing case study that aptly encapsulates these complex contradictions within mid-century Paris-provincial relationships. The backwards province, for example, is showcased in the characterisation of Coquenet, the gossiping spa manager who has never left Dieppe and who misinterprets the actions of his Parisian guests, provoking the rumour. This feature is also prevalent in the character of Mme de Savenay, Cécile's co-guardian:[20] although the play is set in 1840, this woman and her morals are firmly stuck in the Napoleonic period, speaking of the "the usurper" and the "Corsican ogre" and, in doing so, symbolising a past generation drawn from and characteristic of her native Normandy.[21] As Gunilla Anderman suggests, *La Calomnie* can be read as a play that showcases "the devastating effect of malicious gossip on a small town," with the emphasis on the representation of a non-metropolitan environment in which inhabitants behave in a peculiar fashion, or at least peculiar to the intended audience of Paris' Théâtre francais.[22] Indeed, elements of the play's plot and characters certainly portray how, in a Norman provincial setting, people's habits can be far removed from the contrasting implied modernity and sensible behaviour of the capital and its inhabitants.

16 Gerson, "Une France Locale."

17 None the more so than in plays such as *Trent ans ou la vie d'un joueur* (1831) where a young man is repeatedly corrupted by several vices of the capital, particularly the gambling hall. Victor Ducange, *Trente ans ou la vie d'un jouer* (Paris: F. Canongette, 1831).

18 Sophie Horrocks David, 'A Genre in Flux: Touring Grand Opéra in Northern France 1830-1860', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 37, no. 1 (forthcoming 2025).

19 Horrocks, "Performing for the Provinces," 238-79.

20 Scribe, *La Calomnie*, 2.

21 Neil Cole Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre, 1815-1860* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1924), 97. See also Margaret Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

22 Gunilla Anderman, *Europe on Stage: Translation and Theatre* (London: Oberon Books, 2005), 35.

This representation of the province/provincial, though, mingles with others within *La Calomnie*. For one, Cécile's distance from the capital is also presented as the heroine's strength: she is portrayed as an unsullied aristocratic beauty holed up in a Norman castle who takes Paris by storm when she is thrust into the sensual world of "brilliant" Parisian men who fall at her feet.[23] For another, Scribe also represents two types of Parisians. First, there is the decadent philanderer Viscount Saint-André, who boasts, but is growing tired of spending his time seeking pleasure in the capital instead of conducting business:

> rather than going to my Ministry of Foreign affairs, where my uncle found me a job, I spend all the time in the Bois de Boulogne, at the Jockey-Club or at the balcony of the Opéra [...] obliged to admire, adore the women and to fight for them.[24]

Second, there is the protective Prime Minister Raymond, representing the capital's order and authority, as he alone will believe the truth about Cécile's innocence and promise to stand by her when everyone else abandons the young woman.[25] Parisian influence is thus not always depicted as corruptive.

The play does make clear, however, that the provincial setting of a spa in a town such as Dieppe enabled new societal bonds and forms of behaviour due to its distance from Paris. The social structure of a spa resort, for example, is depicted in *La Calomnie* as more flexible than in the capital. Cécile's acquaintance Herminie de Guibert suggests, for one, that Dieppe is a place where it is possible for Parisians to make connections with those who might otherwise be inaccessible due to class separation in the capital:

> Herminie [to the Vicomte Saint-André]: We have reason to come to Dieppe, sir, if only to see you [...] because in Paris we do not see you anymore [...] it's disgraceful.[26]

Moreover, spas also provided an arena for the provincial middle classes to mingle with Parisian visitors and ascend society's ranks. Provincial beauty

23 Scribe, La Calomnie, 4-5. Lucien, her fiancé, was one of the men who saw Cécile during her winter stay in Paris and decided to marry her, an action that symbolises the taking of an attractive provincial object by a figure from Paris for the capital's gain.
24 Ibid., 6.
25 Scribe, *La Calomnie,* 39-40.
26 Ibid., 7.

Cécile, for example, is brought to Dieppe by her guardians to marry Lucien, with the town acting as a gateway for her to ascend into the higher-ranking society of the capital.[27] At the same time, for Parisians, the remoteness of a spa town was also depicted as allowing and/or concealing types of behaviour that might be frowned upon in the capital. Viscount Saint-André justifies an amorous encounter he had with a woman in Rouen, for example, by stating that it happened because they were: "Two Parisians ... in a foreign country ... I meant to say, in the provinces."[28] Above all, then, as a place that is shown to be foreign to Parisian ways of life and where the capital's social boundaries can be reformed and perhaps equalised, the spa town in *La Calomnie* is seen as a socially unmoored place. This depiction continues a long-running trope already evoked by Scribe in two earlier spa-town plays that also involve false identity, mistaken accusations, and liaisons in Pyrenean spa towns: *La Dugazon* (1833) and *Madame de Saint-Agnès* (1829).[29] The dislocated, and potentially troubling, nature of spa life is accentuated, in particular, in depictions of performers and performances: in all three plays, it is interaction with artists or with performances that brings to the fore mistrust of a character, including in the case of Cécile, which I will discuss shortly. Overall, then, *La Calomnie* is a play rife with complex, and at times contradicting, portrayals of Paris-provincial relationships, and I return to deal with how transnational theatricality affects these connections in my later section on this case study.

Bringing to light the contemporary spa culture across France that inspired Scribe's play also reveals evidence of a real-life dislocated society whose temporary move to the regions had repercussions for the way in which a range of individuals, from spa-goers to journalists and town mayors, understood the relationships between Paris and the provinces. The rhythms of the nation's natural and societal seasons dictated that regions such as Normandy and the Pyrénées could, momentarily, subvert the centrality of Paris. With the heat of summer came every year an exodus of the capital's well-to-do inhabitants towards the provinces, especially to spa resorts in France and across Europe, dispersing the social centre of the nation away from the capital.[30]

27 Although Lucien is originally from Villefranche in southern France, he is treated as a Parisian throughout the play, because he lives and works in the capital and is Deputy Prime Minister, a political representative of the dual symbol of the nation and capital.

28 Scribe, *La Calomnie,* 35.

29 *La Dugazon* (1833) is set in Bagnères, and *Madame de Saint-Agnès* (1829) in an unnamed Pyrenean spa town.

30 "F.M.," "Théâtre de Dieppe," *La Vigie de Dieppe* (16 Jun. 1838): 3, referring to the "guests from Paris" present at the spa; "I. C.," "Théâtre de Pau," *La Constitution* (25 Nov. 1849): 4, "the winter guests [...] for the season of mist and snow"; William Degouve-Denunques, "Théâtre de Pau," *La Constitution* (10 Nov. 1850): 1.

As the editor Léon Escudier wrote in his Parisian magazine *La France Musicale* in 1856, "it is to Ems, in Spa, in Vichy and in Bagnères, that the elegant world and our elite artists have gone to find freshness, distraction, and success."[31] Provincial resorts provided political opportunities for administrators to do and discuss business in leisured surroundings,[32] but they also became seasonal cultural hubs, as Parisian theatre companies largely ceased productions during the summer. Since regional companies continued to perform and tour, and with the capital's stars descending on various provincial towns to appear as guest stars with these local companies, much of the draw of a resort such as Bagnères, in the south-western Pyrenees, or Dieppe was thus that, during this period, they became vibrant seasonal centres of French performance culture.[33] As noted by the Viscount in *La Calomnie*, the entertainment on offer in a spa went at least as far as equalling the capital's offerings throughout the rest of the year:

> There are too many pleasures [...] I will think that I am in Paris! And I who was ordered to leave [the capital] to rest and diet [...][34]

The social, political and cultural importance of the spa season allowed critics to frequently assign these regional spaces a momentary national importance level with Paris.[35] The south-western town of Pau, for example, was described by painter-poet William Degouve-Denunques as a 'petit Paris' in 1850,[36] while an anonymous journalist made sure to specify that it was "tout Trouville, c'est à dire tout-Paris" that celebrated actress Mlle Dupont in the Normandy resort in 1862.[37] Spas, and their troupes, therefore enabled Pau to Plombières to act as provincial cultural hubs in the season of social and artistic exodus from the capital, subverting the usual centre-periphery dynamics between the province and the capital. In the summer, Paris was simply out of season, whereas spas gained national centrality.

31 Léon Escudier, "Vivier à Plombières," *La France musicale* (7 Sep. 1856): 290.
32 Bradley, *Water Music*, 4-8. Cécile's marriage is an example in *La Calmonie* of a politico-social deal made between her guardian the Prime Minister of France and Lucien, his deputy, to be finalised in Dieppe.
33 Anon., "Théâtre de Bagnères-de-Bigorre," *L'Echo des Vallées* (19 Jun. 1851): 2; Anon., "Chronique départementale," (24 Jul. 1851): 2. One exception was the capital's Opéra-Comique, which continued to perform during this period.
34 Scribe, *La Calomnie*, 18.
35 Anon., "Théâtre de Bagnères," *L'Écho des Vallées,* (5 Oct. 1861): 1; Anon., "Chronique locale," *L'Écho des Vallées* (15 Sep. 1862): 3.
36 Degouve-Denunques, "Théâtre de Pau," *La Constitution* (10 Nov. 1850): 1.
37 Anon., "La Musique et la Comédie à Trouville," *Le Ménestrel* (14 Sep. 1862): 333.

As I have already mentioned in the case of *La Calomnie,* though, these power dynamics between region and capital had the potential to be extended, or changed, through foreign influence. Accordingly, in the following section, I move on to exploring the way in which transnational musico-theatrical experience played a role in spa environments during this era and its repercussions for French society and its spatial relationships.

Performing for Foreigners: Transnational French Spa Culture

Foreign music was not out of place in the repertoire of theatrical companies performing during the summer season in Dieppe or in any other regional resort, such as Pau and Bagnères.[38] Professional performers were used to staging mixed-genre programmes that featured translations of Rossini's operas, alongside certain pieces by Mozart and Weber, as well as diverse French theatrical traditions, stretching from *opéra-comique*, across *grand opéra* and *vaudeville,* to spoken plays that were performed with music, such as *drame* and *comédie*.[39] Performers came to spas in different guises. In places such as Dieppe, spa managers invited artists from the capital each summer, to coincide with Parisian companies' annual holidays, as a sure way of promoting their town as a "satellite" of the French centre via the imported workforce.[40] In many other towns, though, such as Pau, Bagnères or even Saint-Malo, in Brittany, audiences applauded the regular *troupe d'arrondissement*, a year-long, regional touring troupe established to travel between different towns in several departments.[41] French spas were geared around tourism, and it was widely acknowledged that stage performances produced by either type of troupe were as integral to drawing in visitors as the promise of healing waters. As demonstrated by the text of a southern spa guide from 1865, theatre was positioned at the very centre of visitors' pleasure-seeking experience: "the tourist enjoys himself in Bagnères, which has a well-made casino, [and] a theatre served by a good troupe."[42] Indeed, performances were considered integral to the running of a successful spa enterprise: as a journalist for the paper *La Vigie de Dieppe* declared,

38 Pau also had an important winter spa season.

39 Horrocks, "Performing for the Provinces," 148-51.

40 Charles Deslys, "Théâtre," *Journal de Trouville et de ses Environs* (23 Jun. 1861): 2. Eugène Chapus, *Dieppe et ses environs* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1853), 58; Anon., untitled column, *Le Journal des dames et des modes* (30 Jun. 1825): 283.

41 On this system, see Triolaire, *Tréteaux dans le Massif,* 96-110; Horrocks, "Performing for the Provinces," 22-23.

42 J.-A Lescamela, *Guide du touriste et du baigneur à Cauterets, à Saint-Sauveur et à Barèges* (Tarbes: J.-M Dufour, 1865), 117.

"the theatre is part of the most important pleasures that Dieppe is obliged to offer to strangers in its baths."[43]

While many members of the French leisured classes vacated Paris or provincial cities to attend spas such as Bagnères, the above-quoted "strangers" coming in droves to these resorts made for a distinctly transnational group of visitors.[44] Pau and Bagnères were both described by critics as filled with "foreigners" during the spa months, a term used to describe both Parisians and Europeans visiting the south of France.[45] Both towns were especially popular with English travellers,[46] and an 1831 record of a stay in Bagnères written by English traveller "D.V." gives greater insight into the assembly of nations at the spa: he observed "the grave Catalonian [...] the elegant Parisian; the lively brunettes of Castille; the Englishwoman fair and cold."[47] The origins of the groups of spectators gathered in theatrical performances were expanded even further, if hyperbolically, in the recollection of a critic from the Bagnères paper *L'Écho des vallées* attending a vaudeville performance by Roland's 16th *troupe d'arrondissement* in 1841: he remembered a theatrical "public, come from the four corners of the world."[48] While the journalist likely exaggerated, his recollection captures the scintillating feeling that, for local figures at least, spa performances were the centre of a cosmopolitan world where a Pyrenean town and its inhabitants were brought into direct contact with the world far beyond its doorstep.

This transnational breadth of visitors was not unique to the southwest. On the northern coast, too, spa centres such as Saint-Malo and Dieppe regularly welcomed "lots of foreigners during the summer season,"[49] particularly

43 Anon., 'Théâtre de Dieppe', *La Vigie de Dieppe* (25 Jun. 1836): 4.

44 Archives nationales de France, F/21/1258, letter from the Mayor of Mulhouse to the Minister, 28 Feb. 1826; F/21/1260, letter from the Prefect of the Haute-Saône, to the Minister, 6 Aug. 1851.

45 C. Kingsley, "From the Ocean to the Sea," *Good Words* (2 Jul. 1866): 494-504; "La légende du lac bleu," *La France Musicale* (14 Aug. 1859): 345. Anon., "Bagnères-de-Bigorre, 1er Septembre," *La Gazette des Théâtres* (14 Sep. 1834): 4; A. Aldini, Anon., "Nouvelles diverses," *La Gazette des Théâtres* (23 Jul. 1835): 261. Mountain spas such as Plombières also attracted this diversity of visitors. See Archives nationales de France, F/21/1260, Letter from the Prefect of the Vosges to the Minister, 24 Feb. 1862, describing its recent transformation into a seat of European society after a visit by Emperor Napoleon III.

46 Alexander Taylor, *On the Curative Influence of the Climate of Pau* (London: J.W Parker, 1845) and "On the Curative Influence of the Climate of Pau, and the Mineral Waters of the Pyrenees," *The Medico-Chirurgical Review* 40, no. 79 (1844): 49-60.

47 D.V, "Recollections of the Pyrenees," *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilleton* (1 Oct. 1831): 221-22.

48 Anon., "Théâtre," *L'Echo des vallées* (12 Aug. 1841): 2. The performance was of the vaudevilles *La Lectrice* by Bayard and *L'Article 960* by Ancelot.

49 Richard [Jean Marie Vincent Audin], *Guide classique du voyageur en France dans les Pays-Bays et en Hollande* (Paris: Reichard, 1827), 89; Anon., "Théâtre de Dieppe," *La Vigie de Dieppe* (31 Jan. 1838): 2. Eugène Auriac, *Guide pratique, historique et descriptif aux bains de mer de la Manche et de l'Océan* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1866), 279.

English audiences, thanks to frequent ferry connections across the Channel.[50] What made a spa town different to other provincial spaces close to a border or international travel connection, as well as different to Paris, which was, arguably, constantly open to the transnational in cultural and political terms,[51] was the sudden vibrancy and visibility of foreign visitors at this particular time. As noted in the accounts quoted above, during spa periods these towns were defined by and known for their overwhelmingly cosmopolitan populace, which was not present during the rest of the year, except perhaps in Saint-Malo, which had ongoing social links with its cross-channel neighbour, Britain.[52] As stated by the Bagnères critic in 1841, though, stage culture had the power to disrupt the normatively closed experience of regional life and throw it open, momentarily, to the "four corners of the world."[53]

I argue that the transnationalism of spa visitors who were also spa theatre audiences fundamentally affected the understanding of regional identity and spatial relationships in nineteenth-century France, as articulated in the work of local critics from the towns of Saint-Malo, Pau and Bagnères. Journalists from each of these centres discussed the link between foreign tourists and performance culture in different ways, yet all highlighted that international audiences fundamentally influenced spa identity and function. This can at first be seen in journalists' conception of theatrical repertoire. Throughout the century, the town of Saint-Malo regularly received visits from its regional troupe, the 6th *troupe d'arrondissement,* during the spa season. As was customary for these travelling groups, troupe directors presented a wide range of stage genres. As already mentioned, performers across France appeared in vaudeville and opera, plus spoken genres such as *comédie* and *drame*, the same repertoire that they staged in all the towns on their year-long regional network.[54] Throughout the nation, the most recent premieres from Paris were the most popular, and government censorship

50 Firmin Didot frères (ed.), *Panorama pittoresque de la France* (Paris: Cie. Bibliopéen, 1839), vol. 5: 26-7; Anon., *The Dinan and Saint Malo Guide: With Excursions in the Surrounding District, Including Saint-Servan, Dol, Becherel, St.-Juvat and Jugon, the Roman Station at Corseul, and the Castles of Leguildo, La Hunaudais, and Montafilant* (Paris: J. Smith, 1843), 91; Guillaume-Louis-Gustave Belèze, *Dictionnaire universel de la vie pratique à la ville et à la campagne* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1859-72), vol. 2, 1859. In *La Calomnie,* Coquenet also recognises the importance of British visitors, pressing his staff to run to meet tourists off the Brighton ferry, *La Calomnie*, 3.

51 See Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century,* trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

52 See for example the Archives municipales de Saint-Malo, 204/32W/778, which detail several English inhabitants of Saint-Malo participating in local dramatic and musical societies.

53 Anon., "Théâtre," *L'Echo des vallées* (12 Aug. 1841): 2.

54 Archives nationales de France, F/21/1251, itinerary (Besombes), 13 Aug. 1853.

ensured that what directors chose to stage in the provinces was already pre-approved at a central level. At the end of one spa season in 1839, though, director Robin's choice of theatrical pieces was subject to increased local scrutiny by a Saint-Malo critic because of the presence of British visitors that year. Writing to the national paper *La Gazette des Théâtres,* an unnamed Saint-Malo journalist suggested that Robin would do better to refine his choices according to the transnational nature of this spa town environment:

> I will submit one observation to the amiable director. The English contribute much to the ticket sales, especially on Tuesdays [...] one should therefore not stage pieces where they are presented in an ultra ridiculous light.[55]

The critic alluded to the depiction by Robin's troupe of two English characters, "Milord of backstage, an English character in good taste" in the vaudeville *Le Bénéficiaire*, and Lord Cockburn, a hapless English traveller in the *opéra-comique Fra Diavolo*.[56] National stereotypes or the characterisation of a comic 'other' hailing from a different country were common to both vaudeville and *opéra-comique* at this time.[57] The critic's sensibility to Robin's programming, though, emphasised the local influence of a transnational public over French theatrical tradition which, in his eyes, needed to be modified because of Saint-Malo's reliance on tourism. Indeed, the critic feared that an injuring of English tastes on the stage might compromise the visitor's experience, which he considered already threatened by the high prices of French wine:

> Is it not enough that our neighbours across the channel pay a ridiculous price for the bad wine of the Hotel-de-France, without seeing themselves ridiculed again in our theatres?[58]

The Saint-Malo's critic's column reveals that, in a spa context, performance culture not only attracted transnational visitors, but had the potential to be subject to their influence. Here, unlike in other provincial towns served by the same troupe, the choice of theatrical repertoire needed to not only circu-

55 "Saint-Malo," *La Gazette des Théâtres* (13 Sep. 1835): 384.
56 Ibidem.
57 Scribe was particularly fond of Scottish and English characters. Hugh Macdonald, *Beethoven's Century: Essays on Composers and Themes* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 195.
58 "Saint-Malo," 384.

late Parisian novelties, but, according to the critic, to also bend to the sensibilities of an English audience. It was not just a national theatrical tradition that was thus formed through *troupe d'arrondissement* performances, but a cross-border tradition that could be cultivated through repertoire curation.

In the south-west, the importance of foreign visitors played out along different lines, that of economic power. Transnational visitors, in general, rather than a specific national group, were discussed by critics here as vital to regional Pyrenean identity for financial reasons. Journalists and officials discussed how, since theatre troupes were essential to attracting these visitors, performers played an integral role in shoring up and developing their towns' economic status. The *Écho* critic did not mince his words, stating that "[Hermant's theatre troupe] is the price of the prosperity of Bagnères."[59] Similarly, in letters written to the Minister of the Interior in 1856, the Prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées described the centrality of director Hermant's touring company to long-term vitality in the surrounding region. He suggested that, if the *troupe d'arrondissement* could be persuaded to perform in the nearby mountain towns of Eaux-Bonnes, Oloron, and Orthez, this would offer "strangers an agreeable pastime" that would then allow these towns to "become livelier and would see [their] prosperity growing," like Bagnères.[60] Likewise, in 1849, I.C., a journalist for the Pau newspaper *La Constitution*, understood that performances in the summer and winter spa season ensured the long-term economic stability of his town:

> How many material interests are intimately linked to the time that foreigners spend in our town! [...] The theatre is one of these things. [Pau] needs performances for its winter guests, whose presence keeps up types of commerce that wouldn't exist without them, and allows a host of industries to survive that were uniquely created for them.[61]

I.C. argued that Pau's "commerce of local consumerism"—that is, the hospitality and tourist industry vital to the town—relied upon the presence of foreign visitors that was, itself, catalysed in large part by stage performances. In this region, the cultivation of a transnational environment, through theatre, was a source of economic stability as well as civic development: in other columns, for example, I.C. advocated for the municipal investment

59 "Théâtre," *Echo des Vallées* (5 Sep. 1848): 2.
60 Archives nationales de France, F/21/1278, Letter from the Prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées to the Minister, 24 Dec. 1856.
61 I.C., "Théâtre," *La Constitution* (2 Dec. 1849): 1.

in a year-long opera company and the building of a new theatre, which was completed in 1863.[62] In both Bagnères and Pau, theatrical transnationalism was seen to affect yearlong economic prosperity and the management of theatrical performance, as well as local understanding of theatre's role within society.

Across France, transnational influence also forged a new understanding, on behalf of critics, of the relationships between provincial spaces themselves. Across the nation, commentators were conscious of the need for spa towns to compete with their provincial neighbours, spa or otherwise. Many local journalists, therefore, positioned the transnational experience of theatre as essential to redefining spatial relationships between provincial hotspots, drawing competitive comparisons between different towns such as Dieppe and Trouville or Le Havre,[63] Nice and Pau.[64] Critics also composed more general statements about the superior worth of the Pau and Bagnères troupes compared to the rest of the provinces.[65] In September 1848, for example, the critic for *l'Écho* wrote that Hermant's *troupe d'arrondissement* was essential because:

> For three or four months in the year, Bagnères needs to be the capital of the *midi*. The town must flourish, foreigners must enjoy themselves here.[66]

In this quote, the journalist showed that, through performance culture and its draw of foreigners, his south-western town had the potential to place itself at the centre of the southern ('midi') French region. Such comparisons were significant because they afforded many spa towns a status against other regional places that they could not hope to gain in other terms: Bagnères was not the administrative nor industrial centre of its department, for example, let alone the wider *midi*, yet spa theatricality gave it a right to provincial prominence. In addition, in these moments regional critics did not look to comparative relationships with the capital to make sense of their local place in France: the transnational thus allowed the valorisation of intra-provincial links that, for once, circumvented Paris.

62 I.C., "Théâtre," *La Constitution* (26 Jul. 1851).
63 Anon., "Causeries," *Les Coulisses* (13 Sep. 1860): 4; Anon., "Théâtre de Dieppe," *La Vigie de Dieppe* (10 Mar. 1838).
64 A stranger, "Stations d'hiver: Nice et Pau," *Les Coulisses* (6 Dec 1860): 2; A stranger, "Stations d'hiver: Pau et Nice," *Les Coulisses* (9 Dec. 1860): 2.
65 Anon., "Théâtre," *Echo des Vallées* (5 Oct 1861): 1; I.C., "Théâtre," *La Constitution* (16 Dec. 1849): 2.
66 Anon., "Théâtre," *Echo des Vallées* (5 Sep. 1848): 2.

Through these brief insights into the ways in which critics from Saint-Malo, Pau and Bagnères discussed transnational influences in their regional spaces, I have revealed the profound impact that the presence of foreign visitors had on the repertoire choices of a spa theatre company, the economic power of a town's people, and the regional positioning within France that local critics hoped to establish. Although each town functioned differently, in each of these situations, regional journalists embraced foreign influence to shape their discussion of the importance and social influence of performance culture, and of their town and region's place and standing within France.

Foreign performance in *La Calomnie*

In the following section, I return to the play *La Calomnie* in order to investigate how the transnational music making so evident in the spas of Dieppe, Saint-Malo, Pau and Bagnères was represented by Scribe on stage during the same period. At its 1840 premiere, *La Calomnie* was received by critics largely as a political comedy due to the narrative of the rise of man-of-the-people Raymond to the position of Prime Minister, including his protection of his provincial ward Cécile.[67] I argue, however, that Scribe's reference to transnational music in two key plot points reveals his use of foreign performance as a means of interpreting regional places and spaces, here Normandy. First, there is the aforementioned performance of Rossini's *La Dame du Lac* in the amateur salon in Act 2. Cécile is coerced by her acquaintances Mme Herminie and M. de Guibert to sing in the quartet from *La Dame du Lac* with them for the assembled spa guests, alongside M. de Sivry, an unknown pianist and tenor pulled from the crowd.[68] The connection between Rossini and the title of Scribe's play would certainly have been anticipated by audience members: the title recalled Bazile's famous tirade against calumny in Beaumarchais' *Le Barbier de Seville,*[69] which the Italian composer had set as an opera and which had taken Europe by storm over twenty years earlier.[70]

67 P., "Spectacles: Théâtre français," *Le Moniteur Universel* (23 Feb. 1840): 16; H.L., "Théâtre français," *Le Siècle,* (24 Feb. 1840): 1-2; Théophile Gautier, "Théâtre français," *La Presse* (24 Feb. 1840): 1-2. Neil Cole Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre, 1815-1860* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1924), 97-101; Douglas Cardwell, "The Well-Made Play of Eugène Scribe," *The French Review* 56, no. 6 (1983): 876–84; Paul Bonnefon, "Scribe Sous La Monarchie de Juillet, d'après Des Documents Inédits," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de La France* 28, no. 1 (1921): 88-91.

68 Scribe, *La Calomnie*, 19-20.

69 Arvin, *Eugène Scribe*, 97.

70 Hilary Porriss, *Giacomo Rossini's The Barber of Seville* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). Late drafts of the play reveal that the decision to reference Rossini's *La Dame du Lac* was taken at the last minute. See *La Calomnie* manuscript draft, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives et manuscrits, NAF 22480-22584.

In using the Act 1, Scene 2 quartet from *La Dame du Lac*, though, Scribe additionally played upon the implications of the opening text of this number, which also gives it its title: "Crudele sospetto" or cruel suspicions. In the original opera, the text refers to the wariness that four principal characters have of each other as part of warring clans aiming to control Scotland, and as part of the love quadrangle between heroine Elena, clan chief and her betrothed Rodrigo, her secret lover Malcolm, a rebel chieftain, and King James V in disguise who has fallen in love with Elena at first sight. Thanks to these associations, Scribe's reference to the quartet in *La Calomnie* places the theme of covert behaviour and possible infidelity at the forefront of the reader's or audience's mind as soon as Cécile's performance is introduced.

The stage directions for the scene describe the spa-goers rehearsing:

> [they] *group themselves near Mr de Sivry, who seats himself at the piano, and all four study* [their parts] *in low voices.*[71]

Although Cécile and the others do not discuss their performance, nor is their eventual singing heard before the curtain for the act falls, these stage actions still lead spa worker Belleau to observe a physical closeness between Cécile and de Sivry, which he interprets as signalling her hidden immorality:

> Well! How they are looking at each other … and how they seem to understand each other (*with subtlety, in a low voice*) He's maybe one of the three […] it is rumoured that she has already had three adventures.[72]

Belleau reads a closeness between Cécile and de Sivry's as a sign of sexual intimacy, Scribe playing upon the age-old trope of the dangers of making music together, and this causes Belleau to inflate a rumour that Cécile may have had a past lover to sure proof that she has had three. Elsewhere in the room, Cécile's fiancé Lucien and Coquenet also leap to the conclusion that the musical interaction between the youngsters reveals a physical relationship:

> Lucien: Sir… One question … you who were here earlier … did you hear it said that the young person who is at the piano…?
> Coquenet: Silence … we mustn't talk about that!… So you are aware of it too?[73]

71 Scribe, *La Calomnie*, 20.
72 Ibidem.
73 Ibidem.

For Lucien and Coquenet, too, what was previously ephemeral hearsay about Cécile's past is solidified into a damning diagnosis of compromising behaviour due to their interpretation of her participation in a performance of Italian opera. Not only does the rehearsal of *La Dame du Lac* shift their understanding of Cécile's morality and status as a charming provincial ingénue, but it has far-reaching consequences for her marriage prospects and respectability: Lucien soon abandons her, as does her guardian Mme de Savenay, and she is left with only Raymond as her protector. Even though the rumours are eventually revealed to be false, the general opinion of Cécile is never rectified in *La Calomnie*, a plot point that Scribe uses to demonstrate Prime Minister Raymond's own superior morality above the rest of the spa gossips, as he decides to stick with and propose to his ward despite her tarnished reputation.[74] On a symbolic level, then, it is through contact with foreign performance that the provincial ingénue Cécile has her innocent reputation tarnished largely beyond repair.

The choice of Italian opera as the vehicle with which to pivot the spa-goers' opinions of Cécile could, at first glance, appear inconsequential. As mentioned earlier, Italian opera was present in contemporary provincial performances, and Scribe's plot could simply refer to a trope of musical intimacy signalling something more. Yet a second episode involving foreign music making in *La Calomnie* reveals that it is precisely the implications of foreign musical exposure that are, indeed, significant within Scribe's play. In a second plot twist in Act 4, Scene 9, an actual affair is revealed between Herminie and Viscount St-André through another episode of female corruption by non-French music. They are inculpated, this time rightly, through foreign music: they separately admit to Raymond of "making music … we sang romances […] melodies by Schubert" in the Viscount's hotel room together in another Normandy town, Rouen.[75] This allusion to musical closeness leaves Raymond, like those present at the Act 2 Rossini rehearsal, in no doubt about the more-than-musical intimacy it implies.[76]

This second episode of infidelity via non-French music reinforces the view that the specific foreignness of the musical repertoires *is* important in *La Calomnie*: it is the transnational encounter that leads to sensual acts between a man and woman outside of marriage in a regional setting. Whether the performance of Italian and German vocal music leads to wrong

74 Ibid., 39-40.
75 Ibid., 34-35.
76 Ibidem.

intimations, as in Cécile's case, or right ones, as in Herminie's, the foreign musical acts featured in *La Calomnie* subvert the spa visitors' initial impression of regional characters and spaces: foreign opera and song shatter the illusion that Cécile is a country innocent and recasts her and Herminie as corrupted women. At the same time, both Dieppe and Rouen are portrayed as spaces where the traditional domestic situation of Paris (where Herminie and her husband live, and where Cécile is expected to relocate for her fiancé) is subverted. In this way, Scribe's depiction of the meeting between regional people and foreign music in provincial spaces challenges the traditional spatial relationship between the French centre and the provinces by reversing the usual mode which contrasts Paris as decadent and the provinces as the moral centre of France. Instead, the capital is cast as the place of structure that spa goers have escaped. In *La Calomnie*, the spa town poses a danger to traditional concepts of the hierarchies in the French nation due to transnational influence encountered through music.

