

2.3.14 Modernity and Print II: Europe 1890-1970

At the turn of the century Europe, along with the rest of the Western world, was gripped by a veritable reading frenzy. Agriculture as a way of life was coming to an end, and urbanisation spread, favouring literacy. Photographs especially of cityscapes reveal how much lettering confronted people in their daily life. In all capital cities countless kiosks sold a choice of newspapers, national and international, that would never again be rivalled. In Paris in 1910, with a population of around 2.5 million, 5 million papers were printed every day. In 1900 *Le petit Parisien* alone printed 1.5 million copies daily, and it went on to become the best selling international daily in the years leading up to WWI (Martin 1986). People were reading on a scale never seen before, and newspapers and illustrated magazines were the first of the twentieth-century mass media. But books were becoming cheaper too, and available more widely and more readily than ever before.

The scale on which print was now spreading brought about tremendous changes in the production, distribution and consumption of books everywhere. Just as the age of the mass consumer society at large was dawning, so was the age of the cheap book series and the mass paperback. The individual ownership of books (as against, for example, borrowing from libraries, commercial or otherwise) grew alongside that of other consumer goods. Buying books was made easy by the large numbers of cheap paper-covered series that appeared on the market. Many of these had started, in the nineteenth-century vein of improvement of the lower orders, as classics series. Some contained only national, others international literature. Still in existence today in Germany, for example, is Reclam's Universal-Bibliothek (1867-), which published German as well as other classics. There were series aimed at a wide variety of readerships and uses, such as the Dutch series *Voor den Coupé* (For the Railway compartment; 1893-1918) for railway travel, or the Swedish *Verdandis småskrifter* (Brochures of the Verdandi Student Union), small books of popular science published by the Bonnier publishing company from 1887 and into the early 1920s for self-improvement. Cheap reprint series had usually been limited to books the publisher already owned, or which were out of copyright, such as the series 'Le livre populaire' started by Arthème Fayard in 1904. Published at 65 centimes these were well within popular reach. But now some series even began to offer current writing. In the Netherlands, where foreign rights were not protected, reprint series could also include the latest foreign (especially English, American or German) books, either in translation or in the original language.

In a way little of this was new. It simply continued the reading revolution of the nineteenth century, fuelled on the demand side by rising literacy, increasing leisure time and population growth, and by cheaper and faster print production on the supply side. But the dedicated reprint series that started to appear in the first few decades of the twentieth century, buying titles from other publishers, did represent a more market-oriented approach. For example, *Th. Knauer, Romane der Welt*, a series edited by Thomas Mann. What was most striking was the sheer scale on which print was now spreading, and

especially percolating down into the lower reaches of society. The age of print as a mass medium ushered in the age of the masses.

Among the types of publication designed to reach these new readers all over Europe were endless series of cheap penny dreadfuls (*Groschenhefte, romans à quatre sous*), covering a wide range of genres, but serving especially poorer and less educated readers, and children's books and magazines. Aimed particularly at children, for example—the readers of the future—was the French adventure series *Journal des voyages et des aventures de terre et de mer* (1877-1929). To supply the insatiable demand for the most popular genres, publishers in most countries, but especially those with a smaller home market, looked abroad. Translations—involving various degrees of adaptation: names, local colour—were common. And so this French series was published in Italy as *Giornale illustrato dei viaggi e delle avventure di terra e di mare* (1878-1931). Similarly, the *Biblioteca dei miei ragazzi* was modelled on and largely translated from the Bibliothèque de Suzette, a series started in 1919 by the publishers of the very successful children's weekly *La Semaine de Suzette* (1905).

In such children's series suitable texts by any author about any subject could be published (often written to order), but some of the most popular series were entirely devoted to one hero. One of the best-known examples was the *Nick Carter* series (New York, Street & Smith, 1886), the master detective, which was syndicated in most European countries by the firm of A. Eichler, and inspired many local imitations. Along with thrillers and westerns (like the equally popular *Buffalo Bill* series) detective and crime novels are a typical example of the many new popular entertainment genres that made their appearance towards the end of the nineteenth century. The huge popularity of Sherlock Holmes (himself based on the model of Émile Gaboriau's *l'Affaire Lerouge* of 1863) together with that of the penny-dreadful form created the mould for much European detective fiction. Well-known examples were the French anti-hero Fantômas (sometimes dubbed the 'lord of terror') and Arsène Lupin (the Gentleman Cambrioleur or Gentleman Burglar) series. Arsène Lupin became no less famous than *Nick Carter*, and was translated into almost any European language, as was the *Lord Lister* series (1908). Originally written by Kurt Matull in German and published throughout Europe by Eichler, after the tremendous success of the first 110 issues it was continued locally in many languages. The last issue in Dutch by Leo Felix Hageman (no 3687) did not appear till 1967.

