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# 07

Ladies of the Press\*

~~CULTURAL~~ CAPITAL SCAM  
is not enough.

# **CULTURAL CAPITAL SCAM**

is not enough.

#CAPITALSCAM

# PROPAGANDA

Information or ideas that are spread by an organised group or government to influence people's opinions, esp. by not giving all the facts or by secretly emphasizing only one way of looking at the facts.

Source: Cambridge Dictionary

The Trojan Horse of marketing is coming for you. It's small, local and dangerous. It uses hipster typography and claims to be 'just like you'. It mimics your personality, commodifies it, and sells it back to you.

It is flooded with 'sponsored content'. It talks to you: 'Hello and welcome', it says. Welcome to your community. It is utilising deceptive marketing in your area. It says, don't forget, we're in this together. Targeted advertisements. 'Recommended for you', it says. It celebrates you and your choices. It's telling you sign up to a dating site. It will try to pull at your heartstrings and eat your wallet.

The pamphlet. It first appeared in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the pamphlet has been one of the most popular and populist printed formats for spreading propaganda. Low cost and grassroots appeal. It challenged dominant discourse for centuries.

Today, the pamphlet has largely lost its revolutionary credentials. But it still works. A powerful medium for the proliferation of ideas and a tool for critiquing culture and society. But we want to talk through this with you. Like social media without the curse of the Zuckerberg Claw. We will look at typography. Language. Let's talk about the political pamphlets of the 1580s that fuelled the Reformation all the way through what we might see as the community based, the hyper local, the special interest, the hipster, the arty, the religious. And so on. But wait, who paid for that pamphlet?

Read them as



**The pamphlet was made possible through the advent and spread of the printing press, invented by Johannes Gutenberg in 1439. It spread like wildfire throughout Western Europe.**

By 1500 more than twenty million publications had been printed by printing presses across Europe and with the rise of the popular pamphlet form, an estimated 150 to 200 million hot off-the-press publications had been produced by 1600.

The printing press with its mechanical movable type printing introduced the era of mass communication, which permanently altered the structure of society. The sharp increase in literacy, bolstered the popularity of pamphlets, broke the monopoly of the literate elite on education and learning. In the 19th century, the replacement of the hand-operated Gutenberg-style press by steam-powered rotary presses with factory-produced moveable type allowed printing on an industrial scale and pamphlets flourished, increasingly, in the commercial field.

Today you can find pamphlets in libraries, hospitals, surgeries, banks, betting shops, supermarkets but also at you local pub or hipster establishment and in your mailbox. Increasingly, they are not only taking up real estate in public spaces but invading our private space. But, thanks in part to the Pamphlet Wars in the 16th and 17th centuries and to John Milton's essay in which he declared 'Let Truth and Falsehood grapple...in a free and open encounter', the humble pamphlet has preserved its revolutionary credentials by the very nature of its printed medium. While it has become largely commercialised today, relegated to an advertising tool and used and abused by public services as much as private enterprise e.g. everything from the educational public health NHS pamphlet to the developer's brochure, it nevertheless remains a site of resistance, a platform for alternative voices and perhaps a vehicle for evading censorship, especially in our post-digital era when censorship has largely moved online.

Source: Areopagitica: A speech of Mr John Milton for the liberty of unlicenced printing to the Parliament of England, John Milton

### Pamphleteer, woodcut detail (16th century)

With the advent and spread of the printing press, the pamphlet exploded in popularity the 16th-17th centuries. They were used to entertain, persuade and inform. They were the new affordable mass medium, providing information and opinion on current affairs and news. They enabled religious and political debates but also spread royal court gossip, local, domestic news, wars, crises.