Moreover, I suggest that Scribe's theme of foreign musical corruption gains additional significance when read as a meta-theatrical commentary on contemporary French society's interaction with foreign music, as a way to speak about French spatial relationships. By 1840, Rossini was an Italian composer with an undeniably global reach who had been resident in Paris for twenty years and who had written two operas for the French stage.[77] Despite his integration into the French musical landscape, though, in the Parisian theatrical context of the mid-century, Rossini's Italian operas such as *La Dame du Lac* represented a style of composition that was distinctive from home-grown French traditions in the eyes of contemporary critics, symbolised by the physical separation between the spaces in which these foreign pieces were staged in the capital: at the Théâtre Italien, rather than the government-funded and dedicated French institutions of the Académie Royale de Musique and Opéra-Comique.[78] Around the same time, Schubert's songs infiltrated the capital's musical environment during the early 1830s through private concerts of star French singers such as Adolph Nourrit.[79] Once the composer's *Lieder* were published in translation in 1835 and 1839, they became a regular and celebrated

77 Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

78 Walton, "Rossini and France," in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, ed. Emanuele Senici (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 25-36.

79 Xavier Hascher, "Schubert's Reception in France: a Chronology (1828-1928)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 263-69; J.G. Prod'homme and Frederick H. Martens, "Schubert's Works in France," *The Musical Quarterly* 14 no. 4 (1828): 495-514.

part of salon concert repertoire attempted by a wider range of performers, students and amateurs, such as Herminie and the Viscount in *La Calomnie*.[80]

Both Rossini and Schubert's popularity with French music lovers raised some worries among Parisian critics and composers who feared that public enthusiasm for Italian opera or German song might disrupt home-grown traditions in each genre. In terms of opera, for example, a perceived 'culture war' between Italian and French opera felt within the Parisian musical scene was parodied in Fromental Halévy's 1829 opéra-comique *Le Dilettante d'Avignon* and, in 1843, a series of high-profile press debates about the refusal to include Rossini's Italian music in the singing training offered at the Paris Conservatoire, led by Adolph Adam, made it clear that, while Rossini's style could be admired, his Italian operas did not have a legitimate place in a national institution.[81] During the same period, critic Ernest Legouvé, writing in 1837, feared that the popularity of Schubert's songs might "inevitably slay the Romance," the contemporary French song genre also performed in salons.[82] A similar sentiment was also parodied meta-theatrically by editor François-Joseph Fétis in his newspaper *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* in 1840. As part of a larger sketch for a scene entitled "The musical new year," published in the 31 December issue, comic writer Henri Blanchard voiced the contemporary tussle between the French and German song genres:

> THE ROMANCE: I am eminently French, and I've come to beg you to protect me and take sides with me.
> 1841: Against whom?
> THE LIED: Mein Gott! Against me, who come to take herr place. I am faporrous like she, and morre dan she; I haffe morre naiffety dan she. I vos de feifforite tchilt of Schubert and I am now dat of Proch ant Dessauer.[83]

80 Hascher, "Schubert's Reception in France," 263-69.

81 Stella Rollet, "Les multiples enjeux de la critique musicale: l'accueil de l'œuvre de Gaetano Donizetti en France (années 1830-1850)," *Le Temps des medias* 22, no. 1 (2014): 35-48; Matthieu Calliez, *La diffusion du comique en Europe à travers les productions d'opere buffe, d'opéras-comique et de komische Opern (France – Allemagne – Italie, 1800-1850)*, (PhD diss., Universitées de Paris-Sorbonne, de Bonn et de Florence, 2014), 61-62.

82 Ernest Legouvé, "Revue critique: mélodies de Schubert," *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* (15 Jan. 1837): 27.

83 Henri Blanchard, "Le premier de l'an musical," *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* (31 Dec. 1840): 648, translated by Hascher, "Schubert's Reception in France," 266. The sketch was a parody of the *fin de l'année* revues that were common at this time – see Romain Piana, Olivier Bara, and Jean-Claude Yon, "Introduction: la revue de fin d'année," in "En revenant à la revue. La revue de fin d'année au XIXe siècle," ed. Romain Piana, Olivier Bara, and Jean-Claude Yon, special issue, *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 266 (2015), https://sht.asso.fr/introduction-5/.

The context within which Rossini's operas and Schubert's songs would have been received around 1840 highlights an additional layer of tension embedded within Scribe's reference to foreign music in *La Calomnie*. Not only did the encounter between the regional and the foreign lead to female corruption, his play suggested, but it also hinted at the corruption of a broader national musical tradition taking place in France. At both levels, there was something decidedly uncomfortable, as Scribe represented it, with provincial contact with the transnational in *La Calomnie*. Perhaps Scribe's reference to the threat posed by foreign music to the prominence and survival of French genres can even be extrapolated further: as a commentary on the real-life spa situation described above, the playwright highlights a fear of losing French identity altogether in regional contexts in which transnational audiences abounded, and where they determined the shape and function of spa culture in varying ways.

Conclusion: French Transnational Spa Cultures

I have shown that the influence of the transnational on fictional and real-life spa culture appears significant in the case studies of *La Calomnie* and various provincial towns, yet it is clear that the depiction of the regional in a transnational context offered by Scribe in his play in fact differed in many respects from that formulated by local journalists from places such as Dieppe or Pau in the mid-nineteenth century. In both of my case studies, I suggest that spa towns were seen by Scribe and local journalists as having the ability to reverse traditional hierarchical relationships, at times challenging the top-down influence of the centre over the French peripheries. Ultimately, though, the playwright represented the French regions and their inhabitants as largely corrupted by transnational influence, while regional critics embraced foreign encounters positively in diverse ways.

I argue that these differences point to an inherent tension in defining the place of the regions within the nineteenth-century imaginary that was, in these contexts, worked out through recourse to transnational markers. Indeed, the provincial openness to transnational encounter during this period reveals the growing importance, to writers such as Scribe and to local journalists, of spaces and people outside the French capital as instigators of regional cultural life, a significant force glimpsed in the liminal setting of a spa town. At the same time, central resistance to Italian and German influence in the regions (and, meta-theatrically, within French music life) is suggestive of a desire, at least by writers such as Scribe working in the capital, to continue to perpetuate a deferential relationship to Paris as the most

important spatial relationship for the provinces, potentially in response to the growing transnational importance in regional spas in contemporary society. That said, even with their conflicting aims – Scribe's to shore up the capital's position as central within French cultural life, and local critics' desire to challenge this position through access to external influence – both commentators sought to define the place of the regional in France in a new way that, crucially, did not rely on the region's link to Paris, but that identified the regions and regional people via their engagement with the world. *La Calomnie* and the theatrical culture of Normandy and Pyrenean spas thus embody a significant artistic conception of the region and its relationship to France that differs from traditional Paris-provincial hierarchies, representing the regions as members of a wider global community, while also highlighting how this global community's influence over local French figures and ways of life was an as yet potentially contentious and evolving issue within French society.

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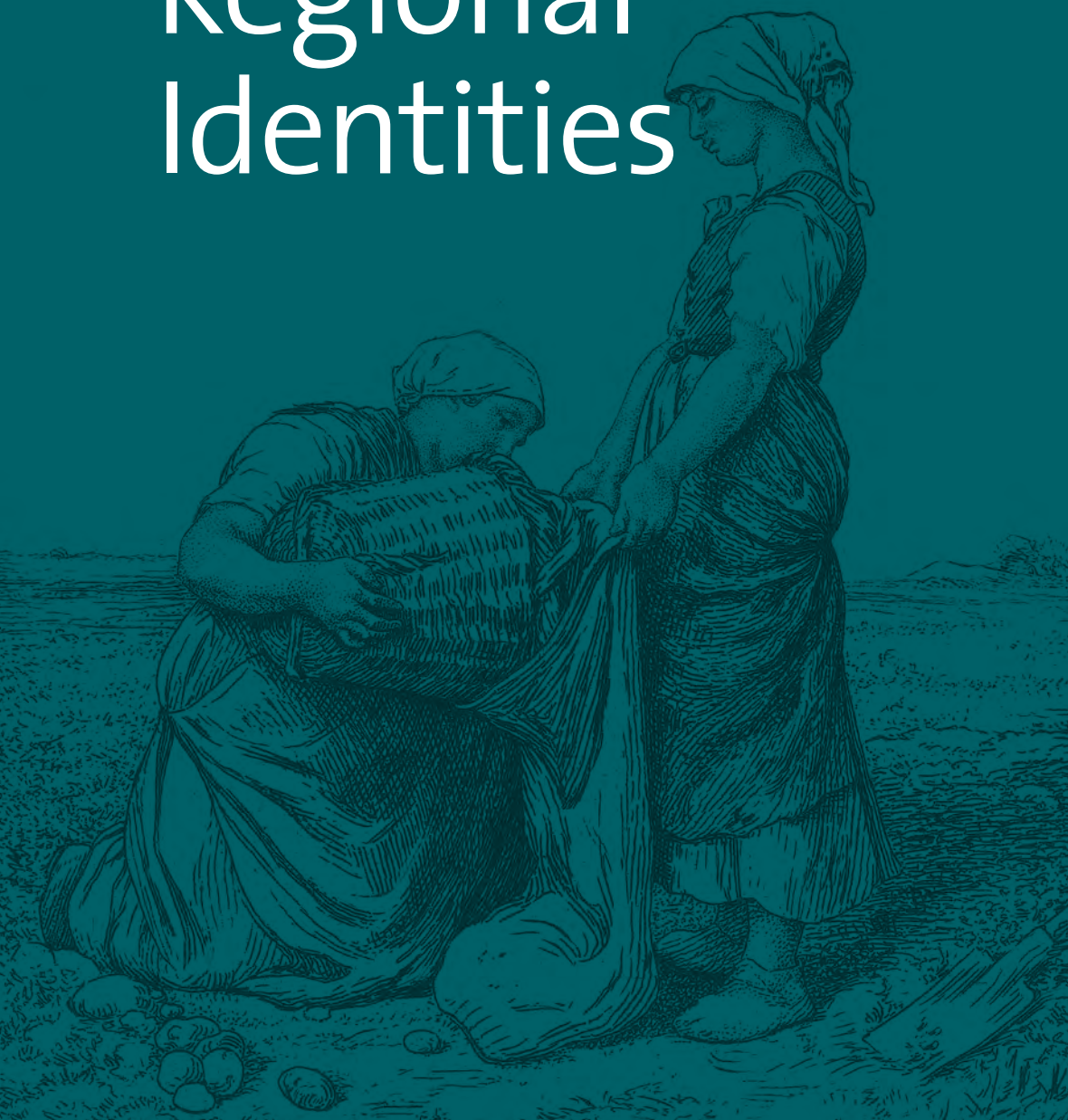
SECTION III

Mapping Regional Identities



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'Vrais Jêrriais nès, et Normands d'race': Press representations of transnational Norman identity in Jersey and France[1]

PETER GEORGE

Introduction

Norman regionalism, from its origins in the nineteenth century through its expansion in the early 1900s and interwar period, saw features and trends common to a range of similar movements throughout France and Europe, with culture and heritage inventorised, produced, and promoted within a framework of regional identity. The reach of this process was initially focused around nineteenth-century learned societies, such as the Société des antiquaires de Normandie, founded in 1824, but later encompassed broader participation. The Société régionaliste normande Alfred Rossel, named after a prominent dialect poet, offered popular activities such as theatre evenings and country excursions around 1930s Cherbourg; and events celebrating Normandy could draw huge crowds and popular interest, such as those in Rouen in 1904 and 1911, and in Bayeux and Coutances in the interwar period.[2]

Yet beyond following international trends of European regionalism, Normandy also demonstrated another dimension to 'transnational' regionalism. The cultivation of the regionally framed past involved the celebration of historical Norman ties to areas from Norway to North America and from Hastings to the Holy Land, which in turn led to the development of contemporary connections with many of these places and efforts to develop ideas

1 Augustus Asplet Le Gros, "Notre Vier Lingo" (1874), *The Toad and the Donkey: An Anthology of Norman Littérature from the Channel Islands*, ed. Geraint Jennings and Yan Marquis (London:Francis Boutle, 2011), 196-97. All translations in this chapter are my own.

2 Jean Pierre Chaline, "Les fêtes du Millénaire de la Normandie: Rouen 1911, *Etudes normandes*, 38, no. 3 (1989): 49-68; Nadine-Josette Chaline, "Rouen 1911: l'autre visage du Millénaire," *Etudes normandes*, 50, no. 2 (2011): 25-40; François Guillet, "L'image de la Normandie: réflexions sur la construction d'une identité territoriale au XIXe siècle," *Etudes normandes*, 56. no. 2 (2007): 7-20; Albert Nicolet, "La construction d'une identité de la Normandie dans la première moitié du XXe siècle," *Etudes normandes*, 52, no. 1 (2003): 10-24; Guy Nondier, "Images littéraires de la Normandie à la 'Belle Epoque' :Tradition ou renaissance?," *Annales de Normandie*, 29, no. 3 (1979): 331-50; Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010) 126-36, 149-53; "Une Semaine de Grandes Fêtes," *Cherbourg Éclair* [*Éclair*], Jul. 25, 1914; "Bulletin de la Société normande Alfred Rossel," *Éclair*, Jul. 15, 1933.

of a greater Norman family. Closer to home, Normandy was also a transnational region in a more obvious way, split between the five Norman departments of the French Republic and the British Crown dependencies of Jersey and Guernsey. Though divided in 1204 after King John's loss of Rouen to Philip Augustus, contacts between the islands and the continent remained close, and historic links and cultural similarities fed claims of shared Norman identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This chapter explores these interlinked aspects of Normandy as a transnational region, primarily through the lens of the popular and active local press of Jersey and mainland Normandy in the period from the late nineteenth century to the outbreak of the Second World War. The role of the provincial press in fostering identities, and in particular in the emergence of French regionalism, has been noted by historians, and its close integration with local society provides indications of how aspects of Norman identity, from regional dialects to the Viking past, were presented and celebrated in a range of contexts both in Jersey and on the continent.[3] Drawing on French historiography of Norman regional identity on the mainland, this chapter will discuss how the cultivation of this in France foregrounded a transnational past and sought international connections in the present. It will then examine the less-studied but significant links between Jersey and Normandy in this period, exploring perceptions of a shared Norman identity between island and continent relating to claims around shared history, the similarity of Jèrriais to mainland Norman dialects, and the practice of Norman law. As will be shown below, such ideas were also often mobilised in concrete exchanges between Normandy and the island. In comparing the role of Norman identity in both areas examined, it will be argued that it remained for both a regional identity: though its transnationality played a large part in making it distinctive, it retained a subordinate relationship with a national identity, though the nation in question differed.

3 Marc Martin, *La Presse régionale: Des* Affiches *aux grands quotidiens* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 157-61, 236; Jean Quellien and Christophe Mauboussin, *Journaux de 1786 à 1944: L'aventure de la presse écrite en Basse-Normandie* (Caen: Cahiers du Temps, 1998), 149; Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Écrire la France : Le mouvement littéraire régionaliste de langue française entre la Belle Époque et la Libération* (Paris: PUF, 1991) 176. C.f. Andrew Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town : The Provincial Press in England 1850-1900*, (Cambridge: Open Book, 2018) 263-99.

'Nos ancêtres les Vikings': Transnational understandings of the past in mainland Normandy

Turning first to the French context, the idea of Normandy as a transnational region represented a major theme in the construction of the Norman regional past, with emphasis on the duchy's Viking origins and the Norman conquests of Sicily and England. In line with wider French and European trends for the study of the provincial past, and partly inspired by Augustin Thierry's 1825 *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, interest in Normandy's Scandinavian heritage and medieval conquests grew in the context of learned societies in the nineteenth century. Studies claimed to find Viking traces in the character and appearance of the people, in popular traditions, in mythology, and even in the dress of fishermen, and academic attention to the Viking past increased later in the century.[4] By the early twentieth century, this transnational past had become a banal element of regional framing. The ancestral Vikings and their ubiquitous longships had become established figures in Norman regionalist literature.[5] The Viking "drakkar of the Normans", which appeared as early as 1902 in a cavalcade at Cherbourg, featured in the imagery of the 1904 Fêtes Normandes in Rouen, as well as appearing in the 1911 celebrations of the 'Millennium of Normandy', not only in Rouen, but also at smaller communal festivities covered in the *Journal de la Manche*.[6] This continued at events big and small during the interwar period, most notably the additional Millennium festivals held in Bayeux in 1924 and Coutances in 1933.[7] In these festivities, the Vikings, supported by a cast of Norman conquerors and crusaders of England, Italy and the Holy Land, appeared not only in speeches and commemorative volumes but also took physical form in the enormous historic costume parade of 1911 and the display of a replica longship in 1933.[8]

4 Guillet, 'L'Image de la Normandie', 18-19; François Guillet, "Le Nord mythique de la Normandie: Des Normands aux Vikings de la fin du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'à la Grande Guerre," *Revue du Nord*, 2 (2005): 459-71.

5 Ibid., 468.

6 "drakkar des Normands". "La Cavalcade de Cherbourg," *Journal de l'arrondissement de Valognes*, Aug. 15, 1902; "Les Preparatifs de la Fête," *L'Avranchin*, Jul. 22, 1911; "Rouen : La Grande Semaine des Fêtes du Millénaire Normand," *Journal de Rouen* [*JdR*], Dec. 6, 1911; "Grande Cavalcade," *Journal de la Manche* [*JdlM*], Aug. 12, 1911; "Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët," *JdlM*, Aug. 19, 1911; "Roncey," *JdlM*, Sep. 23, 1911.

7 "Bricquebec," *JdlM*, Jul. 31, 1920; "Lendemain de Fête," *Journal de la Ferté-Macé*, Sep. 2, 1923; M.-A. Macé, "Autour du Millénaire normand," *JdR*, Jun. 4-5, 1933.

8 Chaline, "Les Fêtes du Millénaire," 61; "Le Drakkar aux Fêtes du Millénaire Normand," *Moniteur du Calvados* [*MdC*], May 3, 1933; *Notre Millénaire : Coutances 933-1933*, (Coutances: Comité coutançais des fêtes du millénaire, 1933).

The local and regional press not only publicised these events and encouraged public involvement, but also reproduced the transnational historic themes which developed around them.[9] Newspapers printed speeches and reviewed books on these themes, reminding readers of the Norman genius of William the Conqueror or the Sicilian conquests of the Hauteville family, and encouraging them to take an interest in "our Viking ancestors" not only for their seafaring, exploration and piracy, but also for their settled existence and lawgiving in the "beautiful and rich" land of Normandy.[10] Contemporary news could also evoke Viking connections, with French president Armand Fallières' viewing of a longship in Norway in 1908 included in the *Journal de la Manche*'s 'Chronique Régional' under the heading 'The Ships of the Old Normans', and the same paper wondering whether the Danish king, en route to Paris via Cherbourg in 1907, knew that of the Danish origins of local placenames or the "Danish blood" of the Cotentin peasants.[11] In this press coverage, Normandy was situated within the French national context, but it was its transnational heritage which gave it regional distinctiveness. In some cases, Viking themes could become part of a chauvinistic discourse. The Norman poet Louis Beuve thus celebrated transnational Viking connections whilst showing a hostile attitude to people from outside Normandy who did not share in these supposed ancestral links. In the press, Achille Burnouf's play *La Terre des Hautemanière*, partly written in Norman dialect, was serialised in the *Journal de l'arrondissement de Valognes* and referenced Viking ancestry as part of a fixed Barrèsian world of inescapable ties to land or sea.[12] Overall however, Viking references were so frequently

9 "Les Fêtes normandes," *JdR*, Jun. 5, 1904; "Fêtes du Millénaire normand," *Reveil Fertois*, Mar. 9, 1911; "Chemin de Fer de l'État," *Éclair*, Jun. 21, 1933.

10 "nos ancêtres les Vikings", "belle et riche". Georges Dubosc, "Le Millénaire normand et l'Italie," *JdR*, Jan. 10, 1911; Emile Enault, "Rollon," *JdlM*, May 27, 1911; "Les Fêtes Religieuses du Millénaire Normand," *Indicateur de Bayeux*, May 30, 1911; "Rouen : La Grande Semaine du millénaire normand," *JdR*, Jun. 7, 1911; H. Cotentin, "Choses de la Semaine," *JdlM*, Jul. 5, 1911; Louis Madelin, "À Propos du Millénaire", *JdlM*, Jun. 21, 1911; Jules Delafosse, "Le Genie Normand," *MdC*, Jun. 21, 1911; "Les Normands dans l'Italie du sud au XIe siècle," *Éclair*, Feb. 6, 1923; "La Vièrge au Bouclier," *JdlM*, Jul. 26, 1924; "Faire-Part Original," *Éclair*, May 1, 1933; R.S. Paguiez de Johannes, 'Coutances à Travers les Ages', *Courrier de la Manche*, 21 May 1933; Ch. Birette, "Le Millénaire Normand du Cotentin," *Éclair,* May 2, 1933; "Les Conferènces," *JdR*, Jan. 6, 1938.

11 "sang dannois". "Les Navires des vieux Normands," in *JdlM*, Aug. 8, 1908; 'Un Cherbourgeois', "Un Roi de Danemarck à Cherbourg a Xe siècle," *JdlM*, Jun. 19, 1907.

12 Albert Nicolet, *Louis Beuve: Une Passion normande* (Fontaine-le-Bourg: Le Pucheux, 2013), 111-112; Achille Burnouf, "La Terre des Hautemanière," *Journal de l'arrondissement de Valognes*, Sep. 18, 1926-Jan. 22, 1927. Chauvinistic claims regarding transnational Viking-Norman identity also appeared in the writings of New England writer and proponent of Norman connections Sarah Orne Jewett. See Patrick Gleason, "Sarah Orne Jewett's "The Foreigner" and the Transamerican Roots of New England Regionalism", *Legacy* 28, no. 1 (2011): 25-27.

featured in the press as to become simply a stock trope available whenever Norman identity was celebrated or evoked, with a 1922 report on a demand by the Ligue de Normandie that football clubs in the Manche department be allowed to "sail with us in the old Norman drakkar" and play with them instead of in the Ligue de l'Ouest showing just how recognisable a commonplace the Viking theme had become.[13]

'Pour la plus Grande Normandie': Cultivating transnationality in the present

The emphasis placed by regionalist actors on the transnationalism of the Norman past was further developed through contemporary ties. A key organisation in these was the Souvenir Normand, a group led by aristocrats Jehan Soudan de Pierrefitte and the Marquis de la Rochethulon et Grente.[14] Based on claims of Viking affinities, medieval Norman conquests, and colonial migrations, the Souvenir worked to awaken the consciousness of 'Greater Normandy', and found elements of this almost wherever its promotors looked, with its magazine in 1909 listing as part of the Norman world not only Scandinavia, but America, Canada, Italy and Russia too, as well as demonstrating the Norman descent of the crowned heads of Europe.[15] As Brian Golding has discussed in his chapter on the Souvenir's activities in the run-up to the 1904 signing of the Entente cordiale, it leveraged these ideas to organise reciprocal visits between the 'sister Normandies' of France and England, unveiling monuments to King Harald and William the Conqueror, bringing the mayor of Hastings to Rouen in 1904, and seeking ties with British and other European royalty.[16] The Souvenir's internationalist efforts received local press coverage, and it had a hand in the millennium events held at Rouen in 1911, but the use of Norman heritage to frame international meetings went beyond the Souvenir's initiatives.[17]

In 1911, on top of the return of 1904's 'Normans of Hastings', representatives from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, the UK, Canada and

13 "voguent avec nous sur le vieux drakkar normand". "Foot-Ball Association," *JdlM*, Aug. 5, 1922.

14 Brian Golding, "Remembering the Battle of Hastings: Memorialization, Le Souvenir Normand, and the Entente Cordiale," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXIX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. Elisabeth Van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), 69-70.

15 "Les Normandies oubliées et ignorées," *Le Souvenir normand*, 1 (May 1909): 9-11; "Herlève et Guillaume le Conquerant: Ancêtres des Souverains d'Europe," *Les Gars normands*, Jul. 22, 1907.

16 Golding, "Remembering the Battle of Hastings," 75; Guillet, "Nord Mythique," 468-69; "Diex Aie,",*Les Gars normands,* Sep. 7, 1907.

17 "Le Souvenir Normand à Cherbourg,", *JdR,* Jan. 28, 1908; Arnould Galopin and Schalck de la Faverie, eds, *Le Livre du Millénaire de la Normandie: 911-1911* (Paris: Ficker, 1911) np.

the United States took part. Both Sweden and Norway sent naval ships to Rouen for the festivities, whilst the latter's delegation also included a choir and even a group of students who rowed non-stop from Ålesund in a replica longship, and Norway and Denmark bestowed Viking-themed gifts on the host town.[18] At events in both Rouen and Paris, foreign diplomats, academics, and politicians gathered to dine and make congratulatory speeches or academic presentations, whilst the French state took overall control of events and endorsed them through the presence of President Fallières.[19] The visits of these illustrious 'external Normans' received lavish coverage, not only in the *Journal de Rouen* but in papers across Normandy, and found echoes in the presence of Scandinavian and Canadian diplomats at the interwar events of Bayeux and Coutances.[20] In turn, these 'cousins' embraced their Norman ancestry, with Edward Clarke of the British branch of the Souvenir Normand asking in 1904: "Where can one be better than amongst one's family, Normans from across the Channel and Normans of the Seine."[21] Through their participation in Norman celebrations, these actors from far-flung countries thus not only confirmed the claims made for Normandy's transnational past but also contributed to its construction as a region with unique transnational ties in the present.

'Grande Normandie' as a 'petite patrie': A transnational region's place in the nation

Overall, however, discourse around Norman identity in this period remained within a European regionalist mode in its subordination to a broader French national identity, with any contestation of this from figures such as Louis Beuve remaining marginal and with little public echo.[22]

18 Chaline, "Les Fêtes du Millénaire," 56; "Rouen : La Semaine des Fêtes Normandes," *JdR*, Jun. 9, 1904; "Rouen : La Grande Semaine des Fêtes du Millénaire,." *JdR*, Jun. 6-9, 1911.

19 "Les Fêtes du Millénaire Normand," *Excelsior*, Jun. 11, 1911; "Les Fêtes du Millénaire," *Le Figaro*, Jun. 11, 1911.

20 "Le Millénaire de la Normandie," *JdlM*, Jun. 17, 1911; Delafosse, "Le Genie Normand"; [Carl] Goos, "Normands et Danois," *Journal de Flers*, Jun. 28, 1911; "Les Fêtes du Millénaire à Bayeux," *MdC*, Jun. 11, 1924; César Séverie, "L'Inauguration officielle des fêtes," in *Notre Millénaire* 15.

21 "Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille, Normands d'outre-manche et les Normands de la Seine.". "La Semaine des Fêtes normandes," *JdR*, Jun. 14, 1904; "Echos des Fêtes normandes," *JdR*, Jun. 15, 1904; "La Grande semaine des Fêtes du Millénaire normand," *JdR*, Jun. 7, 1911; "La Reception de Roald Amundsen à Rouen," *JdR*, Dec. 18, 1912.

22 An anonymous letter in the *Journal de l'arrondissement de Valognes* denouncing the planned presence of French kings in the historical parade at Coutances in 1933 matches views expressed in Beuve's correspondence and was likely from him, whilst comments on the 'national' character of Normandy in the *Courrier de la Manche* were likely written by Beuve as the paper's editor. The 1933 celebrations overall continued to show Normandy's contribution to a broader French narrative, and no complaints regarding this appeared elsewhere in the

Here, the Norman *petite patrie* was a familiar object of affection, the love for which naturally translated into support for the *grande patrie* of France.[23] Such ideas can be seen in the discussions regarding Norman authors such as Corneille and Flaubert, celebrated as part of the Norman contribution to the glory of France, and also permeated the 1911 Milennium celebrations in Rouen, where festivities were attended by the President of the Republic. Historical discourse covered in the press around these celebrations stressed how Normandy's history had brought it into unity with France and contributed to the prestige of the French nation. Thus an account of the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte (between Viking leader Rollo and West Frankish King Charles the Simple, which had established the duchy) printed in the *Journal de la Manche* described it as the beginning of "French Normandy" and coverage in the *Moniteur du Calvados* described "Norman heroes" as "glories of France", merging medieval conquests into French exploration and colonisation, a theme also present in the official *Livre du Millénaire de la Normandie*.[24] President Fallières was informed at Rouen that he was the "legitimate and direct successor [...] of Rollo, first duke of Normandy," and schoolgirls meeting him were dressed half in Norman costume, half as Marianne.[25] The president himself responded by emphasising the inseparability of Normandy and France and, speaking during subsequent celebrations in Caen, highlighted the unity of the *petite* and *grande patries*, stating that "Today, if one remains Norman, one is first and foremost a Frenchman and a good Frenchman."[26] As such, devotion to the region of Normandy was inescapably a form of devotion to France, the nation of which it was part.

This context is particularly important in understanding the role of the contemporary international connections developed around Normandy's historical origins and entanglements. Golding has argued that the Souve-

press. Nicolet, *Louis Beuve*, 82-84, 105-108; Un Normand du Cotentin, "Le Millénaire normand ne doit être que normand," *Journal de l'arrondissement de Valognes*, Jan. 28, 1933; 'À Propos du Millénaire', *Courrier de la Manche*, 28 May, 1933, 4 June, 1933; Macé, "Autour du Millénaire".

23 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Ils Apprenaient la France: L'exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique* (Paris : Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 1997), 17-29.

24 "Normandie française", "héros normands" "gloires de la France". "Le Millénaire de la Normandie"; Delafosse, "Le Genie Normand"; Aug. Chevalier, "Les Normands au Continent Noir," in *Le Livre du Millénaire* 82-93. Historical emphasis on Normandy's union with France and a continuity between medieval conquest and modern colonialism was also evident in 1933. M.-A. Macé, "Autour du Millénaire normand', *JdR*, Jun. 4, 1933; Henry Bérenger, "Préface," in *Notre Millénaire* 7-8.

25 "successeur légitime et direct [...] de Rollon, premier duc de Normandie". "Rouen : Les Fêtes du millénaire normand," *JdR*, Jun. 25, 1911.

26 "Aujourd'hui, si l'on reste Normand, on est avant tout Français et bon Français.". "Rouen : Les Fêtes du millénaire normand"; "Les Fêtes de Caen," *JdlM*, Jul. 19, 1911.

nir Normand's aim of building connections between "sister Normandies", though connected to a regionalist discourse of traditional Norman culture and developing in particular around the Entente cordiale, "cut across national frontiers" and offered a space in which "national rivalries might dissolve, and tensions resolve."[27] The breadth of the connections the Souvenir sought to weave, and its founders' commitment to ideas of universal peace in a period of competing European alliances, were certainly radical and, as Golding argues, set it apart from other organisations which sought to incorporate cultural ties into the building of European alliance blocs.

