

Mapping the Source of the Hyperreal: Re-evaluating the Emergence of Hyperreality

Leander Reeves

Oxford Brookes University

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Abstract

Hyperreality now colonises so much of the twenty-first century, from politics to coffee flavours in Starbucks. It has become a powerful and ubiquitous force. This thesis argues that hyperreality is a saturating and commonplace force that needs to be explored, properly defined and its origins discovered. Hyperreality has evolved from its influential definitions in Baudrillard's *Simulations*, first published in English in 1983. This work argues that the academic landscape examining the hyperreal has not; the theory is in a rut.

In searching for the source of the hyperreal, this thesis maps the source by looking at consumer magazines working backwards from 1983 to the publication of the English periodical *The Athenian Mercury* in 1691. It progresses the academic landscape and understanding of the hyperreal by effectively looking backwards in order to advance. It concludes that the source of the hyperreal is not to be found in one place, such as Baudrillard's postmodernity.

The research does two things: it unshackles hyperreality from Baudrillard's assumed paternity to demonstrate that Baudrillard did not "invent" hyperreality, but rather that he named a process that was already too prevalent to ignore. In every chapter this thesis also proves that hyperreality was functioning before the postmodern period of the late twentieth century.

Consumer magazines represent the key object of study beginning in the 1980s with the surge of publications on the subject of the royal wedding. This chapter works backwards using key time jumps from this much-discussed moment to analyse the construction of related hyperreality in *The Ladies' Home Journal*. From the 1950s, the second chapter moves to the film fan magazines of the 1920s, which saw film stars fusing with consumer culture in a compelling constellation of the hyperreal. This gendered process is then investigated at a much earlier date, the late nineteenth century, via *The Women at Home* before following the reverse chronology to the early 1800s with *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Penny Magazine* to interrogate and contextualise the imperial processes that underpin the hyperreal. The final chapter zeroes in on a very specific case study, Richard Steele's "Woman of Quality" that appeared in *The Spectator* in 1711, in order to map the threads of influence from a singular point and provide evidence of the hyperreal at work at such an early point in

the timeline. These time jumps end with *The Athenian Mercury* of 1691 as exemplifying the early operation of hyperreality.

This thesis examines and evaluates how hyperreality works and how it interacts with aspects of gender, power, and consumer culture. The conclusion argues that the source of the hyperreal is not one moment or one event, but rather a process that Joseph Addison writing in *The Spectator* magazine of 1711 identifies as the 'Traffick of Mankind'. Hyperreality, the thesis concludes, is man-made and, in its Anglo-American form, dates back at least as far as the seventeenth century.

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To my daughter Perdita

For you little Bear, every word.

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This PhD journey started some 30 years ago when I was invested in by the government of the day and I went to university for free. Without that incredible investment in me, by my country, I don't think I would have considered a degree, certainly not a Masters. Without that Masters I would not have been able to start the career trajectory that led me into industry, and eventually into academia. A university education should be free, it should be the country investing in its people because a country is its people. The marketization of higher education has made us all poorer. Education is a right and an investment in the nation, in its people. Access to education should not be a life debt, knowledge should never be mortgaged. We, as a nation, have lost something precious, and we have got to the point where we can barely remember what it was.

Academic publishing doesn't work. All of the texts that I used as primary and secondary sources should be available, accessible, and affordable to all. If academic research is funded through public money, that public should have access to it. A great deal of privilege made this thesis possible; there are too many barriers to knowledge in this country and it should shame every institution that trades on that privilege of access, hierarchy, and affordability; knowledge and research is for everyone.

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Introduction

On the 7th March, 2007, the BBC announced the death of Jean Baudrillard on their website as:

French sociologist and philosopher Jean Baudrillard has died aged 77 at his home in Paris following a long illness.

Baudrillard, a leading post-modernist thinker, is perhaps best known for his concept of hyper-reality.

Context to a problem with the hyperreal

Death is perhaps, an unusual manner in which to introduce a thesis, but this short obituary from the BBC neatly presents two problems with the theory of hyperreality, that was as true in 2007 as it is now. That hyperreality only exists in the postmodern era of the late twentieth century—that well-mediated era of irony, rejection, and cynicism, and that hyperreality is Baudrillard's theory. Neither one of these assumptions is true.

The obituary demonstrates a problem within the academic landscape of hyperreality—but also the wider, popular cultural understanding of hyperreality, where these two assumptions are endlessly circulated and accepted as doctrine. Since the first English translation of Baudrillard's *Simulations* was published in 1983 by the MIT Press' Semiotext(e)'s new Foreign Agents Series, hyperreality has been stuck in a *theoretical holding pattern*. What is plainly evident, when engaging with the hyperreal academically, is a set of commonalities which are present at every usage of the hyperreal. When academics bring hyperreality into their work, it is usually to *describe* hyperreality at work, to identify rather than evaluate what it is. Hyperreality is never really *measured*; there is a lot of academic and popular media theory which explains hyperreality, but little in the way of measuring its pathway and reach. This thesis is groundbreaking because it does just that. Identifying and examining constants to the hyperreal will enable a measurement and, more importantly, show its long development. This thesis will demonstrate how hyperreality works. Likewise, Baudrillard's paternity is nearly always assumed and so too the twentieth century's *fin de siècle* as the

setting and cause of the hyperreal's sudden explosion onto the academic and cultural scene.

William Merrin (2005) neatly sums up this approach as:

The acceptance of an agreed line of intellectual descent for Baudrillard's work and a fixed framework for its interpretation has prevented the broader historical, philosophical and theological significance of the concept from being recognized. (p. 29)

In short, Baudrillard's assumed paternity stifles the study of the hyperreal. This thesis loosens the framework, in both time and thought, for examining hyperreality. The problem with a fixed framework is that the same ideas, and the same definitions, and the same soundbites from Baudrillard's work on hyperreality, primarily through *Simulations* (1983), have been incessantly repeated and circulated as the definitive definition of the hyperreal. Acceptance and repetition define the theory again and again. Every profound pronouncement, in Baudrillard's *Simulations* in particular, is treated as an essential inventory of core components to any work on hyperreality, and nearly forty years later the MIT Press website still touts *Simulations* as 'One of the most influential essays of the 20th century' (MITpress. *Simulations*, 2021). Indeed, it was and still is a remarkable text with analogies and insights that are still impactful, but what was missing then and is missing now, is how the hyperreal took shape and began. This is why this thesis starts with the English translation of *Simulations* in 1983 and works backwards, because the past determines the future and hyperreality is shaping a future and, in turn, being shaped by it. Hyperreality now colonises so much of the twenty-first century, from politics to coffee flavours in Starbucks, that it has become a powerful and ubiquitous force. It is a saturating and commonplace force that needs to be explored, properly defined, and its origins discovered *before* this saturation brings about disappearance. Hyperreality has evolved from its influential definitions in *Simulations*, but the academic landscape examining the hyperreal has not; the theory is in a rut.

Aims and unique contribution

The aim of this thesis is to map the source of hyperreality working backwards from 1983 to the publication of the English periodical *The Athenian Mercury* in 1691. This thesis is necessary in progressing the academic landscape and understanding of the hyperreal by effectively looking backwards in order to advance.

This thesis will do two things:

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- Unshackle hyperreality from Baudrillard's assumed paternity to demonstrate that Baudrillard did not "invent" hyperreality, but rather that he named a process that was already too prevalent to ignore.
- Prove that hyperreality was functioning *before* the postmodern period of the late twentieth century.

These two aims are dependent on each other; to prove that hyperreality was functioning outside of the postmodern, it first needs to be disentangled from Baudrillard's ownership. Neither one of these aims has been attempted before within the varied landscape of academic thought available on hyperreality, nor in the main does the current academic literature seem to think it has been necessary. This is puzzling, but equally not surprising, given the manner in which Baudrillard appears to have been fused with an accepted and mainly unchallenged understanding of the hyperreal.

This fusing between Baudrillard and the hyperreal can be usefully illustrated by the way the academic Randy Laist utilises Baudrillard and the hyperreal in his examination of fin de siècle cinema of the twentieth century.

Randy Laist's (2016) work, *Cinema of Simulation: Hyperreal Hollywood in the Long 1990s* is a succinct example of all of these patterns and assumptions at work. Almost immediately, Laist quotes from Jean Baudrillard's 1981 essay "The Precession of Simulacra" (first published in English in 1983):

Today abstraction is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror, or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is a generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. (p. 3)

In terms of explaining the hyperreal everyone else seems to use the same quotation, from the same text; it is one of a number of famous Baudrillard quotes used to define the hyperreal. Laist describes this as Baudrillard's 'doctrine of hyperreality' (Laist, 2016, p. 3) 'formulated [...] 'throughout the 1980s' (ibid) and a "'real without an origin or reality'" from the same text. Indeed, these quotations, always taken from *Simulations*, are now so well-known, that

they are the cultural bricolage of the internet and a society reflecting on its real, as Baudrillard’s ‘The desert of the real itself’ quotation shown in Google illustrates:

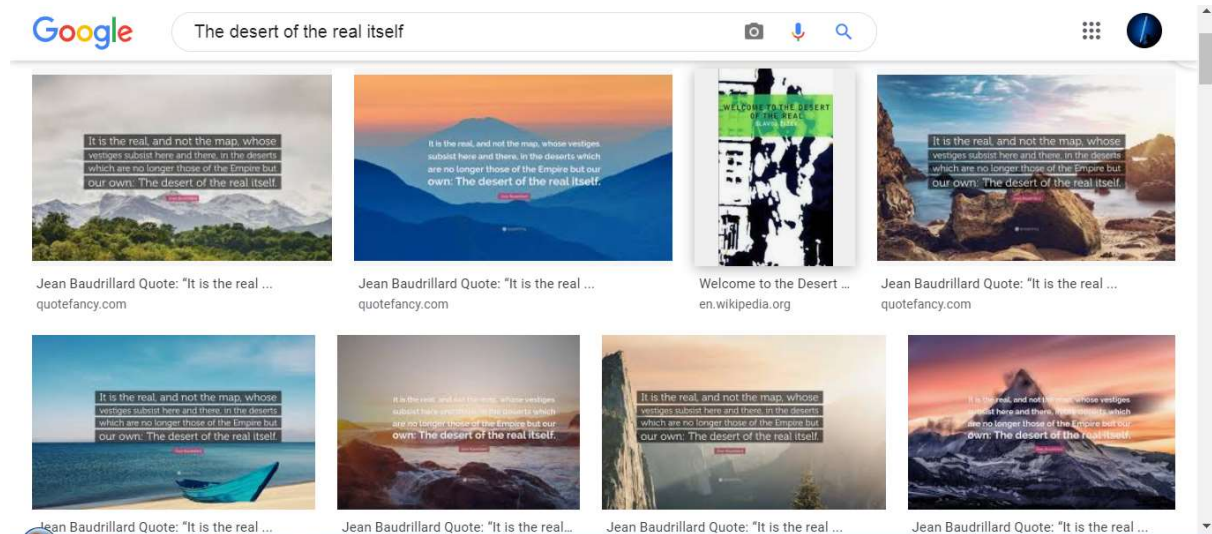


Figure 1. Google image search, November 5th, 2020, ‘The desert of the real itself’ —sometimes with mountains as a background or the sea —which, ironically, is absolutely not what Baudrillard was intending to evoke.

But although Laist rightly calls Baudrillard’s famous work a ‘doctrine of hyperreality’, I would argue that Baudrillard’s endlessly assumed paternity of the hyperreal is more dogma than doctrine and that is a problem for examining the hyperreal. In all of these repeated analytical patterns and a persistent adherence to a methodology for the hyperreal resembling a postmodern Big Bang Theory, these academic user patterns suppress study of the hyperreal and stifle a nuanced understanding of what hyperreality really is and how it works. The future of the hyperreal and how it will progress is being ignored as the majority of thinking is trapped circulating a lacklustre repeating circuit that attributes it to Baudrillard and sets it forever in the twentieth century. Our collective understanding of what hyperreality is and how it evolved and, crucially, what it will evolve into is stuck in a figurative quagmire of repeated soundbites. How can we collectively understand what hyperreality is if we don’t understand how it developed?

This thesis is necessary; it is a vital study in mapping the source of the hyperreal so that scholars of the hyperreal are not doomed to repeat the dogma. Without this understanding, the

concept of hyperreality is in danger of becoming exactly what it is used to describe: hyperreal.

This thesis was born out of frustration and a longing for answers to questions the academic landscape does not seem to be asking. The theoretical work that examines and utilises hyperreality never does so outside of this postmodern era; hyperreality is stuck, forever in the 1980s. This is why the thesis starts in 1983 and works backwards. In asking the question; what is the source of the hyperreal? This thesis contributes original research which challenges the longstanding accepted assumptions and, crucially, enables hyperreality to be fully explored.

Measurement

In examining this source and mapping hyperreality's development, a measuring system is necessary, something which has been absent from texts on hyperreality. This thesis' unique contribution is its methodology, by evidencing that hyperreality can be found in consumer magazines, the timeline for which can be comfortably traced back to the English *Athenian Mercury* from 1691. This measurement allows a continuous span of two hundred and ninety-three years. Magazines are an ideal medium for measuring hyperreality over a large timeline as they are a commercial product that, while they grow in reach and evolve in scope, remain very recognisable in terms of their format and the editorial and business relationship with the readership. The magazine is a format that in many ways is a constant. The long growth of the consumer magazine means that this thesis does not have to plod year-by-year back through time—but rather makes time jumps according to particular themes and moments in society that are significant to hyperreality's development. This thesis examines the micro on the pages of the magazines, but also the wider societal context in which the magazines exist. How magazines work as a publishing format, and specifically why they have been used as a measuring tool, will be evaluated further on in this thesis in the "Utilising consumer magazines to measure hyperreality" section.

Broadcast media, fine art, museums, art galleries, conflict, architecture, television, cinema and film, advertising as general artifice, and, famously, theme parks are utilised primarily to explore how hyperreality works by both Baudrillard and Eco. Other visual paths through

optical mass media could have been used to trace the source of the hyperreal by way of panoramas, dioramas, magic lanterns and stereoscopes, etc. Indeed Thomas Richards (1990) in *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* examines the formation of commodity culture through the produced spectacle for Victorian audiences demanding more amplification and excess in their representation. '[...] the mode of excess became a mode of producing the *material* world, and material culture became a drama that played to packed houses.' (p. 55). Richards frames this early production of never being still, but demanding and expecting 'more—and more and more. For example, the adoption of panoramas and dioramas as scenic backdrop did not satisfy audiences for long.' (Richards, 1990, p. 57).

So, film and cinema could have been used as a measuring tool for the hyperreal and indeed at 'the heart of Baudrillard's attraction to cinema is its participation in the third order of simulacra and Hollywood film's hyperfidelity to the real that is paradoxically achieved at the expense of its own cinematicity.' (Smith, 2010, p. 75). However, these media and consumer phenomena are used to anchor hyperreality to the late twentieth century and generally show hyperreality at work within this period and its influence on the media. Equally, fine art and the image itself could also have been used. But the visual medium of the magazine has been overlooked by Baudrillard, Eco and others to explore the emergence of the hyperreal; it is a neglected medium, perhaps because it is society's paraphernalia rather than a grand medium dedicated to the spectacle and of course, one that Baudrillard loved.

Magazines are rarely used to demonstrate how hyperreality *develops*. Consumer magazines have allowed an exploration over a long timeline, which has been necessary in establishing my argument that hyperreality was happening centuries before the accepted timeline. Consumer magazines have enabled an anchoring in a thesis that spans a challenging timeline; cinema would not have been able to provide this. Magazines have been valuable as a *constant* and *unbroken* media product that has remained recognisably constant in format that the analysis in this thesis can return to in each chapter.

Literature review

The academic landscape for hyperreality is as vast as it is varied. To get a sense of this, a search for “hyperreality” in the Bodleian Library SOLO [Search Oxford Libraries Online] catalogue yields over five thousand items, ranging from academic journal articles examining the link between hyperreality and plastic surgery, to critiques of Lucian of Samosata’s work, to film and television, and, of course, virtual reality—in abundance. Many theorists and academics *apply* hyperreality to a dizzying array of topics and academic genres; it seems that hyperreality will always be theoretically fashionable. Within this extraordinary range of applications, I have yet to encounter a text that pointedly challenges Baudrillard’s dominance over the hyperreal, and certainly none that argue for its source outside of a postmodern context. Even more notably absent is any discussion on what is the source for the hyperreal.

This thesis covers a large timeline with each chapter examining a different, and sometimes remarkably diverse, time period from the 1980s. In order to facilitate this the bibliography is, at times, extraordinarily diverse, with journal articles and famous theoretical texts sitting alongside academic essays and newspaper articles both contemporary and historic. Some sources were of use throughout the thesis and some texts and sources were of essential service to particular chapters. An example of this is Zara Anishanslin’s extraordinarily detailed and brilliantly researched *Portrait of a Woman in Silk* (2016), which was of incalculable value to my work measuring the thread of gathered simulacra in the eighteenth century. In this chapter, I traced the silk pattern Anishanslin’s “Women of Quality” wears through to the invention of Colonial American styles of the 1930s. Her work on examining the impact of the British Atlantic trade network and splicing it together with academic insights on gender and class were pivotal to my understanding of how trade dislodges the simulacra and reconfigures the strata of simulacra.

The overall strategy to the academic foundation of this work was to read widely and look everywhere, but also to examine texts that were written in the periods examined and not

discount them, no matter how poorly they may have aged in expression or attitude. Thorstein Veblen's 1899 book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, which explores the newly emerging idea of Conspicuous Consumption in the Victorian fin de siècle, is one such work. By incorporating Veblen's 1899 treatise into my analysis, it gave a period-specific understanding to my contemporary evaluation of the Victorian magazines aimed at women from the 1890s. *The Woman At Home*, in particular, demonstrated Veblen's ideas in its embrace of conspicuous consumption as a business model for the magazine.

There are many Baudrillard texts and many have been used throughout this thesis, but some have been of prominent use as springboards to core arguments in this work. This thesis is not about Baudrillard, it is about hyperreality. However, no thesis about hyperreality could exist without evaluating *Simulations*. Described by the MIT Press website as:

Baudrillard's bewildering thesis, a bold extrapolation on Ferdinand de Saussure's general theory of general linguistics, is in fact a clinical vision of contemporary consumer societies where signs don't refer anymore to anything except themselves. They all are generated by the matrix.

It is a small work in size but the essays had a huge impact on the contemporary art scene of the 1980s, films of the 1990s, and, it seems, every academic discipline that reflected on the interplay of media and society and culture: it still does. It is a work where the ideas still resonate as true and prophetic to this day. In some respects, this is not just due to the ideas Baudrillard presented, but also to what the publisher describes as 'bewildering'. Baudrillard's media persona is as bewildering as his ideas, for he is contradictory and mysterious and, over the years, has become almost a cliché of what a difficult male, French philosopher should look and sound like. Nevertheless, I think it is unfair to paint the book as bewildering because it is only such if the reader hangs on to every word looking for concrete meaning and black and white answers. This book is about ideas, even though Baudrillard's ideas often feel deliberately obfuscated, but once the reader is able to accept that, and play with them, then what could be a disconcerting source of frustration becomes a foundation for ideas without limit.

The analogies and stories told to demonstrate hyperreality at work in *Simulations* (1983) are biting, funny, rude, and playful— they cut to the marrow and are sometimes simply joyful in their acerbic analysis. The most famous, and probably most often quoted, is the examination of Disneyland and by extension the American way of life:

Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the "real" country, all of "real" America, which *is* Disneyland [...]. Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology), but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus of saving the reality principle. (p. 25)

America is often the setting for Baudrillard's ideas on hyperreality, and is consequently the location with most discussion on hyperreality, because of *Simulations*. The grand sweeping judgement seen in the Disney extract also evidences the problem with *Simulations*—its claustrophobic explanation of hyperreality that confines it to America, and, conversely, also a generalised concept of hyperreality at work on a societal scale but never a personal one. It is this dichotomy with regard to the hyperreal that makes *Simulations* a jumping off point for further exploration rather than a doctrine to be accepted without question. This text served as an important foundation and a springboard to the analysis of the hyperreal in this thesis.

The MIT website's obtuse reference to *The Matrix* is useful to illustrate the impact *Simulations* has had on popular culture, but it also introduces another essential Baudrillard text. Baudrillard was very dismissive about the Wachowskis' film franchise *The Matrix* (1999, dir. The Wachowskis), which was famously inspired by Baudrillard's work on hyperreality, for reasons that are to be expected. A Hollywood blockbuster trilogy that seeks to flatten Baudrillard's intellectual ideas into an explanation for how robot overlords keep human beings in a contented factory-like prison complex was always going to be at odds with a famous French intellectual's profound enlightenment about the nature of reality. Indeed, Baudrillard's disdain was brought to light in *Jean Baudrillard from Hyperreality to Disappearance, uncollected interviews* (2015), edited by Richard G. Smith and David Clarke. In "Interview 20, the Matrix Decoded" Baudrillard is asked direct questions which provide

him a rare opportunity to give direct answers, and in it he delivers the beautifully dismissive assault that ‘The Matrix is surely the kind of film about the matrix that the matrix would have been able to produce’ (p. 180). Baudrillard’s ideas often work better when he is delivering answers straight to the audience rather than musing on them; it is then that they often read as difficult abstract ideas poetry. Equally, an exuberantly super-kinetic Hollywood blockbuster was always going to be at odds with Baudrillard’s public persona, namely his performance as French intellectual, where his witty nihilism and sometimes facetious celebration of American culture is often demonstrated, as this extract from *America* (2010) neatly encapsulates:

Smile and others will smile back. Smile to show how transparent, how candid you are. Smile if you have nothing to say. Most of all, do not hide the fact you have nothing to say. Most of all, do not hide the fact you have nothing to say nor your total indifference to others. Let this emptiness, this profound indifference shine out spontaneously in your smile. Give your emptiness and indifference to others, light up your face with the zero degree of joy and pleasure, smile, smile, smile . . . Americans may have no identity, but they do have wonderful teeth. (p. 34)

The 1984 lecture *The Evil Demon of Images*, which Baudrillard delivered at the University of Sydney, is another usefully direct text that explores Baudrillard’s ideas about the image and its relation to the simulacrum. This text was particularly valuable in dissecting the idea of speed in relation to the accumulation of simulacra but also in arguing *against* the notion of speed being a necessity to the accumulation and subsequent flattening. *Fatal Strategies* (1990) and, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities, or the End of the Social* (2007) are not texts with that directional clarity, but both beautiful in their concepts. I use the word beautiful when perhaps ethereal would do, or perhaps there is no “right” word here. I am mindful that these are not traditional scholarly adjectives, but they feel true nonetheless because as much as they are complex texts, they also exemplify the complex intellectual poetry of Baudrillard’s ideas described earlier. Overall, these works served two useful purposes for my work. *Fatal Strategies* was pivotal in exploring the shape of the hyperreal on from a twentieth century setting and *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities* was invaluable at exploring what Baudrillard meant by masses and how the social affects the simulacrum.

William Merrin’s *Baudrillard and the Media* (2005) needs to be part of this literature review for the role it played in giving this thesis permission to ask difficult questions that were

outside of accepted norms or canon. Merrin's work is refreshing in its assessment of Baudrillard's core ideas, rejecting the blanket parroting of his more well-known soundbites, and reflecting on his ideas from an attitude and angle that often feels more positive than many other theorists, for example Chris Rojeck or Rex Butler. His assessment of the simulacrum and his progressive understanding of the history and complexity of the simulacrum in its relation to hyperreality gave me the theoretical confidence to challenge the hyperreality canon. Merrin also examines the role other theorists played in influencing Baudrillard's ideas—but specifically the hyperreal.

Daniel Boorstin's 1962 work in *The Image in the Age of Pseudo-Reality* was crucial as a first link away from the 1980s and away from the paternity of Baudrillard. Boorstin's work was also refreshing to read as an American theorist reflecting on America and its relationship with a manufactured global brand that was (and is) the American myth. It was valuable to read a text on the hyperreality of America where the theorist was not behaving as a disconnected voyeur, with a sneer that this distance sometimes brings.

Umberto Eco's *Travels in Hyperreality* (1986) is a core text that does suffer from the cliché of an intellectual from Old Europe enjoying a voyeuristic sneer at America's expense, but, shamefully, the book is often richer for it. Style aside, the content is an array of essays which reflect on Eco's personal journey through the America of the 1970s and is an extraordinary snapshot delivered with a distance that, at times, only seems possible because Umberto Eco is doing the delivering. His insights are as erudite as would be expected but it is his nuanced, rich analysis and clarity of vision regarding the hyperreal that is such a strength here. Eco writes about the hyperreal, shows it in action, and explains how it functions in a style that has precision, in contrast to Baudrillard's style. The examples he uses in the book also go further to bridging the distance between theory and people, those people visiting the museums and waxworks and inhabiting the places Eco visits. This was useful for an overall understanding—but the bridging and linkage between people and theory was valuable to this thesis, as it often does just that with the inclusion of the consumer magazines and the consumer goods sold in the magazines to the readers.

The notion of linkages, of the distance travelled between reader/receiver and the simulacrum has been explored by Deleuze (2004) in his appendices to *The Logic and Sense*, which was first published in 1969. In this section “The Simulacrum and Ancient Philosophy” Deleuze weaves in the ancient and philosophical ideas of Plato with a modern idea of how simulacrum operates. Deleuze’s ideas on the Idea of the simulacrum and how there is a chain of events in passing understanding and knowledge from one receiver to the next has been pivotal to the use of the simulacrum by the hyperreal in this work. Michel Foucault’s *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, first published in 1966, is a core text that operates as a vital partnership with Deleuze’s ideas, and the ideas of linkage and accumulation of simulacra in this thesis. Foucault examines how power is able to curate what is passed on through a chain of knowledge and understanding and how this changes depending on the *epistemes*. The eighteenth century chapters in this thesis demonstrate this linkage at work over a long timeline. The consumer magazines used in this thesis are part of this chain; they help to facilitate the passing on of understanding and knowledge.

Many feminist cultural theorists such as Angela McRobbie in her 1994 work, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture* and Janice Winship specifically in her 1981 work *Woman Becomes an ‘Individual’ – Femininity and Consumption in Women’s Magazines 1954-69* where she both interrogates and challenges the disregard paid to women’s ‘unique role within the family [...] as consumers and as wage earners’ (Winship, 1981, pp. 5-6). Winship’s work on women as consumers and single women’s pattern of consumption is a theme that was especially useful in examining the Victorian *fin de siècle* as well as the film fan magazines from the 1920s.

As a whole, McRobbie and Winship’s works have proved instrumental as a foundation from where many of the ideas regarding women’s consumer magazines and the gendered themes around power, consumption and the magazine format have developed. McRobbie’s interrogation of the women’s consumer magazine was important to understanding how the magazine functions as a format that sells the mixing up of ‘real life and from the world of entertainment’ (McRobbie, 1994, p. 161) which continues this *Wunderkammer* theme for the thesis. How the advertising both frames and interacts with the editorial and vice versa,

McRobbie (1994) sums up as: ‘The chains of meaning which emerge from these bold, confident and strongly sexualized images interact with all the other new modes of femininity found beyond the world of the text or of popular culture’ (p. 161) echoes Foucault’s ideas of linkages explored elsewhere in this thesis.

Of essential use to this thesis for their insights on gender and women’s consumer magazines are Victoria Grace’s (2000) *Baudrillard’s Challenge, a feminist reading* and Helen Damon-Moore’s (1994) *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in The Ladies’ Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910*.

Grace’s work was a revelation in terms of how gender intersects with, and is affected by, the hyperreal and, by extension, Baudrillard’s work. Baudrillard’s analysis is more often than not on a societal scale which does not examine hyperreality on an intimate one, and gender is never treated with the nuanced respect it deserves, but is rather dismissed or just not examined at all. Gender is an aspect of the thesis that has needed evaluation because of the manner in which hyperreality interacts and shapes society, but also because of the consumer magazines utilised in the thesis. Gender is also part of the power dynamic of who is able to fabricate the ingredients necessary for the hyperreal to happen because it is a powerful aspect of how simulacra are formed. This thesis is not about gender, but not to acknowledge gender and how it is affected by the hyperreal would be a critical piece missing in this thesis.

This thesis is not *about* Baudrillard, it is about hyperreality and *Baudrillard’s Challenge, a feminist reading* does something with hyperreality and gender that is revolutionary and much neglected. Grace’s analysis unites Baudrillard’s ideas on simulacra with Judith Butler’s core tenets regarding gender as repeat performance. The idea of gender being a repeated simulacrum or curated simulacra sold across timelines to women is even more powerful when read with Damon-Moore’s scholarship. These collective insights brought a great wealth of understanding to the women’s magazines examined throughout the chapters, but especially the 1950s and 1890s as women’s consumer magazines wove business and editorial modules

that tapped into the idea of women being a separate entity that had to be sold separate narratives and social realities.

Magazines for the Millions is a thorough text with a clarity of purpose and understanding. It is more forthright in its evaluation (the analysis of Edward Bok is testament to this) than other texts concerning the same themes, and the text is richer for that. The core focus is examining two magazine brands that changed an entire industry and market for women's magazines through the commercialisation of gender. Combining societal philosophies and "understanding" of women and gender with consumer culture is at the heart of *The Ladies' Home Journal* magazine which Damon-Moore examines in piercing academic detail and it was a pivotal foundation for this work and how women's magazines were used.

Theoretical definitions

It is necessary to offer concrete definitions of two specific theories: simulacrum and hyperreality, which are essential to this thesis. Much has been written to evaluate what these two concepts are, but there are surprisingly few tangible and useful definitions. These are the definitions used in this thesis:

The simulacrum is one of the building blocks of Baudrillard's definition of the hyperreal and because of this, it is worth pausing to examine it in detail for a robust definition of the hyperreal but also, crucially for this thesis, to examine the constants and configurations of the simulacrum. With Baudrillard, simulacra are repeated and accrue, creating new strata that shift and change through history, folding into the next layer. Baudrillard sees simulation which he dissected in *Simulations* (1983, p. 10) as a *process* starting with a *utopian* equivalence between the 'the sign and the real' and ending with a 'death sentence of every reference' (ibid). The endless process consumes representation, and in the end becomes dislocated from a founding reality, all that is left is a fragmented, unchained, fractal simulation: 'Whereas representation tries to absorb simulation by interpreting it as false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation as itself a simulacrum' (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 11) . The layers described here are outlined by Baudrillard

(1983, pp. 11-12) as the successive phases of the image. This is Baudrillard's genealogy for the simulacrum:

- 1 It is the reflection of a basic reality.
- 2 It masks and perverts a basic reality.
- 3 It masks the absence of a basic reality.
- 4 It bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum.

Baudrillard outlines the successive changes of the simulacrum with evocative language borrows from the vocabulary of the sacred and the supernatural; 'sacrament', 'malefice', 'sorcery' and 'evil'. (Baudrillard, 1983, pp. 11-12) Here, there is a price to pay for a loss of the real and the saturation of the simulation and Baudrillard deliberately conjures a sense of consequence with his language; the 'murderous capacity of images, murderers of the real' (p. 10) where the real is eventually murdered by the image with only a 'gigantic' simulacrum left:

In the first case, the image is a good appearance: the representation is of the order of sacrament. In the second, it is an evil appearance: of the order of malefice. In the third, it plays at being an appearance: it is of the order of sorcery. In the fourth, it is no longer in the order of appearance at all, but of simulation. (ibid)

The consequence is serious for Baudrillard where death mingles with the sacred *and* the myth. In the second age of simulacra and simulation he literally sees the end of God and with it, the inability of God to 'recognise his own, nor any last judgement to separate true from false, since everything is already dead and risen in advance' (1983, p. 12). An escalation, an acceleration of simulation Baudrillard sees taking place through technology and 'the hysteria of our times' (1994, p. 23) where there is more and *more* takes place—*more* and *more*, speeding up into a disappearance; the blur and the disappearance Baudrillard describes as a 'panic-stricken production of the real and the referential [...]' (1983, p. 13). In this last phase of panicked production as a strategy of the real, the hyperreal for Baudrillard forms. In this panicked production, Baudrillard's hyperreality is not as Jaap Kooijman (2013) explains, 'the opposite of reality ("unreal") but a continuous simulation that creates the real as just

another sign in a chain of signs which endlessly refer to each other' (p. 72). It is a better real, a *more* real; *more*.

Baudrillard's hyperreality is a production with no meaning, just illusions 'of values and commodities' (1994, p. 23) where the hyperreal is a "material" production or 'Thus everywhere the hyperrealism of simulation is translated by the hallucinatory resemblance of the real to itself.' (ibid). Baudrillard's postmodern definition of the hyperreality borrows from the art world's development of photorealism into the 1970s' hyperrealism of 'high-fidelity realism' (www.tate.org.uk) and is surrounded by phantasms, mirages, and delusions, murder and the loss of the real, death, mourning and 'the melancholy of societies without power' (1994, p. 23). It is a definition that is, in short; pretty bleak. This thesis argues and evidences that Baudrillard's genealogy needs rethinking. I argue that this final stage of Baudrillard's orders is not where hyperreality emerges and my definition differs from his orders and is not a postmodern result of the technological advancements both Baudrillard and Eco identify. In the following chapters, I will prove that the hyperreal emerged from *modernity* with its man-made disruption of entangled simulacrum.

Umberto Eco's vision is less nihilistic and perhaps, more pragmatic; For Eco, at the end of all the panicked production is a "fake" that can be sold. Jaap Kooijman (2013) Quoting Eco in *Travels in Hyperreality* (1986, pp. 7-8) says:

Umberto Eco who wrote that "the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake." In Eco's definition, the absolute fake is a form of hyperreality in which a cultural artifact is perceived as an improved copy, more "real" than its original. (p. 12)

Both of these famous European philosophers are unified in their gazing upon America as the site for the hyperreal and that limited gaze is, I would argue, a mistake for examining the hyperreal as this thesis will explore. Both Baudrillard and Eco however have different definitions of the hyperreal as Kooijman (2013), concisely identifies as:

Both Eco and Baudrillard have identified American pop culture as a form of hyperreality while traveling through the USA, yet whereas Eco defines the hyperreality of America as consisting of artificial copies of authentic originals (hence the absolute fake), Baudrillard sees America as the ultimate simulacrum, no

longer an artificial copy of an authentic original but an endless chain of copies referring to each other. (p. 19)

My definition of the hyperreal for this thesis pays grateful homage to both Eco and Baudrillard but, my definition allows it to operate outside of the postmodern and outside of the limiting geolocation of America. Simulacra, like Baudrillard's definition, plays an essential foundation role in exploring how hyperreality forms and functions in eras unexplored by both Baudrillard and Eco. Understanding how the simulacrum forms and functions is essential to this thesis in determining how hyperreality can exist outside of Baudrillard and Eco's definitions and timelines.

What is the simulacrum?



Figure 2. “Antrum Platonicum” by Jan Saenredam, after Cornelis van Haarlem, 1604, published by Hendrik Hondius I, The Trustees of the British Museum, asset No. 261145001

The simulacrum as an accepted concept is very old; the most famous discussion being Plato's “Allegory of the Cave” in *The Republic* (375 BC), which theorists and academics have returned to ever since. But no matter how well observed and thoroughly discussed by many, the idea still needs to be defined for this thesis.

Gilles Deleuze (Krauss, (translator), 1983, p. 47) argues that:

Plato, by dint of inquiring in the direction of the simulacrum, discovers, in a flash of an instant as he leans over the abyss, that the simulacrum is not simply a false copy, but that it calls into question the very notions of the copy . . . and of the model.

That “we”, perhaps the collective, academic “we” or maybe the receivers, *en masse*, have moved on from ‘the Platonic motive: to distinguish essence from appearance, the intelligible from the sensible, the Idea from the image, the original from the copy, the module from the simulacrum’ (ibid). When a simulacrum is circulating, it is not a fuzzy authorised remembrance or resemblance, (ibid) it is not a copy, no matter what the likeness, it is not a question of ‘distinguishing the good from the false copies’ (ibid, p. 48), the simulacrum is more intangible and less binary.

Deleuze discusses the copy, the “good image”, which is more than mere resemblance, it is a copy which passes through an Idea, whereas the simulacrum is formed without passing through the Idea: ‘the copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the simulacrum is an image without resemblance’ (ibid, p. 48) and without a concrete anchor. Hyperreality is then a gathering up of simulacra and, in doing so, gives them a flattened, collective purpose; an Idea. The Idea Deleuze surmises is that which ‘comprises the relations and proportions that constitute internal essence’ (ibid). Untethered, free-floating, and amassing; when these simulacra are curated into a purposeful narrative, then hyperreality gives the simulacrum a form, an authority, a perceived truth that can be spun into a narrative that formulates, relays and demands its *own* Idea. This idea is then passed onto the receiver/s.

The simulacra swirling and colonising any of the time periods examined in this work were images that relayed information, that were imbued with a subtext which was reliant on an understanding. The understanding of the receiver replaces and covers over or as Deleuze suggests, ‘by means of an aggression, an insinuation, a subversion’ (ibid). It could be argued that in terms of image saturation this aggression is a smothering by absolute volume. These images signify and symbolise aspects of society and culture that rely on an acquired understanding, a social well-knownness about how things are, about reality. Outside of the digital twentieth century fin de siècle, this mediated reality is identified and made tangible through the drifts of simulacra through its advertising and images, which were accumulated

and circulated by the newspapers and periodicals of that time. The newspapers, consumer magazines, and wider periodicals curated their readers' reality by curating the circulating simulacra and adding a narrative to the implicit understanding of their readers. The 'simulacrum includes within itself the differential point of view, and the spectator to his point of view' (ibid, p. 49). The reader, or perhaps Baudrillard's masses, are then folded *into* the simulacrum as they ingest the perceived Idea and pass it along to the next receiver. The participation in the simulacrum is part of the newspaper and periodical consumption of the readers. The dividing boundary line between simulacrum and receiver is indistinguishable. This is a crucial part of the hyperreal, for it must have an audience, it does not happen in a vacuum. The simulacrum is not simply an image, the hyperreal is not simply a different sort of truth; hyperreality is as much a process as an end result. The receiver must ingest and interpret the meaning, they must facilitate the truth shown, and in that facilitation, the truth is negotiated and passed along to the next receiver. The magazine format offers a platform for the receiver to ingest the meaning that the pages help them to receive. Magazines offer up a space for the hyperreal to function in, and so they are a useful format for measuring the existence and work of the hyperreal. There are other sites where this passing on is happening, of course, but the magazine format offers up a constant across a large timeline that is useful to this thesis.

The receiver is not alone. The reader is not alone. The viewer is not alone. The receiver is a collective "we"; Baudrillard's *en masse*. The "we" is not a recent invention, and its identity was understood by the media before the mediated messages of the 1980s. This is a good example of why consumer magazines are useful to this thesis as a valuable measuring tool for not just the simulacrum, in this instance, but the hyperreality examined in this thesis. Magazines as a commercial product were always styled as a conversation between the magazine title and its readership and the whole product sold to the "we" of the readership. Magazines throughout their long history have always aimed their messages both in editorial or advertorial to the collective community of "we" in the readership. This will be explored more specifically further on in the thesis, however this extract from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from 1829 (King, et al., 2016) demonstrates the "we" in operation and, as the thesis argues, outside of a late twentieth-century time frame:

Periodical Literature— how sweet is the name! 'Tis a type of many of the most beautiful things and events in nature; or say, rather, that they are types of it, both the
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flowers and stars. . . . The flowers are the periodicals of the earth— the stars are those of heaven. . . . Look, then, at all our paper Periodicals with pleasure, for sake of the flowers and the stars. Suppose them all extinct, and life would be like a flowerless earth, a starless heaven. We should soon forget the seasons themselves— the days of the week— and the weeks of the month— and the months of the year— and the years of the century— and the centuries of all Time— and all Time itself flowing away on into eternity.

The 1829 extract from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* uses the collective “we” and “our” when talking about society’s periodicals and this is one of the crucial aspects of simulacra and the periodicals: they allowed and directly implied a shared experience. Thus, the understanding needed to translate the simulacra relies on a shared understanding of how things are, or have always been so, because the simulacra functions without the need for timeline constraints: it is timeless in terms of the collected simulacra from any time, but simultaneously anchored within its time period in terms of how this is understood by the receiver.

This is because some of the ideas relayed to the receiver are regurgitated and recycled societal truths and repurposed grand narratives; ideologies and time-specific ideas, which have been conflated and condensed. All this mediated by the now great number of periodical presses: newspapers, both provincial and national, tracts, and consumer magazines—a rich cornucopia of societal authority expressed through print and, crucially, illustrated.

The simulacrum of gender: a constant

The simulacrum needs a receiver, someone to consume, to ingest the ideologies imbued, and to complete the distance between the real and the now model-free image, because the simulacrum needs to be passed on for it to progress. The simulacrum also needs a facilitator, a manufacturer, or at the very least, a “project manager” of the simulacrum, so that it reaches the intended viewer. This I would argue, takes power. Power through a Foucauldian knowledge discourse instilled in the simulacrum, *and* from the physical practicalities of distribution—from the reader/receiver to, and especially, if the intended viewer is an entire empire. Through the mediation of magazines, newspapers, and wider media, the ideas—both fixed ideologies and assumed truths—are reproductions with a long lineage.

In terms of power, the question should surely be asked: who has the power to shape the Idea? Who has the power to form a simulacrum? The simulacrum has a paternity to it and in this there is a constant gender imbalance to this power.

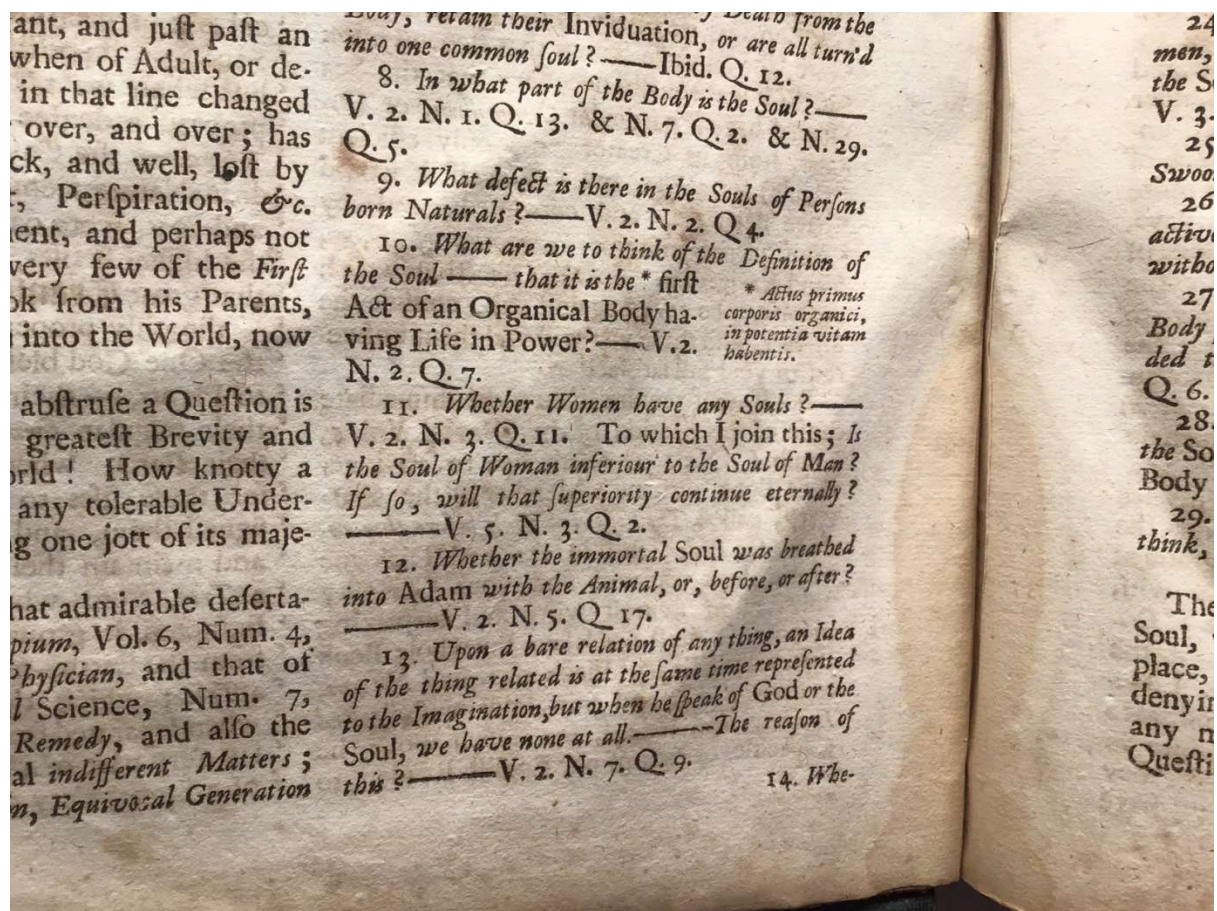
Michael Camille (1996, p. 37) in his chapter “Simulacrum” quotes and unravels Deleuze’s (1990, p. 257) ideas on the simulacrum to some extent. One such quotation provides a clue as to the *paternity* of the simulacrum, which is commonly attributed to Baudrillard:

The copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the simulacrum is an image without resemblance. The catechism, so much inspired by Platonism, has familiarized us with the notion. God made man in his image and resemblance. Through sin, however, man lost his resemblance while maintaining the image. We have become simulacra. We have forsaken moral existence in order to enter into aesthetic existence.

It is telling that even in the twentieth century, in which the quote was written, a less than nuanced reading of the shape of God renders Him male. It is equally telling that a similarly less-than-nuanced and inclusive abridgement of humanity uses the term for adult male human to mean *all* people—archaic, and wearisomely so. So it seems almost “natural” to further flatten the “we”, so that man becomes simulacra. Deleuze describes the passing of simulacra from one receiver to another and it is a chain of simulacrum accretion that circulates, mechanically or digitally powered, but there is a connection from one end to another, each link repeats its shape and essence—linking onto the next one. The end of the chain has crept into what Camille describes as Baudrillard’s ‘strange spaces of postmodernity like Disneyland’ (1996, p. 40).

The endless recycle and reuse strategy of Baudrillard’s Disneyland analysis seen in Camille’s work and, seemingly, most other scholars occupied with analysing simulacrum, is one of the problems with examining the simulacra’s role in hyperreality. It lengthens the chain of simulacra but does not expand the analysis. This stagnant repetition can also be seen in the artists and examples Camille uses to illustrate the simulacra with the inexcusable bulk of his examples being male: artists, (Sherrie Levine being the *one* exception) politicians, theorists, and philosophers. What is also inexcusable is that the gender imbalance of who is allowed and entitled to paint society’s ideas, the Idea, the reality, and expression of truth was outlined in *The Woman’s Herald* newspaper for Victorian women one hundred years earlier than Camille’s writing. In the feature “Woman’s Work in the Royal Academy” from May 4th

1893 the newspaper noted: ‘Out of the nine hundred and forty-eight oil paintings at the Academy exhibition this year one hundred and forty-five only come from the brush of a woman.’ The article points out that women are mainly (‘numerously represented’) to be found in the watercolour room, but of course they are, watercolour painting is seen as a more feminised medium than the more masculine and bold oil paints. The power imbalance of who is creating truth is of no surprise in every chapter of this thesis. *The Athenian Mercury* can debate a reader’s letter (Question 11, Vol. 2, N. 3) asking “Whether Women have any Souls?” because it is men who debate reality and the nature of the human condition, because they have the authority and, crucially, the power to do so.



The Athenian Mercury, Question 11, “Whether Women have any Souls?” Vol. 2, No. 3

The simulacra of stereotype, which sees men as producers and women as consumers, has become a formula that repeatedly sees men not just as “natural” creators but, specifically, men as artists, men as thinkers, men with the authority to define and debate the real. In examining the creation and essence of the simulacra, Camille has unwittingly illustrated one of the core aspects of the simulacrum: its paternity. Men create simulacrum. The simulacrum

seen is one that is formed within a Patriarchy. This means that the simulacrum *constructs* society's accepted ideas of truth, of nature, of the natural, of the God-image, of the true likeness; 'nature is constructed, not discovered-that truth is made, not found' (Haraway, 1991), and this construct is dominated by those in power, and it is not women. What Camille's gender imbalance as illustrative example demonstrates, is that one *type* of person dominates the debate, the creation, and the analysis, because one type of person dominates the creation of culture and the shape of capitalism. Men argue and debate the simulacrum, they decide what is real and what is representation because it is plainly men who hold the power in the centuries visited in this thesis (and still), to shape the real, whether that be in culture, society, politics or particularly, in newspapers, magazines, and mass media. Men own the methods of production for the simulacrum.

The gender imbalance of power creation for the simulacrum argued here is important for the thesis as a whole, because it shows a power dynamic and gendered imbalance within the hyperreal. If men own the methods of production for the simulacrum, then there is a power struggle within the hyperreal; who has the power to curate the simulacrum needed for hyperreality? It is not women. This theme reoccurs in examining the hyperreal and understanding its origins; this power imbalance is a constant within the hyperreal and although it is not a core focus of this thesis, it needs to be addressed early on to establish a continual factor in the examples discussed and in the wider power relations that affect hyperreality—of every time period explored.

Gender truths which appear in all the magazines are a societal construction that the magazines, all of the magazines examined, recreate as a social construction projected into the lives of their readers. Judith Butler notably explores this concept in the 1990s as

Because there is neither an 'essence' that gender expresses or externalizes nor an objective ideal to which gender aspires; because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender creates the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all. Gender is, thus, a construction that regularly conceals its genesis. (p. 273)

Gender is a simulacrum and consumer magazines are full of layered simulacrum shaping an end hyperreality of gender shown from *The Athenian Society* in the seventeenth century at the end of this thesis, to *Victoria* magazine of the 1980s discussed at the start. The hyperreality of gender for all the readers, especially women, is determined by the relentlessly repeated

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simulacra. The simulacrum imposes and curates norms. The gendered nature of power and its relationship to the simulacrum became more prominent in magazines specifically aimed at women, and women's magazine have certainly, in the twentieth century and onwards, been the dominant market force in the magazine industry. This is discussed in the rationale for utilising magazines as a measuring tool for the hyperreal further on in the thesis.

Hyperreality is a feminist issue

In terms of its power, reach, saturation, consumption, production, evolution, and influence, hyperreality is a feminist issue. The magazines that will be examined most for evidence of the hyperreal outside of Baudrillard's timeline are not only mass consumer magazines, but those mainly aimed at women—as gendered consumers. The market for women's magazines is currently much greater than men's by a massive volume, as discussed later on in the methodology. The magazine format has become one engineered towards a female reader. This is evident in the advertising messages but also in terms of the societal shaping of woman as consumer and her part within a wider development of conspicuous consumption. Shopping has been developed as a leisure experience for women but also part and parcel of a woman's perceived duty in her relationship to others as wife, mother, and homemaker.

Gendered magazines for women were developed early on in the industry's own timeline; Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) as case in point. There is an argument for the hyperreal as masculine entity due to the power dynamic of those who utilise it for profit and those who are affected by it, and I would argue also those who have the power to distribute the simulacra needed for the hyperreal.

There is surprisingly little in the way of academic discussion on gender and gender performance in relation to hyperreality, with the notable exception of Victoria Grace (2000) who discusses the idea of 'hyperreal genders' in terms of Baudrillard's and Butler's work:

Judith Butler (1990) was writing her important work on conceptualising gender as 'performance', or 'performativity', at the same moment Baudrillard was writing *The Transparency of Evil* (TE), in which he critically situates the hegemonic 'performance principle' as paradigmatic of hyperreality. (p. 117)

This is another very good reason why magazines are useful for measuring the hyperreal as they are, and have often been, about gender performance—in sign and text as McRobbie, Winship and other feminist theorists argue. Consumer magazines’ commoditised societal framework puts gender at the heart of their profitability and message—as well as social context. Gender might be “read” now, in terms of its complexity and modern fluidity, but, within the historical timeline of the magazines examined for this thesis, gender is a very fixed structure and a framed binary within the editorial and advertising messages. All the magazines that will be examined give a very fixed performance of gender and act as authoritative guides as to how their readers’ gender *should* be performed. Each page contains signs and images, which are framed with a forthright narrative that interprets these simulacra for the readers, transferring meaning and fuelling the slow accumulation of simulacra based on tacit understandings, accepted knowledge, beliefs: nothing solid—the hyperreal. The performance of gender in accordance with layers of sign value is, as Victoria Grace suggests, ‘paradigmatic of the idealism of simulation’ (Grace, 2000, p. 124), which leads to the question: is gender a hyperreal? And if gender is a hyperreality, then we already have a measuring system that reaches across centuries and out of the postmodern. *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* demonstrates this performativity in its frieze of femininity.



The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine (1852-1879) front piece from Vol. 8. This engraving illustrates what a British Englishwoman is, or should be, so that the readers can plainly see what is to be an Englishwoman and what makes one, literally what ingredients come together to make up the Englishwoman and, by extension, the reader of the magazine. It is a raised strata of simulacra of woman performance and it states boldly what the simulacra are on its classical pillars: cookery, the household, pets, toilette, nurse, dress, music, fashion, embroidery, fruit and flowers, garden, [womanly] wisdom, wit, and poetry.

The simulacrum needs a viewer, which suggests a power dynamic of creator and consumer—that power is not held by women in a Patriarchy. The simulacrum Deleuze, Baudrillard, and Camille *et al.* discuss, identify, shape, and comment on, whether in America, Old Europe or Great Britain, resides in a Patriarchy. Camille (1996) in his chapter “Simulacrum” does quote one woman:

Donna Haraway, in her work on the “real” from the ‘viewpoint of “science” rather than “art” [...] suggests “a way out of the maze of dualisms” like the real and its copy, and provides instead rich possibilities for remapping relations of power, especially of

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gender, which had previously (for two and a half millennia) placed woman in the realm of simulation. (p. 47)

What Camille highlights is the unbreakable chain of simulacra, which can be seen in the way gender is articulated by the simulacrum. Gender is one of the measuring constants that evidence hyperreality outside of the postmodern and it evidences that the source of the hyperreal is man-made. Because in order to bring disruption to a chain of simulacra power is needed and that power is not owned by women, it was never owned by women.

Hyperreality is . . .

A collected strata of evergreen societal perceptions and meanings from an array of timelines and cultures which have been distilled into an image or images. These resulting images act as a representation of a meaning or perception; they are familiar to the viewer and offer up a semblance of the well-known, they are simulacra. This collection of simulacra forms a strata which can accumulate quickly, or over a much longer timeline depending on distribution factors and intent. Hyperreality takes these layered components and compresses them into a flattened composite that detaches them from their origins and, in doing so, simulates a truth. Hyperreality then offers the flattened simulation back to the receiver and this in turn is experienced as a truth. The hyperreal's truth precedes the reality accepted and experienced by the receiver in the material world; it rewrites and replaces reality with an illusion that is ultimately more appealing. Laist (2016) writes that:

Time in Baudrillard's universe is extremely ductile, because the very structure of hyperreality makes a hash out of the linear, Enlightenment-era temporality. Baudrillard's definition of the hyperreal as a "real without origin or reality" relies on a conception of time as a *Möbius* strip rather than an arrow, a closed orbit of possibilities repeating themselves with only superficial variations for all time, past and future. (p. 8)

The repetition is a key tenet to Baudrillard's doctrine, but the closed orbit of the Möbius only really works if the hyperreal is accepted as a late twentieth-century phenomenon, where the simulacrum is simulated and repeated endlessly thanks to the digital. Repetition is an important component to the simulacrum, but endless repetition does not have to be on a loop, it can be linear. The simulacrum is old, very old and it accumulates, piles up, and gains mass. Hyperreality forms from a strata made from layers that can accumulate quickly, or over a

much longer timeline depending on distribution factors and the intent or power of the curator. These layers do not have to be in an order of time, undeviating, or even materially related to each other, they just need to be a likeness. The closed orbit analogy suits the hyperreal for a digital era, but it was suggested without giving thought to what hyperreality looked like outside of the 1980s. Hyperreality has a different shape to it and in refusing to accept the Möbius-shaped canon of academic thought being endlessly repeated, the hyperreal can be properly examined.

The rules of the hyperreal

It is evident, certainly within Baudrillard's and Eco's writing on hyperreality, that there are some common components, features of replicated behaviour that come together to form hyperreality. In deciphering the messages that are being transmitted to magazine readers and indeed any engaging with the hyperreal, i.e. a non-academic one, these are the rules that compose hyperreality:

1. Framing

This enables both a staging and a clear delivery system to the end viewer and subsequently also influences the angle of view. Being able to change the angle of view to influence the angle of receiving onto the next link is an idea that Deleuze explores as a swift transfer mechanism (Deleuze, 2004, p. 310). Even the deserts described and utilised in *America* (Baudrillard, 2010) are framed by an urban expanse. Disneyland is framed with its car parks, security walls, and America itself. Frames are a useful tool at harmonising or setting a desired context, in matching content to a room's decoration but also in fabricating a sense of event, or departure from the viewer's surroundings. Frames are also used to change meaning—they communicate taste and history. Within fine art, 'many of the most imposing frames were made for portraits and were designed further to project the sitter's sense of his place in society' (Mitchell and Roberts, 1996, p. 21). A frame's ability to communicate complex messages, like social hierarchy and nostalgia, or to reflect a sense of familiar history and to change meaning are useful to hyperreality as they help to camouflage the contents of any message, but also to change and mingle meaning, to detach it from an original referent. I read magazines as a framing mechanism for their messages.

2. Authenticity: Hyperreality relies on plausible signs, familiar codes, believable and seductive messages; what is being consumed must be more real than real, and certainly *real enough* to pass on the message. Authenticity here does not necessarily need to be the actual thing but rather a believable, tangible thing which makes use of the layered heritage of meaning and recognition. The authentic things or experiences need to be believable enough to be ‘the real thing’ and authentic enough to have its simulacrum replicated and imitated.

Imitation can eventually manifest itself into a reality as Baudrillard discusses, ‘Whoever fakes an illness can simply stay in bed and make everyone believe he is ill. Whoever simulates an illness produces in himself some of the symptoms’ (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 3). Authenticity as a concept and practice in media and the arts has a long pedigree of exploration by theorists. Plato is one who explores the idea of authenticity in terms of imitations and simulacrum of emotions. The authentic transference emotive simulacra Plato explores with regard to poetry, “‘what we fail to realize is that enjoying the expression of sorrow in the case of others is directly transferred to the sorrows of our own’” (quoted in Nehmans, 1990, p. 282). Nehmans links Plato’s concerns in with Jerry Mander’s 1978 thoughts on the dangers of television, ‘Mander also duplicates, in connection with television, Plato’s view that poetry directly influences our life for the worse: “We slowly evolve into the images we carry, we become what we see’” (Nehmans, 1990, p. 286).

The threat of the audience/viewer/reader becoming a condensed simulacrum of the images and stories they have been consuming is a very old argument; one that still has relevance in terms of why a person would internalise the messages offered—authenticity is part of this consumption and reference.

3: Witness: Who might act as a consumer or bear witness and pass the sight/experience/simulacrum on to the next person. This witnessing taps into Deleuze’s principles of linkage and also makes use of the societal control and saturation Baudrillard mentions for third order simulacra. The witness and the linkage aspects of the hyperreal are also evidenced by Eco’s hyperreal American travelogue — display does not work in a vacuum. Magazines and other media do not function in vacuums. They talk to segmentations of people, to measured groups of people with measurable characteristics. The messages might be framed to the ‘you’ of the reader—but the messages are contrived to speak to a group

dynamic. In turn, the membership of that group as reader or audience member is crucial with regards to measuring personal identity and performing identity.

4. Profit: This could be commercial, economic, or emotional—but the driving force behind hyperreality is the manner in which it functions within consumer culture. Someone always benefits commercially from hyperreality. This connects with Baudrillard’s assertions around Marx and capitalism changing the nature of society’s relationship with things, it also connects to many of the consumer magazine case studies throughout the thesis. With the imbalance of power often surrounding the ‘who’ in terms of who benefits, gender is part of this power structure; namely, who benefits most from the hyperreal? It could also be argued that those who control culture, and its methods of production, control hyperreality. If this is the case, to whose benefit and to what extent? This also connects with theories on consumer culture discussed later on in this chapter and throughout the thesis.

5: Excess: Kooijman (2013, p. 73) demonstrates the role excess plays in the hyperreal by looking at Baudrillard’s thoughts on cinema in *America* (p. 101); “‘In America cinema is true because it is the whole of space, the whole way of life that are cinematic,’” he [Baudrillard] writes. “The break between the two ... does not exist: life is cinema”’. Kooijman explains that ‘[...] American life *is* a movie rather than being *like* a movie, American life can be perceived as a hyperreality, in which the actual reality of life has become part of the stream of images mediated by Hollywood and television [...]’ Kooijman (2013, p. 73). The panicked production of the real is not a replacement of the real with an *untruth*, but instead by an ‘*excess of reality and truth*’ (Merrin, 2005, p. 39) which produces the more real than real, the better real, the best real, so much real, which this thesis will explore later on.

Television achieves the same excess with technological advances around colour and effects and editing to *produce* a reality rather than *reflect* it (Merrin, 2005, p. 25). Magazines too, as this thesis will evaluate, produce an excess of perfected reality, modelled around production rather than reflecting a real. The excess of the real in the magazines is not a mirror reflection of a real, it is a produced excess.

6: Replacement: here there is a sense that one’s own reality is diminished as it doesn’t live up to the model (as in the real body can’t match the beauty displayed in magazines). This is a theme which the magazines examined in this thesis demonstrate continually and this

replacement speeds up with the technical advances of digital image manipulation. Flesh can never compete with pixels, the reality displayed and produced in the magazines is a perfected model. The replacement of one's own reality with a better reality is not technology dependant as can also be seen with the Figure 4. Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789) *Coastal Scene (La Nuit)* discussed further on in this thesis and seen in the engravings in earlier magazines. Technological advanced enabled an acceleration of a process that was happening outside of the postmodern.

The source of the hyperreal

The source of the hyperreal is when a man-made process of disruption comes into effect. This process is the man-made movement of goods and ideas from their origin to another location, where new meaning and value are assigned. These man-made systems, like trade, displace the linear chain of *episteme* and value. Trade allows the understood worth of labour to be replaced with meaning and that meaning is now unanchored and without provenance, which means that it can be remodelled and fabricated anew. The strata of the simulacrum thus becomes entangled, disrupted, unanchored, and relative distances vanish. The 1980s saw Baudrillard recognise a tipping point for the hyperreality in terms of spillage and saturation, of an over fluidity of the simulacrum. But a tipping point is not a source.

The evidence for the source of the hyperreal is spread out in every chapter. Proving that hyperreality existed outside of the postmodern timeline has not been a challenge because consumer magazines reflect how society is at any given moment. Hyperreality was there, but it was interacting with and affecting society in ways that reflect the lack of digital saturation i.e. given the scale of the British Empire, hyperreality's reach was greater than just those interacting with consumer magazines. But consumer magazines are vital in evidencing reach in a sustained, consistent, and measurable manner because they are not products that often attempt or even evidence societal disruption, and certainly not in the mainstream periodicals. Instead their job is to provide the reader with what they want and are expected to want—they are the servants of the social hierarchies and gendered expectations of any era with rules that govern society. The problem with Eco and Baudrillard's grand tours of the hyperreal has

always been about perspective; they look at the obvious and impressively solid sites of spectacle seemingly built as conduits for the hyperreal. The magazines and media examined in this work dig that bit deeper and reveal currents of simulacra knocked out of their likely progressions. Baudrillard, obviously, but also Boorstin, Foucault, Adam Smith (1723-1790), and Joseph Addison (1672-1719) showed evidence of the hyperreal source, but they either had no name for it or no reason to look for it.

Foucault utilises Adam Smith's insightful and evaluative *The Wealth of Nations*, first published in 1776, in his equally famous *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, first published in 1966. Foucault makes good use of Smith's (1776) thoughtful evaluation of how nations acquire wealth because Smith's astute analysis rightly reads the role that human disruption plays:

Had human institutions, therefore, never disturbed the natural course of things, the progressive wealth and increase of the towns would, in every political society, be consequential, and in proportion to the improvement and cultivation of the territory or country. (Smith, 1776, p. 504)

The natural course of "things", the order of "things", is a focus for Foucault and in his analysis the linear chain of linkage is examined, which relies on what he sees as common ground. Knowledge and understanding is such a thing to be passed on in this linear manner as time progresses. But Foucault (2001), just like Smith, understands the disruption the modifications of men bring to any system:

Natural history establishes of itself a system of signs for denoting beings, and that is why it is a theory. Wealth is a system of signs that are created, multiplied, and modified by men; the theory of wealth is linked throughout to politics. (p. 221)

Trade, global trade, the British Atlantic Trade, the global exploration for wealth, land, and riches, the movement of spices and ideas, is a manufactured movement on a grand scale with purpose, which curates and chooses ideas and goods from one culture and transposes them into another one. The linear anchorage of these goods and ideas is then severed; in this severing distance is lost. Baudrillard understood this as an effect to a cause: 'Our universe has swallowed its double, and it has lost its shadow' (Zurbrugg, 1997, p. 13). I would argue that the cause is man-made. Without the distance Baudrillard laments, value is determined not by the local labour it took to create or farm the goods but by what the new market and culture

assigns. Adam Smith's work examines the reorganisation of value and meaning with this disruption. Where labour as measurement is replaced by meaning, value can then be manufactured and all the components of the commodity's creation, journey, and reception can be man-made. The "real measure" Smith identifies in this disrupted world is now artifice:

[...]The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to purchase or command. Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities. (p. 50)

Baudrillard in *Simulacra and Simulation* describes Disneyland as the 'perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1994, pp. 12-13). Disneyland is the result of the entanglement of Deleuze and Foucault's linear chains of simulacra being disturbed by Smith's human institutions. The entanglement used to describe and besmirch Disneyland in the postmodern is one that gained momentum through physical disturbance by ship and road, and by the knowledge gained from mixing the natural with the mythological, as seen in the *Wunderkammers* or Cabinets of Curiosity—Disneyland is just an extension of these early sites of the hyperreal. Joseph Addison writing in the English *Spectator* (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711) describes a process that makes a 'Citizen of the World':

Nature seems to have taken a particular Care to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest. Almost every *Degree* produces something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of *Portugal* are corrected by the Products of *Barbadoes*: The Infusion of a *China* Plant sweetned with the Pith of an *Indian* Cane. The *Philippick* Islands give a Flavour to our *European* Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of a hundred Climates.

'Traffick among Mankind' is the source of the hyperreal; it is not one thing or one super-charged epic event like The Big Bang, it is a process. A process that can 'Dress [...] a Woman of Quality' using a hundred climates is such a destabilising force of mingling and reinvention that anything, any idea, and any real can be made more real.

Why start with the 1980s?

There is a need to understand hyperreality and for that understanding not to be confined to the world of academia—a fundamental understanding of the hyperreal needs to be mainstream. This thesis starts with the English translation of Jean Baudrillard’s much quoted *Simulacra and Simulation* from 1981 and works its way backwards to do two things: detach hyperreality from the constrictive paternity of Baudrillard, and map its source. By doing this we will understand how the hyperreal forms and what it really is, so that we can understand what it is becoming. This thesis, although it looks back, is vital for future-facing scholarship that examines the hyperreal. In addition, more importantly, what hyperreality is becoming, because the past determines not just the hyperreal but also all of our collective futures.

