POSTURES

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"The pamphlet is a one-man show."
George Orwell: *British Pamphleteers* (1948)

PAMPHLETEERS

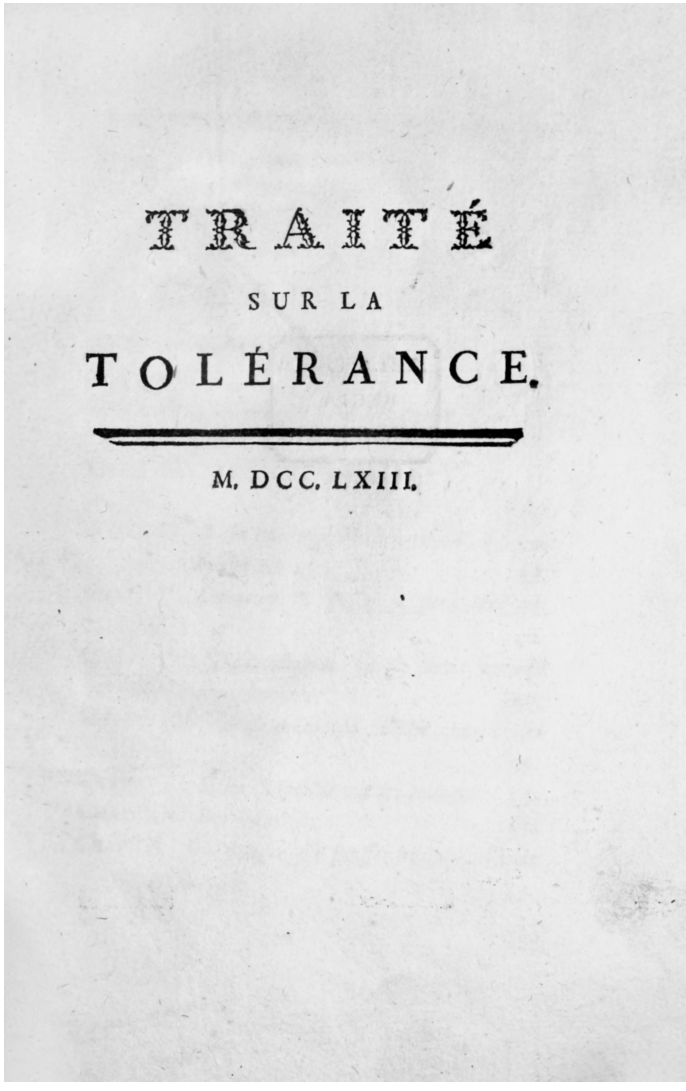
George Orwell was a keen collector of pamphlets, acquiring no fewer than 2,700 of them in his lifetime.[1] For him, the pamphlet was a particular literary form that, although having existed for a long time without major modifications, had now fallen into neglect and deserved to be revitalized. He had the opportunity to express his opinions on pamphlets when he wrote the introduction to a collection of British pamphlets brought together by the writer and poet Reginald Reynolds in 1948. Here, by characterizing the pamphlet as a "one-man show," Orwell identified the strong presence of the pamphleteer as a defining character trait of the genre. It seems likely that he was also behind the final decision on the title of the collection, which was not *British Pamphlets*, but *British Pamphleteers*. For Orwell, for Reynolds, and for the historian A.J.P. Taylor, who introduced the second volume, pamphlets were all about personalities: "Individualism is the essence of the successful pamphlet. It is the most immediate and the most personal of all literary forms."[2]

It is however problematic to consider all pamphlets, from Gutenberg to the Internet, as a one-man show. Ironically, a large number of pamphlets in the *British Pamphleteers* collection, in particular those dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had originally been published without any mention of their authors' names. In this period, in Britain as much as elsewhere, even towering intellectual figures did not sign their polemical publications. Their entire texts lacked any kind of personal information or more explicit signs of individuality. While it is true that these pamphleteers rarely wished to remain anonymous at all costs, and their names did (sometimes) circulate by means of other media, it was nonetheless difficult to discover the identity of a particular pamphlet's author with nothing to go on but the sheets of paper in your hands, or a glance at a title page on a peddler's stand. Far from openly expressing the individuality of a strong authorial figure, a large majority of pamphlets concealed the pamphleteer behind a mask. Who was the author of a publication like the 1763 *Traité sur la tolérance*? Just by looking at the title page, it was impossible to tell.