Yet it is clear that both within and beyond the purview of the Souvenir, Norman internationalism acted as a channel for connections favourable to France, with Souvenir-allied paper *Les Gars normands* claiming in 1907 that the "reawakening" of a greater Normandy facilitated contacts with "Cousins of Peace" and would help "make a 'Greater France' bloom again in the modern world."[28] In 1904, at the Souvenir's festivities in Rouen, the mayor of Hastings trod not only in the footsteps of William the Conqueror, but also Joan of Arc, with the press covering his gift of two decorative iron lilies to ornament her monument as an English homage to France's national heroine.[29] For the foreign delegations who attended the millennium celebrations in 1911, these provided an occasion not only to emphasise ties with Normandy, but to demonstrate peaceful and prosperous relations with contemporary France before an audience that included the president himself. The entanglement of Normandy and France was evident among the speeches of host and guests throughout events, including an assembly in Paris where "The mayor of Christiania [Oslo], the president of the Norwegian Storting, [and] the mayor of Hastings [said] how sympathetic their homelands are towards Normandy, France, and her radiant capital.'[30] Golding argues that the pan-Latinism of the southern French Félibrige may have been one of the inspirations for the Souvenir Normand, and it seems that the concept of a 'regionalist foreign policy', developed by Nicholas Berjoan to describe Félibrige activities which sought cultural links with other Latin countries

27 Golding, "Remembering the Battle of Hastings," 76-77.

28 "réveil", "les Cousins de la Paix", "faire refleurir dans le monde moderne une 'Plus Grande France'". Ibid., 65, 70, 76; Guillet, "Nord Mythique," 468; Jehan Soudan de Pierrefitte, "Le Réveil des Provinces de France : Réponse à une question," *Les Gars normands*, Aug. 5, 1907 (original emphasis).

29 "Rouen : La Semaine des Fêtes Normandes," *JdR*, Jun. 7, 1904.

30 " Le bourgmestre de Christiania [Oslo], le president du Storthing de Norvège, le maire de Hastings dissent combien leurs patries ont des sympathies pour la Normandie, la France et sa radieuse capitale.". "Le Millénaire de la Normandie".

whilst at the same time positioning the Midi as a bridge between France and these potential allies, is applicable to both the Provençal and Norman cases.[31] As a French region, Normandy's transnational connections thus acted as a channel through which international actors could emphasise their *particular* connections to France. Even when it appeared on the international stage, the qualities of the *petite patrie* were thus still leveraged in support of the *grande*.

'Cette petite Normandie': The region beyond the nation

If this Norman internationalism on the mainland was integrated into support for France, then what of those areas of the former duchy that found themselves outside of the Republic, the islands of Jersey and Guernsey? Whilst Ernest Renan claimed that Channel Islanders and mainland Normans had nothing in common, many clearly disagreed.[32] In 1907 *Les Gars Normands* depicted the Channel Islands as "this little France, this little Normandy," where patois-speaking judges upheld the medieval Coutumier normand, and where "Edward [VII] is duke, but it is still old Rollo who reigns."[33] Such views were not confined to the Souvenir but appear throughout the provincial press of Normandy. This was in part thanks to the influence of Victor Hugo and his son François Victor, who sought refuge from the Second Empire first in Jersey and then in Guernsey, writing books which reinforced perceptions of the islands' Normanness.[34] The Channel Islands were seen as Norman, inhabited by descendants of the conquerors of England, and visits to them by British kings were referred to as trips by the "duke of Normandy" to his duchy. Two areas were particularly important in this discourse, namely language in the form of the "Norman patois", and law in the legal system's basis that went back to the old *coutumier* of Normandy.[35] An article from 1904 in the *Journal de la Manche* claimed that the islands featured "all that is most Norman, in Normandy. It is there that one

31 Golding, "Remembering the Battle of Hastings," 74; Nicolas Berjoan, "L'idée latine du Félibrige: Enjeux, boires et déboires d'une politique étrangère régionaliste (1870-1890)," *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 42 (2011): 121-36.

32 Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce que qu'une nation?*, (Paris : Calmann Lévy, 1882), 17-18.

33 "cette petite France, cette petite Normandie", "Edouard [VII] est duc, mais c'est toujours le vieux Rollon qui règne". "Toutes les Normandies: Les Îles de la Manche,", *Les Gars normands*, Jul. 8, 1907.

34 Auguste Luchet, "Jersey," *JdR*, Sep. 24-28, 1842; "L'Archipel de la Manche," *JdR*, Oct. 1, 1883; "Le Cinquantenaire de Victor Hugo à Guernesey," *Éclair*, May 26, 1935; "La Normandie inconnue," *Éclair*, Aug. 12, 1935.

35 "duc de Normandie", "patois normand". Henry Houssaye, "Jersey," *JdR*, Sep. 18, 1885; "Aux Îles Anglo-Normandes," *Éclair*, Aug. 21, 1912; "Caen," *MdC*, May 31, 1923; Jacques Bonhomme, "Bonhommades," *Bonhomme normand*, Dec. 14,1923; "Visite Royale aux Îles Anglo-normandes," *Éclair*, Jul. 23, 1935; "La Semaine de droit normand à Guernesey," *JdR*, Jul. 23, 1938.

must seek the true Norman language, which elsewhere is denatured, and the Norman customs which have not been lost".[36] Such ideas show how the islands were often viewed as a relic area, "the only relic of the Old Duchy of William the Conqueror".[37] The Jersiais were perceived by the rector of the University of Caen in 1923 as "Normans like us, more Norman as it were" in their adherence to the old Norman legal *coutumier*, and not only the Hugos but a host of journalists and guidebook writers were fascinated by Jersey's exotic feudal aspects from seigneurial rights to the Clameur de Haro (a customary procedure against land infringement) and its inhabitant's speaking "the archaic language of Robert Wace".[38] Such was the strength of these ideas that the *Cherbourg Éclair* could claim that "Even in the 20th century, in 1935, our cousins of Jersey and Guernsey think themselves rich and happy to have remained Normans from the year 1200."[39] As such, many differences could be explained within a shared identity: Channel Islanders were fellow Normans, but their Normanness was from a different time.

As with the manifestations of transnational Normanness discussed above, these ideas were not just abstract discourse but took concrete form. Within sight of the French coast, Jersey maintained close relations with France. Regular steamship services connected the islands to the mainland, bringing numerous tourists and excursion groups.[40] Newspapers in Jersey and neighbouring areas of France covered events in each other's circulation areas and cited each other as sources for articles.[41] The economic importance of trade between them, particularly in agriculture, was highlighted in local newspapers, and though increased restrictions saw this drop off after the

36 "tout ce qu'il y a de plus normand, en Normandie. C'est là qu'il faut chercher le vrai langage normand, qui ailleurs se dénature, et les coûtumes normandes qui ne sont pas perdus". H. Cotentin, "Revouvelé d'Ulysse," *JdlM*, Nov. 30, 1904.

37 "la seule survivance de l'Ancien Duché de Guillaume le Conquerant". "Accompagnons Edouard Heriot chez Nos Cousins Jersiais et Guernesiais," *Éclair*, Aug. 28, 1932; David Hopkin, "Regionalism and Folklore," in Xosé M.Núnez Seixas and Eric Storm, eds., *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 48-50.

38 "Normands comme nous, plus Normands pour ainsi dire", "l'archaique langue de Robert Wace". "Jersey et Guernesey: La dernière citadelle du régime féodal," *MdC*, Sep. 6, 1908; "Rouen : La Grande Semaine des Fêtes du Millénaire normand," *JdR*, Jun. 10, 1911; "Aux Îles Anglo-normandes"; A.L. "Le Banquet universitaire," *MdC*, Feb. 13, 1923; Henri Boland, *Les Îles de la Manche* (Paris: Hachette, 1904).

39 "Même au XXe siècle, en 1935, nos cousins de Jersey et de Guernesey s'estiment riches et heureux d'être restés des Normands de l'an 1200.". "La Normandie inconnue," *Éclair*.

40 "Grande excursion à Jersey," *JdlM*, Aug. 2, 1911; "Nos Amis jersiais nous rendent visite," *Éclair*, Jul. 16, 1928.

41 "Ré-élection du maire de Carteret," *Nouvelle Chronique de Jersey* [*Nouvelle*], May 23, 1900; "L'Exportation des Cailloux," *Éclair*, Jan. 14, 1929.

First World War, other connections remained important. From the Revolution onward, French exiles had come to Jersey for political reasons, with the religious restrictions of the Third Republic seeing several French orders establish themselves in the island. The later nineteenth century also saw substantial migration to Jersey from neighbouring French departments, particularly the Côtes-du-Nord, so that by the early twentieth century, over ten percent of the population had been born in France, while thousands of agricultural labourers also came to Jersey during each potato season.[42]

Cultural connections were also strong: in the wake of the Entente cordiale, a series of musical competitions were organised in Jersey and the Manche department where many municipal bands competed, bringing with them numerous excursionists.[43] Events were organised and attended by the authorities of Jersey and the towns and departments of the French coast, as well as by academic, business, and cultural organisations, including the Souvenir Normand. The latter brought the bailiff of Jersey (the highest official in Jersey's self-governing institutions), Sir William Venables Vernon, to Caen in 1905, and introduced its pan-Norman anthem "Diex Aie" to the dinners of the Jersey Society in London, an influential expatriate group.[44] The diffusion of dialect literature from Jersey and Guernsey played a role in its emergence on the mainland in the later nineteenth century, and major Jèrriais writer Edwin Luce read the works of his mainland contemporary Louis Beuve.[45] In 1938 the "Bouans Viers Jèrriais" theatre troupe performed dialect plays to a packed audience in Cherbourg alongside the town's own Société Alfred Rossel, whilst as late as 1940 the *Bonhomme normand* and the *Chroniques de Jersey* were still reprinting dialect content from each other, presenting it to their readers as evidence of cultural affinity.[46]

42 Michel Monteil, *French Immigration to Jersey 1850-1950*, trans. Glynn S. Burgess and Rory A.D. Hill, (St. Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2015), 26-36, 57, 68.

43 Trouve à r'dire, "Lendemain de fête," *Chronique de Jersey* [*Chronique*], May 22, 1907; "Saint-Lô en Fête," *JdlM*, Jun. 2, 1909; "Les Visites internationales," *Nouvelle*, Aug. 18, 1909; "Le Concours Musical," *Nouvelle*, Jun. 7, 1911; "Les Grandes Fêtes Musicales," *MdC*, Sep. 5, 1930.

44 "La Société Jersiaise," *Nouvelle*, Aug. 12, 1903; "La Société des Jersiais à Londres," *Chronique*, Oct. 17 1903; "Les fêtes à Caen", *Nouvelle*, Aug 12 1905; "L"Entente cordiale", *Nouvelle*, Aug 16, 1905; "Les Nouvelles", *JdlM*, Apr. 24,1907; "Salut à nos Amis de France," *Morning News*, June 5, 1911; "Le Concours musical"; "The Jubilee of the Société Jersiaise", *Evening Post*, May 23, 1923; "La Bienvenue,", *Chroniques de Jersey*, May 23, 1923; "Le Banquet universitaire"; "Les Fêtes du Millénaire de Bayeux," *JdR*, Jun. 11, 1924; Caouain [George W. de Carteret], *Chroniques de Jersey*, Apr. 16, 1938.

45 Catherine Bougy, "La Littérature dialectale en Normandie au XIXe siècle : un renouveau venu des îles", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 159.1 (2001) 129-152; Elie [Ediwn Luce], "Notre Séthèe", *Nouvelle*, Nov. 22, 1913.

46 "Cherbourg: Nos cousins jersiais ont donné une soirée au Grand Théâtre," *Éclair*, Apr. 19, 1938; "Echos de la Semaine," *Bonhomme normand*, Mar. 1, 1940; *Almanach des Chroniques de Jersey pour l'année bissextile 1940* (Jersey: Chroniques de Jersey, 1939), 119.

These exchanges and contacts provided an occasion for discussions of shared Norman identity in the press of both Jersey and mainland Normandy. In letters to the *Chronique de Jersey* in 1907 (one of which also appeared in *Les Gars normands*), Jerseyman Philippe Ahier referenced the identity of "we Normans, either English or French", the Conquest, and the Scandinavian "drakkars" of "our fearsome ancestors", all centred on his current efforts (in correspondence with the Norman-born André de Boisandré, editor of the anti-Semitic Parisian *Libre parole* newspaper) to organise a celebration of Norman author Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly in Coutances.[47] Ahier's rhetoric was particularly striking, but claims to Normanness were also widespread in mainstream press features and reporting on official events. In 1911, the *Morning News* welcomed visitors to a musical competition in Jersey with a special French article referencing the island's Norman roots.[48] More strongly, in relation to that year's Millennium events in Rouen, the *Nouvelle Chronique de Jersey* reported on a speech by the Lieutenant Bailiff, given before French representatives assembled in the St. Helier, which stressed the importance of Jersey's representation at these celebrations as "descendants of the Normans" and "remnants of this old Duchy." The paper and its competitor, the *Chronique*, took up the theme themselves with long articles on the history of Vikings in Normandy and the importance of this to Jersey.[49] Similar rhetoric continued to appear in the 1920s in both English and French-language newspapers. In 1923 the merged *Chroniques de Jersey* welcomed French academics and lawyers arriving for a conference on Norman legal history "On behalf of the people of Jersey, of this old Norman race," and reprinted a speech by Vernon in which he proclaimed Jersey's loyalty to "the old Norman laws, which are essentially Scandinavian laws." These themes surfaced again in 1924 when Vernon and other Jersey representatives were given places of honour at the millennium festivities in Bayeux, and at the 1927 Semaine de droit normand in Guernsey. In the press of Jersey, events both there and on the mainland could thus be viewed through a lens of intra-Norman exchange.[50]

47 "nous Normands, soit Français ou Anglais", "nos ancêtres terribles", Philippe Ahier, "Correspondance," *Chronique*, March 30, Jul. 13 and 20, 1907; Philippe Ahier, "Les Normands de Jersey," *Les Gars Normands*, Jul. 29, 1907.

48 "Salut à nos Amis de France," *Morning News*, Jun. 5, 1911.

49 "descendants des Normands", "restes de ce vieux Duché". "Le Banquet au Grand Hotel," *Nouvelle*, Jul. 7, 1911; J.L.B. "Notice sur les Incursions des Vikings en Normandie," *Nouvelle*, Jun. 14, 1911; J.L.B. "911-1911: Notice sur les Incursions des Vikings en Normandie," *Chronique*, Jun. 14, 1911.

50 "Au nom du people Jersiaise, de cette vieille race normande", "la vielle legislation normande, qui est en somme la legislation scandinave". "La Bienvenue"; "La Semaine normande", *Chro-*

On the mainland, the *Journal de la Manche*, *Moniteur du Calvados* and *Bonhomme normand* similarly emphasised the Norman nature of Jersey in coverage of the 1923 Semaine du droit normand in Jersey and the subsequent granting of an honorary doctorate to Bailiff Vernon during a visit to the University of Caen, with the *Journal de Rouen* echoing such coverage during further visits to Guernsey and Jersey for the Semaine du droit normand of 1938.[51] Even comparatively minor exchanges could be framed in this way, with the *Moniteur du Calvados* taking the opportunity during a 1929 visit of the St. Helier fire brigade to Caen to welcome "the "cousins" from the Channel Islands" by quoting Norman regionalist poet Charles Théophile-Féret's description of Jersey as a "piece of Normandy which fell into the sea."[52] In the context of these contacts and their representation in the press of both Jersey and the mainland, ideas of a transnational Norman identity appear to have been reciprocated and reinforced. That these exchanges crossed a national border was clearly understood, but Normanness provided a framework in which both sides could draw on the same terms to describe claims of a shared heritage in the past and shared identity in the present. However, as will be discussed below, Jersey's liminal position and differing national status meant that the precise connotations of this identity were not the same on island and mainland.

'Not French but Norman': Same region, different nation?

The valorisation of Norman heritage and identity in Jersey was not limited to the context of exchanges with the Norman mainland. The States of Jersey called on Norman heritage in a 1907 dispute over heraldry, and a 1913 talk given to the Société Jersiaise in St. Helier discussed the life and deeds of Duke Rollo.[53] At the early-twentieth-century dinners of the Jersey Society in London, songs with Norman and Viking themes were sung, and the Norwegian ambassador attended as a supposed fellow Viking descendant. In the interwar period, talks given to the Society included topics related to

niques de Jersey, May 26, 1923; "Les Fêtes du Millénaire," *Chroniques de Jersey*, Jun. 18, 1924. C.f. "Compatriotes Normands," *Chronique*, May 11,1907; "The Jubilee of the Société Jersiaise,"; "The Norman Week," *Evening Post*, May 24, 1923; "À Guernesey", *Chroniques de Jersey*, Jun. 1, 1927.

51 "Caen: La Semaine du Droit Normand," *MdC*, May 20, 1923; Paul Le Cacheux, "Les Fêtes du Cinquantenaire de la Société Jersiaise," *JdlM*, Jun. 09, 1923; "Le Banquet universitaire"; Bonhomme, "Bonhommades"; "La Semaine du droit normand de Guernesey".

52 "les "cousins" des Îles Anglo-Normandes", "morceau de Normandie qui tomba dans la mer". "Des Pompiers jersiais à Caen," *MdC*, Sep. 11, 1929.

53 *Actes et Correspondance au sujet de l'emploi par le vapeur "Duke of Normandy" de pavillons distinctifs*, (Jersey: States of Jersey, 1907); G.B. Renouf, *Rollo: Duke of Normandy*, (Jersey: Labey, 1914).

Normandy and Jersey's links with it.[54] In 1938, the committee for the Norman-French section of the Jersey Eisteddfod, an annual festival of literature and drama, wrote to Jersey headmasters to encourage "Jersey dialect-speaking pupils" to keep alive "the speech alike of trouvère & Chronicler, & the tongue in which William the Norman asserted his claim to sovereignty."[55] Ideas of the island's Norman identity and heritage thus remained a feature of Jersey life throughout the period.

These themes were evident in the press. *La Normandie inconnue* was serialised in the *Nouvelle Chronique* in 1904, giving front-page coverage to François Victor Hugo's comments on the Norman nature of Jersey, and it was quoted in articles and readers' letters.[56] Newspapers' reporting, opinion articles, and readers' letters referenced Jersey's Norman identity.[57] The Norman Conquest of England, and the supposed Norman origins of the British royal family, were particularly favoured topics. References to the latter's ruling Jersey as Dukes of Normandy abounded, as in a toast for Queen Victoria's 1897 jubilee which wished "Good health, all happiness and long life / To the Duchess of Normandy", and were still present in 1936 coverage of Edward VIII.[58] Reports on Jersey Society dinners in London in the early twentieth century were full of such themes, with Bailiff Vernon in 1906 not only toasting "the health of the King, Duke of Normandy, *our* Duke!," but also claiming that Jerseymen "are descended from the same old Scandinavian races as our gracious queen", Alexandra of Denmark, wife of Edward VII.[59]

The prominence of these themes, however, also hints at the particular nature of Norman identity in Jersey in this period, differing from the French departments with which it was supposedly shared and shaped by the island's

54 "List of titles of talks given to the Society with dates and who delivered them," Jersey Archive L/D/05/C/30; "La Société des Jersiais à Londres,"; "La Société Jersiaise à Londres," *Chronique*, Mar. 11, 1905; "La Société Jersiaise à Londres," *Nouvelle*, Nov. 23, 1907; Brian Ahier Read, *Jersey in London: A History of the Jersey Society in London 1896-1989* (St Helier: Seaflower, 1994), 25-26.

55 "Minute book of the Norman French Section of the Jersey Eisteddfod," Jersey Archive L/D/52/A4/1.

56 "Conservons Notre Langue et nous conserverons notre nationalité," *Chronique*, Aug. 8, 1857; A.B. Mourant, "La Normandie inconnue," *Chronique*, Aug. 26, 1857; Arthur Mourant, "Correspondance," *Chronique*, April 25, 1874; François Victor Hugo, "La Normandie inconnue," *Nouvelle*, Jan. 27 and Mar. 2, 1904; Un Tout Vi, "Correspondance," *Nouvelle*, May 24, 1905.

57 "Arguments frappants", *Chronique*, Aug. 2, 1893; "Ver non semper viret sed Vernon semper viret," *Chronique*, May 20, 1899; E.P. Falle, "Wace – And His Times," *Morning News*, Jun. 25, 1923; "Le Vier Patois", *Chroniques de Jersey*, Nov. 5, 1930; "Banquet d'honneur", *Chroniques de Jersey*, Oct. 5, 1932; Un St. Ouonnais, "Correspondence", *Chroniques de Jersey*, Feb. 2, 1935.

58 "Santêh, tout bonheur èth longue vie / A la Duchesse de Normandie.". "La Duchesse de Normandie," *Chronique*, Jun. 30, 1897; "Edouard VIII", *Chroniques de Jersey*, Jan. 25, 1936.

59 "la santé du Roi, Duc de Normandie, notre Duc!", "sont descendus des mêmes vieilles races scandinaves de notre gracieuse reine". "La Société Jersiaise à Londres," *Nouvelle*, Mar. 10, 1906.

liminal position as a British possession separate from the United Kingdom and positioned between the latter and France. Over the nineteenth century, Jersey saw a large influx of migrants from both the United Kingdom and France. Jersey's French-born population grew to one in nine of the island's inhabitants by the first decade of the twentieth century, a figure which did not include the thousands of seasonal workers who arrived each year for the potato harvest, or those born in Jersey who retained French citizenship.[60] This was met with a moral panic, at times producing overt and violent hostility. Newspaper columns opined on the "contamination of evil-disposed immigrants", and in 1900, the relief of Mafeking by British forces was met with an anti-French riot in St. Helier, where troops were called to disperse a mob destroying French-owned businesses.[61] Fears over supposed immigrant criminality, land ownership, and threats to Jersey's political ties with Britain culminated in the establishment of a States Committee on Immigration in 1905, with the *Jersey Times* and *Nouvelle Chronique* calling for restrictions. The *Chronique* was alone in maintaining a pro-immigrant stance that it acknowledged was likely to be unpopular with readers.[62]

Newspapers in France often framed the island's cultural familiarity in terms of French identity, even claiming that the islands would become part of France. Yet against a backdrop of hostility towards French immigrants, such discourse on the Frenchness of Jersey was, the occasional Hugo quotation aside, unlikely to go down well in Jersey's own press.[63] One 1904 letter to the *Nouvelle Chronique* even portrayed a French Jersey as literally the stuff of nightmares: its writer satires Jersey's new conscription law through a dream account in which he realises that "oh woe! we were French" due to its seemingly tyrannical obligations.[64] In this context, perhaps strengthened by the fact that the vast majority of the French immigrants were not Norman but Breton, a Norman identity represented a way to acknowledge Jersey's culture and affinities with the mainland without directly evoking Frenchness.[65] This is made explicit in a 1923 review of Jersey-set novel *Rose*

60 Monteil, *French Immigration* 60-69

61 Monteil, *French Immigration* 100-126; "The States," *Jersey Times*, Feb. 10, 1905; "The Relief of Mafeking," *Evening Post*, May 22, 1900; "Le Secours de Mafeking," *Nouvelle*, May 23, 1900; Elie Mahy, "Correspondance," *Nouvelle*, Feb. 18, 1905.

62 Monteil, *French Immigration* 117; "Etats," *Nouvelle*, Jan. 28,1905; "L'Immigration", *Nouvelle*, Feb, 1, 1905; "The States," *Jersey Times*, Feb. 9, 1905; Trouve à R'dire, "Le Superficiel et le fond de la question," *Chronique*, Feb, 4-Mar. 8, 1905.

63 Cotentin, "Renouvelé d'Ulysse"; A. Marvand, "Les Îles Anglo-Normandes," *JdlM*, Sep. 6, 1913; François-Victor Hugo, "La Normandie inconnue," *Nouvelle*, Jan. 27, 1904.

64 "malheur! nous étions des Français", 'Ruisseau', "Correspondance," *Nouvelle*, Mar. 26, 1904.

65 Monteil, *French Immigration* 69.

and Laurel by the local *Evening Post*, which stated: "[I]t is well to remember that the origin of the islands is not French but Norman. The language of Paris is despised by the proud descendants of the Normans, as evidenced by the patois of this work. [...] It would not be amiss for the modern English politician to study the work with a view to gleaning some knowledge of the Island and its inhabitants when anticipating taxation or infringing their Constitutional rights."[66]

Despite the claim of this review, one context where Norman identity was mobilised as a way of negotiating the island's relationship with Britain was the defence of French as Jersey's administrative language. In the later nineteenth century, as British immigration and English education increased the Anglophone population, efforts were made to introduce English to Jersey's courts and parliament.[67] In 1900, the year when the use of English was finally permitted in the States, proponents of the change capitalised on anti-French feeling related to the Boer War, claiming that the use of French created "the impression, erroneous and dangerous to the welfare of the Island, that they were of French race, had French traditions, and French aspirations." An editorial in the *Evening Post* argued that "Language should follow the Flag" and that the use of English would draw Jersey "into closer union with the mother country."[68]

Jersey's French-language newspapers, however, resisted these connotations in their opposition to language changes in the 1890s and 1900s. Instead, they claimed that the use of French was a cornerstone of Jersey's autonomous constitution, that it was a natural outgrowth of Jersey's indigenous linguistic heritage in the form of Jèrriais, and invoked the Norman Conquest as justification for it, allowing the French language to be seen as part of Jersey's ties with Britain.[69] A *Chronique* editorial in 1900 claimed

66 "Review of *Rose and Laurel* by Hilda Balleine," *Evening Post*, May 23, 1923.

67 Monteil, *French Immigration* 140-47.

68 G. Torre Picot and Ed. Toulmin Nicolle, "Correspondence," *Evening Post*, Jan. 6, 1900; "English in the States," *Jersey Times*, Jan. 19, 1900; "The Optional Use of English in the States," *Evening Post*, Feb. 8, 1900; A Member of the States of Guernsey, "Correspondence," *Jersey Times*, Feb. 10, 1900; "Victory," *Jersey Times*, Feb. 10, 1900. Similar arguments had appeared before, see "Et qu'eroit jamai creu d'itai!," *Jersey Independent*, Oct. 12, 1858.

69 "Anglomanie – Suicide," *Chronique*, Jan. 28, 1891; "Notre Langue maternelle. Qu'en fait-on?," *Chronique*, Dec. 1,1897 ; "Un Grand Vieillard," *Nouvelle*, 13 Jan. 1900; Pierre Fendre, "Pour l'amour du Vièr Jerriais," *Chronique*, Jan. 27, 1900; "Notre Langue maternelle," *Chronique*, Jan. 27, 1900; "La Question linguistique," *Nouvelle*, Feb. 3, 1900; "Le Très Reverend Doyen et la décadence jersiaise," *Nouvelle*, Dec. 15, 1900; A.M., "Nos Jeunes Gens dans l's'Etats," *Nouvelle*, Dec. 11, 1901; Pro Patria, "Correspondance," *Nouvelle*, Oct. 17, 1906. Rhetoric around Jersey's "Norman" ties to Britain was usually based on the idea of loyalty to the British monarch as successor to the Duchy of Normandy. However, ideas regarding the role of the Conquest in

that "Our official language, in effect, is the elder daughter of the old Norman, which was, in any case, the official language of England for 400 years. Let us remind ourselves that William the Conqueror and all his successors, for 330 years, all spoke French, and not English." The editorial continued satirically: "Our national arms are stained with Norman mottos. Well, let us be *thorough*, and inform His Majesty in Council that it will henceforth be impossible for us to say: '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*' or '*Dieu et mon droit*'; but that we wish to use an optional English translation, so as to show our loyalty!"[70] In this context, the transnational nature of Norman identity allowed differing interpretations depending on the national context in which it was invoked. In Jersey it was thus useful not only in avoiding connotations of Frenchness, but also in negotiating the complex and at times contested relationship between a distinctive Jersey identity, linked to particular cultural and political attributes and at times referred to in the press as a 'nationality', and wider loyalties of Britishness or Englishness.[71]

Conclusion

In conclusion, an examination of the press of Jersey and mainland Normandy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals a Norman identity that can be viewed as both transnational and regional. The framing of history in Normandy saw the Viking raids and settlement of the coast of northern France become incorporated into a regional past, the legacy of which was supposedly still evident in the regional character of modern Normans. Medieval figures whose exploits had taken them far beyond the old duchy, such as William the Conqueror or the de Hauteville family, were celebrated as exemplars of Normanness. These connections served as pretexts for developing modern international links. Exchanges and visits

the relationship between Jersey and Britain could be more forthright, as seen in a letter of 1909 on the growing use of English in churches which complained of how Jersey people were "singeant le parler et les manières d'un people que nos ancêtres Normands avaient jadis conquis" Joseph de Jersey, "Correspondance," *Nouvelle*, Jan. 2, 1909.

70 "Notre langue officielle, en effet, est la fille ainée du vieux Normand qui fut, d'ailleurs, la langue officielle de l'Angleterre pour 400 ans. Ressouvenons-nous que Guillaume le Conquerant et tous ses successeurs, pendant 330 ans, ont tous parlé français, et non anglais [...] Nos armoires nationales sont ternies de devises normandes. Or, soyons *thorough*, et représentons à sa Majesté en Conseil qu'il nous sera impossible de dire désormais: "Honi soit qui mal y pense" ou "Dieu et mon droit"; mais que nous désirons l'usage facultatif d'une traduction anglaise, afin de monter notre loyauté !" "Notre Langue maternelle en danger," *Chronique*, Jan. 24, 1900.

71 Arthur Mourant, "Correspondance"; "Ni Anglais, ni Français, mais Jersiais," *Chronique*, Feb. 4, 1891; "Notre Langue maternelle. Qu'en fait-on ?"; "English in the States"; "The Optional Use of English in the States"; "La Société Jersiaise à Londres,", *Nouvelle*, Mar. 10, 1906.

involving the Normans' supposed lands of origin or countries they had conquered or settled, stretching to include Scandinavia, England, Greece, Italy, Canada, and the US, both underlined Normandy's claims to a transnational past and allowed the projection of global connections as a part of its regional distinctiveness. The transnational nature of Norman identity was deepened by British sovereignty over Jersey and Guernsey. Perceptions of the islands as Norman were common in the press of the mainland, as well as featuring in identity discourse in the press of Jersey, with meetings between the inhabitants of 'Normandie insulaire' and 'Normandie continentale' often serving to reaffirm this shared identity. Similarities such as those in language were framed as part of this identity, whilst references to a common Norman past allowed the negotiation of difference.

But if this shows an identity that appeared to be shared across a national border, it also demonstrates the ways in which Norman identity could be shaped by contexts that highlight its *regional* nature. Jersey appears to have remained something of a frontier zone in the period, where flexible identities could be leveraged in different circumstances.[72] Here, French, English and Norman identities could all be variously claimed and denied, combined and emphasised, ignored and forgotten. This could depend on whether the writer or speaker was from Jersey or looking at the island from the outside; whether they were writing in English or French; whether the context of writing was fishing disputes, language legislation, or the Entente cordiale; and whether they were writing earlier in the period, when ties to France were stronger, or later, when insular papers made fewer references to Normanness and French papers (and some insular observers) saw the island as anglicising and losing its Norman character.[73] Norman identity in Jersey was mobilised in ways that helped to navigate this complex situation, with a clear example being supplied by Bailiff Vernon in 1906 when he acknowl-

72 For a discussion of this in an earlier period, see Renaud Morieux, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 251-259.