Detective novel series also appeared in regular book form. In the Netherlands a series of 'Amerikaansche detective-romans' in translation flourished from 1899 to 1905. Georges Simenon, a Belgian writer living in Paris, had already produced more than 200 books of cheap fiction under several pseudonyms when in 1931 he started writing the Maigret novels that were to make him famous. They were published by Fayard, with a photographic cover. English and American detective novels continued to set the tone, and *l'Empreinte* (The Fingerprint; 1932) was a well-known French detective series publishing most of the famous Anglophone detective writers. In 1933 the weekly series *Déetective* was the first to sport a photographic cover in colour.

Cartoons were preceded, around the turn of the century, by the illustrated *historiette*: drawings with running text underneath. In France, the famous example was *La famille Fenouillard*. The influence of American popular culture was strong in the case of cartoons, too, with such publications as Buster Brown (1902-1926) and Felix the Cat (1931). By the 1920s the use of balloons was common. The publication of the weekly *Journal de Mickey* (Mickey Mouse, from 21 October 1934) paved the way for further Americanisation of the illustrated press in France. But European cartoonists were quick to pick up the craft. Among the famous European cartoon heroes was Belgian Hergé's Tintin (1929) published by Casterman.

Distribution of such cheap reading matter was chiefly through kiosks and tobacco shops. In the late 1920s in the Netherlands, a sensational novel in a cheap series could be bought for between 17.5 and 45 cents, or an issue of Nick Carter for 15 cents (compare a carpenter's weekly wage of about 16 guilders). By 1935 two thirds of all books were published at less than two guilders. But despite the cheapness of these mass-produced publications not everyone could, or wanted to, actually buy them. Commercial lending libraries remained significant at least till WWII. In Germany they had been the most important channel for entertainment fiction from the late Enlightenment period till the Third Reich. In the late 1920s, partly as a result of the economic crisis, the lending libraries experienced a lift in Germany. In 1932 there were still some 18,000.

It has been estimated that in Germany some 60 million *Groschenhefte* were published in the period 1933-1939 (Wittmann 1991). With the extreme popularity of these cheap weekly series translated and adapted throughout Europe in the first few decades of the twentieth century the internationalisation of the entertainment industry began. It was the American flavour even of the German imitations of the heroes and their adventures that caused them to be blacklisted in Germany in 1940. Also in the genre of pulp fiction Anglo-Saxon authors like Zane Grey and Edgar Wallace vied with Hedwig Courths-Mahler for popularity. Accordingly, in this period we witness the change from a predominantly national trade in books to one that was once again becoming international. But this time the traffic did not so much concern science, or the European classics, but a torrent of popular culture translated out of and into various continental languages. At that, the fairly heavy admixture of Anglo-American ideas and forms was beginning to cause a certain homogenisation of European culture.

Mass culture rose on a tide that would not retreat. Even as many regarded reading and the knowledge it brought as a civilising force, for others the wider spread of literacy was not cause for rejoicing. The former reading elite in particular regarded the ubiquitous consumption of books and newspapers with disapproval. Apart from begrudging the masses a share in a reading culture that had previously been reserved for them, many people feared the new underbelly of literature, with its mass-culture characteristics. Especially literary authors had grown increasingly selfconscious as artists. They should not have to bow to the vulgar tastes of the plebs. The gap between the popular taste and those

who catered to it and that of the cultural elites, who despised the masses and their tastes, and favoured the expressions of a Higher Art, was widening. As a consequence of the growing dichotomy between artistic success and success in the marketplace, the book market was increasingly felt to be divided between high culture and popular consumption.