Although pamphleteers did not customarily betray their personalities in their published texts, they must have started to do so at some point in history, and this may have made Orwell believe it had never been otherwise. Indeed, in the final decades of the eighteenth century, if curious readers having no previous knowledge wanted to find out more about the author of a pamphlet, they could

1 This collection can be found in the British Library (London). See Claudia Treacher: "Orwell's Political Pamphlet 'Solar System': A Network Interpretation of a British Library Collection", in: *Electronic British Library Journal* (2022), n.p. [article 5].

2 A.J.P. Taylor, Reginald Reynolds (eds.): *British Pamphleteers, Vol. 2: From the French Revolution to the Nineteen-Thirties*, London: Allan Wingate (1951), p. 7.


TRAITÉ

SUR LA

TOLÉRANCE.

M. DCC. LXIII.

1 *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763), title page, München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

gain satisfaction more easily than before. Many polemical writers, like Thomas Paine, now chose to have their names printed on the title pages of their publications. Many also wrote exhaustively about their own personal experiences and included autobiographical information in their own texts. Without waiting, and without relying on insider knowledge, polemical writers made themselves accessible to all their readers at once and to the same extent. It is not until these decades that we encounter the conviction that a pamphlet ought to be "a one-man show," "the most personal of all literary forms."

The heroic ideal of "the pamphleteer," if we continue along this path, dissolves into the history of multiple postures. The concept of the *posture d'auteur*, developed by literary sociologist and novelist Jérôme Meizoz, is particularly useful when approaching pamphlet authorship as an act of public self-fashioning. "Whoever prints a work," Meizoz writes, "imposes a self-image that goes beyond his or her identity as a citizen."[3] A posture is a gesture or practice by means of which writers, in the texts and paratexts of their own publications, describe and justify their own activity. It involves concrete decisions: whether to use the word "I," to put one's name on the title page, to include a printed portrait, or to write extensively about one's personal experiences. At the same time, postures are not individual creations. They convey general claims about writing and communication and only gain significance in real and imagined interaction between writers and their audience. They present individual variations of historically situated "repertoires," to use another of Meizoz's categories.

Focusing on postures, therefore, not only sheds light on an important rupture at some point in the late eighteenth century when pamphleteers ripped off their masks. It also entails studying the making and unmaking of a plurality of polemical styles, and, somewhat in opposition to Orwell's opinions about polemical writing, emphasizing the variety of different things that pamphlets have been over the course of a more than 500-year-long history that began with the advent of printing.

ANTI-POSTURES

The early modern era is a strange world of print with its own rules that cannot simply be considered from a modern perspective. Hence the need to abstain from approaching sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pamphlet cultures with a modern understanding of authorship. Obviously, early modern polemical writing was itself extremely heterogeneous. Yet a common feature was that a large majority of pamphlets appeared anonymously or under a pseudonym. The writer who had published the *Traité sur la tolérance* some years earlier insisted on the general necessity of reserved authorship in another anonymous publication in 1770:

> We believe that the author of a good work must avoid three things, the title page, the dedicatory epistle, and the preface. The others must avoid a fourth, that is writing. As for the title page, if he has the rage to put his name on it, which is often very dangerous, it must at least be in a modest form [...] The *Moi* is hateful, said Pascal. Talk about yourself as little as possible, because you must know that the reader's self-esteem is as great as yours. He will never forgive you for wanting to condemn him to esteem you. It is up to your book to speak for itself, if it succeeds in being read by the large number.

3 Jérôme Meizoz: *Postures littéraires: mises en scène modernes de l'auteur*, Geneva: Slatkine (2007), p. 16. All translations of French quotations are by the author.