73 Luchet, "Jersey"; "Et qu'eroit jamai creu d'itai!"; "Qui vive ? – Normandie," *Chronique*, Apr. 21, 1866; Houssaye, "Jersey"; "Ni Anglais, ni Français, mais Jersiais," *Chronique*, Feb. 4, 1891; "Notre Langue maternelle. Qu"en fait-on?," *Chronique*, Dec. 1, 1897; "Un Grand Vieillard," *Nouvelle*, Jan. 20, 1900; "English in the States"; "The Optional Use of English in the States"; Samuel [Philippe Le Sueur Mourant], "'Ip, 'Ip, 'oréé," *Chronique*, Feb. 17, 1900; "Les Anglais dans la Manche,", *L'Avranchin*, Jul. 1, 1900; H. Cotentin, "Renouvelé d'Ulysse"; "Saint-Lô en Fête"; "A Nos Visiteurs", *Chronique*, Jun. 7, 1911; "Excursion à Jersey," *JdlM*, May 29,1912; A. Marvand, "Îles Anglo-Normandes"; "La Saint Clair,", *Éclair*, Jul. 6, 1927; Paul Desiles, "Les Îles Anglo-Normandes,", *MdC*, Jul. 14, 1927; "La Haye du Puits: Rencontre Anglo-Normand,", *Éclair*, Oct. 13,1928 ; "Toutes les Cloches," *Éclair*, Jan. 18, 1932; "Cherbourg: Nos Cousins jersiais ont donné une soirée au grand théâtre"; Un St. Ouonnais, "Correspondence".

edged that a toast to "The Mother Country" could lead Jerseymen to hesitate between Jersey and England, before encouraging them to opt for the latter as "the seat of the monarchy which originated in the Duchy of Normandy."[74]

But if Jersey's Normanness could serve to integrate local identity with loyalty to the United Kingdom, and often to a particularly imperial sense of Britishness, in France it was a model of *petite patrie* discourse. Local history and dialects were identified as elements of Norman cultural heritage, but such dialects were prized as the foundations of the French language; the history of Normandy was presented as contributing to the broader history of France. The conquering feats of Normans in the past now contributed to the glory of French history, and the international connections that were developed in the present allowed Normandy to channel additional ties for France on the world stage in a period of shifting international alliances. Normandy's transnationalism was thus a regional particularity, something which made it special within the French whole. If we see regional identities as phenomena which gravitate (and often mediate) between the local sphere of experience and the wider loyalty of the nation, then it is clear that Norman identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could function in such a way both on the continent and in Jersey.[75] Overall, Norman identity thus not only demonstrates the multiple ways that regional identities could cross national boundaries, be this through far-flung historic connections or the division of the region itself, but also reaffirms how ideas of regional distinctiveness were positioned within a national framework, though as a cross-border region, the nation to which Norman identity related was not the same for all involved.

74 "la Mère-Patrie", "le siège de la monarchie sortie du Duché de Normandie". "La Société Jersiaise à Londres", *Nouvelle*, Mar. 10, 1906.

75 Xosé M. Núnez Seixas and Eric Storm, "Introduction: Region, Nation and History," in Núnez Seixas and Storm, eds. *Regionalism and Modern Europe* 6.

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Feminine Representations of Alsace: The *Alsacienne* at the Franco-German Border

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Introduction

As a border region between two nation-states, Alsace has played a crucial role in the construction of both France and Germany, particularly in defining borders and national identities. The region changed nationality four times between 1870 and 1945, and developed a Franco-German culture and identity. French, since the Treaty of Munster signed in 1648, Alsace was lost by France and given to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. After Germany's defeat in the First World War, Alsace returned to France for twenty-two years before being annexed by the Third Reich in 1940. Finally, after the Second World War, Alsace returned to France. With each change of nationality, the local population learned to adapt to new laws, languages and cultures. For most, this meant performing a French or German identity depending on the political context. Oscillating between two nations, the Alsatians developed a hybrid local identity based on Germanic dialect and traditions, associated with a French political culture. Social, political, familial or economic, transnational exchanges between the local Alsatian population, and populations in France and Germany never stopped. Alsatian identity was built through the local population's networks and exchanges across the border.[1] In that respect, Alsatian identity and symbols are profoundly transnational, and have been used on both sides of the Rhine to communicate ideas about Alsace and national belonging across borders.

One figure that provided a stable sense of identity throughout these turbulent changes of nationality is the *Alsacienne*, a young woman wearing the Alsatian folk costume. Since the 1870s, her image has become a common representation of Alsace and a symbol of the complex issues of identity in the border region. Symbolising Alsace's Franco-German past and unique identity, and an idealised rural past and femininity, the *Alsacienne* is often considered simply as part of the local folk culture. From war memorials and museums to tablecloths, beer bottles, and political leaflets, her image has been and remains used for political, cultural, and marketing purposes. At the Franco-German border, however, the *Alsacienne* is more than a folk rep-

1 Steven Vertrovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 2-3.

resentation of the region, but a political statement used alternatively by the French press and the local population to promote different discourses about identity in Alsace. Images of the *Alsacienne* were understood in Germany, too, where they were also used as a symbol of national unity and belonging. However, the overwhelming number of pro-French representations of the *Alsacienne* between 1870 and 1918 established the *Alsacienne* as a symbol of French belonging, even in Germany. In 1940, Alsace was placed under Nazi rules, and statues of *Alsaciennes* were destroyed as they were considered 'too French'. The *Alsacienne* thus rapidly became a transnational symbol of the region used and understood across the Franco-German border to communicate ideas of national belonging. Feminine representations of Alsace therefore play a crucial role in informing the relationship between Alsace, France, and Germany, and the perception of the region on a local, national, and transnational level. This chapter argues that, in contested borderland where identity is a complex issue, feminine images provide a powerful symbol for local, national, and transnational communities who use this image to promote different narratives about the region and national belonging.

Though an important character of Alsatian culture, surprisingly little literature has focused on the *Alsacienne.* Sara Hume's recent book on *Regional Costume: Between Tradition and Modernity* (2022) paints a comprehensive picture of the Alsatian costume's evolution, considering the costume as an artefact, museum object, religious performance or element of a living history reenactment.[2] Hume argues that clothing conveys different levels of meaning, allowing for competing narratives about the region and the nation to be represented by one costume.[3] In Alsace, the *Alsacienne* and her costume provided a symbol of the region that could be interpreted differently by French and Alsatian audiences, and became a symbol of the region that fitted both local and national narratives. Barbara Gatineau's *De la Campagne au musée: étude et collecte du costume traditionnel alsacien entre 1900 et 1918,* and Florence Charpigny *Compte-rendu de l'Exposition "Quelques paillettes, un peu de soie. Coiffes d'Alsace du XVIIIe et du début du XIXe siecle"* provide an important insight into the costume as a museum artefact, its evolution, and the collection choices that have popularised the costume from the region of Kochesberg (near Strasbourg) throughout Alsace.[4] Charpigny argues that the establishment of the *Alsaci-*

2 Sara Hume, *Regional Dress: Between Tradition and Modernity* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Art, 2022), 15-200

3 *Ibid*, 11.

4 Barbara Gatineau, "De la campagne au musée: étude et collecte du costume traditionnel Alsacien entre 1900 et 1918," in *Les Costumes Régionaux*, ed. Jean-Pierre Letuilier (Rennes:

enne's costume at the end of the nineteenth century transformed the use of the traditional costume, which became 'staged' on the public scene. Removed from its original and traditional use as a marker of wealth, religion or marital status, the costume became a unifying symbol of folk culture. The diversity of costumes disappeared to be replaced by one style of dress turned emblem of the region and its population as a whole.[5] Previous work has therefore studied the *Alsacienne's* costume and its evolutions, but little has been written on the *Alsacienne* herself as a cultural and political representation of the region.

Despite the extensive use of the image of the *Alsacienne* on the political, social, economic and cultural scene, her role beyond folk symbol has not received much attention. The *Alsacienne* is more than a dummy for the costume: works of historical fiction (notably *L'Alsacienne*, by Maurice Denuzière in 2009; or the 1996 movie *Les Alsaciens ou les deux Mathilde,* directed by Michel Favart and later made into a novel), as well as marketing campaigns (*Le marché de l'Oncle Hansi,* or *Meid'la* for example), present the *Alsacienne* as a romanticised yet central character and symbol of Alsatian identity politics.[6] This chapter traces the *Alsacienne* from her 'invention'[7] as a representation of Alsace to the use of her image in the Franco-Prussian War, as well as later performances by locals using her costume as a political and cultural representation of Alsace in processions, demonstrations, or for folk displays, following World War I. It argues that since the nineteenth century, the *Alsacienne* has been a stable symbol of Alsace. Representing the region and embodying conflicting narratives about Alsatian identity, images of the *Alsacienne,* and particularly performances of the *Alsacienne* by the local population, remain a communication tool to defend the local narrative about Alsace and its identity, memory and international relations. Three Franco-German conflicts made the *Alsacienne* a transnational political symbol of the region, and an emblem of contradicting local and national identities at the Franco-German border. Since the 1950s, her image has been reclaimed by the local population to become a symbol of Alsace's unique Franco-German culture, identity and history. As a stable symbol of the region, the *Alsacienne* was, and is, at the heart of Alsatian identity.

PUR, 2009), 67-78; Florence Charpigny, "Compte-rendu de l'exposition 'Quelques paillettes, un peu de soie'. Coiffes d'Alsace du XVIIIe et du début du XIXe siècle", Colmar, Musée Unterlinden, 21 Novembre 2009-28 Février 2010". *HAL Open source* (2010), halshs-00581726, available at https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00581726/, 1-4.

5 Charpigny, "Compte-rendu de l'exposition", 4.

6 Maurice Denuzière, *L'Alsacienne* (Paris: Fayard, 2011); Michel Favart, dir. *Les Alsaciens ou les deux Mathilde* (France, Germany: Pathe Television, 1996, DVD).

7 I am here using the term 'invention' in Hobsbawm's sense of invented tradition. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction", in The *Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 1.

The Birth of the *Alsacienne*: a transnational symbol?

The *Alsacienne*, as a character and representation of Alsace, was invented at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Turn-of-the-century modernity and nation-building led populations throughout Europe to rethink their connection to an idealised past and lost traditions.[8] Growing interest in regional traditions and costumes in urban areas of both France and Germany led to the publication of a number of articles and books depicting the *Alsacienne*.[9] She rapidly became a popular symbol of Alsace that acknowledged the region's Franco-German past and identity.

The *Alsacienne* is commonly pictured as a young girl or woman wearing the Alsatian folk costume made of a large colourful skirt, covered by an apron, whilst a bodice, stomacher, scarf, and laced collar cover her upper body. The most famous piece of this costume is the headdress, a large bow sitting on the back of the head. Traditionally, this costume was only worn in the rural region of Kochesberg near Strasbourg, as each village had its own traditional dress.[10] Charles Spindler depicts the variety of Alsatian costumes from the Grendelbruch costume with its bonnet, to the Sundgau's large summer straw hat.[11] Though early publications displayed a variety of Alsatian costume (see, for example, Charles Enrich's *Collection de Six Costumes Nationaux Alsacien et Badois*, or Charles Spindler and Anselm Laugel's *Costumes et Coutumes d'Alsace*), the reproduction of images from Kochesberg established the costume with the large bow as a symbol of Alsace as a whole.[12] These works were published in both France and Germany: *Costumes et Coutumes d'Alsace* was published in Germany in 1902 under the title *Trachten und Sitten im Elsass.* The *Alsacienne* was therefore portrayed as belonging to both French and German traditions, a character that could easily cross the border and take part in the construction of both nations. The *Alsacienne* is an invented representation of Alsace, produced by local and transnational artists as a symbol of Alsatian culture, identity and folklore for French and German audiences.

The choice of this specific costume as a symbol of Alsace reveals the region's partially German culture and identity. On both sides of the Rhine,

8 Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction",1, 4, 14; Pierre Nora, "Introduction to Realms of Memory Volume 2," in *Realms of Memory, Volume 2: Traditions*, ed. Pierre Nora (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), xi.

9 Hume, *Regional Dress*, 59-83.

10 Charpigny, "Compte-rendu de l'exposition", 4.

11 Charles Spindler, " Costume de Grendelbruch, anciens bonnets de Colmar, Altkirch" and "Ancien Costume du Sundgau", 1902, Collection Numérique: Images d'Alsace, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire, Strasbourg.

12 Hume *Regional Dress*, 57, 92.

the same images of the *Alsacienne* in the Kochesberg costume were used and reproduced to depict Alsatian customs and traditions. Interestingly, whilst the *Alsacienne*'s costume was depicted as part of the French regional costumes, some publications underlined the similarities between the Alsatian costume and that of the neighbouring German region of Baden-Würtemberg.[13] In *Collection de six Costumes Nationaux Alsaciens et Badois*, Charles Enrich depicts a young woman from Kochesberg on page 1, and a young woman from Kehl (Germany) on page 6.[14] The similarities between the two costumes are striking: they wear the same skirt and apron, a similar bodice, and most importantly, the same black bow. Here, the *Alsacienne*'s costume explicitly highlights Alsace's complex Franco-German past. The nineteenth century marked an important period of rising German national consciousness. The fear of French invasions led communities across the Germanic world to develop a sense of German nationhood defined by a shared German culture and identity.[15] Shared traditions and the idea of a common cultural past played a crucial role in reinforcing this feeling of national belonging.[16] The production of images promoting the idea of a common culture and identity between southern German communities and Alsace, at a time when Alsace was French, supported the idea of a common past, culture and identity, and the notion of a culturally and ethnically German Alsace.

Famous Alsatian illustrators such as Hansi, Charles Spindler and Gustave Doré used the *Alsacienne* as a symbol of the region and its unique culture and history.[17] In *Mon Village* (1913), a book depicting everyday life in a rural Alsatian village, Hansi portrays Alsatian women in costume, performing everyday tasks (baking, walking to church, or caring for the children).[18] Though by the end of the nineteenth century, the costume was only worn for special occasions, Alsatian artists chose to use it to represent a rural Alsace.[19] For them, the *Alsacienne* and her costume were symbols of an idealised and picturesque region maintaining long-lost traditions, rather than a realistic representation of Alsace.[20] Illustrators, therefore, used the costume as a

13 *Ibid*, 62.
14 Charles Enrich, *Collection de Six Costumes Nationaux Alsaciens et Badois* (Strasbourg: Schmidt and Grucker, 1834), 1, 6.
15 Felix Kersting, Nikolaus Wolf, "On the Origins of national identity. German nation-building after Napoleon," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 52 (2024): 465-467.
16 Kersting & Wolf, 467.
17 *Ibid*., 93.
18 Hansi, *Mon Village: ceux qui n'oublient pas* (Paris: H. Floury, 1913), 7, 9, 11, 20-21.
19 Laird Boswell, "From liberation to purge trials in the 'Mythic Provinces': Recasting French identities in Alsace and Lorraine, 1918-1920," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 1 (2000): 135.
20 Gatineau, "De la campagne au musée", 68.

symbol of an idealised Alsace, rather than as an accurate representation of regional rural life. As a symbol of a rural and traditional Alsace, images of the *Alsacienne* were used on both sides of the Franco-German border. Although the meaning of these images differed between both nations, from the nineteenth century through to the First World War, the *Alsacienne* remained a transnational symbol of Alsace, understood as such and used as a symbol of belonging and nation-building in both France and Germany. At the turn of the twentieth century, whilst the costume was slowly abandoned in rural areas, interest in old customs and costumes grew in urban centres.[21] In France and Germany, urban areas were quickly entering modernity, and concerns rose about the development of a new social and gender order.[22] In France especially, after the 1871 defeat against Prussia, anxiety rose about low natality, depopulation, and the rise of feminism, which were perceived as a threat to the nation.[23] The *Alsacienne* provided a perfect image for this form of nostalgia, as pictures of the *Alsacienne* caring for her children, baking, or dancing in the arms of a young man clearly portrayed the region as a stronghold for pre-industrial social and familial structures.[24] The *Alsacienne* represents a very traditional femininity focused on traditional motherly and housewifely duties, a role that defined women's function in French society under the Third Republic (1870-1940).[25] The *Alsacienne*'s costume itself, with its large apron, ankle-length skirt, and chaste covering of the chest is a clear reminder of a woman's role within the home, as well as an image of purity and innocence, for modernising urban populations concerned about the evolution of women's fashion and the associated women's emancipation.[26] The

21 *Ibid.*, 73-4. On the revival of old regional dress as a modern movement, just as the dress is about to disappear, see the Scottish example in: Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The invention of tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland", in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 15-41.

22 Judith Surkis, *Sexing the citizen: morality and masculinity in France, 1870-1920* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006),71.

23 Elinor Accampo, Christopher Forth, "Introduction: Confronting modernity in fin-de-siècle France: bodies, minds and gender", in *Confronting Modernity in Fin-de-siècle France: bodies, minds and gender*, ed. Elinor Accampo and Christopher Forth (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); Accampo, "The gendered nature of Contraception", 235; Virginie De Luca Barrusse, "Premiers jalons d'une politique familiale," *Information Sociales* 3, no. 189 (2015): 21; Joshua Cole, "'There are only good mothers': The ideological work of women's fertility in France before World War I," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 643.

24 Elizabeth Vlossak, *Marianne or Germania? Nationalizing Women in Alsace, 1870-1946* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 205; Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen*, 1.

25 Elinor Accampo, "The gendered nature of contraception in France: Neo-Malthusianism, 1900-1920," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34, no. 2 (2003): 261-62.

26 Hume, *Regional Dress*, 8, 59, 94, 96, 210; Ida Blom, "Gender and nation in international comparison," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, Catherine Hall (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 11-14.

Alsacienne provided a reassuring image that perfectly suited France's definition of femininity, which was centred on motherhood, domesticity, and the purity of the maternal body, to be protected by the nation's strong men.[27]

The *Alsacienne*'s bow also contributed to promoting traditional gender relations. In Protestant households, women and girls wore black bows, whilst in the Catholic tradition, only married women wore the black bow.[28] Images of the *Alsacienne* almost always portray her with a black bow: even young girls wear the black bow in Hansi's images. Whilst this interpretation was probably missed by national French and German audiences, in Alsace–where these images also circulated–the meaning behind the bow was probably obvious. The Alsacienne's black bow acknowledged the region's Germanic protestant tradition, whilst in a Catholic interpretation, the bow was seen as a representation of a traditional femininity defined by marriage and motherhood.[29] The *Alsacienne* and her black bow are therefore a representation of a traditional femininity that fits France's definition of gender roles within the nation, whilst also acknowledging the region's German religious tradition. The *Alsacienne* provided one symbol for a multitude of interpretations, confirming Alsace's Franco-German culture, hybrid identity and the transnational nature of local emblems such as the *Alsacienne*. Borderlands, characterised by cross-border cultural exchanges, are often important transnational spaces where national cultures are in constant interaction, thus creating a hybrid local identity.[30] In Alsace, this hybrid local identity rests on a form of nostalgia for an idealised past embodied by feminine images. Regardless of national belonging, the border region was perceived transnationally–in France and in Germany–as a stronghold for a traditional, pre-industrial form of society, symbolised by reassuring images of innocent young women, as opposed to urban modernity and its New Women.

The *Alsacienne* at war: from folk to politics

While the *Alsacienne* was a seemingly peaceful acknowledgement of Alsace's French character and German past in the nineteenth century, the start of seventy-five years of Franco-German tensions and wars placed the *Alsacienne* at the centre of political discourses about Alsace, identity, nationality and belonging. The Franco-Prussian War, and the years leading up to the First World War, turned Alsace into a Franco-German 'cultural battle-

27 Vlossak, *Marianne or Germania*, 205.
28 Hume, *Regional Dress*, 19.
29 Hansi, *Mon Village*, 9-11, 18-19, 20, 23, 27-28.
30 Steven Vertrovec, *Transnationalism*, 5-7.

field' and saw the *Alsacienne* play an important role in pro-French propaganda.[31] Depicted by pro-France artists as longing if not fighting for France, the *Alsacienne* became the symbol of a French Alsace, and of the region's enduring loyalty to France despite German authority. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the *Alsacienne* had become a politicised symbol of Alsace.[32] In these political images, traditional gender roles were reversed, and femininity was given an active role in the public sphere. Used as a justification for the war and motivation for French troops, the *Alsacienne* became the main character of a pro-French narrative about Alsatian identity.

The politicisation of the *Alsacienne's* image started with the 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian War and Jean-Jacques Henner's famous 1871 *Alsace: Elle attend* ("Alsace. She is waiting"). The painting, originally intended for Leon Gambetta (French politician known in the 1870s for supporting the *Revanche*, a political movement demanding the return of Alsace to France[33]), represents a young *Alsacienne* dressed in black, as in mourning, looking at the viewer with an expression of sadness. The title by her head suggests that she is 'Alsace', and therefore a representation of the region as a whole, waiting to be rescued by France. The young Alsacienne is wearing the French tricolour cockade on her bow, symbol of her French identity. This representation associated the bow, and by extension Alsace, with austerity, pain, and suffering.[34] More than a representation of the region, the *Alsacienne* became a political statement: she represents the region and its attachment to France, as well as a promise that Alsace will wait and maintain its French culture until she is liberated from Germany. After France's defeat in 1871, whilst many in France defended the idea of *Revanche*, the French government never seriously considered going to war with Germany to claim Alsace back.[35] In this period, and until the beginning of the First World War, the

31 Detmar Klein, "Battleground of Cultures: 'Politics of identities' and the national question in Alsace under German imperial rule (1870-1914)," *Revue d'Alsace*, no. 132 (2006): 3; See also the significant role of the Service d'Etude d'Alsace-Lorraine in this process. Philippe Jian, "'L'Alsace Lorraine française': aspects et limites d'une propagandde d'Etat pendant la Grande Guerre," *Le temps des médias* 1, no. 22 (2014): 176.

32 Hume, *Regional Dress*, 3, 183.

33 *Revanche* (revenge) was French a movement following the 1871 defeat, arguing that Alsace was rightfully French, and that it was France's duty to fight for its liberation from Germany. For more information on the *Revanche,* see: François Caron *La France des Patriotes* (Evreux: Fayard, 1998), 242-244; Bertrand Joly "La France et la Revanche (1871-1914)", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-)*, no. 46 Vol. 2 (1999): 325-47.

34 Charpigny, "Compte-rendu de l'exposition", 5.

35 Joly "La France et la Revanche(1871-19140)", 326; Landry Charrier "Le mythe de la France revancharde dans l'historiography allemande des années 1919-1937" *Vingiteme Siecle. Revue d'histoire*. no. 110, Vol. 2 (2011): 59-66.

Alsacienne was portrayed in France as a young woman longing and mourning for France, waiting for the day France would take the region back, in very peaceful and austere images. The image of the *Alsacienne* mourning for France became a common image used by famous artists. In 1872, Gustave Dorée painted *L'Alsace Meurtrie,* depicting a mourning *Alsacienne* holding a French flag, and in 1913 Hansi portrayed a young *Alsacienne* weeping France's 1871 loss against Prussia in *L'histoire d'Alsace*. The *Alsacienne*, therefore, became a political character at the centre of a pro-French narrative about Alsace.

Fig. 1: Hansi, *Histoire d'Alsace* (Paris: Floury, 1913), 93.

Images of the *Alsacienne* with the tricolour cockade were rapidly echoed in the French press, and the *Alsacienne* came to the forefront of pro-French propaganda.[36] Through the image of the young *Alsacienne*, Alsace is associated with ideas of purity, innocence and resilience: the *Alsacienne* is never depicted as defeated, but either fighting or waiting for France.[37] Whilst always associated with youth, femininity and loyalty to France, two very different types of *Alsaciennes* were promoted by propaganda images. One embodied a traditional femininity promoting traditional gender roles, and another represented a rebellious *Alsacienne* associated with values commonly considered masculine: violence, fighting spirit, and defiance. These images of the *Alsacienne* follow a long tradition of feminine representation of nations. In France, the *Alsacienne* can be interpreted as a local Marianne. Where Marianne is both an official representation of France and part of the national folklore, so is the *Alsacienne* on a local level.[38] Like Marianne, the *Alsacienne's* image was heavily used in First World War propaganda: Marianne as an emblem of the French *patrie* and the *Alsacienne* as an emblem of Alsace and the region's loyalty to the French nation.[39] In French propaganda, the *Alsacienne* represented both a traditional femininity and a more rebellious Marianne-like emblem.

The *Alsacienne* was often depicted as 'the distressed lady in need of rescue'. In these images, the *Alsacienne* is a representation of Alsace waiting and longing for France. Alsace is associated with values of purity, innocence, and vulnerability that need to be protected by the strong, French citizen-soldier, a powerful image in early twentieth-century France.[40] A 1914 French postcard depicts Marianne, symbol of the French Republic, supporting a French soldier ready for battle, whilst in the background, a young captive *Alsacienne* is beaten by a Prussian soldier.[41] Rising tensions in Europe and the beginning of the First World War mark a shift in representations of the *Alsacienne*. No longer peacefully mourning for France, she is represented as being mistreated by Prussian soldiers, in distress, and in need of rescue. These images

36 Hume, *Regional Dress*, 80.

37 Tamar Mayer, "Gender ironies of nationalism: setting the stage," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed. Tamar Mayer (New York: Routledge, 2000), 18.

38 Maurice Agulhon, "Marianne, Réflexions sur une histoire," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 289 (1992): 316.

39 Agulhon, "Marianne, Réflexion sur une histoire", 318.

40 Blom, "Gender and nation in international comparison", 14-17; JIAN "'L'Alsace-Lorraine Française.", 178; Mayer, "Gender ironies of nationalism", 10-11.

41 "Alsace, La France veut ta délivrance" in Philippe Wilmouth *Images de propagandes : L'Alsace-Lorraine de l'annexion a la Grande Guerre 1871-1919* (Chambray-les-Tours: Serge Domini Editeur, 2013), 152.

impart a sense of urgency, a justification for the war against Germany: it is France's duty to rescue the young, loyal and innocent *Alsacienne* being criminally attacked by German occupiers. The filial bond between Marianne and the *Alsacienne* in the French national narrative reinforced this propaganda; French soldiers were to fight the war to protect Marianne and rescue her daughter.

Images of the young *Alsacienne* in distress were used to motivate French troops on the front lines, where these postcards were distributed, as well as the home front, which was encouraged to support the war effort through subscription to a national fund.[42] A 1918 poster by Auguste Leroux, illustrated with an *Alsacienne* waving and hugging her Lorrainer sister, reads: "To rush victory, and to reunite with us soon, subscribe".[43] In pro-French propaganda, the *Alsacienne* is a powerful and highly political representation of a French Alsace in a very one-sided discourse, depicting Alsace as a passive, threatened woman, and as Marianne's daughter, awaiting rescue by France. The *Alsacienne's* weakness is presented as a justification and motivation for the entire French population (on the front and at home) to support the war effort by fighting or donating money for the liberation of Alsace. These highly gendered images describe the nation's expectations for men's and women's roles within the national community.[44] Women were to care for children and the home, whilst being protected and defended by the active, fighting men defending them, and by extension, the nation.

The *Alsacienne* was also portrayed as the 'lost daughter', a representation of the region lost by Marianne (and therefore France) in a vocabulary centred on the national family.[45] Marianne, as a representation of the French republic and mother-nation, is portrayed hugging the *Alsacienne* and her Lorraine sister.[46] On 23 December 1917, French newspaper *Le Petit Journal* chose the image of a French soldier bringing the *Alsacienne* and her sister to Marianne, who welcomes them with open arms, a French flag floating over her head.[47] A subscription poster by Dominique Charles Fouqueray uses a similar image of two distraught women (Alsace and Lorraine) clinging to

42 Jian, "'L'Alsace-Lorraine Française'", 179.
43 Auguste Leroux, *Comptoire National D'Escompte de Paris*, 1918, in Wilmouth, *Images de Propagande*, 64.
44 Blom, "Gender and nation in international comparison", 14-17; Mayer, "Gender ironies of Nationalism", 16.
45 Mayer, "Gender ironies of Nationalism", 13.
46 Maurice Agulhon and Pierre Bonte, *Marianne,* 13-29; Maurice Agulhon, "Marianne, Réflexions sur une histoire", 316; Blom "Gender and nation in international comparison", 8.
47 "L'espoir de la France pour l'an qui vient," *Le Petit Journal – Supplement Illustre*, no. 1409, Dec, 23, 1917.

their mother Marianne, with the simple injunction '*Souscrivez'* (subscribe) above their head.[48] The French national family is presented as incomplete until the *Alsacienne* is returned to the mother-nation.

In pro-French images, the *Alsacienne's* 'Frenchness' is never questioned, and she is presented as a French educator in the region. Women's reproductive role was perceived not just as physical, but also as symbolic and cultural: they were believed to teach future generations the community's accepted behaviours, culture, values and, ultimately, identity.[49] Within her own family, the *Alsacienne* was to nurture French culture and identity. Hansi depicts this crucial educational role when illustrating a sweets box with the image of an *Alsacienne* bringing a toy French soldier to her young child, in a scene entitled "His first toy".[50] The *Alsacienne* is a representation of women's educational role within the community, transmitting culture and identity to the next generation of citizens and thus maintaining the national community.[51] Mothers were to teach national values to their children, encourage their love for the French nation and, most importantly, encourage them to fulfil a citizen's duty to the nation: military service.[52] The *Alsacienne* is presented as a role model for young Alsatian women, who, by following her example, remaining loyal to France and raising French citizens in German Alsace, will support the re-integration of the region into France.

Despite her apparent femininity and vulnerability, the politicisation of the *Alsacienne* also led to the production of images where young women are represented as strong fighting figures, defending the region and displaying values traditionally associated with masculinity. Far from Henner's innocent and quiet young woman, these *Alsaciennes* embody strength, determination, and readiness to fight to defend themselves and the region. Traditional gender roles are reversed, and the *Alsacienne* is associated with an active fighting role. A First World War postcard shows an *Alsacienne*, standing tall, facing the German Emperor in front of a desolated village and pointing to the distance to Germany whilst the caption reads "Wilhelm the Second, the

48 Dominique Charles Fouqueray, *Souscrivez! Banque d'Alsace et de lorraine*, in Wilmouth, *Images de Propagande*, 65.

49 Mayer, "Gender ironies of Nationalism", 7; Hobsbawm, "Introduction", 2-3.

50 "Son Premier Jouet", Musée Hansi, Colmar.

51 Accampo, "The Gendered nature or Contraception", 240; Silke Wenk, "Gendered representations of the nation's past and future," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender order in the long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, Catherine Hall (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 64.