While on the one hand the popularity of the pamphlets signalled a consensus and emboldened previously reluctant people to support alternative opinions through popular movements by rallying popular support, there appeared anonymous, less trustworthy, printed versions of pamphlets and the proliferation of untrustworthy news. Enter the precursor of 'fake news'. Since the pamphlet spread only if there was a demand for it, pamphlet wars ensued as real and fake news competed for popular attention, much like they do today. Soon, the mighty pamphlet became a victim of its own success creating what today's social media scholars call

### 'synchronisation of opinion.'

The pamphlets went 'viral': this was social media before social media.

Source: Tom Standage, Writing on the Wall, 'Social Media: The first 2,000 Years'





## A Most Certain, Strange, and True Discovery of a Witch (17th century)

Historians of the European Witch-Hunt have, for the most part, paid only scant attention to the popular pamphlets on witchcraft, regarding them as providing little more than entertainment literature for a sensation-seeking public. However, pamphlets, particularly those published between 1450 to 1750 were used for 'propaganda' purposes, disseminating to the public the learned ideas about witches and their supposed demonic crimes which culminated in witch-hunts that resulted in the killing of an estimated 200,000 women.

But what made the witch-hunt pamphlets so persuasive? A combination of the written text being supplemented with graphic woodcut illustrations of witches that

drew on the common people's predominantly visual culture,

in a kind of proto-advertising; the information being presented in the form of a popular song, a precursor of the advertising 'jingle'; and general fearmongering, blaming the so called witches for destroying crops and livestock during a period of serious climatic deterioration and severe subsistence crises associated with the onset of the 'Little Ice Age', when ordinary people may have been especially receptive to the pamphlets' message that evil witches were directly responsible for their economic troubles.

But not everyone jumped on the bandwagon; there was light in the darkest of ages. Nuremberg's city council, in particular, was deeply concerned about the pamphlets' potential for inciting witch-scares, and it banned the sale of a recently published witch-newsletter. The city's prompt act of censorship had practical consequences and helped to ensure that Nuremberg was not engulfed by witch-anxieties raging in neighbouring Bamberg and Würzburg, and elsewhere in Europe and America.

Source: Reformation, Volume 6, Pamphlets, Propaganda and Witch-Hunting in Germany c. 1560-c. 1630, research article by Robert Walinski-Kiehl

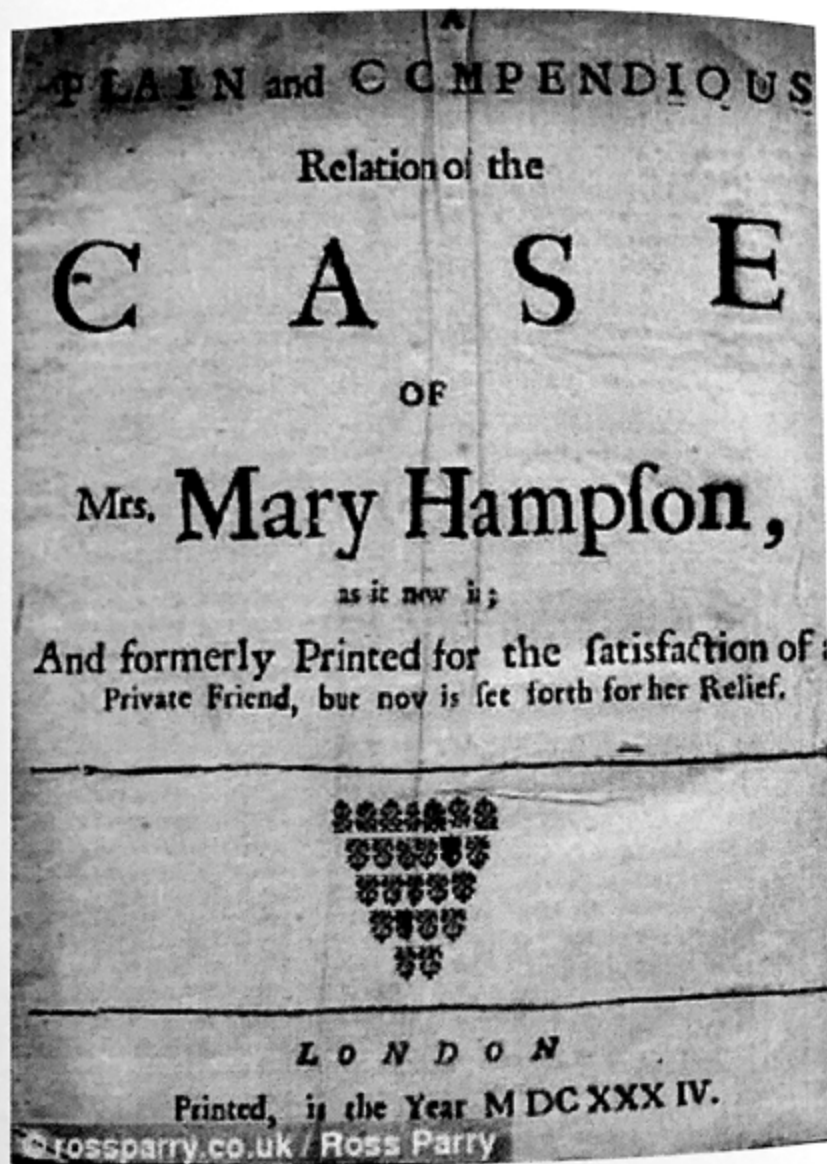
## A MOST Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a VVITCH.