Chapter outlines

This thesis covers a very broad time frame. In order to achieve this, each chapter is a large time jump backwards from the previous one, with a specific focus. The time frame for this thesis is from 1983 to 1691.

Chapter 1, “The 1980s: The State of the Hyperreal before *Simulacra and Simulation*” starts cementing a working definition of hyperreality. It assesses the hyperreality for the setting of Baudrillard’s English language translation of *Simulations* in 1983 and begins to work backwards. It evaluates the saturation of hyperreality during the twentieth century’s fin de siècle and assesses how it was being exported from America.

This period is a well-established one for the academic landscape of the hyperreal and uses the British Royal Wedding to establish that hyperreality did exist outside of the usual and well-known American setting.

The chapter’s time period ends with *The Ladies’ Home Journal* of 1955, which also cements the usefulness of consumer magazines in demonstrating and measuring the hyperreal. Gender is addressed in this chapter as a development from the discussion and evaluation of gender and simulacrum in the introduction.

Chapter 2, “Channelling the Hyperreal in the Roaring Twenties” also captures a transitional moment in which the conspicuous consumption enjoyed by the few was viewed by the many and became part of the lives of everyone reading the UK and US fan magazines. The UK *Picturegoer* and US *Photoplay* fan magazines from the late 1920s are the magazine focus. This chapter provides a snapshot of how the movie stars sold consumer culture to the readers of these fan magazines and how cinema interacts with the hyperreal during a crucial period in cinema history with the move from early cinema to “talkies”.

Chapter 3, “The Hyperreality of the Fin de Siècle for the Victorian Age” captures a pivotal moment in magazine publishing, where an influx of advertising altered the business model of the consumer magazine. This in turn provided a huge surge in circulation numbers for titles like *The Ladies’ Home Journal*. The main focus of this chapter will be the Victorian women’s consumer magazine *The Woman At Home*, from the late 1890s. The gendered shaping of the reader at this time will be examined and compared with another Victorian periodical, *The Women’s Herald* suffrage publication. The utilisation of the hyperreal to shape and affect gender will be examined as a reoccurring theme here. A background context of the Victorian fascination and utilisation of neomedievalism and the shift in media reach for this era will be examined. The British Empire is a theme which begins to circulate in this chapter and is evaluated with a case study of the Victorian perfume “Phul Na-Na”.

Chapter 4, “The Hyperreality of Empire” evaluates the power and reach of hyperreality to help form an empire. The British Empire is examined but also the role magazines play in giving hyperreality a space to exist in this shaping of empire. *The Spectator*, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, and *The Penny Magazine* are the focused case studies for this chapter. This chapter will also furnish the setting for Joseph Addison’s illuminating feature in *The Spectator* which focuses on ‘the Traffick of Mankind’. This feature from 1711 will allow the thesis to pinpoint a source for the hyperreal.

Chapter 5. “An Eighteenth-Century ‘Woman of Quality’ or ‘The Traffick of Mankind’” ends this thesis’ timeline with *The Athenian Mercury* of 1691. This chapter will be a change in some respects from previous chapters, as it will demonstrate not just the existence of hyperreality outside of a postmodern time frame but, crucially, how that might work. This chapter’s central case study measures a thread of layered simulacra from a 1746 portrait of Anne Shippen Willing by Robert Feke, to a Wallace Nutting advert for hand-coloured pictures, in the American *The Ladies' Home Journal*, of 1922. This long thread measurement will challenge the shape of the hyperreal to be evaluated as different from a Möbius strip.

A Methodology for Measuring the Hyperreal

This methodology seeks to unshackle hyperreality from a purely postmodernist setting, explore its history, and to formulate a theory as to its source, whilst providing new insights into its ‘theoretical plasticity’ (Hosterman, 2013, p. 30). In creating a workable methodology for engaging with the complexity of hyperreality and its intersectional aspects, measurement and engagement have been formulated. This will enable a serviceable framework to capture and evaluate the theory at work and across an ambitious timeline. The methodology’s aim is to facilitate a method for:

- Defining hyperreality
- Identifying the core components and contributing elements of hyperreality
- Identifying how hyperreality functions
- Measuring the historical trajectory and emergence of hyperreality
- Releasing the theory from a postmodern context
- Untangling hyperreality from the paternalism of Baudrillard
- Critically adding to existing scholarship on the hyperreal
- Demonstrate how hyperreality functions within the format and timeline of mainly British consumer magazines
- Evidencing hyperreality outside of a postmodern context using consumer magazines.

Creating a workable definition of hyperreality

Baudrillard (1994) often discusses and frames his definition of the hyperreal by way of an analogy. America is a favourite geolocation for these theoretical similitudes and Disneyland in particular, with his infamous description of Disneyland as ‘a space of the regeneration of the imaginary as waste-treatment plants are everywhere, and even here’. The much-quoted, withering jibe of ‘a waste product, the first great toxic excrement of a hyperreal civilisation’ (p. 13), demonstrates Baudrillard’s complicated relationship with America, which seems to veer between being both beguiled by and disparaging of it in equal measure. But in the Disneyland analysis we see a complicated materialisation of the many components of hyperreality. Within this sewage analogy the idea of recycling is a fundamental monetising

strategy of culture, media, fashion, particularly magazines, and, of course, hyperreality. Beyond the derisory is, to a large extent, Baudrillard's recipe for the hyperreal: dreams and desires, phantasms; the delusionary and fantasy elements of the hyperreal. History as a manufactured product is also to be found with its commodity of reimagined facts, myths, fairy tales, or fables all mingling in their employment in the production of the real, for the child-like imaginations of the paying visitors. Disneyland is possible because of the layers of myth, known, and imagined simulacra, but also because it is framed by a utilitarian concrete car-park which suggests to the ticket holders that it is a *contained* experience—separate from “real life”. Within Baudrillard's America, and its beloved theme park, there is a need for a historical unravelling of the strata, which come together to create this ‘waste’ which Baudrillard sees in commercial action.

Lynne Joyrich (1988), in her article on TV melodrama, explores Baudrillard's use of Disneyland to explain the breakdown she sees between ‘real/imaginary, true/false and other such polarities’:

We exhibit an obsession with signs of reality, tradition, and lived experience as nostalgia engulfs us in an attempt to find stakes of meaning. Thus we stockpile the past to guarantee authenticity, and we create fantasies [...] to convince ourselves that a separate imaginary is possible – to assure ourselves, in other words, that the real exists apart and distinguishable from Disneyland. (p. 137)

This echoes what Alexandra Shulman (Furness, 2014) says regarding the readers of UK *Vogue* needing *not* to see the reflection of their own realness on the pages of the magazine, but rather a fantasy, an escapism from their “real” life. Just like Disneyland, these layers come together to give a sense of journey from real life into fantasy which masks the actual absence of any journey from one reality dimension to another when the magazine is opened and closed.

These many interlocking and intersecting layers, especially on a societal scale, render the definition of hyperreality difficult, because the hyperreal *is* complex. Baudrillard's often poetic narrative, habitually grand, sweeping, and sometimes vague statements, do not make a

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definition easy. Umberto Eco's own journey into America's relationship with the hyperreal is often easier to corral into a definition because his fascination is less abstract and desert-bound than Baudrillard's and more focused on the micro interaction between people and spectacle, frequently, it seems, between waxworks as seen in *Travels in Hyperreality* (1994):

This is the reason for this journey into hyperreality, in search of instances where American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake; where the boundaries between game and illusion are blurred, the art museum is contaminated by the freak show, and falsehood is enjoyed in a situation of "fullness" of *horror vacui*. (p. 8)

Hyperreality, I would argue, does not function within a vacuum; it seems to exist within a densely-layered space. Its fullness, as Eco intimates, is crowded with desire, history, sign systems, layers, meaning, and the definition of what is real or imagined. These layers are capable of spanning and mingling vast timelines and are reproduced. Eventually the message becomes truncated and flattened into a two-dimensional understanding, which is mediated to the intended recipient with authority derived from the mediation rather than an original reference. Hosterman (2013, p. 17) quotes Philip Auslander (1999) to explain this:

Whereas mediatized performance derives its authority from its reference to the live or the real world, the live now derives its authority from its reference to the mediatized, which derives its authority from the reference to the live, etc. The paradigm that best describes the current relationship between the live and the mediatized is the Baudrillardian paradigm of simulation.

Baudrillard seems to be consistently at the centre of any analysis of hyperreality, and that is a problem because his understanding and definitions of the hyperreal then set the parameters of exploration. This thesis rejects the idea that Baudrillard "invented" hyperreality; it was in circulation centuries before his naming of it. What the 1970s and 80s brought to Baudrillard was an overspill, a tipping point of the hyperreal, and Baudrillard has mistaken this overspill for origin.

Victoria Grace (2000) states that her methodology is to interrogate assumptions and refine concepts relating to Baudrillard's work. My methods are similar in terms of taking

Baudrillard's work on his own terms, not to pour scorn upon or redefine his theories on hyperreality but rather to present a critique of his timeline for the hyperreal. To show that, in his broad and frequently macro reading of the hyperreal, the saturation he sees, and its resulting desert, is flawed, in as much that it does not pause to examine the localised interactions between hyperreality and the people consuming it. This will be examined in the magazine case studies.

In terms of definition for this thesis, "the people" or "receivers" examined will be the readers consuming the magazines chosen. Magazines by their commercial nature target specific demographic profiles so as to tailor the editorial and advertising to the assumed needs and desires of their readerships. This profiling can be quite general as applied along gender lines and includes more pronounced targeting towards class, household income, geolocation, and, of course, shared beliefs. As the timeline for this thesis moves backwards, the demographic makeup of the people will become narrower regarding class and less general in terms of mass-market appeal. This will reflect the evolution of the magazine as a product, which encompasses broader societal economic and production developments, and ultimately the expansion of the consumer society.

Many theorists have reflected upon Baudrillard's original definitions and that adds a layer of cultural and academic discussion that is useful to this thesis, but I wish to avoid speaking *on behalf of* Baudrillard. Although this thesis does challenge Baudrillard it is not trying to score points by disparaging his ideas. Chris Rojek's and Bryan Turner's (1993) edited collection *Forget Baudrillard* is a case in point regarding this academic point-scoring of sorts.

Baudrillard's work is difficult, and sometimes in academic publications there are attempts to gain kudos by pointing out this difficult theorist's flaws for all to see. Barry Smart's chapter "Europe/America: Baudrillard's fatal comparison" in *Forget Baudrillard* is a useful example of this in action. It is also a good example of what I wish to avoid within this thesis: attacking Baudrillard as a theorist for theoretical kudos.

Baudrillard discusses what preceded the hyperreal with his own timeline construct entitled "Orders of Simulacrum". This is a broad timeline of several centuries that chart a 'profound

modification from the primordial cultures which are symbolic to modern cultures that are organised around signs' (Smith, 2010, p. 95). But, due to its breadth, it is a useful springboard rather than a guide.

Since the English translation of Baudrillard's *Simulations* was published in 1983, this late twenty-first century date is a useful first start chronology for the hyperreal, because hyperreality's emergence is conventionally always set in the 1980s. In terms of the hyperreal's place in this chronology, Baudrillard suggests that 'Hyperreality is born with third order simulacra, that stage in which the real absorbs the image' and, in this absorption, we have a hyperreal that is 'more real than real' (Smith, 2010, p. 96). Eco explores this 'more real than real', which in itself replicates the Coca Cola promise of the 1970s "It's the Real Thing" campaign (CocaCola Company, 2016). With regard to his analysis of the Palace of Living Arts, Los Angeles: 'The Palace's philosophy is not, "We are giving you the reproduction so that you will want the original", but rather, "We are giving you the reproduction so you will no longer feel any need for the original"' (Eco, 1986, p. 19).

The simulacrum is more than just intertwined with hyperreality, its 'depths' give the hyperreality meaning. Deleuze in *The Logic of Sense* (2004) discusses this in terms of a 'brilliant, though difficult, Epicurean theory' (p. 291), utilising depths of bodies and elements which 'detach themselves from the surface of things (skins, tunics, or wrappings, envelopes or barks—what Lucretius calls simulacra and Epicurus calls idols)' (p. 310). The surface of the simulacrum can only be seen if essentially viewed with light that comes from the depth. This 'light' is the layers of knowledge, belief, myth, science, and magic that form the layers of simulacra absorbed by the hyperreal—and which are mediated in translation by the media and, of course, magazine brands. Foucault (2001) and Eco (2014) explore this layering and interlocking influence in the development of human knowledge and their work will be of continued use in unravelling these layers. Deleuze suggests that there is a 'long journey' between surface and depth and that the two are related to each other. Hyperreality, in essence, squeezes this long journey into a flattened two-dimensional space, where meaning can be acquired in an instance. This flattening of history is achieved with antique knowledge, communicated with familiar signs and codes to produce the fake, and is a concept Eco

explores in some detail in *Travels in Hyperreality* (2001). His ‘first stop’ is to the Museum of the City of New York to see the Flagler house at 32 Park Avenue, NY:

The mortuary chill that seems to enfold the scene? The illusion of absolute reality that it conveys to the more naïve visitor? The “crèche-ification” of the bourgeois universe? The two-level reading the museum prompts with antiquarian information for those who choose to decipher the panels and the flattening of real against the fake and the old on the modern for the more nonchalant? (p. 10)

These layers are unravelled throughout the thesis, but particularly in Chapter 5, “The Traffick of Mankind” where the speed between surface and depth is slowed down and a long journey from a “Portrait of Anne Shippen Willing” (1746) is followed all the way to an advert for Wallace Nutting hand-coloured pictures in *The Ladies’ Home Journal* of 1922.

Magazines mediate the journey of light from the depth which illuminates the surface simulacra and its meaning transferred to the viewer moves ‘as swiftly as thought’ (Deleuze, 2004, p. 310). They are a publishing product, which have always deliberately reached out through the editorial, and later commercial, messages acting as a narrated catalogue of things which could be bought to emulate the Flagler house Eco goes to see. Magazines help the readers to ‘decipher the panels’ through the layering of simulacra and the flattening of sign codes known and believed. They flatten the real against the fake and mingle the old with the modern. They mix and entangle simulacra.

This long journey of the simulacrum is, as Merrin (2005) would argue, not a postmodern one but rather a ‘far older, stranger and more fundamental phenomenon’ (p. 34). If we concentrate on mapping the source or sources of the simulacra and its discursive history, then this thesis will become what Merrin suggests is the ‘history of the image and its power’ (ibid). There is, then, an argument to examine the philosophical, theological, and aesthetic traditions of every culture with an image tradition going back as far as Plato. This vast timeline would then render hyperreality a small note in a vast symphony of images and beget an unwieldy timeline that would not be useful to this study. Rather than focusing on the simulacrum and starting from the beginning, this study will focus on the hyperreal and work

backwards. Hyperreality here is the neglected theme, whereas the simulacrum has been much debated and discussed in academic landscapes for a much longer time.

Starting in 1983, Baudrillard has not disappeared, but rather hyperreality has saturated the media and politics of the twenty-first century to such an extent that this saturation point has become confused with disappearance. Each layer of simulation erases another layer of truth or reveals that there was none to begin with; each search for a truth produces another simulacrum more feeble than the next, until the multiplied instances figuratively rub out any original—until the original is no longer needed, much like Baudrillard's 'disappearance' in Japan. Hosterman (2013) sums up the role hyperreality plays in this disappearance as: '[t]hus, hyperreality can be conceived of as utilizing a communicative transactional process between artifact(s) and viewer(s)' (p. 29). The simulacrum has 'become our everyday banality' (Merrin, 2005, p. 44) the hyperreal conveys this banality in its untarnished ubiquity. The timeline starts then with a vanishing point and works backwards.

Utilising consumer magazines to measure hyperreality

The magazine publishing format from its inception has been a multi-voiced conversation mediating between society and specific demographics of readers. Early in the format's history consumer magazines reflected the readership's perceived place in society as part of the editorial content and overall brand message, which were often shaped around notions of gender and class. This would become especially prevalent later in the format's development through the increased reliance on advertising income as core business strategy. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922) is used here as a representative example of gender and class as marketable editorial ethos. It was started in London 1731 and is often credited (Scott and Stam, 2014, p. 10) as the first recognisable (within a modern publishing sense), repeat purchase, periodical format, which utilised the familiar term "magazine". However, I would argue that the magazines that came before *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in format and content rather than label alone, such as *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665-present), *Athenian Mercury* (1690-1697), and the slightly later *The Female Spectator* (1744-

1746), also warrant examination as magazines successfully functioning within an early periodical marketplace.

Of all the continuous publishing formats, magazines are the most useful as a societal measuring tool because, from their outset, they have been designed to be an ongoing conversation between reader and brand. They were, and still are, different from other publishing media, such as books, e-books, newspapers (both tabloid and broadsheet), comics, three-decker serial novels, not just in format, but because of the intimacy they promise and the trust they sell. Consumer magazines very early on in the industry's timeline have sought not merely to pass comment on the age in which they circulate, or just to report current affairs (of many varieties), but to wield an advisory influence over their readers and fabricate a commercially viable sense of empathy for and to their readers. This editorial mix coupled with a manufactured sense of intimacy differentiates magazines from newspapers. Newspapers are focused on the public space their readers occupy; magazines focus on the private space their readers inhabit.

This is achieved through market-led demographic targeting, such as social class, age, marital status, demographics' life cycles, geo-location, and expressly gender, within the editorial and advertising messages enclosed within the magazine. Magazines act as a manual of manners and societal expectation around societal hierarchies and assumed gendered interests and their related behaviours. To evidence this targeting in action within the UK consumer magazine marketplace, it is worth discussing the way in which the Audit Bureau of Circulation defines sectors within the UK market. In 2019, there were seven 'Women's Interests' divisions for consumer magazines, each one with a different subsection relating to 'Women's Interests' (abc.org, 2018):

1. Women's Interests: Cookery & Kitchen
2. Women's Interests: Home interests
3. Women's Interests: Parenthood
4. Women's Interests: Women's General Interest
5. Women's Interests: Women's Lifestyle/Fashion

6. Women's Interests: Women's Slimming
7. Women's Interests: Women's Weeklies

There is only one sector specifically labelled as being centred on “Men’s Interests”: “Men's Lifestyle General”. The women’s consumer magazines are centred on and around gender related societal stereotypes that are as much historical as they are modern. This in many ways reflects a consumer culture around sexism and the gender divide, as well as the notion that consumer magazines are social barometers. Aligning such specific interest sectors as “Parenthood” and “Slimming” with “Women’s Interests” in many ways reflects wider national and international themes regarding gender inequality. Hyperreality’s involvement in mediating these gendered messages will be explored as part of this thesis in relation to the consumer magazines used as case studies. One of the innovative aspects of this thesis and its methodology is evaluating hyperreality’s role within this publishing format, but it also asks the question: does hyperreality affect men and women differently? The answer is yes, because hyperreality functions in a world where there is a gendered power imbalance: a Patriarchy.

In terms of circulation numbers, which include newsstand sales, subscriptions, and free titles, the gendered ratio is extraordinary. ABC data is collected every six months; magazine brands do not have to sign up to this auditing, but the larger market brands on the whole do, to verify and justify their market reach to existing and potential advertisers. As a snapshot and general sense of this gender balance, in the last half of 2018 the collective circulation for ‘Women’s Interest’ consumer magazines were 12,697,645 compared with a ‘Men’s Interest’ circulation of 877,871 (abc.org.uk). This enormous disparity of numbers within the UK magazine market could evidence, to some extent, the different application and formation of hyperreality towards men and women as consumers and this is an angle which will be explored in all chapters where the magazine market is primarily separated according to the gender of the target reader.

The editorial strategy of consumer magazines employs a careful and deliberate inclusion of a commercial on brand message. This is embodied by a personified editorial voice of, in many

instances, coaching and empathy to further perform the relationship between brand and reader, for instance talking to the readers directly through the editor's letter within a feature. The advertising usually and predominantly displayed by consumer mainstream magazines means that each magazine, within any time frame, is a formula of society, culture, and commerce; a formula that can be adjusted in share to suit commercial needs and indeed cultural contexts. This formula is shared throughout, and reflects societal norms and expectations, communicates ideas, and shows people's behaviours all packaged within the commerce of consumer culture and, one could argue, the conspicuous consumption of those readers with disposable income.

All the magazines examined in this thesis reflect the colliding components of society, culture, and commerce but also, crucially, the practice of magazines acting as cultural intermediaries. Magazine brands from *Cosmopolitan* to *The Ladies' Home Journal* fit the definition of Cultural Intermediaries proposed by Matthews and Smith Maguire (2014):

Cultural Intermediaries are the taste makers defining what counts as good taste and cool culture in today's marketplace. Working at the intersection of culture and economy, they perform critical operations in the production and promotion of consumption, constructing legitimacy and adding value through the qualification of goods. (p. 2)

The magazines' early authority or assumed role as intercessors between readers, consumer culture and society, makes magazines a powerful and persuasive media force. The magazine industry and format have evolved to be more than a medium that simply translates societal expectations to their readers, for, as Matthews and Smith Maguire point out, in the magazine's talent to intersect, they are able to construct a legitimacy and value for things and are able to define culture, a desirable, and aspirational culture—a 'cool' culture. I would argue that is only possible against the hyperreal's backdrop of confused and empty messages, scattered, and flattened time lines, copies, simulacra, and a cultural territory that is increasingly dependent on a mediation that promises a 'truth' or at the very least a solution. Connecting hyperreality's development with that of the consumer magazines' timeline examined will demonstrate that hyperreality has not thrived because of consumer magazines but rather these consumer magazines have grown and thrived because of the hyperreal.

Within the history of consumer magazines, there is the evolution and qualification of consumer society as a desired trait among the magazine messages. This is borne out by the rapid increase in advertising pages within the format's history and the twenty-first century development of the magazine as cross platform lifestyle brand. This history saw an increasing deference to a business model which encouraged the readers to purchase things by which to parade or consume as solutions and desired aspirations. Unlike newspapers, film, fiction, radio, or even television, consumer magazines were able to influence on a micro scale within people's lives and this enabled many magazine media companies to rename or launch their periodical titles as *lifestyle* brands. But most magazines are "lifestyle" brands because they are designed to be part of and enrich the readers' lives—and that can be seen in all the magazines examined from any timeline.

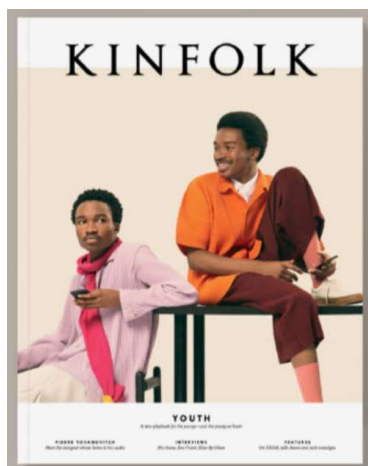


Figure 3. *Kinfolk*, “Issue Thirty-Nine” Publication date: March 9th, 2021

192 pages, offset-printed and perfect bound, full colour on uncoated and coated paper. Printed in the United Kingdom (www.kinfolk.com, 2021). ‘Individually formative and culturally formidable, youth looms large in the collective imagination. Kinfolk’s Spring Issue is a playbook for the young—and the young at heart.’

These lifestyle magazines, like the twenty-first century brand *Kinfolk* or the Victorian fin de siècle magazine *The Woman At Home*, can be defined as those titles which match the readers’ way of life—their ideology, attitude, behaviour, values, but also personal brand and aspirations. The layers of meaning and representation, the literal stockpiling of stock and use of stock pictures, the merging of nostalgia and history contrives to produce, in effect, a

‘lifestyle’ glamour. This glamour can then be commoditised as David Chaney (1996) surmises:

Contemporary male and female lifestyle magazines produce distinctive representations of everyday life. Centred on fanatical-consumption and glamorized-reproduction, these magazines typically provide their readers with guidance on what to buy, wear, eat, as well as offering advice on relationships, work and other major life-choices. Conflating clothes and products, as well as postures and actions, with predefined meanings and characteristics, they encourage people to use everyday life decisions to identify themselves and others around them. (p. 12)

Chaney goes beyond a practical definition to the broader content ethos of consumer magazines, by illustrating how immersive these predefined meanings are in terms of the physical space and reach of the magazines. Magazines are unified spaces and as such will be examined as a ‘textual unit in its own right, thinking about how the different articles, adverts and features interact with one another’ (Hollow, 2011, p. 18). Thinking beyond the labelled sections or “regulars”, such as the advice column, advertorial, or the ubiquitous shopping guide, the overall message rarely ever contradicts sections. For instance, it would be a rare event to see a feature article discuss the proven dangers to teeth and waistlines of Coca-Cola followed by an advert exulting the taste and social benefits of Coca-Cola as “the real thing”. The magazine’s editorial message does not dispute or contradict the legitimacy of the advertising message; that would be sabotaging the magazine’s core income. This tension between editorial and advertising messages makes magazines a fascinating site for the hyperreal.

In terms of what section of the magazine will be used for this work, *all* of the magazine will be examined. The *whole* message needs to be scrutinised: adverts, fashion plates, editorial, advertorials, artworks, branding, illustration, engraving as a unified entity. The usefulness of this strategy means that nothing is ignored and overall patterns emerge. Entire magazines were flatplanned¹ for these patterns; the film fan magazine *Picturegoer* was flatplanned and

¹ Flatplanning is a magazine publishing term and industry practice. Every page of the magazine, normally as facing pages, is laid out as thumbnails so that the whole of the magazine’s content, feature positing, and adverts, for example, can be seen together. This was a particularly useful method for seeing if the UK film magazine *Picturegoer* had increased its pagination and advertising post introduction of sound to films.

these patterns are discussed in its chapter. Thus, the whole flow of the magazine's format lends itself to illuminating hyperreality. Just as consumer magazines are designed to be an immersive brand experience, a unified message, hyperreality works in much the same way. The waxworks of Eco's travels and Baudrillard's analysis of Disneyland are as immersive as the magazines—the audience are not stopping to marvel at some things which are *actual* and some things that are *real*: the entire experience is *more real than real*. Disneyland is utilised as a useful portrait of a nation as a whole, an identity in practice; it does not function for hyperreality as an island or isolated mapped instance—it *is* the territory. Consumer magazines are that territory too.

Cataloguing lone instances of hyperreality within a societal context would render this work too fragmented and random to be useful to the wider academic landscape. This is a measured study of hyperreality which is possible as the evolution of the magazine as format and market is one that is consistent and unbroken for hundreds of years. The magazine as a format which reflects social norms and integrates consumer society and, in many instances, conspicuous consumption in its relationship with its readers. The factors that produce the magazine as a publishing format also mirror the components of hyperreality. The magazine is a manual for the hyperreal in so much as it thrives because of the hyperreal and this relationship will be explored within the thesis.

Consumer magazines are personal: measuring the micro

Each issue of any magazine acts as a social barometer, employing a complex and sometimes subtle, as well as obvious, range of familiar messages to the intended reader; layered simulacra. They adhere to my rules of hyperreal engagement discussed earlier on and will evidence a personal engagement with hyperreality on a localised and intimate micro scale.

The relationship hyperreality has with society and people will also be examined using mass consumer magazines which are the most “popular” magazines of any era examined, which are and were easily accessible to the intended reader. These magazines have the clearest link to hyperreality's attachment to mass media through their messages, their link to consumer

society, their income generation—namely advertising, and in their initial design as publishing for profit. But also, through their inclusion in the lives of people as entertainment media, social mediators, and cultural commentators.

Magazines are different to newspapers because of the intimate tone of camaraderie, which is often based along gender lines. Magazines utilise a branded editorial voice of authority and of expertise, which they use to “help” guide and construct the notion of identity of womanhood, of what it is to be man, of what it is to be a teenage girl or a young boy. The abundant use of the “we” in magazine editorial conveys a sense of an ongoing relationship with the casual, but often repeat purchasing, reader. The “we” is a branded simulacrum of a friendship, of a parasocial relationship between people and brand. The inability of readers to be able to distinguish between the corporate brand and the embodied friendship and advocacy of the “we” is in itself hyperreality. The magazine “we” is more of a branded conversation with more allusions to friendly intimacy than we would see in a newspaper. Magazines are often subjective in their editorial as they publish to the needs, wants, and desires of a deliberately targeted demographic.

The “we” frequently peddled by branded conversations such as the editor’s letter, recommendations, advertorials, and advice is an authority over the readerships, which the magazine brands sell deliberately to advertisers. Their tangible influence over their readers is for sale and the magazine’s ability to wield a “we” convincingly is a tangible commodity. So is their ability to influence the buying habits of their readers—which is also for sale.

There are many different genres of magazines and formats ranging from independent magazines to Business to Business (B2B) magazines with closed subscription models, to membership magazines for institutions like the National Trust. These consumer magazines, in particular those that espouse the intimacy of a “we” to a background goal of consumerism, have the potential to act as a measuring tool to study hyperreality as it evolves and progresses through society.

Which magazines are not influenced by hyperreality?

Magazines have, from their first appearance, applied in practice the idea of a cabinet of curiosities, or a contained two-dimensional *wunderkammer*. In discussing what a cabinet was used for, Colleen Sheehy (2006), in relation to Ferrante Imperator's cabinet of curiosities from Naples 1599, sums up the engagement as thus:

This was a place for conversation, exchange, and sharing of knowledge among men who gathered there. What may strike our modern eye as chaotic display actually had a complex system of ordering based on symbols, association, memory, and similitude. (p. 10)

Magazines have always sought to mediate a sense of the world they inhabited, and of the society their readers inhabited. They allowed a conversation that shared knowledge within their pages and there was an order to the ideas and things they displayed within these branded pages. They were, and continue to be so, a collection of unique and familiar features, articles, editorial tit-bits, and, later in their timeline, a consumer catalogue of objects displayed for view with guidelines that allowed readers to purchase and display their own collection of things: a cabinet of curiosities. A magazine's content is both a collection and a period-specific archive detailing this need to make sense of the world and to have that instruction mediated by the magazines to the readers.

Lindsay Steenberg's *Forensic Science in Contemporary American Popular Culture* (2013) discusses the lingering presence cabinets of curiosities have on how display of things aids a larger understanding of the world around us:

Both the cabinet and tabloid forensics are manifestations of an archival impulse – a drive to collect, order and display with the intention of creating a clearer picture of the world and demonstrating the owner's superior understanding of it. (p. 127)

Magazines display and curate images, signs, things, and ideas that enable a mediated knowledge of not just the macro world their readers inhabit but the societal world of their day-to-day.

Hyperreality collapses ‘the distance between sign and referent enmeshing the two and making their independent existence impossible’ (Steenberg, 2013, p. 8), this flattening, or mingling of knowledge icons to peddle ‘truths’ (ibid), is both constrictive and reliant on not enabling a separation of the ingredients used to render this flattening. What is left is a concertina effect, a collapsing of folds with few individual truths and a resulting end truth collapsed of meaning. Those magazines that confine and flatten their messages, mingling them with the things of consumer culture, act as cabinets of curiosity on a micro scale, focusing not on the cosmos of their readers’ lives but a narrow-miniaturised view point. This view point is extended to the way the magazines, by extension, confine their readership. That is to say, confine them in terms of a claustrophobic targeting of message, which allows a narrow exploration around defined societal expectations, gender roles in particular. Those magazines that treat their readers as a compressed homogenous demographic, or as a concertina of behaviours rather than a community of individuals, are the ones who utilise the compacted nature of the hyperreal the most. In other words, since the Victorian era of lower cover prices being funded by increased advertising, those mass market consumer magazines aimed at a very generalised and gendered demographic appear at the top end of this rudimentary sliding scale and other market sector types follow down from this.

The magazine format and hyperreality

James Connor (1993) opens his article, ‘Strategies for Hyperreal Travelers’, with a quotation from Plato’s *Republic* (X, 596c-e):

“Just a minute, and you’ll be more surprised still. For this same craftsman can not only make artificial objects, but also create all plants and animals, himself included, and, in addition, earth and sky and god, the heavenly bodies and everything in the underworld [...] Do you know that there’s a sense in which you could create them yourself?”

“What sense?”

“It’s not difficult, and can be done in various ways quite quickly. The quickest way is to take a mirror and turn it round in all directions; before long you will create sun and stars and earth, yourself and all animals and plants, and furniture and other objects we mentioned just now.”

“Yes, but they would only be reflections,” he said, “not real things.”

“Quite right,” I replied. (p. 69)

If one were to take that mirror image and enhance it using digital and modern printing technologies, would the resulting technicolour image still be a reflection that the readers could decipher from reality? Or would it become so real that the readers preferred the magazine’s viewpoint than the one out of their own proverbial window? What if you combined the mirrored reflection with Adobe Photoshop to make it flawless and then were able to digitally re-master the composition to add texture and light and society’s gods, idols, icons, heavenly bodies, and “everything in the underworld” (Connor, 1993, p. 69)? The image would then be a recreation of the readers’ world, but ‘excessively real’ (ibid), excessively so, and fastened with a consumer culture message that rendered the image and its meaning both attainable and desirable. This resulting copy of the readers’ lived and imagined experience in the world ‘becomes more clever, more colourful, more attractive, more *boffo*, that the original seems dull by comparison’ (Connor, 1993, p. 69). Magazines rarely sell *dull*, or as Alexandra Shulman, former editor of *Vogue* UK, explains in an interview for *The Telegraph* newspaper (Furness, 2014):

People always say “why do you have thin models? That's not what real people look like.” But nobody really wants to see a real person looking like a real person on the cover of *Vogue*.

I think *Vogue* is a magazine that's about fantasy to some extent and dreams, and an escape from real life.

People don't want to buy a magazine like *Vogue* to see what they see when they look in the mirror. They can do that for free.

The more real than real

The escape and fantasy, the more real than real, that Alexandra Shulman manufactures is made possible through the curation of signs in the models used and the things sold to relay information about this world. But it is also in the artistic romance of digital image manipulation applied through Adobe Photoshop. The fantasy Shulman is selling, the fantasy that all of the consumer magazines featured in this thesis were selling is an older artistic rendering of a better, “more real” real. Claude-Joseph Vernet’s (1714–1789) *Coastal Scene (La nuit)* c. 1750-53, is case in point to the practice of taking an organic experience of, for example, moonlight on water and applying a subtle, painterly richness of *extra* “realness” to

the final image—designed as a costly souvenir for the wealthy patron of a Grand Tour. ‘Vernet probably painted it in Rome for a British visitor [...] Vernet combined idealized views with carefully observed lighting and weather conditions’ (Ashmolean, 2017).



Figure 4. Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789) *Coastal Scene (La Nuit)* (WA1967.60.1). © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (image)

Artistic licence is enriching and enhancing nature and emotive human experience for the observer’s idealised view, this is not a new concept. What the consumer magazines did was connect the artistic licence with consumer culture and conspicuous consumption and sell it back to the readers as more than a souvenir, as a manual for the grand societal tour their readers were undertaking. Therefore, it makes sense that an industry that has always utilised images to sell a product or illustrate the editorial would seek to depict idealised views. This is especially true of today’s glossy magazines: ‘In a modern glossy magazine “mediated reality” becomes a reality thanks to new types of visual communication. Up to 70% of all information in a glossy magazine is taken by visual content’ (Yermolenkina & Kostyashina, 2015, p. 618). These visual depictions have enabled the magazines to sell an escape from real life, and the dreams and fantasy Shulman suggests would make use of the artist’s expertise to do more than simply mirror real life for the reader—they enhance it.

Even before Photoshop, magazines used artists' skills of engraving and illustration to render this more-real-than-real effect. I would argue that, much earlier than Baudrillard in his "Orders of Simulacra" suggests, nestled within these magazines, the readers could no longer tell the difference between the copy and the original. The fashion plates from the women's magazines of the mid-Victorian era, *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* for example, illustrate this well; the augmentation of women's bodies through corsetry and crinoline are testament to this inability. The mix of high-society women seen interacting with the gods and goddesses of myth in the images of *The Female Spectator* or *The Woman At Home* also mix and mingle the real with myth; or 'here again is the ghost of the *Wunderkammern*' (Steenberg, 2013, p. 139) comfortably residing on the surfaces of all of these magazines.

The real world is a complex of experiences and fantasies, ideas, true beliefs, and lies. There are five, six and seven dimensions of reality all playing at once. Hyperreality takes this into account, collapsing the implicit hierarchy between thing and dream. (Connor, 1993, p. 78)

The space between image and thing has collapsed and in the reproduction, the retold, repetitive reproduction, 'the object becomes a product, and we have "More". [...] Reality under this condition is "hyper"-reality because it has "More"' (Connor, 1993, p. 69). Magazines enable that "More" to be enjoyed and, within the saturation point of the hyperreal, for the "More" to engulf readers' lives. Hyperreality's capacity to overwhelm and 'engulf' by media saturation brings the timeline for the hyperreal into the present, where Shulman's 'escape from real life' collides with Vernet's idealised views across media platforms.

Alec Hosterman (2013) makes a timely and direct case for the wider benefit of understanding hyperreality in his thesis, *Living in the Age of the Unreal: Exploring Baudrillard's Theory of Hyperreality in the Graphic Narrative*, as thus:

[...] understanding hyperreality is beneficial because it provides insight into ways people come to perceive, and accept, artefacts as plausibly real. Research also provides insight into hyperreality's theoretical plasticity, establishing new parameters for meaning. (p. 29)

This 'plausibility' Hosterman speaks of can be found in consumer magazines from their inception, coupled with the plasticity of the hyperreal—it allows the accumulation of messages to take shape into a deliberately moulded form. The magazines curate and mediate

these often-desired messages to a particular readership. Messages and layers of signs and codes, illustrations and images, the visual complexity of editorial messages framed with commanding images tied together from the mid-nineteenth century to present time, with a figurative explosion of print advertising, makes for an authoritative multi-layered ‘simulated experience: a recursive hyperreal experience’ (Hosterman, 2013, p. 29).

This mediation gives authority and a ‘here-and-now’ authenticity to the recursive experience of the hyperreal, which is necessary as magazine brands vie for reader attention in the current hyper-mediated message marketplace of consumer society. Mass market consumer print magazines in particular have grown into a curated package of messages and products with editorial versus advert ratios continuing to produce a historically stable 50/50 split, certainly until 2008 (Shaw, 2009, p. 11). With this prerogative to sell advertising comes a dialogue between the brand and the reader to educate the reader into the importance of the messages and products championed by the magazine—to explain their social meaning. Ellen Gruber Garvey (1996) places the advancement of this mediated dialogue and relationship between magazine advert and reader within the late nineteenth century, and goes on to explain the role magazines play in translating the consumer context for the reader:

Magazines enlarged the frame in the project of constructing ad scenarios that could shape how people understood the social uses of a product. This provided an expanded venue in which reference to commodities was given a new context and new social meaning. (p. 9)

The social meaning referred to by Gruber Garvey gains much from the ‘transitional nature of simulacra’ (Hosterman, 2013, p. 29), building upon the ever-increasing but equally compacted layers of simulacra, layers of simulation—of ‘advertising copy’ for a lifestyle peddled, abridged, and mediated by the magazines, or, as Baudrillard (2010) writes:

Everything is destined to reappear as simulation. Landscapes as photography, women as the sexual scenario, thoughts as writing, terrorism as fashion and the media, events as television. Things seem to only exist by virtue of this strange destiny. You wonder whether the world itself isn’t just here to serve as advertising copy in some other world. (p. 32)

Consumer magazines as published products are inextricably intertwined with hyperreality, with simulation and people's inability to judge reality from simulacrum. 'The audience of the glossy magazine sees a mirror reflection of reality in what is pictured. The mirror reflection does not require verifying its accuracy and credibility', argued Yermolenkina & Kostyashina (2015, p. 622). But unlike Plato's less talkative mirrored reflection, magazines do verify both accuracy and credibility, which is in turn translated by 'what he [the reader] is used to seeing or would like to see' (ibid); truth and realness then are context dependent. These reflections presented by the magazines do act as advertising copy to Baudrillard's world. In many ways they are a portable, often printed, Disneyland of sorts, bought and consumed by individuals as a social manual—the advertising copy of Baudrillard's (1994, p. 13) 'great toxic excrement of a hyperreal civilisation'.

Jumps in time for the chapters

The hyperreal is often explored by Baudrillard and by Eco in terms of travel and time. It is a timeline that does not plod per se, but rather speeds by. Baudrillard utilises the 'freedom of the highways' in *America* (1998) and speed itself, 'Speed is the triumph of effect over cause [...]' (p. 6), and so in this methodology, the objects, magazines examined will jump time rather than plod in a monthly, yearly chronology. It will examine clumps of simulacra at certain points, rather than trudge through a timeline in small pieces, which would render this thesis too cumbersome to be useful. Pausing to examine times and those objects/views set within this timeline is a method which Eco also employs in his hyperreality travelogue, *Travels in Hyperreality*.

This is also a methodology that borrows from Foucault's use of *episteme* to gather an array of conscious ideas and unconscious beliefs that influence and mould knowledge for a particular time period. Each epoch cross-section Foucault dissects has its own systems of power and elitism (Ebert, 2013), but rather than work to a timeline punctuated with *catatrophisms* based on macro societal influences (world war as case in point), or a labelled epoch, such as the Renaissance or Classical Age, I want the timeline for this work led by the magazines to give the thesis a consistency within these time jumps and across the overall timeline.

Rather than examine what has caused shifts from one sanctioned epoch to another or examining the changes in any societal environment, this timeline, using magazines as a measuring tool, will examine the progression of the hyperreal. This work will time jump through epochs based on the timeline of the magazine format and the evolutionary trajectory hyperreality rather than using catastrophic (e.g. world war) or celebratory (e.g. the fall of the Berlin Wall) broader societal influences to stage time jumps.

In terms of speed, Baudrillard reflects on speed and its distortive effects in America in terms of reflective journeys. He often describes the physical and metaphysical act of looking out of a speeding car's window and onto the hyperreal country of his focus. The notion of distorted speed and its car window framed delivery is effective in its "snapshot" of the layering effects of simulacra. Plodding would give too much time to pause and see truths—speed renders the simulacrum layers into a Doppler Effect which can then, as Deleuze would suggest, be transferred to the viewer 'as swiftly as thought' (Deleuze, 20014, p. 310). This thesis will unravel this Doppler Effect—slow it down and unpick the layers and map the hyperreal's source.

Timeline

Magazines can be somewhat chaotic in the range of objects and things from different epochs and their referred meaning, existing in the same space, juxtaposed on the same page. They are a paginated *Wunderkammer* but with all the contents for sale. Magazines reflect the society around them but also construct their own world—they are a world within a world. As much as museums are Heterotopia of time (Ebert, 2013, vol. 2), can hyperreality then be a museum of Heterotopia? Not just looking for evidence of the hyperreal outside of isolated occurrences but using it and all the ingredients to measure a slow formation. Just as an archaeological dig has an order – this thesis uses the magazines to keep a constant and to examine the map striations and strata of the hyperreal so they can source the source. The work will end with a starting point and start with a vanishing point.

Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966), published some years before Baudrillard's *Simulations* (1983), applies an archaeological treatment to rules of formation around language, knowledge, power, knowing, and concepts. The genealogy of classifications surrounding labour and the making of 'things' is tremendously useful for the cataloguing of things and objects which do not proceed in a linear structure of cause and effect, but rather move through a larger, more challenging timeline—but still link nonetheless. Jussi Parikka (2012) revisits and updates these linkages of genealogy that Foucault explored and have been so valuable to this thesis. Parikka (2012) in her introduction to *What is Media Archaeology?* argues that media archaeology has 'been interested in excavating the past in order to understand the present and the future'. And, crucially, that media archaeology, 'has always been theoretically informed, open to cultural theoretical discussions and borrows as happily from film studies and media arts as it does from the historical set of methodologies' (p. 2). This rationale is very useful for explaining how such a media entanglement might be explored over a long timeline but also how a multidisciplinary research strategy is welcomed by media archaeology.

Foucault reflects on the difficulties of such a methodology in the "Foreword to the English Edition" (2001). In terms of plotting 'causality', charting or defining what made scientific discoveries possible or when concepts appeared or came from, Foucault says 'Questions like these are often highly embarrassing because there are no definite methodological principles on which to base such an analysis' (ibid, p.xiii). Foucault instead proposes that he felt it would not 'be prudent for the moment to force a solution', and that offering traditional explanations, 'struck me for the most part as being more magical than effective. In this work, then, I left the problem of causes to one side; I chose instead to confine myself to describing the transformations themselves [...]' (ibid, 2001 p. xiii). By concentrating on the transitions, it will be possible to bypass a plodding chronology of catalogue and concentrate on slices of time and objects as they appear on the thesis' timeline.

Deleuze's *The Logic of Sense* paired with Foucault's *Order of Things* is a useful methodology, which assists in bringing order to a timeline which could quickly become quite

chaotic. Deleuze discusses this linkage in terms of mediated transfer. An object cannot exist within a void, it needs to be manufactured, created for consumption, and have a purpose. The mediation transfers the object to the next. On this timeline, objects do not simply exist next to each other, the viewer/consumer, etc. must mediate the image/sign/message to transfer meaning into and onto the next object—which in turn, is used, viewed, and internalised; its meaning then transferred onto the next (Deleuze, 2004, p. 304). The transferred action framing mechanism allowing transfer enables hyperreality to exist. The angle of observation by the viewer is crucial here and so the role of the magazines in mediating and transposing these distances and angles of observation are important. However, external internalised societal forces such as class, national identity, and, crucially in terms of the magazines examined, gender play a key influencing role and thus, will also be examined. Foucault's use of *episteme* in *The Order of Things*, and Deleuze's theories on linkage and simulacra in *The Logic of Sense* combined with primary research will enable the hyperreal to be examined out of Baudrillard's timeline.

Objects found within the magazines

Magazines are primarily a visual code, where the text is often an adjoining narrative supporting this image-based range of messages. 'The visual code gives us the idea of what is the ideal we need to strive for; the text is built over this image' (Yermolenkina & Kostyashina, 2015, p. 621). 'The pictures in a glossy magazine have evaluating implications, they impose a certain attitude toward things that are described' (ibid.), and within these often staged pictures of desirable settings, or photographs of celebrities and/or illustrations, are objects of desire embedded in a consumer culture that is being sold by the magazine brand.

The relationship the reader has with the object will be more useful to this study than simply documenting their functional or utilitarian usefulness. Benjamin describes his role of collector in *The Arcades Project* as a 'ragpicker' or 'ragman' (Schwarz et al, 2007, p. 252), 'The archival work of the ragpicker is related to his own: *The Arcades Project* wishes to pick up the refuse of history, like a poor and burdened man cleverly picking through the rubbish of history' (ibid). In some respects, the magazines themselves act as an arcade here and the

collection of objects within the primary research of the thesis the ‘ragpicker’ Benjamin describes. Consumer magazines were always an emporium of ideas but they also developed into a *Wunderkammer* of objects tailored to the needs, desires, and wants of the target readership. From handkerchiefs to perfume and crockery, they reflect a domestic ordinariness as well as the often romantic aspirations of class and gender. How these objects are framed by, the editorial is part of the history of the hyperreal, of the readers’ entanglement with the hyperreal.

Use of objects in the magazines

The objects advertised are part of a continued collection by the readers of consumer culture relics, but they also help extend the ability of the magazine brands to bestow social knowledge as well as cultural capital upon the readers—for a price.

Just like the museum shop, the objects on display and made commercially available from engaging with a magazine brand are equally ordered with curated skill. The objects are arranged and displayed to demonstrate not only their importance to the reader’s identity but the objects’ own interrelations with consumer culture. The magazines and their contents house a period-specific, consumer-culture-centred *Wunderkammer*—a collection that can be bought as well as viewed. Lindsay Steenberg links this cultural capital with a capitalist system in terms of knowledge icons:

It is not surprising that in a capitalist system, the public would want to collect knowledge icons as a way of collecting knowledge itself. [...] Here again is the ghost of the *Wunderkammern*, which were assembled to showcase the understanding and resources of their owner-collectors. [...] Like the cabinet, museum merchandise allows patrons to buy culture capital. (2013, p. 139)

Museum studies have been very useful at making sense of collecting seemingly “random” things with a sense of connectedness—the commonality of objects. The heritage industry is one which is utilised by modern museums to entertain the curious masses or, as Macdonald surmises:

Indeed, heritage centers are archetypal post-modern sites, here, not only because history is flattened to the “shallow screen” of entertainment [...] but because, at another level, it no longer matters whether this history is real or not. For heritage, it is argued, is an elaborate fake, a postmodern pastiche of an imagined past that becomes more real than the past itself. (Macdonald, 2010, p. 517)

There is a potential difficulty with museum studies as a methodology for analysing the hyperreal, as modern museums are self-aware in their regard to the hyperreal. Hyperreality is employed knowingly by them, with the best of intentions, to amaze, delight, and possibly even educate those viewers moving from the entrance through to the museum shop. I would argue, however, that the same methods can be found in the pages of those magazines with the same intent: to shape cultural history and the relationship the readers have with society and their place within it.

Early museum studies and pre-museums, namely *Wunderkammers*, have been particularly useful in considering the collection of objects within a period of time but from many timelines, as their collecting is less, somehow, ‘aware’, which could be due to the tension between private and public service use and display of simulacra.

America and Great Britain: national identity

Baudrillard in *America* places the country at the centre of the hyperreal. It is utilised in many books and essays to illustrate and give examples of the hyperreal ‘in action’. American magazines will be utilised but this thesis centres in the main on British magazines. America is the saturated final home or future of Baudrillard’s version of hyperreality and, as far back as the mid-nineteenth century, the French writer Alexis de Tocqueville could see America as a future. Writing to the Comtesse de Circourt in 1854 Tocqueville says, ““For a man who has seen American society, [...] which is to speak, is leaving modern Europe to head for the future [...]”” (Furet and Mélonio, 1998, p. 11).

National identity plays a core part in securing the brand values of the magazine and its messages but also, in directing the readership's sense of personal identity. This identity is also a crucial factor in how people engage with hyperreality in terms of leisure, media, and consumer culture. The English national identity, and with it a national taste, has long been influenced by France through conflict, commerce, and the arts. However, by the seventeenth and eighteenth century Tocqueville suggests there came a break with France in terms of social structure, through the English embracing individualism. 'De Tocqueville realized that an individualism which had sprung up in England was absent in France' (Macfarlane, 1978, p. 167). In the chapter 'England in Perspective', Macfarlane quotes Tocqueville's writing in *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution (1856)* to explain this individualism as:

you will find from the seventeenth century the old feudal system substantially abolished, classes which overlap, nobility of birth set to one side, aristocracy thrown open, wealth as the source of power, equality before the law office open to all, liberty of the press, publicity of debate. (Macfarlane, 1978, p. 167)

This individualism meant an increased access to wealth and personal freedom for a growing middle class, to a point where England has 'progressed the farthest of all peoples of that world in three important things: in piety, in commerce and in freedom' (ibid, p. 169). These three aspects of national identity, which define an emerging British Empire as separate from old Europe, France in particular, have been passed on to America from England.

De Tocqueville realized that the open and mobile situation of England in the seventeenth century "passes finally to America [...]." He thus helps to establish that England and then America were considered to have totally different social structure from that of Continental Europe by the seventeenth century. (ibid, p. 168)

This inheritance of tangible and intangible national values I suggest form Baudrillard's and Eco's sense of America as a simulacrum of European wealth and taste or, in effect, a continent-sized Borges' map. Its hyperreality is formed from an inheritance of piety, commerce, and freedom.

If America is the final stage of hyperreality for the European theorists Baudrillard and Eco, Great Britain's empire and place within the thesis' timeline will be core to understanding the impact that capitalism, production, cultural imperialism and power, play in the forming of the hyperreal. Empire is a core ingredient to the hyperreal as it is empire, specifically the British Empire, which is a context to so much of this thesis timeline outside of the twentieth century.

Chapter 1

The 1980s: The State of the Hyperreal before *Simulacra and Simulation*

This chapter will examine the decade of the 1980s which saw the English translation of *Simulations* first published in 1983. It will also examine the state of the hyperreal of that decade and evaluate the influence this period had on the theory of hyperreality and its ultimate reach into mass media and the larger macro environment of that day. The timeline for this chapter is one that will push against the 1980s timeline for the hyperreal to examine the state of the theory *before* the 1980s, concluding in the 1950s. The consumer magazine case study that will evidence an argument for the existence of the hyperreal before the 1980s will be the American mass market women's periodical *The Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2014) which at the turn of the twentieth century was the first magazine to reach one million in circulation. The components of hyperreality will be examined and the presence and effect of hyperreality will be explored. This chapter will start to argue for the existence of hyperreality outside of a late twentieth-century timeline.

1984

Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. Every concept that can ever be needed will be expressed by exactly one word, with its meaning rigidly defined and all its subsidiary meanings rubbed out and forgotten. (Orwell, 1983, p. 46)

Published in 1949, Orwell's *1984* is prophetic in describing a fictional era where language is condensed and where the grey areas of meaning in synonyms are replaced with polarised words and 'unwords'. Newspeak simplifies language, by removing the nuances of language, to inhibit thought. Orwell fictionalises a deliberately simplified and flattened vocabulary that produces signified meaning without the cluttered difficulties of definition. Saussure's use of Structuralism illuminates what Orwell fictionalises. The meaning of the words flattened by Newspeak are understood by their relation to other elements of the grouping, and the wider context of their existence is mediated by the media (or those with the power of distribution) *en masse*. The fictional Newspeak is a useful analogy for the way in which hyperreality

works and was working in the 1980s. Newspeak flattens, condenses, and conflates concepts, giving them new connections and new meanings with now infamous slogans of; ‘war is peace’, ‘ignorance is strength’, ‘freedom is slavery’. Newspeak makes any concept possible no matter how at odds with the original definition, which has been lost in the act of condensing to produce a new meaning.

What happens in *1984* was happening in 1984; insomuch that the shape of thinking was transferred to the receivers but within the 1980’s context of mass consumer culture. Consumption and its consumer culture affect the sign’s meaning and value—its worth is internalised by the receiver, or the reader. Daryl Mendoza (2010) quotes Baudrillard’s *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* in linking the sign value with consumption in a succinct manner which is worth examining here:

He [Baudrillard] calls this value, the Sign-value, and it is this value that is central to his notion of Consumption for it is “the stage where the commodity is immediately produced as a sign, as a sign-value and where signs are produced as commodities” (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 147). As the sign-value is introduced and the marriage between semiology and Marxism is further elaborated, we are again in the juncture in which Baudrillard inverts two related concepts within Marx’s philosophy: the use-value and exchange-value. It is from this inversion that the role of the sign-value interlinked with consumption is better elucidated. (p. 49)

The shape and influence upon this translation of sign meaning is based on centuries of cultural strata condensed and quickened in delivery by the microchip technology of the 1980s. The words did more than just *name* things, objects; ‘To become an object of consumption an object must first become a sign [...] it must become external, in a sense, to a relationship that it now merely signifies’ (Baudrillard, cited in Pawlett, 2008). The words named the feelings and mediated both the understanding and the realities of those receiving the messages. If words are little packets of meaning that generate images of understanding—referents—then this condensing of meaning into shortcuts and surface images is a useful way to start discussing 1984, where images had reached a commercial zenith. The images act as Orwell’s Newspeak does: condensing timelines, rewiring histories, and mixing up messages;

renaming, redefining meaning, and using this condensing to sell lifestyles and their affiliated objects.

This rewiring and retelling of history can be seen at work with Hoffman Media's American consumer "lifestyle" title *Victoria* (1987-2003 and relaunched 2007-present) and in the way the brand is described in 2019.

Victoria, a bimonthly women's lifestyle magazine, is designed to nourish the feminine soul. Created for all who love the timeless appeal of romantic fashions, heritage linens, charming homes, gracious gardens, unique decorative touches and all that is beautiful in life, *Victoria* promises a return to loveliness. The magazine provides a showcase for women's heritage and harkens to a time when elegance and graciousness were central to every part of life. Published from 1987 to 2003, *Victoria* was relaunched in 2007 in a joint venture with Hearst Corp. (hoffmanmedia.com, 2019)

Originally owned by US Hearst, within this small description of the brand, there are many elements to comment upon. The conflation of the 'return to loveliness' with 'women's heritage' is particularly revealing on many levels. The magazine touts itself as one that 'is designed to nourish the feminine soul' and indeed it is highly gendered in content and images. But what makes this title so useful to demonstrate the hyperreal at work is the retelling and designing of women's 'history' and how it is presented to the readers. Pastel colours, flowers, and fabrics play a significant part in this rebranding of women's heritage. The magazine commercially touts the tangible recreation of a somehow "lost" heritage of womanhood. The magazine covers invoke a culture memory of vintage magazine brands from the nineteenth century and turn of the twentieth century aimed at a chiefly female audience, but the 1980s' modification is a fascinating one.

The colour schemes, hair styles, and fashions do reflect the 1980s' longing for a perceived Victorian nostalgia or, perhaps, a lost Victorian *version* of nostalgia? What is so fascinating in *Victoria* is the magazine's ability to conflate history and timelines and market a sense of lost heritage regained within the gendered identity of its readership. In the pages of *Victoria*, hyperreality flattens the objects and messages used by the magazine to return its readers to a

vintage timeline of ‘loveliness’ that *may* have existed for a few closeted in great wealth but certainly a confused timeline that no longer exists. In these pages there is a mingling and muddling of simulacra: poorly remembered and richly enacted. The layering of familiar objects in the magazine: bone china, English country cottages, linens, lace, jam, flowers, are all connected to often ‘European-looking’ antiques and gendered behaviours. Hyperreality flattens these layers, referents, props, and codes to enable the magazine to sell this romantic lifestyle. What is also worth noting is the omnipresent use of the linen fabric worn by the models in the magazine lounging in their wicker chairs or walking through blurry purple meadows. The linen sells the idea that this fabric is ‘natural’ for women and somehow an obligation for the women reclaiming their mediated “heritage”, their “history”. Hyperreality reshapes and recycles the past, in this case women’s historicised legacy myth, for consumption.

Victoria’s use of myth to facilitate a business model with conspicuous consumption present in every illustrated feature and advert is possible because of how hyperreality works. The hyperreality of *Victoria* has changed the meaning of linen, which is now an essential ingredient to a theme park experience of imagined women’s heritage:

Disneyland: a space of the regeneration of the imaginary as waste-treatment plants are everywhere, and even here. Everywhere today one must recycle waste, and the dreams, the phantasms, the historical, fairylike, legendary imaginary of children and adults is a waste product, the first great toxic excrement of a hyperreal civilisation. (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 13)

Within Baudrillard’s sewage analogy is the idea of recycling as a fundamental monetising strategy of culture, media, fashion, and, I would argue, particularly gender. Beyond the derisory waste comparison is, to a large extent, a recipe for the hyperreal: dreams and desires, phantasms—which *Victoria* has monetised, styled, and repackaged as an almost *inalienable* women’s right for its readers—a reclaiming of a loss that never was.

It is worth noting that *Victoria* is also a magazine title launched by the Hearst media company, of Hearst Castle fame. Hearst Castle being famously one of the most outlandish architectural displays of hyperreality since Neuschwanstein Castle. Of course there is no direct connection as such between the magazine and William Randolph Hearst but equally

there is every connection. The same elements that made Hearst Castle a reality made *Victoria* one too.



Figure 5. “Returning to Loveliness” *Victoria*, Spring/Summer issue, 1987, US: Hearst

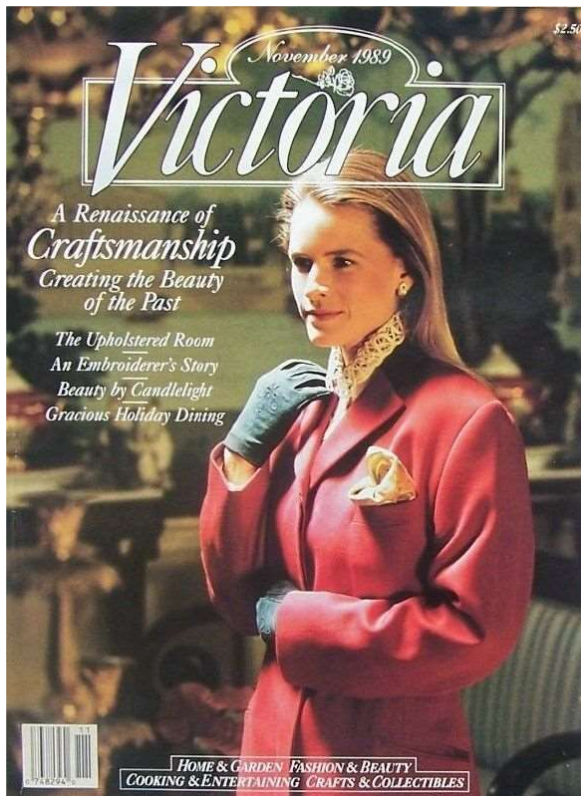


Figure 6. “Creating the Beauty of the Past” *Victoria*, November 1989, US: Hearst

In the twenty-first century *Victoria* is both beloved by those who used to read it, those who still do, and those who see the magazine’s editorial vision as worthy of ridicule: probably because when any one of these editorial elements are evaluated with a modicum of distance they are indeed ridiculous. This derision is evidenced in the digital media site *Buzzfeed*’s (Epstein, 2013) online analysis of *Victoria* magazine:

7. Dream-life status attainment: An afternoon spent in your wicker bed reading correspondence written on floral stationery while you gingerly sip your vanilla-passion-brambleberry tea. [...]

18. And let's just admit it. This new-fangled age of technology blows. Make your life look like a goddamned Edith Wharton novel.

The twenty-first century editions of *Victoria* are almost indecipherable in visual recipe from the 1980s issues, which evidences to a large extent this sense of an applied recipe to somehow capture this essence of a lost era; nostalgia never really ages though. Hyperreality has constants—components that are timeless in their timelessness; it does not matter if the simulacrum is from the 1880s, 1980s, or 2020s the flattening of simulacra happens with

mingled timelines or not. Within the 1980s, however, seeing this timeless flattening combined with mass market consumer culture and conspicuous consumption is seeing hyperreality thrive.

Why the 1980s?

This decade is worth examining in the measuring of the hyperreal as it is a decade where the *relationship* between the things named and the receivers changed, not just in message but in reach and scope. The distribution potential of these images and reimagined meanings evolved and expanded in reach and I argue that, subsequently, the influence of the hyperreal gained momentum in this decade. This momentum was facilitated by the blending of technology and the expansion of consumer culture framing this decade. The 1980s is also a period, a postmodern one, which many in academia and popular culture consider as the decade in which Baudrillard “discovered” hyperreality.

A year after the English translation of Baudrillard’s *Simulations* was published, the American magazine *Newsweek*, acting as a social barometer to an Orwellian era, encapsulated the societal context for this stage of the hyperreal by declaring that 1984 was the “Year of the Yuppie”:

A new youth culture of brash entrepreneurs and extravagant consumers appeared, toasting Reaganomics with rivers of chardonnay and mountains of French brie. With their designer clothes and imported cars, these young professionals so much defined the age that *Newsweek* magazine declared 1984 the “Year of the Yuppie”. (Schulman, 2002, p. 219)

In its description of the youth culture of 1984, the bright, young, upwardly mobile, urban professionals extravagantly consume the commodities of taste and wealth whose symbols and produce have been imported from Old Europe. In the hyperreal it is always Old Europe. The cheese chosen to illustrate the tastes of the Yuppie is a French import and, of course, with their wealth this demographic could spend their dollars in fabricated desert cities like Las Vegas and gaze upon an American replica of the Eiffel Tower, a realer than real piece of Paris in the desert. The use of ‘mountains of French brie’ to describe the Yuppie state may

seem flippant but it is a very deliberate description of the state of an *objectivised* cultural capital with an inherited history of meaning. The cheese utilised here is not a basic Wisconsin cheddar for example, which could be classified as a ‘material reality, a nourishing substance which sustains the body and gives strength [...]’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 197). The cheese used to classify what a Yuppie strives to be, *how* a Yuppie performs their Yuppie credentials is an imported French brie. Imported to this US context, which is a literal consumption of power and the accumulation of cultural signs. The brie has ceremony, it is expensive and it has imbued rules to its serving, it has food groupings which are equally scarce, exotic, and expensive which enhance its flavour and delivery; all of this description is based on layers of cultural capital that the Yuppie’s act of conspicuous consumption flattens. The brie is more sign referent than *actual* cheese.

The Yuppies’ wealth, youth, and economic status could be performed through the fashions of the day and the simulacra of this performance could be replicated repeatedly, on the magazine covers and moving images of the media which were being watched and consumed by everyone who was either too old or too poor to be a ‘Yuppie.’ It is worth pausing to consider that this labelled group of people could be defined by their tastes, by the sign value commodities they are seen to and *assumed* to consume. Bourdieu discusses taste groupings as:

Like every sort of taste, it unites and separates. Being the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, it unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others. And it distinguishes in an essential way, since taste is the basis of all that one has—people and things—and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 56)

This labelled group is not only defined by their tastes but defined by what those tastes meant—their sign value.

The newspapers at that time were reporting on the politics and wider societal developments in the public sphere, and the magazines were telling the readers how to strive to meet the demands of the era in the private sphere. Newspapers reported on the emergence of the

Yuppie, but magazines *styled* the Yuppie and told the readers how to ‘get the look’ *and* what to consume, namely brie and chardonnay.

With the molten mix of simulacra converging and being flattened by the hyperreal, America’s well-documented embracing of the consumer culture and conspicuous wealth of the 1980s made it an obvious setting for this new demographic moniker. All the ingredients for the Yuppie: the macro economics, the consumable products as sign referent, fashion, and youth, as described above, converged seamlessly as signs which ‘can refer to and exchange against a guaranteed meaning’ (Merrin, 2001, p. 91). The meaning of which was already embedded in the earlier decades of past generations looking for and attempting to gain the ‘American Dream’. The ‘river of chardonnay’ is a useful metaphor for this convergence because Baudrillard’s 1980s societal setting acted as a liquid suspension for these ingredients. To Baudrillard this must have seemed like a flash flood of anchorless simulacra inhabiting the desert of the real, which he often uses to encapsulate, for him, the worst of the cultural entity that is America.

Esmond Wright (1998) describes the Reagan-era 1980s as a ‘second Gilded Age, in which many Americans made and spent money abundantly [...] So many Americans had been making so much money that the term “millionaire” became meaningless’ (p. 511). He goes on to compare the time period of the 1980s against the late Victorian era as: ‘No parallel upsurge of riches had been seen since the late nineteenth century, the era of the Vanderbilts, Morgans, and Rockefellers’ (p. 512). Not coincidentally so, as one hundred years earlier this was also the time in which the advertising in UK and US Victorian consumer periodicals accelerated in volume and were more arguably earnest in consumerist message. America’s 1980s was a simulacra extension of its fascination with the rich. Wright summarises this era with reference to the Vanderbilts, Morgans, and Rockefellers, which by the 1980s had meant that these names were less about family dynasties and more about names as sign referent to wealth and “real” references to the American Dream and by aspirational extension, wealth:

[...] a last national fling with credit-card economics, a gaudy orgy of unprecedented domestic and international indebtedness, luxury imports, *nouveau riche* consumption

and upper-bracket tax reduction, all indulged in with the greatest recklessness while beggars filled the streets and the average family's disposable income declined towards a dimming future. (Wright, 1996, p. 512)

This fascination with the rich was certainly not new in all of the eras mentioned in this thesis. However, in the 1980s this fascination was not contained solely within the magazines that lauded wealth and well-connected wealthy families, like the Rockefellers or Vanderbilts, whose New York mansions helped cement their myths. The 1980s *staged* wealth for mass consumption in the iconic 1980s television shows of *Dynasty* (1981-1989 and 2017-present, ABC) and *Dallas* (1978-1991, CBS), which now serve, just as they did then, as more of an enhanced historical record of the 'gaudy orgy' of consumption Wright describes than fictional soap opera. The magazine brands hosted the advertising that made the replication of wealth showcasing possible, by buying the *right* objects and styling oneself in the *right* fashions. Jewellery was gaudy, diamante was in vogue with its better-than-diamond aesthetic and the fashion fabrics were shiny in their poly-opulence; it all came together to replicate the images of Old Europe and the myth of *The Sun King* or *Roi Soleil*. It is not an accident that these much-replicated images and notions of Old Europe enabled a template for the display of wealth. Just as the Old European use of Cotswold cottages and china tea sets helped *Victoria* magazine stage romantic interiors for their female readers.