Amid the commodification of the work of the mind that could be observed taking place everywhere shortly after the turn of the century the *Kulturverleger* made his appearance. The *Kulturverleger* zealously embraced his cultural mission, served as a partner to his authors, and was interested in making public a particular type of literature. In Germany, Stefan George and his circle (not just of authors, but also of artists, illustrators, publishers, printers and binders) could be said to epitomise the phenomenon. Samuel Fischer was a patron of modernity, publishing foreign naturalists and expressionists like Ibsen and Zola, and German authors like Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Arthur Schnitzler. Kurt Wolff was the publisher of Franz Kafka, and a host of other expressionist authors. A similar role was played by Querido in the Netherlands, and Gallimard (founded in 1911 to publish *Les Éditions de La Nouvelle Revue française*) in France, with writers like Proust, Gide, Saint-Exupéry, Valéry and Larbaud. In 1933 Gallimard bought the famous *Éditions de la Pléiade*, founded by Jacques Schiffrin.

These *Kulturverleger* were also the main publishers that stimulated the *Buchkunstbewegung*, advocating new attention to typography and book design. The fin de siècle had created a distinctive typography of letter forms to look at rather than texts to read. The reverse tendency—emphasis on the purity of geometric form—could be observed in De Stijl, Bauhaus and Nieuwe Zakelijkheid. Insel Verlag, for example, harmoniously integrated the esthetics of book production with an impressive literary programme, publishing Hofmannsthal, Rilke, and Borchardt. The aim of the *Kulturverleger* was not necessarily to publish for an elite; most were eager to spread serious fiction to a wider readership by publishing it also in carefully crafted but cheap reprint series. They thus did much to present the well-designed ('schönes') book to a wider audience. Nevertheless, this relationship between the author-as-artist and the publisher-as-civilising-force served to emphasise the symbolic role of books. Distinguishing the discriminating owner from those who merely read for entertainment, many books were bought not necessarily to be read.

One of the attractions of the book series was the guidance this form of publication offered to the less experienced book buyer. Membership of a book club offered a similar appeal, in addition to the lower price. But initially the club aspect, which gave its members a sense of belonging to a circle of like-minded readers, also played a role. When book clubs first made their appearance, in the Weimar Republic after WWI, it was their ideological nature that characterized them. Originally books were published by the club for the exclusive benefit of its members, with the obligation to buy all titles offered by the club. This model represented the ideal from a production point of view. Minimising the risk of both overproduction and underproduction, it allowed for the lowest price for the consumer. In the course of time many other business models have been tried. Books might be bought from publishers, or clubs might enter into co-publication arrangements. The model that

became the standard one in the 1970s was that of licensing existing book titles from other publishers. This had the advantage to members of providing a much wider choice of titles. Members agreed to purchase a minimum number of books annually (usually one per quarter), with the club offering a 'club selection' for anyone who had not made a personal selection by a certain date.

In France the first book club began operations in 1924; in the Netherlands in 1937; in Italy the Club degli editori was not founded till 1960. In Norway the publication, both before and after WWII, of subscription series shared many characteristics with book clubs, but the first actual book club appeared in 1961. The importance of book clubs in Europe, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, can hardly be overestimated. In 1960, the fifteen German book clubs had 5 million members, accounting for 20% of total book sales by value. In the 1990s the number of members had risen to 6,5m, or a member in one in four households (Wittmann 1991). Perhaps as a result of the German origins of the book club phenomenon, the German media conglomerate Bertelsmann continues its hold on the market in Europe as it does elsewhere in the world. In the Netherlands, it started the Europaclub (later ECI) in 1965; in France the joint venture France Loisirs with Presses de la Cité in 1970. These Bertelsmann-owned clubs are by far the largest in their respective countries.

The fact that books became cheaper, and that competition in price was obviously effective and becoming more prevalent, presented a problem to the book trade. The 'fixed book price' presented itself as one solution. In the Netherlands prices had to all intents and purposes been fixed since the foundation of the Dutch Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels in 1815 (the oldest of the modern book trade associations) with the express purpose to prevent any form of piracy or undercutting of book prices. Sweden's book prices were similarly effectively fixed from the foundation of the Swedish Publishers Association in 1843. In Germany the *Buchhandlerische Verkehrsordnung* of the Börsenverein took effect in 1888, limiting the discount that booksellers could give on books. The Swiss and Austrian book trade regulations were adjusted to the German rules. In an attempt to defend themselves against competition by kiosks, the booksellers syndicate in France, in cooperation with the publishers syndicate, set a maximum discount, too. In 1943 this turned into a real fixed book price. In spite of this book price cartel, in the period 1890-1938 book prices in France went up by a factor of 4 only, compared to a factor of 9 for retail prices in general (Martin 1986).