Being taken by some of the Parliament Forces, as she was standing on a small plank-board, and sayling on it over the River of Newbury:

Together with the strange and true manner of her death, with the propheticall words and speeches she used at the same time.



Printed by John Hammond, 1643.



### A Plain and Compendious Relation of the Case of Mrs Mary Hampson (17th century)

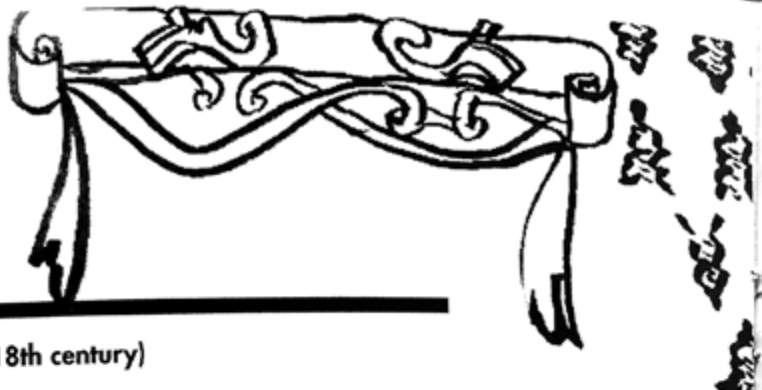
It is a testament to the proliferation and resilience of pamphlet form that a pamphlet detailing the beatings, threats and intimidation endured by a Yorkshire housewife more than 300 years ago can speak to us from across the centuries. Uncovered by academics at the University of Huddersfield, the work published by a woman named Mary Hampson, which dates from 1684, sadly speaks as much about our society as hers in that domestic violence remains a pressing issue affecting women in all societies.

Mary Hampson's story began in 1656 when she married solicitor Robert Hampson, aged 17, under pressure from her family. Her husband's behaviour swiftly deteriorated into abuse and humiliation such as beatings in front of his friends, imprisonment and even starvation, 'For he had given strict order to my maid, his clark [sic] and laundress, not to let me have anything to eat. And all that day I could get nothing to eat.' (Mary Hampson)

After years of abuse, Hampson, in desperation, published her pamphlet in protest of her treatment by her husband cataloguing the abuse she suffered at the hands of her violent husband. What is remarkable about the pamphlet is that it was written at a time when 'men were allowed to correct their wives but were not allowed to be permanently damaging.' (Dr Jessica Malay)

Although Hampson eventually escaped her abusive spouse, she faced many obstacles. As Dr Jessica Malay, who found the pamphlet and published it in a book *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson*, notes 'If a wife was a runaway she would have no rights to anything. Often she would be legally forced to go back to the house she had left.' The book examines the story of Mary Hampson, who died in 1698, after a few short, final years of relative peace and prosperity having published a defiant pamphlet that anticipated, by a few hundred years, the women's liberation movement that identified domestic violence as a key issue in women's struggle for equality.