52 Susan R Grayzel, *Women's identities at war*, 2-3.

cruel, emperor of the Barbarians, your reign is over".[53] The *Alsacienne* is here represented as the active agent in the community, booting the Germans out. Popular songs like *La Strasbourgeoise* also popularised the image of the rebellious *Alsacienne* resisting German authority, whilst an illustration of *Le bal de Strasbourg* by Villermé portrayed the *Alsacienne* stabbing a Prussian soldier in the chest.[54] Far from the young *Alsacienne* in need of rescue, these women are represented as powerful, in positions that at the time would be associated with masculinity. Agency and power were located with the local women rather than the French soldiers. In these pictures, the *Alsacienne* is represented as a strong, active and determined (or even violent) character, reversing traditional gender roles and representing a region ready to fight for itself. These more militant representations of the *Alsacienne* were initially created in the 1870s to promote in France the idea of *Revanche,* and were further developed during the First World War. Images of the *Alsacienne*, fighting alone against Prussian soldiers, depict an Alsace that not only remained loyal to France, but that France should support and avenge.

Whilst images of a femininity in distress, suffering at the hands of a barbaric enemy, were common in wartime propaganda throughout Europe, depictions of the *Alsacienne* as a fighting figure can be linked to representations of Marianne as a rebellious character during the French Revolution.[55] Marianne's daughter in the French national narrative, the *Alsacienne* is portrayed as a young woman who inherited her mother's revolutionary and fighting spirit. Images of the rebellious *Alsacienne* were produced to reinforce the idea that Alsace was indeed French by portraying the region in a Marianne or Jeanne d'Arc-like figure. To French viewers, images of revolutionary Marianne marching on the Bastille and of Jeanne d'Arc leading the troops were part of the French national narrative and identity. Representations of fighting *Alsaciennes* can therefore be interpreted as a demonstration of Alsace's French spirit and identity, thus justifying the war and French men's duty to 'liberate' Alsace for France.

Although less common than in the French press, images of the *Alsacienne* were also used in pro-German propaganda as a mobilising force and sym-

53 "Guillaume II le Cruel, Empereur des Barbares, Ton règne est fini" (1918), in Wilmouth *Images de Propagande*, 151.

54 Charles Clérice (illustration), Gaston Villermer, *Le Bal de Strasbourg ou le Viol de l'Alsacienne* (Paris: Bassereau et Clérice, 1886).

55 Susan R Grayzel, *Women's identities at war: gender, motherhood and politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carlina Press, 1999), 84-85; Maurice Agulhon and Pierre Bonte, *Marianne. Les visages de la République* (Evreux: Gallimard, 1992), 30-32.

bol of belonging and unity. In an anonymous 1914 postcard, the *Alsacienne* is portrayed at the centre of the image, surrounded by men, each representing a different social class and role in German society.[56] The title 'Wir kennen keine Parteien mehr' (we don't know any parties anymore) is a reference to a speech given by the German emperor in August 1914 calling for the union of all forces in Germany on the eve of the First World War. At the centre, the *Alsacienne* is singing and walking alongside her fellow countrymen in an image of national unity. On another First World War postcard by Carl Jordan, a young *Alsacienne* and her Lorrainer sister are embraced and protected by mother Germania.[57] These images use exactly the same codes and symbols as those of the Alsacienne, encouraging French soldiers to fight for her, or those of the *Alsacienne* and Marianne. The ideas and symbols associated with the *Alsacienne*, and especially notions of tradition, family, union, nationhood and protection whilst serving different nations were transnational in their use. The same images were produced on both sides of the border to support ideas of union, nationhood and belonging, but to serve different nations.

As Franco-German tensions rose and the First World War broke out, the *Alsacienne* functioned as a symbol of a *French* Alsace, taking sides in the Franco-German conflict over the region. In these propaganda images, traditional gender roles were alternatively reinforced and challenged as the *Alsacienne* was depicted either as the perfect quiet, motherly, innocent and vulnerable woman or as a strong-minded, active and rebellious figure. This dual vision of the *Alsacienne* (and therefore Alsace) informed France's perception of the region and fuelled French propaganda from 1870 to 1945. French troops expected to find a fully Francophile, costume-wearing *Alsacienne,* holding the tricolour flag in liberated Alsace. This belief rested notably on the least successful Germanisation of Francophile Alsatian women who conformed to France's expectations, married French men and maintained a French culture in the region.[58] Propaganda images produced in France were inspired by these Francophile women and dismissed the role of women's associations in promoting German patriotism in Alsace.[59] The integration of the region postwar proved much more difficult than the French government and population had hoped. Propaganda images developed during the war

56 Catherine Maurer, Jérôme Schweitzer, *Face au Nazisme, le cas alsacien, catalogue d'exposition* (Strasbourg: BNU Editions, 2022), 191.
57 *Ibid.*
58 Vlossak, *Marianne or Germania*, 91-92.
59 *Ibid.*, 91-106.

created in France, the belief in a French Alsace, untouched by forty-three years of Germanisation, which was far from realistic, and represented only a small portion of the population (namely, the Francophile middle-class). Nonetheless, during the 1918 liberation parades, Alsatian women willingly played the part of the *Alsacienne* and dressed in costume to welcome the French troops, in a show of support for those that France called Alsace's 'liberators'. In a society where women's place was often confined to the private sphere and housework, and where women were seen as needing protection by the active male soldier-citizen, the *Alsacienne's* politicisation brought Alsatian femininity into the masculine public sphere.[60] Representations of the *Alsacienne* played a central role in the public political sphere and became a means of communication about Alsace's identity.

Performing the *Alsacienne*: in defence of the local identity

Despite the very pro-French emphasis of most representations of Alsace and the *Alsacienne* in the first half of the twentieth century, some illustrators also used the *Alsacienne* to represent Alsace's unique regional culture and identity in picturesque images, portraying the young *Alsacienne* in traditional, rural villages. Throughout the area's multiple changes of nationality, the *Alsacienne*, remained a stable representation of Alsace, and provided a form of continuity and cohesion for the local community.[61] Pattinson describes identity as 'a process of becoming through action'.[62] The *Alsacienne* provided a narrative about Alsatian identity that withstood the changes of nationality, and a performance that reinforced the local community's identity.[63] For the region's inhabitants, she remained a symbol of their region and identity, an emblem that they could perform to promote their own idea of identity, community, and national belonging. The *Alsacienne* became more than an image: she became a performance used by local women who were aware of the *Alsacienne's* double meaning as symbol of both tradition and subversion of traditional femininity.[64] Today, performances of the *Alsacienne* are still used locally to represent the region and reclaim the local iden-

60 Juliette Pattinson, "'The best disguise': Performing femininities for clandestine purposes during the Second World War," in *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, ed. Angela Smith (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), 136-37; Susan Foley, *Women in France since 1789: the meaning of difference* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 2, 18, 23; James McMillan, *France and Women 1789-1914: gender, society and politics* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 48.

61 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 2-3.

62 Pattinson, "'The Best disguise'", 133.

63 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 5-7,14.

64 Pattinson, "'The Best disguise'", 150.

tity from national narratives. Dressing up and performing the *Alsacienne* in the street has been a tool used by local populations since the beginning of the twentieth century, enabling them to communicate to the world their own definition of Alsatian identity and national belonging. Following Alsace's return to France, young women were invited to dress in costume to welcome the liberating troops. In November 1918, posters were displayed throughout Strasbourg, inviting: 'The TRULY ALSATIAN young ladies and young girls of Strasbourg, (no younger than sixteen years old), who intend on taking part in **welcoming the French troops** in Alsatian costume'.[65] A large tricolour cockade painted by the side of the text suggests that the young women were expected to wear the cockade on their costume, so as to somehow perform the roles of the cartoonists' wartime pro-French *Alsaciennes*.[66] Similar scenes were captured by the French television news after the Second World War, widely broadcast in France, and confirming what was perceived to be the celebration of the *Alsacienne*'s return into the motherly arms of Marianne.[67] For the local population, who celebrated the return of peace as much (if not more than) the return to France, this performance supported the integration of the region into France, whilst reminding the French government of its promise to protect Alsace's regional identity.[68]

Interestingly, the same performance (minus the tricolour cockade) was used in the interwar–whilst Alsace was French territory–by a group of Alsatian villagers to demonstrate their attachment to Germany. On 14 June 1925, during the celebration of the *Jahrtausendfeier für die Rheinlande*, a delegation of Alsatians took part in the parades dressed in costume.[69] This performance of the *Alsacienne* was used as a sign of German identity in Alsace, as the costume's similarities with German regional costumes suggested. Whether to assert a French or German identity, performances of the *Alsacienne* were an important platform to reinforce the local feeling of community and a vision

65 Archives de Strasbourg, 503 FI 56, *Avis Important*, Nov. 20, 1918, original emphasis.

66 Michelle Cliff, "Objects into Subjects: some thoughts on the work of black women artists," in *Imagining Women: Cultural Representations and Gender*, ed. Lizabeth Goodman et al. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 152.

67 INA, archives 'Histoire de l'Alsace', "Les Actualités Française : L'Alsace Librérée", Feb. 16, 1945, 1.04; available at https://sites.ina.fr/archives-histoire-alsace/focus/chapitre/8, accessed Dec. 2, 2021.

68 Joseph Schmauch, "Marseillaise, paradis tricolore et drapeaux par milliers. Les fêtes du retour de l'Alsace à la France (Novembre-Décembre 1918)," *Revue d'Alsace*, no. 141 (2015): 314, 318; Anne-Laure Fabre, "La fête et la guerre à Strasbourg durant la Première Guerre mondiale," *Revue d'Alsace*, no. 141 (2015): 315-16.

69 Georg Pahl, "Die Jahrtausendfeier für die Rheinlande in Berlin 1925," Bundesarchiv, Cd 800 (Sitte, Brauchtum, Feiern), Bild 102.

of an idealised, traditional past Alsace.[70] The use of the *Alsacienne*'s image, both as a demonstration of an enduring French identity or as a sign of German belonging by different groups outlines the *Alsacienne*'s hybridity and that of the culture she represents. Born as a hybrid character, at the crossroad between French and German cultures, she embodies the 'cultural third space' and the political potential of hybrid subjects.[71] As a symbol of Alsace, used to support both assimilation to and contestation of the nation, the *Alsacienne* became a transnational means of communication for the local population to express different ideas of belonging and identity across borders.

In Alsace, performances of the *Alsacienne* remain a means of communicating local issues and concerns to the wider national and international communities, notably to protect the local memory narrative. The *Alsacienne* remains a prominent symbol of the local history and identity, with statues adorning many Alsatian war memorials, as a reminder that Alsace's war experience was different to France's. In Holtzheim, a town in the north of Alsace, the council has been looking for several years to promote a more historically accurate narrative about Alsace's experience during the First World War. On Remembrance Day (November 11), speeches insist on Alsace's unique experience: they comment on the fact that most Alsatian soldiers actually fought for Germany (an element forgotten by the French national history curriculum); that some Alsatian men fled to join the French army; and that Alsace lost men to both sides. Two men attend the ceremony, one dressed as a *feldgrau* (German First World War soldier), and the other as a *poilu* (French soldier). In 2021, the whole council came dressed in Alsatian folk costume. The mayor, Pia Imbs, gave a speech whilst dressed as an *Alsacienne* and wearing the French tricolour mayoral scarf. In these ceremonies, Alsace's hybrid culture and complex Franco-German past are clearly affirmed in a narrative focused on the local rather than the national and symbolised by the *Alsacienne*.

Under Pia Imbs's leadership, commemorations have become an influential space for the integration of Alsace's German past in the local memory narrative. The mayor of the twinned German village is regularly invited to take part in the ceremony. In one of Alsace's leading local newspapers, when reporting on the commemoration ceremony in 2021, a picture of the *Alsacienne* mayor standing next to her German counterpart was chosen to illus-

70 Jean-Claude Richez, "Ordre et désordre dans la fête: les fêtes de réception des troupes française en Alsace en Novembre 1918," *Revue des sciences sociales de la France de l'Est*, no. 12 (1983): 159-63.

71 Vince Marotta "Cultural hybridity", in *The Blackwell encyclopaedia of sociology* (2020):1-4, 2-3.

trate an article entitled "A Franco-German homage to the victims of 14-18: a hymn to peace".[72] Rather than the image of the men in French and German uniform embracing and singing together, it was the picture of the *Alsacienne* beside the German mayor, facing the memorial, that was used to illustrate Franco-German peace and reconciliation. To the locals, this performance confirms the region's identity as embedded in both French and German history, as well as the important role that the region should or could play in facilitating Franco-German relations. Through this performance, the *Alsacienne* represents the region as a bridge between two former enemies: she opens up a space were Franco-German culture, and therefore Franco-German commemoration, are possible.[73]

As in wartime propaganda, this later *Alsacienne* has two very distinct images. Whilst performances of the *Alsacienne* are commonly used for commemoration, folklore, and to promote Franco-German reconciliation and collaboration, the *Alsacienne* is also a performance of discontent.[74] Her image is used to defend the local identity and the region's special status within the French administrative system. The *Alsacienne*'s hybrid nature conferred a revolutionary and subversive potential to her image, thus making the *Alsacienne* a logical vessel for regionalist revendications.[75] In 2014, performances of the *Alsacienne* were at the centre of local protests against the French government's decision to simplify France's complex regional administrative system by merging Alsace, Lorraine, and Champagne-Ardennes into one region. In Alsace, this proposal was met with fierce opposition to what the local population considered an attack on their identity and culture. Demonstrations were organised throughout the year to convince the French government that Alsace, because of its unique culture and history, should remain a separate region. Though most participants dressed in their everyday clothes when taking part in the demonstrations, pictures chosen by French, German and local newspapers to illustrate the demonstrations showed the processions being led by women dressed as *Alsaciennes*, often surrounded by children. In the *Schwartzwälder Bode*, the picture shows women and young girls in costume holding hands at the front of the demon-

72 Ju. M., "Holtzheim, Hommage Franco-Allemand aux victimes de 14-18 : un hymne à la paix", *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, Nov. 11, 2021.

73 On hybridity subjects as bridges between cultures, see Vince Marotta "Cultural hybridity", 3.

74 On the use of regional dress as a form of protest to a national identity, see the Scottish example in Hugh Trevor Roper, "The invention of tradition: the Highland Tradition of Scotland" in *The invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1983), 15-41.

75 Vince Marotta "Cultural hybridity", 2-3.

stration.[76] In local newspaper *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, a similar picture illustrates an article entitled "What makes the anti-merger run?", showing women in costume surrounded by Alsatian flags leading the march.[77] In both articles, Alsatian femininity is depicted as the leading political force.

In the French newspaper *L'Express,* eight half-length portraits of women wearing the Alsatian bow illustrate an article entitled "How the Alsatians are hoping to get out of Grand-Est".[78] One of them is raising her fist, two have painted their faces in the colour of the Alsatian flag, and one of them has replaced the tricolour cockade on her bow with a large sign reading "Free Alsace" in Alsatian. The question asked by the article is answered clearly and very visually: women will get the Alsace out of the Grand-Est. The *Alsacienne* is taking on her political role once again, not to promote a French identity, but to empower the local population and defend the regional identity perceived to be under threat. Though the protests did not stop the government's decision, it is telling that images of women in costume, and particularly of women with children, were used to illustrate these articles. For France and Germany, Alsatian femininity–and particularly the *Alsacienne*–remains associated with a crucial role in the public sphere, raising political issues and defending the region's interest as well as a traditional vision of the region and femininity. As reminders of an idealised traditional and rural past, performances of the *Alsacienne* by the local population have become a political means of communication for the Alsatians themselves.

Since the end of the Second World War, the *Alsacienne* has been reclaimed by the local population as a representation of the region, and its unique identity and history within France, rather than as a symbol of a French Alsace. Whilst the costume is still commonly used in local folklore and celebrations, performances of the *Alsacienne* in the public space are often a political statement in defence of the region's identity. Performing the *Alsacienne*–that is, not just wearing the costume, but performing the type of behaviours associated with the *Alsacienne* since the beginning of the twentieth century–is a form of political display through which the local population reappropriates

76 Thierry Schauer, "Elsässer wehren sich gegen Fusion", *Schwarzwälder Bote*, Dec. 16, 2014, available at: https://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.strassburg-elsaesser-wehren-sich-gegen-fusion.a1399c37-b776-450d-8508-d24f5d166f81.html.

77 Christian Bach, "Qu'est-ce qui fait courir les 'anti-fusion'? Réponse en portraits," *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace,* Dec. 13, 2014.

78 Michel Feltin-Palas, "Comment les Alsaciens espèrent sortir du Grand Est," *L'Express*, Feb. 5, 2022, available at: https://www.lexpress.fr/politique/comment-les-alsaciens-esperent-sortir-du-grand-est_2167372.html.

a symbol often considered as an emblem of a French Alsace to express local concerns and protect the local identity.

Conclusion

Evidently, the *Alsacienne* is much more than a simple folk representation of the region: she functions, instead, as a complex political character. Representing traditional femininity and rural regionalism, her image has been used throughout the past two centuries in political representations of the region. As a stable symbol, she could support different narratives. Initially, she represented Alsace as a rural and traditional region sharing both French and German cultural heritage. Later, the succession of three Franco-German conflicts placed Alsace, and the *Alsacienne,* at the centre of war propaganda, notably in France, where cartoonists often used her image as a representation of the region's undying attachment to France, in images that both reinforced and challenged traditional gender roles. In Alsace itself, the *Alsacienne* was accepted as a representation of the region and of its people. Performances of the *Alsacienne* throughout Alsace were, and are, used for celebrations (religious celebrations, village fêtes, weddings, carnivals, etc.), but the *Alsacienne* has not lost her political undertones. Since 1918, performances in costume have been used by the locals to defend their own definition of Alsace, identity and national belonging.

The use of the *Alsacienne*'s image and performance on the political scene highlights the potential of hybrid transnational symbols to empower the local populations to reclaim a regional narrative. The hybrid nature of border cultures and of their emblems allows for local symbols to become powerful transnational vectors of political message for the local community. In borderlands, symbols of the local hybrid culture provide a stable system of identification for the local people, whilst allowing them to navigate different national identities, alternatively assimilating local and national narratives or challenging national belonging. At the border, regional symbols are fundamentally transnational, both in their construction influenced by neighbouring nations, and on the political scene where they are used by national and regionalist movements to promote different narratives of identity. The hybrid nature of border symbols reinforces the power of the messages conveyed by these images as they can easily cross borders and therefore question or challenge national belonging.

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Sounding the South: Mapping Musical and Intermedial Imaginaries of Regional Spaces

FRANK MEHRING

For twenty-five centuries, Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand that the world is not for beholding. It is for hearing. It is not legible, but audible.

– JACQUES ATTALI[1]

Music is among the deepest means of human connection; it can also be a form of mind control.

– EMILY BINGHAM[2]

Introduction

Culturally, the American South has been portrayed as a quintessential American region across various forms of media.[3] Despite living in a modern, digital era dominated by globalised standards, the "regionalist impulse," as articulated by Timothy Mahoney and Wendy Katz in *Regionalism and the Humanities*, remains influential.[4] According to Winfried Fluck, what he termed a "tragic nobility romance" with the South transcends American borders and is tied to a search for American ideals fuelling a desire, particularly in American Studies outside of the United States. As such, it serves as a counterbalance to what is often perceived as a superficial American materialism. Fluck contends that within European American Studies,

1 Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 3.

2 Emily Bingham, *My Old Kentucky Home. The Astonishing Lie and Reckoning of an Iconic American Song*. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2022), xvii.

3 The South's cultural and geographical distinctiveness has long been entrenched in the American consciousness, persisting over centuries, and reinforced internally and externally. Despite attempts to define it strictly by historical events or state borders, "the South" remains elusive in its boundaries, with various interpretations including differing sets of states. Scholars often refer to South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina; others also include Oklahoma and Kentucky. For a discussion of the South in terms of race, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press 2008); for "the South" as a cultural landscape see Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2011); for a historical and geographic overview, see J. William Harris, *The Making of the American South: A Short History, 1500-1877* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006).

4 Timothy Mahoney and Wendy Katz, eds., *Regionalism and the Humanities* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), ix.

Southern culture is seen as an antidote to this materialism, emphasising its tragic existential dimensions.[5] Adopting a dual perspective that considers the South from both local and international vantage points is crucial. Alongside Antje Kley and Heike Paul, I assert that this approach enables a deeper comprehension of social spaces and their diverse historical, political, and cultural lineages and contexts.[6]

In addition to literature, film, photography, and art, music has been instrumental in shaping the cultural imagination of the American South. It serves as a "powerful medium of social order," as asserted by Tia DeNora.[7] Music adds a crucial layer to how we perceive and emotionally engage with depictions of "the South." In a different context, Jacques Attali elucidated that through the sense of hearing, we comprehend the world around us and navigate based on our knowledge of it.[8] Attali critiques the conventional approach of attempting to understand the world through visual observation, arguing that this method misses the essence and is ultimately futile. According to Attali, the world is meant to be perceived through hearing rather than sight–it is not something to be read, but rather something to be listened to.[9] Music possesses the remarkable ability to forge deep connections among individuals. However, it is important to recognise that music also wields the power to shape perceptions, potentially leading to its manipulation as a tool for what some might consider "mind control."[10] How can we effectively uncover, comprehend, and critically assess the contradictions and hypocrisies that underpin white power and the romanticised notions of "the South"? This exploration leads us to the crossroads of various disciplines, including American studies, music, and media studies. Through this interdisciplinary approach, we can develop novel transnational perspectives on the roles and impacts of American culture, both within its borders and beyond.

Significantly, scholars in American Studies and media studies have spearheaded various theoretical and methodological initiatives, illuminating the fluid nature of music in transcending geographical and linguistic

5 Winfried Fluck, "American Studies and the Romance with America: Approaching America through Its Ideals," in *Romance with America? Essays on Culture, Literature, and American Studies*, ed. Laura Bieger and Johannes Voelz (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009), 90.

6 Antje Kley and Heike Paul, "Rural America: Introduction," in *Rural America*, ed. Antje Kley and Heike Paul (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), 2.

7 Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 163.

8 Attali, *Noise*, 3.

9 Attali, *Noise*, 3.

10 Emily Bingham, *My Old Kentucky Home. The Astonishing Lie and Reckoning of an Iconic American Song* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2022), xvii.

boundaries. This has given rise to new cultural contact zones. For example, David Garrett and John Street explore the intersection of music and politics as a means of protest, resistance, propaganda, subversion, and ideology in national and transnational contexts. Frank Mehring and Erik Redling focus on the interplay between music and other art forms such as literature, painting, photography, video, film, television, graphic novels, and performance cultures as a practice that needs to be analysed in a multidisciplinary and transnational fashion.[11] Wilfried Raussert and John Miller Jones argue that the medium of music travels easily across borders and language barriers and thereby creates new cultural contact zones. In his pioneering study on jazz, Reinhold Wagnleitner has emphasised how music can contribute to processes of self-Americanization in European cultural contexts.[12] Shifting our focus to the domain of popular music and musical theatre from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, my investigation commences with an exploration of sheet music before delving into the complexities of musical theatre. These elements serve as portals through which I contemplate the intermedial construction of "the South."[13]

As W. J. T. Mitchell and Gabriele Rippl have asserted, singular media do not exist in isolation; rather, they are inherently mixed.[14] For example, sheet music cover art and photographic liner notes blend images and text to contextualise the auditory experience. While I concur with Hebel's assertion that the concept of interpictoriality is well-suited to the concerns of American studies,[15] enabling an exploration of contexts, functions, national

11 Frank Mehring and Erik Redling, "Introduction to Sound and Vision: Intermediality and American Music", Special issue of *European Journal of American Studies* 12, no. 4 (2017): unpaginated, https://journals.openedition.org/ejas/12384.

12 Reinhold Wagnleitner, "Jazz—The Classical Music of Globalization." In *Travelling Sounds: Music, Migration, and Identity in the U.S. and Beyond*, ed. Wilfried Raussert and James Miller Jones (Berlin: LIT, 2008), 23-60.

13 Building on our previous discussions, Erik Redling and I have asserted in a different context that in "comparison to communication theorists, we, as transnational American Studies scholars, are particularly interested in the interplay between music and other art forms such as literature, painting, photography, video, film, television, graphic novels, and performance cultures". Mehring and Redling, "Introduction to Sound and Vision".

14 See W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago, IL: Chicago UP, 2005), 211; and Gabriele Rippl, "Introduction", in *Handbook of Intermediality: Literature – Image – Sound – Music*, ed. Gabriele Rippl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 1-31.

15 An effective method for recognising patterns in image production, utilisation, (re)mediation, and distribution involves the exploration of music and interpictorial clusters, a term introduced by the German American-studies scholar Udo Hebel. He emphasises the importance of considering the contextual and political aspects of images, the often-concealed motives behind image production, the inter-medial contexts of image dissemination, and the cultural dimensions associated with viewing images. To grasp what Hebel defines as the "implicit or explicit interplay between pictures"—especially in political photography and

narratives, as well as sociopolitical and cultural implications,[16] it can also be applied to the realm of music. This approach facilitates a productive examination of my perspective on mapping musical and intermedial imaginaries of "the South" as a regional space. In order to critically analyse musical examples spanning from murder ballads to minstrel songs and folk operas, I will illuminate how folk music has played a pivotal role in shaping a distinct cultural representation of the South.[17] It is crucial to recognise that the sonic portrayal of "the South" does not solely stem from composers rooted in a specific United States region. On the contrary, artists from outside the southern region and culture have effectively contributed to imaginative representations that have garnered recognition both nationally and internationally.

In the following, I will explore the emotive influence of music in shaping the cultural perception of "the South" within contexts that transcend the local and national framework in favour of transnational perspectives. If we align with John Street's assertion that "music embodies political values and experiences and organises our response to society as political thought and action,"[18] then it becomes imperative to include this medium in our examination of the imagined construction of "the South." To exemplify, I will examine the contributions of two pivotal composers in the realms of popular music and musical theatre: Stephen Foster, often hailed as the "father

other visual media—it is crucial to have a clear understanding of the semiotic structure of interpictorially charged images and combine them with musicology and sound studies. Udo Hebel, "'American' Pictures and (Trans-)National Iconographies: Mapping Interpictorial Clusters in American Studies", *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 6, no. 1 (2015): 401.

16 Ibid., 414.

17 In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the south, rurality, and Southern migration were framed differently via music. For example, between the 1920s and WWII, the concept of old-time music was developed alongside race music to promote an allegedly authentic notion of southern farmers and workers in the South. See Manuel Bocquier, "Beyond the Rural South. Reconsidering Old-Time Radio Audiences in the 1930s", in *Musikalische Regionen und Regionalismen in den USA. Musical Regions and Regionalisms in the USA*, Yearbook "Lied und Populäre Kultur. Song and Popular Culture" of the Center for Popular Culture and Music, Vol. 66, eds. Julius Greve and Knut Holtsträter (Münster and New York: Waxman, 2021), 33; Brian Ward and Patrick Huber, *A&R Pioneers: Architects of American Roots Music on Record* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2018), 202; Richard A. Peterson. *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (Chicago, Il.: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 29, and Robert M.W. Dixon and John Godrich, *Recording the Blues* (New York: Stein and Day, 1970), 42. It is through the act of performing and singing songs about spaces, places, and regions that are dear to us that we learn what we love and miss, as many songs about longing testify. The famous Lynyrd Skynyrd song "Sweet Home Alabama" is in the same tradition as Stephen Foster's State minstrel songs such of Kentucky such as "My Old Kentucky Home," James Bland's State song of Virginia "Carry me back to old Virginny" or Kurt Weill's musical theatre based on the ballad "Down in the Valley."

18 John Street, *Music and Politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 1.

of American music,"[19] and Kurt Weill, renowned as a transatlantic pioneer of American musical theatre. Both composers wielded significant influence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, shaping perspectives and imaginings of the South through their compositions.[20]

Stephen Foster's Sonic South

Stephen Collins Foster (1826-64) stands as a pivotal figure in the realm of American popular music, having published over 200 songs during the 1840s to 1860s. Notable among his compositions are timeless tunes such as "Oh! Susanna," "Old Folks at Home," "Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair," "Beautiful Dreamer," and the widely acclaimed sheet song, "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night." In a unique fashion, he combined consumer appeal and cultural idealism by evoking an ideal past which is confronted with an alienating present in the two popular genres of the mid-nineteenth century: minstrel songs and genteel parlour songs.[21] Ken Emerson argues that there is a genealogy in current American popular music that goes back to the work of Stephen Foster.[22] His sonic presence in films has continued to evoke a specific image of the South.[23] Raised on the western frontier near Pittsburgh as the son of German immigrants, Foster's early musical influences stemmed from the sentimental song tradition imported from England. Furthermore, he exhibited a diverse range of song styles reflective of mid-nineteenth-century America, drawing from ballads, Italian light opera, Irish and German songs, and minstrel songs.

Minstrel shows, the earliest form of American musical and theatrical entertainment, became a distinctive expression recognised by European audiences. These shows featured predominantly white performers who, through burnt cork, darkened their skin to parody African Americans via music, dance, dress, and dialect. Originating in the late 1820s with pioneers like George Washington Dixon and Thomas Dartmouth Rice, blackface minstrelsy gained immense popularity from the 1840s onward, emerging as the predominant genre of popular musical expression in the United

19 Bingham, *My Old Kentucky Home*, xvii.

20 Both composers have never had a close-up experience with people of the South but produced media products that have hit an emotional note with audiences both within and outside the United States that have catapulted their works to stardom.

21 See e.g., Susan Key, "Sound and Sentimentality: Nostalgia in the Songs of Stephen Foster", *American Music* 13, no. 2 (1995): 147.

22 Ken Emerson, "Stephen Foster and American Popular Culture", *American Music* 30, no. 3 (2012): 398.

23 See e.g., Kathryn Miller Haines, "Stephen Foster's Music in Motion Pictures and Television," *American Music*, 30, no. 3 (2012): 373-88.

States. In alignment with the prevailing trends of his time, Stephen Foster also incorporated blackface minstrelsy into his musical repertoire.[24] Foster's most renowned and enduring composition was "Old Folks at Home," which saw extraordinary success, with approximately 100,000 copies of sheet music sold in 1851 alone, the year of its publication. This song seamlessly integrated into American oral traditions, captivating audiences across generations. Another notable bestseller was "My Old Kentucky Home," which garnered acclaim and was nominated as the state song of Kentucky in 1928. In the subsequent discussion, I begin by examining the song's lineage, exploring its lyrics and musical structure. Following this, I explore its impact on sheet music within the minstrel stage and broader popular culture, illuminating the role of what I call Foster's "sonic South" in shaping imaginings of "the South."

The Stephen Foster archive in Pittsburgh holds a rare sketch book by Foster in which he noted ideas for his songs. One of the songs was called "Poor Uncle Tom, Good Night."[25] No doubt, Foster knew of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life among the Lowly*, which had come out in 1852. He later modified the original lyrics, creating a larger sonic screen for projecting the listener's hopes and emotions into "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night." Compared to the published version as "Foster's Plantation Melodies No. 20", the manuscript version (fig. 9.1) already hints at the blackface performance tradition of creating a stage dialect to mark the singer as an African American slave in a stereotypical fashion: "De time has come when de darkeys hab to part."[26] The song ends with clear references to the hard life of slaves on the cotton fields:

> De head must bow and de back will hab to bend / Whereber de darkey may go / A few more days and de troubles all will end / In de field wha de cotton had grow / A few more days for to tote de weary load / No matter it soon will be light / A few more days for to totter on de road / Den poor uncle Tom good night."[27]

24 For an overview, see Larry Starr and Christopher Waterman, *American Popular Music. From Minstrelsy to MP3* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26-28.