The fixed book price could not disguise the fact that publishers, authors, and the new book buying public began to enter into more direct commercial relationships. The potential for authors to earn real money with their writing, for example, caused authors to organise themselves, with a special focus on their economic interests. The Berne Convention of 1886 was in some ways a direct consequence of this pressure. The Deutsche Schriftstellerverband in 1877 united two existing rival organisations. In 1909 the Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller (SDS) was founded, becoming an important force during the book crisis in the second half of the 1920s when writers (especially 'serious'

ones) were in a very weak position. Membership rose from 1400 in 1920 to 2404 in 1932 (Wittmann 1991). In Italy the Authors' society was founded in 1882; it later became the Società italiana degli autori ed editori (SIAE). In smaller countries, where due to the smaller market authors had less to gain, this was generally later. In the Netherlands the 'Vereeniging van Nederlandsche letterkundigen' was founded in 1905; in Flanders the 'Vereeniging van Vlaamsche letterkundigen in Vlaanderen' in 1907.

At the same time this more commercial footing and publishers' more finely-tuned commercial antennae did not stop more ideologically informed publishing ventures from being successful. Especially in Germany the ideals of worker emancipation and socialism informed many initiatives for the publication and distribution of books, such as J.H.W. Dietz (1881), Buchhandlung Vorwärts (1894-1924), who published, for example, the Berliner Arbeiterbibliothek, and an edition of the Communist Manifesto, Malik-Verlag (1916-1938), with the satirical artist George Grosz as its most prominent employee, and book clubs such as Der Bücherkreis, and Büchergilde Gutenberg (both founded in 1924). In France the Librairie du Travail (1918-1937) and in the Netherlands Arbeiderspers (the continuation of Ontwikkeling; 1916-) did much to spread the ideology of socialism.

Religious publishing slowly declined, but remained an ideological force in the twentieth. In Catholic Belgium, Brepols (1796), publisher of playing cards and liturgical books in thirty languages, became 'Editeur Pontificale' in 1905. In the Netherlands the Roman Catholic part of the population was served by its own Catholic publishers. Their close links to the Hierarchy safeguarded Catholic readers from the dangers of moral corruption and Protestant influences. But it was in Protestant countries, where religious publishing had always been more substantial, that the decline was particularly noticeable. From accounting for about one-fifth of titles in the middle of the nineteenth century, by 1920 the publication of religious books had already more than halved in Germany and the Netherlands. It was to dwindle to below 5 per cent by the middle of the twentieth century.

Ironically, in the face of the vastly increasing book market, the shift with the most wide-ranging consequences in the period we are concerned with is that from a demand-led book economy to a supply-led one. This was the result of many factors. We have already encountered some of the nineteenth-century technological changes in print production. Especially the invention of the rotary press affected print production by favouring larger print runs. But the combination of increased title production on the one hand, and increased book consumption on the other made for a much more diffuse market. **[Insert table Book production figures for various European countries in sample years about here.]** The increases in production (starting in most European countries at various stages in the nineteenth century) eventually gave rise to a sense of overproduction. This widely heard complaint may have had some basis in fact (during WWII it was possible for publishers to keep active despite paper shortages by divesting themselves of accumulated overstock). Mostly, however, it was less a matter of overall quantity than of a growing challenge to match supply and demand. In a market in which the number of both book titles and reading individuals was expanding, it was simply increasingly difficult to locate potential

readers for a particular title in the sea of potential book buyers.

Another factor was that of competition to the print media, not only from other media, but also from other forms of entertainment. If the nineteenth century had been the Age of the Book, the book's position was certainly challenged in the twentieth. In absolute terms, the book market kept growing steadily, in title production as well as total volume, and leisure time was expanding, too. But a spate of new media was beginning to compete with print for news, information and entertainment. First there was the cinema (initially silent; from the end of the 1920s talking), then radio and finally television. In addition there was the popularity of music, both live and recorded, and going out, to the movies and dance halls, was a popular leisure time pursuit. Yet the book profited from these other media, too: through serialisation of fiction, radio plays, and readings. Often films stimulated public awareness of a book, and could make the difference between commercial success or failure. Many authors—such as Thomas Mann—took a great interest in the filming of their books.