Source: *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson: Her Story of Marital Abuse and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century England*, Jessica Malay



### Common Sense (18th century)

Not a radical dumbed-down rant for the masses—as described by some historical and contemporary critics—Common Sense, first published anonymously by Thomas Paine in January 1776, is regarded as one of the most important publications in American history. Referring to issues of independence and governance, its arguments against the monarchy and British domination spread like wildfire throughout the colonies. At the time of its publication General George Washington wrote 'I find that Common Sense is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men. Few pamphlets have had so dramatic an effect on political events.'

Meanwhile, in Brexit Britain, facing its own issues of independence and a crisis in governance paired with an increasing hostility to migrants, we might want to read up on Common Sense. Just sayin'.

Paine's ability to write in plain language made his ideas accessible to colonists rich and poor. That, and the affordable two shilling price meant that over 500,000 copies were sold. By today's standards Common Sense would be considered a bestseller. Common Sense went to print with an agreement between Paine and its publisher that if the pamphlet lost money Paine would cover the cost. When the pamphlet proved to be a huge financial success, Paine dedicated his share of the profits to the American cause. When Paine and his publisher fell out, Paine turned to DIY publishing and self-funded another six thousand copies, later allowing reproduction of the pamphlet by anyone who would cover the cost.

Paine himself was born in England in 1737 and worked as a corset maker in his teens and, later, as a sailor and schoolteacher before becoming the prominent pamphleteer we know: proof anyone can do it, no matter what your day job.

Source: <http://www.thomaspainesociety.org/common-sense>

## COMMON SENSE,

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following interesting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.

III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.

A NEW EDITION, with several Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an APPENDIX; together with an Address to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Addition here given increases the Work upwards of One-Third.

By Thomas Paine, Author of the preceding Works.

*Man knows no Master save creating Heaven,  
Or else when Choice and common Good ordain.*

TRIMON.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED;

LONDON, RE-PRINTED,

For J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House in Piccadilly. 1776.



# The Description of a BAD WIFE



ALL that behold this View of me,  
Your own good Housewifery to see;  
I am methinks a cleanly Care,  
My Duties in this Sort to spare;  
Would I saw you for darts lick the Pot,  
For Tail by Dildon I have got.

My Under-Cook shall be my Car,  
And the darts dare in all me Part;  
My Turnspit Jack I ever mind,  
He hath no Weight to long behind;  
Whereby a Labourer I do live,  
Who fash a nimble Spinning Live.

My Puff that meeth in the  
Gives Warning that my Broth  
And all Things else you will  
Are both for Ease and Lillie  
And thus I please my Husb,  
For so Housewifery can use as

Printed and sold at Alleyway Church Yard, Bow Lane, London.

(No. 1)



## The Description of a Bad Wife (18th century)

Rihard Marshall was a printer, bookseller, publisher of chapbooks (small pamphlets containing tales, ballads, or tracts, sold by pedlars) and prints, who traded in London, from ca. 1753 to ca. 1785. From his catalogue published in 1764 we get a glimpse of the publishing context for the Description of a Bad Wife print, where popular ballads of the day warned of bad wives and extolled those

'loving, careful [and] prudent'.

### The Suffragette / Woman's Dreadnought (20th century)

A dramatic image illustrates the famous last words of executed nurse, Edith Cavell, reinterpreting them – 'patriotism is not enough' – to justify militarism.