25 See Foster Hall Collection, Center for American Music. University of Pittsburgh Library System.

26 "Sketchbook." Foster Hall Collection, Center for American Music. University of Pittsburgh Library System. https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A20050812-foster-053, accessed April 15, 2024.

27 "Sketchbook." Foster Hall Collection, Center for American Music. University of Pittsburgh Library System. https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A20050812-foster-052, accessed April 15, 2024.

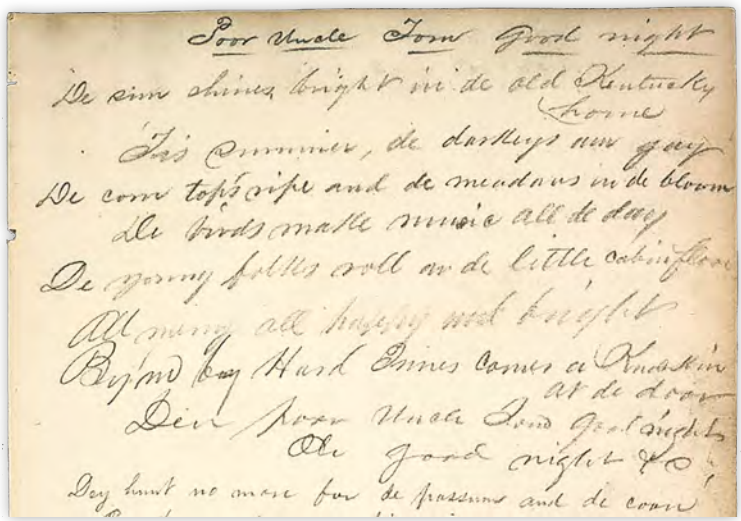

Fig. 9.1: First draft of "My Old Kentucky Home", then called "Poor Uncle Tom, Good Night". Foster Hall Collection, Center for American Music. University of Pittsburgh Library System.

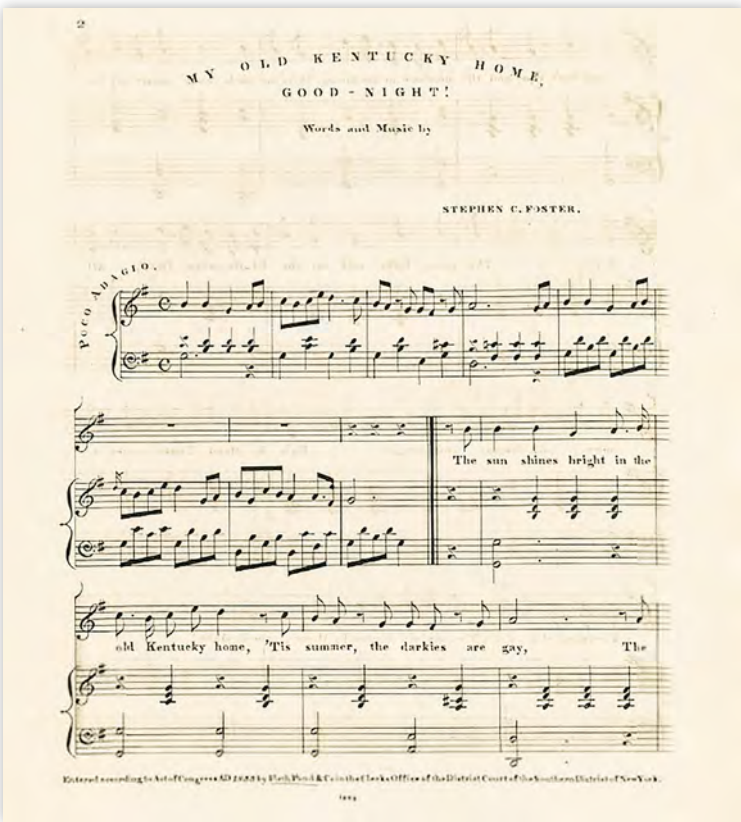

Fig. 9.2: Stephen Foster, words and music for "My Old Kentucky Home," 3.

The lyrics of "My Old Kentucky Home" are crafted to evoke a warm and positive perspective on the South, portraying the plantation as a place of happiness and belonging, symbolised by a former slave's nostalgic reminiscence. Real-life hardships such as rape, assault, deprivation, and exploitation, commonly found in slave narratives, are notably omitted, fostering a romanticised portrayal.

Musically (fig. 9.2), the song follows a clear ABABAB structure, alternating between verses and choruses. The recurring hook "My Old Kentucky Home" is introduced early in the first verse and serves as a comforting refrain in the chorus, where the singer consoles the listener with the words "weep no more my angel," culminating in the reassurance that the cherished home in Kentucky still exists to alleviate longing: "my old Kentucky home good night."[28] This melodic pattern of repetition and variation, typical of Foster's compositions, is both straightforward and easily comprehensible. The melody combines smooth, stepwise movements with dramatic leaps during the chorus, a characteristic feature of popular song forms since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These structural elements serve not only as templates for successful compositions but also as foundations for audience expectations and listening habits. Audiences anticipate and derive satisfaction from familiar patterns fulfilled by performers, creating room for variations such as tempo changes to enhance emotional intensity. However, as Starr and Watermann elucidate, these variations are meaningful only within the context of listeners' learned expectations.[29]

The (re)mediation of "My Old Kentucky Home" in American culture functions like a sonic "dark mirror" in the sense of Eric Lott. He suggests that American pop culture, tailored for white consumers, entices them to engage with black culture, inviting them to perceive themselves through a lens of racial contrast, yet simultaneously providing a false sense of security in their whiteness. The attractiveness of "blacknesss" is, in the words of Lott, "generated out of thousand media sources and ideological state apparatuses, the apparently fundamental precondition for the reproduction of national white selfhood if not dominance."[30] Foster's song shows how racial fantasy, structured through the mirroring of identification and appropri-

28 In Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom´s Cabin*, Tom reflects on the relatively benign plantation he left behind, where his family remained after he was sold "down river" to Simon Legree's brutal plantation in Louisiana. His nostalgia is tied only to the better life he experienced as a slave in Kentucky, in contrast to the harsh conditions he now endures in Louisiana.

29 Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music*, 27.

30 Eric Lott, *Black Mirror: The Cultural Contradictions of American Racism* (London and Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017), 6.

ation so visible in blackface performance, still thrives in American culture despite intervening decades of civil rights activism, multiculturalism, and the alleged post-racialism of the twenty-first century.[31]

One of the enduring visual interpretations of Foster's sonic portrayal of "the South" is captured in Eastman Johnson's 1859 painting, also entitled "Old Kentucky Home" (fig. 9.3). Despite lacking any direct connection to the American South and acquiring his understanding of plantation life through media, Johnson, trained in the Düsseldorf School of genre painting, demonstrated his artistic prowess. During his time in Germany, he played a role in the creation of Emmanuel Leutze's impressive "Washington Crossing the Delaware," learning the European rules for constructing a typical visual narrative for genre paintings.[32] Having spent time in The Hague and a two-year stint in Düsseldorf between 1854 and 55 before returning to Washington, Johnson likely encountered Foster's popular song. Inspired by the emotions evoked in Foster's music and lyrics depicting a black person's yearning for life on a southern plantation, Johnson translated these sentiments into his art. A contemporary review from 1859 validated the authenticity of the scene, praising it as "[o]ne of the best pictures in respect to Art and the most popular, because presenting familiar aspects of life".[33] Clearly, Johnson used European traditions of genre paintings to evoke a specific feeling of authenticity. This feeling is not to be confused with reality. Rather, the painter is meeting the viewer's expectations of how regional authenticity is constructed in art. The reviewer further commended Johnson's depiction of African Americans and the portrayal of American architectural ruins, specifically the dilapidated house featuring vignettes of what was then termed "Negro life at the South." These vignettes included a banjo player, a group of "two dancing 'pickaninnies'," a mammy-like figure with a child, a young man courting a mulatto woman, and an upper-class white woman in an elaborate dress on the far-right corner being introduced into this romanticised scene of plantation life. The reviewer's mention of "familiarity" underscores how music and art can not only document and reflect cultural developments but also establish a palpable sense of reality.

Johnson masterfully translated the emotive power of music into a visual narrative, with the melancholic banjo player at the centre of the image and the primary focal point for the viewer. The reviewer astutely noted this

31 See Bingham, *My Old Kentucky Home*, 228.

32 Katharina und Gerhard Bott, eds., *ViceVersa. Deutsche Maler in Amerika, Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland, 1813-1913* (München: Hirmer, 1996), 352.

33 Ibid., 352.

arrangement, stating, "The melancholy banjo player arrests our attention first, and he is so completely absorbed, it is but natural to look for the effect of his music upon the parties who surround him. Immediately in front we see a knotty-limbed wench and one or two dancing 'pickaninnies'".[34] The review suggests that the image produces a mental image that allows the viewer to enjoy the scenery and a sense of joyful humanity. However, if high art aspires to bring forth "the most beautiful thoughts and emotions" the image fails. One can assume that the reason for this is the topic of African American socio-cultural lives rather than showing the world of white Western citizens. In 1867, another reviewer testified to the authenticity of life of African Americans in "the South," but also adds a critical note that what is on display is the "unfortunate race", describing it as an important memorial and art study of a specific time in American history.[35] In this sense, Foster's song has been transformed from a sonic[36] into a visual monument. Its success with a strong affective impulse on the medium of music and art will evolve in the twentieth century into an intermedial phenomenon.

Fig. 9.3: Eastman Johnson, *Old Kentucky Home*. 92x113 cm, 1859. New York Historical Society.

34 Ibidem.

35 Henry Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists. American Artist Life* (New York: Putnam, 1867), 470. Reprinted in Katharina und Gerhard Bott, *ViceVersa*, 354.

36 Emily Bingham used the expression "sonic monument" in her work on *My Old Kentucky Home*, 201.

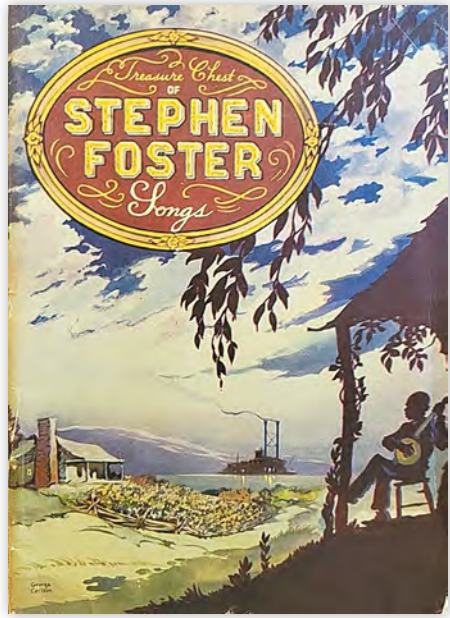

Fig. 9.4: Cover illustration for *The Treasure Chest of Stephen Foster Songs*, 1940.

Not surprisingly, when moving pictures during the silent era visualised the scenes and life in the American South, Foster's songs were often used by live piano players to create a specific emotional response. For example, the collection of song excerpts for the musical accompaniment at movie houses entitled *Motion Picture Moods* from 1924 suggested the following songs to the pianist: "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home."[37] The song collection *Treasure Chest of Stephen Foster Songs* from 1940 leaves no doubt about the sentimentality and nostalgia that the listener is supposed to feel when hearing Foster's songs about gentle slaves who sing a heartfelt melody about an idealised Southern life. The cover (fig. 9.4) features a silhouette caricature of an African American banjo player on a porch, with the dark hues of the cabin and the player carrying layers of meaning, particularly in relation to Foster's references to cheerful "darkies" in "My Old Kentucky Home." The setting sun casts a romantic glow on the distant plantation owner's home, symbolising an unattainable ideal for both the foreground player and the viewer of the cover. However, the music itself serves as an emotional con-

37 Erno Rapée, *Motion Picture Moods* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1924), 8. Other suggestions involved the French composer and conductor Irénée Bergé, the minstrel song composer Daniel Decatur Emmett, and American composer and conductor Arthur Farwell. All of the suggestions were either plantation songs such as "Dixie-Land" or "Plantation Melody" or, in the case of Bergé, "Southwestern Idyl."

duit, drawing the audience closer to the idealised depiction of plantation life. Consequently, the song found widespread use in American popular entertainment, appearing in various productions such as the 1927 film *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, scenes featuring tap-dancing Bill "Bojangles" Robinson in *The Little Colonel*, *Gone with the Wind*, the Looney Tunes short *Southern Fried Rabbit*, and numerous other productions.[38]

"My Old Kentucky Home" ultimately received the honour of becoming the State Song of Kentucky in 1928. It is played regularly at the famous Kentucky Derby every year since 1930, where the audience is encouraged to sing along. Bingham criticised that this performance at a public space is "led and controlled by white Americans" as an "act of white supremacy".[39] This harsh criticism is based on the genealogy of the song as a minstrel song and its cultural imagination of a white composer from Pittsburgh who is not so much evoking his personal memory but constructing an imagined memory to offer a pleasing fantasy of "the South" for a white audience in minstrel theatre shows. The song, as it is played today, has different lyrics that whitewash the references to plantations, slavery, and submissive gay African American slaves or freed slaves to celebrate a continuous Southern image that can be marketed as a patriotic success story. Instead of the "darkies", the "people are gay" in summer, as the second verse explains. Furthermore, the racially charged elements of a fictional "dialect" once prevalent in minstrel performances have been discarded. Today, audiences can imbue positive sentiments into the lyrical framework that navigates between the personal and collective ("my", "we"), the familiar and exotic ("home," "old Kentucky"), and the nostalgic and reassuring elements ("old", "goodnight"). Additionally, the universal appeal inherent in the act of singing ("we will sing one song") intertwines seamlessly with the mix of a melancholic yet easy-to-learn melody, fostering a universalist longing for a home within one's memories. This convergence transforms the song into an ideal consumer commodity capable of transcending national and geographical boundaries.[40]

38 Emily Bingham has traced the song's popularity in different media in *My Old Kentucky Home,* see particularly chapter five for references to films in the first half of the twentieth century.

39 Bingham, *My Old Kentucky Home*, 338.

40 This development is in line with current tendences in museums to construct a specific unified image of the South. For example, the National Blues Museum in St. Louis does not shy away from introducing the audience to the harsh reality of slavery, chain gangs, and racial segregation in the South. The panels on "backwater blues" trace the roots of the blues in the African American experience of being poor, disenfranchised, and struggling for freedom. The blues, the panel claims, "sheds light on America's racial strife." This approach is different from the museum narratives in the Delta Blues Museum and the B.B. King Museum in Mississippi.

Kurt Weill's Remediation of "Down in the Valley" for Theatre and Radio

I now turn to another musical genre in which "the South" played a crucial role: musical theatre. In this field, the German-American composer Kurt Weill represents one of the most influential and controversial composers in musical theatre with a transatlantic background.[41] He has been considered a "representative figure reifying key issues" regarding opposites such as "modernism versus counter- or postmodernism, elitism versus populism, autonomy versus accessibility, originality versus comprehensibility, or atonality versus tonality".[42] With a grain of chauvinism, European critics such as Theodor W. Adorno held that Weill created great art while composing for the opera stage in Germany and sold out to commercialism by composing for Broadway.[43] The complicated reception history and the creative forces behind the folk opera *Down in the Valley* open a fascinating perspective on the cultural imaginary of rural America, transatlantic transfer, and intercultural confrontations. *Down in the Valley* can enhance our understanding regarding the cultural imaginary of "the South" through folk music by turning to Weill as an intercultural mediator in the sense of Stephen Greenblatt.[44] I offer an analysis of *Down in the Valley* (1945-48) by tracing forms

Like other blues museums, the multimedia displays in the National Blues Museum create an image of the South as a unified space connecting land, music, and people. See Wilfried Raussert, "Culture Heritage and Politics of Reconciliation: Reinventing the Blues in the Narratives of The Delta Blues Museum and the B.B. King Museum", *Forum for Inter-American research* (*FIAR*) 13, no. 1 (2020): 27.

41 Richard Taruskin labelled Weill the 20th century's "most problematical major musician". See Richard Taruskin, "To the Editor," *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 6, no. 10 (1988): 3.

42 Kim Kowalke, "'The Two Weills' and the Music of *Street Scene*," in *Street Scene: A Sourcebook*, ed. Joanna Lee, Edward Harsh, and Kim Kowalke (New York, NY: Kurt Weill Foundation, 1994), 66.

43 For Adorno, Weill had died as a composer in America, long before his actual death in 1950. The critical construct of the "two Weills" has been summarised and institutionalised by David Drew in his entry on "Kurt Weill" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Recent studies have jettisoned the idea of a "split personality." My critical approach to Kurt Weill is positioned in this context of revisionist efforts to emphasise creative continuity while acknowledging the different socio-cultural and political environment on both sides of the Atlantic. In the case of Kurt Weill, this redirection has already contributed to a broader understanding of the gaps and continuities in his work on both sides of the Atlantic. A landmark publication in this process is Hermann Danuser's and Hermann Gottschewski's edited volume *Amerikanismus—Americanism—Weill: Die Suche nach kultureller Identität in der Moderne* (Schliengen: Argus, 2003).

44 I share Greenblatt's concern that established analytical tools are geared towards an understanding of cultures as stable, fixed, or "at least have assumed that in their original or natural state, before they are disrupted or contaminated, cultures are properly rooted in the rich solid of blood and land and that they are virtually motionless." Greenblatt, Stephen with Ines G. Županow, Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, Heike Paul, Pál Nyíri, and Friederike Pannewick, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 3.

of remediation in the sense of J. David Bolter and Richard Grusin[45] of the American ballad "Down in the Valley" to the theatrical stage and marketing via scores and radio. In *Down in the Valley*, the remediation undergoes different developmental stages from transcriptions of folk lyrics, folk melodies, audio recordings, and visual information to new complex scoring techniques for musical theatre, set designs, and marketing strategies. The interplay of different media in different cultural contexts lends itself to a better understanding of the process of cultural transfer and mobility in *Down in the Valley*.[46]

The song "Down in the Valley" draws from a ballad set in Birmingham prison, which inherently involves themes of crime. Murder ballads, a genre that originated and gained popularity in the American South, offer a compelling avenue to explore how music can reinterpret, convey, and reflect upon experiences of death, crime, and murder across different cultural and musical landscapes. However, there remains a gap in interdisciplinary studies regarding the use and significance of murder ballads in popular music, presenting an opportunity to deepen our understanding of human nature. Murder ballads, broadly speaking, are narratives–whether based on real events or fictional–that vividly recount acts of crime. They often portray the perspective of the perpetrator, providing chilling details of the deed in a poetic manner. Originating in seventeenth-century Europe, murder ballads have become ingrained in American folk traditions, notably within hillbilly, Appalachian, and blues music. Cultural anthropologists John and Alan Lomax played a pivotal role in documenting and mapping these ballads, ensuring their preservation for future generations. Many scholars argue that the genre is closely tied to femicide.[47] My analysis of murder ballads in American music, however, complicates this approach. I argue that the murder ballads with their inherently "intermedial powers"[48] penetrate both public and political

45 In general, media help to transfer experience from one person to another. Bolter and Grusin argue that the goal of new media is to "get beyond mediation". Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), 4. The study of the arrangement of texts, graphics, sounds, and moving images traces a development that sees the creation of immediacy superseded by the creation of hypermediacy. Ibid., 11. In the process of remediation from painting to photography to film, television, and the digital arena we can observe that "all media are at one level a 'play of signs'". Ibid., 19.

46 The following part is a modified version of my article "*Down in the Valley*: German Remediations of Rural America in the Musical Theatre of Kurt Weill", in *Rural America*, ed. Antje Kley and Heike Paul. (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), 373-400.

47 See Diane Russell and Roberta Harmes, eds., *Femicide in Global Perspective* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), xi

48 See Mehring and Redling, "Introduction".

spheres,[49] offering creative and self-reflexive responses to social realities.[50] In the US, murder ballads developed from an inherently oral tradition of the hinterland into an integral part of twentieth-century music. It is closely tied to the recording industry, particularly in the realm of folk and early blues.[51]

Kurt Weill teamed up with the lyricist and playwright Arnold Sundgaard (1909-2006) to build a story around the folk ballad "Down in the Valley" for a theatre and radio production. The story builds on the themes of love, crime, and imprisonment suggested in the ballad by lines such as "Know I love you, know I love you / God and his angels know I love you" and "Go write me a letter, send it by mail; / Bake it and stamp it to the Birmingham jail."[52] The ballad "Down in the Valley" has been transcribed in different forms. The version that Weill and Sundgaard chose for the libretto differs slightly from the version which Carl Sandburg printed in his landmark folk collection *The American Songbag* (1927).[53] Weill might have preferred the explicit reference to the Birmingham jail since it lends itself particularly well to extensive dramatisation:

> Down in the valley, valley so low / Hang your head over, hear the train blow / Hear the train blow, love, hear the train blow; / Late in the evening, hear the train blow. / Build me a castle, build it so high, / So I can see my true love go by, / See her go by, love, see her go by, / So I can see my true love go by. / Write me a letter, send it by mail; / Bake it and stamp it to the Birmingham jail.[54]

49 See Peter Wicke, *Rock Music: Culture, Aesthetics, and Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 11.

50 See Olaf Kaltmeier and Wilfried Raussert, eds., "Introduction. Sonic Politics: Music and the Narration of the Social in the Americas from the 1960s to the Present", in *Sonic Politics: Music and Social Movements in the Americas* (London: Routledge, 2019), 7.

51 From there, it evolved into the protest culture of the 1950s, particularly the genre of rock. Today, we find murder ballads in all musical genres ranging from pop to rap. Therefore, the sonic politics of murder ballads deserve more attention within and beyond the realm of music history. See Frank Mehring, "Murder on Record: Ballads about Love, Death, and the Deep South," in *Musikalische Regionen und Regionalismen in den USA / Musical Regions and Regionalisms in the USA*. Yearbook "Lied und Populäre Kultur. Song and Popular Culture" of the Center for Popular Culture and Music, Vol. 66, ed. Julius Greve and Knut Holtsträter (Münster and New York: Waxmann, 2021), 108.

52 See G. L. Kittredge, "Ballads and Songs."

53 Sandberg suggested in the preface that the material collected in his *American Songbag* represents the product of thousands of American interpreters arguing that they "changed old songs, they carried songs from place to place, they resurrected and kept alive dying and forgotten songs". Carl Sandberg, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927) viii. Sundgaard and Weill might have taken this open approach as an invitation to alter the material slightly to make for a more dramatic impact of the folk opera.

54 Sandberg, *The American Songbag*, 148.

The folk opera opens with a chorus which introduces the audience to the plot, explaining that the protagonist Brack Weaver "died for the love of sweet Jennie Parsons / He died for the slaying of Thomas Bouché."

Through a series of flashbacks, the audience is then introduced to the story. The first scene takes place in Birmingham jail the night before the execution. Brack hears a mail train go by and manages to escape so that he can see Jennie one more time before he dies. They find each other, embrace, and confess their love. Brack learns that her father had forbidden Jennie to send any letter to him to jail. Another flashback takes Brack and Jennie to their first romantic encounter. When Brack brings her home, his rival Thomas Bouché sits on the porch with Jennie's father. Jennie refuses to be taken to a country-dance by the much older Bouché. When the three meet at a dance, Brack and Bouché get into a fight in which the latter is killed. The flashback ends with the imprisonment of Brack while Jennie says she will always love him. The opera ends with the chorus reprising the last lines from the "Down in the Valley" ballad. To a certain degree, Weill takes the American "songbag" and reworks various songs into a rhapsodic folk opera. In contrast to most of his other works, *Down in the Valley* was designed to activate new groups of actors/singers: Weill intended the folk opera to be performed not so much on the professional stage. Rather, he had composed the piece for school orchestras and lay performers.[55]

Cecil Smith reviewed the Lemonade Opera production in 1949 pointing to the alleged loss of complexity that accompanies Weill's musical development from the German to the American cultural scene: "If *Down in the Valley* represents the ultimate Americanisation of Mr. Weill, the news is bad, for he has thrown away his fine-grained sandpaper and reached for a trowel"[56]. This transatlantic dichotomy continues to be evoked in scholarship and the public. The marketing campaign represents an important element of *Down in the Valley* that helps us to better understand the approach to folk in music and the visual arts between Roosevelt's New Deal and the propaganda of the World War II era. As a matter of fact, the visual dimension of marketing *Down in the Valley* by RCA Victor recording and the Schirmer score sheet might have (unwillingly) contributed to and misguided the critical recep-

55 After its premiere at the University of Indiana in Bloomington on July 15, 1948, the opera received 80 performances in schools and universities all over the United States within only one year. In the first nine years, *Down in the Valley* saw a remarkable 6000 performances. Shortly after the premiere, the opera was broadcast on radio; in 1950, *Down in the Valley* was televised. Critics, however, were less impressed.

56 Cecil Smith quoted in Stephen Hinton, *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 395.

tion of musicologists to qualify *Down in the Valley* as an example of almost unbearable naiveté (see for example John Rockwell's article in *The New York Times* from 1984).[57] Both publications of *Down in the Valley* feature a nostalgic work of American folklore showing a picturesque rural scene with rivers, valleys, villages, and a farmer ploughing the field with two horses. This is a nostalgic pre-industrialisation fantasy of a two-dimensional world.

The visual framing of *Down in the Valley* for the marketing of the score by the Schirmer publishing company needs to be seen in the political context of the 1940s. The cover painting of *Down in the Valley*'s score (fig. 9.5) is by Anna Mary Robertson Moses, better known as "Grandma Moses." In his account on American primitive painters of the twentieth century, editor Sidney Janis identifies her as "Mother Moses," implying she became a maternal figure for all Americans, evoking the essence of rural America central to the American dream. Following World War II, decorators and businessmen capitalised on Grandma Moses's artwork to offer prepackaged versions of

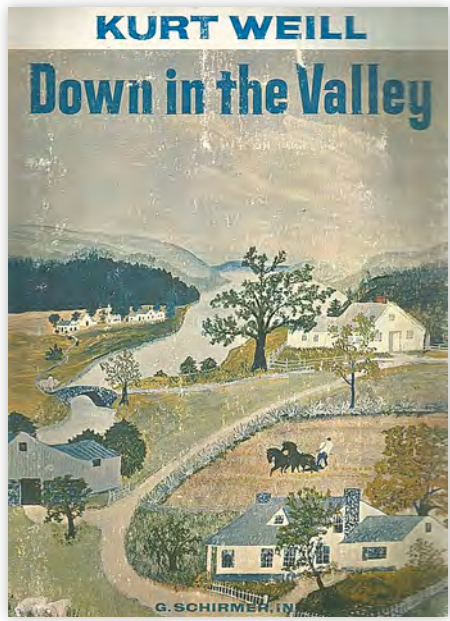

Fig. 9.5: Cover of Score for *Down in the Valley* (Schirmer, 1948) and RCA Victor record (1950).

57 John Rockwell, "Weill´s Opera *Down in the Valley*," *The New York Times* April 16, 1984, Section C, 20.

"Americana" for suburban American homes.[58] Unfortunately, this commercialisation may have inadvertently cast a negative light on Weill's *Down in the Valley*, depicting it as a simplistic commodity devoid of artistic merit.[59] At the time the folk opera was conceived, the cultural imaginary associated with rural America and "the South" could be exploited for both patriotic purposes as well as Weill's personal ambition to create a truly American form of musical expression. As an immigrant who had arrived about ten years before on the shores of New York, he had to rely on material which he believed could express the ideal of "the South." From his perspective, he wrote in his letter to businessman Charles McArthur in 1946, the American folk song "overshadows the folk song of all other countries [...] not only in quantity but also in the quality of its texture, in the depth of its emotion, in the exuberance of its humor, in the beauty of its melody, and in the strength of its rhythm."[60]

Much like his admiration for American jazz, modern media tools like radio, gramophones, photographs, newspapers, paintings, and sheet music served as conduits for intercultural exchange, fuelling his imagination to create music for and about a democratic nation that existed in Weill's mind and awaited proper musical articulation. Weill viewed American folk songs as fundamental for dramatisation. For instance, the song "Down in the Valley" served as inspiration for a dramatic narrative, enabling the incorporation of various short sequences rooted in a plethora of folk songs. There are different versions of the song, which have been collected and published.[61] The version that Weill found most striking includes references to the power

58 Following World War II, the so-called "Sunday painters" or "primitive painters" garnered significant attention. In a quest to capture portrayals of American vitality, abundant creative reservoirs, and commercially viable cultural products that embody the American ideals of the "common man" and rustic individualism, American primitive art emerged as a means to define the essence of the American democratic landscape. A notable example illustrating this is the book *They Taught Themselves: American Primitive Painters of the 20th Century*, published shortly after the United States entered World War II. Edited by Sidney Janis, the book underscored the absence of formal academic training among primitive painters. It demonstrates how this perceived disadvantage could be effectively transformed into an advantage, showcasing depictions of rural America as genuine expressions of familiarity and authenticity.

59 For a discussion of different branding processes surrounding the work of Grandma Moses, see Karal Ann Marling, *Designs on the Heart: The Homemade Art of Grandma Moses* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP), 103-105.

60 Reprinted in David Farnet, Elmar Juchem, and Dave Stein, eds., *Kurt Weill: Ein Leben in Bildern und Dokumenten* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2000), 300.

61 As Stephen Hinton points out, not only do published versions of the song vary, but also the lyrics used in Weill's folk opera float freely between different versions. See *Weill's Musical Theater*, 393.

of enduring love and the experience of separation through imprisonment. The dramatisation of the plot and the scoring techniques borrow from Hollywood film aesthetics. The scoring techniques of national songs and their function as an authentic representation of American folk material are in line with Weill's understanding of *Down in the Valley* as an expression of a genuine American democratic spirit.[62] The complexity and seriousness behind his re-interpretations escaped many critics.[63] However, Weill was interested in liberating the material from familiar functions to stir (superficial) emotional responses in order to open up a door to access a hidden beauty in the words and melodies of national songs. Similar techniques and processes of remediation can be found in the ballad opera. The memorable melody of "Down in the Valley" functions like a leitmotif interwoven in different dramatic scenes.

The attractiveness of the material for Weill lies in its oral tradition and its function as social glue between citizens who collaboratively engage in singing folk ballads. In his 1941 radio interview, Weill explained: "To me the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' is the most exciting, stirring hymn I've ever known, and 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is a dignified, proud melody. The music as well as the words are far superior to those martial hymns of hate that are coming out of Europe lately."[64] What Weill said about national songs such as the "Star Spangled Banner" or the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" also holds true for the folk material with which he set out to express a particular democratic spirit in the United States: "It seems to me when people sing a song together they are sharing a common emotion and songs that express devotion to our great ideals of liberty and justice would certainly help to unite Americans of all races and occupations in a strong determination to defend these ideals."[65]

In *Down in the Valley*, the simplicity of the songs was both emphasised and contrasted through the artistry in the complex, partly symphonic underscoring. In the spirit of Aaron Copland's *Fanfare to the Common Man* (1942), the folk opera opens with a short fanfare motive (Fig. 9.6) that is repeated

62 See Mehring, *The Democratic Gap*, 229.

63 For example, in 1942, the music critic Ross Parmenter from *The New York Times* described Weill's compositions condescendingly as "news-reel music". Parmenter also considered these compositions inappropriate for Helen Hayes's vocal capabilities and ineffective as patriotic statements. Ross Parmenter, "Records: Patriotism in Verse, Music," *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1942, 2.