> [...] One quotes, comments, criticizes, neglects, forgets, but above all one commonly despises an author who is only an author.[4]

In the eighteenth century, an age that gave considerable value to the subjective self, avoiding all expressions of individuality in polemical writing came across more and more as a choice. We are dealing with what we might call an anti-posture: a deliberate and meaningful absence of all personal elements.[5]

Anti-postures not only create problems of interpretation, but also of presentation. Texts written by modern scholars generally reveal the names of anonymous or pseudonymous authors without giving it a second thought. In doing so, they introduce a significant rupture with the way the same text would have been read by contemporaries, thereby excluding the absence of the author's name from the hermeneutic process at an early stage. At the same time, it would be equally problematic to avoid mentioning these names completely. While some writers took great care to remain completely unknown, anonymity could also be used to slow down the attribution of authorship or involve some readers before others. The closer you were to the social milieu of the writer, the more familiar with his or her previous publications, the longer a publication was out there, and the more successful it became, the easier it was to discover who was actually responsible for this or that polemical text. It is no mean feat to somehow reproduce this mechanism for modern readers. In order to give it a try, absent author names have deliberately not been added to the bibliographical references in this article.

Anonymous and pseudonymous writing was a complicated convention that cannot be understood solely as serving to protect the author from prosecution by religious or political authorities. Masking certainly *was* part of an authorial strategy to operate under difficult circumstances, in a certain way related to Leo Strauss' famous writing and reading "between the lines" typical of premodern illiberal conditions of writing:

> From the point of view of the literary historian at least, there is no more noteworthy difference between the typical premodern philosopher (who is hard to distinguish from the premodern poet) and the typical modern philosopher than that of their attitudes toward "noble (or just) lies," "pious frauds," the "ductus obliquus" or "economy of the truth": Every decent modern reader is bound to be shocked by the mere suggestion that a great man might have deliberately deceived the large majority of his readers.[6]

4 *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par des amateurs*, vol. II, s.l. (1770), pp. 372–379.

5 Important scholarship on pamphleteering in the seventeenth and eighteenth century includes: Christian Jouhaud: *Mazarinades: la Fronde des mots*, Paris: Aubier (1985); Joad Raymond: *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2003); Olivier Ferret: *La fureur de nuire: échanges pamphlétaires entre philosophes et antiphilosophes (1750–1770)*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation (2007); Robert Darnton: *The Devil in the Holy Water, or the Art of Slander from Louis XIV to Napoleon*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (2010).

6 Leo Strauss: *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1952), p. 35.

But even Strauss implied in his classic text that duplicity was more than an "art of writing" to escape "persecution" in a narrow sense. It could be part of a communication strategy to address readers in particular ways, and notably to show a preference for those readers who possessed insider knowledge or certain cultural, intellectual, or political prerequisites over the larger share of readers who did not.

An anti-posture was more than a negative omission: it was an active practice of political communication.[7] This practice of disguise was heterogeneous and had different meanings. One reason to strip a polemical text of all personal elements was many writers' close relationship with the social and political elite. Here, the absence of a distinct authorial personality served to make publications speak (and thus act) for someone else.[8] In addition, when writers were able to integrate themselves into the social milieu of the aristocracy, which they increasingly did in the eighteenth century, they also often propagated a certain gentlemanly disdain, if not for print in general, then at least for the act of exposing oneself to the vulgar.[9]

From the middle of the eighteenth century, yet another reason for restricted authorship became increasingly important: the necessity of not imposing oneself on the reader and of leaving some space for their own thoughts. An anti-posture became part of the communication strategy of the Enlightenment. It was a practical tool with which to exclude the authority of individuals and create space for the authority of critical discourse and sober reflection. This also explains why disguise and duplicity, and even the carnivalesque, became such crucial stylistic resources for some Enlightenment writers: the masked author served to teach readers to switch perspectives, emancipate their judgment from established hierarchies, and think critically for themselves.[10] None of those variations of impersonal polemical writing disappeared all of a sudden. Yet a new practice of straightforward personalization successively gained more and more prominence until it ultimately became a major factor in late eighteenth-century pamphlet culture.