With the outbreak of the World War I in 1914, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst dramatically changed the course of their militant campaign to support the war effort instead of fighting against the government like their sister Sylvia Pankhurst. Christabel published *The Suffragette* pamphlet, a valuable resource for spreading the new word, renaming it *Britannia* to reinforce their patriotic and imperialist intent.

By contrast, on the other side of London, in the East End district of Poplar, Sylvia Pankhurst, the renegade sister, fought for social reform for the working classes of the East End; men, women and children. Sylvia had broken with her mother and sister two years earlier, when it became clear that the differences in their political ideas were irreconcilable. A feminist like her mother and sister, but a socialist feminist and a pacifist, fervently articulating her views on all three ideologies through the mouthpiece of her organisation, *The Woman's Dreadnought*. The two pamphlets contrast the patriotic zeal of *Britannia* with the radicalism of *The Dreadnought*, asking how these New Women used the press to win support for their various ideas.

In her article *The Pankhursts and the War: suffrage magazines and First World War propaganda* academic Angela K. Smith contrasts the two publications, and oppositional pamphlets published by the Pankhursts from 1914 to 1918 asking 'What devices did they employ and how successfully were they received by their contemporary readers?'

Source: *The Pankhursts and the War: suffrage magazines and First World War propaganda*, Angela K. Smith

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09612020300200349>



schreibung. Mindert eine Staatsverfassung, dass alle Kräfte, die im Menschen liegen, sich entwickeln; hindert sie die Fortschreitung des Geistes, so ist sie verwerflich und schädlich, sie mag übrigens noch so durchdacht und in ihrer Art noch so vollkommen sein. Ihre Dauerhaftigkeit selbst gereicht ihr alsdann vielmehr zum Vorwurf, als zum Ruhme - sie ist dann nur ein verlängertes Uebel; je länger sie Bestand hat, umso schädlicher ist sie.

.....Auf Unkosten aller sittlichen Gefühle wurde das politische Verdienst errungen und die Fähigkeit dazu ausgebildet. In Sparta gab es keine eheliche Liebe, keine Mutterliebe, keine kindliche Liebe, keine Freundschaft - es gab nichts als Bürger, nichts als bürgerliche Tugend.

.....Ein Staatsgesetz machte den Spartanern die Unmenschlichkeit gegen ihre Sklaven zur Pflicht; in diesen unglücklichen Schlachtopfern wurde die Menschheit beschimpft und misshandelt. In dem spartanischen Gesetzbuche selbst wurde der gefährliche Grundsatz gepredigt, Menschen als Mittel und nicht als Zwecke zu betrachten - dadurch wurden die Grundfesten des Naturrechts und der Sittlichkeit gesetzlos eingeriesen.

.....Welch schöneres Schauspiel gibt der raue Krieger Cains Marcius in seinem Lager vor Rom, der Rache und Sieg aufopfert, weil er die Tränen der Mutter nicht fließen sehen kann!"

"...Der Staat (des Lykurgus) könnte nur unter der einzigen Bedingung Fortdauern, wenn der Geist des Volks stillstünde; er könnte sich also nur dadurch erhalten, dass er den höchsten und einzigen Zweck eines Staates verfehlte."

Aus Goethe "Des Epimenides Erwachen", zweiter Aufzug, vierter Auftritt:

Genien

.....  
Doch was dem Abgrund kühn entliegen,  
Kann durch ein ehernes Geschick  
Den halben Weltkreis übersiegen,  
Zum Abgrund muss es doch zurück.  
Schon droht ein ungeheures Bangen,  
Vergeblich wird er widerstehn!  
Und alle, die noch an ihn hängen,  
Sie müssen mit zu Grunde gehn

Hoffnung

Mun begeg' ich meinen Braven,  
Die sich in der Nacht versammelt  
Um zu schweigen, nicht zu schlafen,  
Und das schöne Wort der Freiheit  
Wird gellend und gestammelt,  
Bis in ungewohnter Neuheit  
Wir an unsrer Tempel Stufen  
Wieder neu entzündt es ruft:  
(Mit Ueberzeugung laut:)  
Freiheit!  
(gesiegt:)  
Freiheit!  
(von allen Seiten und Enden Echo)  
Freiheit!