64 Kurt Weill, "I´m an American." Script no. 43, NBC, broadcast 8 March 1941. https://www.kwf.org/kurt-weill/recommended/im-an-american/, accessed April 12, 2024.

65 Ibid.

in a higher register before we hear the title song, first interpreted by a solo tenor and then followed by the choir (Fig. 9.7). A chromatically descending movement in the woodwinds creates a contrast to the upbeat intonation of the folk song. The naïve, joyful melody is further undercut by short, repetitive chromatic motifs hummed by the choir. The flattened sixth, which Weill calls for in this motif, resembles muted sighs. The alternation with the F major mode adds a remarkable musical tension to the folk melody.

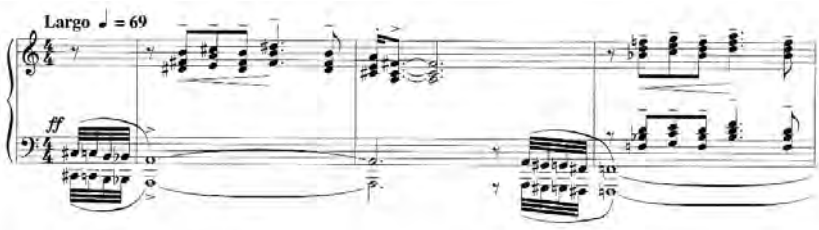

Fig. 9.6: Kurt Weill, *Down in the Valley* (1948), opening fanfare.

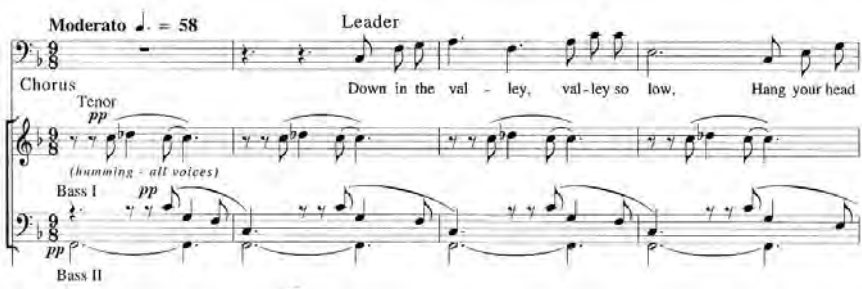

Fig. 9.7: Kurt Weill, *Down in the Valley* (1948), beginning with tenor and choir.

As in nineteenth-century opera and later in the influential film scoring of Max Steiner, Eric Wolfgang Korngold, or Franz Waxman, the "Down in the Valley" folk song becomes a leitmotif with which Weill identifies Brack Weaver, the hero of his work, when he, for example, whistles the melody after his escape from prison to rush to his beloved (and on a musical level to another folk song). Later, the scene then shifts to the lively barn dance number "Hoe-Down" ready with call and response singing, wild clapping, and dance instructions. The lyrics are based on the traditional folk song "Sourwood Mountain" closely associated with the Appalachian mountain region ("I got a girl in the head o' th' hollow / Hey-ho, diddle-um day"). Here, the dramatic climax overlaps with the folk opera's most lively musical part, followed by the underscoring of the fight between Brack Weaver and his rival Thomas Bouché until the latter's death. Echoing the musical erup-

tions of violence of Stravinsky's revolutionary avant-garde ballet *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913), Weill scores the fight with irregular dissonant strikes in the orchestra – a technique which had also been successfully implemented by European immigrant composers in Hollywood film scoring. The scene ends with Brack in jail. Now, however, he feels convinced that Jennie will always love him. Thus, the concluding fanfare offers a sense of affirmation of love despite the bleak setting in the Birmingham jail cell.

The folk material of *Down in the Valley* is used effectively to convey a "love conquers all" attitude supported by the simple charms and authentic life captured in American folk songs. The quasi-religious affirmation of love-conquers-all at the end of *Down in the Valley* is rooted in a rustic folk tradition. In contrast to the initial fanfare, we revert to a fortissimo setting (Fig. 9.8), albeit this time in a livelier triple meter rather than the previous four-quarter meter. The affirmative impact is amplified by an expanded tonal structure, marked accents on the fanfare harmonies featuring the characteristic basic fanfare rhythm of three short bursts followed by an extended chord in C major. Thus, Weill successfully remediates the genre of folk music associated with "the South" via musical theatre and radio transmissions for a twentieth-century audience in which the specifics of a region become universalised with an uplifting ending. In the musical mind of the immigrant Kurt Weill, the folk material is reworked to express his democratic vision that music can be used to "unite Americans of all races and occupations."[66]

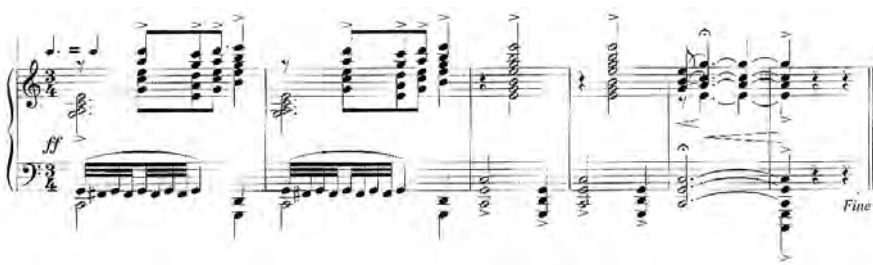

Fig. 9.8: Kurt Weill, *Down in the Valley* (1948), final fanfare.

66 Ibid.

Conclusion

The intersection between rural America and the idealised notion of a utopian "America" in the musical works of Stephen Foster and Kurt Weill is characterised by mediation, remediation, and transnationalisation. As John Street suggests, music possesses the ability to sway hearts and minds, disrupting social and political norms[67] not through shock and fear, but through its affective power when combined with other mediums, particularly text and imagery. Throughout the twentieth century, there is a notable trend in the utilisation of music associated with the rural South, which transforms a contentious legacy into a triumph of American musical and cultural heritage. Despite differing national backgrounds and working in separate time periods, Stephen Foster and Kurt Weill share a strikingly similar approach to evoking the essence of "the South:" neither sought solace in the heartland nor composed for the people from whom they drew inspiration. Instead, they reimagined elements from European ballads and American song collections to fabricate a fantasy of "the South," crafting an immersive experience for listeners and theatre audiences, often in predominantly urban settings.

This form of remediation is rooted less in authentic experience and more in a cultural ideal of a "rural America," free from the taint of slavery, racism, lynching, and segregation. What emerges from experiencing compositions by Foster and Weill is a transnational narrative of triumph that resonates with a global audience.[68] Once associated with the struggle against slavery and racial oppression, the genre now symbolises a tale of human uplift. However, it is imperative not to overlook the origins of these transnational constructs, designed to appeal both nationally and globally. As we distance ourselves from the original socio-cultural and political contexts in which music framed specific regions, we risk overlooking the more troubling aspects of history–those entwined with slavery, racism, and the fight for freedom for those excluded from America's democratic experiment. By mapping the musical and intermedial imaginaries of regional spaces, we can begin to unravel the growing disparity between national history and fantasy, where music assumes a pivotal role in "sounding the South."

67 See Street, *Politics and Music*, 22.

68 This trend prefigures the emerging trends of universalising the success story of the blues from "the South" to the international world of popular music which can be seen in American blues museums. See in this context Frank Mehring, "Gonna be a 'Rollin' Stone': Reinventing the (Trans)National Blues Narrative with the Rolling Stones," in *Americana: Aesthetics, Authenticity, and Performance in US Popular Music*, ed. Knut Holtsträter and Sascha Pöhlmann (Münster: Waxman, 2023), 177-194.

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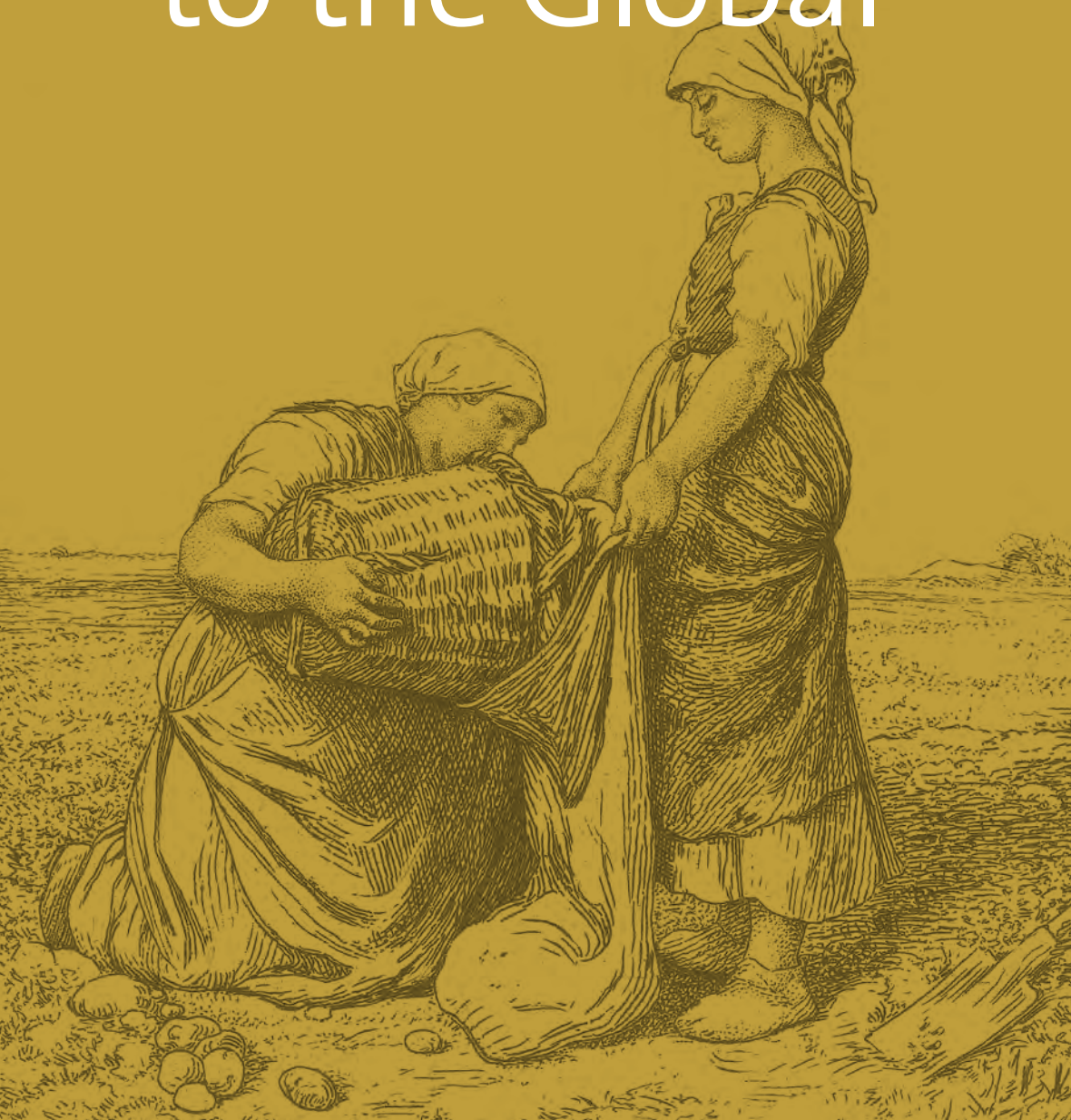
From the Local to the Global



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From the 'Back of Beyond' to the Middle of Forever: The Urgency of Transnational Regionalist Perspectives in Anthropocene Time

JUNE HOWARD

Let's take our bearings within another time-set.
– JOHN BERGER, "Ten Dispatches About Place," *Hold Everything Dear*

Introduction

Both the power, and the difficulty, of the category "region" derive from the way it faces two directions at the same time. It invokes the vivid particularity of places, and also acknowledges their inevitably relational nature. That swivel is easily seen in everyday life. For example, a restaurant offering authentic regional fare is positing customers who want the distinctive food of a particular place–and who know that there are alternatives. The description simultaneously claims the local and locates itself in a system of multiple cuisines. "Region" has included this tension "between a distinct area and a definite part" since its entry from Latin into English in the 14th century.[1] Thus, it has also been entangled with the category "nation" for centuries. In today's usage, it can refer to a supranational grouping–"the Balkan region," say–but more commonly indicates a subnational area, as when I characterize my home in North America as "in the Midwest." Some such designations are precise; New Zealand's Regional Councils are governmental authorities, with specified boundaries. Most are fuzzy–the question "what countries comprise the Balkans?" will be answered differently by different people (invoking a fraught history–controversy might ensue). The Midwest has an official United States Census definition, but is often used loosely, and overlaps with the Great Lakes region as well as even more complicated categories like the Rust Belt and the Heartland. Both in daily life and academic discussions, the national consistently crowds the conceptual space–even though we are always surrounded by the local, even though in historical perspective colonialism and imperialism arguably deserve equal attention. Modern common sense assumes a world of neatly nested scales,

1 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 264.

ranging above and below nations–projecting a kind of Westphalian jigsaw puzzle that both exaggerates and enhances those borders' power. Even Europeans may not focus on the fact that some countries are only partially in the Balkans, and Michiganders sometimes forget that the Great Lakes region includes Canadian provinces.

This essay begins with such everyday understandings of region, putting them in dialogue with scholarly accounts of the literature and culture of particular places and with theories of geography and temporality. In the first section, I go back to basic concepts and unpack the redefinition of *place* that subtends my claims about regionalism. I discuss its consequences for literary history–visible throughout this volume–and begin to suggest its broad implications for how we see the world. In the second section, I consider how changing our bearings in this way transforms our understanding of *time* and connects with what has been called "time studies" to develop a complementary recognition of temporal multiplicity. Finally, ambitiously, I speculate that these changes in perspective might help us more purposefully inhabit the Anthropocene. Thinking regionalism transnationally is only one of the ways knowledge-makers are exploding modernity, and transforming our understanding of place-time in ways that are simultaneously old and new. All such projects are high-stakes endeavours.

Understanding Place and Remapping the Planet

There is no better way to rethink place than to turn to the work of the feminist geographer Doreen Massey, and the recognition that, as she says so concisely, "what defines the uniqueness of any place is by no means all included within that place itself." In that quotation Massey is specifically discussing "social relations," but whatever the topic–from cultural representations, to populations of migrating birds, to climate–it remains true that the distinctiveness of a place is constructed not only by what is inside a border, in opposition to what is beyond, but also by the specific "mix of links and interconnections *to* that 'beyond.'"[2] Working from that insight changes the role that boundaries play in analysis. It does not in any sense erase them, but it focuses our attention not on containment but on how circulation works across them. This seemingly simple statement opens out into a recognition of every location as both porous, and dynamic–always in

2 Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota Press, 1994), 5; emphasis in the original.

process–so it becomes less likely we will think about regions in isolation, or without also thinking about time.

This perspective provides a strong challenge to the approach to regionalism that long prevailed and remains available in American literary history, in which the genre is described as the characteristic expression of a substantive, bounded place and particular experience. The Wisconsin writer Hamlin Garland's assertion, in his 1894 manifesto *Crumbling Idols*, is often quoted: "Local color in a novel means that it has such quality of texture and back-ground that it could not have been written in any other place or by any one else than a native. ... [T]he tourist cannot write the local novel."[3] There is a very large body of scholarly work on the distinctive cultural productions of each region of the United States, which from the 1970s on has frequently focused on the recovery of women writers, and both male and female writers of colour. That vital research continues today.[4] I constantly learn from it, while resisting many critics' tendency to try to fix the boundaries of regions and to distinguish, as Garland does, between authentic and inauthentic writers.

A very different approach emerged in the 1990s, beginning with the work of Amy Kaplan and Richard Brodhead, one that emphasizes not authors' orientation to the local but rather the location of their works in elite magazines during an era of national consolidation. It has produced powerful, indispensable work, and has been so influential that one now encounters literary scholarship that simply *assumes* regional writing is a representation of remote places for privileged people in central cities. Local colour becomes a kind of literary tourism. Yet regional writing appearing in the high-culture Boston-based journal *Atlantic Monthly* does not necessarily mean it appeared *only* there, and in fact, it circulated much more widely. For U.S. literature, scholars such as Charles Johanningmeier and Emily Satterwhite use empirical evidence–from publication venues and reviews to library records and fan mail–to offer a complex picture of the reception of local colour writing. Mary Wilkins Freeman published syndicated stories in newspapers that had large, cross-class audiences, and Sarah Orne Jewett's books were carried in local libraries in Maine, including those in rural areas. Letters to

3 Hamlin Garland, *Crumbling Idols: Twelve Essays on Art, Dealing Chiefly with Literature, Painting and the Drama* (Stone and Kimball, 1894), 53–54.

4 On the continued vitality of recovery work, see Frances Smith Foster, "Intimate Matters in This Place: The Underground Railroad of Literature," *Legacy* 36, no. 2 (2019): 245–48; and the other essays in the "Forum: Recovery and Democracy," ed. Sandra A. Zagarell and Paul Lauter, in that issue of *Legacy*, 236–66. Regionalists like Alice Dunbar-Nelson and Edith Eaton (Sui Sin Far) appear prominently, although the topic is more general.

the authors of best-selling "Appalachian-set" (as Satterwhite puts it) novels reveal the immense variability of investments in images of the region by readers of different genders, occupations, geographical locations and (crucially) degrees of mobility. Authenticity is certainly off the table, but so is inauthenticity, in favour of attention to the power of stories in constructing identities and solidarities.

A key goal of my book *The Center of the World: Regional Writing and the Puzzles of Place-Time* is to show that these two approaches do not refute, but correct and complement, each other. We can recognize a place as substantial, attend to the actuality of its land and people, and at the same time recognize that its identity is relational, depending on its position in a web of discursive contrasts and historical connections that include the continental, the transatlantic, the global. Many regionalist works, whether from the nineteenth, twentieth, or twenty-first century, whatever their medium, do both. Understanding the form in this way has consequences for how we read it. For example, it helps us see the significance of the frequent appearances of teachers in one-room schoolhouses. Their classrooms thematize the effort to generate a space that mediates between local and metropolitan or cosmopolitan knowledges.[5] Not all regionalist works reach for that range, of course. Some are what Raymond Williams calls "encapsulated," trying to wall off a locality; and there are those that are touristic–ill-informed and exoticizing. The array of elements that cues us to recognize regionalism encompasses them all.

The salient feature of the genre is, of course, that it is writing about particular places. From the earliest examples of local colour, that means places removed from the centers of population and power. Walter Scott uses the phrase in my title, "the back of beyond," in his 1816 novel *The Antiquary*. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Lot" (1834) introduces the story's setting, "the little village of Newbury in New England," like this: "it was just one of those out of the way places where nobody ever came unless they came on purpose: a green little hollow, wedged like a bird's nest between half a dozen high hills, that kept off the wind and kept out foreigners; so that the little place was as straitly *sui generis* as if there were not another in the world".[6] Such places are often valued, sometimes in fact valorised. But their remoteness and littleness persistently subordinates them. Raymond Williams–not only a cultural critic

5 See chapter 2 of June Howard, *The Center of the World: Regional Writing and the Puzzles of Place-Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) for a discussion of this topos.

6 Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Uncle Lot", in *Stories, Sketches and Studies* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896), 10.

but himself the author of regional novels–points out that some places, like his own Wales, are understood as regional and others, like London, are not. He writes: this "is no longer a distinction of areas and kinds of life; it is what is politely called a value-judgement but more accurately an expression of centralized cultural dominance."[7] We see places more clearly when we are thinking transnationally, and thinking past the antinomy of the substantive and relational–but we must always still reckon with what Massey calls the "power geometry" of space. Williams's *The Country and the City* (1973) is a classic study of a fundamental asymmetry of the English landscape, and beyond. Like him concerned with discourse, I will not stop to demonstrate structural inequality; and condescension to the rural is so long-standing and widespread an attitude that evidence scarcely needs to be cited. This perspective is embedded in English language usage, as my recent search for synonyms of "provincial" on the website Thesaurus.com demonstrated: "local" and "rural" at the top, but also "narrow," "bigoted," "rustic," "rude," "unsophisticated," "insular," "small-minded"–and so on. In my observation, such prejudice can still be unself-consciously expressed even in studiously egalitarian circles. I invite dubious readers to run their own searches and make their own observations.

The simple, single hue of each country on a five-colour map of the world makes the power geometry between regions (to say nothing of other inequalities) invisible. As amply shown in this volume, the transnational circulation of words and images is also obscured. Alternate solidarities that cross national borders, such as the Basque region in France and Spain, are rendered invisible.[8] In my own Great Lakes region, the homelands and current lands of the Anishinaabe lie on both sides of the U.S.-Canada border; for Europe, we should think of the Sámi people. Indeed, a whole world of indigenous place-making is obscured.[9]

Even more broadly, the perspective of the Global North is naturalized, in multiple ways analysed by critical cartographers and vividly countered in "South Up" maps. Stuart McArthur drew the first version of his "Universal Corrective Map of the World" when he was in the 6th grade in Australia; his teacher made him redo his assignment "correctly," putting the North Pole at

7 Raymond Williams, "Region and Class in the Novel," in *Writing in Society* (New York, NY: Verso, 1983), 230.

8 See Talitha Ilacqua, *Inventing the Modern Region: Basque Identity and the French Nation-State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024), for work that links this issue to the concerns of this volume.

9 See Rachael Marchbanks, "The Borderline: Indigenous Communities on the International Frontier," *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* (blog), February 20, 2015, https://tribalcollegejournal.org/borderline-indigenous-communities-international-frontier/.

Fig. 10.1: Jigsaw puzzle of Europe. By permission of Bigjigs Toys Ltd.

Fig. 10.2: Location of all Anishinaabe Reservations/Reserves in North America. With diffusion rings about communities speaking an Anishinaabe language. Cities with Anishinaabe population also shown. Source: CJLippert, en.wikipedia.org.

Fig. 10.3: The homeland of the Indigenous Sámi people, in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Source: Rogper, en.wikipedia.org.

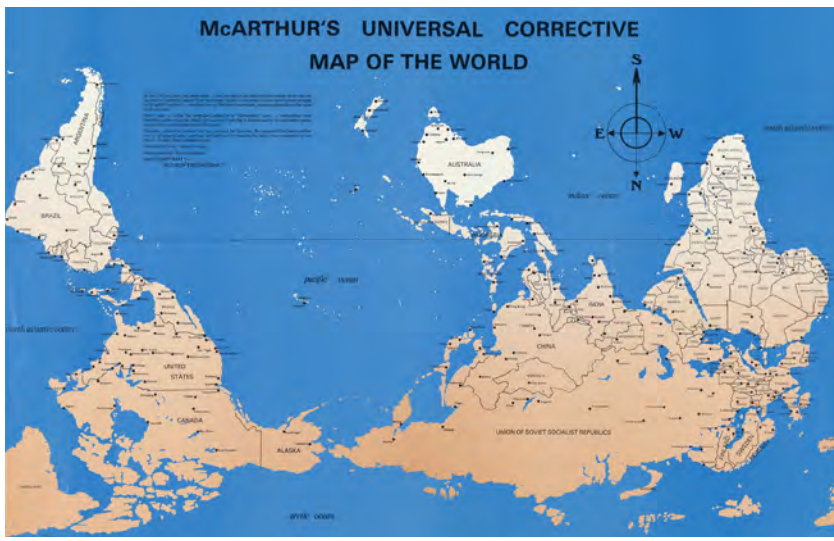

Fig. 10.4: McArthur's Universal Corrective Map of the World. By kind permission of Stuart McArthur; image from National Library of Australia, ABN 28346858075.

the top. The Earth spinning in space does not have an up-down orientation, of course. But the conventions of mapping shape how we imagine the globe; reoriented maps and equal-area projections are valuable cognitive and pedagogical tools.[10]

There is a familiar image of a world without frontiers–the famous "Blue Marble," the first photograph of the full disc of Earth taken from Apollo 17 in 1972.

Fig. 10.5: Photograph of the Earth taken from Apollo 17 on December 7, 1972.
Image courtesy of the Earth Science and Remote Sensing Unit, NASA Johnson Space Center.
Photography AS17-148p22727, available from the website http://eol.jsc.nasa.gov.

It is often described (in Wikipedia, for example) as one of the most frequently reproduced images in history, and is much discussed both in the popular press and in scholarship. It is indeed powerful to look at; in Ursula Heise's words, "Set against a black background like a precious jewel in a case of velvet, the planet here appears as a single entity, united, limited, and delicately beautiful." Let us observe immediately that its serene integrity does not register the power geometry playing out across the world; and, as

10 For the general points in this paragraph, see Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 2010). On McArthur's map, see Kenneth Field, "MapCarte 38/365," February 7, 2014, https://mapdesign.icaci.org/2014/02/mapcarte-38365-mcarthurs-universal-corrective-map-of-the-world-stuart-mcarthur-1979. It is worth noting that in an email message I asked Stuart McArthur if the narrative about his map that circulates on the internet is accurate, and he replied that it is.

Heise discusses, the use of the Blue Marble as a symbol of environmentalism has been severely critiqued. It seems ironic for an image produced by such advanced technology to be incorporated into an often anti-technological discourse, and–a point directly relevant for thinking about regionalism–arguably its effect is to substitute an abstract commitment for more local and sensory engagements with place.[11] What is rarely noted, however, is that the familiar photograph has been inverted to produce a "North Up" image. Nothing shows the power of that convention more clearly than this comment from a magazine article about the Blue Marble: "The true camera image is upside-down by earthly standards, showing the South Pole at the top of the globe, because the camera was held by a weightless man who didn't know down from up."[12]

The context for the take-up of this image is discussed in historian Perrin Selcer's *Postwar Origins of the Global Environment*, subtitled *How the United Nations Built Spaceship Earth*. Cosmopolitan elites were motivated by the horrors of the Second World War to try to avert future conflicts by creating international institutions and promoting world community. Their broad project failed, but each chapter of Selcer's book focuses on particular individuals and groups and shows that they did succeed in building scientific cooperation and networks of experts across the world. It is that knowledge infrastructure that tells us that what we are experiencing in the twenty-first century is not just odd weather, not just changes in local habitats, but global climate change and mass extinction. For Selcer, photographs of Earth from space are not a cause but a register of the emergence of planetary thinking. The book is a salutary reminder of the complexity of the processes leading up to the UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, where histories of global environmentalism sometimes begin.

People began imagining the whole world millennia before the advent of space flight, of course. Geodesy–the discipline that deals with the measurement and representation of the earth–was practiced in ancient India.[13] Denis Cosgrove's study of Western images of the world as a unitary sphere is titled *Apollo's Eye* and begins with Greece and Rome. The notion of a coordinate sys-

11 Ursula K. Heise, *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 22 and (for the critiques) following.

12 Al Reinert, "The Blue Marble Shot: Our First Complete Photograph of Earth," *The Atlantic*, April 12, 2011, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/04/the-blue-marble-shot-our-first-complete-photograph-of-earth/237167/, np.

13 See, for insights on this history and much more, Alison Bashford, Emily M. Kern, and Adam Bobbette, eds., *New Earth Histories: Geo-Cosmologies and the Making of the Modern World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2023).

tem overlaying the globe is usually attributed to Eratosthenes in the third century BCE; in the next century, Hipparchus regularized it and added the specification of 360 degrees, developing the lines of latitude and longitude visible on the maps Mercator made in the 16th century and still in use today.

These labours of visualization are both indexes of and influences on how we imagine spaces and communities. They are always done by specific people in specific places–which (as Massey says) are not *just* those places but also constituted by their links. Let us complement her insight with Anna Tsing's: "all human cultures are shaped and transformed in long histories of regional-to-global networks of power, trade, and meaning"–but the *global* is not useful as "a claim to explain everything in the world at once." It is, rather, an entry point into the "productive friction" of connections.[14] Transnational regionalist perspectives enable the vital project of recognizing the indispensable entanglement of the substantive "distinct area" and the relational "definite part," doing justice to both the particular and the planetary.

Fig. 10.6: From Mercator's *Atlas sive Cosmographicae*, 1596.
Source: Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain.

14 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3 and ix.

Navigating Multiple Temporalities

The modern development of a geographic coordinate system is linked to the demands of navigation. For most of human history, ocean travel was done within sight of a coast. Polynesians were the exception, taking their bearings from systematic observations of wave patterns, clouds, and the flight of birds, passing down their knowledge orally over generations; it is truly remarkable that their wayfinding techniques enabled them to go to virtually every sizable island in the Pacific Ocean. But in Europe, during the early years of exploration and colonialism, a whole array of devices and mathematical techniques was developed to locate ships at sea. All of them, without exception, rely on *time*. Let me review some well-known perspectives, which I think accumulate to a radical challenge to our common sense about place and time.

In the centuries-old practice of "dead reckoning," estimates of speed are used to calculate location from a known starting point–requiring that you know how long you have been travelling. In celestial navigation, the angle of the sun at its highest point reveals how far north or south of the equator your location is, that is, latitude. But to use that to calculate east-west location, longitude, it's necessary to compare when noon happens where you started and when it happens where you are, so you need an accurate timekeeping device. Mechanical clocks do not do well on ships: the motion interferes with pendulums, metals are corroded by sea air, and temperature changes cause them to run faster or slower. Even a small error makes a mark on the chart inaccurate. This problem has been a focus in popular history; famously, in 1707, a British fleet on the way back from a military triumph miscalculated, ran aground in the Isles of Scilly, and was lost. Subsequently, the British government offered a large prize (the equivalent of five million dollars in 2023) for an accurate way to determine longitude, eventually won by John Harrison's marine chronometer.[15]

15 See Dava Sobel, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1996).

Fig. 10.7: British ships lost on the rocks at the Isles of Scilly, October 22, 1707. Print circa 1710. Source: Wikimedia Commons, in the public domain.
Fig. 10.8: John Harrison Ship Chronometer, between 1761 and 1800. Great Britain. Technical Museum, Oslo, Norway. Source: Bjoertvedt, Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons license see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chronometer_01.jpg.

Jump forward a few hundred years–and we navigate by GPS. Few people think of that as a system of very sophisticated clocks (I certainly didn't, when I started working on this topic), but that is exactly what it is. The Global Positioning System relies on satellites, the first group launched by the US military, orbiting the Earth in a constellation that means at least four of them are in the sky above us at any given moment. (There are actually many more, because the European Union, Russia, China, India and Japan also run systems.)