ENTER THE AUTHOR

While around 1750 few pamphlets bore names, by the 1780s and 1790s many were being published with the signature of the author. Some of the great indi-

7 See e.g., Robert J. Griffin: "Anonymity and Authorship", in: *New Literary History* 30 (1999), pp. 877–895; Stefan Pabst: "Anonymität und Autorschaft: Ein Problemaufriss", in: idem: *Anonymität und Autorschaft: Zur Literatur- und Rechtsgeschichte der Namenlosigkeit*, Berlin: De Gruyter (2011), pp. 1–34.

8 See e.g., Christian Jouhaud: "Les libelles en France au XVIIe siècle: action et publication", in: *Cahiers d'histoire* 90–91 (2003), pp. 33–45.

9 See e.g., Antoine Lilti: *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Fayard (2005); Geoffrey Turnovsky: *The Literary Market: Authorship and Modernity in the Old Regime*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (2010).

10 Consider e.g., Michael Warner: *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (1990), ch. 1, 2, and 3 in particular; Annette Hilker: *Karnavalisierung als Medium der Aufklärung: Fontenelle, Fénelon, Voltaire, Diderot*, Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag (2006).

vidualist outsider figures of late eighteenth-century pamphleteering, men who claimed to stand alone against the world, did in fact have at least one thing in common: the construction of an individualist posture. This construction often followed a typical trajectory. As might be expected, rare were the writers who launched their careers with the publication of a personal pamphlet. In the careers of more and more polemical writers, however, we encounter what they themselves conceived of as decisive moments of personal exposure, characterized by the decision to reveal their names and personalities to the entirety of their readership. This step was often orchestrated by typical arguments about the importance of the author's signature and the cowardice or irresponsibility of anonymous writings. And the name rarely came alone; it often appeared as part of a much broader tendency to mingle polemical arguments with subjective statements and quasi-autobiographical writing.

Consider a first example. Like the vast majority of pamphlets that appeared during the American Revolution, its most successful one, published in Philadelphia in January 1776 under the title *Common Sense*, bore no indication of the author's name. The writer behind *Common Sense*, however, was not to forever adhere to the unwritten law of anonymity and restraint. In the following years, a series of successful writings first established the term "Common Sense" as a signature and trademark, progressively constructing an authorial identity. The name of this writer became an open secret among the colonial elite and also circulated elsewhere. However, it was not until the so-called "Deane affair" of late 1778 and early 1779 that this expressive personal voice came to be explicitly associated with a name: Thomas Paine, who now proudly revealed his identity and authentic personality to the entirety of his readers. In the 1780s and particularly the 1790s, Paine established himself as a public figure by signing a number of controversial political treatises as well as several spectacular open letters to powerful antagonists such as the British Secretary of State, Henry Dundas.

> I am well aware that the signature of Thomas Paine has something in it dreadful to sinecure Placemen and Pensioners; and when you, on seeing the Letter opened, informed the Meeting that it was signed THOMAS PAINE, and added, in a note of exclamation, "the common enemy of us all," you spoke one of the greatest truths you ever uttered if you confine the expression to men of the same description with yourself; men living in indolence and luxury, on the spoil and labours of the Public.[11]

Paine happily assumed the role of a political watchdog and pacesetter for reform and even revolution. In the Great Britain of the 1790s, Paine's name was coupled with that of Edmund Burke in a bid to represent the major intellectual and political dichotomy of the day, namely how to react to the French Revolution. Much more

11 Thomas Paine: *Two Letters to Lord Onslow: Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surry: and One to Mr. Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, on the Subject of the Late Excellent Proclamation*, London: James Ridgway (1792), pp. 31–32.

than a political thinker, Paine had turned himself into a public personality and indeed a popular symbol.[12]

Or take a second example. Among the large number of political tracts published in Paris in 1788, a set of apparently related pamphlets stood out: although the author did not reveal her name, she openly declared herself to be a woman. For a while, it remained unclear who she was. It was not until 1789 that this woman disclosed her identity and claimed these previous productions for herself. Upon which Olympe de Gouges became a pamphleteer and a public figure. In the following years, she would produce almost without interruption a considerable number of typically short political pamphlets. Her now famous *Les droits de la femme,* which was published in the autumn of 1791, was an ultra-personal text and a true one-woman show.