Princess Diana as measurement for the hyperreal

Baudrillard and Eco routinely place America at the heart of their work on examining the hyperreal, and in some respects the hyperreal is so evident and obviously part of the American national myth and history that it would almost be erroneous not to do so. Indeed, Baudrillard states as much (Gane, 1993):

All of the themes that I first examined in my previous books suddenly appeared, in America, stretching before me in concrete form. [...] everything there seemed significant to me, but at the same time everything also testified to the disappearance of all meaning. (p. 135)

But, in focusing on America, always America, this geographical single-mindedness gives a lasting impression that, somehow, hyperreality only happens in America. This is obviously not true.

Kathleen Wilson (2002), writing in *The Island Race: Englishness, empire, and gender in the eighteenth century* explores what it means to be English and what the English nation is—which is very useful for any evaluation of any British royal wedding. Great Britain has a long history of shaping national identity through performance and imposing a normalisation of that identity on a staggering swathe of the world it inhabited. A nation’s narrative and expression of self is fluid and travels imperiously, seeping into and flattening every culture it comes into contact with. Wilson (2002) quotes Homi Bhabha’s insight on nations as ‘like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind’s eye’ (p. 4). It is interesting that nation is only realised with inner reflection: stacked mental recollections and fragmented memories, so that a narrative is conceived. Wilson (2002) discusses a ‘further aspect in the production of a “national identity”’ (p. 7) as becoming part of a collective narrative which, in itself, is a ‘phantasmatic staging’ or an event that takes place ‘in the imaginary’ (Wilson, 2002, p. 3). Edmund Burke claimed in the 1790s that “Nation is a moral essence, not a geographical arrangement, or a denomination of nomenclator” (Wilson, 2002, p. 10)—moral essence, many could argue, is a nature versus nurture argument, but what is interesting here is the idea that a nation can be shaped, curated, and moulded and that this then can be communicated. Great Britain has a much longer *imperial* timeline than America—and England most definitely. A longer chain of facts and fables can also be curated; nation, as well as empire, can be performed.

Baudrillard does compare the two: Old Europe with America. He describes America as anchorless and Old Europe as tied to a past that is also a destiny. One is anchored by its history and one is free-floating:

California: It’s not a question of letting go and completely vanishing in this kind of universe; but simply to drift in a world without anchor and without destination. Here in Europe, we can constantly locate ourselves between our past and our destiny.
(Gane, 1993, p. 134)

With one having a pathos based on national branding and the other’s pathos coming from its territory:

America is a trade mark, and they insist upon its superlative quality. What one witnesses here is the pathos of national publicity: the stars and stripes, we are the best, etc. this sense of national identity is no longer a matter of heredity or territory . . . Anyway, it seems better that the whole space should become a publicity board, or even a movie screen. American chauvinism and nationalism, yes indeed, but it lacks the territorial pathos of its European counterparts. (Gane, 1993, p. 135)

In these contrasting binaries it can be seen that both countries can curate their accumulated simulacra; America is free, literally free-floating and unanchored, unencumbered by its history and Old Europe has so much history to choose from that curation is expected, almost necessary. With both locations history can be performed, mingling facts and fables to cement an understanding of nation. During 1981 Great Britain performed an extraordinary spectacle of nationhood, projecting a stage mingling of history, monarchy and myth, Disney and destiny to a global audience. Hyperreality was not confined to America.

The English Disneyland

As Disneyland is to America, the Royal Wedding is to Great Britain. The Royal Family is a useful measurement of the nature of a British hyperreal and of how hyperreality spans different timelines. As the first postmodern princess, Princess Diana's mediated life is worth pausing over for this chapter's timeline. Chancey (1999, p. 163) writes an introduction to the Diana simulacrum as:

Diana, Princess of Wales (1961-1997) has been an object of global fascination and obsessional documentation in the mass media since she started dating Prince Charles in 1980. Photographs, especially those found in the weekly tabloids in both the United Kingdom and the United States, have fed (perhaps created?) the documentation frenzy. Despite the best efforts of post-modern academics to bring into question the transparency and veracity of photography, photographs still carry the weight of evidence, and are understood to provide a view through a window onto someone else's real life. In the case of Diana, her photograph has come to stand in for the woman herself; the body of photographs of Diana in the tabloids is the equivalent or simulacrum of seeing her in the flesh.

Princess Diana's trajectory as a princess and as a brand, continuing on many years after her death, is a useful introduction into how hyperreality worked then and does so now, because so much of Princess Diana's life was a hyperreal construct, just as her legacy has been shaped by the hyperreal as it functions now. In 2020, the fourth series of Netflix's *The Crown* (2016-

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present) television series played out the well-known and well-documented “truths” of Diana’s life to a new generation, twenty-three years after her death. What is interesting about this particular character is so much of the plot around Diana has been written for the audience and based on the familiar media documented and told stories of her life—including famous scenes and myths. Her famous dresses help stage each simulacrum presented as memory: as historical truth.



Figure 7. *The Crown* (2016-present), series 4, 2020, Netflix: Elizabeth Debicki plays Princess Diana shown here wearing a replica of the famous wedding dress designed by Elizabeth and David Emanuel.

Princess Diana has been, since 1981, a constant in British myth, media, English cultural bricolage, and a core ingredient in a society’s collective emotional state. The nation inherited her famous children and grandchildren, her equally famous ex-husband and in-laws, and the nation broods over her demise in the British monarchy as it rifles through her clothes in museum displays, in special editions of magazines, with her scandals and tragedies retold through the media. Princess Diana is a British heirloom passed on through the years to be consumed and rewritten by new generations, just as simulacrum are consumed and passed on to the new receiver. She is very useful in examining the hyperreal in the 1980s.

At the start of the 1980s, Baudrillard inherited an already thriving foundation for his work on the hyperreal. The US media exported to the global masses the American Dream of wealth and success, of consumer culture and entertainment on an international and now converging

scale. Although this decade in many ways acts as a pinnacle for America's ostentatious display of wealth, it was also an impeccable setting for the British Empire's export of a royal wedding in 1981. The Royal Wedding, its players, and components are useful for illustrating this decade of converging elements *outside* of an American context and setting. The wedding collected together many elements including money, consumer culture, myth, history, Old Europe, youth, into a great big televised melting pot of simulacra and every ingredient of use to hyperreality—but in England. The televised reach of 750 million people worldwide who witnessed this fairy tale wedding of blended fiction and the actual, I think is testament to the reach of the hyperreal and its capacity to create and shape reality on a national and international scale. But, more specifically, in this example, to create the people needed for the simulations: Baudrillard's masses.

In measuring the size, reach, and shape of the hyperreality of the 1980s at that time, the 1981 Royal Wedding is particularly useful. *The Royal Wedding Official Souvenir* brochure is crammed with simulacra, literally crammed with words and images that entangles hundreds of years of British and a long romantic English history now presented in a consumer magazine style for the masses to consume.

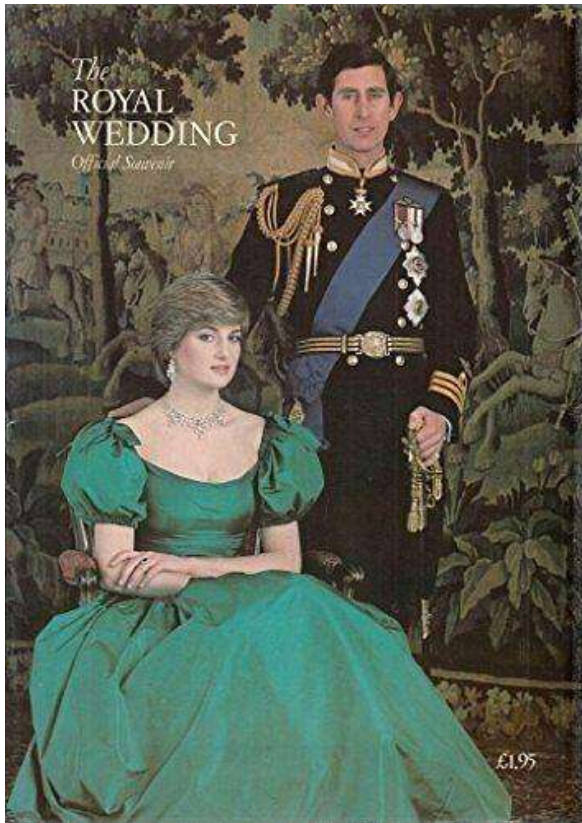


Figure 8. *The Royal Wedding Official Souvenir*, 1981

This brochure details the long journey of the simulacrum—it functions as a snapshot for a long empire and an even longer performance of monarchy in 1981 or as Merrin (2005) would argue:

The denial of the simulacrum and its force, however, displayed a remarkable historical ignorance, running contrary to the entire western tradition which has recognized and opposed its existence from the beginning. [...] the simulacrum is not a postmodern concept as many seem to believe, but a far older, stranger and more fundamental phenomenon. This history has been obscured by its continued contextualization within postmodernism and by its standardized and repeated, poorly explained and by now almost meaningless definition in these textbooks as ‘a copy without an original’. (p. 29)

The simulacra in this brochure are shown entangled—it is English Disneyland. It performs the divine right of the monarchy and the aristocracy through its stage portraits rammed with silk and diamonds—Prince Charles even has a sword. To chart the contents a list would feature: feathers, swords, crowns, diamonds, huge diamonds and rubies stolen from fallen empires in foreign lands, chandeliers, bishops, all the gilded referents of ruthless but benevolent empires, dynasties, histories, and historicised heritages. All these objects and

simulacra mingle with Disney fairy tales, pomp, romance, youth, beauty, and the power of government with a good array of men in suits, fictions, symbols, and truths. Every one of these layers of simulacra come together and are flattened by the hyperreal, like collapsed concertina folds. All this can be seen in the Official Souvenir to this event. The time travel through centuries of British heritage condensed into a familiar fairy tale as constantly reported by the press and replicated by the people is possible through the hyperreal and its capacity to be distributed to hundreds of millions is testament to the size and scope of the hyperreal by 1981.

The capacity for the hyperreal has always existed outside of the postmodern because the simulacrum has been a constant. The *Official Souvenir* presented and produced in a glossy consumer magazine format is testament to that, because its global reach and methods of distribution had evolved where the accretion of layers was continuing to accelerate and accumulate. The souvenir has become a blur that was able to condense vast jumps in time and in this blur envelop fictions into its symbols. The glossy full colour photographs being relied upon to ‘still carry the weight of evidence’ (Chancey, 1999, p. 163) that all of these muddle histories and timelines are *real*.

By the 1980s hyperreality’s acceleration resembles Benjamin’s essay on mechanical reproduction, but with McLuhan’s electricity rather than a printing machine. The electricity delivers a message with “no content”, or as McLuhan famously evaluates in *Understanding Media* (1964): ‘The electric light is pure information. It is the medium without a message, as it were, unless it is used to spell out some verbal ad or name (p. 8)’, electricity accelerates and enlarges the message and digital accelerates the speed and space even more so.

Hyperreality has always been where the masses needed invisible, tangible rules to give meaning and hierarchy, where the image was part of a more complex currency, where kudos affects wealth and meaning. But since the image has long been drained of any meaning, nostalgia begins to implement meaning on a grand scale—there is much in the wedding.

The Royal Wedding also shows two important factors in the hyperreal of that time: its ownership and shape

As much as the hyperreal had reached a saturation point for its 1980 capacity, it was still controlled and owned by those in power. The rise of personal wealth and personal credit card debt is well documented for this era, but what the wedding shows is that the capacity for hyperreality to flourish on a macro societal scale is still governed with the power and wealth to curate the images, create the simulacrum needed, and distribute the contents on a mass scale. Because hyperreality does not happen in a vacuum, it needs a witness to pass on the simulacra, to internalise the images, the waxworks, and pass on their internalised meanings. But in the 1980s the power to pass on—*en masse*—was limited to those with access to the mechanics and the wealth needed. The mediums needed to deliver hyperreality are owned and controlled by those in power: the Royal Family, the state, the government, the newspaper barons and media tycoons, the magazine owners and editors. This is evident in *The Royal Wedding Official Souvenir* in the way power has been stylised through the fantastic displays of wealth but also through the genealogy. Baudrillard discusses this sharing of the simulacra in *Fatal Strategies* as:

We have completely forgotten the form of sovereignty that consists of the operation of simulacra as such. But culture has never been anything like that: the collective sharing of simulacra, as opposed to the compulsory sharing of the real and of meaning today. Sovereignty lies only in the mastery of appearances, and complicity lies only in the collective sharing of illusion and secrets. (p. 50)

It takes extraordinary power and reach to put together such a mastery of appearance as the Royal Wedding. Both Diana and Charles have family trees full of generations of wealth and power—all of this is displayed as a legitimising act. The documented blood lines “evidence” the hereditary “right” to rule and document the civility of an empire. The hyperreality of the 1980s affects millions but the power to wield it is owned by few. This is also why hyperreality is applied and discussed by theorists on a grand nation scale, rather than a more intimate and personal one.

This genealogy so proudly framed in the Souvenir and constantly referenced in the media, in relation to both Diana and Charles, also illustrates the shape of the hyperreal at this time. Hyperreality, in essence, squeezes the simulacrum's long journey into a flattened two-dimensional space: the concertina effect in operation, where meaning can be acquired in an instance. Where the one receiving the images cannot safely (or chooses not to) discern real from simulacrum. Baudrillard talks about the speed of light travelling to its destination in *Fatal Strategies* and Foucault discusses how knowledge is chain linked and Deleuze discusses the meaning that comes from a long journey of depths embedded in each viewer's understanding of each simulacrum utilised—from crowns to “Shy Di”'s unmistakable expressions, to the ‘wrappings’ that translate the use, meaning, and behaviour of each simulacrum. The hyperreality of the 1980s was layered, built up over centuries; the layers slowly accumulated like geological strata. But of course the layers accelerate as the methods of distribution speed up the delivery—the MTV decade produced the speed of extremes as Baudrillard discusses in *Fatal Strategies*, ‘In this ascent to extremes, we should perhaps radically oppose obscenity and seduction; but, perhaps, their effects are cumulative’ (p. 8). The extremes accelerate faster; through escalation and excess, they thrive in this era of mass production, mass media and mass ideas, mass realities with the sheer force of bulk of its converging mass-producing standardised products for mass consumption by the masses. Merrin (2020) describes this particular era as:

By the 20th century, this had evolved into huge structures of communication embedded in and producing messages for society: into corporations and public organisations employing huge numbers in vast industries – print, radio, music, cinema, television – organised in a factory-style system, dedicated to the crafting of standardised, uniform content. It was a world of ‘big media’, of top-down, one-to-many production, pushing out a vast quantity of media products at receptive, consuming audiences (Merrin, 2005, pp. 61-76). But this wasn't just about the provision of entertainment. What was being mass-produced was *reality* itself.

Evidence for this era of mass-produced reality can be seen by the ease in which Diana herself was *created* for the wedding. The words used to describe her, to assign her worthy of Prince Charles in this realer than real dynasty, are words and themes that have always been used to describe women important enough or noble enough to be owned by those in power and the structures of power. There is a repetition in the narrative simulacra that focuses on Diana's

goodness and worth in terms of her well-specified virginity, her demure manner, her youth, her beauty, her kindness, and her feminine ideals. Indeed, all of these female tropes have been used by the fine art, women's consumer magazines, and didactic novels throughout the nineteenth century in discussing the *worth* of women, by advertising and, truly, by all the simulacra which the media produce that bind the fabric of society. Diana could be fabricated because of the strata of simulacra that came before her.

Much of the strata of Diana's behaviour and representation can be seen with Judith Butler's theories regarding the repetition of gendered behaviours until the result feels like the real thing; the way women are and are meant to be according to every medium surrounding women of the day. I argue that the spectacle of Diana's gendered behaviours, and how they were simultaneously delivered by her and conveyed by the media, evidence the way hyperreality is ingested and internalised by those receiving its messages. Diana appealed on a personal level to women because they were told to see themselves in her and her life. Victoria Grace discusses this reputation in terms of Baudrillard's work on the simulacrum and with this in mind Diana becomes not just the "real thing" but better than the real. She is a perfect princess—certainly at that time, the perfect princess candidate and the way the simulacra strata work adds an authenticity and plausibility to her image because she performs her simulacra.

Tina Brown (2017) in her book *The Diana Chronicles* details this fabrication with an examination of the newspapers of the era as:

By 1980, if Diana hadn't existed they would have had to invent her. In fact, they did. Suzanne Lowry, the Living section editor of the *Observer*, found a classy-looking secretary called Sarah, had her interviewed, and then photographed in a tiara and an off-the-shoulder Hardy Amies evening dress. The *Observer* billed her as 'THE TRUE PRINCESS', complete with coat of arms [...]. (p. 100)

The invention theme is one that crops up in different times with the hyperreal and is explored throughout. Hyperreality has a power and a capacity to *invent* on a grand scale, and one that can reach millions and persuade them to do everything from vote for a political idea to buy reproduction American Colonial furniture.

This princess, this simulacrum princess, this bits and pieces postmodern conflation princess, is the one at the top of the strata based on every John Everett Millais image of a real woman, and just about every cover of every mass market women's magazine since the mid Victorian era. This fabricated princess is a cumulative effort, an accumulation, who, as the journalist Suzanne Lowry wrote in 1980, 'had that spotless purity that convinces the masses' (Brown, 2011, p. 100). And the masses were convinced because of the simulacra that made up the Princess Diana hyperreality.

Indeed, once a "real" simulacrum of this fake princess was found in Diana, the British tabloid newspaper *Daily Star* from the 10th November 1980 reported that Diana's uncle Lord Fermoy said "Diana, I can assure you, has never had a lover." To emphasise the point, the *Star* added: "She is a virgin and *seen* [my emphasis] to be one. She is untarnished, unblemished" (Brown, 2011, p. 120).

Throughout the 1980s and a good part of the early 1990s, the now Princess of Wales behaves much as we expect from the hyperreal. Staged authentic emotional spectacles, hugging, caring, beautiful jewels and stunning dresses, throughout this time Diana replicates gendered simulacra *en masse* that fulfils the princess brief and that of a good "real" woman.

In reviewing Stjepan Meštrović's 1997 book *Postemotional Society*, Bryan Turner (1999, p. 88) describes the, as then, Lady Diana, as:

[...] probably the first (and may be the last) real postmodern princess—the product of television drama, in which the modern media created her as a princess, destroyed her as the wife of a Prince Charles, and then recreated her as a Princess of Tears, the living symbol of a dead England.

Diana was created, as she was the right postmodern formula for a media princess. But Diana also provided the canvas for a hegemonic gender identity and one that was used in performing Englishness. Women had symbolic and empirical roles in conveying national and imperial projects throughout the British Empire years (Wilson, 2002, p. 19), and 1981 is no exception. Stephen Gregg (2005) quoting the work of Kathleen Wilson (2002) sums up this symbolic utilisation of the man-made simulacrum of woman and the British woman as:

While imperial and national endeavour was associated with men, women—or the 'fair sex'—were deemed symbols of the nation. On the one hand, as Kathleen Wilson has

demonstrated, women “functioned symbolically and literally as the bearers of national values and ideals, just as their alleged “characters” were taken to encapsulate the best and worst features of national manners”. (Gregg, 2005, p. 20)

This utilisation of the alleged virtues of what a perfect English/British woman is/was, is only possible if the rest of her realness is a hyperreal. Princess Diana was, and is, a hyperreal.

Hyperreality Diana

Although, this chapter is focused on 1981, it is worth pausing to examine how Diana’s hyperreality travelled out of the twentieth century’s fin de siècle. Since 1981 Diana is better than the real, more real than real, she is more real than any Disney princess, because she is seen as authentic, as genuine. What also happens to this accelerated mass market reproduction of her image is that soon her dresses, her jewels—all the props that make her a proper princess, i.e. a Disney princess—start to detach themselves from her and become symbols, flattened layers of ingested simulacra. Her clothes start to represent the modern and timeless emotional dioramas of the 1990s woman—in fiction and real life. Fiction and semiotics start to shape the real thing. Indeed, as case in point, CNN reports that ‘Princess Diana’s “black sheep” sweater is back on sale—four decades after she made it famous’(CNN, 2020).



Figure 9. Diana, Princess of Wales wearing the “Black Sheep” wool jumper by Warm and Wonderful in 1980. Credit: Tim Graham/Getty Images, CNN

What is also known from the many biographical books relating to her, newspaper stories, and mass market consumer magazines, is that so much of this imagery she controlled, through misinformation, manipulation, and press tip-offs. Other people in power and positions of influence also controlled Diana’s images, essentially, power controlled the repetition and production. She did not become the People’s Princess until two factors became reality: the referent was removed, in this case physically with her death in 1997, and the capacity to replicate and create changes ownership. Convergence was happening across media collectively in the 1980s, and those fictional or current affairs *real* simulacrum were bleeding out from their frames into other situations.

The real life societal spending trends of the identified Yuppies were being replicated in the media, and these were influencing each other: television show fashions which styled the magazine cover girls, which in turn replicated the fashions in department stores, which were watered-down versions of the styling trends of MTV’s video stars, who mingled with movie stars, who told young people how to be teens, who told Yuppies what cheese to eat. The Foucauldian chains and linkages are almost infinite. The 1980s allowed a mechanical and

now *digital* reproduction of coded messages about wealth and commodity and its desires to bleed into each other and affect messages that ceased to have any origins. Baudrillard (1983) in *Simulations* describes this point as: ‘it bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulation’ (p. 11). Convergence in the 1980s meant more than just the real being absorbed into the image. It was a decade that was equipped to receive *Simulations* because the evidence for the hyperreal was now commonplace:

The medium itself is no longer identifiable as such, and the merging of the medium and the message is the first great formula of this new age. There is no longer any medium in the literal sense: it is now intangible, diffuse and diffracted in the real, and it can no longer even be said that the latter is distorted by it. (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 54)

Baudrillard discusses a loss of the real, unanchored from origin or origin of meaning, a loss made more profound by the speed of replication resembling more of a pathogen than a fad, fashion, or trend. He equates this merging timescale as an era when nostalgia assumes the real’s meaning, when nostalgia is used to represent our present. This is certainly borne out by the flush of 1980s films that represented America’s past and a well-documented vintage magazine cover history of the recognisably post-war ‘50s-ish’ era in particular: *Peggy Sue Got Married* (Coppola, 1986), *Back to the Future* (Zemeckis, 1985), and *The Outsiders* (Coppola, 1983) serve as well-worn cases in point here. The ‘dissolution’ of the medium for Baudrillard is of the medium action as a filter for the events unfolding in front of ‘us’, ‘the dissolution of TV into life, the dissolution of life into TV’ (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 55), which in some way suggests an exchange process between the medium, the message, and the reality of life. So much of this idea borrows from McLuhan’s concepts of the medium and the messages but with Baudrillard’s inclusion of television replacing McLuhan’s ideas on the effects of electricity in the messages’ trajectory. There was a broader societal exchange and limited conversation between reader/viewer and the medium, but it was still by degrees, contained within the framework of the mediums. Readers could write into their magazine brands and the letter might be reproduced in the following issue, television sets were plentiful, Disneyland had been there for decades—but, again, access was only available to those with disposable income and leisure time. Movies, cable television and satellite television channels, VHS tapes, video games, and visits to the mall were still contained by their frameworks and people’s engagement with them totally, or as recreational events, were

still limited by economic access. The exchange between media producers—still not the individual at this time, but rather corporations and those with power, and dissolution of message was converging, duplicating, but still limited in access to the people.

Analogue messages were being replaced by replicating digital ones where the microprocessor brought convergence culture into the home, into the personal, through the emergence of home video games.

Films and video games, much like consumer magazines, are an often-useful social barometer on a wider scale, measuring and illuminating societal preoccupations, thoughts, and ideas. In terms of the cultural context for this duplication of the familiar, it could be argued that it is no coincidence that the film *Blade Runner* (Scott, 1982), in its exploration of ‘Replicants’ was later on to become a cult classic in its exploration of what is real, because it tapped into what the viewers were exploring themselves on a daily basis—as leisure.

‘On January 24th, Apple Computers will introduce Macintosh and you will see why 1984 won’t be like 1984’ (Briggs and Burke, 2009, p. 250); play became digitised, and with home microcomputer processing the passive became personal. Film, arcade games, and digital leisure experiences joined print and television in vying for the attention and increasingly complex converging messages consumed in the private, the home. Hyperreality’s emergence in the 1980s accelerates with the increase of mediums to be consumed, and the access of all these mediums by the individual in the private. But this saturation is often mistaken for creation by many textbooks examining popular culture and media theory within the postmodern, from Morgan, D. (2008) *Key Words in Religion, Media and Culture* to John Storey’s (6th ed. 2012) *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, and, it could be argued, by academics and those engaging with the hyperreal on a theoretical level. There was no “Big Bang” here but more of a 1980s teen movie house party that became out of control because there was no security. Both Princess Diana and Baudrillard were born out of this extraordinary escalation of the real.

There are two elements from this era which evidence this bleed. The first being that Baudrillard did not write *Simulations* in the 1980s.

Baudrillard is hyperreal

Sylvère Lotringer, in the translated introduction to *The Agony of Power*, reflects on the English translation and publication of *Simulations* in 1983: ‘The publication of *Simulations* gave Baudrillard instant prominence in the New York art world’ (Lotringer, 2010, p. 10). The link between hyperreality and cities, New York in particular, as a city which is more movie-curated myth than an actual city, combined with an art scene that merchandised cultural capital. In 1983 the Witney Biennial showcased the art of Barbara Kruger and Jenny Holzer, both of whom are conceptual artists famous for their typographically enhanced truth statements on reality and consumer culture. This was also the year that Trump Tower’s ‘pink marble atrium opens at 721-725 Fifth Avenue’ (www.nytimes, 2018):

The two parts that make up *Simulations* were only put together in the book I [Sylvère Lotringer] published in English in the Foreign Agents series in 1983. In French, they belong to different books. “Simulation” was first mentioned in *The Consumer Society*—published in 1970, a couple of years after Debord’s *Society of the Spectacle*. Fittingly, Baudrillard managed to turn Ferdinand de Saussure’s discovery of linguistic value (signs as pure differences) into a “structural revolution.” It was a clinical assessment of a society that was losing all its moorings. Identifying the code independently of any outside reference allowed him to read the sign on the wall—the floatation of value escaping into boundless speculation. Politics after that could never be the same. (Lotringer, 2010, pp. 10-11)

There are many components to this extract that need unpicking. That the 1983 *Simulations* is, essentially, a composite of ideas first aired over ten years earlier is interesting, because it could be argued that the 1980s enabled an English translation and market for publication which brought Baudrillard the instant prominence Lotringer describes. Baudrillard in the 1980s was at best a synecdoche of sorts for hyperreality and, one could argue, still is. But also, in Baudrillard’s own performance and personal branding of an Old European intellectual, a French intellectual, he fits “the look and feel” of what a French intellectual should look and sound like in his media performances and constructed myth. Baudrillard is hyperreal, which glosses over both the ancestry and functions of the hyperreal pre-1983.

Lotringer's 'clinical assessment of society' attributed to Baudrillard is incorrect in many ways but especially in relation to the time frame. Deleuze's work on the simulacrum in *The Logic of Sense* (1990) was published many years earlier—in French, in 1969. Barthes, Foucault, and Daniel J. Boorstin's work all examined essential components of the hyperreal many years before the English translation of *Simulations* made Baudrillard the popular culture representative for hyperreality. The 1980s made Baudrillard's brand prominence possible and enabled the theory to garner fame outside of Old Europe.

What is interesting here is why Baudrillard is often credited with hyperreality's inception. Wikipedia—the world's go-to for information and knowledge, describes hyperreality's invention as: 'The postmodern semiotic concept of "hyperreality" was contentiously coined by French sociologist Jean Baudrillard in *Simulacra and Simulation*' (Wikipedia, 2018). The use of 'contentiously' for Wikipedia is significant, but not really explored in the depth needed, but a depth equally expected. One must wonder if the prestige and myth of Old Europe, coupled with a very male simulacrum of what a philosopher might look and sound like, created a hyperreality that in turn, "created" a hyperreality. Is Baudrillard credited with "inventing" the hyperreal because he himself is a hyperreal construct? Is Baudrillard, in his image, performance, portrayal, and all round "French-ness", a facsimile that was market-ready on a global scale? The use of facsimile was being utilised and discussed by Americans and American media some decades earlier, but it is Baudrillard's use of facsimile that takes on the almost cult status that survives today. What is it about Old Europe that endows credibility?

This idea of facsimile links forward to Baudrillard's use of the Borges' facsimile of a fiction. Increasingly it would seem in society, American society, the map laid out over the desert is still bright enough and appealing enough to those seeking a more real than real reality, a brighter, nicer, less organic, and comfortable fake one. The map is still there in the 1980s, and it has surpassed a technicolour rendering into a shiny new world of neon, a new decade of extremes or as Baudrillard (1990) writing in the English translation of 1983 surmises: 'In this ascent to extremes, we should perhaps radically oppose obscenity and seduction; but,

perhaps, their effects are cumulative' (p. 7). All the post-war consumerist expansions, coupled with the exported images of America Daniel Boorstin discusses (some time before Baudrillard), and which Americans internalised both in the public and private—accumulated, gathered in volume and in mass, ready to explode into this 1980s era.

A charming and somewhat tantalising coincidence to this 1980s timeline is the reported fact 'that Baudrillard only acquired a television in 1981' (Gane, 2000, p. 2), and certainly by then a sturdy foundation for an American expanse of hyperreality had been established.

Coincidentally, 1981 is also the year 'the newly elected Socialist government' ended the 'state monopoly over radio and television' in France (Hughes and Reader, 1998, p. 67) allowing for a less state-sponsored programming schedule to accommodate television imports of, of course, many American exports. A free market policy to entertainment products was a core factor in exporting and homogenising the images which people absorbed into their lifestyles.

Baudrillard brought these foundation ideas, creeping societal actualities, media induced simulations, imagined facsimiles and academic observations together; he brought them together and *named* them. It is as useful to say Baudrillard *invented* hyperreality as to say an *Anglicised* Christopher Columbus *discovered* America. America was always there, it was just named by those who employed an imperial power of magnitude compared with those who were living on the land at that time. Even in the reframing of the new world, Old Europe modifies the truth of it to simplify, flatten the message for a modern audience, rewriting their history with tales of bravery, and nostalgia for adventure. All this is a dazzlingly historicised foundation for an American Dream constructed on myth, an Anglicisation of a myth.

Baudrillard named a convergence of media images that had begun to escape out of their containing frames in the 1970s: 'a society that was losing all its moorings'—the television shows, advertising campaigns, the music videos, the movies, the VHS tapes, video arcade games, satellite television, the English translation allowed the ideas to embed itself into the 1980s landscape that made broadcasting both possible and global—it was too noticeable not to name.

The second element from this era which evidences this bleed of the hyperreal is the global reach of an American consumer society and its reach into the politics of the 1980s.

The 1980s global consumer society and hyperreality

Why is consumer culture necessary to the hyperreal? Because the desire is sold through images. It is not the object itself which is so important here, in any era, it is the relationship between object and viewer, reader, consumer. Hyperreality mediates that relationship just as the consumer magazines do. That is why magazines are useful in measuring this relationship, because their messages overlap.

Baudrillard's *The Consumer Society*, originally published in 1970, describes a world that will resemble the 1980s as:

The world of objects and of needs would thus be a world of *general hysteria*. Just as the organs and the functions of the body in hysterical conversion become a gigantic paradigm which the symptom replaces and refers to in consumption objects become a vast paradigm designating another language through which something else speaks. [...] The flight from one signifier to another is no more than the surface reality of a *desire*, which is insatiable because it is founded on a lack. And that desire, which can never be satisfied, signifies itself locally in a succession of objects and needs. [...] if we acknowledge that a need is not a need for a particular object as much as it is a "need" for difference (*the desire for social meaning*), only then will we understand that satisfaction can never be fulfilled, and consequently that there can never be a definition of needs. (Poster, 2001, p. 45)

The 1980s brought with it a shift from a nation full of creditors to one full of international debt (Wright, 1998, p. 513) and by extension an increasingly polarised society of rich and poor. The private life of needs and consumer culture as social meaning became national. Consumption is a system of signs which are imposed on people, *en masse*, as a group or a nation. Magazines target a segment of these people through class, spending power or life cycle. This media comes together to converge on the meaning of signs which are communicated to the nation—to illustrate the collective trajectory of needs and desires, as case in point, the American Dream, or what it means to be a successful society, a nation, a superpower. The capacity to spend as a right of empire, spending power rather than military might is what Ronald Reagan used against the competing superpower Russia, with its

communist ideologies famously described by Regan (1983) as the ‘aggressive impulses of an evil empire’—ideologies that were polarised to the American way of mass consumption. Many argue that capitalist America won the Cold War by increasing its military spending to a level with which communist Russia could not keep up. This foundation of thinking, of seeing America as a civilisation built from business, Wright (1998) explores in relation to America’s past:

After the textile mills opened in New England [1815], America was set to become a business civilization; capitalism and selfishness, rather than Indians and crude manners, were to be the new enemies. [...] The absence of a feudal past meant that there was no aristocratic class to challenge the claims of Mammon. (p. 539)

America coded its own social values based on the industrial scale manufacture of signs and objects. The link to Old Europe was in the imported desire for social hierarchy and in that a creation of aristocracy and royalty based on commerce rather than a history of inherited culture.

Ronald Reagan’s place in this era is worth considering as an illustration of the American aristocracy of Hollywood escaping its frame and hiding the fact that Hollywood is the *real* America. Diane Rubenstein’s *This Is Not a President, Sense, Nonsense, and the American Political Imaginary* describes the Reagan years as ‘full of extraordinary hyperreality’ (Rubenstein, 2008, p. 46). Esmond Wright’s evaluation of Reagan’s famous pronouncement of Russia as ‘evil’, in opposition to his movie star American righteousness, creates a polarised landscape of what is real and what is false. This, combined with the extraordinary assertion that America outspent Russia to win the Cold War, demonstrates Rubenstein’s claims as: ‘The entire problematic of the hyperreal is here: the identification of the completely real with the completely false that haunts Reagan’s presidency and the rest of our American culture’ (ibid p. 43), and what could also be added to this statement, is the significant role of consumer culture on a global scale.

This is consumer culture which enabled a nation to spend, buying brie and the ending of a war; it also allowed a plausible transference from movie star to president. Rubenstein's assessment of Ronald Reagan is described as a trope that slips between 'movies' and 'life' as 'synecdochic' for a political culture increasingly impervious to distinctions between fiction and history' (ibid, p. 29). Reagan's acting leads him to perform the presidency, to perform leadership as a trope of every western he acted in, of power, masculinity, but most of all what it meant then to be an American—on a national and international stage. Rubenstein pronounces this performance as, 'Reagan, as synecdoche, is a microcosmic replication of American culture' (ibid). He is the signifier of the hyperreal at work.

The role of magazines in measuring the hyperreal at work, beyond the 1980s

US Consumer magazines, those mass market periodicals which sought to commodify the family, the home, gender by illustrating the perfect family life, home, and perfect gender performances are useful tools to measure these conditions. These periodicals, *The Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2016) as case in point to this chapter, function as an integral translating force between the complexities of social hierarchy and the readers. They flatten those complexities in order to deliver a seemingly attainable version of the very best of oneself, successfully functioning within these complex societies. They are useful because, unlike newspapers, they worked to establish a unique media relationship with the readers' society at large—very targeted readers, based on heavily assumed aspirations and readers' defined places in social hierarchies. Understanding that people have 'private' and 'public' roles and needs, newspapers 'normally concentrate on matters of public concern, primarily political in character' (Scott and Stam, 2014, Kindle Locations 3491-3492). Magazines cultivate their overall message to the 'private'. Stam and Scott develop this private/public polarisation of print media as:

In the context of nineteenth-century confidence in 'progress', this meant that newspapers were to inform their readership of the political world and the part they were called upon to play in society's progressive development. In contrast, magazines mainly enabled their readers to cultivate themselves: to perform the part expected of them in the progressive development of the individual. (ibid)

Within the *Victorian* era, both in the UK and USA, there was a surge of commercial periodicals which shaped home as a place for ‘rest and recuperation’ but also, crucially, as a ‘place for self-cultivation’ (ibid, Kindle Locations 3492-3494). All three of these aspects of the private magazine were administered to with cheerful editorial and advertising messages. Selling solutions to all three, but chiefly ‘self-cultivation’, meant that solutions to performing the best gendered role could be assured in the purchases endorsed by the magazines. The magazines took a societal ‘naturalness’ for its readers in their place in society and packaged this ‘naturalness’ into a reality that was delivered as better, more real, better than real. Barthes (2009) describes this as a ‘dress up reality’ which implies a repackaging, an *upgrade* of sorts:

[...] a feeling of impatience at the sight of the ‘naturalness’ with which newspapers, art and common sense constantly dress up a reality which, even though it is the one we live in, is undoubtedly determined by history. (p. xix)

The magazines catered to the private, in ways no other media for a very considerable timeline could come close to achieving. In short, it was the case for one generation after another that, according to Stam and Scott (2014):

Even if individual titles were often dispensable as well as disposable items, until now the existence of magazines as such has been essential. Without magazines, billions of people would never have known how to be modern. (Kindle Locations 3502-3504)

It is this idea of ‘modern’ that Daniel Boorstin sees being sold to Americans *en masse* and in return exported by America to the world, to a post-war landscape. By the time those exported meanings of what it means to be ‘modern’ had reached Old Europe and Baudrillard, they were already woven with hyperreality’s mixed-up messages, layers of images, and flattened meaning.



Figure 10. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, January, 1955, "Our Readers Write Us" p. 4, USA: The Curtis Publishing Company

In the regular feature "Our Readers Write Us" for *The Ladies' Home Journal* of January 1955 (p. 4) the topic for debate was "The Americans and Ourselves". Published here is a letter sent in from an American Army officer, Public Information Division, stationed in Austria; he writes:

Dear Editors: Since you recently carried an article on why the Europeans dislike us, I am enclosing an article written in the independent Italian newspaper *Il Corriere della Sera* of Milan on 12 Sept. of this year [1954], which will undoubtedly be of great interest to you all. [...] In the five years my wife and I have been in Western Europe, I have read no such article in any European newspaper or magazine.

Sincerely, Joseph Congress, Chief, Austrian Affairs Branch

The Italian newspaper article discusses the European relationship and attitude to America as thus:

[...] They [America] have treated our prisoners with the greatest humanity. They have given us four thousand billions of lire. Unfortunately, all these efforts to win our friendship are over shadowed by one fault, from which there is no hope that America will recover since it has it in its blood. This fault is its desire to improve us, to make us better, to make us just, richer and happier. (p. 4)

There is a great deal to extract from this article. Notions of power, success, a sense of national greatness that can be exported is one angle that could be explored. But the angle that is best explored with regards to the hyperreal here is named in the extract—this sense of ‘richer’ and by extension ‘happier’. Because when one is richer, one can afford the things that *prove* this success, to own the things that bring happiness: that verify wealth. This extract introduces an American notion that an exported consumer culture could repair and improve another nation. A nation which lost the war of artillery and might, and that the winning nation would want to make things all better by making a nation like itself: richer and happier.

On the same page, to the left of this translated article, is a full colour advert for “Soft Weve” toilet tissue, with a slogan that explains this softness as the proliferation of more, literally, just more of it — ‘ . . . softer because it’s double!’(p. 4). The juxtaposition of the Soft Weve advert next to “Readers Write Us” could very well be an accident of positioning, or just a design choice in terms of the format of the advert fitting the space. But it demonstrates this mix of tangible reality with myth, and with fiction, with opinion and with gendered advertising messages, foods and interiors so brightly coloured they are neither illustration or photograph; real or imagined. The “Reviving a Room with a Ten-Year Slump” illustration as case in point, the reds and greens are so vivid it is impossible to tell the difference between an illustration or imagined interior and the actual interior design the magazine is suggesting. Perhaps that is the point.



Figure 11. “Reviving a Room with a Ten-Year Slump”, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, January, 1955, p. 47, USA: The Curtis Publishing Company



Figure 12. “Sincerely Willis Wayde”, *The Ladies’ Home Journal*, January, 1955, pp. 36-37, USA: The Curtis Publishing Company

The Ladies’ Home Journal utilised a lot of serialised fiction in its overall brand experience. Some were short stories that started out as elaborately illustrated and typographically elegant pieces like “Sincerely Willis Wayde”, which then ran on as text only throughout the issue. In this short story, Willis and Sylvia Wayde’s life as a newly-married couple is explored from their first child onwards. The fascinating aspect of the story is Willis’ romantic daydreaming catalogued within the fiction. His ambitions at work and worries about money as his family grows but, crucially, his ambition for ownership of the very things the magazine advertises: cars, houses, kitchens—lovely things, the objects of consumer culture. These objects range from vanishing cream and perfume, peddled with advertising copy that includes endorsements from Old European aristocracy, to vibrantly fresh and “better” foods straight from tin cans.



Figure 13. “Del Monte Corn”, *The Ladies’ Home Journal*, January, 1955, p. 63, USA: The Curtis Publishing Company

Willis Wayde’s fictional musings are framed by the magazine’s advertising, but it is also framed by the explicit Americanness of Willis and his wife. Their fictionalised life mirrors that of the “real” readers. Their life’s ambitions reflect a conspicuous consumption which was also seen as patriotic and an inalienable right of those who work hard and dream hard: Americans.

The ‘menace of unreality’

Prophetically, as case in point, it is interesting that an American, Daniel Boorstin, was already writing in 1961 about the ‘menace of unreality’ (Viens, 2014, p. 93 quoting Boorstin, 2012, p. 57). Viens describes Boorstin’s core ideas in the 1961 book *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* as: ‘This profound work is rooted in Boorstin’s notion that American citizens were beginning to become enraptured by fabricated realities born of social construction’ (ibid). The Soft-Weve toilet paper magazine adverts of this time illustrates this to a basic extent.



Figure 14. “Soft-Weve” toilet paper advert, 1958: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/missc65/elegant-ads-soft-weve/?lp=true>

The Soft-Weve conflation of intimate domestic necessity with haute couture to deliver toilet paper as an aspirational and desirable commodity is a result that only hyperreality could deliver.

The Ladies’ Home Journal: the lines between editorial and advertising were beginning to blur

In terms of the mediated print advertising, this “unreality” and certainly a mass market framework for the persuasive realities being sold to people, often women, and consumer magazines were thriving before and during this post-war timeline. ‘By 1955 the number of individual magazines circulating exceeded the population, a considerable jump from earlier years’ (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 203). A staggering number considering the population of the USA was just under 166 million at that time (census.gov, 2018). Although television advertising had been established for a few years by then, by June 1955 there were still only

approximately over 33 million television sets (fraser.stlouisfed.org, 1960, p. 488). As advertising revenue embraced this new world of moving and dynamic entertainment images and began to move away from a print framework, the consumer periodicals of that time, mainly women's magazines, fought back against this 'heavy competition':

[...] The merchandising efforts that the women's journals had always engaged in began to escalate. [...] Merchandising tie-ins, product mentions, placements next to related editorial all continued. (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 204)

The lines between editorial and advertising were beginning to blur by 1955, increasingly so, or, as Boorstin predicts just a few years later, where the ideals of the commerce surrounding the American Dream blur into lifestyle advice and cosy editorial. The magazines continued to give advice to its readers, mainly women, on how to navigate their responsibilities and current life cycle with adverts designed to make the purchasing of the American Dream possible, attainable, and desirable. Lifestyle and consumer culture colluded with images to document this era in huge circulations.

It could be argued that one of the many factors contributing to the fixated nostalgia of the 1950s in the 1980s, and still into the twenty-first century, is not so much how well the era was documented, but *how* it was documented. Consumer periodicals still dominate the media for this time. The consumer magazine brands dominating the landscape in the 1950s documented and performed a post-war nuclear family perfection. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Redbook*, and *Better Homes and Gardens* all performed staged domestic dioramas of hearth, kin, and happiness. The magazines managed the vivid and persuasive illusions of which Boorstin speaks, peppered with a mix of movie stars for the glamour and real people who were more real than real so that the readers could envision living *like* them. For example, *The Ladies' Home Journal* 'went after celebrity exclusives such as its 1961 feature on Jacqueline Kennedy which led to a record sale of 8 million issues when the first segment appeared' (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 205). But the magazines also showed people, like the readers, ordinary folk, supposedly just like them too. The magazines tapped into the visualisation and more real than real portrayal of a female experience:

Mrs. Julia Ashencroft, a housewife who received a *Journal* make-over in the fifties, complained that the magazine presented an ideal impossible for women to live up to — a woman on a pedestal who was an expert housewife, seamstress, decorator, cook, other, informed companion and attractive female. (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 206)

In response to her make-over, Mrs, Ashencroft comments:

I cannot but question the wisdom and fairness of presenting me as the wife of a teacher and mother of four young children in clothes not my own with a face and hairdo not my own. Even my waist was not my own for I was hooked into a cinch corset which was nearly the end of me. How will my counterparts in apartment, farms, and developments all over the country feel as she sees this glamorous clothes horse and realizes that she cannot afford to dress like that and wonders why she cannot look like that? (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 206)

Ad men and periodical publishers, businesses predominantly owned and run by men (in 2018 Meredith Media, which published *The Ladies' Home Journal*, had seven Corporate Officers, one was a woman, and she oversaw human resources), shaped the hyperreal then and still do, through an intensified use of images—which are sold to women. Women are used to implement the hyperreal, to give it tangible form, to support its work. Hyperreality is used to shape a female experience which can then be commodified, because the manufacture of the conditions hyperreality needs to thrive in takes power. The power to set what norms are being copied and aspired to takes a certain level of influence and economic capital to enable the distribution of these simulacrum—to manufacture them on a scale that saturates media and department stores. A power that can unify in image and products produced *en masse*, something as huge as gender on a societal scale, or sell kitchen appliances. The implementation of hyperreality takes power.

This unified female experience, which Mrs. Ashencroft decries, is myth, a flawed but powerful and very visual communication between those who benefit financially and the readers who engage with the message or, as Barthes writing in the 1950s suggests, ‘[...] myth is a system of communication, that it is a message. [...] it is a mode of signification, a form’ (Sontag, 1993, p. 93). There is a reason Mrs. Ashencroft is cinched within a painful corset that was ‘nearly the end’ of her. The message relayed taps into a long history of corseted women’s shapes, with unrealistic waists, a shape that denotes wider societal ideals of

successful femininity and, of course, desirability. The conversation between magazine and reader isn't all that equal, the message is more of a one-direction speech about illusion and perfection based on even older fashion plates and advertisements in much earlier women's periodicals. Barthes describes this as: '[...] one can conceive of very ancient myths, but there are no eternal ones; for it is history which converts reality into speech, and it alone rules the life and the death of mythical language' (ibid, p. 94). But I would argue that this procession of shape began to change and, in terms of messages, it is speech that converts reality into history: a history that never existed in the first place. By the 1980s, Baudrillard inherited an already thriving foundation for his work on the hyperreal—a more real than real historicised foundation for an American Dream that bled out from the television shows and periodicals, constructed on myth. A mainstream dream that affected the populace. Zuckerman (1998) discusses this mainstream thinking and affected dreaming as:

Despite publishing articles on political and social issues, women's journals generally reflected mainstream thinking. They did not typically try to radically reconfigure women's lives or society, although they did at times work to reform and improved both. [...] The journals were part and parcel of the United States' consumer culture. The capitalist structure in which the magazines were and are embedded defined the boundaries within which they operated'. (p. xii)

Nationhood, the American Dream, and an assumed sense of what an American woman would want and strive for, were part and parcel of the consumer culture that allowed an accumulation of the hyperreal. The increasing use of celebrities and movie stars to illustrate the American Dream Richard Dyer identifies as: 'The general image of stardom can be seen as a version of the American Dream, organised around the themes of consumption, success and ordinariness' (Dyer, 1998, p. 35). Hyperreality works well in magazines because they are not just periodicals with images or, indeed, themes. These images come with a Call To Action—they incite action: to purchase, to emulate, to live in a copy. The magazine brands do not carry passive images; each one is *curated* for a purpose.

Baudrillard inherited and is often credited for "inventing" hyperreality, often without challenge, in the mainstream media. Baudrillard gathered different elements together: consumer culture, semiotics, theorists' ideas, directly or indirectly, from Barthes, Debord,

Foucault, from Plato to Saussure to Veblen, Boorstin, Marx and McLuhan to name but a few, across timelines that dissected power, image, celebrity and fame, knowledge, reality, and language—separate different thinking, directed in different angles.

But America's hyperreality did not suddenly appear, it simmered away quietly on the pages of every magazine—on advertising billboards, on the flickering screens in living rooms, and in the consumerist dreams of its workers and tired masses; it formed in the mediated images sold to readers and audiences. The people were becoming shaped by copies.

In discussing this formation set out in Boorstin's work, Viens (2014) describes the conditions as:

Carefully constructed simulations and images of reality were becoming the perceived reality of American society. Neil Gabler, in a 2012 *LA Times* article states that “no single book has so well framed how the American consciousness was reformed from one that preferred the fake.” [...] The public bought into the “fake” illusions of reality, allowing pseudo-reality to triumph over concrete reality. (p. 93)

A “facsimile of life” (ibid, p. 93) or the foundation for a nation moulded by myth and images in actuality, the building blocks for a future patriotic parody assuming their positions for Baudrillard's identification.

Conclusion

The ingredients to the hyperreal were always there, in the 1980s and before, because the simulacrum was always present in societal hierarchies. Hyperreality explains expectations and societal manners, it controls its viewers or readers and is a power that gives authority to power, whether in the politics of a nation or the gendered shaping of its citizens. In the 1980s a less democratic production of the simulacrum was possible; its distribution and creation just needed to evolve. Its acceleration resembles Benjamin's essay on mechanical reproduction—but with McLuhan's electricity rather than a printing machine powering the mechanism.

Hyperreality has always been where a society needed invisible, tangible rules to give meaning and, crucially, hierarchy. It is where the image is part of a more complex currency,
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where kudos affects wealth and meaning. But since the image has long been drained of any meaning, nostalgia begins to implement meaning on a grand scale. With the increase in personal wealth for many Americans and a more feudal-style wealth polarisation resembling Old Europe becoming more noticeable in society, the British Empire's export of a Royal Wedding in 1981 was perfectly timed to further cement the reach of hyperreality in this era.

Here this export of fairy tale and royalty converging together as a Disneyland experience in the pages of a magazine can be seen in *The Ladies' Home Journal* throughout the Diana years. On these covers Diana shares space with movie stars, from Shirley MacLaine to Elizabeth Taylor, and gender focused messages such as becoming swimsuit-ready directed at their female readers; conflating layers of simulacra from multiple timelines and purposes:



Figure 15. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1983



Figure 16. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1983



Figure 17. The magazine enables its readers to go to a ball “with” Diana as an accessible realisation of a Cinderella experience. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, “LHJ goes to the ball with Diana” October 1983, source: <https://www.worthpoint.com/>

Chapter 2

Channelling the Hyperreal in the Roaring Twenties

This chapter will examine the 1920s as a pivotal time in the development of the hyperreal and explain where the hyperreal was within this period. Although never named, the ingredients for hyperreality were very much present in the run up to the 1920s and were being evaluated by thinkers such as the ‘celebrated iconoclast’ Thorstein Veblen. His ideas ‘have become part of the conventional wisdom about American society and conspicuous consumption’ (Jackson Lears, 1989, p. 73) and, as such, are useful in assessing what part conspicuous consumption and consumer culture played in the hyperreal in the 1920s.

This chapter will argue that the 1920s is worth pausing to examine in the mapping of the hyperreal, as it was a transitional time in media and culture. The transition from early cinema “silent movies” to “talkies” was a defining moment in the late 1920s for the cinema industry and for Hollywood, but also for how conspicuous consumption fed into consumer culture and how the British and American movie fan magazines of that era mediated this development. How the fan magazines reacted to this transition is useful for showing the reach of hyperreality at that time, as well as evaluating how the fan magazines document the relationship between the audience and Hollywood. This is evident in the increase of advertising messages during this transition to “talkies”, the increase in advertising aimed at a female fan base, and the increasing influence of a modern star system to sell the advertising messages. The UK fan magazine *Picturegoer* (1911-1960) from the 1920s will be analysed to give a closer evidencing of this transition, with particular evaluation of the adverts framing the editorial, as well as other magazines for context, such as the US *Photoplay* (1911-1980) from the same decade. The fan magazines intersected with cinema and, in turn, cinema began to intersect with stardom and the audience’s/readers’/consumers’ sense of self in this new modern era; advertising combined with the private and the public in ways that were more radical and reached much further than years earlier. The movie stars stepped out of the screen and sold a lifestyle to the fan magazine readers, who were mainly women.

The movies, and going to the movies, were for many British women an integral part of their experience of modernity. [...] The street, the shop, what you read, how you dressed—these things were increasingly coded for and by women through mass culture, and in no small part by cinema. (Stead, 2018, p.1)

As previously established in the thesis, hyperreality is a flattening of recycled, evergreen ideas communicated through a layering of simulacra that are acknowledged as familiar by the receiver. Water is both transparent and reflective and the hyperreal is an image-based practice which mirrors these properties. Rivers mix and contain many ingredients from different timelines and flatten all these things. When hyperreality is enabled via mediated realities, larger societal ideas about hierarchies and gender, culture, and ideologies can be distributed across vast timelines and beyond borders; beliefs become truths. The final hyperreal is accepted by the receiver as a truth—often, a better than real truth.

Hyperreality flows across complex societies and helps to form a populace or groups of people, often for commercial gain or dominance for those able to wield such power. Hyperreality is a mix of ideals generated that precede a final accepted truth. It is a practice happening to people who live in complex societies where a populace must be steered in directions that benefit that society or those in power: to buy things or vote for things or fear things or behave in a certain way that benefits those with the power to create and distribute the simulacra needed. Hyperreality allows and enables a mixing up of ideologies, culture, perceived truths, and fiction, which is as useful for escapism and entertainment as it is for politics. The development and growth of the cinema industry facilitated hyperreality's development but also, crucially, the reach of Hollywood as tool of the hyperreal.

Culture and the hyperreal

As I have already established in the thesis, hyperreality does not happen in a cultural vacuum; many elements of a society flow into the hyperreal. Culture—that collective set of values and norms accumulated by a society over time, like cinema and art—flows into the hyperreal. In the introduction to the chapter “American Values and Organized Crime: Suckers and

Wiseguys” Peter Lupsha (1981, p. 144) evaluates the shaping of culture upon both the collective “we” and the individual as:

Our symbols of self all contain our collective past in our individual present. And indeed, our individual and collective future is but a hall of mirrors reflecting past on present as we go forward. Culture brands our behaviour so that most sensitive observers are both looking in and acting at the same time. Our cultural images of what we ought to be often define what we are and what we become. We are trained to think in stereotypes, standardized images that hide individual uniqueness.

This mixing of past with present, as Lupsha describes, is possible because of the way hyperreality works. It does not flatten linear layering of simulacra but rather borrows ideas and renditions of past ideologies, histories, and myths from multiple nations—it mixes the simulacra up and flattens that mix. The ‘cultural images’ discussed in the quotation can be seen in the movies of the 1920s and indeed any movies of that time and earlier. They are replicated from movie stills and illustrations on the pages of the fan magazines where they continue to mingle and disappear into consumer culture and conspicuous consumption, which can be seen in the adverts that follow the features. The adverts mediated the fantasy world on screen and made it accessible, possible to own, to make life better, more real for the readers.

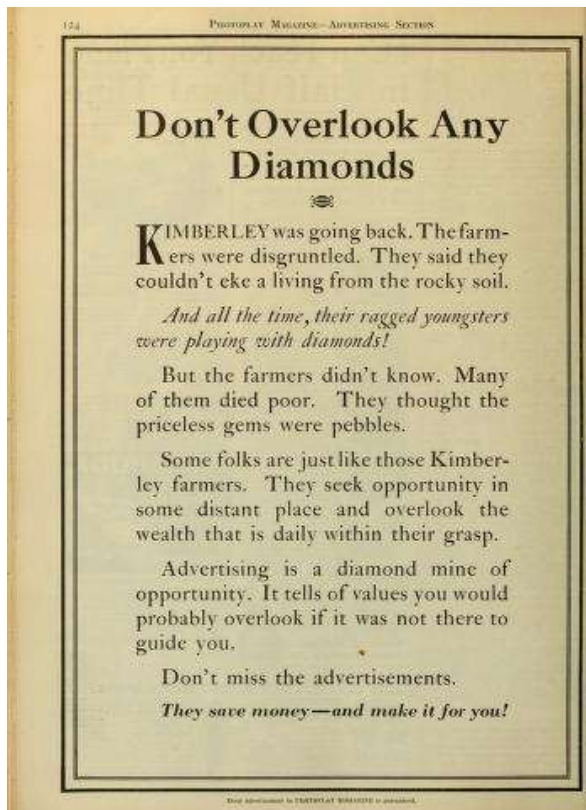


Figure 18. Indeed, *Photoplay* literally takes out an entire page advertising the merits of advertising in the magazine, “Don’t Overlook Any Diamonds”, January 1922, p. 124

Lupsha (1981, p. 144) further suggests that the struggle for a ‘unique self is a difficult task’. That the ‘luxury’ of being an individual is for those few with ‘wit or leisure’. The word luxury is an interesting choice here, could the leisure Lupsha mentions be a suggestion of the wealth needed to facilitate and weather a struggle against the hegemonisation of the individual? Could luxury protect people with access to it from the flattening Fordism of mass markets? Could wealth enable people to live above the masses? The standardised images of cinema are those flattened images that identify and classify a person in a hierarchical society, be it gendered roles, gender or class distinctions, or other identifying traits that classify a person within a hierarchical society or, more broadly, define a nation. Although Lupsha’s article’s focus is on the portrayal of organised crime in Hollywood, what this article does well, is to explore the idea of the audience being composites of cultural creations; myths repeated and consumed as believable, desired truths (Lupsha, 1981, p. 144):

Most of us are content to be moulded by a role as defined by culture. This process, however, is a subtle one. Patterns are drawn not only from sense data and technological reality, but also from a desire to be, as well as an understanding of what has worked in the past. Thus we are not only cultural creations at best, caricatures at

worst; we are ongoing representations of myth as repeated and delimited by our society over time.

This dominance of culture to shape and mould, to flatten and reduce to ‘cultural creations’ is what the practice of hyperreality does to the movie audiences and fan magazine readers; to reduce them to demographics. The pattern data is the content that feeds the hyperreal—constants presented about for example, class, gender, people, what it means to be strong or successful, rich or poor. There are many of these constants present and at work with the culture industries and shown in the resulting media. One of the constants that flows into hyperreality is conspicuous consumption and in the fan magazines this melding of culture with conspicuous consumption is reinforced. The 1920s is a time period where this mix is made possible because of the technological development of the movies and their distribution methods; fan magazines being part of this distribution.

The culture industries take these ideas about wealth and hierarchy and package them with images and advertisements for commodities. The fan magazines would suggest that only the most popular movies and stars win in terms of ticket sales. The fan magazines in their interaction with the readers, asking them to ‘choose’ *their* most ‘beautiful stars’ for example, flatten the female movie stars into commodities to be consumed, thus fusing culture with commodity.

Marsha Orgeron (2009, p. 4) identifies this fan magazine methodology as:

[...] fans were led not just to an ongoing cycle of consumption, but also aspirations of a social nature involving both star qualities and the stars themselves. [...] Fan magazines intended to transform spectators of celebrity culture into participators *in* celebrity culture.

This was all done by demonstrating the clear ‘disparity between the readers’ ordinary lives and celebrities’ extraordinary lives’ (ibid) by mixing up the reality and stardom of the celebrities, by making them into celebrities rather than just people who did a job, and of course making their lives accessible to the readers. The customer has access within the fan magazines to the stars and influence on their careers and in turn the readers, or consuming ‘masses’ as Adorno would suggest, allow this access to influence their own lives.



Figure 19. *Photoplay*, May, 1924, pp. 64-65

For instance, *Photoplay* asks its readers to ‘choose the eight most beautiful stars of the screen’ in its May 1924 issue. This evidences more than just movie marketing and staged competitions and would suggest a more complex commercial relationship between customer and commodity. There is a confusion deliberately generated by the fan magazine between screen star and reader as to which one is the real. The screen stars are delivered as a better real and one that can be obtained by the reader, suggesting that the real of the reader is a poor real to be fixed or made better. There is as Richard Dyer suggests a ‘paradox of the extravagant lifestyle and success of the stars being perceived as ordinary [...]’ (Dyer, 1998, p. 43). The stars are ordinary in a fan magazine sense of “just like me and you” but clearly and obviously “different”. ‘Stars are always the most something-or-other in the world’ (ibid). Just as the readers are invited to judge the most beautiful woman in the 1924 *Photoplay* feature, years later in 1935, Orgeron (2009, p. 7) quotes a Camay soap advert that also employs the ‘same rhetoric’:

The ad begins with a pivotal question: “Why is one of these girls winning and the other losing this private BEAUTY CONTEST” [...] “you cannot avoid these contests, for everyone you meet judges your beauty, your charm, your skin”

The customer, or reader, has been conditioned to judge and now passes judgement in themselves against the ideals seen on the screen and in the fan magazines. That judgement has been internalised by the magazines to sell a solution to the “problem”, in this case skin cream. The customer, one could argue here, is not king, but rather a manipulated and confused consumer being persuaded by the culture industry, to invest in a commodity that will make them as real and as perfect as the screen stars themselves. But in the 1920s and the 1930s, flesh cannot compete with celluloid, just as it cannot compete with pixels one hundred years on—but the belief that it *can*, lingers on. Hyperreality offers a flattened simulation back to the receiver and this in turn, is experienced as a truth.

Theodor Adorno (1975, p. 12) describes the concept of believing ‘the customer is king’ in this somewhat wry explanation of the culture industry process:

Thus, although the culture industry undeniably speculates on the conscious and unconscious state of the millions towards which it is directed, the masses are not primary, but secondary, they are an object of calculation; an appendage of the macery. The customer is not king, as the culture industry would like to have us believe, not its subject but its object. The very word mass-media, specially honed for the culture industry, already shifts the accent onto harmless terrain. Neither is it a question of primary concern for the masses, nor of the techniques of communication as such, but of the spirit which sufflates them, their master's voice. The culture industry misuses its concern for the masses in order to duplicate, reinforce and strengthen their mentality, which it presumes is given and unchangeable. How this mentality might be changed is excluded throughout. The masses are not the measure but the ideology of the culture industry, even though the culture industry itself could scarcely exist without adapting to the masses.

The customer *might* prove in box office returns how desired and popular a movie or a star is—but how the customer internalises the desire for the movie message is mediated by hyperreality and, in turn, distribution by the culture industry itself. This distribution is not creation, but rather duplication; the master’s voice is the process by which hyperreality flattens the simulacra of images. The masses influence the simulacra and in turn, this influences the industry producing the simulacra, but what is the constant that creates the simulacra? What sufflates them, the masses? Conspicuous consumption is the practise of

buying and displaying luxury goods in order to further one's own star power in society; to gain status. It is different to consumer culture which is about purchasing a lifestyle as a social activity and market lead in a mass market manner which is often about identity and becoming part of a market driven social movement. Conspicuous consumption is expenditure for spectacle rather than need and I would argue that conspicuous consumption is an influence here with what Adorno is describing. It transferred into consumer culture during a time when 'American culture had become narrower because "business, technology, and science not merely occupied their legitimate place but took to themselves all that hitherto belonged to art, religion and poetry"' suggests Susan Currell, quoting Lewis Mumford (2009, p. 5). An American utopia (ibid, p. 8) was being built up around a new belief system far removed from the previous century's deities. The emerging movie stars and the fan magazines brought conspicuous consumption into the fans' everyday lives. Utopia was no longer confined to the movie screen.

Communicating the ideal world of fancy

To give a sense of the tensions between culture and commerce, reality and illusion, which Adorno evaluates, Thomas Mann's fiction is useful here. Paul Cantor (1994) evaluates Mann's short story *Disorder and Sorrow* (1925) set in the Weimer Republic of the 1920s which joins hyperinflation with hyperreality. The link between money and hyperreality is an imperative to the development of the hyperreal in this era. Money, or more specifically the perceived value of an object or experience to the receiver, changes not just the relationship between the message and the receiver but the message itself. These perceived notions of value are mediated by hyperreality.

Within Mann's story, the lack of money, or more precisely the lack of *value* of paper money due to hyperinflation, is having a detrimental effect on the lives of his characters. These effects are explored by Mann, in particular, through the character of the patriarch professor Cornelius as he attempts to host a middle-class dinner party:

Cornelius and his family live in a world in which they do not have desserts anymore, they have dessert substitutes. Forced to economise by inflation, these people can no longer afford the real thing. "These consult together meantime about the hospitality to be offered to the impending guests. The Professor displays a middle-class

ambitiousness: he wants to serve a sweet—or something that looks like a sweet”.
(Cantor, 1994, p. 17 quoting the English translation of *Disorder and Early Sorrow*)

The family are *forced* to use a chemical substitute (made possible by early twentieth-century industrial chemical developments), a *Flummeri* as used by Mann, ‘an artificial product that is always presented as superior to the real thing, but that is merely cheaper [...]’ (ibid). This ‘flummery’ as Cantor identifies, this chemical deception, is utilised by the family in the story to protect and yet still convincingly convey their rightful place in society. A trifle, after all, is the *correct* thing to offer guests at a dinner party. Inflation’s effects on both the menu and the family in Mann’s story sum up much about this era which Cantor (1994) describes as:

We have come to live in a world of plywood rather than mahogany. Things are not real anymore; we are surrounded by clever (and cheap) substitutes, mere simulacra of the real things. (p. 17)

The use of deception in maintaining a class-specific appearance is not new to society. Magazines aimed at the aspiring Victorian middle-class such as *The Woman At Home* examined in the next chapter, contained many adverts for silver-plate tableware which looks like the “real thing” (i.e. actual solid silver cutlery that only a few could afford), but what Cantor is highlighting is the pervasive and global reach of these substitutes in people’s lives. The 1920s is an era of mass increase in the volume of ‘illusions substituting for reality’ (Cantor, 1994, p. 20) through the increased range of media employing the illusions to the increases of their reach. The 1920s is an ‘inflationary environment’ for media, for cinema in particular:

As Mann senses, the moving picture is the perfect art form for the age of inflation: a kinetic art for a kinetic era. He [Mann] shows how the movies are already saturating everyday life; in his choice of cigarettes, Xaver [the son in *Disorder and Early Sorrow*] smokes “a brand named after a popular movie star” (p. 180) In the illusionary world fostered by inflation, an image on a screen now works to shape a man’s desires (ibid).