Last but not least there was the more general economic crisis of the 1920s, fuelled by postwar inflation, which eventually led to the Great Depression. This severely cut the purchasing power of the middle class. All these factors contributed to the 'book crisis' of the late 1920s and 1930s. It hit the Netherlands and Germany in the 1920s; Italy in the 1930s.

One of the most notable effects for the book industry was the need for greater emphasis on marketing. This could be seen in the attention lavished on covers (e.g., the use of photographs and colour), and the rise of advertising. But it also led to book promotion activities on a national scale. In Germany National Book Day (22 March, the day of Goethe's death) was instituted in 1929 by the Börsenverein (the German book trade organisation). From 1934 this was replaced by the annual National Socialist book week for the propaganda of the German Book. In the Netherlands CPNB (Collective Propaganda for the Dutch Book) was founded in 1930, organising its first 'book week' in 1932. When the Associazione Editoriale Libreria Italiana (AELI, founded in 1922) handed over its responsibilities to the fascist regime, the fascists took the promotion of the Italian book firmly in hand. Book promotion was part of a wider programme of state control, which included standardising state school books and making sure they carried a recognisable fascist signature. But the fascists also proposed to institute formal rules for economic competition. It was hoped that centralised control would solve other aspects of the book crisis: the sense of overproduction and that pre-unification heritage, the chaotic nature of the book market. Thus these measures could actually count on wide support even if censorship and enforced conformity to fascism were not objectives shared by everyone (Santoro 2003).

In the face of the increasing pressure from other media, and competing leisure time activities, booksellers, too, experienced the need for a more 'offensive' approach to the potential buying public. No longer could they afford to sit waiting passively in their shops,

but they needed to reach out through such sales and marketing techniques as prospectuses, advertising, attractive window displays and greater attention to interior decoration. Overall, this development is epitomised by the move in the 1920s and '30s from the closed bookshop where buyers were served by an expert bookseller to open-shelf shops where customers handled the books themselves. A more outward looking attitude on the part of regular booksellers was also stimulated by the competition from other sales outlets, such as railway station kiosks, department stores selling books, book clubs, and the flourishing practice of colportage. Kiosks, tobacconists and similar points of sale were also used for the distribution of cheap series of entertainment fiction published by newspapers and high-circulation illustrated periodicals. It was easy to market such 'exclusive readers offers' to their readers, and production was cheap on newsprint using the rotary presses they already owned.

The increased media use in general (radio and film beside newspapers and illustrated weeklies) caused a greater awareness of the world outside of the traditional community, whether local or regional or even on the scale of the nation state that had for so long provided the natural scope for so much European publishing. The importation of elements of mass culture from the US and, to a somewhat lesser degree, from Britain that we have observed must be seen in this context, too. After WWII it would contribute to the rise of English as a lingua franca.

While we can recognise this pattern of media use in many Western countries, in the Soviet Republic—and later in any of its Eastern European vassal states—the situation was very different. Since state propaganda was regarded as an effective means of eradicating bourgeois thought and establishing a socialist ideology, the entire chain of print production (paper production, typesetting, printing, binding) and distribution were brought under state control. Printing had come to Russia late, and it was only late in the nineteenth century that a serious commercial publishing industry had come into being. In the brief window before the October revolution of 1917 Russian publishing showed itself very cosmopolitan, publishing more or less everything that was appearing elsewhere in Europe. The industry's domination after the Revolution by the huge state conglomerate of Gosizdat (1919) smoothed the way for the even tighter state and party control of the Stalinist era. It is a measure of the success of this control that in Russia during the Cold War, which lasted from 1945 to 1990, 80 per cent of all publications were issued by the state. Official censorship, carried out by the censorship agency Glavlit (1922), was ultimately in the hands of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Through the effective mechanism of granting the right to publish only to approved institutions, conformity to party ideology could be ensured. In addition to official censorship Russian libraries also exercised self-censorship—a practice prevalent in Nazi Germany too—which was sometimes even more rigorous (Remnek 1991; Line 2003).