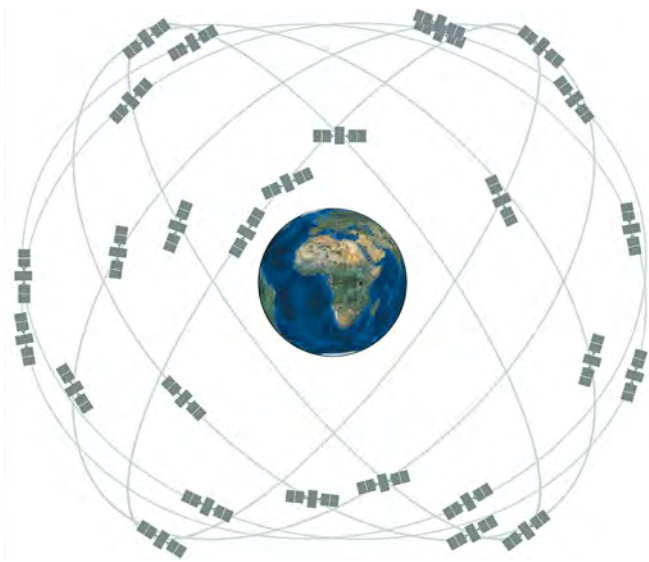

Fig. 10.9: GPS constellation, from https://www.gps.gov/systems/gps/space/. Source: United States Government, released into the public domain.

They carry atomic clocks, accurate within three nanoseconds–that is, three billionths of a second. Simplifying considerably: smartphones have built-in receivers listening to the time codes the satellites continuously transmit; comparing them and using trigonometry makes it possible to calculate location. The fact that this system is freely available is attributed to another famous military-adjacent transportation disaster, this one occurring during the Cold War. In 1983, a Korean Air Lines plane flying from New York to Anchorage to Seoul got off course without realizing it, flew over the Kamchatka peninsula, and was shot down by a Soviet military plane, killing everyone on board. Less than two weeks later, Ronald Reagan announced that GPS, which would have prevented the accident, would be made available for civilian use. In 2019, its creators also won a large monetary prize from the British government.

Time is always already involved when we consider regionalism. In *The Center of the World*, I show that, from before 1840 to after 1940 and including the present, in fiction and beyond, remote places are systematically figured as existing in the past. They are sometimes "quaint," a term frequently attached to local color writing in literary history.[16] Often, in a less friendly tone (as noted by Williams), they are "backwards." Other elements like the orientation of the human body, and the sacred and the profane, are woven into a system of correlations in which the metropole and modernity claim the high ground of the future. In Catherine Marshall's *Christy* (set in 1912, published in 1967), for example, this becomes explicit as the eponymous teacher travels to her schoolhouse in the Appalachian back of beyond. She feels she has "crossed into another time, another century, back to the days of the American frontier. ... It was as if the pages of my history book had opened and by some magic, Daniel Boone might walk into this cabin any moment– ... Ours was the century of progress, everyone said–electric lights and telephones and stream locomotives and automobiles. Yet in this cabin it was still the eighteenth century. I wondered if all the homes in the Cove were as primitive as this one."[17]

As I discuss in the book, the obsolescence associated with regions is part of a larger teleology in which "savage" or "barbaric," left-behind peoples are mapped onto the past, and "civilization," "enlightenment," and "progress" are unquestioned goods. This is, of course, not only a spatialized but also a

16 See James D. Hart, *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*, Fourth Edition (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1965) (the standard reference book I used in the early years of my career), 702.

17 Catherine Marshall, *Christy* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 51.

thoroughly racialized pattern, as a phrase like "darkest Africa" illustrates compactly. One of the most extreme and familiar examples is the topos of the "vanishing Indian" in North America, which imagines the effects of settler policies and practices of slaughter and displacement as a predestined dwindling. In his collection of essays *Everything You Know about Indians is Wrong*, Paul Chaat Smith asserts a counter-narrative: "Contrary to what most people (Indians and non-Indians alike) now believe, our true history is one of constant change, technological innovation, and intense curiosity about the world. How else do you explain our instantaneous adaptation to horses, rifles, flour, and knives?"[18] But the "denial of coevalness" (as Johannes Fabian famously termed it) means that it is not uncommon for someone looking straight at an indigenous person not to see them. Within the assumptions of modernity, indigenous individuals or tribes that are "non-traditional" are automatically inauthentic–and not really Indians.[19]

Reading regionalism in terms of temporality not only links it to basic assumptions about the modern, but also to other kinds of writing in and against modernity. It helps make sense, for example, of the continuity (demonstrated by Jeff Karem) between readers' and critics' expectations of 'authenticity' in U.S. local colour and ethnic literatures. The relation between regionalist and Native American writing is particularly complex, indeed vexed (I will be coming back to indigenous perspectives).[20] Mark Rifkin's *Beyond Settler Time* presses beyond the issues of inclusion and coevalness, arguing that a single, linear timeline itself is an imposition and we must recognize multiple temporalities. A related prospect for connections between genres, even an anti-national literary history, opens in a recent essay by Hadji Bakara on refugee literature. He argues that both international law and humanitarian organizations treat refugees as *past* and *future* citizens. When they remain outside a state, without being repatriated or assimilated–as they often do, and are likely to continue to do in a world of climate refugees–they challenge the political imaginary of the nation. Bakara is not saying that refugees are yearning for "citizen time." Rather,

18 Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know about Indians Is Wrong* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 4.

19 See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*erica (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004). See also Cynthia Connolly, "'You Can't Be Indian! Indians Are Extinct!,'" *YWCA Greater Cleveland* (blog), March 14, 2019, https://www.ywcaofcleveland.org/blog/2019/03/14/you-cant-be-indian-indians-are-extinct-by-cynthia-connolly/ for a personal account of what it is like to be told you are extinct.

20 See Gary Totten, "Zitkala-Sa and the Problem of Regionalism: Nations, Narratives, and Critical Traditions," *The American Indian Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2005): 84–123.

he suggests that since the Second World War, these displaced writers "have represented time as plural and non-sovereign, revealing the multiplicity of temporalities and futures lost to a singular modernity of the nation."[21] This web becomes visible when we think through both territory and time.

I am proposing broad horizons indeed for transnational regionalism. The "spatial turn" in social and cultural theory, usually dated to the 1970s, is better-known than the "temporal turn" that has complemented it (arguably, and at least) since the 90s.[22] Constructing a multidisciplinary context for the mapping of regionalism onto the past and its opening to multiple temporalities means entering less familiar fields, which demonstrate how deeply space and time are entangled in experience. Humans have sensory organs that gather spatial information–both vision and hearing, and to some degree smell, convey it. But no known creature has a perceptual system for time. Cognitive scientists Rafael Núñez and Kelsey Cooperrider write, "Organisms from amoebas to crocodiles to human beings have all evolved a variety of fundamentally different mechanisms–some biochemical, some emergent from neural networks–for tracing time across scales that span from microseconds to days." Studying those physical processes might help us understand how human concepts of time form, although (as they note) there is a very large gap between them and higher-level cognition, mediated by language and culture. It is more immediately helpful to know that what psychologists call "spatial construals of time" are ubiquitous; they have been studied for decades and are even referred to by an acronym, as SCTs.[23] As I noted in my book, the past is usually behind us, but there are languages like Hawaiian and (I can now add) Aymara and Yupna that do things differently.[24] (For advocates of the local and regional, it is this kind of diversity of perspective that is lost with language extinction and the submergence of dialects into standard languages.)

The field of psychology reveals the sheer amount of energy and effort that goes into constructing a sense of temporality; so does the historical perspective. David Rooney's excellent popular history shows clocks and time measurement as central to the human story over 2500 years. One of the

21 Hadji Bakara, "Time, Sovereignty, and Refugee Writing," *PMLA* 137, no. 3 (May 2022): 443–44, https://doi.org/10.1632/S003081292200027X.

22 See Robert Hassan, "Globalization and the 'Temporal Turn': Recent Trends and Issues in Time Studies," *Korean Journal of Policy Studies* 25, no. 2 (2010): 83–102 for one account.

23 Rafael Núñez and Kensy Cooperrider, "The Tangle of Space and Time in Human Cognition," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 17, no. 5 (May 2013): 220.

24 See Rafael E. Núñez and Eve Sweetser, "With the Future Behind Them: Convergent Evidence From Aymara Language and Gesture in the Crosslinguistic Comparison of Spatial Construals of Time," *Cognitive Science* 30, no. 3 (2006): 401–50, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog0000_62.

most vivid instances in academic history is E.P. Thompson's classic work on the struggle over the establishment of factory discipline in England, complemented by Herbert Gutman's for America. Yet the rule of the clock is now taken for granted across enormous swaths of the world–it is hard to see, in fact, because it is so ubiquitous. Millions of people arrive on schedule to schools and jobs, to doctor appointments and dinner dates and birthday parties (some being chronically late only confirms the system). Lives of punctuality contribute to the valorisation of stories of regionalized places, imagined as old-fashioned, slower-paced, less-regimented. Meanwhile, the abstract grid of measured time, like a map, obscures a great deal of what is going on. Sarah Sharma offers a "power chronography" modelled explicitly on Massey's power geometry, looking for example at how taxi drivers' lived temporality intersects with that of their fares, as immigrant drivers on the night shift encounter privileged travellers with jet lag. Social groups, she argues, have "a specific experience of time that is structured in specific political and economic contexts. The temporal operates as a form of social power and a type of social difference."[25] From this perspective, we should be asking, not 'what time is it?', but '*whose* time is it?'.

From these diverse perspectives, ordinary clock and calendar time still mesh smoothly with celestial time, studied by astronomers and physical cosmologists. But the extraordinarily precise "Coordinated Universal Time" (UTC) based on the vibration of caesium atoms is also increasingly built into everyday life and global institutions. GPS is just one example. We are still in the realm of general knowledge, yet dizzying defamiliarization lurks close by. In the financial system, the free-market version of fairness leads stock markets to require that the time of each trade be recorded. In Europe, regulations specify that the time-stamp for trades between actual human beings must be precise to the second; for those between ordinary computers, to one-thousandth of a second; for high-frequency computer trading–one-millionth of a second. Nanoseconds, billionths of a second, are coming–and this is for billions of transactions a day, with information about them retained for years. The atomic time scale of this system, however, gradually gets out of sync with celestial time; the rotation of the earth is unpredictable, but usually a bit slower than clock time. So for the last 50 years, the International Bureau of Weights and Measures has now and then brought the two back together with a one-second pause in UTC. Newspaper

25 Sarah Sharma, *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 9, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822378334.

articles about this "leap second" have been appearing in newspapers; the difficulty is—to quote one of them—that "modern global computing systems have become more tightly intertwined and more reliant on hyper-precise timing, sometimes to the billionth of a second. Adding the extra second heightens the risk that those systems, which are responsible for telecommunication networks, energy transmission, financial transactions, and other vital enterprises, will crash or fail to synchronize."[26] Again, yearning for a refuge in the substantive particularity of the local seems an understandable consequence of this mad level of precision and integration. It appears that the decades-long debate over the problem will be resolved by deferring adjustments to some indefinite time when a "leap minute" is needed—but that does not make the whole seem much less precarious.[27]

The explicit fracturing of Celestial and Universal Coordinated Time seems to make multiple temporalities inescapable. And a third scientific field contradicts both. From the perspective of physics, it is not just possible but likely that "Time Does not Exist"—to quote a chapter title from one of Carlo Rovelli's best-selling books. That is his strong view, but in this quotation, he is stating a consensus: "time passes at different rhythms according to place and according to speed. It is not directional: the difference between past and future does not exist in the elementary equations of the world. The notion of the 'present' does not work: in the vast universe, there is nothing that we can reasonably call 'present.'"[28] I cannot explain how physicists get there, mathematically. I can say that it has been empirically verified that, in higher gravity, time passes more slowly. Synchronize two of those very precise atomic clocks at sea level, take one to the mountains for a while and bring it back—and it will be ahead of the other. I can also say that this perspective complements that of transnational regionalism: the local can never be reduced, although it can be connected, to the general.

Physics here takes on the mind-boggling quality of philosophical work on time. Augustine famously writes in his *Confessions*: "What . . . is time? If no one asks me, I know; if I want to explain it to someone who does ask me, I do

26 Alanna Mitchell, "It's Official: The Leap Second Will Be Retired (a Decade from Now)," *The New York Times*, November 19, 2022, sec. Science, np., https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/19/science/time-leap-second-bipm.html.

27 This is an ongoing discussion; the website of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures [Bureau Internationale des Poids et Mesures], https://www.bipm.org/en/ may be consulted for current information.

28 The chapter title is from Carlo Rovelli, trans. Simon Carnell, *Reality Is Not What It Seems: The Journey to Quantum Gravity* (UK: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2016). The quotation is from Carlo Rovelli, trans. Simon Carnell and Erica Segre, *The Order of Time* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2018), 91.

not know."[29] To become disoriented, one need not necessarily read a philosopher like J. M. E. McTaggart, who argues explicitly in 1908 that time is unreal. It is enough to begin (like Augustine), asking questions. How can we get at the past? Or the future? We can only think about them, in the present. But of course, when we go looking for the present and ask how long "now" is, it becomes difficult to find as well. We might also ask: why do we so powerfully experience the present as incredibly special, and time as moving? Psychologists and philosophers can tell us that we are dealing with a mental construct. But is time an *illusion*, or a *qualia*, such as colour, which although a subjective experience, corresponds to wavelengths of light existing in the physical world? Of course, there is no consensus about what consciousness is, either. We cannot turn to these disciplines for a coherent account that coordinates technological timekeeping, physics, and the human experience of temporality.

Academic discourses, everyday life, and extreme experiences can all generate the recognition that the homogeneous, empty grid posited by modernity depends on unsustainable assumptions about space and time. Denise Riley's "Time Lived, Without Its Flow" might be classified in any of those categories. Excerpts cannot fully convey the force of the essay, but I quote to include an example that powerfully conveys the *sensation* of an alternate temporality. Riley writes from and about her experience of "completely arrested time" after learning of the sudden death of her adult son. This is a description of her sensations, from a journal entry: "a sudden death . . . does such violence to the expected 'flow' of time that it stops and then slowly wells up into a large pool. Instead of the old line of forward time, now something like a globe holds you. You live inside a great circle with no rim."[30] Later, she realizes

> that to dwell inside a time that had the property of 'flowing' was merely one of a range of possible temporal perceptions. For your time can pause, and you with it–though you're left sharply alive within its stopping ... Where you have no impression of any sequence of events, there is no link between them, and no cause. Anything at all might follow on from any one instant ... No plans can be entertained seriously, although you keep up an outward show of doing so ... your task now is to inhabit the only place left to you–the present instant–with equanimity.[31]

29 Augustine of Hippo, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. John K. Ryan (New York, NY: Image/Doubleday, 1960), 287 (Chapter 11, section 14).

30 Denise Riley, *Say Something Back & Time Lived, Without Its Flow* (New York, NY: NYRB Poets, 2020), 84.

31 Riley, *Say Something Back*, 101.

Riley believes, in fact, that this is not a rare experience. *Accounts* of it are rare because sentences themselves depend upon sequence, and because it is impossible to "take the slightest interest in the activity of writing unless you possess some feeling of futurity".[32] (73). One of her goals in writing is to counter the isolation of the state she describes. Let us note, however, that scholars are studying how, in particular places and periods, grief–and feeling in general–alters the flow of time.[33]

Indeed, there is so much being published about time that it seems we are seeing the emergence of a new scholarly field: "time studies." The editors of the 2016 *Keywords*-style collection *Time: A Vocabulary of the Present* quote a claim by an anthropologist that "a new time-consciousness [is] emerging everywhere in contemporary theory," and propose that name. Their suggestion that we understand the contemporary in terms of *multiplicity* and *simultaneity* resonates with a dynamic understanding of place. [34] I would describe the convergence like this: when (as in transnational regionalist perspectives) particular places and peoples are not relegated to the 'back of beyond' and the past–then here we are, with all our differences, together in the now or what we might call (anticipating the next section of this essay) the middle of forever. Scholars have only begun to explore the difference it makes to disrupt commonsense confidence in linear time and recognize multiple temporalities.

Doing so will change many fields, including literary history. Reading through time shows us new aspects of familiar works–for example, Gabriel Oaks's broken watch in Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd* might be taken to suggest regional indifference or resistance to clock time. I believe that the transnational phenomenon of regionalism can have a particularly important place in this inquiry, and conclude this section by returning to the fiction I know best: American local colour stories of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[35]

Mary E. Wilkins Freeman was best known for short stories about New England women, although she wrote in many modes, prolifically over a

32 Riley, *Say Something Back*, 73.

33 See for example Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007).

34 Joel Burges and Amy J. Elias, *Time: A Vocabulary of the Present* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2016), 2.

35 The work of Sarah Ensor has influenced the connections I make here; see "Spinster Ecology: Rachel Carson, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Nonreproductive Futurity," *American Literature* 74 (June 2012): 409-435. Jewett could also serve as an example here; see Vesna Kuiken, "Idiorrhythmic Regionalist, or How to Live Together in Sarah Orne Jewett's *Country of the Pointed Firs*, *Arizona Quarterly* 74 (Fall 2018): 87-118.

long career. Her many ghost stories offer one opening to a time-focused analysis; as the literary critic Judith Richardson wrote of a different region, "Ghosts operate as a particular, and peculiar, kind of social memory, an alternate form of history-making in which things usually forgotten, discarded, or repressed, become foregrounded."[36] What has been called her ecofeminism is another.[37] Her story "The Great Pine," in the 1903 collection *Six Trees*, begins: "It was in the summer-time that the great pine sang his loudest song of winter, for always the voice of the tree seemed to arouse in the listener a realization of that which was past and to come, rather than of the present."[38]

Fig. 10.10: From Mary Eleanor Wilkins Freeman, *Six Trees*, between pages 70 and 71.

36 Judith Richardson, *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 3.

37 See Susan M. Stone, "Her Own Creed of Bloom: The Transcendental Ecofeminism of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman," in *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman: Reading with and against the Grain*, by Myrto Drizou, Cécile Roudeau, and Stephanie Palmer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

38 Mary Eleanor Wilkins Freeman, *Six Trees: Short Stories.* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1903), 57.

The literary scholar Cécile Roudeau, who recently edited a reprint of the book, observes that these tales may be read "not from the perspective of her short-lived human characters, but from that of the deeper temporality of trees." The elm, the white birch, the pine–all the eponymous trees, like the flowers and non-human animals Freeman focuses on in her 1901 collection *Understudies* (1901), are agents mingling identities in a multispecies community. We have much to learn from Freeman, and as Roudeau suggests, we can allow "her present and ours to meet in an unsettled and unsettling contemporariness, a shared *productive* dischrony and a form of empathy *through time*."[39] Historicizing local color writers need not mean *only* historicizing them, and reading them *now*–as we always must–need not mean presentism.

The tension in "region" is rooted in the nature of space, and the confusing double meaning of "contemporary" in literary studies–does it mean coeval with an author, or what is being written "now"?–is rooted in the nature of time. What defines a place is not contained inside that place, and many times circulate in the moment. It will be a challenge to learn to think and read con-temporally–as Steven Connor puts it, "alongside others in time, in their time as filtered through our time, in our time as folded into theirs."[40] But it would be wrong (and self-contradictory) to think of it as a new idea. Nick Estes puts concisely a view expressed by other indigenous writers as well: there is "no separation between past and present, meaning that an alternative future is also determined by our understanding of the past. Our history is the future."[41] John Berger even asserted that the notion of linear time is historically quite limited, and linked to capitalism: "All other cultures have proposed a coexistence of various times surrounded in some way by the timeless."[42] Such radical rethinking is necessary if we are to inhabit the Anthropocene purposefully. Both as denizens of the planet and as scholars, we are faced with the task of integrating the deep time of geological eras with the urgency entailed by climate change and mass extinction.

39 The quotations are from Cécile Roudeau, "Untimely Freeman," in *New Perspectives on Mary E. Wilkins Freeman: Reading with and against the Grain*, ed. Stephanie Palmer and Myrto Drizou (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 262 and 254 respectively. This essay, and the volume in which it appears, have shaped my current thinking on Freeman.

40 Steven Connor, "The Impossibility of the Present: Or, from the Contemporary to the Contemporal," in *Literature and the Contemporary : Fictions and Theories of the Present*, ed. Roger Luckhurst and Peter Marks, Longman Studies in Twentieth-Century Literature (New York, NY/Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 1999), 30.

41 Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (London: Verso, 2019), 14–15.

42 John Berger, *Hold Everything Dear: Dispatches on Survival and Resistance*, 1st American ed. (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 2007), 145.

Taking our Bearings in the Anthropocene

The term "Anthropocene" is increasingly familiar not only in science but also in the humanities and in public discourse. Its current usage dates to interventions in 2000 by the Dutch atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen and University of Michigan limnologist Eugene Stoermer, who argued that the human impact on the earth has become so powerful and pervasive that the Holocene is over and we have entered a new geologic era. Articles in prestigious scientific journals followed quickly, and in 2009 a Subcommission of the International Commission on Stratigraphy formed an interdisciplinary research group to study the issue. The Anthropocene Working Group (AWG) worked vigorously, published many papers, and in 2019 its members voted decisively "yes" to the question, "Should the Anthropocene be treated as a formal chrono-stratigraphic unit defined by a GSSP [Global Boundary Stratotype Section and Point]?"[43] Among the various dates suggested for its start date–including the beginning of farming approximately eleven thousand years ago, 1492, and the Industrial Revolution–they chose the "Great Acceleration" of the mid-twentieth century. They evaluated twelve possible sites for the GSSP or "golden spike" to mark the transition, and in July 2023 announced the selection of Crawford Lake (in Wendat, *Kionywarihwaen)* in Ontario, Canada. But no fewer than three layers of professional organization above the AWG had to ratify this proposal for it to become established geoscientific knowledge, and in March 2024 the next one voted "no."[44] A procedural challenge failed, and it seems the Working Group has been disbanded. Controversy, and discussion of the implications of the decision, continue.[45]

Certainly, this process was *not* a referendum on whether or not humans are having an effect on the Earth–as the AWG used to point out on its website, there is widespread agreement that we are. (Indeed, from published reports, the sticking point for some voters may have been the late date that was chosen for the transition.) The decision does not invalidate the science that was done, or even necessarily undermine the value of the general notion of the Anthropocene. Stratigraphers' debates are, rather, about whether or

43 See Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The 'Anthropocene,'" *Global Change Newsletter* 41 (May 2000): 17–18. The quotations are from the website of the Working Group in 2023. The history of the term is well documented; see Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene," *Nature* 519 (2015): 7542: 171–80.

44 See Alexandra Witze, "Geologists Reject the Anthropocene as Earth's New Epoch — after 15 Years of Debate," *Nature*, March 6, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-024-00675-8.

45 See for example Jan Zalasiewicz et al., "What Should the Anthropocene Mean?" *Nature* 632: 980–984 (2024), https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-024-02712-y.

not a specific, rigorous scientific standard has been met for establishing a new era. In an excellent popularizing article about the GSSP evaluation process, Natalie Middleton writes: "The golden spike is a signal in the strata that must be global and synchronous. It must represent an environmental shift so intense that the entire planet crosses a threshold into a completely new biogeochemical paradigm." That must be marked on a specific spot on the Earth; often a plaque or spike is literally installed at the site.

Fig. 10.11: The 'golden spike' for the base of the Ediacaran Period (the oldest for which a GSSP has been established), located in the Flinders Ranges, South Australia. Source: Bahudhara, Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 10.12: Crawford Lake, Ontario. Source: Whpq, Wikimedia Commons.

Crawford Lake is small, very cold, and very deep. It is one of thirty-six known meromictic lakes–its seasonally formed sediment layers do not mix, so (to put it too simply) it offers a kind of test-tube record of its environment. Crawford Lake is often referred to as remote, but it bears traces of increasing levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and of the nuclear detonations that began in the mid-twentieth century.[46] It is difficult to imagine a more vivid way of illustrating that particular places are inextricably connected. Let us think of these spikes as evoking both the relational and the substantive. Planetary knowledge does not subsume or replace attention to the local landscapes it is tethered to; the transnational regionalist perspective asserts the importance of *both* the Blue Marble and Crawford Lake itself.

There is an enormous body of scholarship exploring the idea of the Anthropocene, including debate over the name. "Anthropos" has a vexed history; even beyond that, not all of humankind has contributed equally to climate change, and its consequences are being experienced unevenly.

46 Natalie Middleton, "The Search for the Golden Spike," *Orion Magazine*, np, accessed November 29, 2023, https://orionmagazine.org/article/golden-spike-search-geology/.

Alternate terms like "plantationocene" and "Chthulucene," both coined by Donna Haraway, might offer a cognitive advantage, but do not seem likely to change usage.[47] There is certainly, at minimum, a consensus in the discussion that the Earth has been treated as a stable background to the drama of human activity, even when events like earthquakes have figured in historical narratives–and that must change. This is a vertiginous collapse of the division between natural and human history. Introducing a book that collects the influential essays he has published since 2009, Dipesh Chakrabarty describes the task like this:

> In thinking historically about humans in an age when intensive capitalist globalization has given rise to the threat of global warming and mass extinction, we need to bring together conceptual categories that we have usually treated in the past as separate and virtually unconnected. ... this means telling the story of human empires–of colonial, racial, and gendered oppressions–in tandem with the larger story of how a particular biological species, *Homo sapiens*, its technosphere, and other species that co-evolved with or were dependent on *Homo sapiens* came to dominate the biosphere, lithosphere, and the atmosphere of this planet. We have to do all this, moreover, without ever taking our eyes off the individual human who continues to negotiate his or her own phenomenological and everyday experience of life, death, and the world.[48]

Indeed, I would argue that the challenge is understated here. Chakrabarty himself suggests moving from human-centered "sustainability" to a broader "habitability." Our horizons should include non-human animals, plants, insects–all the creatures that inhabit the planet. For me, the arguments Tsing, Haraway, and others make for multispecies studies–and the stories of Mary Wilkins Freeman–are completely convincing.[49]

It once seemed that projects of liberation were urgent, but there was an indefinite amount of time to achieve them. This is no longer the case. In the

47 See Gregg Mitman, "Donna Haraway and Anna Tsing Reflect on the Plantationocene," *Edge Effects*, June 18, 2019, https://edgeeffects.net/haraway-tsing-plantationocene/ and Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

48 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *The Climate of History in a Planetary Age* (Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 7–8.

49 See Thom van Dooren, Eben Kirksey, and Ursula Münster, "Multispecies Studies: Cultivating Arts of Attentiveness," *Environmental Humanities* 8, no. 1 (May 1, 2016): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3527695.

Anthropocene, the temporal framework is extended over millions of years, and also compressed. We are confronted by information about climate change, and the crash of biodiversity, that suggests that time is short–that we are going, or have gone, off a cliff. I want to push back, however, against what philosopher and organizer Kyle Whyte calls "crisis epistemology." He observes that "Linear measures of time have the capacity to generate a sense of imperilment and urgency," offering the analogy of playing chess with a timer and without. With a countdown, "I narrow the focus of my attention and fall back on taken-for-granted strategies without time to question how I got to them or whether they are even the best ones." In contrast, "the absence of a ticking clock opens up a wider range of options," and one can reflect, consult, put things–even the role of a chess game in one's broader life–in perspective. Whyte goes on to an example of an environmental measure, wind power development in Oaxaca in Mexico, that has been taken without consultation with the Indigenous people of the region and has further damaged them.[50] Much climate change discourse takes for granted the strategy of getting (or trying to get) back to safety with top-down technological solutions. But scrambling away from the edge of the cliff and getting back to business as usual does not appeal to indigenous people. The things that non-natives fear–ecosystem collapse, economic crash, forced relocation, cultural disintegration–have often already happened to them. In fact, Whyte finds the attitude of the determined, heroic planet-saver to be ethically questionable.[51] I suggest transnational–or we might now say planetary–regionalism as an alternative. Rethinking place and temporality enables us to, as John Berger puts it, "take our bearings within another timeset".[52] The second phrase in my title is John Trudell's; it serves as the title of a book of interviews with North American indigenous leaders, including Whyte, on climate justice: *We are the Middle of Forever*.

Whyte advocates thinking of "Time as Kinship," writing, "Kinship time is no less adamant about mitigating climate change, but ... aims at engendering better situations through establishing and repairing shared responsibilities, bringing about an interdependence that could lower carbon footprints in ways that support everyone's safety, well-being, and self-determination"

50 Kyle Powys Whyte, "Time as Kinship," in *The Cambridge Companion to Environmental Humanities*, ed. Jeffrey Cohen and Stephanie Foote, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 43, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009039369.005.

51 See Kyle P. Whyte, "Indigenous Science (Fiction) for the Anthropocene: Ancestral Dystopias and Fantasies of Climate Change Crises," *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 1, no. 1–2 (March 1, 2018): 224–42, https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848618777621.

52 Berger, *Hold Everything Dear*, 125.

(54). For him, Haraway, Robin Wall Kimmerer and others developing this web of ideas, kin does not indicate only family but interdependence and reciprocity more broadly.[53] Anishinaabe consider, for example, that humans and non-human animals, and plants, have kinship relations. As Wilkins Freeman asks in "The Great Pine," "Who shall determine the limit at which the intimate connection and reciprocal influence of all forms of visible creation upon one another may stop?" (65). We will want to connect regionalism with Native American literature, and nature writing, and refugee writing, and climate fiction. But regionalism's constitutive focus on the complexity of place, regionalist works' profound and persistent interrogations of territory and temporality, make them a vital part of this conversation.

Many strands of thought discussed in this essay converge in a focus on connections. This volume's exploration begins with the recognition that regionalism is a transnational phenomenon; it develops the consequences of combining attention to the local with attention to circuits. When place is decentered and 'the back of beyond' is not subordinated, time opens up too; the grid of the modern is unsettled, its grip loosened. Region will not be the only category we need for specifying sites on our wildly diverse planet, but its role changes and expands as we cease to think of particular places and moments as subsumed into something 'bigger.' Anna Tsing has called for a theory of nonscalability. Bruno Latour shows, in a tour-de-force essay against zoom effects, that the information on a small-scale map does not appear on a larger-scale one "with 'less detail': they are dealing with *different* findings." In the Anthropocene, as Latour says, "To fully comprehend the dimensions occupied by humans, or rather by all earthly creatures, it has become necessary to devise new methodological principles: connectivity, yes; scale, no."[54] Calling this work interdisciplinary understates how thoroughly knowledge-making practices are being connected and reconnected. Latour's essay appears in an exhibition catalogue for Olafur Eliasson, who explores the relation between art and science; philosophers and botanists and anthropologists collaborate in work on kinship. Our circulating stories of regions form part of this web.

53 See Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*; Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plant* (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 2013); Gavin Van Horn, Robin Wall Kimmerer, and John Hausdoerffer, *Kinship: Belonging in a World of Relations* (Chicago, IL: Center for Humans and Nature, 2021).

54 Bruno Latour, "Anti-Zoom," in *Olafur Eliasson: Contact*, ed. Bernard Arnault, Suzanne Pagé, and Hans Ulrich Obrist, English-language edition. (Paris: Flammarion, S.A. : Fondation Louis Vuitton, 2014), 125; emphasis in original.

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The nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge of interest in the region across Europe and North America, in media ranging from literary fiction to the illustrated periodical and from visual arts to architecture. This rise of regionalism has often been linked to nationalism and nation building. However, depictions of the region circulated across borders or interacted with transnational cultural repertoires of the local. These often overlooked transnational aspects are the focus of this volume which considers cultural representations of the region during the long nineteenth century, in its variety of dimensions, across all expressive media.

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– RAPHAËL INGELBIEN, *Professor of English Literature at KU Leuven*

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