This power to sell the screen fantasy with ‘everyday life’ can be seen in this extract from a promotional booklet for advertisers published by *Photoplay* early editor James Quirk (1884-1932) and quoted by Oregon (2009, p. 11) as:

When women go to the movies they go to see themselves not in the mirror but in the ideal world of fancy . . . New desires are instilled, new wants implanted, new

impulses to spend aroused. These impulses may be at the moment only vague longings, but sooner or later they will crystalize into definite wants . . . The motion picture paves the way. Photoplay carries on. Renewing the impulses caught on screen. It gives your product's address and telephone number.

Just as Mann explores the screen's power to shape a "real" man's desires in fiction, James Quirk understood how 'renewing the impulses on screen' worked as a business strategy for the fan magazines, but one with a very targeted demographic. This ideal world, the fantasy world of the screen, was often aimed at a female audience. Indeed, the majority of the 1920s UK film periodicals such as *Film Flashes*, *The Picture Show*, *Film Weekly*, *Girls' Cinema*, *Film Weekly*, including *Picturegoer*, were aimed at women (Stead, 2018, p. 36). Cinema going was part of a "modern and aspirational lifestyle" (Stead, 2018, p. 36, quoting Glancy, 2014, p. 51). Cinema culture was 'built into the experience of growing up female in England [in the interwar period] [...] cinema, for a great many women, was part of daily and weekly routines of work and leisure experience [...]' (Stead, 2018, p. 19).

Or as Lisa Stead further surmises:

As women came to constitute the majority of cinemagoers, 1920s titles such as *Picturegoer* (the successor of *The Pictures*) and *Picture Show* became an essential item for anyone interested wanting intimate details about the glamorous female performers they watched on screen. The fan magazine had a unique advantage in this respect in the silent era. It was able to supply coveted information to its readers about the eye, hair colour and speaking voices of their otherwise silent, black and white screen idols. (University of Exeter, 2011)

It could also be argued that the movie stars most commercially idealised were women, mainly because they were best positioned in the magazine to sell the ideologies that could be best commercialised by the magazines. Those idealised beauty standards in women were certainly being sold more to women.

Keep That Wedding Day Complexion

The blushing bride of today should be the blushing bride of tomorrow, retaining the cream of goodness, freshness in outdoor radiant beauty. Her facial beauty should remain for the passing of each moment be recalled as your life.

Keep that radiant complexion which graced your wedding day, and you will keep your youth. With a fresh, smooth skin, no wrinkles ever come on.

The problem of keeping such a complexion was solved centuries ago. The method is simple—the method which the world still follows.

Cosmetic cleansing the secret

To keep your complexion fresh and smooth you need keep it as spotlessly clean. You need allow dirt and impurities to collect, clogging the pores of your skin, dullness and fine wrinkles.

You can't depend on cold cream to do the cleaning—expensive applications help little at the point. The better way is to wash your face with the rich, washing lather blended from palm and olive oils, the cleanser used by Cleopatra.

Science has combined these two Oriental oils in the blend, twice facial soap which bears their name. This soap never has a bit of the effects of soap and water—the soap you use is Palmolive.

How it acts

The rich, perfect lather, wrapped from the olive, penetrates the pores and removes every trace of the clinging accumulation which, when washed, leaves the skin so often raw and sore. Blackheads and blotches.

To soothe the skin and keep it flexible and smooth. It dissolves and eliminates, covering impurities and removing every dirt which they have not been told means to leave when using Palmolive. If the skin is inclined to dryness, the time to apply cold cream is after the cosmetic cleansing.

And remember, powder and rouge are particular beauties when applied to a clean skin and removed naturally once in a day.

Don't keep it oily for your face.

Complexion beauty should extend to throat, neck and shoulders. These are signs of complexion as great for the beauty as such of the face itself. The same beautiful cleansing that you do your face will also help to keep your hair and make-up. This is especially for looking and for the best part body when it does for your face.

Not too expensive

Although Palmolive is the finest, whitest facial soap that can be produced, the price is not too high to permit general use on the most beautiful looking.

The moderate price is due to popularity in the numerous hotels which help the Palmolive factories working day and night, and produce the quantities of the world's use in vast quantities.

This soap which would cost at least 10 cents a cake if made in small quantities, is sold for only 10 cents a piece all over the world. The old time beauty of the face may now be enjoyed the world over.

THE PALMOLIVE COMPANY
MILWAUKEE, U. S. A.

10c

PALMOLIVE

Figure 20. “Keep that Wedding Day Complexion” Palmolive Soap advert, *Photoplay*, January 1922, p. 79

This is also evidenced by the monthly UK fan magazine *Picturegoer*'s 1927 issues only having two male actors out of twelve featured on the cover. There were and still are exceptions to this bias, as referenced by the US *Motion Picture* magazine's 'Valentino's different masculinity' in *The Four Horseman* (dir. Rex Ingram, 1921), which led the fan magazine *Motion Picture Magazine* (1911-1977) to 'eventually abandon its long-standing front-page policy. "If we ever decide to have men on the covers," the editors wrote in October, "[Valentino] will be the first man" (Bertellini, 2019, p. 113).



Figure 21. Rudolph Valentino "The Sheik" 1921, On the Cover of *Motion Picture Magazine*, February 1922, <https://www.collectorsweekly.com/stories/233385-rudolph-valentino-the-sheik-1921-on-t>

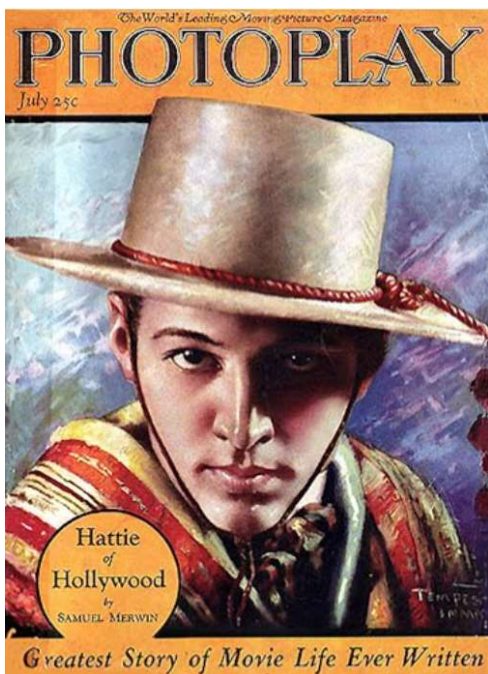


Figure 22. *Photoplay*, July, 1922 followed a few months later with this cover of Valentino promoting *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* from the previous year.

This is not surprising. After all, the movies are an evolution from the visual culture industries where men produce and professionally dominate, while women appear.

The 1989 Guerrilla Girls infamous poster *Do Women Have to Be Naked to Get Into The Met. Museum?* highlights the power disparity of cultural production between the sexes. As of 2012: 'Less than 4% of the artists in the Modern Art sections are women, but 76% of the nudes are female' (www.guerrillagirls.com).

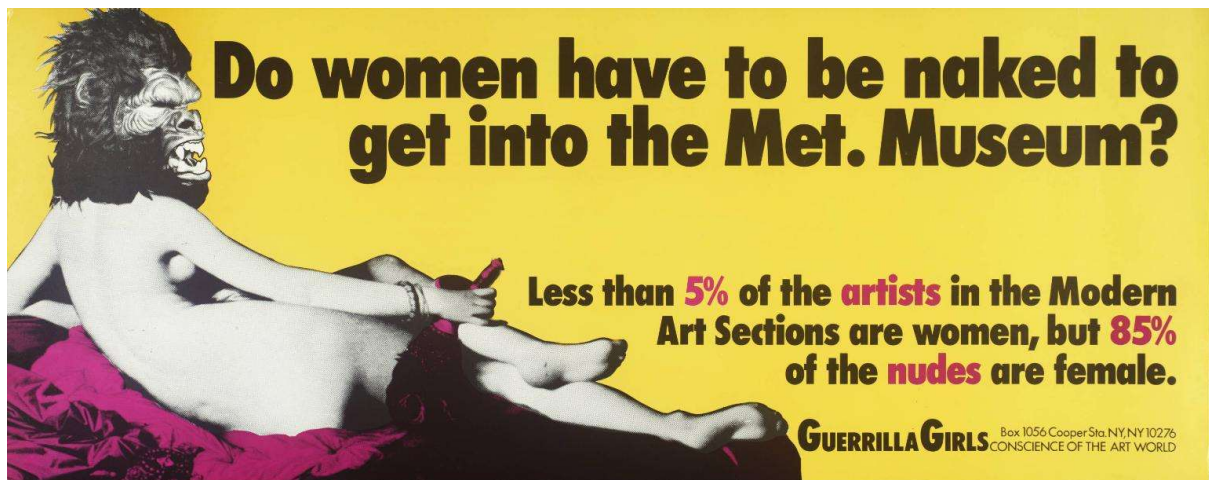


Figure 23. “Do Women Have to Be Naked to Get Into The Met. Museum?” guerrillagirls.com shown at <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/guerrilla-girls-do-women-have-to-be-naked-to-get-into-the-met-museum-p78793>

If hyperreality is a collection of images, perceptions, signs, and familiar societal meanings distilled from an array of timelines and societies, then the long history of men producing images and ideals of women has contributed to the ease in which the movies and the fan magazines replicated this. Hyperreality takes these replicated components and compresses them into a composite, simulating a truth. The truth of women, the fantasy ideal woman, is easier to simulate due to all the layers that came before the 1920s. The mechanisms for this simulation to be distributed were very much in place as consequence of the growth of the motion picture.

James Quirk's fantasy included women and this fantasy was sold back to women, made accessible to women through commodities such as cosmetics and clothing, more often than not, aimed at women and equally promoted by female movie stars. There is a great deal to be said about why women were targeted so, but a more interesting question to ask within this work is whether hyperreality affects gender differently. The ideal worlds and realities of the screen were sold to women. A simplistic explanation would be to explain this as a consequence of living in a Patriarchy, and to a large extent this is true. But what is evident is that hyperreality needs distribution and the mechanisms for production and distribution were predominately owned by one sex. It is more a case of an uneven distribution of power rather than simply inequality. Men have, through cultural and economic dominance, the capacity and power to create the environment needed for hyperreality to function in. Women, for a myriad of reasons, are shaped by it and consume the hyperreal, in this case, through the pages of the fan magazines.

Everything is possible in the movies

During the start of the twentieth century and during what Michael Shull (2000, p. 5) describes as a 'tremendous social upheaval in the United States' the film industry grew to dominate American culture by 1929 and by export, seemingly everywhere else too. Shull locates this popular entertainment pervasion with a sense of linking back to familiar story telling tropes and 'conventions of nineteenth century theatre and vaudeville, the movies rapidly created a hybrid artistic style that has become an ideal transmitter and perpetrator of the nation's political-cultural symbols' (Shull, 2000, p. 5). The term 'ideal transmitter' is useful here as the movies initially conveyed a visual profusion of Plato's poetry consisting of borrowed and emulated emotion through the silent films. Well-known stories by famous authors such as Lewis Carrol, fairy tales such as *Cendrillon* (Cinderella) directed by Georges Méliès (1899) or the Dickens' classic *A Christmas Carol* presented in a (1910) Thomas Edison film (www.openculture.com). These were ideas and ideals that needed to be familiar enough to the audience to be received and their narratives understood. In some respects, early cinema was where hyperreality was working in a new media, with a new reach; familiar ideas but flattened and transmitted with new meanings that simulate better realities. The timings of the movie industry's growth and with it the fan magazines, in terms of societal context, is worth

pausing to consider, because the new images and narratives of new ideas and perhaps old fears, were received by a modernist society negotiating what it meant to be modern in the new century.

Although the increase in companies producing films and the films themselves grew rapidly, and ‘the number of American companies producing commercial entertainment films in the period between 1909 and 1920 exceeded one hundred’ (Shull, 2000, p. 7), this was not a one-sided relationship. ‘With regard to the motion pictures and their impact upon society, all one can be sure of is a significant and intricate degree of mutual influence’ (ibid). The linear movie narratives delivered what was desired and expected by the audience and the marketing departments in terms of ideologies and plots with ‘socially positive resolutions’. These were stories with easily resolved narratives, flattened narratives that were easy for audiences to connect with and that were often gendered.

Agata Frymus (2017, p. 24) describes these Hollywood narratives as ‘where everything is possible’ and were often plots around old stories, found throughout differing cultures and different timelines as:

Dreams of achieving wealth through social mobility’ [...] where these ‘rags to riches’ narratives suggested that any individual can rise to luxury, provided they are honest, thrifty, and hard-working. For men, it was perseverance and dedication that would eventually pay off in elevation above their working-class origin. For women that meant being recognised as exceptionally virtuous and beautiful by a rich businessman and getting married to him.

The movies peddled familiar plots retold and rehashed, replicating visual and emotive ideals of what it is to be human and what it is to be a woman or a man, where the simulation has replaced the reality. Frymus explains this in terms of the actors themselves as; ‘In their gradual evolution into stars, film actors can be considered emblematic of the shift from depth to surface’ (Frymus, pp. 25-26). This depth to surface is the flattening that hyperreality produces. The visual and narrative movie tropes played out by actors are so replicated and duplicated *en masse* that they have erased their anchor to reality.

The playing out of woman as replicated caricature in the movies, and by extension the fan magazines of the 1920s, is part of a wider societal context of shaping woman as modern consumer. What is interesting to note is the difference in woman as consumer between the two main US and UK fan magazines, which were both aimed at women. The US *Photoplay* had a lot more adverts and more non-movie related adverts in the early 1920s than the UK's *Picturegoer* of the late 1920s. The link between Hollywood movies and the selling of consumer culture seems to have been made much earlier in the US.

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PHOTOPLAY MAGAZINE—ADVERTISING SECTION 3

Why some women look old before their time

THERE are women of forty who seem ten years younger. And there are girls of twenty-five who never fully enjoy the youth that should be theirs. In this fast-moving era, with its ill-adjudged habits of health, many women suffer in look from the poison they themselves set up—the poison of Auto-Intoxication.

TRUE beauty comes from within. The contour of face, the cast of a feature are things that you may not alter. But a fine complexion—every woman may have—though a complexion is something that cannot forever be stored on with a powder puff. For a clear skin, flashing eyes and radiant animation are results of a healthy physical condition—they come from within yourself.

Yet glance about you and see how few women enjoy perfect health. See the women who are old before their time. See how this quick-step existence, this round of duties, cares and pleasures have taken their toll from nine out of every ten women you know.

Auto-Intoxication is at the root of many modern ills

Nature rebels when we violate the simple rules of health, when we lead nervous but physically inactive lives. Digestive disturbances develop—the food we eat fails to properly nourish the body and, frequently, stoppage of waste products in the intestines causes—bringing a host of ills in its train. For when food is allowed to remain within us for more than twenty-four hours it starts to ferment and to set up poisons which are spread through the body by the blood—causing the common American ailment, Auto-Intoxication (self-poisoning).

Auto-Intoxication shows itself in dull headaches, fatigue, indigestion and in a hundred different ways. It makes women look tired and worn. It brings on a prostration—depression, irritability.

To keep physically fit—to meet the exacting demands of present day life, stoppage in the intestines must never be permitted to exist—the enervating poisons of waste must be swept away.

How to guard against Auto-Intoxication

The first step in combating Auto-Intoxication is to correct "stoppage" and to sweep away the poisons of waste. To do this the Sal Hepatica, a palatable effervescent saline, is a safe and approved remedy. It stimulates the release of the natural secretion of water in the intestines and this, in turn, brings about prompt elimination by flushing.

You may take Sal Hepatica on arising, or, if you prefer, half an hour before any meal.

Just off the press there is a new book on "Auto-Intoxication" which explains more fully the causes and effects of this self-poisoning and the many ills which follow in its train. It also explains how you may avoid this insidious condition and clearly and logically it tells you how to keep physically fit.

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SAL HEPATICA is a naturally balanced combination of mineral salts, fortified with sodium phosphate. Dissolved in a small amount of water it makes a sparkling, effervescent, palatable drink.

Sal Hepatica

BRUNNEN-MEYER CO., Dept. G-7, 11 West Second, New York, N.Y.

Write for our Free Booklet that explains fully the cause and effect of Auto-Intoxication and poisoning.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____

Figure 24. Inside front cover full page advert for “genuine” Underwood typewriter and facing page advert for “Sal Hepatica” to improve a woman’s complexion from the “Advertising Section” of *Photoplay*, January 1927

to shape the stories on the screen, to own them via the movie studios, to direct them and write about them and edit the fan magazines that promoted them was held predominantly by men.

Fan magazines relied on studios for providing them with information and gossip on stars. In this symbiotic relationship, the studios gained a great outlet for their carefully crafted star images. By sustaining media interest the studio publicity departments became proficient in catering for so-called celebrity gossip. Motion picture stars were just products to sell (Stead, 2018, p. 25). And by extension these movie star products sold products to the readers; products that enabled the reader to replicate the reality flattened on the cover of the fan magazine and seen on the screen:



Figure 26. *Picturegoer*, February, 1927, cover with Gladys Cooper and a sample of Gladys' own shampoo that makes her look like a movie star—and the reader could have that look too thanks to *Picturegoer* mediating this delivery.

Glancy (2013, p. 46) argues that the function of fan magazines of that time was to ‘provide [...] a forum to consider and discuss the pleasures of cinema going.’ But that is a simplistic reading of the magazines’ strategies. *Picturegoer* ‘targeted relatively affluent women who [...] enjoyed cinema-going as one part of a modern and aspirational lifestyle’ (ibid, p. 51). Putting Gladys Cooper and her “own” hair shampoo on the cover does more than just provide a pleasant space to discuss movies in. In targeting affluent woman, *Picturegoer* was selling access to a better real, an achievable lifestyle that matched the screen fantasy. Through the magazine you could achieve Gladys Cooper’s glossy hair, her perfect hair on the screen could now be the reader’s perfect hair in the *real* world.

The UK fan magazine *Picturegoer* between December 1927 and December 1929 charted the move from “silent” to “talkies” with an increase in pages from 88 in 1927, to 108 pages in 1929 and the quality of the paper changed too. The paper become glossier, more luxurious to the touch—whiter. The act of reading the fan magazine felt different to the touch, more luxurious. Advertising messages became more centred on the woman as an active consumer and the fan magazines utilised the movie stars themselves to sell their on screen beauty secrets from skin cream to hair conditioner. It is this gendered audience for the cinema that could be combined with a gendered consumer culture aimed at women that enabled this increase in pages. Women were being sold the fantasy that they saw at the cinema.

The 1920s as transfer

Much has been written about the 1920s by historians, social theorists and aficionados. In terms of the hyperreal this decade is of use to us because it was a *transfer* moment in the evolution of hyperreality. It heralded a transfer from conspicuous consumption to consumer culture. What is meant by this transfer is not a new society driven by excess, but rather a shift in access to excess, mediated in part by the movies and the fan magazines. The conspicuous excesses of the leisure class named by Thorstein Veblen in the Victorian fin de siècle are now accessible to the masses (Smith, 2010, p. 39), communicated as a desirable right and culture by the movie stars in the movies and the myths further facilitated by the fan magazines. Baudrillard explores this further in *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (1970, p.

193) and quoted by Smith (2010, p. 41) as ‘Affluence *does not exist*, but it only has to make us believe it exists to be an effective myth’. Hollywood enabled the mass production of belief in affluence; a huge distribution of myth, that just did not have the reach and scale confined to the consumer magazines of the Victorian fin de siècle. Richard Dyer further explores this idea of myth and conflates it with Hollywood stardom:

The myth of success also suggests that success is worth having — in the form of conspicuous consumption. Barry King has suggested that the stars imply that not only success but money is worth having, that the stars “are models of rapid social mobility through salary”. (Dyer, 1998, p. 42)

The stars in this era were acting out a more accessible and brasher ‘world of good living’ (ibid, p. 43) which the fan magazines brought to the people.

Picturegoers’s page volume and advertising increase during the “silent” to “talkies” era also coincides with the “‘new middle class’ of the interwar era’ that Glancy (2013, p. 51) identifies as the *Picturegoer* readership. The British masses were developing ideals developed into a lifestyle influenced by American motion pictures. The riches and fantasy on the cinema screen were now accessible to the readers of the fan magazines, including access to the stars. The life on screen could now be purchased. This is what I mean by *transfer* in this chapter.

Hyperreality in the 1920s, through the development of cinema and the resulting fan magazines, enabled a transition from conspicuous consumption where the messages travel *down*, to consumer culture which was powered to an extent by the masses *upwards*. What was popular was desired by the audience and thus flourished by the power of the Hollywood industry and its processes. The star system, America’s Hollywood, the movies and their influence within the fan magazines facilitated this upward movement as Glancy (2013, p. 17) suggests in terms of ‘Americanization’:

In Europe, and throughout much of the twentieth century, the term also referred to the exercise of American influences. Here, too, it was customs, manner, values and language that was at stake, but in European contexts these influences were not sanctioned by cultural authority figures. Instead they rose ‘from below’ and

specifically from the proliferation of American popular culture among working-class communities.

What is interesting in the Glancy account is the Old Europe authority being challenged by an American culture industry flowing out from Hollywood during this period. The term “Old Europe” is deliberately vague and used rather than a specific “English” because the visual staging, the aesthetics and costumes were more of a pastiche of a half-known European fantasy history than an re-enactment of English historical costume. This is Hollywood’s early version of the “Medievalworld” theme park seen later in the 1973's *Westworld* (dir. Michael Crichton).



Figure 27. Turner, W. B., ‘The Hap’orth of Tar’ *Picturegoer*, January 1927, pp. 12-13

In W. B. Turner’s feature “The Hap’orth of Tar”, lamenting the inaccuracies and careless production mistakes of famous historical movies, it is interesting to note that the movies Turner berates are mostly myths and legends from Old Europe, retold by Hollywood and then exported back to Europe.

One such silent historical film berated by Turner is *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (dir. Robert Vignola, 1922). Turner bemoans Hollywood for sending “our” history back to “us”, acted out badly, with ‘wealthy Americans, who, having “dressed up” for a fancy-dress party, were feverishly wishing they hadn’t.’ Turner goes on to suggest that Hollywood ‘honestly believed they had presented us an authentic page of our history. So deep-seated was their belief in their powers of recreating the past that they soon issued Yolanda’ (*Picturegoer*, Jan., 1927, pp. 12-13).



Figure 28. *Yolanda*, (dir. Robert G. Vignola, 1924) <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0015518/> The plot of *Yolanda* is entirely fantastic: ‘Princess Mary of Burgundy, traveling in disguise using the name of Yolanda, attends a silk fair and falls in love with Maximilian, who has disguised himself as a knight. Later Maximilian is framed and imprisoned by conspirators, but is saved by Mary. She and Maximilian plan to wed, but when the Swiss threaten Mary’s father, the duke, with war if the marriage occurs, he arranges a marriage for her with the mentally unstable Dauphin of France. Maximilian determines to rescue her from marriage with the dauphin--even if it means war with the Swiss’.

The Americans of Turner's complaints, feverish and careless in their repackaging of Old Europe's history, illustrate an earlier quote where America is described as an 'exuberant energy'. The movies allowed and enabled an exuberance in retelling history, making it "better", more romantic and thrilling, but also more linear and flattened to fit the new story telling format. History, and not just famous stories, could now be flattened and streamlined, improved, and made more entertaining through the movie medium. The nation's myths could be retold and sold at home and abroad.

Glancy (2013, p. 14) opens the first chapter in his work *Hollywood and the Americanization of Britain from 1920s to the Present* quoting the famous English journalist and newspaper editor W. T. Stead from 1902:

The advent of the United States of America as the greatest of world powers is the greatest political, social and commercial phenomenon of our times. [...] It is only when we look at the manifold manifestations of the exuberant energy of the United States, and the worldwide influence which they are now exerting upon the world in general and the British Empire in particular that we realise how comparatively insignificant are all other events of our time.

This quote puts into context the cultural power America had and continues to have, in terms of not just politics and might, but cultural might through the 'manifestations' of a nation's 'exuberant energy'. The development of cinema is part of this energy. It also fits in with a nation imagined, branded, and built upon legends. The cinema allowed America to be imaged and repackaged and to distribute not just its own myths but its own self-generated hyperreality. This is a hyperreality that could be sold to audiences at home and exported to other empires, the British one in particular. There is money to be made by a few, selling the hyperreal to the masses.

Daniel Boorstin discusses this global mediation of the American image via the technologically advanced Hollywood business which facilitated a 'precocity, and especially our ability to make attractive motion pictures' (Boorstin, 2012, p. 241). Writing in the 1960s, before Baudrillard, Boorstin goes on to describe a time where the images come before the ideals. The precocity he identifies enables 'us to flood with American images the people who

have never heard of American ideals and who do not know whether we have any ideals' (ibid). Although these quotes are further along in time periods than the 1920s, what is happening in the 1920s is the start of this creation and export that Boorstin explores. Hyperreality's reach is not just in message but in the mechanisms of distribution.

Boorstin says in the 60s what could have been said of the 20s; 'We risk being the first people in history to have been able to make their illusions so vivid, so persuasive, so "realistic" that they can live in them' (ibid). Hollywood helped to develop these illusions, to make them real, better than real with relatable fictions that felt true, combined with lighting, sets, special effects and later sound—all the *accoutrements* of the real. The fan magazines helped bring these illusions to life *outside* of the cinema as they served as a conduit between industry and audience. The fan magazines in their advertising, provided the things and objects needed to enable these illusions to be lived in. Providing a platform for behind-the-scenes movie gossip as well as just useful information about new releases, the magazines provided the knowledge to consume these movies, totally. The magazines facilitated a connection between the movies and consumer culture, a world where the audience could live in it, extending the messages and ideals of the movies, American ideals, into the private space of the audience/reader through advertising.

Did America, seemingly more than any other country, have the conditions and the industry, for hyperreality to thrive and in turn, export its reverberations back to Old Europe? Glancy's (2013, p. 14) 1927 *Daily Express* quote from 'the country's [UK] "most powerful film critic"' (p. 16) G. A. Atkinson on lamenting the influence Hollywood has on British audiences, would suggest so:

The plain truth about British film salutation is that the bulk of our picturegoers are Americanized to an extent that makes them regard the British film as a foreign film, and an interesting but more frequently irritating interlude in their favourite entertainment. They go to see American stars. They have been brought up on American publicity. They talk America, think America, and dream America. We have several million people, mostly women, who, to all intent and purpose are temporary American citizens.

What is interesting about Atkinson's assertions, is that the movies were American, but the advertising in the UK fan magazines were very British. So, we have a tension between Americanisation and a consumer culture that harked back to British Empire aspirations of conspicuous consumption evaluated by Veblen and demonstrated in the aspirational consumer magazines of that era coupled with notions of Englishness.

The transition factor of this era can be seen in the change of advertising strategy employed by the 'Quintessentially English' Grossmith's perfumes dating back to early Victorian England. Perfume and cosmetics once touted as being worn by members of the British Royal family in the adverts of the Victorian consumer magazines, are in 1927 being endorsed by a new, more accessible royalty; movie stars. Specifically, in this example, it is Betty Balfour, 'Britain's Queen of Happiness' (Hutchinson, 2019):

The Picturegoer

**GROSSMITH'S ORIENTAL
FACE POWDERS & CREAMS**

"Phul-Nana"
"Shem-el-Nessim"
"Tsang-Ihang"

What Miss Betty Balfour
thinks about them

What Miss Betty Balfour thinks about Messrs. Grossmith's Preparations is that they are all so exquisitely scented, and so wonderfully effective, that they are the only ones in every woman's toilet—they are the only ones.

Betty Balfour

It's good
advice—
**GIVE
THIS HANDSOME
CASKET—**

A gift of her own special Powder, Cream and Perfume will be doubly welcome in this charming Casket just introduced by Grossmith. To-day, every girl who prizes her complexion follows the lead of famous beauties and uses Grossmith's Face Powder after applying the special skin vitalising Vanishing Cream. This means that those cells usually clogged by ordinary powder are left free to the nourishing forces of the air, and the delicate loveliness of youth's fresh bloom is restored. Grossmith's Face Powder matches perfectly the skin's natural tint and is marvellously smooth and clinging.

Of all Chemists and Perfumers.
J. GROSSMITH & SON, Ltd., Newgate St., London.

PERFUME 10/6, 7/6, 5/6 and 3/-
CACHOUS 6d. per box.

POWDER 1/3 CREAM 1/3
(HANDBAG SIZE 6^p EACH)

Figure 29. "Grossmith's Oriental Face Powers and Creams", *Picturegoer*, December 1927, p. 71

‘Grossmith soon became renowned and esteemed for their elegant perfumes which captured the spirit of the Victorian era, when exotic places and travel inspired fragrance’ (www.bloomperfume.co.uk). Their advertising can be seen in the consumer periodicals of the Victorian age and here too in the fan magazines of the 1920s, their famous Phul-Nana inspired by Indian flowers, a country very much part of the British Empire and promising all the access of a Grand Tour, but within a lady’s boudoir. The wealth and travel of the landed gentry seen in the movies was now available to women consumers as a perfume.

An approximation of a desired lifestyle

This decade was a transfer moment; where conspicuous consumption dovetailed with consumer culture. The 1920s hosted a relationship where technological advances collided with a fervour for modernity and an enthusiastic mutiny against the nineteenth century’s social confinement. Manufacturing made the commodities, lifestyle and conspicuous consumption of the Gilded Age’s wealthy and elite more accessible to a growing middle class, to ordinary people who had thrived under the capitalism of the West. Roger Mason (1998, p. 71) discusses this transfer using Veblen’s work as:

Veblen had demonstrated that the Gilded Age conspicuous consumption of the very rich had been widely emulated and copied, within available sources, at every level of society. At the same time, this ‘natural’ tendency of people to emulate the behaviour of their perceived social superiors was being actively encouraged by a business community anxious to increase sales of goods and services. So successful were they that, by the turn of the century, status-driven expenditure and consumption could be routinely observed in the stores and high streets not only of the United States but throughout Western Europe.

The use of the word ‘emulated’ is interesting here. An exact copy for many would not be possible, or even desired, but a facsimile *is* possible and more readily accessible. Changes in the ‘social, economic and commercial environment’ (ibid) of the 1920s meant that an approximation of a desired lifestyle was possible for many. The evolving concept of glamour enveloped, styled and sold the era too, with technical advances seen in travel and in the entertainment industry. In terms of travel, automobiles were now not just ways to travel from one point to another, but glamorous and desirable commodities that said something about the

passengers and driver. The glamorous and desirable aspect of car ownership could be seen in the movies and adverts for cars then followed in the fan magazines. The myth of affluence was being communicated through the movies, through the advertising messages in the fan magazines, and but also through the serial fiction illustrated in the same magazines: fiction and affluence were being spliced together like never before.

Fan magazines like *Photoplay* were able to develop several sales angles in one magazine. In discussing the reporting on the movies, they would describe scenes of car chases and show glamorous vehicles from the movie marketing artworks, through the adverts for new automobiles and by illustrating the cars used as inset pieces in the fiction published. The role the car plays in this fiction bridges so many different meanings for the receiver. The fiction resembled the movie plots, but generally set in “real life” only better, more adventurous, more glamorous, more *boffo*, and acting as an in-between to the fiction of the movies and the reality of the reader. The fiction in the magazines, like the fiction seen in the *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1955 (explored in the previous chapter), further sold the “real life” ideal retailed by the magazine. Fiction built around the movie theme entertains the readers dreaming about the movies with a story about a man dreaming about the movies, which somehow manages to make the movies that bit more dream-like and desirable. But also, incongruously, *more* real, as the readers watch someone like themselves crave the carefully manufactured romance of Hollywood.

Photoplay some years before “The Talkies” published a fictional short story “Liar’s Lane” by Frank R. Adams, which was about ‘an ambitious young scenario writer who discovered that all final “close-ups” are not on the screen’ (January 1924, p. 38). Dick leaves his small town and heads ‘naturally’ to ‘motion pictures’, specifically to Hollywood because the ‘Pacific coast promised the beauty and romance for which his soul was starved’ (ibid, p. 39). The story is illustrated with Dick, the main protagonist, looking for his dreams, looking for that reality which his ‘soul’ craved, and it is interesting that in living the life he dreamed of—one that he saw in the motion pictures, he is pictured in his new automobile.



Figure 30. Top right, a stunt jump in a car ‘he figured an automobile could jump as well as a horse, And it did . . .’ for the movie *After a Million*, (dir. Jack Nelson, 1924) in *Photoplay*, June, 1924, p. 73

Liar's Lane

The story of an ambitious young scenario writer who discovered that all final "close-ups" are not on the screen

By Frank R. Adams

Illustrated by Arthur William Brown

BARDING houses all over the land round nightly to the click of rented typewriters assiduously spewing page after page of romance all laid out, ready to be shot, just as soon as a good motion picture director realizes its worth.

Richard Lord lived in such a boarding house in Duvenport, Iowa, and he had taken a correspondence course entitled "From Inkwell to Projection Room," so he had the technique of the photoplay at his finger's ends. But Duvenport is not one of the cities of the world about which romance will ever be written. It is busy, progressive, prosperous, but it will never, presumably, be a town to break your heart over; or even in, like Paris or Lucerne or Winchester or New Orleans. Duvenport is a better setting for life than for love. It's too damn comfortable. Who can successfully mount their lives away in a city full of open plumbing, steam heat, movies, Rotarians, Lens and Kevanians? You've got to "step" in Duvenport or you'll lose your number and romance makes way for commerce in the lives of its young along about the end of the high school age.

Dick bored to the yoke of commerce—he was a bookkeeper for an office appliance manufacturer—but he had not sold his soul. Even at the age of thirty he still yearned—not exactly for higher things but for something, for some in which to stretch cramped ideas and ideals. The consciousness of something beyond, of a dynamic life that he had never connected up with, disturbed Dick, kept him from being a 100 per cent Corn Husker.

Not that he had ever been anywhere or seen anything. A year at Iowa State University had been the pinnacle of his education. There might have been more, but family financial necessity interfered.

No his adventures afield had perhaps been confined to mental ones. Because he thought that he could write—an idea planted in his mind by a professor of Freshman English—he had struggled with one form of literary expression after another, hoping that one of them would prove his emancipation, would really furnish wings to lift his body as well as his soul out of the industrially beleaguered Mississippi Valley.

Unfortunately Dick had nothing to write about. Life had given him no experiences, nothing of romance.

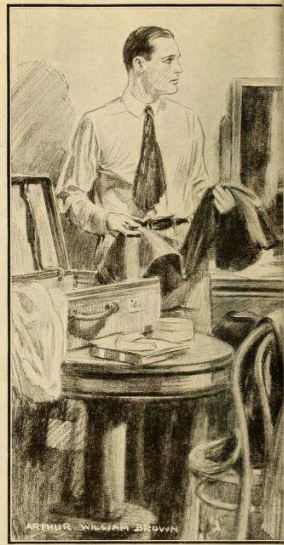
Unless you counted Katie Conway.

Katie had a room on the same floor of the same boarding house that Dick inhabited.

For five years they had sat next to each other at Mrs. Sorella's table, and after dinner had kidded each other for awhile or gone to the movies together for all but the first month of those five years.

Conversation between them never progressed from kidding to sentiment—never.

Katie Conway was like Duvenport. She was efficient, clean, comfortable, not temperamental. You couldn't imagine her loveless. Her blue velvet eyes looked out too squarely at the world ever to be dazzled at the behavior of a recalcitrant lover. Her skin was lovely—everybody wondered how she kept it that way, working in an office—but upon first meeting her you didn't right away get an almost imperative impulse to



put your cheek against it in one of its visible areas and find out if it really was like cool rose leaves. She had a classic figure (which isn't as much of a compliment nowadays as it was when Queen Victoria did away with the bustle for reasons best known to herself), but the masculine beholder did not follow her around hoping that she would faint so that he might have an excuse for holding it in his arms.

No, Katie was too much a personality. Not masculine. On the contrary she was the extreme of femininity, but her womanliness was of the maternal type rather than the sweet-heart. It was easy to picture her surrounded by adoring children but it was more difficult to imagine the father in the family group.

No, one couldn't write fiction about Katie. Katie was life, not romance.

Too bad, because down deep in Dick Lord's heart there was a spark of genius that only needed life, love and the pursuit of unhappiness to fan it into flame. Dick knew it himself. It gnawed at him constantly. That was what made him restless, discontented, why he beat his untired wings against his book-keeper's cage.

The tragedy of lack of opportunity is a thousand times



Dick wanted her close but did not dare. "Miss, I love you," he whispered

"No, Dick."

"I wanted to be sure to say good-bye. I'm leaving in the morning, you know. Can I come in?"

"No, not now," she denied hastily from behind the door. "I'll come to your room presently. Perhaps I can help you with your packing."

Dick accepted cheerfully and went out to his own coop. Everything there was in anticipatory disorder, clothes occupied the chairs and the bed and one of the new grips lay open on his table.

He went about the last rites, whistling. Dick scarcely knew how to whistle. Never before had he been sufficiently light hearted to practice. Now the frost was gone, spring in him was waking up, spring and a singing heart.

A rap on the door.

"Come in."

Katie, of course. Dick scarcely looked up at first, but when she remained by the door he threw her a second inquiring glance.

"Why, Katie?"

The cause of the exclamation was Katie's costume, that and Katie herself.

She wore very little besides a filmy negligee over—he hoped—lingerie of some sort. Anyway the entire outfit clung to Katie like a damp postage stamp. It goes without saying that she was lovely. What woman isn't that way, especially if she has gorgeous black hair, bushels of it, which she has let down in cascading ripples over her shoulders?

Dick tried to laugh the situation off. "Katie, you had gone to bed and forgotten that I was leaving until I woke you up. Was that it?"

Katie smiled. "Perhaps. Anyway I've come to kiss you good-bye now."

"Kiss me?" Dick recoiled, blushing. Kisses were not in their repertoire, never had been.

"You weren't going without that?" Katie asked simply. "No, he wasn't. He could tell that by looking at her pleased

ing eyes. There was something in them that he had never noticed until then, something distinctly soft but compelling. Perhaps he had never really looked before.

At any rate there was no denying them or her.

Right there in the open doorway he kissed Katie for the first time, kissed her and held her close.

Just as he had feared, there was little between him and Katie but a couple of lovers of negligible silk. She melted to him as if she were flowing metal.

No man should be saying good-bye to a woman in that fashion. Dizzy a little and stilled by a sudden emotion, Dick released her, even pushed her away.

"Good-bye," he said huskily.

"Do you want to leave me?" Katie asked.

"Katie, you mustn't put it that way!"

Katie swallowed hard. She would not cry. "I had to do this, Dick. I mean the clothes and getting you to kiss me and everything. I couldn't let you go without finding out if you knew I was a woman, if you could ever regard me as anything but a pal. I knew you didn't love me and I still know it, but might as well tell you that I've cared, oh, for years. I've been waiting for you to find it out. You never would so I had to come right out and tell you. I'm not ashamed of it. It's the only thing I've lived for since I've known you."

"Katie!" he tried to interrupt.

"No, I must say it all now. I'm not the kind of a woman to blame a man for not loving her. I've taken all that into account. But I belong to you so absolutely that it would be wrong for you not to know it. I couldn't say good-bye without telling you, without giving you the chance to—"

Dick laughed, but with the quality of tears in his laughter. He understood now. "Katie, dear," he said and took her in his arms. (This time he was not conscious of the nearness of her body at all.) "Katie, dear, you're the sweetest girl in the world and I know you'd never want me to be leaving you, feeling like a kicked cur. Would you now?"

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 121.]

Figure 31. 'Liar's Lane' by Frank R. Adams, (ibid, p. 40) Photoplay, January 1924, p. 38

What that 'something' was, was the approximation of a reality; a collection of images, signs and meaning taken from an array of timelines and societies. This collection is then mediated and generated as visual; communicated and sold. These components are compressed into a composite. They are either free from all origins or were generated without an origin. Hyperreality then offers the end result back to the receiver and this in turn, is mistaken for a truth. The hyperreal's truth precedes the reality accepted by the receiver. The hyperreality of the Hollywood onscreen lifestyle is crystallised in the aspirational automobile sold as desired necessity to this lifestyle, on the pages of the fan magazines. This process is a seductive amalgamation of societal factors both desired and accepted as truth by the receiver. The car then becomes a glamorous commodity that works harder to communicate better realities on social hierarchy, nationality, freedom, wealth, gender, and modernity than it does taking someone from A to B. The car means something more than just a way to travel. 'In 1900 there were 8,000 automobiles in the United States; by 1926 there were twenty million'

(Currell, 2009, p. 6). Car adverts seem out of place in a fan magazine for the movies, but not if the relationship between conspicuous consumption, consumer culture and the movies is acknowledged. All of these components help to shape an illusion; Baudrillard's myth of affluence (Smith, 2010, p. 41) bought and believed by the reader. Baudrillard explored this relationship in its ability to enable hyperreality as, "All of our values are simulated," he [Baudrillard] told *The New York Times* in 2005. "What is freedom? We have a choice between buying one car or buying another car? It's a simulation of freedom" (Cohen, 2007, New York Times.com).

PHOTOPLAY MAGAZINE—ADVERTISING SECTION 91

It Pleases Everybody!



TO please all manner of people the way the new Overland does, a car has to be just about right in every detail. Mechanics find Overland to be right mechanically. Professional men like Overland because it is faithful and dependable. Farmers appreciate the greater Overland value. Women enjoy the ease with which Overland handles. Salesmen know by experience that Overland can stand no end of the hardest kind of driving.

There is extra satisfaction in the bigger power of the bigger new Overland engine. And in such exclusive advantages as the Overland all-steel body, with baked-enamel finish—Triplex Springs (*Patented*), which *pull* instead of *push* the wheels over bumps—and the stalwart axles liberally equipped with Timken and New Departure bearings.

The new Overland is the greatest Overland ever built—everywhere called the most automobile in the world for the money!

Overland Models: Chassis \$395; Roadster \$495; Red Bird \$695; Champion \$695; Coupe \$750; Sedan \$795; Spad Commercial Car \$523; all prices f. o. b. Toledo. We reserve the right to change prices and specifications without notice.

Willys-Overland, Inc., Toledo, Ohio Willys-Overland Sales Co. Ltd., Toronto, Canada

Overland
Touring \$495
T O B Toledo

When you write to advertisers please mention PHOTOPLAY MAGAZINE.

Figure 32. Two automobile adverts for *Photoplay*, April 1924 issue, Willys-Overland Sales Co., Toronto, Canada, p. 91

Illusion is being sold in this advert for the ‘new Overland’ but what is interesting is not just the car itself but the framing of the car by other signs and codes. Fashionable passengers ride in the car, but in the background appropriated Old Europe markers of class and wealth look on; a well-dressed landed gentry sitting upon a horse looks out from elaborate wrought iron gates separating the car from the estate. But the gates are open. The car suggests an access to this estate and its wealth markers. Buying the car will bring with it a wider access to the lives of the rich and famous as made real and aspirational by the movies.

Aligning people’s characters or identities with wealth, with status symbols, is not a new development for the 1920s and certainly not a new strategy for advertising or magazine features. In the Victorian UK women’s magazine, *The Woman At Home*, romantic illustrations of the stately homes lived in by the great and worthy feature. Ravensworth Castle, the home of Georgiana Baroness Bloomfield for the feature “The Queen’s Friends” (Tooley, *The Woman At Home*, May 1897, p. 41) is case in point:

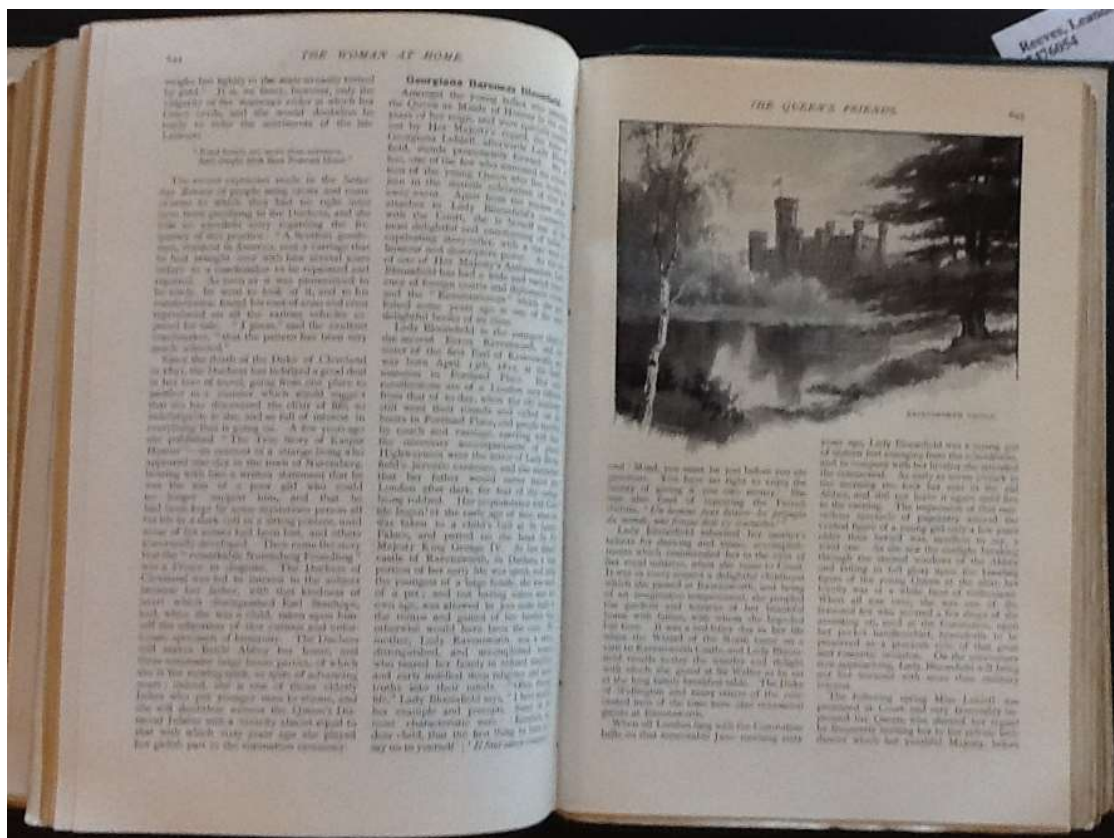


Figure 33. Ravensworth Castle, *The Woman At Home*, 1897

The castle is used to sell the aristocratic authenticity and social worthiness of Baroness Bloomfield—after all, she lives in an *actual* castle, and it even looks very romantic, just like Mapping the Source of the Hyperreal // Leander Reeves, 2022 // PhD thesis // 153

a castle should. Certainly years later in the castle setting for Hollywood's historical films the castles on the screen also look as romantic as Baroness Bloomfield's aristocratic home. By the 1920s, advertisers were selling the castle dream, the stately home ideal, to ordinary people; ordinary people who could afford, or who had access to enough credit to purchase a car or a home that an aristocratic person would own, or at the very least the sort of tasteful soft furnishings that could accompany such a lifestyle.

Selling hyperreality

Simone Weil Davis, (2000, p. 186) *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s* sums up the role of the advertiser in the 1920s as; 'Advertisers of the 1920 may have helped to launch a cultural era devoted to the fetishization of commodities and the commodification of experience [...].' That this was an era where 'through inundation, ads serve to produce an all-round ambiance that encourages consumerism in toto' (Weil Davis, 2000, p.1). It was a decade where many elements worked with the adverts to produce an era of spending, but differently. People's relationship to spending changed in the zeal for modernity but also in their relationship with living in a modernist era. Women shaped the spending not just as consumers for the home within their role as mother and wife, but as increasingly working individuals of leisure and independent income.

Glamorous Hollywood, the resulting fan magazines and of course, those consumer magazines now reaching a million in circulation figures, now styled the relationship between the objects desired and bought by the people. When Weil Davis describes the 'fetishization' of commodities this is part and parcel of *feeling* like an American; a "good" America. A useful process to facilitate with the 1920s seeing a large increase in European migration. Commodities could be used in bringing a nation together—to strengthen a nation's goals by everyone desiring and purchasing the *same* commodities now able to be manufactured on a grand scale. These desires could also be exported back to Old Europe. Hyperreality is not confined by geography; it can be exported.

The commodities purchased may have evolved into automobiles and new technology but the reasons for purchasing them had not. In the peddling of commodities, this era tapped into much older societal values, institutions and expressions of status. Conspicuous consumption enabled those with the money to purchase the lifestyle that the rich had—or certainly a close approximation of that lifestyle. A sort of social mobility could be purchased if you had the means to masquerade (Weil Davis, 2000, pp. 117-118):

The pivotal question about beautification's impact on status was this: was its promise one of democratic class levelling or merely of a more or less effective imitation of the upper class? Ads from the twenties propound both as slavish mimicry of the rich [...] and a more populist insistence that "it is not so much a matter of beauty with different classes of girls as it is how they are fixed up".

Many movies of that time had the "rags to riches" story and this was also transferred into the fan mags via the life stories of the movie stars themselves. Paste jewels, after all, in black and white no matter how big the screen will pass as diamonds to the viewer. US *Vogue* was well established by this time at documenting what rich people, more often than not the newly rich, did and spent their money on. The movies also fulfilled this role and the fan magazines acted then as a bridge, a catalogue of the consumerism shown in the movies. Magazines had been around for some decades teaching readers and the newly wealthy at end of 19th century how to spend their money and be seen spending it well—correctly. The movies enabled the different classes to be played out by actors, a commoner could play a queen, and readers could own the things both the actors and their fictional characters had. Ordinary people could live in a castle too or own a crown. Fiction/commerce/real people/real stars historical myths and adventures were now being melted down in the 1920s and played out by real people. Making the transference of the possibility of a more real, more possible.



Figure 34. Rudolph Valentino and Lois Wilson star in *Monsieur Beaucaire* (dir. Sidney Olcott, 1924)



Figure 35. 'Her Majesty, The Queen of France' "Queen Lois" *Photoplay*, May, 1924, p. 50

“Queen Lois” demonstrates America’s nostalgia for Old Europe, for European wealth, for its romantic social hierarchies. But in the new world it is money rather than title that ultimately frames success because the titled lifestyle can be purchased. These “historical” films such as “Monsieur Beaucaire” often focus on the old history of Europe which can be recreated for the screen and sold back to the viewers, using paste diamonds and elaborate costume jewellery which look like the real thing on screen. History here is mingled with nostalgia and myth to create a pastiche of familiar European looks. To the canny magazines, the furniture used in recreating these rooms, the set furniture of Valentino’s bedroom as case in point—can be advertised to and sold to the readers. It is not difficult to acquire the set and styling of “history” for your own house.

Thorstein Veblen writing at the end of the nineteenth century discusses as almost background context the divide between the leisure classes and the working classes, or rather those who had to work to produce what they needed to survive. This differentiation between those who *had to* and those who didn’t have to work in the manual way we envision was based on a good many different factors. Nobility and birth seem a crucial factor. Veblen first published in 1899 his thoughts and theories on conspicuous consumption with a long contextual discussion of many emerging and developing societies in fairly subjective and sweeping terms, certainly judged by twenty-first century academic standards. But what is worth nothing here is this distinction between the non-industrial professions of those in power and therefore termed at ‘upper-class’, and those of an ‘inferior class’ who work in industry, or who manually toil for their wealth, which he describes as including ‘slaves and other dependants, and ordinarily also all women’ (Veblen, 2005, p. 2).

The institution of a leisure class is found in its best development at the higher stages of the barbarian culture; as, for instance, in feudal Europe or feudal Japan. In such communities the distinction between classes is very rigorously observed; and the feature of most striking economic significance in these class differences is the distinction maintained between employments proper to the several classes. The upper classes are by custom exempt or excluded from industrial occupations, and are reserved for certain employments to which a degree of honour attaches. (Veblen, 2005, p. 1)

Although this structure in the way societies manage themselves is for another thesis, what is of use to consider is the spoils of the leisure class becoming tangible to the working classes.

The dividing lines between classes were becoming more blurred. Simply speaking, there was an increasing sense that what was previously only available to the ruling elites could be bought by those who had generated the funds themselves. Indeed, further on in the twentieth century, those who could procure the credit to acquire these social spoils of hierarchy. Veblen 'was one of the first theorists to move away from the producer orientation of nineteenth-century economics and focus on consumption as an important category of social and economic behaviour' (Lears, 1989, p. 73). The hyperreal combines with consumer culture, the *need* to possess these riches, to have a house bigger than the one you actually need for your family, to possess *because* of conspicuous consumption but *knowing* what to possess because of the hyperreal. The hyperreal manages the dialogue in-between these messages and desires. It instructs through the mediums and media hosting consumer culture and generating income through conspicuous consumption. The hyperreal facilitates what is being desired and consumer culture facilitates its subsequent purchasing.

In respect of the 'amelioration' of the stuffs the 'gentleman of leisure' consumes, Veblen sees this steady enrichment in the quality of goods consumed as a consumption of more than one needs to subsist. The gentleman of leisure consumes not to exist, but to *perform* a conspicuous consumption. 'He consumes freely and of the best, in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accoutrement, amusements, amulets, and idols or divinities' (Veblen, 2005, p. 47). The houses are bigger than anyone needs, the amusements grander and elaborate, the ornaments more splendid—rooms, then houses are built to display these treasures; the *Wunderkammer* evolves into the Hearst castle. These performances Veblen sees, can now be seen performed in the cinema and the fan magazines assist in making the accoutrements necessary obtainable.

The display of Veblen's amelioration is top down in its effects on the proletariat. However, rather than a rebellion occurring at the injustice of the few consuming and producing so much as Marx would famously argue, what Veblen sees writing at the very end of the nineteenth century, is the proletariat eager to emulate the elite's conspicuous consumption. The means of production held by so few becomes the means of consumption on a mass scale so that even if

the ordinary person couldn't afford the castle or the diamonds—they might be able to afford a chandelier or at least, some costume jewellery.

In the gradual amelioration which takes place in the articles of his consumption, the motive principle and the proximate aim of innovation is no doubt the higher efficiency of the improved and more elaborate products for personal comfort and well-being. But that does not remain the sole purpose of their consumption. [...] Since the consumption of these more excellent goods is an evidence of wealth, it becomes honorific; and conversely, the failure to consume in due quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit. (Veblen, 2005, pp. 47-48)

I would argue that Veblen's ideas of consumption fit Baudrillard's ideas on consumer culture and hyperreality more closely than is usually evaluated. If society is organised about consumption and its display, as argued in *A System of Objects* and many other places by Baudrillard, then the fan magazines working with the movies mediate this organisation. The movies translated notions of aspiration and the magazines enabled a buying of the prestige conveyed by the movies.

Hyperreality did not evolve because of consumer culture or conspicuous consumption, these things were enabled to grow exponentially because of the hyperreal. Hyperreality has enabled those with the power to distribute meaning, to dominate and control; to shape and guide a large number of people in society, to keep people in their place, to give gender a uniform and purpose and to keep society functioning and spending. Hyperreality speaks to nations and empires and it whispers between pages and readers, it creeps into the private sphere and it functions in the public. Hyperreality has been, until the postmodern era, wielded by those in power, for a profit. Hyperreality flowed top down, but from the 1920s' movie star power it also flowed bottom up. The masses influenced what sold and this helped to flatten the ideas and ideals sold by the cinema to the masses; films that appealed to common denominator.

Eco and Baudrillard and others writing in the late twentieth century were examining and critiquing a hyperreality that already had a huge national and international reach but was already established in culture and the culture industry of the early twentieth century.

The 1920s is worth looking at because it is the start of this vast twentieth-century reach. Early cinema was movable poetry, sometimes high art, sometimes brash narratives and spectacle but also reflective visual essays on being human. They were unrealistic but realistic *enough*, to capture something the viewers could understand and connect with, after all, 'Photography is truth. The cinema is truth 24 times per second' as the French film director Jean-Luc Godard said (*Le Petit Soldat*, 1960). The movie stars became something else too; they transitioned and became part of the consumer culture. Sound made them come alive in ways that could sell more authenticity, and more objects in the fan magazines from pens, to cigarettes, to shampoo and perfume. Perfume is a useful object to evaluate here, as it is a luxury that always sells fantasy.

Perfume in the fan magazine

Both conspicuous consumption and consumer culture utilise the hyperreal. Hyperreality is not present in the 1920s *because* of the transition from conspicuous consumption to consumer culture, consumer culture thrives *because* of the hyperreal. Because the hyperreal was there before. Jackson Lears, (1990, p. 88) describes the cultural bricolage accrued by the rich and aspirationally rich that Veblen evaluated as:

Along side natural imagery, exoticism and theatrical display intensified during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Curio cabinets filled with bric-a-brac from many lands, the Turkish corner, the Egyptian booth, the vogue chinoiserie, and the riot of eclectic architectural motifs, all betokened the rise of the interior as a stage set for private fantasy. As fiction and advice literature makes clear, some arts of that domestic stage could also be set for fashionable social performance.

The social performance of the private had expanded beyond souvenir clutter into symbols collected and displayed for their meaning. The *Wunderkammer* had moved into the lives of the ordinary consumer. Hyperreality mediated this meaning and the movies and their fan magazines brought this meaning to life, illuminating it in the lives of the masses. It is no coincidence that the movie sets were often staged as stunning and the houses the movie stars owned were stunning and the houses movie goers craved were stunning. Similarly, on display during Veblen's time are the proceeds of what the rich had achieved by embracing capitalism

and a very conspicuous consumption evident through the grand houses and lavish dynastic estates which echo old Europe, sprawling through U.S. cities and the countryside. The Vanderbilt and Rockefeller names becoming brands as imposing as the houses they built.

[...] perhaps he [Veblen] would recognize that the reorganization of cultural meaning between 1880 and 1920 was too complex to be captured in any linear scheme of progression or decline. What is particularly suspect is the idea, derived partly from Veblen, that the emergence of new ways of assigning meaning to goods meant the rise of self-indulgent materialism and hedonism. We have always had materialism with us, in the sense that people have always used material goods to make cultural meaning; the history of hedonism has yet to be written.

Meanwhile, the tension between authenticity and artifice is still very much alive. (Lears, 1989, p. 97)

One could argue that Veblen did understand the impact of linear progression and this fused with materialism because the societal memory of what materialism meant had been transferred. Hyperreality makes use of this societal muscle memory. A memory which had evolved and was evolving during the time Veblen was writing in, because ideologies evolve, but the transference was linear. It was passed on and absorbed by the next individual wanting to demonstrate their perceptible wealth; their authentic self. Lears suggests that materialism is a constant with societies, with “us” and this connects with Foucault’s ideas of linkages and the duplication of ideas. This duplication, or repetition can also be seen with tangible objects as well as incorporeal beliefs and understanding; ideologies. All these elements have a ‘mutual attraction’ to each other because of what Foucault describes as ‘the world is linked like a chain’ (Foucault, 2001, p. 18) where things sit together and next to each other—making each other similar. ‘At each point of contact there begins and ends a link that resembles the one before it and the one after it; and from circle to circle, these similitudes continue [...]’ (ibid). None of this is static and only linear in shape by the force of chronological and technological development. Time and technological advances keep this linear progression moving, evolving. Hyperreality however does not need a linear progression to work as it mixes perpetual cultural meanings; after all, paste always looks like diamonds on the screen. The artifice has absorbed the authentic, there is no tension or struggle, because there is no difference, not really. The struggle argues for a difference or to claim a difference is part and parcel of the mechanism for hyperreality.

Agata Frymus (2017, p. 30) in quoting a feature in *Photoplay* on who is the favourite beauty shows the hyperreal at work with the movie stars:

First of all, in the contest, came Mary Pickford. By an overwhelming number of votes she was declared the favorite beauty of Photoplay readers. Second in the list was Pola Negri. Proving, by the number of her admirers, that the public taste swings in two widely different directions. For Mary – with her Dresden china loveliness, with her blue eyes and golden hair, is the princess of the fairy tale. While Pola, all fire and passion and mystery, speaks of the perfumed Orient.

These classifications of woman actresses—“good girl”, “bad girl”, “girl next door”, “vamp” to “siren” are useful at flattening gender, flattening gender even more so to a screen-useful character performance. Mary Pickford is beautiful and this is described with a mix of fairy tale, Nordic type, and mythic *Aryan* characteristics perfect with her ‘golden’ hair and blue eyes; a china doll. Mary is many different influences and timelines mixed into one woman, who always appeared lovely. Pola Negri, speaks as the “other”—the generalised and heavily romanticised “Orient” which Edward Said would suggest Westerners thought of as everything East of their understanding. Pola, whose real name was Barbara, was also Polish.

Hyperreality allows these movie stars to thrive in the 1920s just as it allowed consumer culture to thrive during this time. The recipe of these movie stars can also be seen in perfume,

which goes far in illustrating how the hyperreal was working in the 1920s.



Figure 36. Bronnley, London, putout advert for *Picturegoer*

In this Bronnley company glossy loose leaflet slotted into *Picturegoer* we see adverts for perfume and soaps for ladies:

‘Courvoisier’s concentrated perfumes: One drop from the perfuming rod attached to the stopper spreads a wealth of fragrance, adding to a woman’s natural charm the air of distinction and individuality.’

Bronnley, with its Royal Warrant—still in effect today, is scent for the aspirational, which fits in with the demographic of *Picturegoer*. The natural charm is a societal glamour based on gender performance, a hyperreal with an exceedingly long pedigree. ‘Distinction’ taps into workings of conspicuous consumption and the ‘individuality’ promise is designed to appeal to the modern 1920s, independent woman which is very much part of this new consumer culture—and who can afford to buy these scents. But what is fascinating with this picture is the illustration of the woman spraying the elaborate perfume bottle. She is dressed in Victorian crinoline, she has a candle rather than an electric light, her toilet is simple. At the

bottom right hand side, is a china doll of an aristocratic eighteenth-century lady looking back at her. Dolls in a lady's dressing areas are conventional—but what is fascinating is the use of vast timelines of what women “should” be aiming for, selling a perfume to a modern woman of the 1920s.

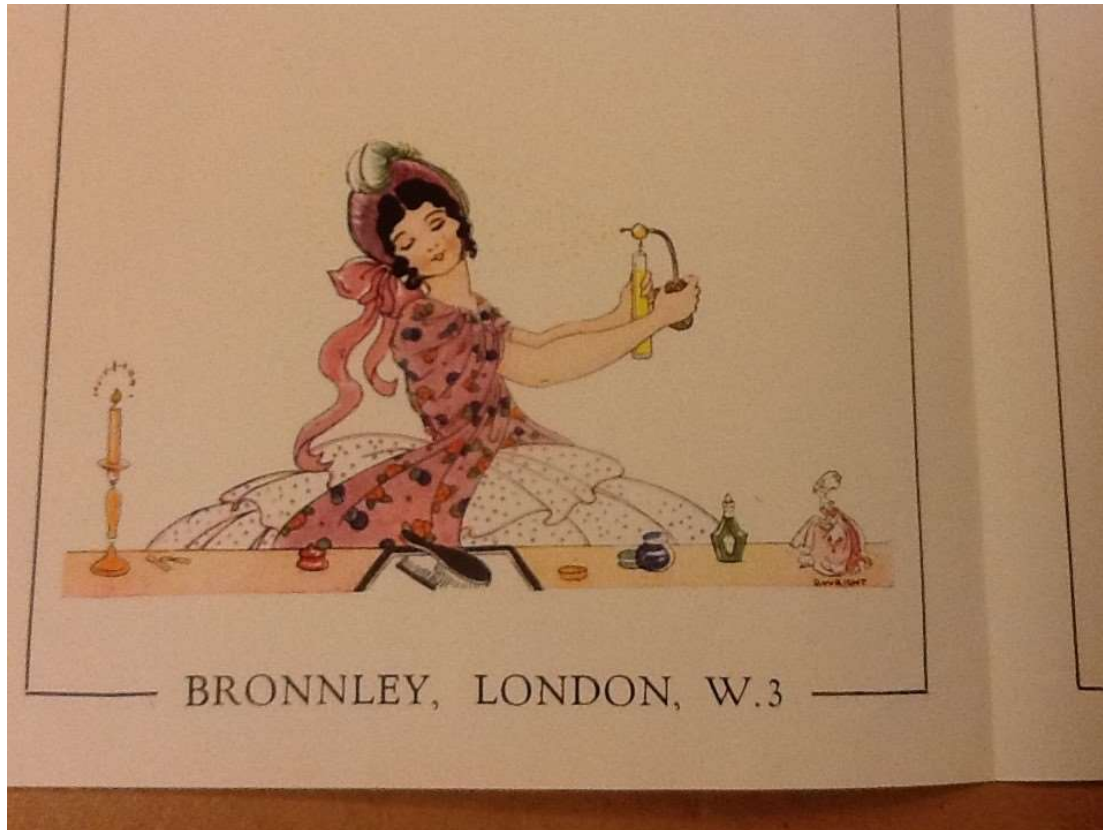


Figure 37. Bronnley, London, putout advert for *Picturegoer*

The perfume above this illustration is Omar Khayyam:

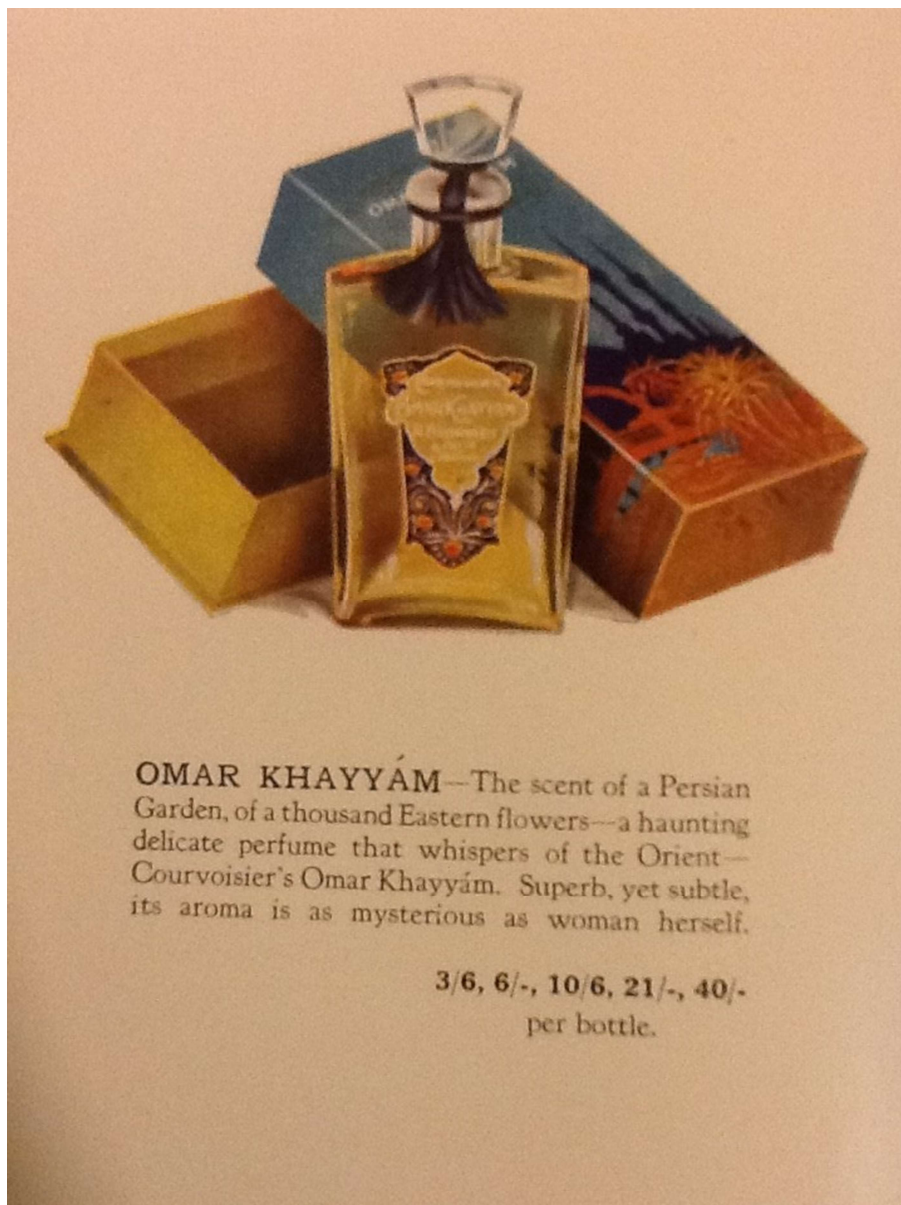


Figure 38. Bronnley, London, putout advert for *Picturegoer*, Omar Khayyam's perfume of a thousand Eastern flowers, which whispers the Orient to the wearer.