The relaxation of censorship and control after Stalin's death in 1953 was only very gradual. But all sorts of materials unacceptable to the regime did eventually begin to circulate in the clandestine *samizdat* or self-publishing circuit. During the Cold War period books that had

been smuggled out of the Eastern bloc were regularly published in the West. An example of such propagandist publishing was the first printing of *Dr Zhivago* in the Netherlands, at the request of the CIA.

The same centralisation and complete state control was imposed in one after another of the Eastern European states as they fell under the communist sphere of influence. Finland, too, came briefly (1944-1946) under a 'Soviet Controlling Commission', which used methods of censorship similar to those in the USSR. This censorship involved removing politically incorrect (anti-Soviet and Nazi) books and other materials to the *spetskhran*—the closed collection housing books that were forbidden but nonetheless catalogued and stored (Ekholm 2001).

The situation in Germany, too, was of course decidedly atypical. Apart from the widespread effects of the economic depression (which actually hit the book trade less badly than it did other sectors of the economy), the 1930s saw the first effects of the Nazi regime in Germany. Within four months after the National Socialists took power in 1933 the first book burnings took place. The exile of German writers and publishers for political reasons started long before persecution for race became instituted in 1938. In all, some 1800 writers and journalists are known to have fled the country. German book publishers settled in many countries, not necessarily German speaking, attempting to supply banned books from exile. With the new German departments they created in the period immediately after 1933 Dutch publishers Querido and Gerard de Lange published some 200 titles by over one hundred authors between them. Swiss publisher Oprecht published 145 titles by 115 exiled authors; Malik in Prague 40 titles by 22 authors. After brief stays in Austria, Italy and Switzerland, Bermann Fischer settled in Stockholm, where he made use of offset lithography for reprints for the Scandinavian market of Werfel, Schnitzler, and the Mann brothers. Despite the fact that so many authors and publishers emigrated to the US, the only successful publisher was Friedrich Ungar (from Phaidon, Vienna), who published about one-third of the c. 350 exil publications that appeared in the US in the period 1933-1955 (Wittmann 1991).

Earlier, France had similarly been home to a large number of exiles, though of another kind. Each for their own reasons, a host of writers, especially from an Anglo-Saxon background, found Paris a congenial place to work and be published. Apart from James Joyce (*Ulysses*, published by Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare & Co in 1922), famous authors who availed themselves of the greater freedom to publish in France included Henry Miller (*Tropic of Cancer*, published by Jack Kahane's Obelisk Press, 1934); Samuel Beckett (*Watt*, 1953), Vladimir Nabokov (*Lolita*, 1955); J.P. Donleavy (*The Ginger Man*, 1958). The last three were published by the Olympia Press, founded by Kahane's son Maurice Girodias, who published numerous other expatriate authors.

In spite of all attempts at enforcing the political conformity of publishers, authors and booksellers, the role of the book as an instrument of propaganda in the Third Reich was actually much less important than it was in communist Russia. It was also much less

important than were film, radio, illustrated periodicals or newspapers, for the methods of totalitarian regimes of controlling their citizens also move with the times. The notable exception, of course, was Hitler's blockbuster *Mein Kampf* (1925). By April 1933 sales stood at 340,000; by April 1940, after the book had been decreed the compulsory official gift for all German newly weds, the total number of copies in print had reached 6 million (Wittmann 1991).

As had been the case in WWI, the conditions of WWII disrupted the book trade in many ways. The international trade was an obvious victim; in particular the regular import of English language books to the Continent, as well as the continental publication of English books, came to a virtual standstill (though both revived with unprecedented vigour after the war was over). In Germany, Jewish, French, and English books, as well as light reading with an Anglo-American character (such as Wild West and detective novels) were banned. Paper shortages as well as widespread and often farreaching censorship led to a shortage of any but the safest titles everywhere. There was no room for any sort of speculation, and new titles were rare. For publishers an unlooked-for benefit was the opportunity to sell out of unsold stocks, sometimes decades old. To alert entrepreneurs opportunities offered themselves occasionally. In 1943 the appearance on the French market, starved of Anglo-American comics, of *Le Téméraire: journal pour la jeunesse* met with huge popular acclaim, moving from 100,000 to 150,000 copies within a year (Martin 1986).