> These, Madame, these are my principles. In speaking to you of my fatherland I am losing sight of the object of this dedication. This is how all good Citizens sacrifice their glory and their interests when they have none other in mind than those of their country. With the deepest respect, Madame, I am your very humble, and very obedient, servant, De Gouges.[13]

This text full of personal statements is but one example of a much larger and no less interesting series of polemical publications on a great variety of subjects. Ever confronted with the obstacle that personal and aggressive writing was considered to be masculine, Gouges nevertheless capitalized on the liberalization of French publishing that came with the advent of the French Revolution to follow her vocation as an author and print on her own account. The writing she produced included all sorts of personal prefaces and afterwords, autobiographical anecdotes, narratives of her endeavors, justifications of her actions, and polemical attacks on her enemies. Ultimately, it was her provocative posturing rather than her feminist arguments that led to her arrest and subsequent death sentence in the autumn of 1793.[14]

BOXERS

The eighteenth century brought with it the construction of a new critical vocation for writers. Previously considered both a necessity and a nuisance, pamphleteering could become a virtuous occupation. At the same time, many Enlightenment thinkers were motivated by an idealized scenario of peaceful public discourse based on the hope that the public would eventually enlighten itself. For that reason, they often stressed that polemical texts ought to be a stimulus for reflection

12 Edward Larkin: *Thomas Paine and the Literature of Revolution*, New York: Cambridge University Press (2005); Thomas Paine: *Collected Writings*, ed. by Eric Foner, New York: Library of America (1995).

13 Olympe de Gouges: *Les droits de la femme*, [Paris] (1791), p. 4.

14 Olivier Blanc: *Olympe de Gouges*, Paris: Syros (1981); Olympe de Gouges: *Écrits politiques*, ed. by Olivier Blanc, Paris: Côté femmes (1993).

rather than a violent force. This created a characteristic tension between the need to be critical and the need to avoid demagoguery. An anti-posture appeared to be a provisory and often unsatisfying solution to this ambivalence. Those writers who adopted a personal posture in the final decades of the eighteenth century rejected this compromise outright, denounced the hesitations of the Enlightenment, associated anonymity with cowardice and constructed a more outspoken polemical vocation.[15]

Late eighteenth-century pamphleteers like Paine or Gouges developed a polemical style characterized by a combination of personal exposure and moral rigorism. In order to comprehend this phenomenon, some scholars have recently turned to the Greek concept of *parrhesia*, and in particular to its use by Michel Foucault. While Foucault's earlier article on authorship, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?," had rather limited the role of the writer, his late work (at least in a certain way) introduced a stronger, even transgressive author figure. In the early 1980s, he became interested in intellectual postures and turned to ancient Greece, and figures such as Socrates or Diogenes of Sinope, to examine a very particular form of intellectual vocation that associated the need to tell truth to power with the incurrence of personal risk. *Parrhesia* literally translates as "the courage to tell the truth."[16] Based on Foucault, scholars have discovered a proliferation of references to ancient gestures of *parrhesia* and a frequent invocation of courageous Greek thinkers such as Socrates by eighteenth-century writers. In fact, personal pamphleteering, in a break with the Enlightenment, was broadly based on this gesture.

Paine or Gouges went public full of confidence, signed their publications, and emphasized their dedication to truth and their readiness to face whatever prosecution might be out there.[17] Just consider this tirade in a pamphlet published by Gouges in 1793:

> Are you looking for the primary culprit? It is me; strike. It was me who, in my officious defense of Louis Capet, preached, as a true republican, the clemency of the victors for a dethroned tyrant; it was me who gave the idea of appealing to the people; it was me who wanted, by this great measure, to break all the scepters, to regenerate the peoples, and to dry up the rivers of blood which have been flowing since that time for this cause. This is my crime, Frenchmen, it is time to expiate it in the midst of the executioners.[18]

15 Robert Darnton: "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France", in: *Past & Present* 51/1 (1971), pp. 81–115; Antoine Lilti: "Reconnaissance et célébrité: Jean-Jacques Rousseau et la politique du nom propre", in: *Orages: Littérature et culture* 9 (2010), pp. 77–94.