Conclusion

Hyperreality in the 1920s was flourishing. This can be seen through the development and proliferation of cinema as a leisure staple and the growth market of the fan magazines. The fantasy narratives on screen were seeded with messages of obtainable affluence in the advertising of the fan magazines. Movie stars, not royalty, now sold the items of luxury and everyday aspiration in the fan magazines which enabled a transition from a conspicuous

consumption where the messages travel *down*, to consumer culture which was powered to an extent by the masses *upwards*. Hyperreality made all of these muddled timeline simulacra and “truths” from historical movies to thrilling car chases possible but also the transference across platforms; celluloid to print.

The Bronnley perfume leaflet in *Picturegoer* brings us round full circle to what the hyperreal is. Hyperreality makes this advert possible and the conversation between it and the reader possible, because hyperreality is, as has been established earlier:

A collection of images, perceptions, signs and familiar societal meanings distilled from an array of timelines and societies. This is demonstrated by the mixing of timelines and simulacra in the perfume advert. This collection is often mediated and generated as visual. Hyperreality takes these components and compresses them into a composite simulating a truth. Now free from all origins, hyperreality then offers the flattened simulation back to the receiver and this in turn, is experienced as a truth. The hyperreal’s truth precedes the reality accepted and experienced by the receiver, it rewrites and replaces reality with an illusion that is ultimately more appealing.

This was happening in the Omar Khayyam’s perfume of a thousand Eastern flowers, which whispers the Orient to the wearer. This particular perfume has no timeline, it is very much a fiction composite from The British Empire—mysterious, *just like a woman*. So many ideas are being sold on one page to the consumer. So many ideas about her aspirational lifestyle as an active consumer. All of these ideas and looks having been acted out on the screen by woman *more real* than the customer. The pace of this simulation was speeded up in the 1920s when the china dolls seen on screen started talking.

Chapter 3

The hyperreality of the fin de siècle for the Victorian age

Introduction

This chapter centres on the fin de siècle of the Victorian era. This chapter is not about this Victorian period *per se*, but rather, where hyperreality was, and how it had developed in this fin de siècle, set against a background of remarkable change. This is a much-ignored time in terms of Baudrillard's examination of the hyperreal, indeed in any examination of the hyperreal, because hyperreality is always centred on and around the fin de siècle of the twentieth century. Hyperreality is here and it is thriving, but, the parameters of its confinement and scope are different to early chapters.

The themes at work in hyperreality within this nineteenth-century fin de siècle context are primarily about power structures; namely who had the power to generate the swathes of images and ideologies needed to be stockpiled in order to generate hyperreality's resulting action. Both hyperreality and the simulacrum's relationship with consumer culture will be examined in this chapter and throughout the thesis, as changes to the business models of the era's mass communications are pivotal to the way in which the simulacrum was utilised by consumer magazines in particular. How the simulacrum functions as a core component to hyperreality will also be examined. This chapter is a useful measurement too of the distance between the twentieth century's postmodern fin de siècle and this Victorian one, in order to see what constants feature in hyperreality. Gender is one such core constant and a useful measuring tool for the hyperreal because the relationship between gender and the hyperreal does not appear to change much. Obviously, the simulacrum reflects the external context, but the messages remain familiar. Other constants that are focused on within this chapter are, who receives the messages that are ingested and passed on. The masses are reached through the distribution of the hyperreal and that will be evaluated in this chapter. Who has the power to shape and distribute hyperreality is a constant, and this will also be explored later on in this thesis with regards to a background of empire. In terms of utilising consumer magazines as a measuring tool to show the hyperreal working outside of the twentieth-century's fin de siècle,

advertising and consumer culture but also that gendering of commercial message, will be examined, and finally, how the hyperreal enables the circulating of old meanings

What this chapter will show is that this twentieth century idea of the hyperreal can be applied for this era too; that the evergreen societal perceptions and meanings from mixed timelines and other (often conquered) cultures were being distilled into images, into simulacra that were used to sell ideas, ideals, and ideologies to the Victorian masses. The masses then are folded into the simulacrum as they ingest the perceived Idea and pass it along to the next. The participation in the simulacrum is part of the newspaper and periodical consumption of the readers. This is a crucial part of the hyperreal, for it must have an audience, it does not happen in a vacuum, it must react with its audience and both newspapers and consumer magazine fostered a community of readers who were encouraged to react with the periodicals.

Advertising and the masses

The 1829 extract from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* which features in the introduction to this thesis uses the collective “we” and “our”, indeed so many of the consumer magazines in this thesis do, which invites and directly implies a shared experience. The understanding needed to translate the simulacrum relies on a shared understanding of how things are, or have always been so, because the simulacrum functions without the need for timeline constraints: it is timeless. In this era, all this is mediated by a great number of periodical presses; newspapers both provincial and national, tracts, and consumer magazines—a rich cornucopia of societal authority expressed through print and, crucially, illustrated.

For a more capacious context, by 1864, *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* states that provincial newspapers ‘sold nearly twice as many copies as London papers, selling 340 million and 195 million copies per year, respectively’. 535 million copies is a staggering volume of the mediated “we” (King, et al. 2016, pp. 368-369).

In terms of the growing reach of simulacra, it is also worth noting that advertising had grown in volume and reach during the expansion of the newspaper industry and made up a large proportion of the newspaper's revenue (Brown, 1985, p. 15). For example, Lucy Brown (ibid, p. 16) quotes accounts from *The Times* in 1867, — a 'normal year' showing an income from sales at £94,463 and from advertisements at £104,766 and the *Manchester Guardian's* income in 1888 as £35,866 from sales and £54,208 from advertising. Lucy Brown reports figures (ibid, p. 16) that by 1882 the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper was as much as 63 per cent advertising. An entire business model of newsprint based on the sales messages of 'sophisticated professionals trying to persuade the uninformed' (ibid, p. 20) was in operation, on a grand scale. The saturation of print and the new dominance of advertising as business model for print is why this era is worth examining in this chapter, because hyperreality thrived within this era.

Advertising relies on the repeat simulacrum of representation or imitation of a successful person that connects with the audience, or the simulacrum of a desired object or item from velvet curtains to famous perfume, corsets to branded cocoa. In terms of multiple circulating images and ideas that link the simulacrum to advertising media the *Deacon's Newspaper Handbook* in 1885 discusses the necessity for repetition: 'Experienced advertisers have generally agreed that a short advertisement constantly repeated is the right principle to act upon' (Brown, 1985, p. 22).

Who are the masses?

In the shaping and stockpiling of the ingredients utilised by the hyperreal, its distribution strategies affected the masses. But who are the masses and are they always the same mass? In the introduction to Jean Baudrillard's (2007, p. 19) *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities* the "multitude" and the masses are defined, and the process of their development is described as:

The intense process of socialization triggered by consumer society, returned them to their anomic state. Floating and indeterminate, directly shaped by the flux of capital, the masses came to share their radical indifference and uncertainty (loss of meaning, dialectics, history, etc.).

Baudrillard describes the masses, the multitude, as almost stateless, rootless; floating untethered by any sense of history of reality—so bombarded by stimuli and messages that all

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sense of self or anchoring is gone. That “they” no longer have any authority or structure or can be classed or classified, just a floating untethered mass of over stimulated viewers, consumers; a multitude. Baudrillard’s “they” cannot be identified or spoken for, as they are unmoved to gather up and proclaim a unified stance; a powerless, apathetic silent mass.

The masses Baudrillard is so scornful of in the twentieth century’s fin de siècle, are made so through the absorption of a saturation of images and messages with no meaning, resulting in implosion, a collapse of meaning (Baudrillard, 2007, p. 49). This is possible through the homogenizing and distribution reach of a mass media. Baudrillard sees a power strategy of identification and containment of the masses as funded ‘on the apathy of the masses, the more passive they were, the more secure it was’ (*ibid*). So, the masses of Baudrillard’s fin de siècle are trapped in a suspension of over stimulation and differ greatly from the masses in the Victorian fin de siècle in two particular ways; a lack of interrelationships and more defined wealth gap.

There is a chaotic element to Baudrillard’s masses which taps into his viral and fractal sense of spread—an imploding melting pot of everyone with identities crossing class, sex, geo-boundaries, any identity, it is everyone who is affected by spectacle and anyone who could be classified as apathetic by Baudrillard. Richard Smith (2010, pp. 117-118) suggests that for Baudrillard many theorists have:

[...] mistakenly understood the masses in terms of the extreme poles of complete passivity or organised agency, and ignored the interrelationship of the masses, communication systems and spectacle in contemporary life.

The Victorian fin de siècle era masses do not enjoy the same interrelationship and have no such untethered identity, mainly because the capacity for total absorption and the total influence of the consumer society has not yet become possible. It could be argued also that the Victorian’s society was more heavily ordered and shaped by structures and institutions; class, wealth, and church and thus the individual was more shaped by society than mass media. Structures rather than culture moulded the individual.

What has been well documented by many academic texts focussing on the Victorians as well as fictions of that era, is the staggering and incredible polarisation of absolute poverty and

struggle, set against extraordinary wealth, which was increasingly bridged by a growing but vulnerable, aspirational middle class. A. N. Wilson sums up this polarisation using the work of Charles Booth,

[...] whose multi-volume *Life and Labour of the People in London* showed that London could present a human being with sights every bit as troubling as those which caused Tolstoy moral exasperation in Moscow. The dirty, cramped living conditions, the disgustingly high rents, the foetid water supplies, the near impossibility of scraping together enough to eat in such places, let alone to pay for your child to go to school – all these daily humiliations were widely publicized. Asked what was the most signal fact in contemporary history, shortly before his death in 1884, Mark Pattison replied without hesitation, ‘The fact that 5,000,000 of our population possess nothing but their weekly wages.’ (Wilson, 2003, pp. 442-443, quoting Kynaston, p. 72)

This was a society that was a complex and functioning strata of wealth and opportunity where the layers rarely ever mixed, unless you had the means, or lack of means, to move out of your stratum. These separate layers were kept in check and made powerful or powerless one could argue, through both structural and physical force. As a national snapshot of sorts, ‘Nineteenth-century Britain was in general terms an ordered and peaceful society [...]’ (Guy, 2002, p. 14).

The Victorian Age was not one mass, neither was it influenced by one mass culture, nor mass media. Instead, it is useful to think of this era as a strata of readers rather than one anonymous mass. Baudrillard (Smith, 2010, pp. 117-118) was not thinking of this timeline when he talked about the problem with grouping in terms of masses, but Baudrillard’s ideas are still worth pausing over for this era:

Academics have fallen into the trap of thinking of the mass audience the way administrators, politicians and advertisers think of it – as having desires that can be studied, measured, tapped and directed. He also reminded his readers that the masses are not someone else, but are all of us in that we all live within this circulation of signs and measurement of desire and are thus constantly socially organised and invoked as a mass. Media systems do not circulate or manipulate opinion or desires. They are a unidirectional mode of address and machines for the generation of spectacle.

There were many kinds of masses within the Victorian *fin de siècle* and it could be argued that the growing numbers of loyal consumer magazine readers were in terms of volume, turning into a mass that would be subsumed into Baudrillard’s twentieth-century masses.

Richard Smith is mistaken however to suggest through Baudrillard's thinking that media systems do not manipulate and circulate meaning and desire—they do. The repeat purchase business model of the consumer magazines in the Victorian fin de siècle is testament to that in terms of its machinery as cultural intermediary and advertizing catalogue. So, just as Baudrillard gives counsel to academics to not think of a 'mass audience the way administrators, politicians and advertisers think of it' (Smith, 2010, pp. 117-118) it can be argued too that it is a mistake to think of these consumer magazines as nameless 'media systems'. I would argue that in all these chapters it is clearly evident that each consumer magazine, no matter what the year, does circulate and manipulate both opinion and crucially, the desires of its readers.

The fin de siècle or end of an era

The end of the Victorian era brought about a fascinating tension between an imagined *ye olde* and *merry* England and the craving for a promising new future—both tantalisingly present in the mingling and circulating of image and ideology present at that time. But also, this era fostered a debate between the 'nature of individual behaviour' and its impact on society and an ongoing tension between 'how the interests of the individual relate to social interest' (Guy, 2002, p. 15). How much does hyperreality then become part of this mediation and struggle between power and the individual, and in the negotiation of power relations between the two?

The popularity of Sir Walter Scott's 1819 medieval epic *Ivanhoe* and the Victorian republished versions of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* are testament to the popularity of a circulation of mediaeval simulacra and illustrates this tension between looking forward and looking back. This era was rich in circulating images of mythical olde England, of medieval-looking *imaged* histories, romanticised ideals of Middle Ages chivalry and an abundance of highly polarised gendered performances—all of which carried a universality in meaning to the receiver mass. These circulating images and tensions between imagined pasts and longed for futures do ricochet around this era and in its media.

Baudrillard (1990) discusses this sharing of simulacra in *Fatal Strategies* as:

We have completely forgotten the form of sovereignty that consists of the operation of simulacra as such. But culture has never been anything like that: the collective sharing of simulacra, as opposed to the compulsory sharing of the real and of meaning today. Sovereignty lies only in the mastery of appearances, and complicity lies only in the collective sharing of illusion and secrets. (p. 50)

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This was a time where the Victorians navigated a connection between the merry and the modern, between fiction and fact, faith, and truth in their cataloguing of history, national identity within a thriving publishing industry. This was also an era where the mechanisms were in place to collectively share the simulacra which had become piled up in the culture of that time. Hyperreality played an important part in this negotiation, made possible by a thriving periodical press and a growing sense of media as an industry.

An immense and detailed landscape of scholarly research is available on the Victorian period and this particular fin de siècle. The academic landscape is diverse and exists as much online as it does in journal articles, databases, and compendiums. It is a much-explored era by academics and authors. It is a richly imagined era and its themes both societal and political enjoy a saturation of modern retelling in the academic world, as well as the entertainment one. This long-lasting fascination with the Victorian era reveals a lot about how well-documented the time was with the abundance of periodicals available, and available still, but also, in the way our postmodern culture ruminates over historical periods.

Each scholarly text available now, promises to explore a different angle which does much to bolster the multifaceted fascination with the Victorians. In the twenty-first century, this fascination nurtures a romantic appeal in terms of a nostalgia for the British Empire, a famous queen, and a fascination with societal developments within a mostly romanticised English context. As the Victorians strove forward and reimaged their past, so too does a British society in the twenty-first century with the Victorians as their *favourite* past.

In the preface to *The Victorians*, although a popular history text, A. N. Wilson (2003, p. 1) sums up this era and its reoccurring modern fascination broadly as:

The Victorians are still with us. [...] the Victorians are still with us because the world they created is still here, though changed. Theirs was the period of the most radical transformation ever seen by the world. [...]

The Victorian era felt like a time of peace for almost everyone in Britain. Yet for the planet as a whole, because of the Victorians, it was in fact a time of almost perpetual minor warfare. Old empires and nations, most notably the Ottoman Empire, crumbled before the technological and economic giants of modern Europe, most notably France, Germany and Britain.

The claim that the Victorians are still ‘with us’ is a useful one for the hyperreal, since the hyperreal amasses imagined and real linkages. Hyperreality does not compress the random, but rather hoards those ideas that are linked, and together, they bind the receiver, and ultimately these ideas have the power to help bind empires together. Hyperreality makes seemingly impossible connections not just possible, but natural. Foucault (1995, p. 103) revisits his ideas on connections in terms of bindings within *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*:

A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas... on the soft fibers of the brain is founded the unshakable base of the soundest of Empires.

This period of the British Empire was about change; radical change that formed this era but also formed so much of how society still “remembers” the Victorians. The change identified was all encompassing and included technological advances, as well as political, religion, science, manufacturing, infrastructure and transport, but crucially, similarly ideological change with regard to class and gender where discussion defining the “New Woman” was a reflective staple of the many Victorian periodicals, literature and newspapers produced at that time. Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst’s (2000) comprehensive and excellent introduction to the fin de siècle highlights the overwhelming chaotic flavour of this extraordinary period of change as:

Britain’s cultural and political landscape was being lit up by a constellation of new formations: the new woman, the new imperialism, the new realism, the new drama, and the new journalism, all arriving alongside ‘new’ human sciences [...]. This was an era of extraordinary technological advance [...] of educational and democratic reform, of transformation in political representation, and yet it was also an age of very real decline, in which Britain’s primacy as global economic power was rivalled by Germany and America. (p. xiii)

So, Ledger and Luckhurst (2000) begin to form a reflective sense of contradiction, of a nation seemingly seeing the end of its ‘limitless generative power’ and fascinated with decay in the light of the tantalising future of modernity (p. xiii). Ledger and Luckhurst in their valuable introduction use a word that can be applied to many literary and academic angles of the fin de siècle but has added relevance to the shape of the hyperreal too; ‘Massification’ (ibid, p. xv). Their use of the word is in relation to growing literacy and education (thanks to the 1870 Education Act) coupled with the context of an explosion of urban population growth. But the term applied here, reproduces the conditions that enabled hyperreality to thrive in the

twentieth century's fin de siècle. The conditions needed to speak to and shape the ideologies of the masses produce the conditions needed for hyperreality to flourish and take root. The difference between these two fin de siècles in discussion, are one of technological distribution capacity; one is digital while the other is steam powered.

This era of 'radical transformation' affected not just the UK but the world, because the Victorian empire affected so much and so many beyond the British isles, as the famous Christopher North quote from 1829 declares, 'His Majesty's [George IV] dominions, on which the sun never sets,' (Melchiori, 1985, p. 415).

Look, then, at all our paper Periodicals with pleasure

In the Introduction to the *Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (King, et al., 2016) an extract is quoted from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from 1829:

Periodical Literature— how sweet is the name! 'Tis a type of many of the most beautiful things and events in nature; or say, rather, that they are types of it, both the flowers and stars. . . . The flowers are the periodicals of the earth— the stars are those of heaven. . . . Look, then, at all our paper Periodicals with pleasure, for sake of the flowers and the stars. Suppose them all extinct, and life would be like a flowerless earth, a starless heaven. We should soon forget the seasons themselves— the days of the week— and the weeks of the month— and the months of the year— and the years of the century— and the centuries of all Time— and all Time itself flowing away on into eternity.

The prose is "flowery" and full of celestial hyperbole which is in keeping with writing style of the time, but it is a very useful extract to call upon as it illustrates that even before Victoria's coronation and the Victorian era proper, the saturation of newspapers and periodicals upon society. In John North's introduction to '*The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*, there 125,000 newspaper and periodical titles published in England between 1800 and 1900' (King, et al., 2016, p. 8); a staggering number.

But what is also evident in both the statistics and flowery prose, is cementing their vital role in *pacing* society; literally the stars and flowers would cease to exist and all sense of order and time would disappear. Such were these periodicals importance in the governing, but also

structuring, of everyday life, of ensuring the world for its readers carried on turning. Through this saturation in daily life, images and narratives were communicated, society and its structures and rules mediated, ‘serving as vehicles of entertainment, political discourse, historical retrospection, popular education, and countless other modes of thought’ (King, et al., 2016, p. 10).

Thanks to printing technology developments and distribution practices that delivered the media out of London, the 1890s was inundated with anchored and unanchored simulacra; colonising and drifting, being both utilised and conscripted for reasons as diverse as keeping social order to selling medical cures. The Victorians commercialised identity, truth, reality, nationalism and ideologies and sold them back to the purchasing consumers on the lids of condiments, cutlery adverts and of course, consumer magazines. The Victorians commoditised the hyperreal. In this era, stockpiled simulacra were employed through the media on a private and public scale to shape nation, preform empire and enable societal status quos.

Commercialising the simulacra

The Victorian fin de siècle is an era where the overflow of simulacra collides and mingles with the capitalism of the age and there was a new style of journalism to facilitate this. Here is the start of the star system and a type of journalism that could later be found in the 1920s. The “New Journalism” of the age, ‘a label coined by Matthew Arnold in 1887, and represented significant changes in the content and appearance of newspapers’ (Plunkett and King, 2006, p. 341). The newspapers were the first to reflect a more *American* practice of popular journalism, i.e. more human interest pieces with bolder headlines, more interviews and more illustrations—more people focused, rather than parliamentary concerned (ibid). This evolution of the newspaper editorial had implications in the development of the consumer magazines—each influenced the other, and was advertising-led in terms of the business model. What is interesting to consider is the developing market for a gender-aware binary in newspapers and an editorial space and strategy that was gendered in nature and content; this was an era where gender sold well. The ingredients for the New Journalism helped to shape the simulacrum of gender, of gender roles, of the homogenising of the person, as a business (Plunkett and King, 2006):

One particular feature of New Journalism was the sustained use of dedicated women's columns. Most newspapers were implicitly gendered in their appeal in that 'news' usually meant information regarding the masculine political sphere (although the *Illustrated London News*, for example, had included regular fashion columns since the 1840s). This was challenged, however, by the advent of women's newspapers in the early 1860s, the development of which is discussed by Evelyn March-Phillips. Such publications shifted the very definition of a newspaper by combining the illustrated paper with conventional features of the women's journal. (p. 341)

The "*magazination*" of the newspaper and feminisation of the editorial message is only possible when a clear understanding of what women and men want, why it is different from the other and who they *really* are has been established. Gender ideologies and perceived truths clash with capitalism and the dominant Idea is closely related to power.

Luann Wurst and Stephen Mrozowski (2016, p. 82) define capitalism as

[...] a web of social relations that are always in motion. [...] Capitalism is not defined simply by the presence of money, markets, commodities, or profit, nor is it just a way to designate the economy. Rather, in its most basic terms, capitalism is a system whereby the ownership of most of production lies in very few hands. Those who do not own or control the means of production are forced to sell their labor power to those who do.

Very few hands own the media in the *fin de siècle*, very few women are magazine editors, and the ability to generate the simulacra being circulated and stockpiled is owned by those with power. Wurst and Mrozowski's notion about capitalism being in a permanent state of motion is also useful for the simulacrum and the hyperreal, because it too is never frozen. Meanings and truths evolve and change depending on contexts, needs and markets as capitalism too ever grows and flexes to 'produce cheaper goods, produce new goods, or penetrate new markets' (Wurst and Mrozowski, 2016, p. 83).

The business models of the newspapers evident during the early to mid-nineteenth century had a clear impact on the business models of the consumer magazines later on in the *fin de siècle*. The Victorians commercialised the simulacra, and hyperreality made this possible through repetition of ideologies and ideas to form not just viable markets for goods but amenable patrons for curated realities. The long chain of the simulacra was always there, but the 1890s enabled its increase in reach and size through the commercialisation of the simulacra. The curated aspects of the hyperreal allows the simulacra to be utilised for

purpose, it anchors the unanchored simulacra. It directs the Idea and gives it purpose. The commercially minded and advertising literate Victorians understood the power of amassed simulacra and employed the results on an intimate scale through gendered and class perforated pages of the magazines, and crucially, on a national scale through its news, politics and architecture.

Circulating old meaning: the Victorian use of medievalism

Evidence for the hyperreal in the Victorian fin de siècle can be seen in their ability to circulate old ideas of Englishness, to exploit myth in the service of bolstering their power; to store up the simulacra of being English. This can be seen with the Victorians' use of medievalism. A. W. N. Pugin's new Palace of Westminster was a custom-built gothic extravaganza which was designed to cement the British right to rule within a tangible sense of myth; *Ivanhoe* in stone and brick as public spectacle. Evaluating this background context to an era is important, because we see these themes reflected in the consumer magazines of that time, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

In the chapter "Medieval Unmoored" Amy Kaufman (2010) discusses neomedievalism and its ability to cling to the past. By "rejecting" its history, rejecting the time and space separating the reality from the present, it is then able to import the desired bits, the concepts, the Idea into the present time, whatever time that may be.

But what initially appears to be neomedievalism's denial of history may, instead, be a desire for history alongside the uncomfortable suspicion that there is no such thing. Neomedievalism consumes the Middle Ages in fragmented, repetitive tropes as a way of ensuring against loss (Kaufman, 2010, p. 3). Neomedievalism is thus not a dream of the Middle Ages, but a dream of someone else's medievalism. (ibid, p. 4)

It takes a great deal of power to create this dream of medievalism on such a huge scale. To be able to transpose timelines, flatten multiple simulacra of a collective societal sense of the Middle Ages and deliver this hyperreality, this dream of someone else's medievalism—on a scale so grand, it becomes the physical centre of Empire.

A. W. N. Pugin's new Palace of Westminster, with its perceived links to reimagined pasts, curates the 'fragmented, repetitive tropes' Kaufman discusses. The end result still standing today, links palpable national myths and familiar concepts, by fusing and muddling up the old with the new. This is hyperreality present and functioning in the Victorian fin de siècle. It is a splendid illustration of how the simulacra is piled up and how hyperreality can then flatten these timelines and mix the real with the imagined into a Victorian parliamentary building that closes centuries of imagined Englishness and by extension, the right to rule, which was a vital "truth" for the empire.

The Victorians' application of medievalism demonstrates a methodology for hyperreality in the Victorian age, but also, any age. This is a methodology which is repeatable and thus proves that hyperreality can function outside of a postmodern era. Hyperreality functions outside of the postmodern because hyperreality functions when the ingredients are present and the capability to distribute is there. This is a methodology of making *a something* more real and more better, more perfect, or perhaps, more ladylike, more feminine, more desirable, more masculine, more stronger, more powerful, more beautiful, more righteous, more truthful—anything as long as it is just *more*. The end result with this example is as Brent Moberly and Kevin Moberly (2010, p. 15) suggest 'to produce a version of the medieval that is more medieval than the medieval, a version of the medieval that can be seen and touched, bought and sold, and therefore owned.' Again, what Moberly and Moberly outline within Baudrillard's postmodern thinking and twentieth century fin de siècle is truly a methodology that can be applied to the Victorian fin de siècle too because the models of control and memory banks Baudrillard describes are also present in the Victorian media, in the mass media of the age:

Thus, what has been abolished, to Baudrillard, is the sovereign difference between the real and the representational – between the territory and the map. In doing so, they produce a version of the medieval that, as Baudrillard writes about simulation in general, "is no longer really the real" in the sense that its point of origin is not a historical epoch or event, but a conglomeration of models and data in which the medieval and all of the traits traditionally associated with it (nobility, chivalry, feudalism, etc.) become indistinguishable from and equivalent to any number of other historical, fictional, and mythical elements. The result is a hyperreal medievalism – a neomedievalism that, as Baudrillard points out, is not only reproduced ad-infinitum "from miniaturized cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control," but that, as a consequence, also "no longer needs to be rational, because it no longer measures itself against either an ideal or negative instance". (p. 15)

But why did the Victorians replicate the medieval? This methodology can be seen in not just their “old” new buildings but also in their fine art as illustrated by the 1867 sculpture of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert by William Theed seen in the National Portrait Gallery, London. The romantic medievalism of *The Parting* in its life-size, full-length plaster cast portrait of them both wearing Anglo-Saxon dress is obvious. The portrait also had a useful role in not just circulating the ideal of their distinctive love for each other and memorialising Albert, but also as branding for The Queen as a subservient and adoring wife which would appeal to the aspiring Victorian middle classes (Hunter, 2013).



Figure 39. *The Parting* plaster copy of marble original, 1867 by William Theed (image by Hunter, 2013). The National Portrait Gallery, London.

The Victorians enjoyed replicating selected history such as staging tableau vivant or publishing photographs from masked balls with grand historical themes or stylising Britannia on the maps of the Empire, and in advertising strategies across their printed media—why would they stage these reproductions? In this double page spread from *The Woman At Home* (December, 1900) the “usefulness” is clear as Sybil Fane, the Countess of Westmoreland is shown as Great Britain in Mrs. A. Paget’s “Masque”—Great Britain is not just *illustrated*, but given embodiment, personality. This is more than mere useful framing to the Tooley feature on “Women who are serving the Empire”. Great Britain becomes a beautiful woman, linked to power through an English aristocratic title and posing with a bricolage of myths and effects. The English roses in her hair mingle with the Grecian-esque lyre, sumptuous fabrics and draped cloth that resemble Parthenon marbles. All the simulacra here are familiar and

desirable. It is also worth noting that this era entangled simulacra as much as Baudrillard accuses Disneyland of doing so in the twentieth century. This period of the Victorian era mingles the medieval Gothic in its art and architecture with the visual language of neoclassicism; mixing and blending the familiar and their different associations. Classically styled women mix with a nation's use of Gothic to stage timeless associations.



Figure 40. The Countess of Westmoreland as Great Britain in Mrs. A. Paget's "Masque", *The Woman At Home*, December, Christmas 1900



Figure 41. “The Countess of Westmoreland as Great Britain”, February 1900, Lafayette Studio, Bond Street, London

The portrait is not a snapshot or a joke; this is a serious portrait of a serious subject which *The Woman At Home* replicates for commercial purpose as it knows that this subject and imagery is close to the hearts of its readers. The conjoining and flattening of wealth, of Empire with British women in a neat, aspirational portrait is commercially viable product to be sold.

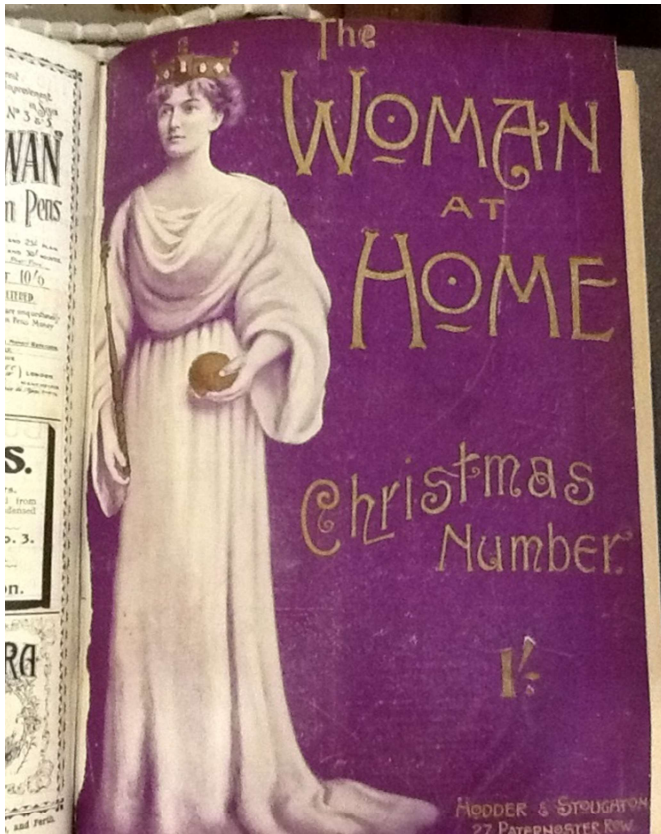


Figure 42. Cover of *The Woman At Home*, Christmas issue, December 1900: white skin and draped white cloth resembling a Grecian statue, gilded with gold on a regal purple background to match the ornaments of royalty. Idealised and reconstructed neoclassical feminine beauty coupled with a nod to royalty.

Baudrillard offers the answer in *Simulations* as mourning for power and those lost societies but also, a worry over perceived and impending lost power, something the Victorians were consumed by during their fin de siècle. They replicated to create a better version of what has become lost; that's why the Victorians replicated the medieval, or as Baudrillard (1994, p. 23) states:

Power, too, for some time now produces nothing but signs of its resemblance. And at the same time, another figure of power comes into play: that of a collective demand for signs of power - a holy union which forms around the disappearance of power.

Hyperreality is intertwined with power, and power is not shaped by one function, nor does it only exist on one level. Power is as complex and as multifaceted as the simulacra gathered together for the hyperreal. Power here, in this era, is the capacity to curate and shape the truth, the history and an ideology for the viewing and consuming masses.

Commercially viable ideologies

The Lily was a US temperance newspaper for women and their burgeoning political and legal rights from 1849 until 1853. Martha Solomon (1991) quotes an extract from *The Lily* (March 1852, Part 7, p. 20) which is a useful measuring point for ideologies and the periodical press:

The argument is, some women at times could not conveniently perform the duties of Judge, Legislator, military commander, because of the duties of nursery. Therefore, all women should at all times be excluded from all political franchises: or in shorter form, because some women are and will be mothers, all women shall be nothing else. This is making maternity not merely an inconvenience, but a crime—inflicting the penalty not on the delinquents alone, but on all sex alike—not only on one age but on all ages. (p. 38)

The confining duties of the nursery, of motherhood, of the seemingly universal female condition are lamented here as a constraining hegemony of woman. In the ideology and flattening of woman as all-encompassing, *The Lily* has identified exclusion as a whole punishment and the paper speaks of the injustice of women being confined to the home because of “duty” rendering them powerless, all of them powerless. What is so interesting in 1852 is the identifying capacity of the paper to point out the blanket treatment of women because *some* will be mothers, because motherhood and the home define *all* women and they feed into an assumed ideology of what women are. This blanket treatment of women and the blanket definition of what women must be are possible because of the recycling of the simulacrum and the hyperreal’s capacity to utilise this recycled message as an eternal truth. The magazines and surrounding mass media of this fin de siècle just recycle. Richard Smith in the *Baudrillard Dictionary* sums up Baudrillard’s ideas on this as:

In consuming the fashionable, up-to-date signs of mass culture, Baudrillard argues that the one thing not present is culture itself; instead, an immense process of cultural recycling takes place, whereby one’s knowledge of culture — its latest fashionable manifestation — stands in for actual content. (p. 45)

Although Baudrillard blames television rather than ‘autonomous human subjects’ for this recycling—if he had only stepped out of the postmodern age, he would have seen that these magazines aimed at aspiring middle class women produce the same cyclical culture content and communicate the same ideologies and ideas. ‘Mass-culture follows the same logic of the hyper-real, where the authentic gives way to the simulation’ (Smith, 2010, p. 45). This

simulation of *a sense* of what woman is, a collective knowledge based on assumption and tradition and cultural imagery, was being recycled—occasionally updated or refreshed—but the recycling is there.

Real men create women

Fraser, Green, and Johnston (2003) writing in *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, quote the famous Victorian journalist W. T. Stead's thoughts on what qualities an editor should possess as being a 'real man, who has convictions, and capacity to give them utterance in conversation as well as in print' (p. 80). The *real* man Stead is describing has the societal authority and gendered entitlement to utter his convictions, and has the power to broadcast them in print for men and women to be shaped by them. That is power.

The print content in *The Lily*, *The Woman At Home*, and *The Ladies' Home Journal* in this chapter might be generated by *some* women, but the power to shape the whole story in the fin de siècle was still held by men, because women were believed to be deficient in the required qualities. Evelyn March-Phillips writing in 1894 (quoted by Plunkett and King, 2006, p. 369) so succinctly describes this Victorian idea as:

It is a deplorable fact that almost all these journals are edited by men. One would think women should know best what will please women, but as editors we are told they are deficient in the capacity which grasps a business situation and comes to a quick and definite judgement on financial matters, while they seem wholly unable to master the intricacies of the law of libel. Many are sub-editors, and manage special departments, and on every paper, I think I may say, the bulk of the work is done by women. The woman journalist, to whom, cry her down as it may, the press of to-day owes much of its brightness and life, has been, in great measure, created by writing on subjects she understands, in journals for her own sex [. . .].

The idea that women could write about the experience of being a woman but the business of being a woman could only be managed by men held sway long after March-Phillips' observations. In 1920 Edward Bok, famous and influential American editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, commented on the idea of female editors for women's magazines as:

There is a popular notion that the editor of a woman's magazine should be a woman. . . . In fact, we may well ponder whether the full editorial authority and direction of a modern magazine, either essentially feminine in its appeal or not, can safely be entrusted to a woman when one considers how largely executive the nature of such a position, and how thoroughly sensitive the modern editor must be to the hundred and

one practical business matters which today enter into and form so large a part of the editorial duties. (Zuckerman, 1998, p. 54)

Although his words are a couple of decades on from the Victorian fin de siècle, they are useful here in demonstrating a long-held ideology about women—as useless in business, as different, delicate, destined to nurture, and destined to be in the home. In short, women were not as powerful as men, nor should they even have access to power. Edward Bok made clear his own philosophy on women to his, mainly female, readers in 1912 as:

A girl may plan for herself the most dazzling of futures [...] but marriage and home are her destiny. That is eternal truth, and every woman knows it, no matter what she says. (Scanlon, 1995, p. 117)

Bok's eternal truths are really gender roles and their "destiny" function as societal truths, which are then reinforced by simulacra and packaged up by the hyperreal. The simulacra of what makes a "good" or successful, natural woman is endlessly recycled and piled up, to the point that the hyperreality of woman is one of the oldest flattened "truths". But also immensely neglected by Baudrillard, Eco, and indeed most theorists examining the hyperreal, except Victoria Grace. There is an argument for examining the impact hyperreal has on shaping and enforcing a societal status quo in gender and power. Women's magazines from the Victorian fin de siècle will be examined in this chapter to start this interrogation of gender and power in the hyperreal.

Hyperreality and status quo

A challenge or divisive change to this gender simulacrum recycling is why magazines like *The Ladies' Home Journal* were anti-suffrage at a time when women were demanding change and demanding power. Jennifer Scanlon (1995) sums up the threat editor Edward Bok saw as: 'Political independence for women threatened the very existence of a women's homemaking magazine, and on some level Bok must have been responding to that' (p. 118).

Bok, and many other magazines like *The Ladies' Home Journal*, kept a status quo in operation because women were often told through the advertising, through the editorials, through the features and fiction, to be content, to accept their destiny, to do their duty and remain in the home. Or, as Scanlon (1995) reports, Bok himself proselytizes to the readers that women were always:

“[...] content to be women, wives and mothers, and not voters and reformers besides” and he gave advice to the contemporary reader of his time “[...] to be a home-maker and mother is a woman’s sphere. Her shoulders were made for these burdens and are able to carry them. But let her venture beyond her sphere, and the rebellious nerves instantly and rightly cry out, ‘Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther’”. (p. 94)

To leave the woman’s sphere would literally deliver hysteria to the nerves and there would be consequences. ‘Women, he [Bok] believed, could change the course of the nation in other ways; they did not need to vote. And more than unnecessary, the ballot threatened to harm women themselves, their marriages and families, and the nation as a whole (Scanlon, 1995, pp. 117-118). The *ideal* woman was at home, and when she did leave the home it wasn’t to change the world but rather to heed the magazine’s advertising call to action, whose life-blood was dependent on advertising revenue.

The woman at home in the Victorian fin de siècle was developed as a useful consumer, as her consuming was gendered and for purpose, for her duty, and her destiny—based around the simulacrum of woman. As Helen Damon-Moore (1994) suggests:

[...] women were responsible for love, a notion clearly consistent with nineteenth-century ideals. [...] women demonstrated this love in large part by consuming well, by choosing, buying, using and helping family members use the right products in the right ways. (Damon-Moore, 1994, p. 187)

So women were encouraged to *perform* their role as woman by purchasing.

The consuming *Woman At Home* in the Victorian fin de siècle

In the table below, Mary-Ellen Waller Zuckerman (1989) demonstrates astounding circulation jumps in the ‘Big Six Women’s Journals’ of the Victorian fin de siècle, more precisely from 1895-1910.

	1895	1910	Percent Growth
<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>	715,000	1,253,000	75%
<i>McCall's</i>	100,000	1,012,000	912
<i>Delineator</i>	550,000	763,000	39
<i>Woman's Home Companion</i>	176,100	688,000	291
<i>Pictorial Review</i> (started 1899)		364,777	
<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	55,000	237,167	331

Sources: 1895 figures, Lord & Thomas, *America's Magazines*; 1910 figures, N. W. Ayer, *Ayer's Directory*.

Figure 43. Circulation Growth of the Big Six Women's Journals 1895-1910, Mary-Ellen Waller Zuckerman (1989)

This time period is crucial for the development of women's magazines and for the hyperreal, it also shows how Bok's determination to uphold the ideal woman paid dividends. The percentage increases in circulation are incredible and due to a change in business model. As demonstrated earlier on in this chapter using Lucy Brown's data, advertising was established by the newspapers as a core income staple and was accepted by the readers as part and parcel of the reading experience.

This growth in advertising, and by extension the role of the magazine, coincides with the Consumer Revolution, which Helen Damon-Moore (1994) outlines as:

The beginnings of the Consumer Revolution appear to be situated in the decades after 1830. These years saw the expansion of the production of goods intended for middle-class consumption, including furniture, carpeting, china, glassware, and elaborate fashions. The consumer culture as we know it today took shape more firmly in the 1880s, when business expanded rapidly, transportation networks improved, and national markets grew. (p. 23)

The magazines followed this business model by dropping their cover prices and increasing their advertising capacity and range. The price drop certainly was a catalyst and these huge circulation increases were down to the magazines becoming more affordable, more accessible (thanks to distribution networks taking them out of the cities), and a greater variety of magazine. These factors thus worked to establish the role of the consumer magazine as an

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important and dominant manual of manners, of morals, and a catalogue of goods for their, increasingly female, readers. Advertising became personal and women were personally targeted as chief buyers of literally everything—from household staples and extravaganzas, to medicines, to fashions, to food. The goods available to furnish and stock the domestic and, by extension, the private realm of society had increased in both volume and range and women bought for this realm. They were encouraged to buy for their domestic sphere.

I argue that the meaning of goods changed too, in their new-found availability and affordability but also, crucially, in their relationship to the women buying them, who now bought as a feminine duty. Helen Damon-Moore (1994) outlines the connection between this consumer culture and gender as:

[...] women were responsible for many of the trappings of the middle-class: home, child-rearing strategies, leisure activities, and—to an increasing degree over the course of the nineteenth-century—levels and patterns of consumption. Consequently, the Consumer Revolution that paralleled the Industrial Revolution seems to have been informed by gender concerns and assumptions from the earliest days. (p. 23)

Shopping and consumption is now framed within this age as a job for women. This is new. Shopping and purchasing goods is now framed as part of biological determination, as part of identity. The magazines now, in the fin de siècle, act as narrators of taste and guides to what to buy, as evidenced by the use of advertorials. These are not a modern invention in magazine publishing and are also known as Native Advertising today. The advertorials seen in the late Victorian era were letters from a niece to her aunt, (as shown from *The Women At Home*) describing a rich cornucopia of the latest fashions and furniture, where the best sales were, and insider tips passed on as gossip detailing what the Queen's favourite soap was for example and, crucially, where to buy it. In some issues these advertorials went on for up to a dozen pages spread across the whole magazine, masquerading as snippets of a thoughtful letter from one caring younger woman to an older relative. The tone was always light and feminine with tantalising insights that simply dressed up a shopping catalogue. Trickery, preaching, nostalgia, and the cheerful camaraderie of women often frame the message from magazine brand to reader here.

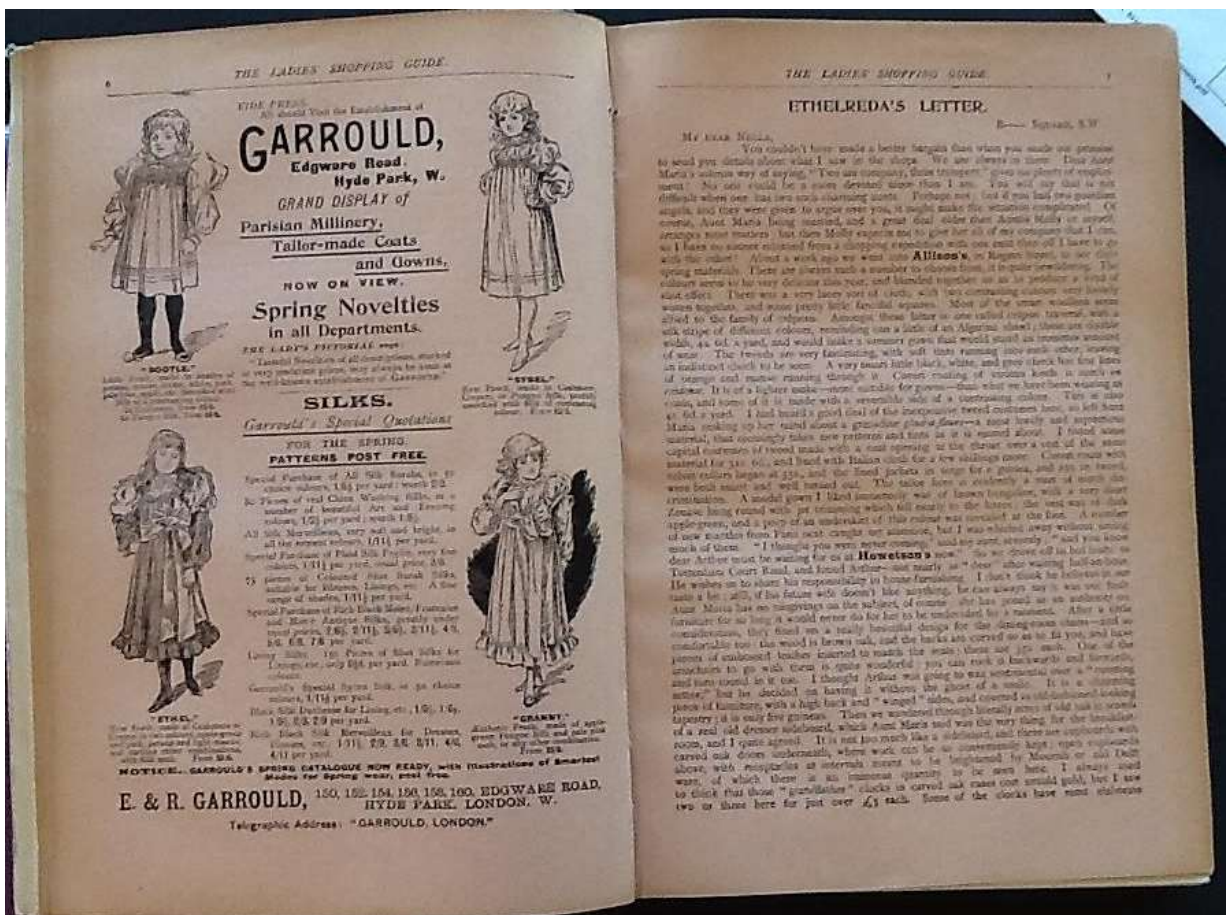


Figure 44. *The Woman At Home*, February 1895, pp. 6-7 dps E & R Garrould department store advert and the start of "Ethelreda's Letter" from the "The Ladies' Shopping Guide" which was a regular feature [advertorial, shopping guide]

In this double-page spread we see, on the verso, a full-page advert for a department store detailing its fine selection of *Parisian* millinery (of course it is *Parisian*) and fabrics, including sumptuous silks. On the recto there is "The Ladies' Shopping Guide", which is essentially a shopping catalogue disguised as a gentle, affectionate, and informative correspondence between two ladies. What is interesting is the manner in which this regular feature progresses visually into a more branded regular feature with typographic prominence later on in the magazine's publishing life.

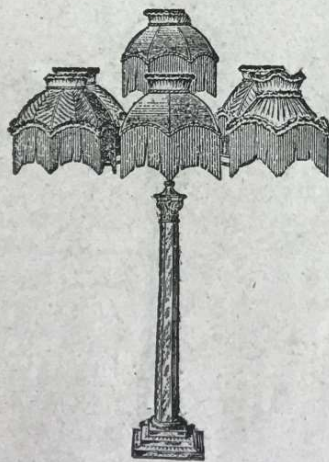
THE SHOPPING GUIDE

ETHELREDA'S LETTER.

MY DEAR EDITH,—

B— SQUARE, S.W.

If you would like a peep into fairyland, go and see the charming "CRICKLITE" LAMPS at 75, Regent Street (next door to St. James's Hall), or at Messrs. CLARKE'S recently acquired and supplementary showrooms, 132, Regent Street. The inventors of these New Patent "Cricklite" Lamps are the well-known manufacturers of the fairy lamps and night-lights. Immediately you cross the threshold you are surrounded by a lovely play of light and colour; and I am sure you will agree with me when I say that these "Cricklites" of design and general use-ways the same height, and sufficiently high to enable you to see each other out the usual obstructions. The light is all the standards are sufficient to see each other out the usual obstructions. doubtedly an excellent invention for the lighting of the dining-room, or library.



Whilst looking round the showroom my attention was attracted to an exquisite table decoration, consisting of a centre, seven-armed, brass, in richly cut glass shades with dainty beaded fringe; four corner stands of sectional half-circle com-panions. These can be arranged according to the result. The lamps are no trouble to trim, and require no attention after lighting. The lamps are composed entirely of glass; they are absolutely safe; and all the light possible is

the show-room my attention site table decoration, con-sist of a centre, seven-armed, brass, in richly cut glass shades with dainty beaded fringe; four corner stands of sectional half-circle com-panions. These can be arranged according to the result. The lamps are no trouble to trim, and require no attention after lighting. The lamps are composed entirely of glass; they are absolutely safe; and all the light possible is

(Continued on page 8.)

Melanol MARKING INK
REQUIRES NO HEAT
WARRANTED INDELIBLE

Figure 45. "The Shopping Guide", *The Woman At Home*, February, 1899

This combination of the simulacrum with consumerism did not suddenly arrive fully formed in the 1890s. The growth of advertising as a core business model, as Lucy's Brown's earlier figures demonstrate, was a long development in the periodical press. As early as 1862 the *Cornhill Magazine* (Fraser et al. 2003) framed the scope of influence:

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Unless it complies with the conditions of commercial success it can exercise no sort of influence, and give no currency to the opinions which it expresses. This principle ultimately determines the character of all periodical literature. (p. 53)

In order to seduce the readers away from the influence of society, state, and church, the periodicals now financed by commercial appearances and messages had influence over their readers. But what is interesting about this quotation from the *Cornhill Magazine* is the *deference* to commerce, the need to comply with commercial messages that the readers bought into—only then could the magazine exert influence.

The newspapers and the magazines at this time now defined their women readers as consumers and purchasers, whilst simultaneously constricted and constructed by a media-managed hegemonic view of women. All this at the same time, excluding them from political power, making them seem “other” and separate (Spain, 1993, p. 107). Their reader’s power now came from purchasing; their choices, as Baudrillard would suggest, were illusions based on the ability to buy things.

The Woman At Home

Annie S. Swan’s magazine *The Woman At Home* was published in London by Hodder and Stoughton between 1893 and 1917. It was an aspiring middle-class consumer magazine aimed at women. Surprisingly, little has been written about it as an important fin de siècle title, but it is important as it illustrates so much of the shape of consumer periodicals aimed at women at this time. It is also important as it was an aspiring middle-class magazine that had readers eager to elevate their place in society and, by extension, their class—unlike *The Lady’s Realm* for instance that was aimed at woman who were aristocrats or upper-middle class. These readers were *already* residing in the upper echelons of society. *The Woman At Home* was also ‘conservative and anti-suffrage’ (Fraser et al. 2003, p. 226) and this angle is important too, as was discussed earlier with *The Ladies’ Home Journal*. Although the titles speak plainly enough about where the women readers are “meant” to be. The magazine was not necessarily concerned with *changing* the readers’ politics or gendered fates, but rather educating them to *know* their world within the British Empire. To know who the important people in it were and, crucially, what to buy that befits their place in society (and aspirational place in society).

Consumer culture and the British Empire

The conflation of Empire with gender and goods on the pages of *The Woman At Home* is a fascinating mix. This double-page spread (on the following page) from *The Woman at Home* from February 1899 has advertorials from “The Shopping Guide” discussing coffee from the Société Orientale Gastronomique [left-hand side], which alludes to a mysteriously alluring mix of the French and the Oriental “other”. Adverts for gloves and coats with pictures of amazingly tall women, with waists of impossible size, wearing the latest fashions sit alongside the endless medical adverts of the day: “Warner’s Safe Cure” because ‘90 per cent of human ailments’ come from a ‘weak liver’ as case in point. The usual mix of consumer messages for this type of publication, which *The Cornhill Magazine* surmises, ‘determines the character’ of this magazine.

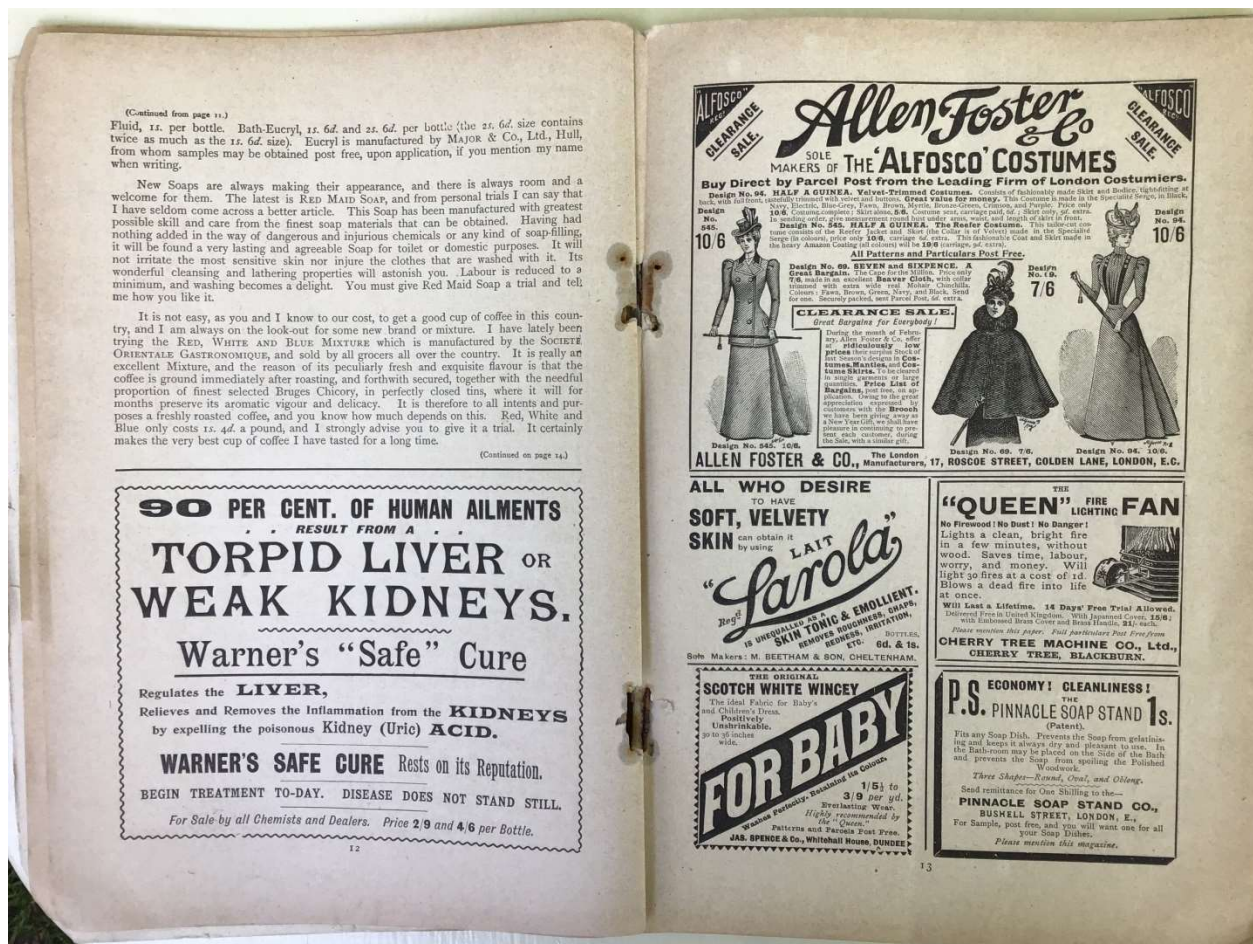


Figure 46. *The Woman At Home*, February 1899, pp. 12-13 discussing coffee from the Société Orientale Gastronomique [left hand side] and an advert for Warner’s “Safe” Cure which regulates the liver.

Ellen Gruber Garvey (1996) surmises that the magazines of this time shape the *total* message communicated to their readers. Magazines aimed at women were more targeted in their advertising for the practical side of keeping a home and family but the scenarios they constructed were the whole magazine, not just in the adverts:

Magazines enlarged the frame in the project of constructing ad scenarios that could shape how people understood the social uses of a product. This provided an expanded venue in which reference to commodities was given a new context and new social meaning. (Gruber Garvey, 1996, p. 9)

Readers understood why they should want the objects and items advertised to them, they knew their implied importance and role, all with a great deal of imbued subtext. But then the simulacrum has an understanding as the readers are folded into it and this understanding is used by the hyperreal.



Figure 47. Frequent advert for “Diano” which promises to ‘fills all hollow places, adds beauty, curve and grace to the shoulders and neck. Charm and attraction to the plainest of woman’ seen in *The Woman At Home*

Women everywhere, ‘even the plainest’ can be ‘made beautiful’ by this ‘harmless and permanent’ item by “Diano”, which will also add ‘grace and attraction’ and ‘loveliness’. What by “Diano” actually is, is never precisely stated—the advert does not say. But it does not really matter—the Grecian beauty artistically rendered in the illustration promises everything the magazine knows the reader wants. The magazine has made it clear to the

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readers that they do want to be like this illustration, like this simulacrum of woman, which is partly based on Grecian urns and marbles in museums, on paintings hanging in galleries, and on the visual and biographical narratives of the Queen and many of the other aristocratic ladies profiled as perfection in the magazine. A woman's beauty can be "made". By the time the reader sees this advert, it is the end result of the simulacra which has already been piled up and flattened by the hyperreal.

The advertising must, like the advertorials, enable readers to "get the look", to emulate the aristocracy that they, the reader, were meant to look up to, from their soft furnishings and perfume, to cutlery and even medicines. Adverts for Sheffield cutlery and plate—the ornate stainless steel plated in silver to resemble fine table implements that only the rich could afford—were now available to the aspirational classes with good taste.

SHEFFIELD CUTLERY & PLATE DIRECT FROM SHEFFIELD. [25 to 50 per cent. saved.]
 "EDINBURGH" PATTERN.

4 BOTTLES 10/9 POST FREE.
 Silver-Plated on Nickel Silver, 1/6 post free.
 Picked on Hard Cut-crystal Bottles.

6 BOTTLES 15/- POST FREE.
 Silver-Plated on this Crystal almost everlasting wear.

THE "WONDERFUL" TEA POT
 Silver-Plated on Nickel Silver.
 Jam Servers, Sugar Spoons, and Pickle Forks, 1/- each; Butter Knives, 1/3; Sugar Sifters and Cream Ladles, 1/9. All Post Free.

ELECTRO PLATED WITH REAL SILVER.
 Plated on White Metal. Holds Two Pints. Full Size. Strong and Elegant. Richly Engraved by Hand.
SOLID IMPROVED NICKEL SILVER
 Table Spoons and Forks, 6/6 doz.; Dessert Spoons and Forks, 4/6 doz.; Tea Spoons, 2/3 doz.; POST FREE. Small quantities supplied. Warranted to Wear White throughout. The Christian Commonwealth, 15th March, 1888, says: "We can honestly say we are surprised that such articles can be supplied at so small a cost. The table knives (6 doz.) are both strong and handsome, and would be cheap at double the price. The same remark applies to the nickel silver."

THE "GEM'S O'CLOCK TEA SERVICE"
 5/- POST FREE.
 ELECTRO PLATED WITH REAL SILVER.
 SOLID WHITE BONE HANDLES, beautiful Ivory Finish. Edges pinned Table Knives, 6/- doz.; Dessert Knives, 5/6 doz.; POST FREE. Small quantities supplied.
 Sterling Silver Goods in Great Variety. SAMPLES Post Free on Approval.

THE "IVY" JAM SPADE, 1/6 POST FREE.
 Hand-Engraved.

NO. 530. 1/9 POST FREE.
"IVY" PATTERN.
 SILVER-PLATED ON NICKEL SILVER. Jam Spades, Sugar Spoons, Pickle Forks, 1/6; Sugar Sifters and Cream Ladles, 2/- each; Butter Knives, 1/9, post free.

IVY BREAD FORK. 2/6 POST FREE.

STERLING SILVER-PLATED ON REFINED NICKEL SILVER.

THE "PRINCESS," 2/- POST FREE.
 Full-size Jelly Spoons, gift bowl; Butter Knives, Sugar Spoons, Cream Ladles, and Sugar Sifters, all 2/- each.

CATALOGUE FREE.
 All Jam Spades, Butter Knives, &c. &c., are Silver-Plated on SOLID NICKEL SILVER.

5-Bar, 5/6. 7-Bar, 7/6.

NO. 531. 1/6 POST FREE.

PAIR STERLING SILVER SALT-CELLARS AND SPOONS.
 Hall Marked, 12/6. In Case. Post free.

NO. 532. 3/6, or without Claws 2/-

NO. 533. SARDINE SERVER, 1/6.

NO. 534. SUGAR SPOON, 1/6 POST FREE.

CAKE KNIFE, Silver-Plated all over, 2/6.

CATALOGUE POST FREE.


SAMPLES POST FREE on Approval. Every Description of Cutlery and Plate. Wm. CHEETHAM, Genl. Manager, to whom P.O.O.'s may be payable. ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE FREE. Money returned or goods exchanged if not approved. Cheques crossed "Sheffield Union Bank." SHEFFIELD GOODS MANUFACTURING SUPPLY COMPANY, 5 Dept. Havelock Works, Young Street, SHEFFIELD.

Figure 48. 'Sheffield Cutlery and Plate Direct from Sheffield' *The Woman At Home*, June 1897, p. 8

Prescribed to Members of the Royal Family.

**FOR THE TREATMENT OF
INDIGESTION, DISORDERED LIVER, GOUT, RHEUMATISM,
GOUTY ECZEMA, DIABETES, CONSTIPATION,
HEMORRHOIDS,
AND
KINDRED DISEASES OF THE STOMACH, LIVER, AND
KIDNEYS.**

EXACT SIZE OF BOTTLE.



THE great efficacy of the Mineral Spring Treatment draws annually many thousands of invalids to the famous Continental Spas. Gout, Rheumatism, Diabetes, Deranged Liver, Acid Dyspepsia, Constipation, Hemorrhoids, Catarrhes, and Peptic Habit are thus successfully treated. The curative properties of such mineral springs are contained in their entirety in Kutnow's Improved Effervescent Carlsbad Powder, who several great advantages, far, unlike the Mineral Springs themselves, Kutnow's Powder is neither drastic nor nauseous, but on the contrary both gentle and palatable. The home treatment by Kutnow's Powder is, moreover, far and away more economical, and is free from all interference with business, pleasure, or personal habits.

The efficacy is no less and in many cases is far greater, so that Kutnow's Powder, as a standard substitute for Continental Mineral Spring Treatment, is widely adopted and freely prescribed by medical men in both hemispheres. The Medical Journals—the tribunal of the faculty—also enthusiastically endorse its merits, vide reports of "The Lancet," "British Medical Journal," etc., etc., which will be sent free on application. Great Physicians at Continental Spas, such as Dr. Bracht, Aix-les-Bains, also endorse Kutnow's Powder, an eloquent fact which speaks volumes for its efficacy, palatability, and safety. Kutnow's Improved Effervescent Carlsbad Powder may be obtained in expanded bottles, of all Chemists and Medicine Vendors throughout the world, price 2s. 6d. 1 or post free (for the United Kingdom) for 7s. from the London Office. See that the Registered Trade Mark, "Hirschsprung" for Deer Leap, and the autograph facsimile signature, "S. Kutnow & Co., Ltd." are on the label and carton. These ensure genuineness.

A Free Trial.

For Seven Days from the date of this Magazine send S. Kutnow & Co., Ltd., 41, Farringdon Road, London, E.C., full trade name of Kutnow's Improved Effervescent Carlsbad Powder in a **SAMPLE FREE** and **POST PAID** to every valid applicant who sends the *Woman at Home* with writing.

Sole Proprietors—**S. KUTNOW & CO., Ltd., 41, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.**
New York Home—**KUTNOW BROS., 13, Astor Place, New York, U.S.A.**

Figure 49. Aspirational Medicines: ‘Prescribed to Members of the Royal Family’ “Kutnow’s Powder”, *The Woman At Home*, August 1897, p. 7 – this medicine brings the reader access to the ‘great efficiently of the Mineral spring Treatment’ found in ‘famous Continental Spas’ which successfully treats everything from Diabetes to a ‘Deranged Liver’. This is not just medicine or a treatment—this is giving the reader access to “posh” treatments, the ones the aristocracy and those who can afford a Continental Spa treatment have access to.

The Empire is woven throughout *The Woman At Home*, and frames the overall editorial and consumerist message in a mix of elements from seemingly endless features about the Queen or the Royal Family or people connected to her social circles, even down to the medicines or perfumes they use, as “Kutnow’s Powder” demonstrates.

To some extent, the Empire can be brought into the home, displayed, and consumed beyond the physical realm of crockery and Willow Pattern. This cover of *The Woman At Home* from June 1897 has a border of the Chinoiserie Willow Pattern—a fine china pattern which was popular in middle-class homes with both taste and aspirations on display. The fascinating

aspect of Chinoiserie is the mixing, muddling, and stockpiling of simulacra. It is a pattern that has flattened the ideas, understanding, and accepted wisdom of what aspiring middle-class Europeans thought the exotic and mysterious Orient was like, of what China was like, of what “other” was like, of what was possible in the British Empire. Chinoiserie is the hyperreal as object, and it was desired for the home and for display. With this in mind, it is a tremendous delight that, for many issues, the famous Willow Pattern, which relays so many messages, was the framing for *The Woman At Home*. This frame told the repeat purchasing readers everything they needed to know about the magazine and their own needs.

Phul-nana ‘the New (Indian) Perfume’

At the top of the front page is a reoccurring advert for a J. G. Grossmith perfume, Phul-nana ‘the New (Indian) Perfume. “The Scent par excellence of the Season” A bouquet of Indian Flowers. Patronised by H. R. H. The Princess of Wales.’