While the production of printed matter for National Socialist propaganda purposes used many resources, a small but vigorous clandestine press did manage in most German-occupied territories to put out news sheets as well as books. De Bezige Bij in Amsterdam and Les éditions du minuit in Paris were examples of publishers that grew out of illegality to turn into leading literary publishers in their countries. With the onset of the Allied campaign in Continental Europe services editions began to find their way into civilian hands. These were soon joined by a wide range of publications specifically designed for European distribution by the British and American propaganda offices. After the war had ended many British publishers were quick to seize the opportunities engendered by the wartime scarcity of non-propagandist reading matter and interest in the Anglo-Saxon culture of the liberators.

As soon as paper supplies began to revert to normal after the war, the book industry took off. From the mid-1950s, but especially during the 1960s and '70s, it began to experience a boom. In the 1920s and 1930s experiments in pocket-sized mass-produced books had occurred in various countries. But the mass paperback concept as we know it today did not take off on the Continent till after WWII. Belgium (Bibliothèque Marabout, 1949) and Germany (Rowohlt's Rotations-Romane, RoRoRo, 1950) were the first to adopt this new form on a large scale. Rowohlt had been one of the first publishers to gain licenses for all sectors of occupied Germany. The paperbacks, which had initially appeared in newspaper format, were printed in massive printruns (of 55,000 and up) on two sides simultaneously, used the innovative 'perfect binding' technique invented by Lumbeck, and carried advertising in the middle of the text (Wittmann 1991). The Netherlands soon followed with

Prisma pockets (1951), France with Livre de poche (1953). In Italy the mass paperback did not really take off till the 1960s (Oscar Mondadori, 1965). In conjunction with the post-war economic boom new series were started everywhere. Especially popular were current belles lettres, both in the national language and in translation, detectives and other entertainment.

Apart from the more predictable economic causes for the postwar publishing boom the effect of the Cold War is worthy of note. This was both a direct influence, resulting from all sorts of propaganda activities, and a much more diffuse one. Among the more diffuse effects of the Cold War was the tendency to redefine national culture. This resulted in many new publications, but also notably in new editions and revisions. The rewriting of history books, both general and textbooks, is an obvious example.

Textbooks were always in need of minor revisions to reflect new knowledge, changing geopolitical circumstances, spelling, and so on. Mostly these were of a kind that could easily be made in new printings as the market absorbed them. From time to time more major revisions were required. Italy and Germany show peaks in textbook production in the 1930s, as a result of the ideological changes instigated by the National Socialist and Fascist regimes. In France the first major impetus for the school book industry after the various nineteenth-century national education acts came from the confluence of a number of changes after WWII. These included new notions about the nature of childhood and the role of education; professionalisation and concentration of school book publishing, as well as updates of the books' factual and ideological content. With 750 new titles textbook production in France showed a peak in 1950 (compared to an average of 300 in 1930-1940, and 750 in 1880-1890; Martin 1986). In the Netherlands textbooks had grown to become the largest category by volume in the period after the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1900.

Especially notable among postwar developments was the surge in interest in English and American culture, and the rise of English as a lingua franca in Europe. The general book buying public displayed an apparently insatiable demand for English language books. Bernhard Tauchnitz, who had started publishing his Collection of British and American Authors in 1837, had already proved that a sizeable market existed for them in continental Europe. Even before WWII publishers John Holroyd-Reece (Britain) and Kurt Enoch (Germany) founded the Albatross Modern Continental Library (1931) in the same fashion—going on to buy Tauchnitz in 1934. It was the successful Albatross series that provided Allan Lane with a great deal of inspiration for his famous Penguins. He took not just the idea of the bird name along with a stylised black-and-white picture of it, but also the colour coding of the covers. The very first Albatross—in yellow, indicating 'psychological novels, essays, etc.'—was James Joyce's *Dubliners*; other early authors included Aldous Huxley, Sinclair Lewis, and Virginia Woolf. During the war, the Continental Book Company of Stockholm and London joined the market with their Zephyr Books: A Library of British and American Authors.