16 See Michel Foucault: *Le gouvernement de soi et des autres: Cours au Collège de France, 1982–1983*, Paris: Hautes Études (2008); Michel Foucault: *Le courage de la vérité: Le gouvernement de soi et des autres II: Cours au Collège de France, 1984*, Paris: Hautes Études (2009); Michel Foucault: *Fearless Speech*, ed. by Joseph Pearson, Los Angeles: Semiotext(e) (2001).

17 See e.g., Louisa Shea: *The Cynic Enlightenment: Diogenes in the Salon*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (2010); Antoine Lilti: *L'héritage des Lumières: ambivalences de la modernité*, Paris: Hautes Études (2019), ch. IX.

18 Olympe de Gouges: *Testament politique d'Olympe de Gouges*, Paris (1793), p. 4.

Such an ostentatious brand of courage could be risky. But it also had two considerable advantages. The first was that it presented a way to force at least some sort of reaction from the authorities. They could and indeed often did prefer to ignore pseudonymous pamphlets authored by well-connected Enlightenment writers, but they *had to* deal with authors like Paine or Gouges who openly paraded their willingness to face prosecution. The second consequence was that *parrhesia* functioned particularly well in a new setting of intensified mediated communication. Paine became a popular figure not only because his arguments had such great appeal, but also because his personal attacks on high-profile politicians were of particular interest to a growing public of print consumers. Gouges was far less successful, but also encountered a variety of affirmative as well as critical reactions to her spectacular performances as a writer.

A heroic interpretation of personal polemical writing ignores the fact that it had actually been fairly ambivalently interpreted in the eighteenth century itself. It could certainly be read as the authentic expression of an inner vocation, but also as the downside of the recent spread of cheap printing and the logic of the marketplace. The Enlightenment had conceived of mediated communication as a vehicle for general emancipation by means of rational discussion. But what if pamphlet controversies became boxing matches, and pamphleteers turned into prize fighters throwing punches under the curious gaze of a public of consumers, as the *Tableau de Paris* worried in 1788?

> Boxers. We do not have among us those tough champions with closed fists, who strike deadly blows, but we can nevertheless be sure that this or that figure will be eager to fight this or that other; it almost becomes inevitable: because of pamphlets. The public, which requires emotions of all kinds, likes these kinds of fights. It likes to see writers clash; it animates them, it excites them to war; it enjoys the blows they deal each other [...] Yes, we have boxers among us, as they do on the banks of the river Thames, & the names of these champions are so well known, that even children cite them. [...] [T]he two champions clash violently, ink & insults flow freely: the public laughs at the expense of the combatants, who end up covering themselves with ridicule, for that is the currency with which it is accustomed to pay the foolish self-esteem of these pen & paper warriors.[19]

Contemporaries regularly complained that the new champions of personal polemical writing resorted to simplifications, stereotypes, emotions, and entertainment rather than engaging in discussions about political content. Or rather, as some realized, the two were intertwined to a frustrating degree. How to distinguish, they wondered, between necessary criticism and useless polemical spectacle?

19 *Tableau de Paris*, vol. XI, Amsterdam (1788), pp. 161–164.