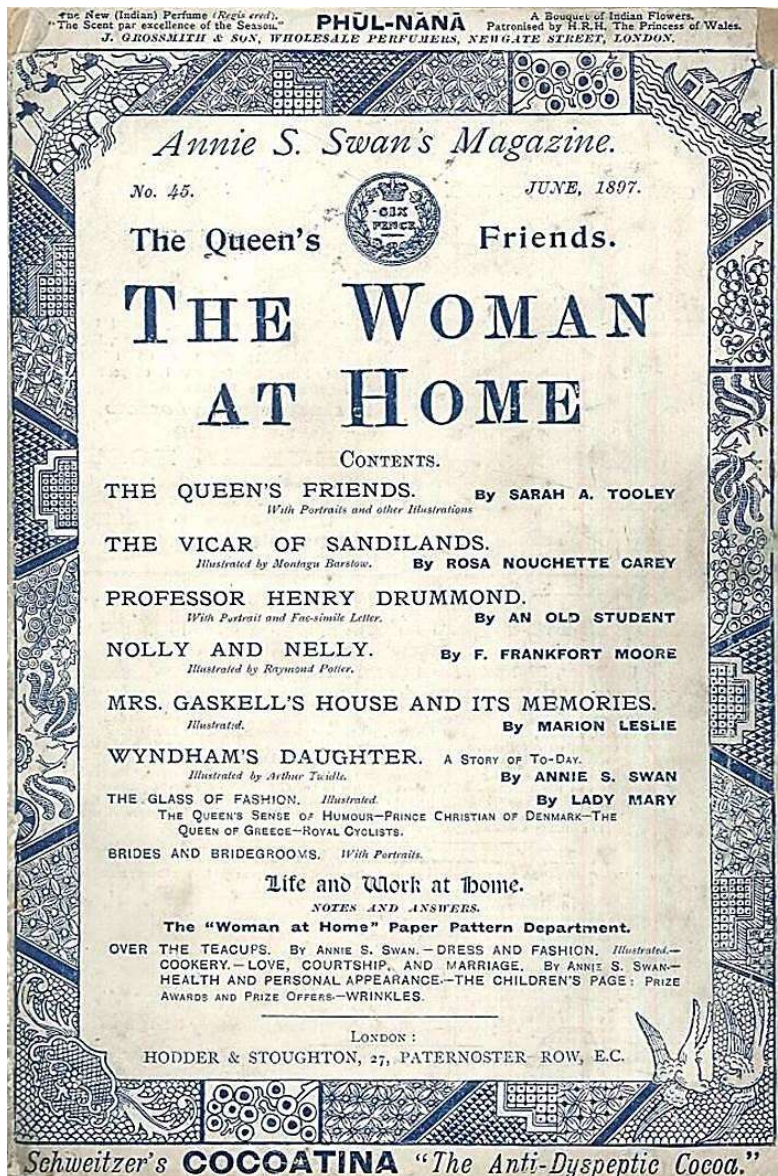


Figure 50. Cover of *The Woman At Home* June 1897



Figure 51. The famous eighteenth-century *Chinoiserie* china pattern.

The positioning of this perfume advert is significant as it frames so much of the merger of hyperreality with the targeted readers against a backdrop of the British Empire of the fin de siècle. This perfume is significant for many reasons: it was worn by the Princess of Wales,

the royal family as aspirational celebrities are a regular editorial staple of this magazine, and it was affordable to the aspirational middle-class reader. The suggestion of association with the Royal Family sold a great many products during this time, much like the movie stars in the fan magazines from the previous chapter.

The recipe for this perfume has been recreated in the twenty-first century by the perfume company Grossmith and, interestingly, what was once an accessible and affordable “luxury” scent is now a rare antique reanimation of the Victorian past at £180 for 10ml. The smell is extraordinary; it is very heavy and thick in complexity of scent, and smells of perfumed velvets and exotic woods and flowers. It smells different to the lighter modern High Street scents of today, especially those that are endorsed by celebrities; it smells of the Victorian fin de siècle. Phul-nana is sold as Hindi for 'lovely flower' (www.grossmithlondon.com) and described in modern terms now as:

A fresh, sweet Floral composition with aromatic Fougère overtones on a soft, warm, woody base. Originally created in 1891, this scent is a rare marriage of the herb garden with the flower garden, unusual in a feminine fragrance. It paved the way for the ‘oriental’ fragrances that were to follow.

The ‘Fougère overtones’ is a curious component to comment on as ‘Nowadays, it's mostly fragrances for men you'll find in the *fougère* category’ due to the ‘ferny, green’ tones now seen as a masculine scent base (perfumesociety.org). It is then interesting that this perfume combined with the Willow Pattern frames the front of *The Woman At Home*, centring ideologies of Empire and aspiration—of the exotic and mysterious “other”; India.

The new Indian perfume Phul-nana’s list of ingredients *are* exotic, with oils and extracts from bergamot found in North America, orange and ylang-ylang found in the tropic regions of Asia and especially the Malay Archipelago, geranium which is native to southern Africa, tuberose from Mexico, patchouli from the Seychelles, cedar from the Mediterranean, tonka bean from central America. Every ingredient is from a location around the world where the

sun never sets on the ability to source such an international collection of ingredients. It is a scent that demonstrates the ‘radical transformation’ of the British Empire that Christopher North surmised in 1829. This is because this ability to gather together such a range of global ingredients, have access to the mechanisms that manufacture on an affordable commercial scale, and access to mass media to relay the curated message to the masses, demonstrates power. What demonstrates the hyperreal in action in the fin de siècle is that the scent is marketed and sold as the Indian scent, a scent that brings an affordable and desired exotic other, which is now owned by the British, to the Empire’s subjects, but not a single ingredient is sourced from India. The scent of India has been completely contrived. The exotic other is stockpiled simulacra.

Being a member of the British Empire

Being British is also tied to how women are measured and presented in *The Woman At Home*, to a large extent all the publications of that time, as it was a prevalent and dominating societal force. In Joseph Sramek’s article, “‘Face Him like a Briton’: Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875’ Sramek explores more than just the British hunting tigers to ‘emulate the Mughals as well as to dominate India’s natural environment’ (Sramek, 2006, p. 665). Commonplace images of royalty and the aristocracy hunting tigers emulated more than colonial notions of subjugated power realities, but also shaped more intimate identities. Namely, men and women, masculinity and femininity, clear and present binaries that were commercially useful but also directed their polarisation between natural and societal.

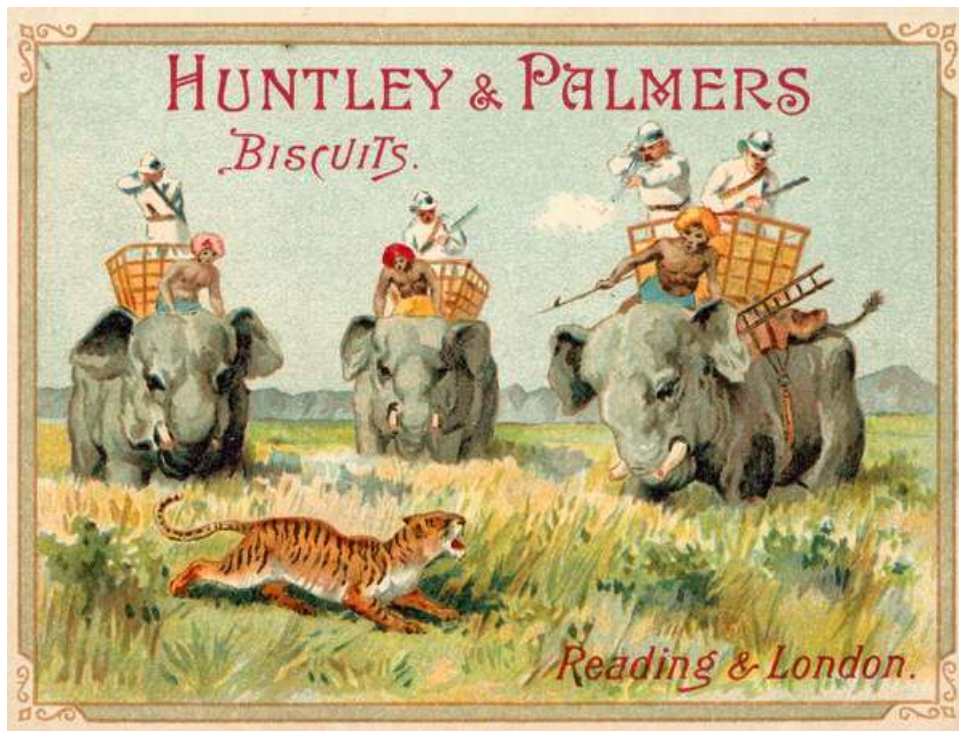


Figure 52. “Tiger hunt” (chromolitho), for Huntley and Palmer biscuits, English School, (19th century) / Private Collection / © Look and Learn / Bridgeman Images

The Huntley and Palmer (founded in 1822) biscuits advert showing a tiger hunt demonstrates the saturation and trickle-down effect of the simulacra, of the hunt image, and consumer understanding of what the tiger hunt portrayed in terms of British business and as biscuit makers to the Royal Family. The Royal Family, as well as European royals, are often gazed upon with aspirational deference in every issue of *The Woman At Home*.

The tiger hunt in its ‘association with masculinity’ (Sramek, 2006, p. 665) was one of numerous mediated ingredients to help shape the image and *character* of the Victorian man—but not the gentleman, that was shaped by society—the man is the more “natural” embodiment of masculinity. This is borne out in Sramek’s research, Bengal Army Captain Thomas Williamson is quoted as regarding tiger hunting as a, “manly diversion” requiring “coolness” and a “good aim” (ibid).

The gender binary utilised in *The Woman At Home* and Huntley and Palmer’s Tiger Hunt scene in the Victorian fin de siècle is about performance or, as Judith Butler would describe, performativity. The magazine image is always rigid, it is viewed, and the viewer sees the

simulacrum being performed by the illustrations, by the men and women illustrated in the short stories published in the magazines. The simulacrum is a narrative that can be performed and, by extension, hyperreality is thus dynamic and has a call to action; the hyperreal can be performed. *The Woman At Home* has commoditised this performativity in a multifaceted manner; the adverts' call to action is purchasing, the editorial is a call to action for gendered performance.

A crucial ingredient to how hyperreality works, even with *The Woman At Home*, is nostalgia. There is a nostalgia for lost empires which are re-enacted by the current empire—women dressing up as Grecian goddesses and Britannia herself. The imagined “naturalness” of women and in the way women are reported on by the magazine's regular features writer Sarah A. Tooley. There is a nostalgia for the natural woman, for the perfect woman, for the ideal woman, essentially for the woman simulacrum found in paintings hanging in salons and on soap packaging. There is a binary of the women featured in *The Woman at Home*. They are often either strong, capable women serving the Empire doing social good, or aristocratic, fragrant Guinevere-reimaginings of the ideal women of noble birth: wispy, perfect, and almost divine. Their biographies, relayed to the readers in deferential tones, often resembled the women in Victorian fine art; moral, beautiful, and tragic. Many of the aristocratic women redefining celebrity in the New Journalism of this era resembled a Waterhouse “The Lady of Shalott” or a Millais “Ophelia” in the features of *The Woman At Home*, but that was the point. The hyperreality of gender sold through the magazine, fashioned and built up on its pages rewrote and replaced woman with an illusion that was ultimately more appealing. The business model made the things needed to stage the more appealing illusion accessible through its advertising; the magazine sold accessible illusions from “Oriental” perfume to whale-bone corsets to the stories of tragic and beautiful noble women; it was all for sale in the magazine.

Gender and simulacra in the woman's periodical

“The Queen’s Friends” was a two-part feature in *The Woman At Home* (part one published in June 1897) by Sarah A. Tooley, a famous biographer of Queen Victoria. Why these particular women of varying ages were connected to, by now, a very elderly and isolated queen is not made clear. However, they are aristocratic women of noble birth and discernible wealth, beauty, and taste, and there is an assumption that their paths have at least crossed. Each biographical vignette is accompanied by a reproduced fine art portrait of the woman in question and sometimes a portrait of their family’s estate. Each are singled out for their greatness, which is invariably a feminised greatness relayed by their good taste in furnishings or an angelic, Christ-like kindness—an almost super human sweetness of nature. Lady Augusta Stanley is one such friend of the Queen, her final words echoing Jesus Christ’s last words on the cross:

The name of Lady Augusta Stanley awakens tender and hallowed memories, and her benign influence was felt far beyond the Court circle where for many years she was so sweet and gracious a presence.

[...] On one occasion her attention was drawn to a working man carrying a crippled boy on his shoulder. She went to speak to them, thinking it was a father and child, but discovered that the man was a kind-hearted neighbour who, out of pity, carried the crippled boy two or three times a week out into the big world to see the sights and frequently “did” the Abbey. [Westminster Abbey] Lady Augusta herself walked round with them and explained the monuments, and she never forgot the afflicted boy.’

[...]

Lady Augusta eventually ‘overtaxed her strength’ and became ill.

‘One would rather draw a veil over the months of slow torture which preceded Lady Augusta’s death. Often her anguished lips uttered the cry, “My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?” (*The Woman At Home*, June, 1897, p. 46)

These biographies of women—perfect women—in the magazine borrow heavily from the fine art images commodified and distributed, to the stained glass homages to biblical heroines in churches. They are more than just recreations or representations—they are models of women, models without anchor or reality. They have been elevated from flesh and blood into divine simulacrum. These biographies, coupled with the advertising messages, fiction, and

illustrations, indeed all the stifling narratives of *The Woman At Home*, are packaged up by hyperreality to produce a flattened reality of a woman who cannot possibly exist, yet the magazine sold them anyway. These same simulacra of women are not just contained in the consumer periodicals of the time, nor confined to just selling things for the home and potions for the body.

In complete contrast to *The Women at Home*, *The Woman's Herald* (1888-93), published in London and founded and edited by Henrietta Muller, was: '[...] politically feminist and linked to the Suffragist Women's Liberal Association and Temperance. It focussed on key contemporary educational and social questions' (Fraser et al. (2003, p. 226). These social questions are discussed and explored in the reporting of meetings, fiction and general features. However, with the advertising, it was more about *enabling* women through work and the buying of supportive things, like typewriters for example, but still carrying homely brands that centred women in the home as mothers and wives. Gemma Outen (2019) highlights the 'gendered constructions' emphasised within even the most political and empowered of the temperance periodicals, such as the *Woman's Signal*, with the framing of editorials with adverts for domestic goods, such as flour, and homely brands and, to some extent, we see this too in *The Woman's Herald*:

Key to debates about the role of women in domestic, social, or political realms was the question of whether women should undertake work of any sort and the extent to which work would make them less feminine and potentially a threat to society itself. Both *Wings* and the *Woman's Signal* encouraged women to undertake work outside of the home, namely reform work, but both were intrinsically concerned with the physical appearance of their woman reader. (Outen, 2019, p. 561)

The Woman's Herald January 21st 1893, in the article "Marriage and the Modern Woman", discusses the problem of marriage for women and references the book *The Heavenly Twins* by Mrs Grand. The discussion is interesting for many reasons, chiefly because it discusses the binary of morality between the sexes.

The double standard of morality of the two sexes is going by the board. Either men must become as moral as women or women will become as immoral as men. It is a case of level up or level down. Mrs Grand sees this, sees it clearly, and in her novel points the moral in a couple of stories, which bring home to every reader a sense of the hideous injustice of the present condition of affairs and the immense responsibility

that lies upon mothers who have the whole future of their daughters entrusted to their care and keeping.

What is fascinating in the comparison between *The Woman At Home* and *The Women's Herald* is that both publications have an ideal woman. *The Woman At Home's* ideal woman is one who is both at home, as befitting, but also part of the Empire and out buying things for the home in the shops. *The Woman's Herald* too has an ideal and it is just as constricting as *The Woman At Home's* but for a different reason. Their woman is on a pedestal. Their editorial often promotes the binary of men and women. *The Woman's Herald* conveys an ideology of women being “better” people, of being morally superior to men. This ideal of women being “naturally” better people is also their core argument for women's political equality. The paper shapes the idea that if women were given political power through the vote that they would then have the power to make *men* better people—which, by extension, would make society better. *The Woman's Herald* conveyed a notion that the goodness of women, naturally so, would heal society and deliver a better, brighter, more moral future.

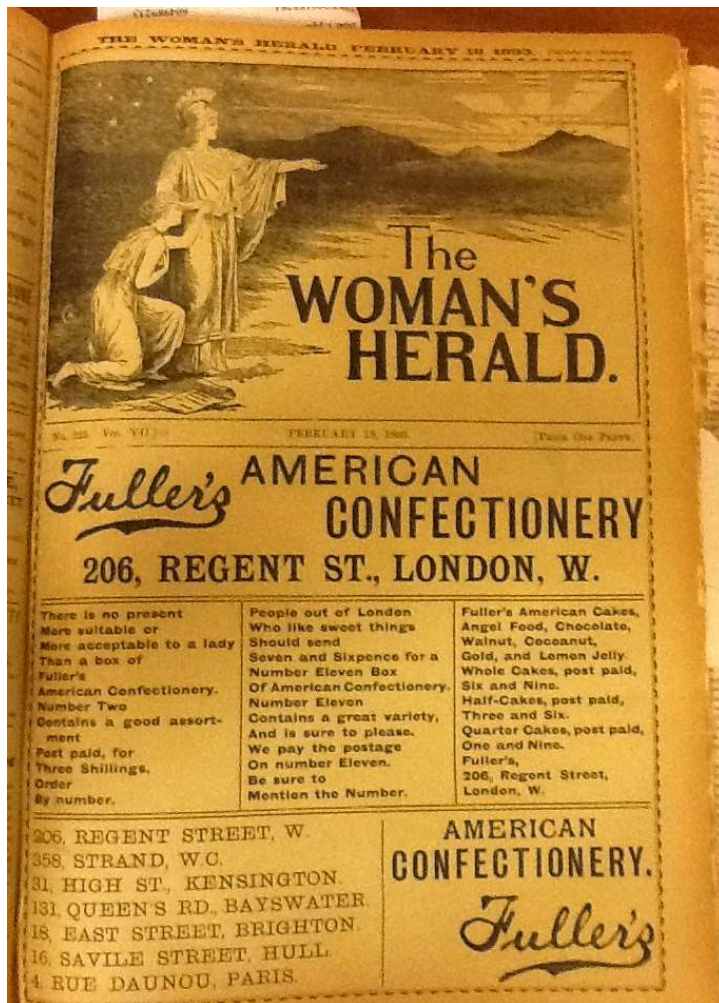


Figure 53. Cover of *The Woman's Herald*, February 18th 1893

On the cover of *The Woman's Herald* from 1893, above, the simulacrum woman is being “shown the way” by another simulacrum woman. The Grecian-like, neoclassical-looking robes the women wear, staring into the dawn of a new and brighter future, paint a simulacrum of timeless destiny, of truth. This taps into a long-linked chain of the natural woman conflated with goodness, which is on brand for their editorial ethos.



Figure 54. Back page of *The Women's Herald*, 1893, Fry's Cocoa advert: "Cocoa in perfection"

Even the Fry's Cocoa lady appearing in the advert for *The Women's Herald* on the back page of the same issue, resembles the Jane Morris Pre-Raphaelite fine art ideal of feminine beauty so prevalent at this time. It is interesting that the advert is utilising the simulacrum of an ideal beauty and utilising the classic ideal and staging of woman. This woman is an ancient image of perfection; her gender is performed in the cocoa ad and *The Woman's Herald* as a classical antiquity, as an eternal truth selling the "Cocoa in perfection".

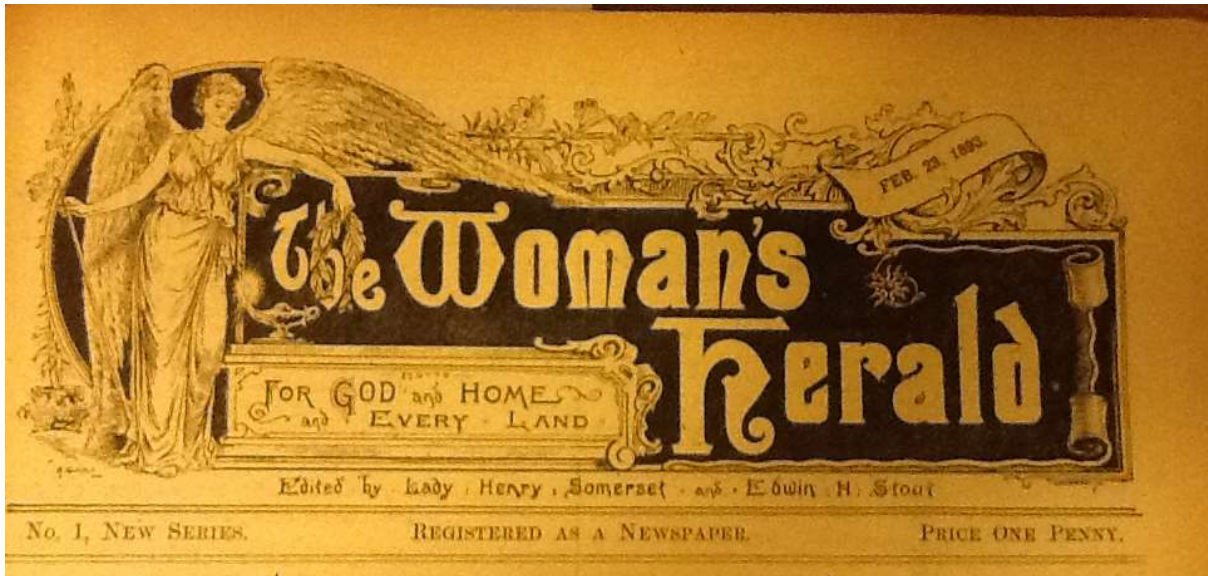


Figure 55. A change in title branding: *The Woman's Herald*, February 23rd 1893

With a rebranding of the logo design, even the woman shedding lamp light on to the paper's name has been upgraded to an angel. The divinity of "natural" women is clear for all to see. Technically, angels are not actually men or women, they are without gender and in the Bible they are usually referred to with masculine pronouns—but this concept of the woman being angelic and representing the natural is too powerful an image not to co-opt, not to construct, as Victoria Grace (2000) outlines with Butler's work:

The paternal law that regulates the relative locations of masculine and feminine identities is not inevitable in any naturalistic sense, in Butler's terms. The inevitability that permeates Butler's analysis is not invoked by any sense of the natural, but rather is commensurate with her use of Foucauldian concepts of power as productive. The law is productive, and it is produced. (p. 63)

It takes power both to construct and reproduce a societal "truth", a personal reality for the readers as powerful as gender. The natural and divine sold by the pro-suffrage *The Women's Herald* and the anti-suffrage *The Woman At Home* is a construct, serving two different ideologies but the same business model: to sell repeat purchases and generate income. Hyperreality's mechanisms are not determined by purpose, only the end result.

The fiction that follows on from this article in *The Women's Herald* bolsters the same principle of the moral superiority of women in the plot of *The Story of Evadne*, Chapter 1, "Her Education": Evadne's overbearing father literally resembles the Patriarchal systems of injustice *The Women's Herald* is campaigning to dismantle, but of course he does:

He was one of those men who believe emphatically that a woman should hold no opinion which is not of masculine origin, and the maxims he had for his boys differed materially in many respects from those which he gave to his girls. [...] Evadne's father was a gentleman of substance so far as income goes, with a wife whom he had crushed into subservience, and with very definite ideas as to the divine right of the subjection of women.

"Only confusion comes of women thinking for themselves on social subjects", he said. "You must let me decide all such matters for you, or you must refer them to your husband when you come under his control."

So the readers of the paper see the fictional heroine struggle with the same patriarchal power issues they themselves are fighting in "the real". Fiction in all the women's magazines examined from the Victorian fin de siècle, and in the 1950s with *The Ladies' Home Journal*, is part of the hyperreality of these magazines. Fiction enables further blurring of dividing parameters between the simulacra and the real world and, combined with the advertising and editorial, delivers a 360 degree message that is utilised by hyperreality. All of these components come together to deliver a periodical product that is a manual for the hyperreal. What is meant by the term "manual" here, and indeed throughout the thesis, is that the magazines acted as a guide to the readers for the hyperreality that affects so many factors in their lives. From class, to gender roles, to nationality, to their place in the British Empire—hyperreality shapes so many aspects of the real they inhabit and these magazines give advice on how to navigate all these layers.

What this chapter has shown is that the hyperreal was functioning and in operation, once again, outside of the postmodern digital context. That the evergreen societal perceptions and meanings from mixed timelines and other (often conquered) cultures were being distilled into images that were used to sell ideas, ideals, and ideologies that were thriving in the Victorian fin de siècle. That the repeat purchasing of the periodical, whether newspaper or magazine,

reinforced the simulacra that was familiar to the readers. The newspapers and magazines kept the linked chain of truths and ideas expanding and the Victorians found a way to sell these truths on a hitherto unseen scale for commercial gain and Empire.

Gender in the Victorian fin de siècle is regulated and here it combines Judith Butler's ideas of binary and gender as a construction (Grace, 2000, p. 63) with Deleuze's notions of the unbroken chain of simulacra. The resulting hyperreality is when both these ideas are curated and pooled on the pages of the increasingly mass media, critically, for commercial gain. Gender is a hyperreality. Gender is one of the most useful measuring tools for the hyperreal in each chapter as it is societal and, to a large extent, unbroken. Gender also has a historicity of its discourse and to the formations of its norms (Grace, 2000, p. 64). This historicity enables a 'universality of the relationship between discourse and the real' (ibid). The power to shape this discourse and to define the real, through hyperreality, was alive and well in the Victorian fin de siècle and revealed in its female-targeted consumer magazines.

Conclusion

Hyperreality is a palimpsest of images and truths functioning and circulating on a grand societal scale—which is as true for a fin de siècle one hundred years earlier as it was in the 1990s, which this chapter proves. Hyperreality, I would argue, is an almost mechanical effect when the sources, expressed as simulacra, are stockpiled enough to trigger a reaction. Baudrillard in *The Transparency of Evil* would argue that hyperreality is a sort of pathogen, which happens, flourishes, and spreads when conditions are right (Baudrillard, 2009, p. 4). This suits the hyperreality in the digital twenty-first century, but the Victorian fin de siècle's hyperreality reflects Walter Benjamin's mechanical production: a more measured but steady reproduction with distribution limits set by the technology of that time. A mechanical or medical analogy, however, reaches the same outcome: that once the ingredients and conditions for hyperreal to happen are present, as I have proven they were at the end of the nineteenth century, then hyperreality happens. Hyperreality's compressed layers of co-mingling timelines and perceptions need only distribution to be received by the masses or readers. The evidence is clear that this distribution does not need to be electronic or digital as

in the fin de siècle for the twentieth century. But rather, hyperreality is not confined to a digital era of civilisation because hyperreality happens whether the distribution is digital or steam-powered. What counts is that hyperreality has enough ingredients to work with, enough simulacra to flatten, and, crucially, enough distribution points to reach the receivers; the Victorian fin de siècle can evidence this.

The limitation with assuming that hyperreality only exists in the postmodern world is the problem with Baudrillard's accepted and endlessly quoted orders. 'Within Baudrillard's schema of hyperreality there exists four orders of understanding: counterfeit, production, simulation, and virtual' (Sichler, 2010). Baudrillard's orders are *en masse* with a now-canonical tendency to evidence America as hyperreal proof. But this is too sweeping on a societal scale to be useful in investigating how hyperreality really works, has worked, and worked for much longer and in a smaller reach than Baudrillard's extensive grand orders allow. America is not proof of the hyperreal—it is just hyperreality *in action*, on a national scale. But the mechanisms that enable America to thrive in a hyperreal are mechanisms that were happening and would have happened if the same ingredients were put together. Mapping the source of the hyperreal is necessary because hyperreality has affected so much of the world that is man-made and over such a long time period that it still resounds in the world today. Indeed, the British Empire employed these same myths and legends to invent itself as a righteous superpower on a global scale; it is still Baudrillard's Disneyland, but with more guns and fewer carparks.

In the third order, the simulation order:

[...] simulation, corresponds to the means of perception known as hyperreality which reconfigures the post-modern condition and consciousness by removing the need for a referent or an original to exist prior to its copy in the corporeal world. (Sichler, 2010, p. 48)

I would argue that within the consumer periodicals of the Victorian fin de siècle there is a little tension between the real and the reproduction, that there is no counterfeit left, as the magazines actively reconfigure a reality that has no need for an original because they shape and define their own real—to sell again and again. They have the means of image-making

and photography and print technologies that allow good quality mechanical reproduction in the thousands and, crucially, the means of distribution to readers up and down the country and abroad within the Empire.

The periodicals of the Victorian *fin de siècle*, especially and primarily those aimed at aspiring middle-class women, inhabited a prescriptive and dominating space where a seemingly chaotic mix of myth, message, delivered through its editorials and illustrations on the pages allowed hyperreality to function and, in doing so, relayed their truths to their masses.

Chapter 4

The Hyperreality of Empire

This chapter examines the state of hyperreality in a time of transition from the eighteenth century to the start of the Victorian era. The timeline for this chapter is longer than others as there are theoretical themes and historical continuities, namely the British Empire that are examined here. This chapter is about the formation of the British Empire which was a constant context in this era and other chapters in this thesis. This chapter uses *The Penny Magazine* from The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, as well as other periodicals popular at that time, such as Addison's *The Spectator* (1711 to 1712) and *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922) to measure how notions of Empire were communicated to the readers. This chapter will examine and argue that the British Empire's existence was both facilitated and communicated through hyperreality at that time. This time period is a significant departure from the more well-known magazine era of the late Victorian fin de siècle and nearly two hundred years away from the more familiar postmodern setting of hyperreality's more famous time period. This in itself is a crucial test to prove that hyperreality *was* functioning outside of Baudrillard's postmodern context, as I have argued.

Examining this time period will also gauge the components of hyperreality to see how it was functioning, where it was functioning, and who it was reaching. But also, importantly for this thesis, this chapter will further disengage hyperreality from Baudrillard's paternity to prove that it was a system, a function of Anglo-European society that was happening outside of America and away from both the postmodern timeline and from a well-known and well-quoted Baudrillian understanding. The core work of this chapter is to measure how hyperreality can work outside of the twentieth century and how hyperreality uses image and history. It will demonstrate linkages and follow threads that have their origins in the eighteenth century but continue to exist two hundred years later, with their use value and origins having changed. This chapter is critical in proving the thesis' overarching arguments: that hyperreality did exist outside of the postmodern context. It will demonstrate how this is possible and it will illustrate the source of the hyperreal.

The hyperreal is not an unsystematic chaos; there are patterns in the hyperreal that are familiar in their repetition. It is really only the distribution that changes and evolves dramatically. Hyperreality would happen, eventually, in a society where time and memory erode the simulacrum or narratives that become accumulated over time and, crucially, have mechanisms in place to distribute these truths over such a long timeline. This is because culture hoards ideologies and narratives, both grand and small, and passes them on to be remembered and retold through media and the hierarchical structures that govern societies. The distance between referent and truth becomes unanchored and destabilised with every cloudy and imperfect memory, which is retold and passed on to the next viewer to be, in turn, reinterpreted and added to the accumulation all over again. The examples in this chapter will prove this claim and follow ideas from this era into the twentieth century to demonstrate how hyperreality utilises stacked simulacra over a long period of time: the British Empire as case in point. This chapter is also useful to show how hyperreality affects the context of so many of the eras examined in this thesis and the British Empire is a framework by which every one of the chapters, and certainly the magazines examined, are affected. This chapter will show that Plato's shadows never faded on the cave wall, they just amassed and multiplied in societies that hoard simulacra and that the hyperreal affects more than just localised sites, such as magazine pages, advertising, or theme parks. Empires are man-made and the hyperreality in this chapter's era still has a grip on the empires of the twenty-first century. Hyperreality affects and shapes on a grand scale, as Baudrillard understood, and as this chapter will prove.

Baudrillard's Empire

In that Empire, the Art of Cartography attained such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied the entirety of a City, and the map of the Empire, the entirety of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps no longer satisfied, and the Cartographers Guilds struck a Map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it. The following Generations, who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast Map was Useless, and not without some Pitilessness was it, that they delivered it up to the Inclemencies of Sun and Winters. In the Deserts of the West, still today, there are Tattered Ruins of that Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in all the Land there is no other Relic of the Disciplines of Geography.

Suarez Miranda, *Viajes de varones prudentes*, Libro IV, Cap. XLV, Lerida, 1658

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An ingredient that Baudrillard always missed, and so do many Baudrillard scholars extracting meaning from the Borges' tale, is Baudrillard himself. The complex French philosopher is now part of this system, as he himself is a hyperreal, he is now merged with the Borges' fable; he has disappeared into the landscape to be remade. But just like French philosophers, empires can also be fabricated, moulded, and shaped into tangible reals: a hyperreal. These tangible and believed "reals" David Henige (2003), in his article "The Power of Pink: Graphical Display As Imposed Epistemology", links to the use of maps and their influence in determining the real:

Inevitably, maps have proved versatile devices for purveying an invented past or an imagined present. The future has also been projected cartographically long before it became reality - or not. If herding readers into the same intellectual corral is only partly a bad thing, fooling them has nothing at all to be said for it. Take, for instance, maps that purport to trace King Arthur's campaigns, the itineraries of Ulysses of the apostle Paul, or possible locations of Ophir. Since the details, sometimes the very historicity of all these, is much in dispute, tracing their activities cartographically can only shepherd readers along the path of accepting their reality. (p. 85)

The herding of the masses into believing, or at least accepting, the reality of an 'imagined present' (in 1886) with regards to the British Empire can be seen in this famous map of empire, which was a pull-out giveaway within a newspaper. The map is interesting but the decoration framing the map, bringing it to life, is the hyperreal. Here intrepid explorers, well-heeled society ladies wearing pelts and fashion mingle in polarised spaces with exotic others, naked ladies from the imagined Orient and other exotic locations easily identifiable by their conspicuous *lack* of clothing. These "other" ladies are seen offering exotic goods and flora and fauna from the empire's lands and an English soldier has a tiger on a chain: to emphasise further the concept of the dangerous wild being tamed by the might and right of a civilising British empire. Britannia is central, elevated by her use of the whole world as a seat, resplendent, and powerful with a trident and shield; *Rule Britannia!* is so much more now than merely a rousing song. It is a visual performance of the hyperreality, a theatrical presentation of the British Empire.



Figure 56. “Imperial Federation” ‘Map of the world showing the extent of the British Empire in 1886. The Empire’s territories are marked in red. The map was included as a supplement in the July 24, 1886 edition of the British weekly illustrated newspaper *The Graphic*’ (<https://www.alamy.com/>).

One of the many fascinating aspects of the hyperreal is its ability to span time, mix up eras, and cross such disparate geographies, literally from continent to continent, much like the map above. Hyperreality also juggles and blends the actual with fiction, the believable with the expected. Baudrillard’s use of the Borges’ miniature fable *On Exactitude in Science* works as a useful illustration of the hyperreal, not just because of the map event, but because of all the ingredients that have been mixed together: lost generations, deserts, inclement weather, dust and dirt, ruined civilisations, relics, and beggars. They are ingredients that are familiar to the receiver and *seem* real, *seem* authentic. The old empire, the generations following on and compressing old ideas into the dust, the length of the societal memory described, the guilds, the date, the landscape, the romantic author name of ‘Suárez Miranda’, and the “foreign-feel” of the tale all invoke a societal muscle memory by invoking a societal muscle memory in the receiver; everything adds up to seem real. The fable is the same recipe as Eco’s Palace of the Mapping the Source of the Hyperreal // Leander Reeves, 2022 // PhD thesis // 217

Arts, or Baudrillard's Disneyland, or America, or the British Empire. None of the ingredients to the Borges' tale *need* a referent any more, as they are all remembered fragments of older and mediated memories from museums, movies, and, for this era, magazines—as this chapter will show.

History, and the strata of simulacra it accumulates, can be traced through the media scattered and left behind in archives. The development of the hyperreal can be mapped because we can chart the strata and see how it sits side-by-side with the next layer. The media left behind from the eighteenth century allows us to gather together much of the contents to the *Wunderkammer* of simulacra which continues to affect notions of empire some two hundred years later. Communications scholar James W. Carey says, “[...] all communication is geared toward the maintenance of society in time, through the representation of shared beliefs in a symbolic production of reality” (Lauters, 2009, p. 19). The media examined in this chapter proves Carey's statement and also proves that hyperreality has the power and reach to shape an empire, the British Empire in particular.

The real as shaped: a cabinet of curiosities

Movement along trade routes, colonisation, and the empires that follow, act as an accelerant to the simulacra, in so much as that movement detaches the layer from its anchor. When a simulacrum becomes detached it becomes easier to curate and match up with other unanchored layers to form a better real, to form a hyperreal. So that the real is then shaped by a system of ‘symbols, association, memory, and similitude’ (Sheehy, 2006, p. 10). In terms of methodology this resembles a *Wunderkammer* of curated knowledge or cabinet of curiosities,

which were the precursors to the institutional modern museum.



Figure 57. *Dell' historia naturale di Ferrante Imperato*, Naples (1599), *Wunderkammer* engraving, foldout, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/> shows a room filled with natural history specimens (shells, fish, reptiles, birds, and plants) arranged with ceramics, books, and sculptures. A mix of the natural world with relics and antiques, art and thought, the mysterious and the known. In many respects, a tangible reconstruction of an empire's reach and scope.

Global exploration brought about a gathering of material objects from the New World and ancient empires, which were placed side by side: from sculptures to eggs, gems to tusks, coins to skeletons. This brought about a changing mode of knowledge (Sheehy, 2006, p. 10), one that was a curated assemblage of developing ideas which, in their collection, could answer both new and evergreen questions about the world at that time. Colleen Sheehy (2006) sums up this function as:

Cabinets of curiosities or cabinets of wonder were most often rooms for display of collections in private villas or palaces, what we would call a gallery today, although they were also sometimes a single ornate cabinet to hold precious objects. Princes such as the Medici and the Hapsburgs compiled objects for cabinets that they could command from merchants and explorers to Africa and the New World. The cabinets represented a transformation in knowledge acquisition: new emphasis was placed on gaining information from material objects— the remnants of classical ruins, archaeological materials— and from nature, as the reliance on religious texts as the primary means to know the world diminished. [...] This was a place for conversation, exchange, and sharing of knowledge among the men who gathered there. What may strike our modern eyes as a chaotic display actually had a complex system of ordering based on symbols, association, memory, and similitude. (p. 10)

The periodical literature, those well-known and well-trusted magazines of the eighteenth century, presented and facilitated the transformation Sheehy describes, because the earlier eighteenth-century magazines had not quite developed the business art of targeting their readership demographic along strict gender lines. There were, of course, gender lines but they read more as “natural” differences to be philosophically debated rather than rigid gender binaries framed by consumer culture desires and societal expectations. The difference between the Victorian magazines of the fin de siècle and these titles, one hundred years earlier, is that these magazines shaped the intellect of the reader within a changing world, rather than seeking to shape them as consumers within the British Empire; this is discernible due to the striking lack of advertising messages. Eliza Haywood’s *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746), as case in point, featured a lot of sophisticated reflective cultural commentary, as well as the expected didactic moralising of that time. Haywood’s opening letter to *The Female Spectator*, (Book 1, 1755) outlines her editorial ambition as:

[...] being useful and entertaining to the public [...] and immediately began to consider by what method I should be most likely to succeed: to confine myself to any subject, I knew could please but one kind of taste, and my ambition was to be as universally read as possible. From my observation of human nature, I found that curiosity had more or less a share in every breast; and my business therefore, was to hit this reigning humour in such a manner, as that the gratification is should receive from being made acquainted with other people’s affairs, might at the same time teach every one to regulate their own. (p. 9)

So although *The Female Spectator* was aimed at women, it was not *just* for women. The magazine had fiction that centred upon an everywoman or everyman where the characters found themselves in socially and morally challenging situations and their decisions had consequences that the magazine hoped would chime with the readers.

Haywood boasts of her ‘eternal fund of intelligence’ through her ‘spies’ based in London and in Bath and Tunbridge, but also in Germany, France, Rome, and ‘other foreign parts, so that nothing curious or worthy of remark can escape me; and this I look upon to be a more effectual way of penetrating the mysteries of the alcove, the cabinet, or field [...]’ (p. 11). It is interesting that mystery, curiosity, and ‘the cabinet’ have been conflated by Haywood to

describe an editorial strategy that would appeal to a universal readership. The cabinet of curiosity also works to explain the mix of real life with myth, which resides side by side in the engraving of an incredible fight shown from *The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, Vol. 2. Gods and goddesses fight with well-dressed gentle folk—to what aim, it is not clear. It could be the editorial pillars of the magazine represented as gods: justice, wisdom, and literature, perhaps being delivered by celestial messenger to the lounging everywoman. But the magazine also illustrates this mixing up of the known, the familiar, and myth to make sense of the world around the readers. This engraving from *The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, Vol. 2, is a strata of simulacra, as much as the resulting editorial mix is also, it is literally an encapsulated ‘chaotic display [of a] complex system of ordering based on symbols, association, memory, and similitude’ (Sheehy, 2006, p. 10). This ordering system also reflects the imagined regular contributors of essays and content Eliza Haywood conjures up for *The Female Spectator*, ‘Haywood wrote articles on education, marriage and children under four pseudonyms: Mira, Widow of Quality, Euphrosine, and of course, The Female Spectator’ (Black, 2008). All of the imaginary female contributors represent the very best in female simulacra Mira, the excellent wife who was married to a gentleman, the “Widow of Quality” who is *useful* still with her vivacity intact, and Euphrosine, a beautiful girl with a wealthy merchant father described in mythical terms as ‘this fine young creature we shall call *Euphrosine*, since she has all the cheerfulness and sweetness ascribed to that goddess’, writes Haywood in her editorial (*The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, p. 10). Each simulacrum is designed as one of the three stages of woman: goddess, excellent wife, and useful widow.

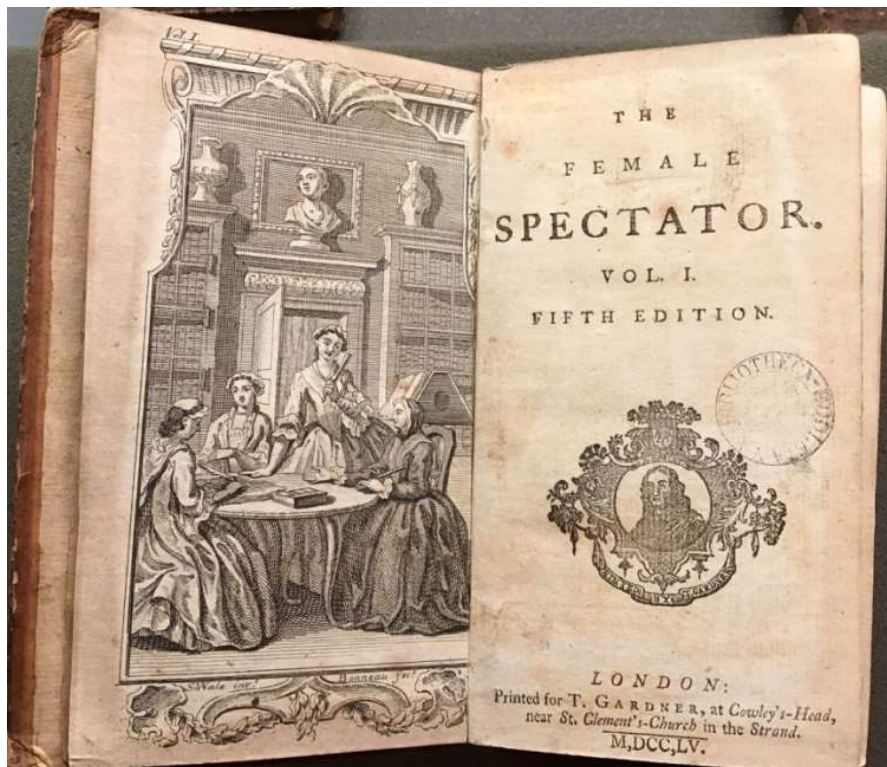


Figure 58. *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) ed. Eliza Haywood

The three imagined contributing ladies talking to “The Female Spectator” [as personified] who regularly contribute ‘several essays’ identified as: ‘[...] a [married] lady descended from a family to which wit seems hereditary [...]. The next is a widow of quality [...]. ‘the third is a daughter of a wealthy merchant, charming as an angel [...]’ (*The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, p. 10).

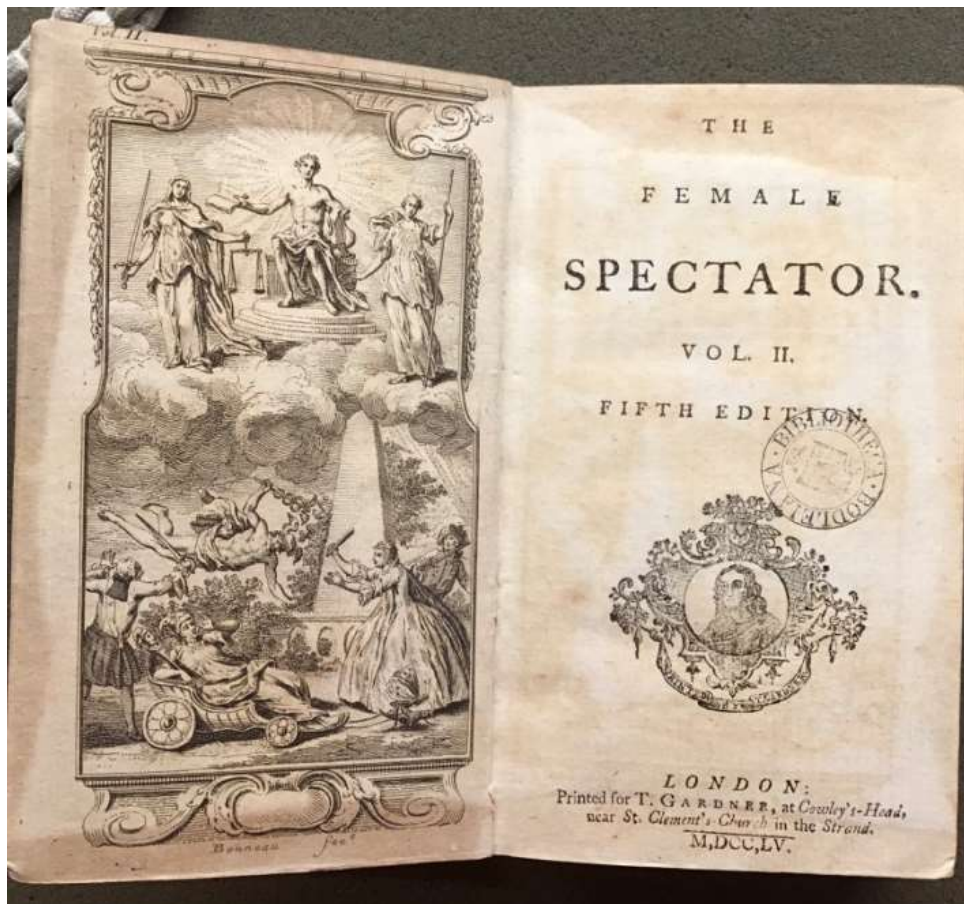


Figure 59. (*The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, Vol. 2) Well-dressed gentlemen and a lady fight off Hermes to protect the fool, or everywoman, with sword and fan while Apollo, Justice, and Minerva look on—with added spectacular giant insects pulling the lounging chariot.

The Lady's Magazine (1770-1818) and *The Universal Museum or Gentleman's and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature* (1762-1764) also illustrate this *Wunderkammer*-like mingling of myth with the real in the few illustrations that have prominence in the publications. Greco-Roman gods and goddesses are of course the main staple in myth image and they are always interacting with the readers in the magazine's present. The Victoria and Albert museum describes the *Wunderkammer* as expanding networks:

Kunstkammern are fundamentally about the discovery of the world: the far-away, but also the immediate territory. Collections simultaneously expressed absolute power, new knowledge, and expanding networks. (www.vam.ac.uk)

This can be seen in the pages of these magazines and is equally reflected in the British Empire as a system because networks expand and function through systems.

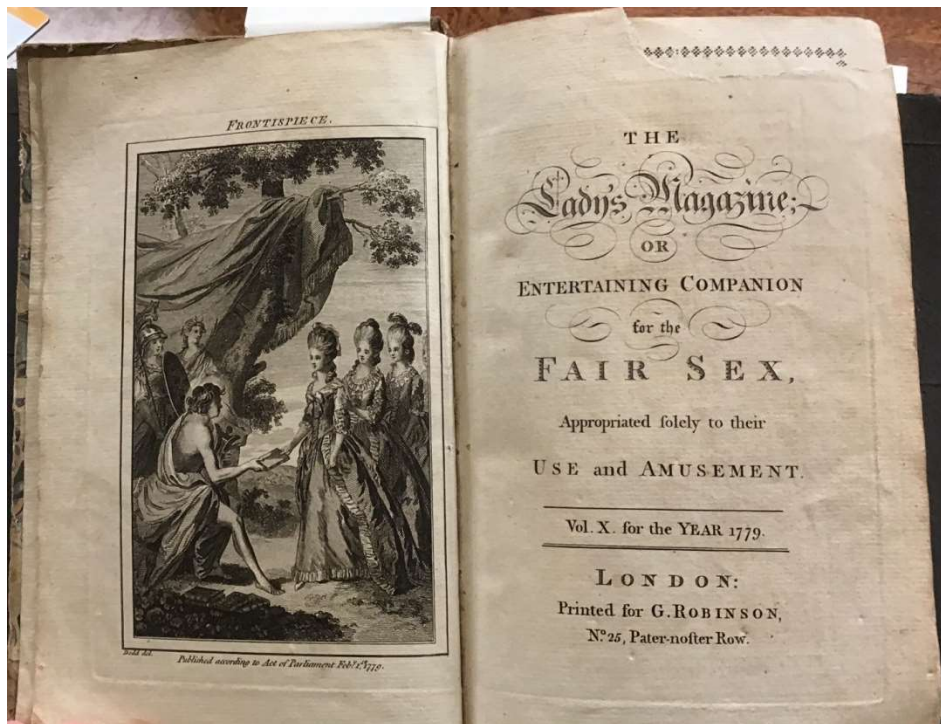


Figure 60. *The Lady's Magazine*, "Frontispiece", Vol. X, December, 1779. Four courtly ladies of wealth receive literature from Apollo while two goddesses look on.

Fiction mingles with the familiar, myth mingles with fact, and the magazine is filled with 'symbols, association, memory, and similitude' which enable the readers to shape their real, and their place in a wider world, but with scant advertising, and certainly none for consumer goods other than an occasional foretelling of Parisian fashions. This is because the advertising and editorial business model had yet to be established, distribution was not yet facilitated by the expansion of the railways, and, of course, printing technology limitations. The magazines read as a bound cornucopia of reflective long-form journalism; they were slow reads for *readers*, rather than *consumers*, which is also evidenced by the conspicuous lack of advertising messages.

The magazines did contain spiritual matters and made references to the dominant religion of the day, but they were also cosmopolitan. They sold an editorial mix of ancient and

contemporary history, reflections on society and culture, but also facts and figures, natural history from around the world, sometimes maps, scientific diagrams and illustrations, which treated the readers as learned and curious people. *The Universal Museum* often brought the natural world to the reader in detailed scientific and natural history engravings:

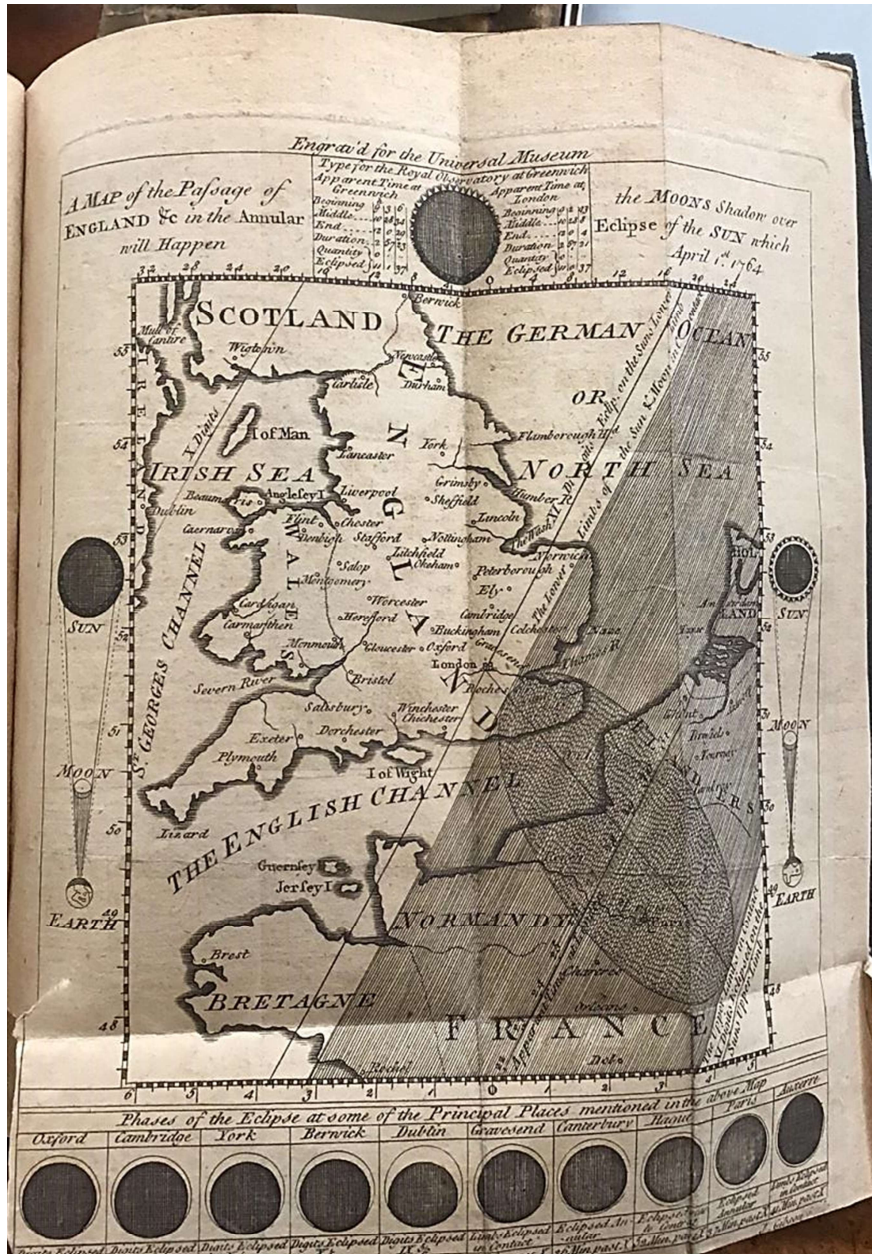


Figure 61. *The Universal Museum or Gentleman's and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature*, Vol III, February, 1764: Facing map of eclipse for feature "Explanation of the Map of the great Solar System"



Figure 62. “An Eastern View of the Giant’s Causway” [top] “the Giant’s Causway” [below] *The Universal Museum or Gentleman’s and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature*, Vol III, March, 1764

PRICE of STOCKS from November 1, to November 29, 1764, both inclusive.														
Bank Stock.	India Stock.	So. Sea Stock.	Sou. Sea Annuit. Old.	Sou. Sea Annuit. New.	Reduc. Bank 3 per Ct.	Confolid.	1 per Ct.	3 per Ct.	5 per Ct.	10 per Ct.	15 per Ct.	20 per Ct.	25 per Ct.	30 per Ct.
121 1/2	148 1/2	148	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
121 1/2	148	147 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
121 1/2	147 1/2	147 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
122	148 1/2	148 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
122 1/2	148 1/2	148 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
122 1/2	148 1/2	148 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2
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122 1/2	148 1/2	148 1/2	82 1/2	83	83	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2

Figure 63. *The Universal Museum or Gentleman’s and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature*, Vol III, November, 1764, “Price of Stocks from November 1 to November 29” on the back page of the magazine in each issue.

These periodicals examined, but also *The Spectator* (1711-1712) and *The Penny Magazine* (1832-1845), much like these cabinets and rooms of wonder, allowed their readership to acquire knowledge about the world around them from a mix of material objects and studies described and brought to life by the magazines. The primary means by which people, ordinary people, were able to know and discover that their world had changed in the eighteenth century is due to an outward gaze that reflected an era of accumulated knowledge; magazines acted as both *Wunderkammer* and guide book to this new cosmopolitanism. The magazines curated the simulacra to shape the readers’ sense of real, to curate memory and shape understanding.

Empire and the hyperreal

The previous chapters, leading up to and including the Victorian fin de siècle, demonstrate an existence of hyperreality outside of Baudrillard’s timeline because of consumer culture and the prevalence of the advertising message in the consumer periodicals examined. But the hyperreal isn’t dependent on consumer culture—consumer culture is possible because of the

hyperreal, not the other way around. The eighteenth-century chapters demonstrate how hyperreality works over a longer timeline as a slower process. These chapters show how the simulacrum accumulates, they demonstrate how hyperreality works if you remove the Baudrillan effect of applied speed. But also, crucially, how hyperreality works on the macro scale – i.e. the British Empire as case in point, and as a massive contextual background to so much of this thesis. The British Empire was too omnipresent not to discuss.

The source for the hyperreal is scattered all over this time period and in this chapter because it is about disruption and, crucially, the power to disrupt. One such source of disruption, which needs to be examined in order to measure hyperreality in the eighteenth century, is the British Empire, because it is a contextual background to this era and its media. The British Empire, which started through trade routes, piracy, and merchant exploration, is one of many accelerants in the evolution of hyperreality—sail, steam or server powered, because it is distribution that gives the hyperreal its reach and, by extension, its power. Value and travel need systems, and it is interesting that hyperreality appears to flourish in man-made systems that enable these detached simulacra not just to accrue, but to be curated and given direction and power to affect.

Empire is not chaos and not everything is a hyperreal although, on a scale this big, it might seem so. The hyperreal is not an unsystematic chaos; there are patterns in the hyperreal that are familiar in their repetition. The distance between referent and truth becomes unanchored and destabilised through three disruptive factors: time, power, and force of movement that is imperial in its strength and reach: an empire. The layers of piled simulacra then become entangled and, when this happens, the simulacrum loses its anchoring origin, which means that it can be curated together with other anchorless simulacrum and flattened to create a new truth, a new real: a hyperreal.

Hyperreality clearly affects the receiver; there is an in-built call to action imbued in the message. Hyperreality is a system which functions within other systems, which is why the

British Empire aided the hyperreal and why the United Kingdom's politics still behave as though it were a global empire in the twenty-first century. In order to examine where hyperreality was in the eighteenth century, it is necessary to examine the British Empire.

In a new post-Second World War landscape of 1945, the *New York Times* asks whether the British Empire is necessary? 'Yes, replies an M.P., who says he would not want to live in this world without it'. Beverley Baxter (1945), the British Member of Parliament answering the *New York Times*' question of 1945, both encapsulates and illustrates the core themes that circle around the British Empire; namely that this Empire was a force for *good*. This idea was formed and sold across time periods that were as broad as the geolocations they crossed. The British Empire was seen and sold as a benevolent force for change, which brought liberty, free trade, and culture to those who "badly" needed it. These themes, as they were then and, some would argue, as they are now, intersect with hyperreality in a way that is useful both for mapping hyperreality's trajectory as a system and for showing how the hyperreal works on a scale that is both grand and outside of a postmodern timeline.

There is a great deal of academic and popular scholarship centred on the British Empire. This chapter and thesis cannot engage with the majority of this work and this thesis is not about the British Empire. Instead, this chapter draws upon a cross section of the scholarship to show how the concept of the British Empire was communicated and peddled to the readers of the magazines examined, but also how those readers were part of the British Empire.

The scholarship covers a vast global timeline and there is even more scholarship centred on the countries and people who suffered, lived, and thrived within this empire. The British Empire's influence was colossal in terms of longevity, scale, and the number of people it affected. It is also part of the context to more than just one chapter in this thesis and so it is useful to examine it in more detail. The British Empire was an empire that scattered and disrupted, organised, and colonised through *more than just might*—and that is one of the reasons why it is useful to the hyperreal, because how do you govern and shape a global empire with more than just guns? There are themes within the British Empire that are repeated, remade, and recirculated in the societal memories and the media consumed during

its long life. The way hyperreality is able to function is key in showing how the British Empire was both communicated and able to flourish and, crucially, how it still shapes a nation's identity in the twenty-first century.

Looking at trade equality between America and Great Britain, this *New York Times* (Baxter, 1945) article describes a condition for the “average” Briton as: ‘the net result has been to convince the average Briton that without the Empire his islands in the North Sea would decline to the level of a third-rate power’. Baxter paints an assumed collective perspective in which the average Briton fears the poverty of being powerless, fears it for ‘his islands’. The conflation of power and wealth is a theme which circles round any notion of empire, but it could be argued that this is especially so for the British Empire since this empire had the media means in its periodicals such as *The Spectator* and *The Gentleman's Magazine* to debate the *costs* of empire publically, but also to sell its benefits back to the average reader and member of the empire. The media was also in existence to debate what was meant by a British Empire, since it seems to have evolved out of a number of different concepts, from exploration to nautical might. Indeed, Stephen Gregg (2005) identifies in *Empire and Identity* that ‘Moreover, the seventeenth century had bequeathed a number of different ‘empires’ to the eighteenth century’ (p. 2), ranging from ‘sovereign state of England and Scotland’ to an ‘empire of the seas’ to a ‘colonial empire of America’ including the Caribbean islands (Gregg, 2005, p. 2). ‘Only by the second half of the eighteenth century were commentators beginning to conceive of a British empire that encompassed all of the commercial and colonial projects together’ writes Gregg (2005) ‘as parts of one whole’, in the words of Arthur Young in 1772 (p. 2).

Indeed, there seems to be some plasticity in defining what the British Empire really was/is—which of course suits the way hyperreality works. There is plasticity in the way hyperreality gathers and curates the amassed simulacra and accumulates the real. The hyperreality of empire conflates the ideologies of empire with the money-making realities of unfettered commerce, in this instance, on a global scale. Both of these ingredients of the British Empire

had been in circulation for a long time prior to Young's identification of Empire in 1772; it was after all some 172 years since the formation of the East India Company.

When is a system an empire?

The British Empire navigated and moulded relationships not just with those who were colonised but with those back "home" in Great Britain, who funded and supported the empire. Huw Bowen (2005) examines a connection and social relationship between empire and commerce; the East India Company is utilised here and, usefully for this point, the people who invested in it:

People from all over Britain became participants in the process of commercial and imperial expansion whether or not they actually went abroad, and their material stake in oversea activity ensured that a commitment to trade and empire was always well to the fore when public expression was given to attitudes and identities. (p. 261)

These people had little agency or power in the old feudal system that shaped Europe and they were not necessarily the landed gentry, these were ordinary people making money in the British Empire. They were investing in not just the ideology of empire but the practical money-making aspects of a working empire, where goods had replaced land as the currency of wealth. Joseph Addison pays homage to these people and the global trade of goods in the description of his visit to the Royal Exchange in his *The Spectator* article of 1711 (19th May, No. 69). Indeed, as an Englishman, Addison is as much part of these 'wealthy Societies of Men' where the people are from more than one dominant ruling class or landed class, they are people working together for capital and supporting *systems* that enabled the wealth to be made and brought back to the motherland. Bowen (2005) quotes Thomas William Plummer in a 'letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Controul, on the renewal of the East India Company's charter' in 1813:

He identified nine groups of people who drew benefit from the Company, ranging from the stockholders through to those who were dealers in India and China goods, and he concluded that 'When all these classes of people are taken into consideration, and we reflect for a moment how widely their connections are diffused, it may surely be said, with fairness, that scarcely any part of the British community is distinct from some personal or collateral interest in the welfare of the East India Company'. (p. 261)

This relationship is a social relation between a nebulous and familiar idea of what an empire could or should be and the people who shape it, and it is being mediated by the media. The people living within the empire are encouraged not just to be a part of it, but to work for it and to be content doing so, which *The Penny Magazine* will evidence later on in this chapter. They are, in many ways, different from those that invest in it and shape it. What is also striking about this quotation is the notion that wider connections and community take prominence, thus creating a *system* whereby goods can travel and be traded. It was a system of capitalism, of growth, a market monopoly, and goods traded: of power. Hyperreality enables this system to have a shape and a legitimacy, to be real.

John Darwin's (2009) work both discredits and examines the idea of a British Empire in *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* and in the book's opening preface he briefly quotes Adam Smith, the well-known and influential eighteenth-century Scottish political economist, from his 1776 essay "The Wealth of Nations 1776 The Cost of Empire". Smith's quotation is worth examining here in its more complete version:

The rulers of Great Britain have, for more than a century past, amused the people with the imagination that they possessed a great empire on the west side of the Atlantic. This empire, however, has hitherto existed in imagination only. It has hitherto been, not an empire, but the project of an empire; not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine; a project which has cost, which continues to cost, and which, if pursued in the same way as it has been hitherto, is likely to cost, immense expense, without being likely to bring any profit; for the effects of the monopoly of the colony trade, it has been shown, are, to the great body of the people, mere loss instead of profit. It is surely now time that our rulers should either realise this golden dream, in which they have been indulging themselves, perhaps, as well as the people; or, that they should awake from it themselves, and endeavour to awaken the people.
(<http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/>)

Smith names the British Empire as an indulgent *lie*, a costly *glamour*, which unifies a myriad of different systems all *grasping* for profit in different ways. What Smith is reflecting on, in this astute essay, is the project of an empire, the project of a gold mine: a golden dream of an empire from which the people need to 'awaken'. This is remarkably akin to another empire romance: the Borges' fable "On *Exactitude in Science*", which Baudrillard uses some two

hundred years later to illustrate the desert of the real with the hallmarks of an empire, but which is not so well-known. The Borges' fable, much like Smith's assertions, suggests that the people have been fooled by those with power into curating the means necessary to fool them. That this fabricated empire is in actual fact just a *system* or more specifically, as Darwin (2009) describes in his preface, a 'British world-system' to the conventional 'Empire'. The belief in empire, in giving a system a divine credence on such a grand scale is because hyperreality was functioning and able to function on a grand scale. There is much overlap between Smith's ideas and the use of Borges' fable within a system believed as empire and it reflects an earlier idea of Daniel Boorstin's (writing in the 1960s) in that Americans became beguiled by the fabricated realities of their own constructed empire system. These constructed realities and belief in empire are always exported to solidify the reality.

It takes a great deal of power, distribution points, and time to curate the necessary simulacra needed to accumulate the real, to stockpile and finesse the real, so that the end real, the end British Empire was perfect. The British Empire had all of these factors, thanks to timing, media technological advancements, and the might to force and shape and to keep the ingredients accumulating over a long period of time. The era on which Smith was reflecting and Addison was joyously reporting is a snapshot of the long-enduring constant of the hyperreal. So perfect was the real of the British Empire that the tattered ruin of it can still be seen strewn across the hyperreal desert of the twenty-first century. This is a useful illustration of Eco's (1986) assertion that 'the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake [...]' (p. 8); the British Empire is a product of the British imagination—a fabricated absolute fake. The American spectacle Baudrillard and Eco utilise as prophetic illustration of the hyperreal is a sped up and condensed, electrically charged, high fidelity version of the slow-time British Empire hyperreal.