Wir bitten Sie, dieses Blatt mit möglichst vielen Durchschlägen abzuschriften und weiter zu verteilen!

## White Rose (20th century)

Publishing has always been political. In Nazi Germany, six anti-governmental pamphlets were published by the White Rose, nonviolent student resistance movement - a political act par excellence: an example of civil disobedience that led to many members being arrested and executed by the Gestapo. White Rose survivor Jürgen Wittenstein described what it was like living in Nazi Germany:

'The government - or rather, the party - controlled everything: the news media, arms, police, the armed forces, the judiciary system, communications, travel, all levels of education from kindergarten to universities, all cultural and religious institutions. Political indoctrination started at a very early age, and continued by means of the Hitler Youth with the ultimate goal of complete mind control. Children were exhorted in school to denounce even their own parents for derogatory remarks about Hitler or Nazi ideology.'

In 1936, all youth organisations other than those led by the Nazi party had been dissolved and forbidden. Self-organising and publishing alternatives to state propaganda was undoubtedly political; the pamphlets pointed to the dangers of political propaganda that precipitated the Holocaust. In the face of growing Nazi terror, it was not good enough 'to keep to oneself, one's beliefs, and ethical standards,' but rather,

it was time to come together, 'The time had come to act.' (Jürgen Wittenstein)

The students acquired a manual printing press and began to write, print and distribute texts that encouraged readers to resist the Nazis by engaging passive resistance, sabotaging the war effort and break through their apathy. They mailed the pamphlets to people they found in the phone book; took them in suitcases to other cities; left them in phone booths. The White Rose was active from 1942-1943, but the courage of its convictions has left a lasting mark on history.

Source: Source: Memories of the White Rose, George J. Wittenstein

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/the-secret-student-group-stood-up-nazis-180962250/>

<http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/revolt/wrleaflets.html>

### Counterattack, 1950 Red Channels (20th Century)

American playwright Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* about the Salem witch trial which took place in Massachusetts between 1692 and 1693 led to his being included in another sort of pamphlet, *Red Channels*, one of a number of publication that blacklisted some three hundred playwrights, screenwriters, directors, actors and composers. When it premiered in 1953, at the height of the Red Scare, the play has been seen as a parable for the political witch-hunts of the McCarthyite era and the infamous hearings conducted by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and related events in the late 1940s and early 1950s. As a result of these state-sponsored purges, hundreds of American citizens were imprisoned and over ten thousand lost their jobs. Hollywood studios instituted the blacklist against suspected Communists in November 1947.

Source: [https://www.historyonthenet.com/authentichistory/1946-1960/4-cwhomefront/1-mccarthyism/Red\\_Channels/index.html](https://www.historyonthenet.com/authentichistory/1946-1960/4-cwhomefront/1-mccarthyism/Red_Channels/index.html)







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### Anarchy in the UK: the Mastercard (21st century)

Punk is one of the most important cultural revolutions in recent British history of enormous creative importance. A DIY youth culture reaction against post 1960s consumerism<sup>1</sup>, it empowered the working class youth of the late 1970s and early 1980s to express themselves creatively and find their voice as a generation. It was a powerfully inclusive movement that enabled mass participation through encouraging a make-do, economy of means attitude towards making music, and art. It naturally encouraged self publishing through punk zines and flyers which shared many characteristics of pamphlets albeit torn, safety pinned and glued together in the punk era.

In 2015, Virgin Money adapted Jamie Reid's<sup>2</sup> iconic 1976 punk design for the Sex Pistols' *Anarchy in the UK* album for a credit card. As one journalist commented: 'It is not clear that own-brand credit cards were what John Lydon had in mind when he spat out the line "Your future dream is a shopping scheme" on that debut single, released in November 1976.'