PARASITES

Nowadays, the birth of the modern author has a bad reputation. The strong affirmation of the author as creator of thought and beauty represents a cultural stereotype of individualist modernity that has neglected its own conditions: mechanisms such as printing and editing, craftsmen and experts such as booksellers or peddlers, and the collective production of discourse. Somewhat unexpectedly, the collectivist communication strategy of the Enlightenment seems almost realistic in this regard. In contrast, heroic pamphlet authorship looks particularly presumptuous. When pamphleteers such as Paine and Gouges proudly printed their names on their books, it might be argued that they were strategically crafting a public image that emphasized their own importance whereas their actual contribution was in reality far less significant than they claimed. Their posture, in this light, was part of a parasitical practice that extracted public reputation and money from a system of political communication that was actually nourished by the contributions of others.[20]

But a bold, personal posture *had* consequences. Consider an image that illustrated Gouges's advocacy of patriotic gifts to cover the French debt in late 1788 and early 1789. It suggested that Gouges herself, who can be seen in the middle carrying a basket on her back, was not only the mastermind behind the initiative, but had herself donated the largest sum. The image can also be read as a self-selected representation of the author figure she sought to promote in her pamphlets: feminine, patriotic, self-confident, but also, in her very expressiveness, selfless. For Gouges, this posture became an important justification for going public, a vehicle for her particular style of political engagement. On closer inspection, the opposition between self-promotion on the one hand and a serious intellectual and political purpose on the other is often quite difficult to maintain.

An expressive posture probably *was* parasitical. That, however, does not mean that it was devoid of intended and unintended usages.[21] A pamphlet with or without the name of the author on the title page, with or without a personal preface could be used and abused in quite different ways, as contemporaries were often able to perceive. Printers and booksellers could capitalize on a famous name by publishing and republishing pamphlets, replies, caricatures, and the like. Other writers could refer to Paine or Gouges, using them as publicity for their own productions, issue their own opinions on their opinions, or even publicly discuss their biographies. Readers could laugh about pamphleteers who made fools of themselves or despise them for their immodesty. They could admire them, hang their printed portraits over their beds, and elect them to the National Assembly. They could also identify with the personal experiences Paine or Gouges discussed so extensively, nourishing their own political identities through their reading, using the personal posture of pamphleteers to progressively replace the subservience of the royal subject with the polemical stance of the citizen.

20 A good entry: Dustin H. Griffin: *Authorship in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Newark: University of Delaware Press (2013).

21 Michel Serres: *Le Parasite*, Paris: Grasset (1980).



2 *Projet de l'impôt patriotique, donné par Mad. de Gouges, dans le mois de sept.re 1788*, [Paris] ([1789]), Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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REPRODUCING FREDERICK DOUGLASS

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BORN-TRANSLATED MANIFESTO

1 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*, adapted by Martin Rowson [Graphic Novel], London: SelfMadeHero (2018), pp. 13–14. Reproduced by permission of selfmadehero. Artwork © Martin Rowson.
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MATERIAL FOR AGITATION

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2 *Rote Fahne* (1 May 1920), Berlin: Zeitungsinformationssystem, Staatsbibliothek Berlin, p. 2. Online: https://zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/list/title/zdb/24352111/.

MASS VIOLENCE IN PAMPHLETS

1 2014 propaganda poster urging Crimeans to vote in the Crimean status referendum. Source: Andrew Lubimov, AP images.
2 Eugène Atget, *Rue de la Montagne – Sainte Geneviève*, Paris (n.d.). Source: ImageZeno.org, ID-no. 20001850032, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=64881668.
3 Unknown, propaganda poster (1944), Digital Center, Institute for Contemporary History Belgrade.
4 Unknown, Serbian anti-NATO poster, https://www.reddit.com/r/Hasan_Piker/comments/17slihf/nato_serbian_antinato_poster_1990s/.
5 Juliane Prade-Weiss, Mural in front of bombarded Serbian state TV headquarters, Belgrade (15 August 2021). © Juliane Prade-Weiss.
6 Juliane Prade-Weiss, Monument commemorating the death of employees during a 1999 NATO air raid (15 August 2021). © Juliane Prade-Weiss.
7 Unknown, *Querdenker* protesting anti-COVID-19 policies. © picture alliance / SULUPRESS.

IDA WELLS'S PRINT ACTIVISM

1 Miss Ida B. Wells: *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law In All Its Phases*, New York: The New York Age Print (1892), cover, in: Ida B. Wells, *The Light of Truth: Writings of an Anti-Lynching Crusader*, ed. by Mia Bay, New York: Penguin (2014), p. 57.