The 'British world-system' Darwin (2009) suggests is a better term to describe a 'global phenomenon' where British imperialism was restyled as an empire. But, in reality, it was more of a 'fusing together of several disparate elements' and of an 'intricate web of "British

connections” to, in effect, successfully brand this vast global empire of commerce. The freedom to trade and the right to make money from this global trade began to be conflated with the ever changing identity of *Englishness* and the later creation of Great Britain in 1707. As Stephen Gregg (2005) neatly surmises:

[...] this “cult of commerce” was bound up with an ideological sleight-of-hand whereby dominion was reconciled with liberty. [...] In short, Britain came to represent itself and its empire as “Protestant, commercial, maritime, and free”. (Gregg, 2005, p. 8, quotes David Armitage (2000), *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 8)

The question for hyperreality is how does an unequal and scattered commercial system sell a nation’s people, and those it colonises, a scheme of capitalism enforced by might and cruelty as a British Empire of freedom and liberty? How can it enable that myth to live on for *centuries*? The British Empire existed then and exists now as a hyperreal construct: a compressed strata of myth, social identities, and romanticised exceptionalism on a national scale. The British Empire, as believed and exported, never existed; the truths of *Rule Britannia* are as tangible as the empire itself.

Personal power through empire: *The Spectator*

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1993) made a well-known statement on colonisation: ‘Not because empire, like capital, is abstract, but because empire messes with identity’ (p. 226). The British Empire formed and demonstrated a collective ideology which affected those operating within the empire and those affected by it and British publications like *The Spectator* narrated and made sense of it for its readers. Stephen Gregg (2005) sums this influence up as:

The *Spectator* appeared daily from March 1711 to December 1712 and was one of the most influential periodicals of the eighteenth-century—it was said that if one owned only two books one would be the Bible, the other the *Spectator* papers. (p. 53)

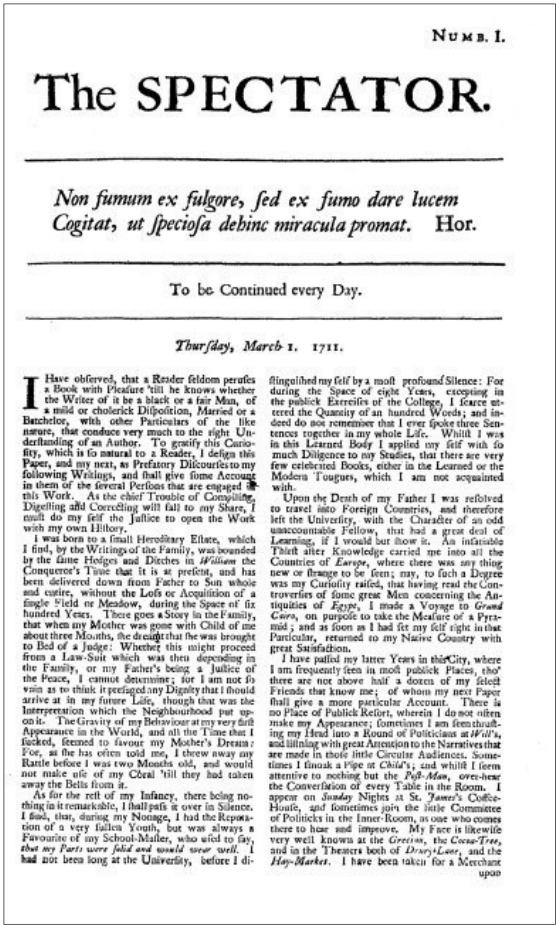


Figure 64. *The Spectator*, Thursday March 1st, 1711, Number 1

Running to about 2,500 words an issue, it came out daily except Sunday. Issue No 1, after a Latin quotation from Horace, consisted entirely of an introduction by Addison as ‘Mr Spectator’. ‘I have observed,’ he began, ‘that a Reader seldom peruses a Book with Pleasure ‘til he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair man, of a mild or choleric Disposition, Married or a Batchelor, with other Particulars of the like nature...’ He accordingly supplied a biography of his fictitious self and observed that he lived in the world ‘rather as a spectator of mankind than as one of the species’ <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/first-issue-spectator>.

The influence upon the reading public from the distance ‘Mr Spectator’ gave his readers is fascinating, so too is the idea of a club of observing gentlemen all coming together under the brand to ‘address the moral and cultural issues of the day’ (Gregg, 2005, p. 53). It utilised a fictional community of gentlemen ‘club members’ which, as Gregg surmises, is an inclusive concept of people from merchant to lawyer joined together under a ‘middle-class ideology’ of what is morally right. *The Spectator* branded in its editorial a set of ‘moral, commercial and aesthetic concerns which was an attempt to transform values of “nobility” for use by an urban professional class’ (ibid). The act of transposing identity from one class to another as a

commercial strategy for the editorial illustrates the plasticity of societal and class-based values that are both manufactured and demonstrated in the media. Fiction mingles with impartial observations as Steele and Addison move about London society, with their tales retold through interactions with other people or through the people they imagined themselves. *The Spectator* also illustrates empire at work as much as moral concerns are explored.

Ashley Marshall (2019) assess Steele's whole output in the article "Radical Steele: Popular Politics and the Limits of Authority" and in it angles a description of Steele's writing in *The Spectator* that is less than complimentary:

Reading everything he produced suggests a career devoted less to Spectator-style moralizing, sentimental drama, and theater management and much more to intense and sustained political controversy. (p. 341)

This feature from Richard Steele, dated 13th March 1711, is illustrative of what Marshall is outlining in terms of theatre and moralising drama or didactic entertainment for the reader. Steele retells an encounter with a likeable lady of *good taste*, called Arietta, whom he describes as; '[...] in that time of Life which is neither affected with the Follies of Youth or Infirmities of Age [...]'. Arietta and her gentlemen visitors are debating the 'old Topick, of Constancy in Love' or the differences in men and women in love. We don't know if this encounter is true or not but, in terms of a promise by *The Spectator* to report truthfully to their readers, perhaps the truth does not matter all that much. In the feature Arietta is both irritated and outraged at the sexist disservice a male 'Common-Place Talker' has delivered to her (*The Spectator*, Tuesday March 13th 1711, No.11), Richard Steele writes:

I found her accompanied with one Person only, a Common-Place Talker, who, upon my Entrance, rose, and after a very slight Civility sat down again; then turning to *Arietta*, pursued his Discourse, which I found was upon the old Topick, of Constancy in Love. He went on with great Facility in repeating what he talks every Day of his Life; and, with the Ornaments of insignificant Laughs and Gestures, enforced his Arguments by Quotations out of Plays and Songs, which allude to the Perjuries of the Fair, and the general Levity of Women. Methought he strove to shine more than ordinarily in his Talkative Way, that he might insult my Silence, and distinguish himself before a Woman of *Arietta's* Taste and Understanding.

Here class intersects with sex differences, manners, and, of course, gender, which is the topic of the feature. This sort of debate along the “natural” divisions acknowledged and believed in are commonplace throughout publications aimed at an educated middle class. Arietta, to rebuff the ‘Common-Place Talker’s’ claims as to the nature of women, delivers up the now-fabled tale of Inkle and Yarico. This story is originally from *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* in 1647 by Richard Ligon who wrote up his travels in a London debtors’ prison in 1653 (Gregg, 2005, p. 53). It is a sufficiently well-known story to have some cultural longevity and was eventually a successful play:

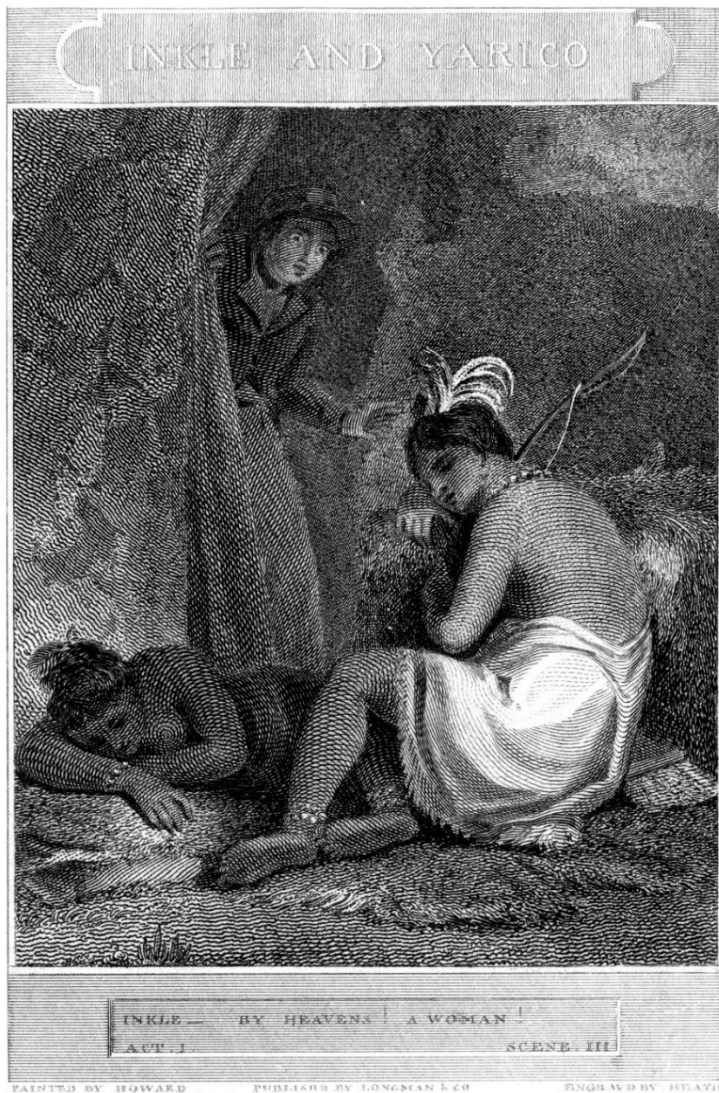


Figure 65. *Inkle and Yarico* (1787) ‘Inkle—By Heavens! A Woman!’ Engraving for Act 1, Scene III. Painted by Howard, Published by Longman and Co. Engraved by Heath (<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/36621/36621-h/36621-h.htm>)

Adding a considerable amount of narrative detail and emotional colour, Sir Richard Steele exposed an even larger audience to the motive power of Yarico's plight in the eleventh paper of the *Spectator*, published March 13, 1711. That periodical's estimated circulation of sixty to eighty thousand readers at the time played no small part in boosting the narrative's popularity. (Sandiford, 1990, p. 115)

Steele has Arietta retell a well-known tale with, as Sandiford (1990) suggests, a 'narrative detail and emotional colour' that lingered in the cultural muscle memory of the eighteenth century—feature, fiction, myth, legend, and suspension of disbelief from different timelines and authors are woven together in this editorial; simulacra become entangled.

The story is meant to illustrate 'the old Topick, of Constancy in Love' and demonstrate, how famously fickle and changeable men are in love, but it does *something else*, which Steele, utilising the reach of *The Spectator*, recognises. Ashley Marshall (2019), in assessing Steele's overall writing motivations below, also sums up the overarching theme of the story retold to the *Spectator* audience; it explores power and, significantly, abuse of power:

Arguments about power and authority dominate Steele's canon. He had much to say about leadership (both secular and spiritual), and he was far more vocal on the subject of monarchical sovereignty and its limits than his sometime friend and collaborator, Addison. Like Swift, Defoe, Mainwaring, and other contemporary polemicists, Steele obsessed over the relationship between the governors and the governed. He regularly reflected on what loyalty does and does not mean, on the problem of obedience and dissent, on the authority of citizens to monitor and judge the activities of their rulers, on the spiritual and rational autonomy of Protestant subjects in matters of religion, and on the limits of the secular power of the Church of England. *Spectator* also illustrates empire at work as much as moral concerns are explored. (p. 342)

The Spectator story starts with:

Mr. Thomas Inkle of London, aged twenty Years, embarked in the Downs, on the good Ship called the Achilles, bound for the West Indies, on the 16th of June 1647, in order to improve his Fortune by Trade and Merchandize.

Inkle's luck turns sour when, in the course of his voyage, his ship stops in America to look for provisions and encounters "the Natives"—who attack and kill the sailors. Running for his life, he is rescued by a beautiful native girl named Yarico, who hides him, feeds him, keeps him safe, and loves him as he loves her—for months on end. Happiness in earthly paradise is theirs and after many months Yarico eventually 'with the utmost Joy and Satisfaction accompanied him to a Ships-Crew of his Country-Men, bound for Barbadoes'. The "civilised" Englishman enjoying the natural spectacle and beauty of the New World, of the wild world far from England, is a theme which resonates within this century. Discoveries were opening up the wild to ordinary people in fiction, myth, and stories. And then the Englishman comes to his senses when they arrive at 'English Territories':

To be short, Mr. Thomas Inkle, now coming into English Territories, began seriously to reflect upon his loss of Time, and to weigh with himself how many Days Interest of his Mony he had lost during his Stay with Yarico. This Thought made the Young Man very pensive, and careful what Account he should be able to give his Friends of his Voyage. Upon which Considerations, the prudent and frugal young Man sold Yarico to a Barbadian Merchant; notwithstanding that the poor Girl, to incline him to commiserate her Condition, told him that she was with Child by him: But he only made use of that Information, to rise in his Demands upon the Purchaser.

This is not really about how changeable men are, this is about power. Inkle is described by Steele as 'prudent and frugal' which replicates the two founding aspects of the British Empire: commerce and liberty. Inkle is smart enough to come to his senses when he comes into English Territories and remembers to turn the situation to a profit—because he comes dangerously close to having his identity as an Englishman sullied by "The Natives". This was a perennial worry of the English abroad at this time, the shame of "going native", so the difference is accentuated between English and "foreign". Yarico both represents the natural goodness of women so lauded in the magazines and *is* the natural world upon which a British Imperial power is seeking to make profit. To illustrate this, Inkle makes more money from her by making her pregnant, thus proving what a prudent businessman he is.

Steele reflects upon the morality of the story by saying it moved him to leave the room with tears in his eyes. The point of the feature, to replicate and retell a well-known tale, is one of

performance. In the tale, the readers get to enjoy not just an entertaining exotic spectacle of cruelty but voyeuristically gawking at the “foreign”, at difference, at “savages”, those who are not English. The performance is of an Englishman making money; cruelly and ruthlessly turning a difficult situation into profit. Inkle is entitled to do all of this because he is “superior” to Yarico in his sex and in his nationality. Steele is selling a morality tale as a warning to bad men about abuse of power within the personal sphere and also on an imperial scale. The story encapsulates themes that are alluded to, demonstrated, and sold to the readers of so many of the magazines examined throughout this thesis: commerce, difference, superiority, liberty, and entitlement. As reflective and sobering as the story might be read by its readers, it is also about the might of empire. In short, the British Empire is shaped and moulded by repeating these familiar ideas, concepts, and ideologies again and again. Hyperreality is the flattened retelling of these repeated ideas, delivered up as an idea and an image of empire that people not only want to believe, but have little choice but to believe, that is their real.

Nearly thirty years on from *The Spectator*'s empire story, the performance of empire as a collective understanding becomes more concrete: by forming an identity based on a community of collective sameness against difference. In this story, the Native is weak and naturally kind as a female, whereas the man, or empire, is strong, commercially astute, and ruthless. Empire then becomes a fabricated social community ‘lived via representations—as in ‘Rule Britannia’—so that any communal identity is the “projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative” (Gregg, 2005, p. 4). The popular and rousing nationalist song *Rule Britannia* is an interesting example and perfectly demonstrates how hyperreality was shaping a notion of a British Empire. It was originally sung in 1740 in a play celebrating the ‘heroic resistance of Alfred the Great—king of the West Saxons from 871 to 899’ (Gregg, 2005, p. 87). The play climaxes with the character of the Hermit prophesising the *future* glory of England:

*When Britain first, at heaven's command,
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter of the land,
And guardian Angels sang this strain:*

*'Rule, Britannia, rule the waves;
Britons never, will be slaves.'*

This first verse of *Rule Britannia* (*Alfred: A Masque*, 1741) differs from the more modern version still sung today as nostalgic and stirring historic “truth” for a twenty-first century audience. Progressing from Steele’s retelling of the “historic” Inkle and Yarico fable in *The Spectator*, a repeat pattern is evident in what simulacra is being amassed: that Britain, the British Empire, is a *destiny* foretold by divine command. That the rule of the sea is Britain’s rightful domain, through island distinctiveness and military might, and that this is *protected*, again by a heavenly power. This protection is illustrated by the last line, which in the 1740 version is repeated at the end of every verse: ‘Britons *never, will be slaves*’. The British will never know what it is like to be a slave—to be owned, to be less of a whole person, because they are British, they are powerful and distinctively so. Yarico, no matter how high born she might be (as described in the fable), is *not* British; she is foreign and different and a Native, a “savage”—despite her beauty. Women might symbolise Britannia, but the power behind the nation is masculine, and with it comes the divine right to rule the waves and, by extension, to rule the world, much like Mr. Thomas Inkle’s (when in English Territories) “right” to sell Yarico. Gregg, quoting Wilson, describes this as ‘the project of empire and nation building was, “described and glorified as a *manly* occupation”’ (Gregg, 2005, p. 21). There is a lot of repeated simulacra here, delivered as ideological prophecy and understood and lived as fact, as a hyperreal. *Rule Britannia* is hyperreality.

The Penny Magazine

Capital was at the heart of the British Empire from the beginning. Shashi Tharoor (2016) makes a concrete case for this notion in *Inglorious Empire*:

It all began with the East India Company, incorporated by royal charter from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth I in 1600 to trade in silk and spices, and other profitable Indian commodities. The Company, in furtherance of its trade, established outposts or ‘factories’ along the Indian coast [...] increasingly this involved the need to defend its premises, personnel and trade by military means [...]. (its charter granted it the right to ‘wage war’ in pursuit of its aims). A commercial business quickly became a

business of conquest, trading posts were reinforced for forts, merchants supplanted by armies. (p. 3)

This extraordinary condensed transition Tharoor describes from trading company to a ‘business of conquest’ is only made possible by the social systems in place and developing in Britain throughout the Empire’s timeline. Hyperreality made this transition not just palatable, but fashioned it as an inevitable destiny of being British, as a truth and a real. Anyone not British after all, as *Rule Britannia* makes clear in the second verse, is not blessed:

The nations, not so blest as thee,
Must, in their turns, to tyrants fall;
While thou shalt flourish great and free,
The dread and envy of them all.
"Rule, Britannia! rule the waves:
"Britons never will be slaves."

Freedom, long before the *Penny Magazine* was first published, was being conflated with trade and British commerce; anyone ruled by the British could be as great and free as Britons—the British Empire was a righteous force for good, rather than an imperial scourge upon the world. Tharoor challenges the notion of a noble British Empire idea when examining the British colonisation of India and succinctly says; ‘In power, the British were, in a word, ruthless’ (Tharoor, 2016, p. 6). How can a practice of empire be fashioned into a vision of empire that not just one nation but a whole world can believe in and buy into? The use of images, of the simulacra can fashion a different real, and *The Penny Magazine* was one of many media channels to perpetuate this benevolent branding of the British Empire. But also, crucially, to mould the masses into subjects of the empire, because the Empire needed public support and it needed its workers.

In the introduction to her doctoral thesis *Print and British Imperialism: The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-46*, Lucy Warwick (2016) makes the case for the “use” of literature by the Victorians:

The power of literature in moulding the masses was becoming apparent. With technological advances in steam-powered printing and improvements in reproduction techniques, literature was becoming ever more accessible. It was felt that literature could not only muster support for change and reform – perhaps even revolution – but literature was capable of instilling morals in the British public or offering them education in a drive of self-improvement. (p. 2)

In 1826 The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was founded by Lord Brougham to ‘to bring instruction to a mass readership’ (oxford.dnb). Eventually the society started *The Penny Magazine* in March 1832. Warwick is the expert on *The Penny Magazine* and her thesis is the best source on this publication but, for this thesis, there are some patterns in the magazine that are worth focusing on.

The print run for this publication is extraordinary considering its time and is testament to a huge change in printing technology. Charles Knight, (editor of *The Penny Magazine*) in the preface to the 1832 first volume, states that ‘The average number of ‘Penny Magazine’ printed *daily* from two sets of stereotype plates is sixteen thousand, on both sides [...]’ Knight also conflates this print run with a ‘high state of civilisation where there were large accumulations of knowledge’. It is interesting that Knight sees civilisation as being able to *accumulate* knowledge on paper and in large quantities that can be circulated up and down the country. This idea of what civilisation is, is a dominant *British* idea. The editor further boasts of print runs of ‘160,000’ in ‘ten days’ and the sales, huge in number, cover the costs of the magazine, so here is a business model based on sales rather than advertising.

In the preface to the 1832 ‘Volume the First’ of *The Penny Magazine*, Knight lays out his recipe for the magazine: ‘There have been no excitements for the lovers of the marvelous—no tattle or abuse for the gratification of a diseased taste of personality—and above all no party politics’. This was clearly not a magazine embracing the New Journalism yet to take hold of Victorian magazines or an editorial direction that resembled *The Female Spectator* for example; personalities and politics described as ‘diseased tastes’ were to be left out. This magazine was cheap, accessible, and for the good of, as Knight says, the ‘every man’ and his family.

Knight's recipe for seven editorial elements was:

1. Natural History
2. Works of Art in Sculpture and Painting
3. Antiquities [descriptions of historic interests]
4. Personal Narratives of Travellers
5. Biographies of Men who have had prominent influence on the condition of the world
6. Elementary Principles of Language and Numbers
7. Facts in Statistics and Political Economy

What is charming about this ambitious editorial formula is its resemblance to a *Wunderkammer*. For the readership it functions as a catalogue to a soon-to-be-established British Museum: curating, shaping, and communicating what is important to the British Empire, and what the Empire *thinks* the masses should be educated in.

The magazine was for ordinary British people with little income or education; it was about gaining knowledge and cultivating their taste: educating people *en masse*. Whereas *The Spectator*, *The Female Spectator*, *The Universal Museum*, and *The Gentleman's Magazine* treated its readers as reflective and educated people who were *already* part of the British Empire and, one could argue, making money from that membership, *The Penny Magazine* sought to educate their readers into becoming part of the wider world to which they belonged and part of the British Empire.

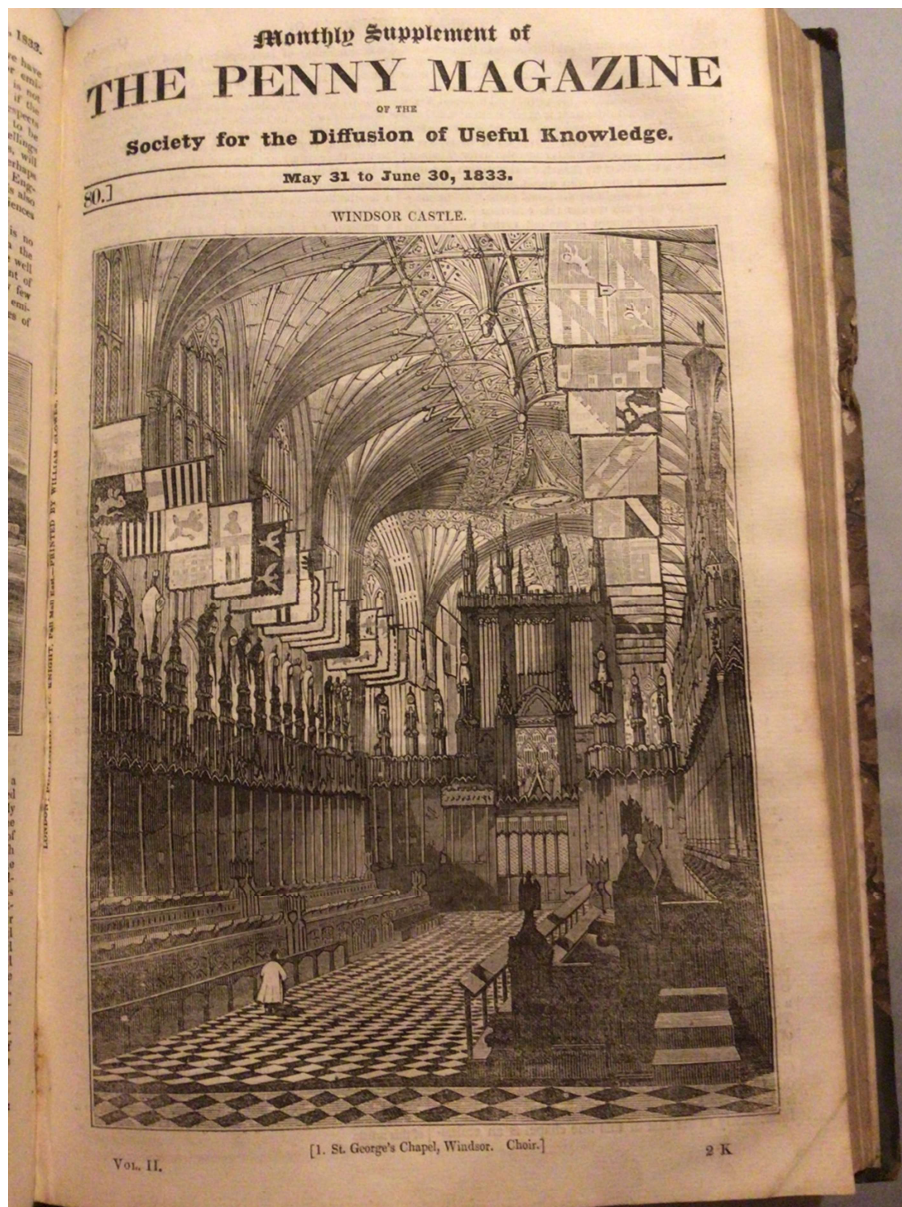


Figure 66. *The Penny Magazine*, May 31st to June 30th, 1833 “St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle” A lone figure stands in the chapel surrounded by English history ‘It witnessed all the pomp of chivalry, and its courts have rang with the feasts and tournaments of Edwards and Henries’ (p. 230). The lone figure illustrated for scale also illustrates how *small* an individual—by extension, the reader, is against the might and long history of the British Empire, of England. This is demonstrated by the banners of hereditary nobility hanging overhead belonging to the Order of the Garter, an order of chivalry founded in 1348.

It did this with the editorial pillars Knight listed, but also through difference. By using popular history to write (rewrite) the history of the English man and of the British Empire against that of those who are not English, those who are foreign or Natives, and by extension ‘evil’. This is rapidly the case with the first issue of *The Penny Magazine* in

March 31st, 1832. On page 2, volume 1: “A Short Biographical Sketch of Van Dieman’s Land” [Tasmania].

The feature starts with Dutch ownership in 1642, after all history is a core component to Knight’s editorial pillars, then the feature’s chronology progresses on to English possession in 1804. The feature plods along detailing the success of the acquisition due to ‘increased immigration from England’ which, by 1827, had changed the landscape forever but ‘wool, bark and oil’ from whaling is now being seasonally sent back to England (p. 3). But after a while:

A new evil, however, now began to assail the colony, we mean the hostility of the natives. After various attempts had been made in vain to tame them, or to deter them from continuing outrages against the settlers, the Governor, at last, in September 1830, deemed it necessary to resort to the extreme measure of endeavouring to drive them into the corner of the island, with the intention of there enclosing them for the future. (p. 3)

We are not told what then happens to the ‘natives’, those that are blighted to be “naturally” different—other, evil, foreign, uncivilised, *not* English—but in some respects it is not necessary: colonisation has failed to ‘tame them’ and so encloses them on a corner of *their* island.

Throughout the magazine, historical tales of British expansion and the “others” in the world are told and feature after feature details not just the natural world as an incredible wonder, but how the natural world bends to the needs of the British Empire. This is because the same idea is repeated until it is imbued by the reader as natural fact that:

[...] every nation which has cultivated commercial relations has been steadily advancing in civilisation, and adding most importantly to the sum of its comfort and conveniences? (*The Penny Magazine*, April 21st 1832, p. 20)

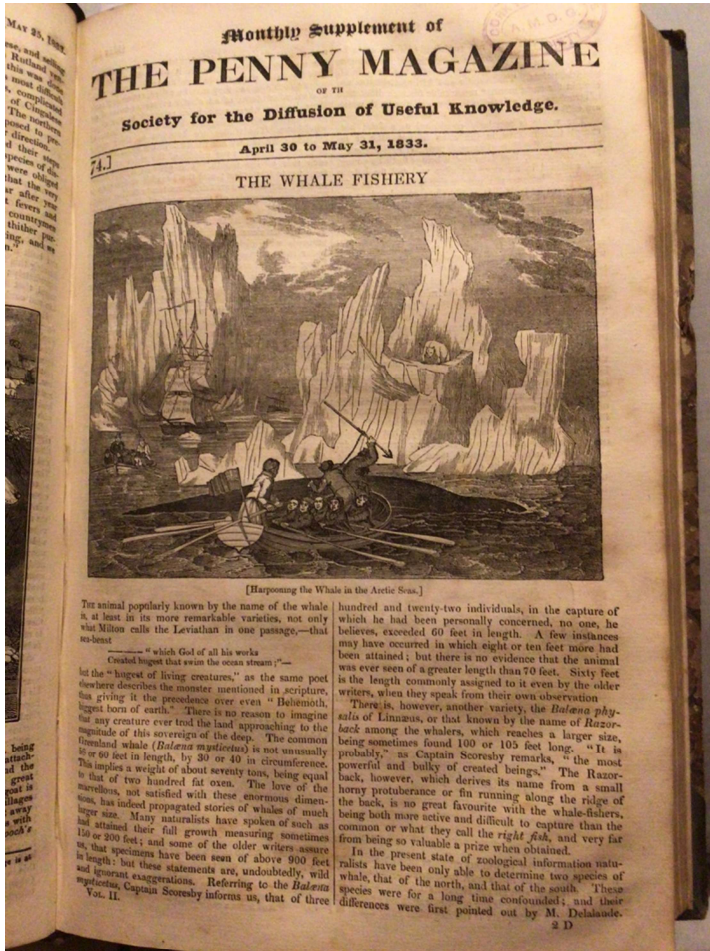


Figure 67. The Penny Magazine, April 30th May 31st 1833 “The Whale Fishery”

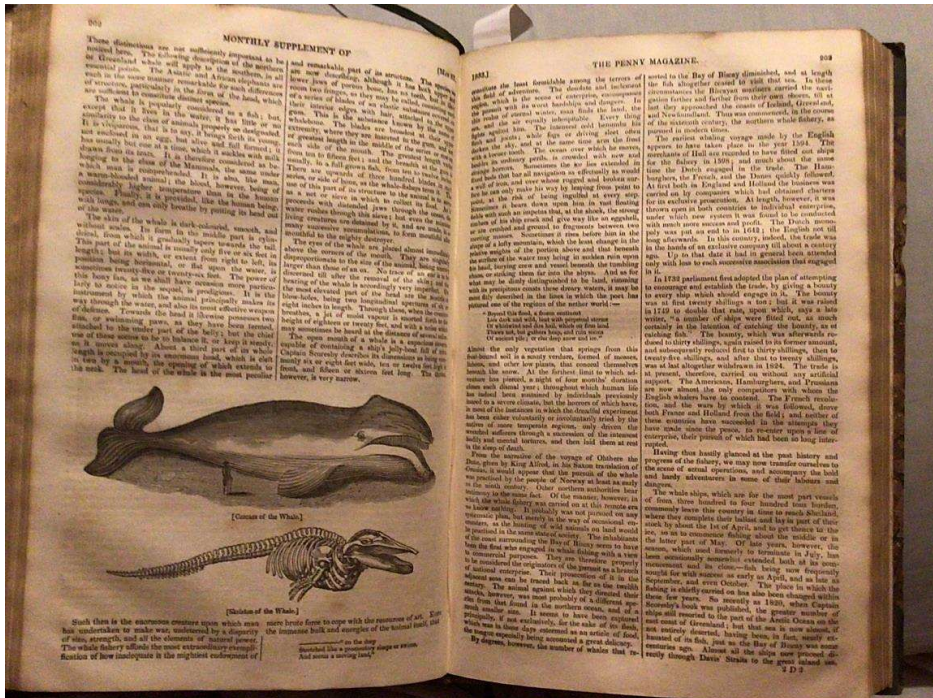


Figure 68. The Penny Magazine, April 30th May 31st 1833 “The Whale Fishery”
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“The Whale Fishery” was a long feature on the natural history of the whale species but also a closer examination of the British whaling industry, the costs of sourcing these animals and their market value, including a detailed account of how they can be killed with harpoons and spears. All of which makes for gloomy reading and ironically ends where the next issue begins by examining the famously hunted-to-extinction dodo. The nations’, ‘comfort and conveniences’ are examined in relation to the whales hunted in vast numbers, originally for its flesh and then, as civilisation progresses, for the fashion of ladies:

Afterwards the highly elastic substance [...] with which its jaws are lined, formed one of the principal commercial objects on account of which it was valued. [...] whalebone after its introduction speedily came to be the material universally employed in the fabrication of stays, and also of the hoop-petticoat, which came into fashion about the beginning of the last century [...]. (p. 204)

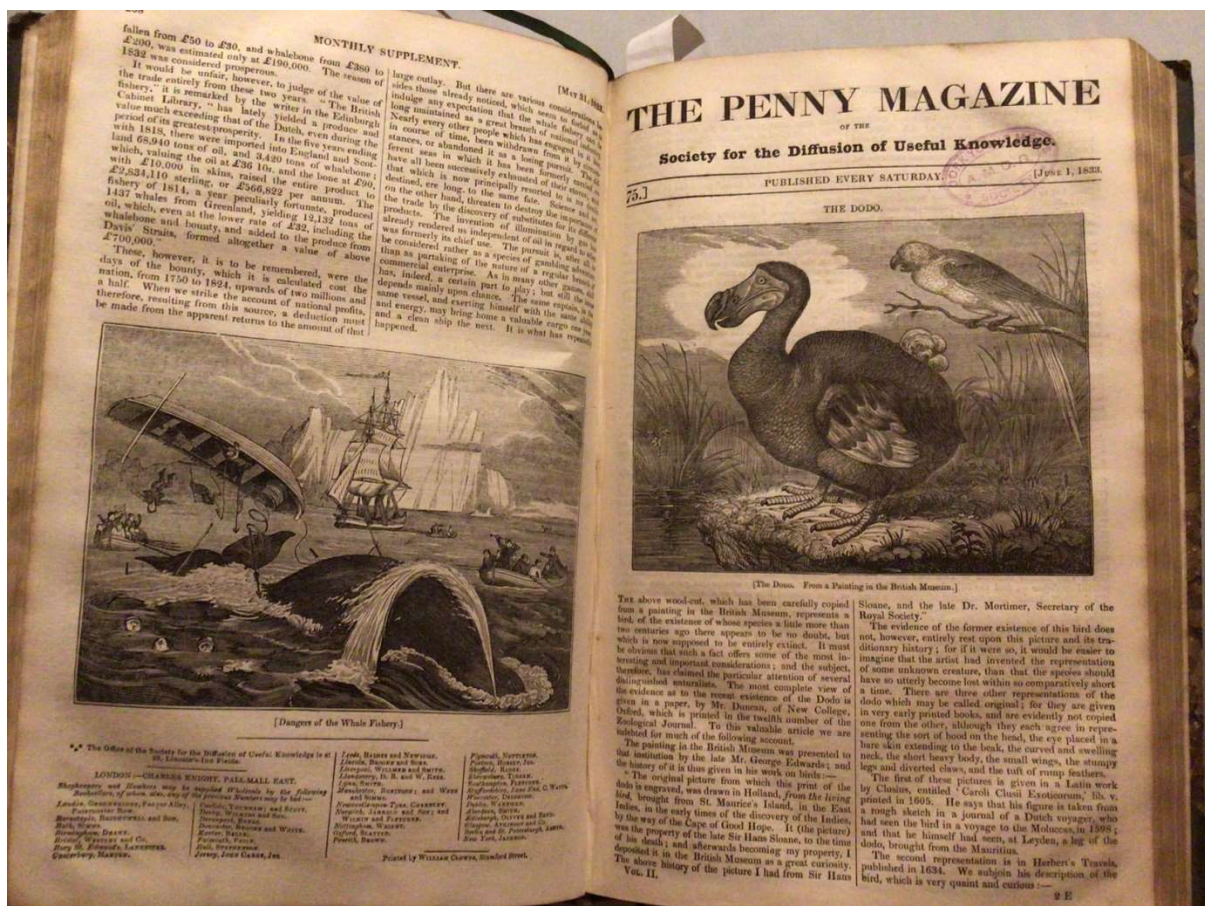


Figure 69. The last page of *The Penny Magazine*, April 30th May 31st 1833 issue “The Whale Fishery” And the front page of *The Penny Magazine*, June 1st 1833 “The Dodo, From a Painting in the British Museum”

The natural world and its natives are often shown being “improved” by the British Empire, just as the magazine itself was doing to its readers, all for the benefit of Great Britain and the Mapping the Source of the Hyperreal // Leander Reeves, 2022 // PhD thesis // 248

Empire. Indeed the magazine often focuses on the industries that tamed the natural world: sugar plantations, cotton, trapping, tea, and whaling. Lucy Warwick (2016) demonstrates this notion at work with the ‘Brahmin Bull’ article “Domestication of Animals” in April 28th, 1832’s issue:

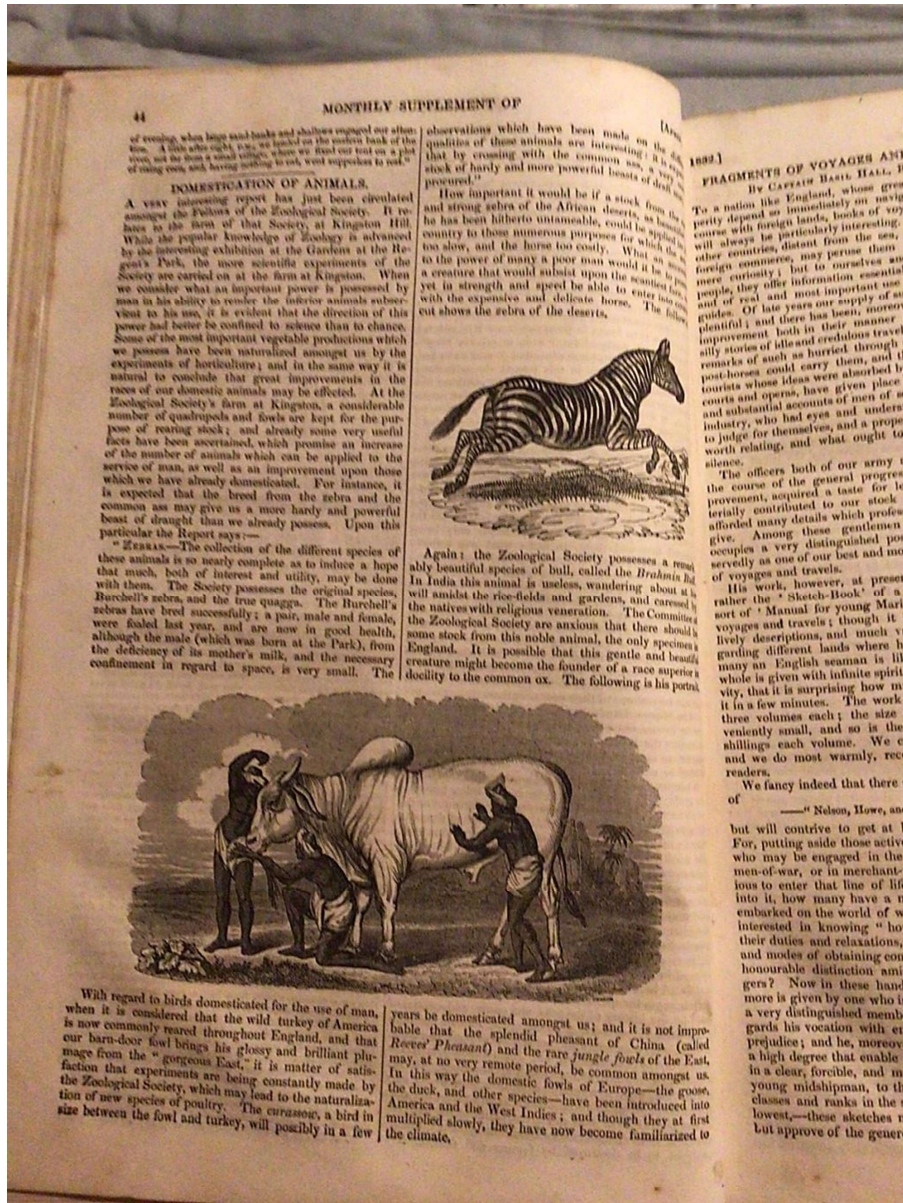


Figure 70. ‘Brahmin Bull’ article “Domestication of Animals” in *The Penny Magazine*, April 28th, 1832

Improving the utility of animals for the benefit of Britain is continued with a description of a ‘Brahmin Bull’, a possible replacement to the common ox. Although the Zooloical Society consider it to be ‘noble’, ‘gentle and beautiful’, ‘in India this animal is useless, wandering about at his will... and caressed by the natives with religious veneration.’ This colonial comparison not only denigrates the native who does not take advantage of the bull’s work capability, but also raises the animal’s

status to that superior of man – contrary to the British ideals of ordering and ranking nature. (p. 79)

Warwick sums up the social interaction between *The Penny Magazine* and its readers as:

Indeed through its discussion of natural history, the working classes could gain a glimpse into the expanding horizons of imperial Britain, which should trigger a sense of patriotism and nationalism for a country that provides for its people, and maintains its position as a world leader in science and discovery. (p. 90-91)

The magazine illustrates a very powerful and stockpiled strata of simulacra, which are repeated and distributed through a powerful network that systematically structure a real, a better, more *boffo*, British real that combines fourteenth-century chivalric banners with castles and natives willingly, happily working for the British Empire. The examples from *The Penny Magazine* are the flattened truths of the British Empire that the hyperreal produced. Simple, more real, *better* histories that act as simulacra, which hyperreality flattens and the magazine distributes. There is a system at work, which Baudrillard identifies as the social.

In Baudrillard's 1978 work *The Shadow of the Silent Majorities* he takes a moment to interrogate the social and what it might mean.

The social is not a clear and unequivocal process. [...] the institutions which have sign-posted the "advance of the social" (urbanisation, concentration, production, work, medicine, education, social security, insurance, etc.) including capital, which was undoubtedly the most effective socialisation medium of all, could be said to produce and destroy the social in one and the same movement. (p. 65)

The social systems which Darwin (2009) identifies are part of the social system Baudrillard is describing. Baudrillard's advance of the social is about wealth—which the British Empire conceals as an act of benevolent freedom with the conflation of liberty and trade. “The great object of the Government in every quarter of the world was to extend the commerce of the country”, Palmerston told Parliament in 1839’ (Darwin, 2009, p. 36). Power and profit were closely aligned to any empire but it seems the British felt that this was most aligned to the

British Empire as a destiny and a right of race, mainly because the British as a nation had begun to believe in the flattened truth the hyperreal produced.

The British Empire was a performance steeped in ritual and borrowed signs and codes which concealed that there was no such empire, but a series of systems all interlinked in the creation of capital. Hyperreality enabled the British Empire to conceal that there was none.

The Costs of Empire

In matters of trade, Beverley Baxter, writing in 1945, passionately asserted in the *New York Times* that ‘the [British] Empire was open to the whole world’ and the British did not ‘ask for any preference for themselves in exporting to the Empire’. The unselfish benevolence of Great Britain in its global trade systems and agreements is a well-practised myth which benefits from hundreds of years of repetition.

Costs and money worries about empire seem to plague the print discussions and reflections on the worth and nature of the British Empire in so many of the periodicals encountered in this thesis—mainly in periodicals that appeal to a male readership like *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. How empire is framed by *The Gentleman’s Magazine* is important not because of its longevity as a periodical, but because of its reach and reputation. In *A General Index to the First Fifty-Six Volumes of the Gentleman’s Magazine, From its Commencement in the Year 1731, to the End of 1786*, compiled by Samuel Ayscough, (1789) Volume the First (2 volumes), the importance and seriousness of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* to society is outlined in the preface by Ayscough, who interestingly enough is also an assistant librarian at the British Museum:

This Index will not only assist the Forgetful, and direct the Inquisitive. It will enable those who read for higher purposes than mere Amusement, to class the many Subjects which our extensive Plan has included, and to bring together much useful Knowledge in Theology, Morality, Politicks, Commerce, Mathematicks, Philosophy, and Biography.

The magazine, which ran for two hundred years, was a staple of local and UK history, but also a commentator on the world developing around its readers. So the magazine would as easily publish a poem or a historical anecdote, as muse on how best to treat mild medical ailments and reflect on the wider issues surrounding the British Empire. It was a publication of utility to the “Literati”, as Ayscough muses, but also a tantalising record of what hyperreality was shaping in the eighteenth century.

Empire seems to be most owned by those capable of making money out of it. The British Empire is owned by the merchants and the investors, and the periodicals are really speaking to them. Morality is often skewed by the cost of it, which is often demonstrated in the discussions ranging from sugar to trading in human beings. William Layman (*The Gentleman’s Magazine*, June, 1814 “Hints on Slave-Labour and West-Indian Cultivation”) writing for *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, out of a myriad of periodical articles musing on costs, exemplifies this theme:

Without entering into the commonplace argument upon the immorality and inhumanity of the Slave Trade, which is a disgrace to human nature; it is proposed, now this infamous traffick is about to be renewed, to consider the question as one of great state Policy,—as, if it can be shown that the Slave Trade is not only *unnecessary* for the cultivation of the Western colonies, but is *unprofitable* and ruinous in the result, it is presumed the subject needs no other advocate to entitle it to the attention of every enlightened Government. (Layman, 1814, p. 561)

William Layman (1814) writing for *The Gentleman’s Magazine* goes further in exploring the *costs* of slavery, reflecting on the more long-term cost of a nation:

“[...] the day which makes a man a slave, takes away half his worth;” and this opinion is supported by the Oracle of Political Economy in our own times, that “the experiences of all ages and nations demonstrates, that the work done by Slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, in the end of the dearest of any. A person who can acquire no property, can have no interest but to eat as much, and labour as little as possible.” (p. 561)

What is interesting in this extract is the assumed universal wisdom that diligent, hard work can only be done by someone who is free to benefit by acquiring wealth: that the worth of a person can only be measured by what goods and property they acquire. Hyperreality’s role in conspicuous consumption has been examined in earlier chapters, but it is interesting to see its role being reflected on alongside an argument against slavery. The role of comforts and

enjoyments, the little joys that consumer culture can obtain for the free man who earns his own money, here is fascinating and being endorsed by the magazine. It is conveying the idea that freedom means the freedom to buy *nice* things, *comforting* things, that to be truly *civilised* one had to be part of a civilised society. This is a theme Baudrillard often revisits with consumer culture—but within a postmodern setting, so it is fascinating to see a modern idea explored as western wisdom significantly earlier. But, of course, it is not a modern idea: ‘an alternative schema for human difference was offered in the “four stages” theory of human development’ (Gregg, 2005, p. 17) in works such as the 1771 John Millar work *Origins of the Distinction of Ranks*. Here, primitive societies were nomadic and the ‘highest’ ones were ‘exemplified by commercial civilisation’. A society could, by association with a ‘superior nation, such as Britain’, then improve themselves (Gregg, 2005, p. 17).

[...]The Negro is naturally averse to field labours; but, as his courage is superior to his industry, he makes a better soldier than husbandman, and such corps might be employed with great safety and utility in India. (pp. 565-566)

Slave labour will not work, it must be done voluntarily they must be excited by the example of the comforts and enjoyments to be obtained from free and industrious exertion.

For this purpose, of all people in the known world Chinese husbandmen are probably the best adapted; they are not only inured to a hot climate, but are habitually industrious, sober, peaceable, frugal, and eminently skilful in the culture of every article of tropical produce; and the advantages to be expected from the cultivation of our islands by the hands of these skilful and indefatigable people [...]. (p. 566)

The article reflects the British Empire’s position in terms of its attitude and notions of destiny in regards to “others”, to foreign people, who might be part of the empire, but certainly *not* British. The notion that one cannot force someone into labouring but that wanting comfortable things will make them exert themselves is fascinating. The idea that difference is genetic and can be boiled down and exaggerated of course illustrates Said’s ideas of Orientalism. Superiority by *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and, by extension, its readers is assumed, both as editorial strategy and commercial business model. All these ideas, these performed flattenings, have been shown in *The Penny Magazine* and the 1886 British Empire map. The article ends with the space left on the page taken up with a teaser for a societal dilemma of concern to the readers; can a son of a Baroness in her own right, style himself

with the title *first* Baron? Class and destiny operating side by side framing the feature from William Layman:

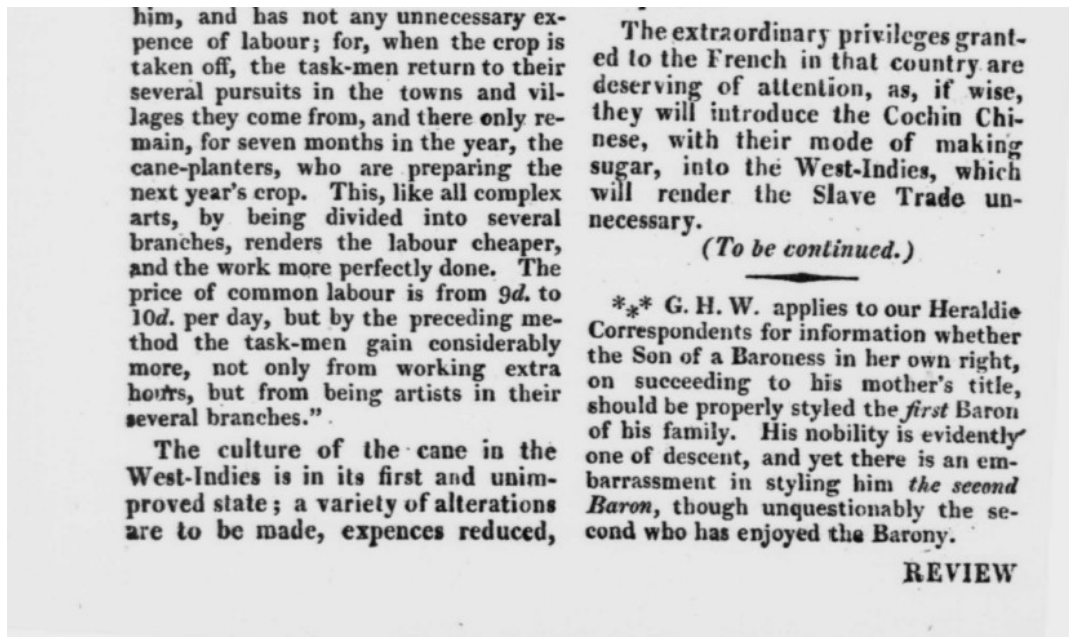


Figure 71. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1814, p. 568

Destiny and Accident

There is no better example of lack of planning and complete improvisation than the British Empire. I know that many nice people believe that the English set out to steal all available continents, islands and deserts at the point of the sword, that they terrorized the natives, established a perpetual tyranny and guzzled profits at home. Somewhere in Whitehall a master mind was supposed to be at work with a blueprint [...] which would take a thousand years to complete.

Such a view is flattering, but it mistakes the English mentality for the German. The English never thought out any scheme for establishing an empire.

Baxter (1945) insists that there was no plan. He even goes on to repeat this assertion again, 'But I repeat that that comes from the fact that the Empire just happened and was never planned'. This notion of "accidental empire" is repeated for the article's conclusion as 'Call it the British Empire [...]. It was never planned by the British but it was ordained by destiny. I would not like to live in a world where it did not exist' and is mingled with the hidden power

of fate. Natasha Glaisyer (2004) refutes this “accidental” notion of benevolent Empire when examining the British Empire in India. Indeed a great many academic studies examining the British Empire come to the same conclusion: that it was a commercial system and one that was supported by a military.

Glaisyer writes:

For pre-colonial rulers in India markets yielded not only monetary rewards in the form of, often paltry, dues, but far more importantly the opportunity ‘to display rights over people and goods and thus partake in the creation of affluence’. East India Company officials disrupted such patterns by, for example, trading prestige goods, like salt, betel nuts, and tobacco, that were regarded as imbued with the authority of rulers. British attempts to undertake reforms, such as imposing uniformity on the collection of revenues from land and internal trade, and to enforce them, demonstrate the transference of Georgian ideas and practices of state building and a free market from Britain to India. The application of European ideas to colonial settings is a theme which recurs in much imperial history. (p, 454)

The imposing of uniformity and the transference of Georgian ideas and practices emulate what Baudrillard reflected upon hundreds of years later. There is a fascinating triangulating of ideas here: Baxter’s *The New York Times* article paints a welcomed destiny of British Empire, Baudrillard reflects on how the system is possible, and Glaisyer demonstrates how wrong Baxter was and how Baudrillard’s ideas work in actuality. Baxter’s article is worth examining once again because its dogmas and perceptions of what the British Empire is, or was some seventy-five years ago, resonates with what many people still think of the British Empire. This illuminates how hyperreality works. The simulacra repetition and ritual stacked and circulated over centuries, in any timeline, always resemble something familiar, something tangible in its nostalgia. The truth hyperreality delivers always seems real, not just because people want it to be but because it seems right, it seems truthful, and the familiar is a crucial component.

Baxter’s 1945 article explains the real and tells many “truths” about the British Empire. *The New York Times* is circulating another layer of the empire’s hyperreality. It doesn’t matter how true any of them are, indeed all can be refuted and have been so, but their truths are worth examining:

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The assumption of authority by one people over another might be debated on moral grounds, [...]. No one denies the backward conditions of India's teeming millions, yet for a hundred years that subcontinent of a thousand religions of warring and non-warring races, of caste systems rooted in antiquity, of feuds and hatreds and hopeless racial antagonisms has lived in peace under the British Raj; nor is there, in all colonial history, anything to equal the achievements of the British administration in India. It is a record of magnificent endeavour, even if it has left undone much that could and should have been done.

'[...] wherever the sons of Britain have become masters in their own house, there is a land where liberty, law, peace and freedom of worship abide [...].

The hyperreality of the British Empire gave the assumption of authority over other people credence; it transformed a system based on commerce and colonial oppression into a rousing destiny to be celebrated.

There are long threads from this era which still shape the ideas, truths, and reals of today: that reach and distribution is power. Hyperreality is a detachment and loss of anchor for the simulacrum, and that is dangerous territory for any reality because it shows how fluid and open to manipulation a reality is. This chapter has shown that it is possible to answer the question: how can hyperreality exist and function during a time outside of the implosion and reach of a mass media? Hyperreality did exist outside of the postmodern context, and it had power. This power is great enough to reshape a system of empire into a British Empire that is repeated in the magazines utilised in this chapter as destiny, as more than might, as righteous superiority.

Hyperreality is, in the twentieth-century analysis, often localised to examine a movie franchise or American television show, or attitude within a specific time frame. By focusing on an empire with a longevity, the magazine examples show in this chapter that hyperreality utilises stacked simulacra over a *long* period of time: the British Empire as case in point. Empires are man-made and the hyperreality in this chapter's era still has a grip on the empires of the twenty-first century. Hyperreality affects and shapes on a grand scale and one that is not America-dependent; it can shape an entire empire whose reality is further shaped

and was brought to life in the media of that time. The takeaway of this chapter is to show the reach and power of hyperreality, to do more than sell perfume or persuade a woman to wear a corset, it can form an entire empire.

Chapter 5

An Eighteenth-Century ‘Woman of Quality’ or The Traffick of Mankind

This chapter will chart simulacra threads to demonstrate how simulacra built up to be flattened as a hyperreal centuries later. To do this it will examine the portrait of Anne Shippen Willing by Robert Feke, United States, 1746 and follow the linkages and simulacra to demonstrate the flattened hyperreal functioning in *The Ladies’ Home Journal* one hundred and seventy six years later in 1922. It unravels hyperreality and shows it functioning across a long frame by removing speed from the equation. This demonstrates how hyperreality can function outside of a postmodern context and explores how it can span hundreds of years. This chapter evaluates the role of the image in the hyperreal as an essential ingredient and in doing so evaluates Baudrillard’s own use of speed for the hyperreal. This chapter explores hyperreality without the impact of speed and, in doing so, challenges the thesis’ overall argument and tests the assertion that hyperreality could exist and was indeed functioning outside of a mass media and outside of the late 1980s. This chapter is a dissection of hyperreality in slow motion so that the accumulated simulacra can be seen in play.

This chapter also develops further the idea of disruption and the man-made effect upon the chains of simulacra in evaluating the source of the hyperreal. The timeline for the thesis ends in this chapter with a case study from *The Athenian Mercury* from 1691.

Images then and further back

In the introduction to Baudrillard’s (1984) published lecture “The Evil Demon of Images” Alan Cholodenko outlines the broadest and perhaps most well-known understanding of Baudrillard’s ideas on hyperreality situated in 1984 as:

Baudrillard theorizes the catastrophization of the modern -- the extinction of all referentiality, whether political, sexual, religious, philosophical or other, and the implosion of the discursive polarities (subject/object, private/public, imaginary/real, etc.) heretofore sustaining meaning—in the advent of the mass media, which have installed a new reality: the hyperreal. For Baudrillard reality has been swallowed up in a ‘black hole’. Simulation is the *modus operandi* of the hyperreal with models

preceding and anticipating the 'real', volatilizing it and turning it into a 'special effect'. The media, television especially, have short-circuited meaning, thereby generating a state of indeterminacy. (pp. 11-12)

Baudrillard's assumed paternity of the hyperreal needs to be undone for the hyperreal to be properly examined and, crucially for this chapter, the role of the image in the hyperreal to be surveyed. As time goes on perhaps it will be possible to read academic research on hyperreality without Baudrillard's name being attributed to its "discovery", but in 1984, when this speech on the "Evil Demon of Images" was given, Baudrillard was very much seen in both paternalistic and prophetic terms. This is demonstrated in this localised setting by the movie-screen, hyperbolic fin de siècle language of 'catastrophization of the modern -- the extinction of all referentiality'; literally an Extinction Event of the real is being warned against and the effects are such that they proselytise to the audience and Baudrillard's readers.

Cholodenko goes on to report in this introduction that Baudrillard's 'seductive writing style and nihilist stance have found strong reception here in Australia [...]' (ibid) and of course, famously so, America. "Nihilist" is an encumbered term, because it could be argued that both Australia and America destroyed and remade their nations with a cultural bricolage resembling the waxworks of Eco's travelogue and the Disneyland of Baudrillard's famed pessimism. It is interesting and predictable that both of these nations, born out of a colonial British imperial rule, would embrace Baudrillard's ideas; that his ideas would resonate, because, as argued in the previous chapter, empire is formed with not just gunpowder or trade, but with images.

In "The Evil Demon of Images" Baudrillard is referring in the main to "modern" images—those of the technologically-advanced media. The imploding of the image rendered free of the mirror through the borrowed fusion of McLuhan electrical and Benjamin's mechanical reproduction. 'We have spontaneous confidence in their realism. We are wrong' (Baudrillard, 1984, p. 14). The confidence in realism is a core tenet to hyperreality in 1984, but what is

truly meant by realism? Could a realism of narrative truth be as effective as a painterly or photographic realism? The confidence in truth and realism is not confined to image alone, but in what it instils and confirms for the viewer, thus, a viewer can have confidence in an Idea. An Idea that resembles a truth and a reality that the reader is all too eager to believe as a mirror image? With hyperreality as it accumulates truth and shapes a better reality, this can also very much be about accumulating the well-known, the believed, the assumed, and the accepted, because a reality is not confined to a man-made image, it is also contained in a man-made narrative. Baudrillard goes further to say, ‘They only seem to resemble reality, events, faces. Or rather, they really do conform, but their conformity itself is diabolical’ (Baudrillard, 1984, p. 14). The conformity and propagation of endless, infinite images then renders the real an illusion, as these images precede the real: map before territory. The sheer force of the ability of total production in circulating infinite copies thus shapes a boundless reality, free from referent—in the fin de siècle of Baudrillard’s lecture. But here lies the problem: Baudrillard is mistaking the speed of production and the saturation of image glut for creation. The intensity of the accumulated real hastened what had already been in circulation since images were, as Berger outlined some fifty years ago, ‘man-made’ (Berger, 2008, p. 9) and able to be reproduced. What was different then, if the components of the hyperreal are both dissected and pried away from Baudrillard, is speed and volume. He mistakes the now-digitised perfection of the image in 1984, compared with past images, as a total conformity to reality— that ‘we have a spontaneous confidence in their realism’ (ibid pp. 13-14). The “we” denouncement Baudrillard follows on with a further slight to the masses:

We can find a sociological, historical and political equivalent to this diabolical conformity, to this evil demon of conformity, in the modern behavior of the masses who are also very good at complying with the models offered to them, who are very good at reflecting the objects imposed on them, thereby absorbing and annihilating them. (p. 14)

The masses of Baudrillard’s ideas absorb the images imposed and in this act of annihilation, in the total absorption of the model, the masses become the model. What is interesting about this conformity idea is the capacity of the image to distort and ‘contaminate’ reality better when it truly conforms to it, ‘when it appropriates reality for its own ends’ (ibid, p. 16) that

the image anticipates so fast that the real runs out of time. Again, speed and an immersive saturation of models breaks down the real and absorbs it.

There are two aspects to this idea that enable hyperreality to function before Baudrillard's 1984 talk; the masses behaved liked this *before* this postmodern era. In Baudrillard's ascent into the twentieth-century fin de siècle, the images of daily life flickering as 'cinematographic and televisual' (p. 16) images had a frame rate. Godard (1960) reminds us that 'The cinema is truth 24 times per second', I argue that within this chapter's timeline the truth still has a frame rate, but it is much slower. Any simulacrum, no matter how persuasive, fast, or invasive, can be slowed down, and its accumulated component parts and progression can be examined. So the question of whether Baudrillard's hyperreality can still function some two hundred years earlier can be answered if it is detached from 1984 and accumulation is seen as something that can be as fast as an East Indiaman.

The Slow Image, or 'Portrait of a Woman in Silk'



Figure 72. Portrait of Anne Shippen Willing by Robert Feke (Artist) Place of Origin: Philadelphia, United States, 1746, Oil paint; Canvas, Winterthur Museum Object Number: 1969.0134 A

Zara Anishanslin (2016) examines this portrait of Anne Shippen Willing by Robert Feke (1746) in her work *Portrait of a Woman in Silk* as a foundation in examining the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world. It is useful to this chapter as it is a way of demonstrating the hyperreal in slow-time and slow circulation within this time period, but also the ability of detached simulacra to weave a reality confirmed within this portrait. Although this fashionable dress and silk fabric could be seen in magazines at that time, unless hand-coloured, they were black and white engravings there to illustrate an idea or feature rather than direct the taste of their readers. As the engraving from *The Female Spectator* used in the earlier chapter demonstrates.

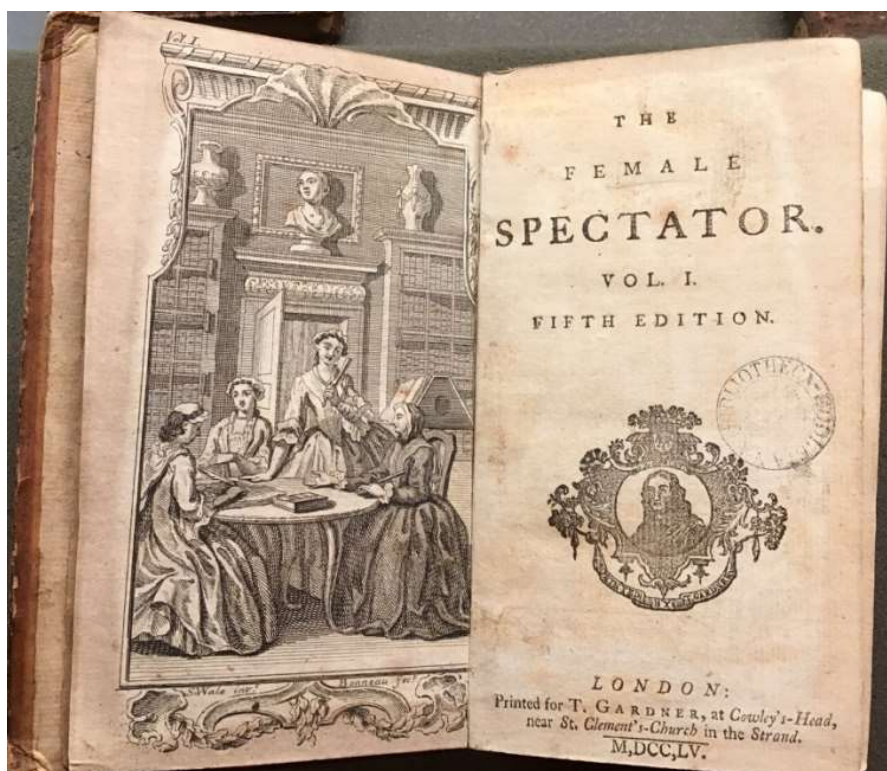


Figure 73. *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) ed. Eliza Haywood. The three imagined contributing ladies talking to “The Female Spectator” (*The Female Spectator*, Book 1, 1755, p. 10)

Fashion plates had not become a staple of British magazines at that time; fashion books were available and did show useful fabric detail in their illustrations, as this drawing on the right does with the moiré or watered silk (below).



Figure 74. FASHION PLATE, (Nevinson, 1967, p. 87) ‘the first of the series *Recueil des différentes Modes du Temps*. The fabric of the dress on the right is a moiré or watered silk, on the left a “lace-pattern” brocade, often wrongly ascribed to the period of Louis XIII (1610-43). Issued by Herisset, ca. 1730.’ (Collection of Nevinson.)

Nevinson J., L., (1967) explains the historical context to this as:

The French engravers working in England—Gravelot, Grignon, and Boitard—produced some dated portraits of English ladies which can be used as fashion illustrations. The caricature scenes, “Taste à la Mode, 1735” and “Taste à la Mode, 1745,” published by Robert Sayer in 1749, also may serve as records of fashion. There was, however, no journal of fashion in England before the reign of George III. Indeed, there seems to have been no publication or series of prints to give guidance to the fashion trade in Europe in the mid-18th century. (p. 87)

The anchor point for this chapter to demonstrate the hyperreal in slow-time starts then with a portrait of Anne Shippen Willing (1746), which shows the sumptuous silk fabric of her dress. ‘At first glance,’ writes Anishanslin ‘this portrait of a woman in silk seems to communicate a straightforward message of social status (p. 7).’ But this portrait is more complex than a mere demonstration of social hierarchy. The sitter Anne Shippen Willing is a well-connected woman of means; she is the granddaughter of the city of Philadelphia’s first mayor (Anishanslin, 2016, p. 7), she is American born, but a British colonial person of power, ‘[...] a refined member of the transatlantic British culture, signaling her gentility (despite her distance from the mother country) through the metropolitan luxury goods she wears’ (p. 7). In

1746, this portrait shows a woman of high social standing, of wealth, sophistication, good taste, she has access to fine and expensive goods from global trade, in short, Anishanslin frames the wearer with a quotation by Joseph Addison some years earlier in the English cultural commentating magazine, *The Spectator* as a ‘woman of quality’ (Anishanslin, 2006, p. 7). It is interesting that the perception and demonstration of this Idea of quality, of social hierarchy, can be communicated by a global curation of simulacra made possible by the disruption of trade routes and the imperial might to enforce them.