'It's fair to say we've created quite a stir, but it's the music and punk puns filling our feeds which made us smile, here's our favourites.' (Virgin Money)

Source: <https://my.virginmoney.com/2015/06/09/launching-the-sex-pistols-credit-card/>

<sup>1</sup> Punk was actually a part of the Postmodernist movement which began as a reaction to the rigid restrictions of Modernism and a youth movement of rebellion. Their DIY, decidedly amateurish, black and white photocopy aesthetic, consisting of cut and paste letters and photographs captured the anti-establishment mood and urgency of the call for change at time of political and social turbulence. Britain was having an identity crisis and a dissatisfied majority, consisting mostly of young people, found their expression in music, fashion, design and yes, self-publishing. Their outrageous behaviour and contempt for established conventions is literally reflected in their publications that flaunt design and style rules by ignoring them and forging a new language of expression.

<sup>2</sup> Ransom-note lettering, now synonymous with punk, was first used by designer Helen Wellington-Lloyd and popularised by designers Jamie Reid and Nils Stevenson among others in the late 1970s.



### Sainsbury's (21st century)

Pamphlets available for free at the supermarket checkout offering: Award-Winning Loans: Sorted; Mortgages with a great shopping offer: Bliss; Travel Insurance: Woohoo; and a range of Savings account to suit you: Dreams

Thank you Sainsbury's for sorting out our dreams for us: Bliss. Woohool

With Sainsbury's can now 'get a great value loan to fix up your home', 'get one step closer to making your dreams a reality', 'get covered, then get excited about your trip' and get 'simple, flexible mortgages that giver Sainsbury's shoppers more in return'.

While you are in debt, president John Sainsbury has donated over £2m to the Tories since 2008.

All supermarkets are increasingly offering loyalty schemes and financial products to their customers, not just Sainsbury's. But the supermarket's prominent role in UK politics makes it especially contentious and the pamphlets that bit more sinister.

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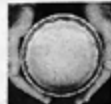
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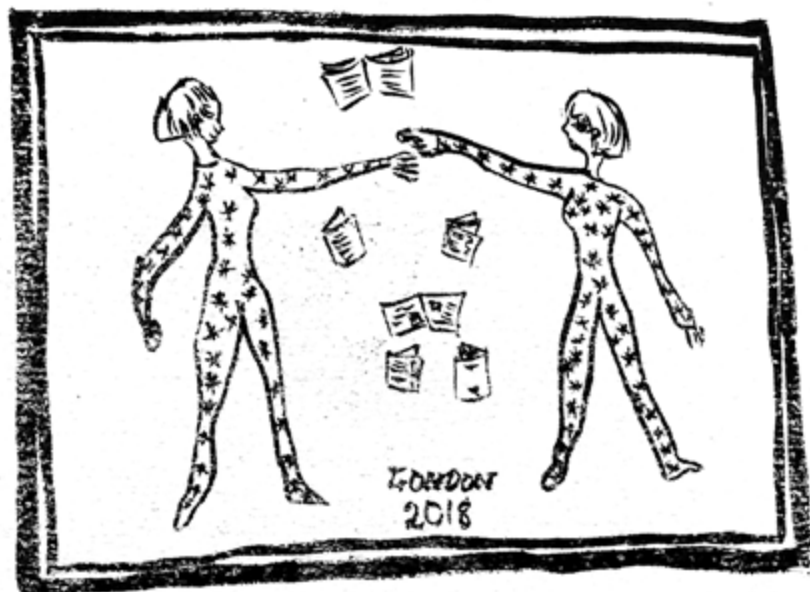


## MARKETING (N.)

Marketing is the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements for profitability.

Source: Chartered Institute of Marketing





Yours truly,  
Ladies of the Press\*

**12.05.2018**  
**FIVE YEARS**

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