However, it was after WWII that books in English began their triumphal march in earnest. Old stalwarts Tauchnitz and Albatross continued to be available, but a host of new competitors made an appearance. Star Editions, 'To be sold on the Continent of Europe only', were produced in England. In 1946 the Swiss company of Scherz & Hallwag started publishing their Scherz Phoenix Books in Berne and Paris, with A.J. Cronin's *The Keys of the Kingdom*. Soon, however, in recognition of the European hunger for books in English many British publishers began to organise their own networks of European representatives. In 1953 William Heinemann, for example, set up a subsidiary company in The Hague. This took care of warehousing, but when in the general postwar paper shortage supplies of paper became available it also published and printed a number of Heinemann titles. In fact, the Netherlands went on to become to the biggest non-English speaking per capita consumers of books in English.

Translations were another form in which Anglo-American culture spread on the continent. The French Série Noire, (Gallimard, 1945-) was a series of hard-boiled crime novels, mainly of American origin. During the Cold War period the French Communist party resisted the perceived intellectual and moral damage this and other series represented. It was also committed to combat the adverse effects on children of American cartoons by offering non-capitalist French parallels. Illustrated weeklies for children were very big business. In France just after WWII there were some thirty titles, at around 3 million copies per week, not counting the fortnightlies or the issues of complete stories, which bring the total up to 22 million per month (Martin 1986; Fourché 1998).

At the end of the nineteenth century the German book had been a global commodity, with almost 500 shops selling exclusively or preponderantly German books in America alone, and 245 foreign members of the German Book Trade Association scattered across the globe. Before WWII a great deal of international scientific publishing had taken place in German, as well as in various national languages. After the war, when Germany had lost so many of its scientists, the epicentre of scholarly publishing was clearly shifting. European scholarly publishing became increasingly international, and increasingly looked to English as its main vehicle. There were many exceptions to this general trend, such as for example the use of Russian in East-block countries after 1948. Also, in science the tendency was more pronounced than in other disciplines (notably the humanities). What aided the trend, and helped the growth of scholarly publishing at large, was the postwar growth of the academic population, and of its international mobility. The resulting competition placed greater pressure on scholars to publish (outside of dissertations; Altbach and Hoshino 1995).

However unhappy editors of national scientific journals were with the development, internationalisation, especially in scholarly publishing, was unstoppable in the postwar period. With their roots in the nineteenth century, the big European multinationals in publishing, Hachette (1826), Bertelsmann (1835), Wolters Kluwer (Wolters 1836; Kluwer 1889), Springer (1842) and Reed Elsevier (Elsevier 1880; Reed 1894), had all gone through a period of sustained growth before WWII. It was the science publishers that were the first

to publish multinationally. Elsevier, one of the first publishers in Europe to be founded as a limited liability company, entered into a joint venture in New York in 1937 for the publication in English of German scientific works. In 1939 Elsevier opened an office in the UK. Springer, too, first looked to the US, setting up an international venture in New York in 1965. The international expansion of Kluwer, especially in the field of law, began in the late 1960s, with the acquisition of a number of smaller Dutch scholarly publishers with an international portfolio: Martinus Nijhoff, Junk and Stenfert Kroese, and later through the acquisition of German law publishers and a joint venture with British Harrap. For Hachette and Bertelsmann, general publishers with a sizeable home market, international expansion came later. With its emphasis on solid religious publishing and its old-fashioned taste in children's literature Bertelsmann had only just managed to survive the German book crisis of the second half of the 1920s. Not long after the end of the war Bertelsmann began its media diversification, starting with music in the 1950s, and moving into film in the 1960s. Bertelsmann became a limited liability company in 1971, but is still not publicly traded. While Bertelsmann's international expansion started in the 1970s, that of Hachette began even later, although it had begun to experiment with co-publications in Germany and England before WWII.

While scholarly publishing at large, and STM publishing in particular, were undergoing a process of concentration and internationalisation, the democratisation of print production offered new opportunities for more marginal publishing ventures. From the end of the 1960s, especially political, 'countercultural' and feminist publications were availing themselves from the opportunities of offset printing, photocopying, and mimeographing. While offering exciting opportunities for new entrants to the field of print production, the photocopying machine was perceived as a serious threat to the profitability, especially of scholarly publishing. But once again the book managed to weather these technological challenges.

ADRIAAN VAN DER WEEL

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