The dress that Shippen Willing wears and chooses to display her “quality” is a curated display. Notions of Quality are being performed. The dress was made in Philadelphia ‘by a colonial seamstress, from fabric designed by Anna Maria Garthwaite and woven in London, of raw silk from cocoons made from silkworms in China, Persia, Italy, America, or Turkey’ and her trimmed lace is ‘Flemish lace’ (ibid). The dress encapsulated ‘an empire of commerce and exchange’ (ibid) which Joseph Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711) frames in cosmopolitan terms some years earlier in his description of his frequent visits to the Royal Exchange:

It gives me a secret Satisfaction, and in some measure, gratifies my Vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an Assembly of Countrymen and Foreigners consulting together upon the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a kind of Emporium for the whole Earth.

Addison, some thirty years before the theatrical arrival of *Rule Britannia*, is aligning his professed identity as an Englishman with a more reflective and cosmopolitan global view. There is still the “them and us” approach to ‘Foreigners’, but the more enlightened notion of unity is interesting when it is for the provision of business and the use of ‘Emporium’ is particularly telling. Addison’s archaic use of the word emporium renders the world into a marketplace, it flattens nature, it flattens the earth, and reduces it into a site of consumption.

Hyperreality is man-made, the ability to curate stockpiled simulacra and flatten them into a better real, a better truth, is a system. What Addison is reflecting on, and what Shippen

Willing performs, is what Baudrillard formally and famously named in the twentieth century: that it is signs and systems which are consumed: ‘What is consumed is not the object itself, but the *system* of objects’ (Zurbrugg, 1997, p. 93). Joseph Addison’s 1711 thoughts also evidence the media and especially the important role of the periodical in noticing wider patterns and shapes of culture and society and communicating them back to a readership.

Nicholas Zurbrugg (1997) highlights Baudrillard’s pessimism, nihilism, and often unadorned negativity with the disappearance of the real, which Baudrillard attributes to technology eventually obliterating nature (p. 98). In Addison’s *The Spectator* editorial and Anna Maria Garthwaite’s damask silk design worn by the Woman in Silk, nature is not being obliterated, it is being remade, nature is being man-made and improved upon. Not embellished as artistic flourish, but remade as a better real.

Both Shippen Willing and Addison are what Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711) describes as a ‘Citizen of the World’:

Nature seems to have taken a particular Care to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest. Almost every *Degree* produces something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of *Portugal* are corrected by the Products of *Barbadoes*: The Infusion of a *China* Plant sweetned with the Pith of an *Indian* Cane. The *Philippick* Islands give a Flavour to our *European* Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of a hundred Climates. The Muff and the Fan come together from the different Ends of the Earth. The Scarf is sent from the Torrid Zone, and the Tippet from beneath the Pole. The Brocade Petticoat rises out of the Mines of *Peru*, and the Diamond Necklace out of the Bowels of *Indostan*.

Or more specifically, a ‘British Atlantic World—an empire of shared tastes, aesthetics and imagination formed around the labor, commerce, and display that went along with’ (Anishanslin, 2006, p. 11) the buying and displaying of luxury, like silk and Addison’s diamonds from *Indostan*. The defining and forming of a ‘Woman of Quality’ is possible

because of consumption, which Baudrillard (2015) describes as all these objects becoming organised, becoming unified into a:

[...] signifying fabric: consumption is *the virtual totality of all objects and messages ready-constituted as a more or less coherent discourse [...] an activity consisting of the systemic manipulation of signs.* (p. 218)

Addison, in discussing England without any of the advantages of the global commerce of trade, likens the result to a ‘barren’ and ‘uncomfortable’ landscape, that without movement the English natural world is essentially *stuck*. The models that Baudrillard sees as stockpiled and circulating in consumption are described in effervescent terms by Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711):

Natural Historians tell us, that no Fruit grows Originally among us, besides Hips and Haws, Acorns and Pig-Nutts, with other Delicates of the like Nature; That our Climate of itself, and without the Assistances of Art, can make no further Advances towards a Plumb than to a Sloe, and carries an Apple to no greater a Perfection than a Crab: That our Melons, our Peaches, our Figs, our Apricots, and Cherries, are Strangers among us, imported in different Ages, and naturalized in our *English* Gardens; and that they would all degenerate and fall away into the Trash of our own Country, if they were wholly neglected by the Planter, and left to the Mercy of our Sun and Soil.

That everything which is ‘Convenient and Ornamental’ comes from elsewhere: Trade, without enlarging the *British* Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates as Valuable as the Lands themselves.

The system of trade, the system of empire, of the British Empire in particular, detached the models replicated by those with the money to consume and detached the simulacra which was then free to circulate and amass in volume. Baudrillard’s time period registers their speed and intensity as a heat is applied to a Brownian Motion where these components were already there, suspended. ‘Europeans associated Asian exotics like silk with luxury [...]’ (Anishanslin, 2006, p. 17), in part, perhaps, because raising silk worms on an industrial scale proved impossible on English soil. Shippen Willing’s silk was not *necessary* and the botanical pattern certainly did not represent the American landscape, but both the silk cloth and pattern were an essential to this colonial American, as it communicated more than

ornamental taste; luxury, beauty, power, and taste were being curated and displayed. Nature was being remade.

The Product of a Hundred Climates

The flowers on the silk dress demonstrate so many arguments in action. Garthwaite's botanicals are a mix of 'prosaic florals with exotic plants' (Anishanslin, 2006, p. 91) from every corner of the world and reflect the botanical interests and exploration of the eighteenth century. Garthwaite's drawings are shaped by plants and flowers from Africa, the Caribbean, and India with English natives, and her plants *mimic* the realism in favour with botanical illustrations (ibid). Her designs in this 'Dress of a Woman of Quality' are the Product of a hundred Climates, there is no referent left to be seen but a symbol of Quality, an Idea of Quality. Mike Gane (1991) quotes Baudrillard's 1976 ideas on symbolic order as:

[...] the symbolic is neither a concept, nor an instance or a category, nor a 'structure', but an act of exchange and a social relation which puts an end to the real, which resolves the real, and in the same stroke an end to the real, which resolves the real, and in the same stroke the opposition between real and imaginary. (p. 2)



Figure 75. Anna Maria Garthwaite, damask silk design for Simon Julins, 1743, watercolour on paper, copyright: Victoria and Albert Museum, Anishanslin (2016) p. 8

The social relationship between the botanical abundance of multiple ingredients, some real, some imagined, some better than real, arranged in harmony to be consumed and displayed as a marker of Quality, is a fascinating and early rendering of Baudrillard's symbolic order. Nature was being remade and the capacity for being remade is because of trade and the ability to curate and shape the natural world. The relationship and social order between the detached fauna and flora decides the real, the nature is curated here, and it remakes it. The allusion to the referent in this silk design has been found by Anishanslin (2006) and this trail is fascinating.

Remaking nature

Remaking or ‘the Art of Embellishing’ nature is not new to Garthwaite or indeed any other designer or illustrator of botany. Some twenty years later, *The Universal Museum* magazine reflected on the relationship between artist and nature in the section “A View of the Fine Arts” from 1762:

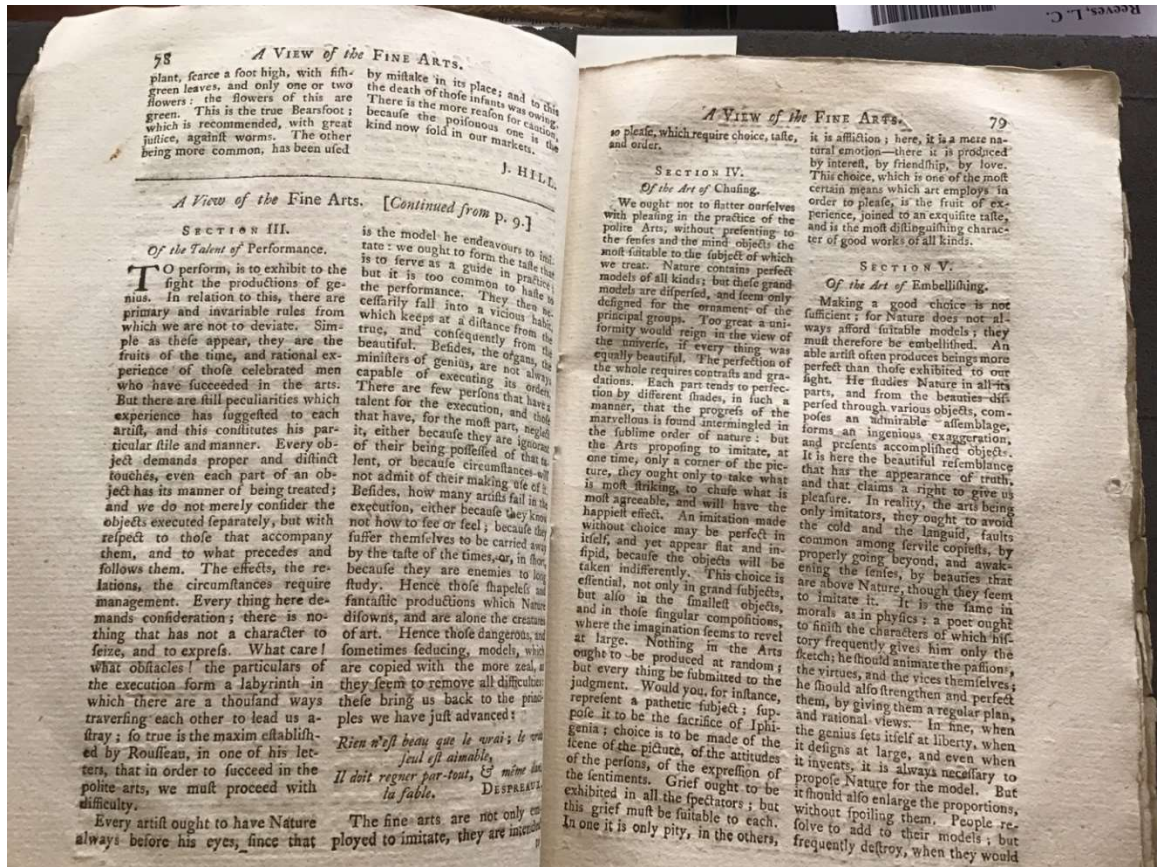


Figure 76. *The Universal Museum or Gentleman's and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature*, Vol II, February, 1762 Section: A View from the Fine Arts, Section V, “Of the Art of Embellishing”, pp. 79-80

The Universal Museum explores the tensions between nature and art, what is real, and how that can be made better in a reflective feature:

Making a good choice is not sufficient; for Nature does not always afford suitable models; they must therefore be embellished. An able artist often produces beings more perfect than those exhibited to our sight. He studies Nature in all its parts, and from the beauties dispersed through various objects, composes an admirable assemblage, forms an ingenious exaggeration, and presents accomplished objects. It is here the beautiful resemblance that has the appearance of truth and that claims a right

to give us pleasure. In reality, the arts being only imitators, they ought to avoid the cold and the languid, faults common among servile copiests, by properly going beyond, and awakening the senses, by beauties that are above Nature, though they seem to imitate it. [...]. (pp. 79-80)

Nature is being centred as the model: the necessary model. But the artist can make a *better* truth, a better real, a much—by ‘ingenious exaggeration’—more perfect end result. Nature is not *just* embellished, but made better, more real: a better real through man-made disruption, interference. The rarity aspect is not the most remarkable element of this extract: ‘But how rare is the attainment of this measure, creates new objects, in order to render them more perfect, more attractive!’ It is the ability to create something new and, crucially, perfect. Referents are no longer needed. Here in 1762 is a mainstream foundation of Baudrillard’s Disneyland, of Eco’s Movieland Wax Museum, or the Palace of Living Arts. Nature is improved upon, made better through disruption.

Thirty years on from the reflection in the *Universal Museum*, the late eighteenth century moved on from *embellishing* nature to *remaking* the landscape on a grander scale for those with the wealth to purchase the process. The Kingston, Jamaica, *Daily Advertiser* newspaper from 1790 (issue 286, 29th November 1790) describes this period of the late eighteenth century as:

[...] this period of invention and improvement [...]The name of Capability Brown is sufficiently notorious; and there are few noblemen's seats in this kingdom that are not indebted to his taste and skill.—The profession of which we speak is an improvement upon that of Mr. Brown, and [ILL] called a Landscape Gardener. (p. 580)

Making nature into a *better* aesthetic experience for the wealthy viewer was a talent for which the landscape gardener Capability Brown was famous. The British aristocracy, and indeed those with the money to perform their good taste, employed Brown to make their palace gardens into a “better” landscape: a more natural one, a more real nature, a better nature. This was not a new occurrence in the eighteenth century and indeed by the nineteenth century the name of Capability Brown was well-known enough to reference artistry. This is an era which sought to shape the landscape into a more real landscape, a more dramatic and

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romantic one, which better reflected the idea of nature and the reassuringly English landscapes which could be found in the paintings hanging in the Royal Academy and the houses of the wealthy. Oliver Cox, (2016, p. 186) in his article titled, “Why Celebrate Capability Brown?” quotes the 12th Duke of Devonshire, observing that:

I don't think visitors care whether the landscape is real or not real—it just is. When you think of all the unlovely parts of life, to come to a place like this for a bit of quiet contemplation and mental refurbishment means a great deal to people.

This was the spirit of Baudrillard’s Disneyland and Eco’s Hearst Castle being practised centuries before the postmodern timeline of their writings. This is clear and persuasive evidence of hyperreality before Baudrillard’s timeline. In shaping the ‘quintessential British countryside’ with its ruins and follies, lakes and reshaped rivers, The British National Trust website (www.nationaltrust.org.uk) describes Brown as:

He [Capability Brown] copied nature so cleverly that his work is often mistaken for a natural landscape. [...] So how can you tell the difference between what appears to be quintessential British countryside and an original Brown work of art?
<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/>

Has the viewer then and today lost the ability to recognise a ‘distinction between nature and artifice’ (Felluga, 2011)? This era examined was more than just embellishing to make ideal, this is the start of Disneyland.

The mass production capabilities of the nineteenth century were possible because it was already happening—but in *smaller* batches, confined within scattered frameworks. This is borne out with defined social hierarchies, separated class structures, and erratic distribution channels. The massification of consumer culture and ideas has not happened yet because the structures have not been linked up. Speed and mass saturation is being mistaken for creation, yet again. There are ongoing production and ideology processes present in the eighteenth century, which misrepresent and mask a reality by imitating it so well it threatens to replace it (Felluga, 2011) —what Baudrillard is seeing in the twentieth century are these processes scaled up and *speeded up*. Baudrillard understands how speed distorts and hastens disappearance ‘speed is simply the rite that initiates us into emptiness’ (Baudrillard, 2010, p.

9). Speed is very different in the eighteenth century; determined forward motion paced with technological advances of the day is the speed by which an ‘escalation of the true, of lived experience is possible’ (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 7). Disappearance here is slow work and a ‘panic-stricken production of the real and of the referential’ (ibid) is even slower, but it was happening.

Remaking nature: botany

Zara Anishanslin (2016, pp. 86-87) links Garthwaite’s patterns to many influences, from the bright and bold Indian Calico prints to those of a seed catalogue.

Calico—named for the city of Calicut in India—originated there in the eleventh century. In the seventeenth century, these bright floral textiles became popular imports into Europe. In England, where they were first imported by the EIC [East India Company] and then copied by British Calico makers, they were highly popular commodities. (p. 86)

Anishanslin locates an influence on Garthwaite’s English ‘naturalistic English rococo’ (ibid, p. 87) botanical patterns through the popularity of the imported aesthetic of Indian calico. The legacies of botanical illustration and collecting of the time, combined with the trade imports of the East India Company shaped an *English* style and taste, which illustrates exactly what Addison was describing years earlier. The dividing line between what is “real” English and what is imported is, to utilise Spivak’s (1993) well-known statement on colonisation, ‘Not because empire, like capital, is abstract, but because empire messes with identity’ (p. 226). Although his quotation is chiefly used to reflect on those who were colonised, (Webster, p. 560), it is useful in its application to English identity, especially an identity that often has nature as part of a national identity. The identity here in Garthwaite’s England is shifting from cosmopolitan to an English sense of power, might, and nationalism as the moulding and remaking of nature is used to demonstrate wealth and power, not just cosmopolitan taste and education. Empire in this century is enabling trade but, equally, trade is enabling empire. Botanical exploration is part of this global development and printing is enabling the distribution.

In 1730 the painter Peter Casteels and the London gardener Robert Furber, in partnership with the engraver Henry Fletcher, published the *Twelve Months of Flowers*. Each month showed a different illustration of an ‘elaborate floral’ bouquet arranged in an equally elaborate vase (Anishanslin, 2016, p. 88). The ‘accurate botanical depictions of more than four hundred species [...] served as an illustrated seed catalogue’ (ibid) for those wealthy enough to cultivate domestic and exotic flowers, all accessible because of the increased trade routes. The catalogue, initially purchased by subscription, acted as both a useful and detailed reference for those that laboured in the decorative arts (ibid, p. 89), a reference for genteel hobbyists, and as an ornamental luxury purchase for those with excellent taste. ‘Over four hundred separate species are depicted. The plates were advertised in *Fog’s Weekly Journal* of 25 September 1731 as being “completely furnished” and ready for delivery’ (www.pricefineart.com). It was very popular and Anishanslin surmises that it was likely Garthwaite would have seen and referred to it, as other designers did. Indeed it was advertised as:

The Curiosity of this Work (being the first ever attempted) as also its Usefulness, not only to the Ladies in their Needle-works, but also to the Workmen in their several Occupations, such as Tapestry Weavers, Carvers and c. and all Virtuoso’s in Flowers, makes it truly estimable. (ibid)

The book proved so popular that many print runs followed and also many rival publishers and engravers ‘knocked off cheap copies of it’ (ibid) so it was republished and remade, sometimes altered and redistributed far and wide, including Colonial America.



Figure 77. Casteels, P., (designer) Fletcher, H., (engraver) and Furber, R., (publisher) (1730) "March" *Twelve Months of Flowers*, London <https://www.pricefineart.com/product/twelve-months-of-flowers/>



Figure 78. Casteels, P., (designer) Fletcher, H., (engraver) and Furber, R., (publisher) (1730) "November" *Twelve Months of Flowers*, London <https://www.pricefineart.com/product/twelve-months-of-flowers/>

A seed catalogue in the hyperreal

As Addison (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711) reflects on the English climate and the nation's spot of earth which is naturally lacking in exotic variety:

If we consider our own Country in its natural Prospect, without any of the Benefits and Advantages of Commerce, what a barren uncomfortable Spot of Earth falls to our Share! Natural Historians tell us, that no Fruit grows Originally among us, besides Hips and Haws, Acorns and Pig-Nutts, with other Delicates of the like Nature; That our Climate of itself, and without the Assistances of Art [...].

The realisation Addison had is that with the assistance of 'Art' a rich variety of beautiful and interesting things can be grown. Furber's extravagant seed catalogue, some twenty years on from Addison's reflections, illustrates this notion but it also forms a bridge to Baudrillard's ideas about art, culture, and advertising. The bouquets are extraordinary and, in their abundance, ambition and use of Neoclassical-looking antique vases, they resemble the Dutch still-life paintings of the earlier century—and their legend, a crucial component to identifying all the flowers at the bottom, grounds the pictures into reality. The flowers themselves are a mixture of English natives, naturalised species, and exotics.

March

No.1, Royal Widow Auricula is found in the mountains of central Europe, No. 3's White Bostamon Narciss is native to Turkey; No. 10's White Flowering Almond (*Prunus glandulosa*) is a species of shrub tree native to China and long present in Japan. Also known as Chinese Bush Cherry, Chinese Plum, and Dwarf Flowering Almond, it neither produces plums, cherries nor almonds, nor is it commonly used as an ornamental tree or for cut flowers. No. 33's Velvet Iris, Native to southern China and Myanmar (Burma). Naturalised plants, European plants, British natives, and exotics from across the world all vie for space in a vase adorned with myths and legends.

In November's print, No. 24's Carolina Starflower or *Ipheion uniflorum*, although now widely cultivated and naturalised in the UK, is originally native to Argentina & Uruguay.

What is interesting within this example is that the World's democratic encyclopaedia *Wikipedia* reports that *Ipheion uniflorum* has been grown in UK since 1820, but Furber's bouquet is ninety years before this (Forde, 2020). Time mixes up dates, confuses timelines and strains the anchors to the original.

The catalogue is not an ideal or embellishment; as a seed catalogue it promised to sell you something better than an ideal if you could afford the seeds and the equipment to grow these exotics. The catalogue was created for commercial intent: to sell a bouquet of flowers that was impossible to acquire, to the rich. This seed catalogue is hyperreality, much like the Phul Na-Na perfume of the Victorian fin de siècle, which promised an *authentic* Indian sensory experience with no ingredients from India. Furber was promising an experience to the receiver which was a mixture of several continents and promised a real that is Disney. It is because the ingredients have been detached from their originals and packaged into a commodity with a curated use-value that they are able to move through time periods, their meaning changing with each new reincarnation. Nature is not just being remade, but the meaning manufactured anew too.

In each plate, culture and economy are entwining and mingling with art and artifice; nature and economy is being curated and sold back to the receiver; hyperreality is always sold back to the receiver.

The mix of ingredients on these catalogue pages allows a different meaning to take shape; the value is changed as the relationship to the flowers and the picture itself changes (Smith, 2010, pp. 7-8):

Advertising persuades through meaning. Baudrillard argues that 'We consume the product through the product itself, but we consume its meaning through advertising'. The kind of meaning that advertising provides is 'pure connotation'. Connotation is a culture-based form of meaning often described as the feelings generated within us by something of the associations something has for us. It is a function of our individual and cultural identities in that the feelings aroused and the associations things have for us will vary according to which cultural groups we are members of.

With this insight it is then no surprise that this seed catalogue was used by different types of people and those people interacted with it differently; it had different receivers. The use-value of the plates and the flowers themselves changes from a labour intensive act to a consumption of commodities. ‘What is very clear, however, is that the prints themselves took on a life of their own, completely separate from any role they might once have played as a stock list’ (Forde, 2020).

With this in mind, it is easy to see why the plates were able to take on a ‘life of their own’ and their trajectory and evolution can be measured—which is why they are such a fascinating example from this time period and useful for a measurement of the hyperreal.

Later editions were plagiarised, which inspired the ‘Hogarth’s Act’ in 1735 to protect the copyright of artists and engravers, (Rose, 2005) but, more interestingly, the prints were reimagined with added insects, and generic-looking moths and butterflies:



Figure 79. "November", *Twelve Months of Flowers*, Artist: Casteels III, Pieter, Engraver: Parr, Publisher: John Bowles & Son at the Black Horse in Cornhill, 1749, Dimensions: 342 x 240 mm, Colour: Original colour

This 'slightly reduced, reversed copy of the 1730 first issue'

(www.rareoldprints.com/p/21017) is reminiscent of the process involved in building a smaller to-scale, copy of the Eiffel Tower in Las Vegas or, as Baudrillard (*Simulations* p. 3) explains:

The real is produced from miniaturized units, from matrices, memory banks and command models - and with these it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times. The reduction of size, of changing the dimension facilitates the detachment of the new version to the old.

It is interesting that Furber's prints live on and have changed; they are a copy, but not really, they have been multiplied and made preferable to the original, which never existed, it was always an artist's impression of the best idea of flowers. In this reversed, reduced, and replicated layer of *Twelve Months of Flowers* the prints are no longer a seed catalogue, their anchoring to the original use-value has been fragmented and this simulation has been improved upon with the addition of insects, which are familiar but still not easy to identify. They are another artist's interpretation. The flowers are now an authentic bouquet that is so real, butterflies and moths seek them out. The fake is now more desirable than the original. This is hyperreality, but slowed down—so that what can be done in a digital instant in the twenty-first century, took nineteen years in the eighteenth century.

Those flower arrangements are not contained within a page in a book; hyperreality is never contained, it finds a way to break its bonds and colonise a new territory, outside of the frame, but always looking back. The decision to reverse the print neatly illustrates McLuhan's (1967) ideas on the rear-view mirror aspect of moving forward and developing, but with an eye on the past, never being able to disconnect its influence totally:

When faced with a totally new situation, we tend always to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavor of the most recent past. We look at the present through the rear-view mirror. We march backwards into the future. (McLuhan 1967, pp. 74-75)

As the timeline for the Furber print travels forward it is possible to see McLuhan's idea illustrated further and, equally, to see Baudrillard's succinct statement of when the real is no longer what it was, 'nostalgia assumes its full meaning' (Baudrillard, *Simulations*, p. 12). This chapter is about measuring a simulacra thread. From Garthwaite's damask silk to Furber's seed catalogue to a reimagining of an American Colonial Williamsburg; this thread

has been pulled into the twentieth century. The Furber prints, ever changing, also travel through centuries and start to become a layer to the “discover” of America’s colonial past.

Furber goes to America and meets Wallace Nutting

Furber’s prints travelled across the Atlantic to add further authenticity to the nostalgia of the American Colonial Revival most commercialised in the early twentieth century by Wallace Nutting. Catherine Whalen (2004) quotes Thomas Denenberg’s (2003, p. 190) analysis of Wallace Nutting’s commercial “discovery” of America’s colonial past as ““Old America, played out in countless platinum prints, Windsor chairs, and illustrated books, found a place in the cultural landscape as a dissenting opinion throughout the twentieth century””(p. 178). Nutting staged interiors that replicated an imagined colonial American past with well-dressed ladies caught in domestic situations of quiet contentment and, of course, arranging flowers. They were, for all intents and purposes, a training manual in how to replicate an “authentic” *imagined* past, (Whalen 2004):

Nutting believed he could save his countrymen from their own bad taste by reproducing items of antique furniture and providing examples of how to furnish one's home. His philosophy was, “Copy and avoid bad taste. Not all the old is good but all of the new is bad”. (p. 6)

These hand-coloured photographs were popular, they sold well, and were published in those famous aspirational middle-American consumer magazines such as ‘Harper's Monthly, Women's Home Companion, Country Life in America, and the Ladies' Home Journal’ (ibid). *The Ladies’ Home Journal* is a magazine which featured in the first chapter of this thesis and its aspirational features are found in all the magazines examined.

Enter Dora—Exit Dad

(Continued from Page 54)

JOEY: Shall I open the door, Mr. Tibb? There's a big crowd out there ready to come in.
 TIBB: Yes—no—I don't know. What will I do?
 DORA: Open the door and let them in, Joey. (To WALTER.) They'll expect you to make a speech, dear. (Great noise of crowd coming into store.)
 WALTER: But I can't make a speech. I never made a speech.
 DORA (showing the speech of her father into WALTER'S hands and giving him a pointing bag and kiss): Here's your speech, Walter. It's good, because father wrote it. All you've got to do is to read it. (She rubs WALTER to the door. The crowd by this time is shouting for a speech.)
 WALTER (standing at the door looking out toward the front of the store, consequently with his back almost to the audience): "Esteemed fellow citizens of Hartfield: I have the honor

TIBB (with that crushed tone which could only be possessed by a man who has written a speech for himself and hears it delivered for the benefit of somebody else): My speech!
 (WALTER goes out into the store, continuing to read TIBB'S speech. There is applause.)
 TIBB (looking at DORA with a queer mixture of admiration and bitterness): Well, it's all over. (Coming over to her and putting his hand on her shoulder.) Look me in the eye and tell me one thing, miss. Did you nominate Walter Barnes for first selectman?
 DORA: No, father, I didn't. It was like this. I told Mrs. Stewart that I would nominate her for moderator if she would get somebody to nominate Walter. You see we women got together and made up a slate —
 TIBB: A slate! (The truth dawns on him. Speaking in whole-souled admiration.) And she wants me to give her pointers in politics!
 CURTAIN

How to Put On "Enter Dora—Exit Dad"

By WILLIAM HODGE

DON'T labor over any line in a play. If it is hard for you to give you are wrong. Sit down and say the line over and over again till you can say it as naturally as "Good morning."
 I try to do things as simply as I can on the stage. When I get stuck for anything I fall back on Nature. This seems to me to be a good rule for amateurs to follow in putting on Freeman Tibb's play, Enter Dora—Exit Dad, or any other play which to be effective must seem real, the fourth wall removed from the house, or in this case the back wall of the country store.
 A country store must be put upon the stage and it is up to the director to make the people who enter it seem like life.
 Even in amateur productions there should be a director. There must be a responsible head who knows what is to be done. If a new play were to be given by amateurs it would be best to have the author as director; but otherwise select the best fitted person for the job, the man in the club or organization who knows most about the theater and who has the imagination and understanding to get good work from others.
 The director should have a stage manager and a property man. For a play so easy to do as Enter Dora—Exit Dad a stage manager and property man might be combined in the same person, though there is no harm in having them distinct. Generally the greater the number of persons who can be made responsible in an amateur show, the greater the interest will be.

See That Everything is in Place

IT IS the duty of the stage manager to run the stage, to have the stage set, to have everyone at his entrance at the proper time and to see that all is carried out, once the director has determined how things are to be done.
 The property man—and women are good at property work—must see that everything that is to be handled or needed during the play is in its right place. The property man works with the stage manager, who is responsible for him.
 The speech—that is, the manuscript of the speech that the character Tibb reads from during the play, and that later is handed by Dora to Walter Barnes to read—is a property. It must be in the right place on the desk. So must the sign. Open after Town Meeting, which Tibb hands to Joey, the errand boy, directing him to put it in the window. The absence of either of these would mar the play. The letter files, catalogues, and so forth, which the author describes as being on the top of Tibb's desk are not properties in the same sense. They belong to the picture. The action does not call for the handling of them by the actors.

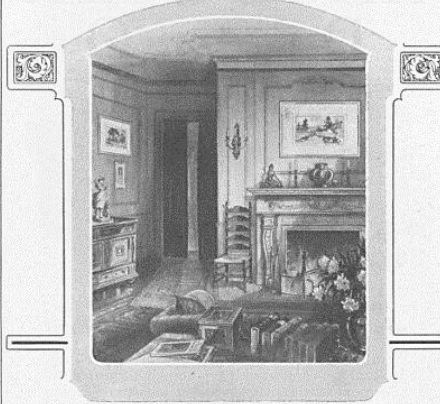
It has been decided by the club or organization or a reading committee that Freeman Tibb's one-act play, Enter Dora—Exit Dad, is to be done either alone or as a part of a bill. A director for this play has been chosen.
 His work begins at once. Before the actors are called together he goes over the play carefully. He decides how the play is to be played; that is to say, he determines what the mood of the play is—in this case comedy.
 He will make a ground or scene plan of his stage—for this particular play one has been furnished—and on this he will show where the entrances occasioned by the author are to be and where the principal furniture is to be placed. He will also have determined where the principal light is to come from.

The Preliminaries

IN THIS play there are two sources of light: The door which leads into the front of the store and the window which is somewhat hidden by boxes and barrels. Obviously the stronger light comes from the window.
 Where it is possible to do so an amber flood light—1000 watts—outside of the window will give the effect of afternoon sun and make a nice spot on the stage.
 If this is done it will be found effective to bring your principal characters into this spot—especially your young heroine, Dora.
 There might well be a lamp on the shelf back of the desk—since the desk is opposite the window and quite a distance from it.
 Enter Dora—Exit Dad calls for fairly bright lighting, for it is a comedy and the faces should be seen in comedy. Do not, however, have all the light on the faces. This play may be given in halls or on improvised stages where the lighting facilities are not of the best, but quite good effects can be obtained with little equipment where ingenuity is employed.
 Before calling the actors together the only persons who have worked upon the play are the director, the man who is responsible for the scene and the property man.
 If the scenery is made for this play it should not look new. This store has been going on for some time and is worn, and there are a litter and an accumulation of many things.
 The property man will have made a list of all the things required for the play. In Enter Dora—Exit Dad everything that is required is easily obtained in any community and the property man need not "besit himself."
 Before the selected cast or those from whom the cast is to be selected are called together there should be no studying of lines.

(Continued on Page 56)

Visit the SPRING EXHIBIT of WALLACE NUTTING Pictures at leading art stores and art departments, MAY 15TH to 25TH inclusive. Watch for announcement of exhibits in your local paper. No Admission Charge.



Pictures on the Walls make a House a Home

PICTURES are the "soul" of the house. By the kind of pictures on the walls the tastes of families may be judged. So it becomes the woman's duty to express the highest thoughts through the pictures in her home.

WALLACE NUTTING Pictures reflect the beautiful; they are the expression of an art ideal—irresistibly charming, cheerful and always exerting an elevating influence. The wide range of WALLACE NUTTING Pictures permits a happy selection. Those measuring eleven by fourteen inches and more in size are recommended. Art stores and art departments will gladly show you WALLACE NUTTING Pictures.

For Engagements and Weddings

Just a suggestion which the engaged girl or bride will approve—Select a WALLACE NUTTING Picture as a gift for the new home she is planning. Your choice is sure to please her and to reflect credit to you.

A Booklet for HOMEmakers

"Art in the Home" is a philosophical Monograph treating of artistic homemaking in an intensely interesting manner. Privately printed and distributed; limited edition; a copy sent on receipt of ten cents, stamps or coin. Address, Wallace Nutting Studios, Ashland, Massachusetts.

Wallace Nutting hand-colored Pictures "The Distinctive American Art"

WALLACE NUTTING Pictures are being limited. Every genuine WALLACE NUTTING Picture is individually signed in ink as above. Your protection is in observing the signature.



Figure 80. Wallace Nutting advert for 'hand-colored pictures', The Ladies' Home Journal, May, v.39 1922, p. 55

The copy for the advert is not extraordinary in its positioning of woman as responsible for the heart and soul of the home, her "duty", to be precise. But what is useful in this example is the description of the pictures as 'the expression of an art ideal' and as having an 'elevating influence' in their irresistible charm and influence. As well as the pictures of colonial life, Nutting sold reproductions of colonial furniture so that tasteful Americans (with disposable

income) could recreate the imagined interiors of the American past in their own timelines.

Thomas Denenberg (2003) writes that:

If Wallace Nutting had not existed, Wallace Nutting's advertising agency would have invented him. The heyday of Old America coincided with the rise of nostalgic, personality-based advertising in popular middle-class periodicals. (p. 160)

As has been shown throughout the thesis, the magazines recreate not just the imagined interiors, but the lives and societies of its readers. Denenberg's quip about Nutting's advertising agency mirrors what Tina Brown said about Princess Diana's invention. Magazines are able to select and curate the threads of simulacra and flatten them on their pages, from perfume to recreating an imagined past.

In some respects what Denenberg muses about Nutting could be applied to Baudrillard. If Jean Baudrillard had not existed, hyperreality would surely have invented him. As Baudrillard playfully suggested that the hyperreal has agency in his dismissal of *The Matrix*, perhaps hyperreality was trying to conceal the fact that the capacity for hyperreal to exist was functioning outside of the postmodern twentieth century. For the simple, yet devastating, idea that so much of "our" collective history and sense of societal truths are hyperreal, in which case, how long has this been going on? Connecting the difficult and controversial French, male, philosopher to hyperreality is part of the hyperreal. Just as Baudrillard famously dismissed the popular postmodern twentieth-century film *The Matrix* as '[...] surely the kind of film about the matrix that the matrix would have been able to produce' (Smith and Clarke, 2015, p. 180), the hyperreal conceals its ancestries but, at the same time, makes use of them to garner its authenticity. Colonial revival in the 1920s was connected to Furber's seed catalogue as part of the great illusion of the world's cultures, which Baudrillard (Smith and Clarke, 2015) describes as a:

[...] problem faced by all cultures, which they have solved through art and symbolisation. What we have invented, in order to support this suffering, is a simulated real, which henceforth supplants the real and its final solution, a virtual universe from which everything dangerous and negative has been expelled. (p. 180)

Nutting and Furber are part of Baudrillard's "virtual" universe, but in an analogue state, which is much slower. In Nutting's pictures everything dangerous and negative has been expelled, totally erased. Furber's catalogue has nothing negative either—all is possible and all can be grown no matter how difficult, or exotic, or dependent on equipment. Hyperreality is a system of erasure and remaking where everything simulated is the new real.

Nutting's role in commercialising a hyperreal for an American audience eager to buy a more real than real history for their homes is worthy of its own thesis, but what the Nutting example gives is context into replicating the more real than real—using and looking for the 'ideal' and the Furber prints are part of the accumulation needed to design a past and, in doing so, detach it from its source and make it anew. These measurements, from a Lady of Quality's silk dress to demonstrate how she would like to be seen all the way to Nutting's commercialisation of a fabricated American history, are all connected. There is continuity to the hyperreal through the strata of simulacra. Hyperreality invents and fabricates a new real from existing ingredients; it is always a familiar truth, a familiar real, and that is how it is able to construct a new and better real and why it is welcomed.

In terms of large flower arrangements, preferably with a British or European "feel", the Colonial revival movement was responsible for incorporating flower arrangements into the average person's idea of the colonial American interior' (Whalen 2004, p. 11), indeed one can be seen in the Nutting *Ladies' Home Journal* advert. Flowers proved useful in setting authentic scenes and connecting pasts; flowers have meaning and give a real or imagined context to display. Flowers intersect ideas of luxury, taste, and nature; they have the ability to illustrate ideas and decorate societal narratives. Flowers were very useful to Colonial Revival practitioners as scene decorators. But as Catherine Whalen deftly (2004) points out:

Actual American seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources had little to say about cut flower use in domestic settings; the revivalists had to focus on materials they could find which included contemporary prints and paintings, newspapers, estate inventories, extant containers, and English and European publications. The sheer lack of material should have been their most telling clue when attempting to recreate actual practices. (p. 12)

In recreating imagined pasts, the historians of colonial pasts then supplemented their knowledge with European paintings of flowers and fruit, which in turn, as artistic pieces in their own right, were shaped with a certain amount of artistic licence (Whalen, 2004, pp. 14-15).

Flowers were used in colonial interiors at the Colonial Williamsburg Museum in the 1930s, ‘where authenticity was sacrificed for aesthetics [...] And no one was more responsible for creating the floral image of the past than Louise Bang Fisher, (Whalen 2004, p. 24). By 1936 Colonial Williamsburg had an entire flower department.

During those years she introduced not only cut flowers, but dried flower arrangements and Christmas decorations, developing a facet of the Colonial Williamsburg experience that still lingers. She also influenced decorators across the country by writing articles and books, demonstrating techniques on film, and lecturing to various groups and organizations. If there was ever was a desire to beautify and accessorize the historic past, Louise Fisher took hold of it and made it a common and accepted practice in the interpretation of 17th- and 18th-century period interiors. (p. 26)

The ripple of influence is a crucial point here, because it could be argued that Furber’s seed catalogue began to influence not just a museum, which traded on the accuracy and authority of its history, but industries which then relied on the museum’s historical recreations.

[...] a film, *The Flower Arrangements of Williamsburg*, made in 1953 about the flower department at Williamsburg shows the blossoms being gathered at 6 a.m. every morning. The cut flowers were then transferred to a storeroom where they were conditioned for at least a day at 40 F. it seems doubtful that any colonist had the time, land, variety of flowers, or climate controlled facility one would need to resemble, even remotely, the commonplace operations of Mrs. Fisher's gardens. (ibid, p. 27)

The images of the flowers precede the real, which is manically stockpiled and stored in chilled rooms manufactured to keep the flowers that resemble the past in pristine conditions. Colonial Williamsburg had a set of the Furber *Twelve Months of Flowers* and Fisher used the seed catalogue as a historical manual in eighteenth-century flower arrangement (ibid, p. 29). Furber’s arrangements were fantastic and tantalising commercial advertisements of floral possibilities—with most of the flowers not just decorative, but a challenge for the serious botanical hobbyists. They were compilations of the fantastical for the wealthy—not practical.

They were not images of period flower arrangements. This simple misunderstanding of purpose was one of the most important reasons why arrangements at Colonial Williamsburg looked the way they did. Fisher's bouquets were published and written about in various magazines and books, and the type of arrangement was always said to have been "in the eighteenth-century manner". (ibid, p. 31)

What is shown here in the Furber example is a measured timeline of the manner in which a simulacrum can become dislodged from its original anchoring reality, through time, memory, and use. That disconnection then gives the receiver and the user the ability to change the use value and construct a new meaning, a new history—a better real where, in this case, colonial Americans filled their gracious eighteenth-century rooms with massive flowers arrangements from all over the world, just like their English cousins did. The interconnecting lines of communication are, as James Carey outlines, ‘Communication is nothing if not a collective activity; indeed, it is the process by which the real is created, maintained, celebrated, transformed, and repaired’ (Munson and Warren, 1997, p. 69) changed into something else. Carey frames this idea as a system and this is useful to what can be seen in the eighteenth century, but in particular, how it is possible for the eighteenth century to influence into the mid twentieth century. Only a system could produce results that span such a timeline and travel across not just time barriers but technological ones as well. Reality is produced, curated, and passed on by humans. This is an idea that Munson and Warren (1997, p. 199) highlight with Carey’s work and it is useful to this chapter:

If we delve further into Carey's thinking on communication, other useful complications emerge. Take, for example, his desire to reorder "the relation of communication to reality." Rather than regarding language, descriptions, reports of things as "reflections" of the world out there, he directs our attention to the manner in which communication creates the world we classify as "real." He writes: "Reality is not given, not humanly existent, independent of language and toward which language stands as a pale reflection. Rather, reality is brought into existence, is produced, by communication— by, in short, the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms." (p. 199)

Reality is ‘brought into existence’—it is communicated. The construction is an accumulation of stacked up and piled up simulacra.

Carey's thinking on communication, the idea that reality can be communicated and brought into existence, that it shapes the world as real, is a fascinating concept to connect with readers of magazines. Every one of the magazines examined in this thesis *was* working to shape the world the readers inhabited. Hyperreality connects with this effort in terms of constructing the real's existence, in terms of constructing the readers' existence. This thesis ends in 1691 with *The Athenian Mercury*.

***The Athenian Mercury* (1691-1697)**

Urmi Bhowmik's (2003) comprehensive appraisal of John Dunton and *The Athenian Mercury* in "Facts and Norms in the Marketplace of Print: John Dunton's Athenian Mercury" delivers a link between Dunton and Carey that is a thoughtful end to this timeline for magazines:

Dunton seems to have believed that print created its own reality; or, at least, he may have reckoned that, given the distance between the print shop and the reading audience, readers would not be able to discern easily that the Society was a fabrication. (pp. 351-352)

The idea that print recreates its own reality can be seen in all the case studies throughout this thesis, within the different time periods. Ending with *The Athenian Mercury* brings this thesis full circle in many ways: 'the Mercury originated conventions and established practices that were adopted instantly by periodical culture' (Bhowmik, 2003, p. 347) and indeed these conventions have lasted right up until now. *The Athenian Mercury* devised the use of user-generated content and established a community of readers, *for profit*. John Dunton was a creative merchant, and a publishing entrepreneur. Dunton's projects:

[...] were many and various, he published sermons, the dying speeches of criminals sentenced to execution, compilations and extracts from learned works, conduct books, periodicals, and dictionaries. [...] He was an author, a publisher and a bookseller. (Bhowmik, 2003, pp. 347-348)

But he was not a gentleman by the societal standards and rules of his time; he was a tradesman and this limited his aspirations and social authority. It also meant that he could be mocked and satirised for the aspirations that were deemed above his "station" by social

commentators such as Swift. This is fascinating because it forced Dunton to *fabricate* the perceived authority and aspirational learned expertise for *The Athenian Mercury* from the branding he commissioned in *The History of the Athenian Society* (Bhowmik, 2003, p. 350). *The Athenian Mercury*'s authority was borrowed and curated from the familiar bastions of knowledge circulating at the time, specifically the learned periodical *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665-present), (Bhowmik, 2003, p. 347), which was not accessible to the working man and woman. *The Athenian Mercury*, however 'was addressed mostly to the middle- and lower- middle classes' (ibid, p. 355).

The magazine invited its readers to ask any question, whether it was about salamanders or the human soul, love or marriage, manners or money—the variety of letters is dizzying and reflects the tensions being negotiated around knowledge, “knowing”, magic, myth, and science at that time. *The Athenian Mercury* also sought letters from both men *and* women, but not necessarily as equals. The magazine did frequently remind men and women that they were different, but when it comes to education: men are educated and women fair, but only because they have not had the same access to education and are, therefore, less rational. Helen Berry (2003, p. 292) quotes this extract from *The Athenian Mercury*, April 28th 1691 to illustrate this:

The very souls of the Fair Sex, as well as their Bodies, seem to have a softer turn than those of men, while we [men] reckon our selves Possessors of more solid Judgement and stronger Reason, or rather may with more Justice pretend to grater Experience, and more advantages to improve our minds [than women] [...].

So, although *The Athenian Mercury* was sympathetic to women [indeed, Dunton's wife played a pivotal business role in the magazine and its distribution] and their place in society, the publication still maintained, in public, the “natural” order of civilised society, of a learned society, of the way things are. These orders were of ‘moral obligations imposed by Christian teaching, common law, and natural philosophy’ (Berry, 2003, p. 292), orders which the readers lived under and, one could argue, the magazine helped its readers navigate. But this is a pattern in every one of the magazines examined in this thesis; the tensions negotiated between society, orders of power and reader.

Making money through the repetition of orders, of perceived and understood “truths” and structures that must be adhered to is a business staple of all of the magazines examined. This repetition is possible by an entangled display of simulacra from multiple timelines and places, a literal melting pot of familiar ideas and notions reformed and presented as legitimate authority, a real, a better real. *The Athenian Society* is a final example of this.

John Dunton commissioned the ‘hack author’ Charles Gildon to write *The History of the Athenian Society* with the sole purpose of marketing his new magazine *The Athenian Gazette*, later *The Athenian Mercury* (Berry, 2000 p. 14). Gildon describes the society in the opening lines of part II of the *The History of the Athenian Society* as a ‘manly performance’ and in this there is some truth, because it is a performance. It is a performance of what the readers expected a group of learned experts to look like, to be. *The Athenian Society* does not actually exist, it never did, but that does not prevent the artist from illustrating the society members at work answering all the readers’ letters.

There are twelve white European men in the society: a divine, a philosopher, a physician, a poet, a mathematician, a lawyer, a civilian, a surgeon (listed as chirurgion), an Italian, a Spaniard, a Frenchman, and, finally, a Dutchman: all learned men. All of them sit at the top table and their truth spills out and down upon the readers: the masses.

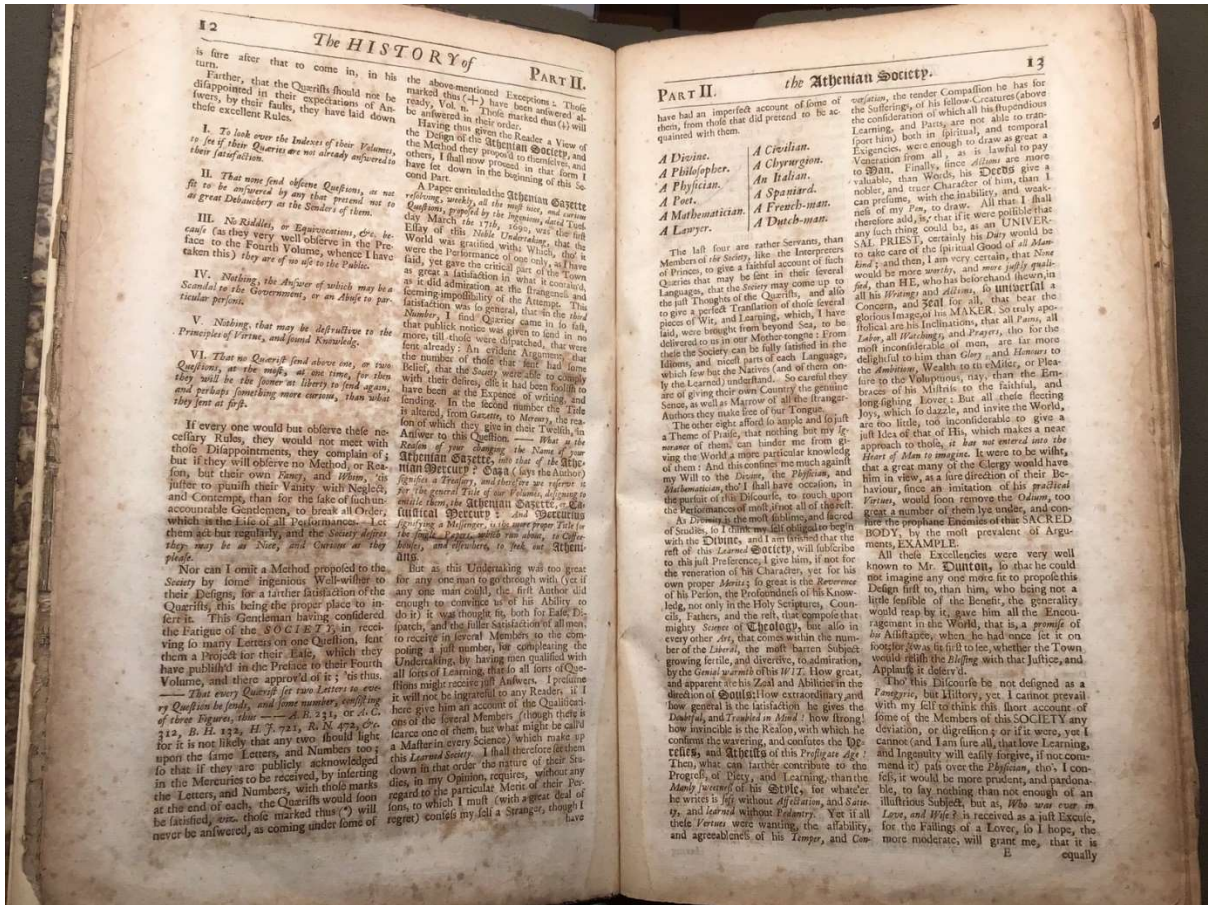


Figure 81. The members of the “The Athenian Society”, 1692, p. 13, printed for John Dunton (1659–1733)

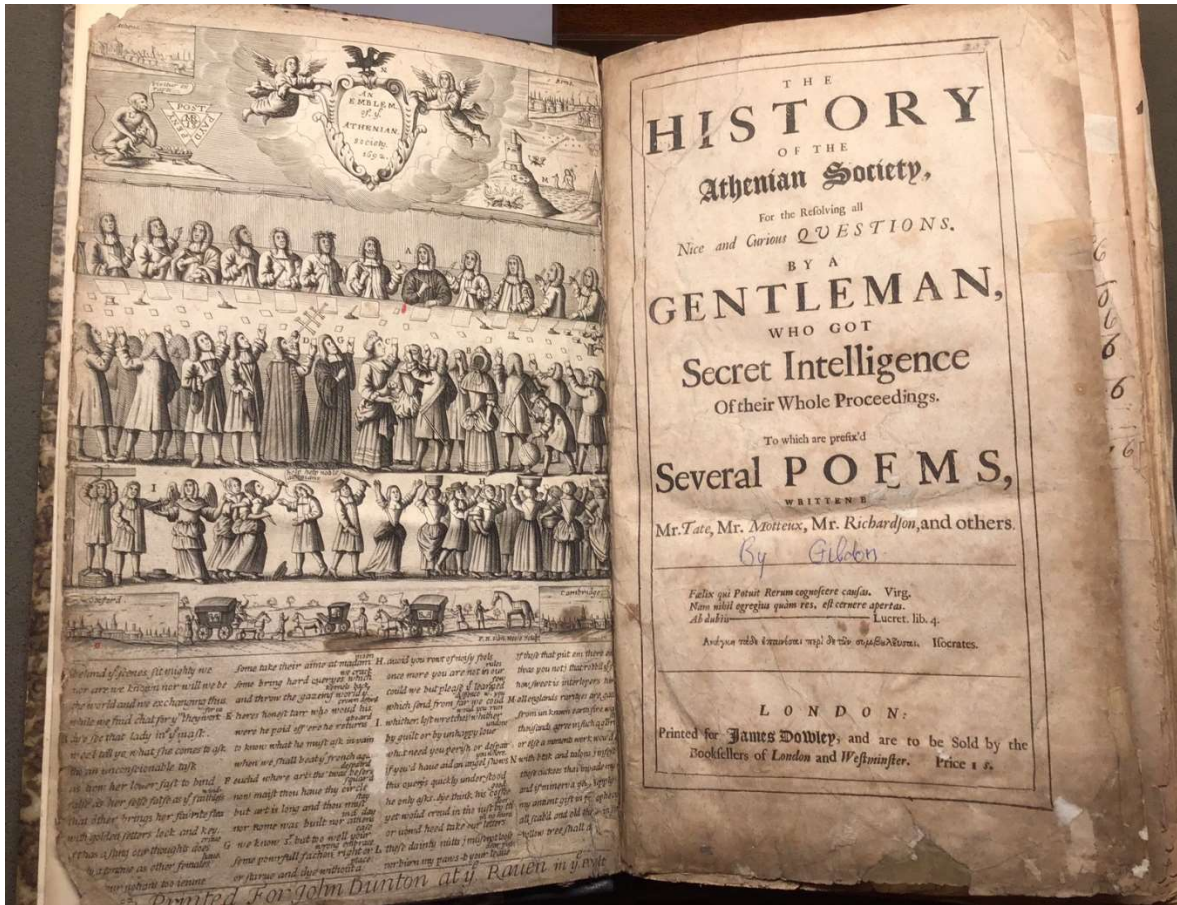


Figure 82. *The History of The Athenian Society*, 1692, printed for John Dunton (1659–1733)

Gildon describes the society in the opening lines of part II of the *The History of the Athenian Society* as a ‘manly performance’ and it is a performance “captured” by the artist as a moment paused for the curiosity of the reader. The energy of the members of the society at work, answering the many questions of the teeming masses, is frozen and framed like a still taken from a cinematic scene of an insider’s gaze on the workings of the society. Baudrillard refers to the cinema as ‘Interface and performance: the two leitmotifs of today’ (Coulter, 2010, p. 8) and this is a description that serves this image well. This engraved image of *The Athenian Society* also illustrates the conclusion to the hyperreal and the answer to the question: what is the source of the hyperreal? This is because the images curated within this engraving are from many timelines and countries and all echo what Joseph Addison identified in 1711 as the ‘Traffick among Mankind’. The engraving is possible because of man-made disruption, because every image curated and joined together for the purpose of this engraving has a thread of simulacra and

all of these strands have been grouped together side by side like the *Wunderkammer*, but the threads are confused and entangled and blended, and influence each other. Hyperreality flattens them and delivers a real that is perceived by the readers.

The society was John Dunton and some of his friends, but in this illustration it is not just a lie that is illustrated as a clever marketing ploy, but a recipe that is *believable*. The society's performance is framed with a mix of the real and the mythological; learned men sit alongside Athens and Rome, which mix with Oxford and Cambridge as ancient and contemporary places of learning. A salamander (top right) sits in a fire looking out to a sea with a mermaid and a flying dragon, a talking monkey using a cat's paw to draw out nuts from the fire sits beside richly-coiffured heavenly angels.

The society is made real because the readers accept its truth; the simulacra in abundance within this image relays a sense of ancient and modern wisdom. The society is demanding acceptance because of its ability to tap into history and perceived "knowing" which links back to classical times: after all, Athens and Rome are both part of the framing.

The hyperreality in The Athenian Society engraving, and evaluated throughout this thesis, is a collected strata of evergreen societal perceptions and meanings from an array of timelines and cultures which have been distilled into an image. Some of these things are real and some are myth but they blend seamlessly together to form a real: it doesn't matter which is which—much like a *Wunderkammer*. All of the images in The Athenian Society illustration act as a representation of a meaning or perception; they are familiar to the reader and offer up a semblance of the well-known, they are simulacra. The Athenian Society is legitimate because it has fabricated a rich and believable history, a real has been convincingly staged for the readers to experience. In short, the society *looks* the part. Here is Baudrillard's Disneyland and, as such, it is the 'perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1994, pp 12-13). Entanglement is the source of the hyperreal for this image.

Not a *Möbius*

This chapter proves that hyperreality is not a *Möbius* strip through the measurement of simulacra over a long timeline:

Randy Laist (2016) writes that:

Time in Baudrillard's universe is extremely ductile, because the very structure of hyperreality makes a hash out of the linear, Enlightenment-era temporality. Baudrillard's definition of the hyperreal as a "real without origin or reality" relies on a conception of time as a *Möbius* strip rather than an arrow, a closed orbit of possibilities repeating themselves with only superficial variations for all time, past and future. (p. 8)

Laist is right about Baudrillard's use of time being ductile, it is, but only because the strata of simulacra are dislodged as time moves on, speeds up, and is compressed by the hyperreal. The repetition is a key tenet to Baudrillard's doctrine, but the closed orbit of the *Möbius* only really works if the hyperreal is viewed as a late twentieth-century phenomenon, where the simulacrum is simulated and repeated endlessly thanks to the digital. Repetition is an important component to the simulacrum, but endless repetition does not have to be on a loop, it can be linear. This chapter has explored the linear shape of accumulation. The simulacrum is ancient and it accumulates, piles up, and gains mass. Hyperreality forms from *strata* made of layers that can accumulate quickly, or over a much longer timeline depending on distribution factors and power. These layers do not have to be in an order of time, undeviating, or even materially related to each other, they just need to be a likeness. The closed orbit analogy suits the hyperreal for a digital era, but it was suggested without giving thought to what hyperreality looked like outside of the 1980s. Hyperreality has a different shape to it and in refusing to accept the *Möbius-shaped* canon of academic thought being endlessly repeated the hyperreal can be properly examined.

Conclusion

This thesis has covered a very broad time frame. Each chapter had a focus to it and a reason for that focus. The chapters demonstrated and examined hyperreality within each chapter's period of time.

The Introduction was crucial for establishing a working definition of hyperreality for this thesis and for outlining core ingredients for hyperreality, namely the simulacrum. It evaluates power dynamics with regard to forming the simulacrum and explores the constants in this thesis, primarily that of gender.

Chapter 1, "The 1980s: The State of the Hyperreal before Simulacra and Simulation". This chapter's timeline started with the publication of Baudrillard's *Simulations* in 1983 and began to work backwards. It evaluated a saturation of hyperreality during the twentieth-century's fin de siècle which was being exported from America. This period is a well-established one for the academic landscape of the hyperreal. The chapter's time period ended with *The Ladies' Home Journal* of 1955 which cemented the usefulness of consumer magazines in demonstrating and measuring the hyperreal. It also highlighted the gendered aspects of power and how the hyperreal affects gender. Although the thesis is not about gender, it has been a constant throughout this thesis in terms of who has the power to disrupt, to entangle the threads of the simulacra, but equally who is affected by this entanglement.

Chapter 2, "Channelling the Hyperreal in the Roaring Twenties" was the first departure from the twentieth-century's fin de siècle for the hyperreal and it demonstrated the commercial link between the emerging movie star industry and consumer culture. It also captured a transitional moment between conspicuous consumption enjoyed by the few, but viewed by the many and now within consumer culture, part of the lives of everyone. The movie star became a sales person on the covers and pages of the UK and US fan magazines and this chapter provided a snapshot of how this interacted with the hyperreal during a crucial period in cinema history with the move from early cinema to "talkies".

Chapter 3, "The Hyperreality of the Fin de Siècle for the Victorian Age" captured a pivotal moment in magazine publishing where advertising became the business model and income staple of the consumer magazine. This in turn saw circulation numbers expand at a rapid rate

and print advertising increase at an equally expansive rate. It is also a significant moment to see how hyperreality affected a targeted gendering of the magazine reader and what they were being subsequently sold through the magazines. Again, the utilisation of the hyperreal to shape gender, in this instance that of the Victorian woman reader, is a reoccurring theme and brings with it a much-neglected academic application of hyperreality. The context and contribution of the British Empire is a theme which begins to circulate in this chapter and is demonstrated with a case study of a Victorian perfume. The themes regarding empire were then developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. “The Hyperreality of Empire” evaluated the power and reach of hyperreality to shape an empire. The British Empire was examined but also the role magazines played in giving hyperreality a space to exist in this shaping of empire. It was also useful to see a much-neglected area of hyperreality examined, not just in terms of timeline but outside of an American Empire of which the 1980s timeline in chapter one evaluates.

The British Empire’s relationship to hyperreality is more than just content for this thesis; it is a topic which is under-examined in the academic landscape for hyperreality and part of the academic contribution this thesis makes to the scholarship on hyperreality.

In the chapters including and leading up to the Victorian fin de siècle it was easier to demonstrate an existence of hyperreality outside of Baudrillard’s timeline because of consumer culture and the prevalence of the advertising messages in the consumer periodicals examined. But the hyperreal isn’t dependent on consumer culture—consumer culture is possible because of the hyperreal, not the other way around.

The last two chapters demonstrate how hyperreality works over a longer timeline and a slower process. They show how the simulacra *accumulates*; these chapters demonstrate how hyperreality works if you remove the Baudrillian effect of applied speed. But also, crucially, how hyperreality works on the macro scale – i.e. the British Empire as case in point and as

massive contextual background to so much of this thesis. What struck me as fascinating, with chapter 4 in particular, is that we in the UK are still experiencing the echoes and impacts of what was starting to form in the eighteenth century with regard to notions of empire. Hyperreality has a much greater reach than just media and leisure sites, it can shape a nation's sense of itself for centuries: that is extraordinary power.

Chapter 5. "An Eighteenth-Century 'Woman of Quality' or The Traffick of Mankind" ended this thesis' timeline with *The Athenian Mercury* of 1691. This chapter is a change in some respects from previous chapters, as it demonstrated not just the existence of hyperreality outside of a postmodern time frame, which each chapter does but, crucially, how that might work. The chapter's central case study was a departure from the previous magazine-based ones and instead measures a thread of layered simulacra from a 1746 Portrait of Anne Shippen Willing by Robert Feke, to a Wallace Nutting advert for hand-coloured pictures, in *The Ladies' Home Journal* of 1922. This demonstrated how hyperreality functions with the element of speed removed from the accumulation and flattening of the real.

This thesis set out to map the source of hyperreality, each time jump in each of the chapters as it examines the hyperreal further and further from 1983 does that. Managing such a cumbersome timeline has been a colossal task, but each chapter has a focus to it because of the case studies and the variety of consumer magazines which worked hard to keep that focus. This immense timeline has provided an extraordinary and unique overview of hyperreality functioning, colonising, and growing in reach and scope across geolocations, media and timelines far away from 1983. That overview has provided a unique perspective and shaped overall ideas and concluding thoughts as to the location of the source of the hyperreal.

There is no one source

There is no one source of the hyperreal. In writing this thesis, I thought it would be possible to identify one instance that ignited hyperreality, or one instance that could be identified as a

pivotal foundation to the hyperreal. But what the chapters and their substantial timelines revealed is that hyperreality happens when the simulacrum loses its anchor and becomes entangled with other simulacra. The source of the hyperreal is when a man-made force of disruption is applied to the linear progression of the simulacrum.

In the last chapter Baudrillard's idea of entanglement was quoted: 'perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1994, pp 12-13), and 'entangled' is a perfect word for the twisted threads of simulacra that make escape impossible. How can the real be recognised when it is so tangled? When a man-made force of disruption, such as transatlantic trade, imperial power, or just the force of empire, entangles the linear progression of the simulacra, these threads, by the force of disruption, become entangled and mingled and confused and, ultimately, unanchored.

The Phul Na-Na perfume of the Victorian age that promises a bouquet of Indian flowers but does not contain one ingredient from India as case in point. The force that causes this enforced and speeded-up man-made entanglement again and again is something which Joseph Addison identified in 1711: 'Traffick among Mankind'.

Joseph Addison writing in the English Spectator (*The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19th, 1711) describes a process that makes a 'Citizen of the World':

Nature seems to have taken a particular Care to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest. Almost every *Degree* produces something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of *Portugal* are corrected by the Products of *Barbadoes*: The Infusion of a *China* Plant sweetned with the Pith of an *Indian* Cane. The *Philippick* Islands give a Flavour to our *European* Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of a hundred Climates.

'Traffick among Mankind' is the source of the hyperreal; it is not one thing or one super-charged epic event like the Big Bang, it is a man-made process. One could argue that there are several instances of this 'traffick': when one nation acquires enough power and wealth to

impose an imperially-forced entanglement with another culture—certainly the trajectory of the British Empire proves this. Trade and global trade is one such ‘traffick’ among mankind.

‘Traffick among Mankind’ is not confined to just goods losing their original meaning and having new meaning imposed upon them, changing cultures and time itself—ideas too, myths and legends in this ‘traffick’ are imported and exported to mingle with different societies and take on new meaning. Once this entanglement happens and the simulacrum loses its anchoring origin it can be curated together with other anchorless simulacrum and flattened to create a new truth, a new real: as The Athenian Society’s illustration demonstrates.

The hyperreal has disappeared! Or, why this thesis is needed

There is an urgency to understand where hyperreality has come from, because it is so ubiquitous that saturation has initiated its disappearance. In an interview from the 1990s Baudrillard remembers an interview:

I had an experience with simulation and the simulacrum. Nowadays I have had enough of it, — twenty years of it, or almost, is enough! Something interesting happened to me recently on this subject, in relation to Japan. There was an erudite Japanese who had come to interview me and I asked him why, when for a number of years he had been translating my books, I had not received any word of it [...] So I asked him why I no longer heard about readers’ reactions and he told me,

“But it is very simple, very simple you know. Simulation and the simulacrum have been realized. You were quite right: the world has become yours ... and so we no longer have any need of you. You have disappeared”. (Bayard and Knight, 2015, p. 88)

Each layer of simulation erases another layer of truth, each search for a truth produces another simulacra more feeble than the next, until the multiplied instances figuratively rub out any original—until the original is no longer needed, much like Baudrillard’s “disappearance” in Japan.

The simulacrum has ‘become our everyday banality’ (Merrin, 2005 p. 44) or, in terms of the art image, Baudrillard sees it as ‘[...] art has been dissolved within a general aestheticization

of everyday life, giving way to a pure circulation of images, a transaesthetics of banality’ (Baudrillard, 2009, p. 11). The banality here is total saturation: ubiquitousness.

Ubiquitousness has been confused with disappearance. Hyperreality has not vanished—the shape of it has *changed* into what Baudrillard names in the *Transparency of Evil* as ‘rather than a mortal mode of disappearance, then a fractal mode of dispersal’ (p. 4). This change of shape is a total saturation in our media, sense of self, politics, and beliefs—hyperreality has colonised so much of the world. The stratum of the simulacrum, the shape of it has changed and so too has the ownership, for the capacity to curate and compress the simulacrum can now be done by anyone with an internet connection—the masses do not have to wait for someone more powerful than them to curate simulacra. Baudrillard (2009) predicted and saw this change of shape for the hyperreal:

For after the natural, commodity, and structural stages of value comes the fractal stage. [...] at the fractal stage there is no longer any equivalence, whether natural or general. Properly speaking there is now no law of value, merely a sort of epidemic of value, a sort of general metastasis of value, a haphazard proliferation and dispersal of value. (pp. 5-6)

With this change in shape, hyperreality today is fractal or, as Baudrillard says, no longer a matter of binaries: good versus evil, true or false, beautiful or ugly, fast or slow—there are no opposites or tangible referents that can be plotted on a piece of paper, just particles following their own trajectory where ‘each value or fragment of value shines for a moment in the heavens of simulation. [...] This is the pattern of the fractal—and hence the current pattern of our culture’ (Baudrillard, 2009, p. 6). This saturation point, the uncontrolled fractal self-reproduction of the hyperreal, makes it, as a theory, more relevant than ever before. Hyperreality is no longer *The Ghost in the Machine*: it is the machine.

Hyporeality

The hyperreal can be brought about by the distribution and business models of corporations and the owners of mass media, but also by the individual owners of their own media. The

ability to create and share and fractalise the real is now owned by anyone, by the everyman who now owns the means of production of the hyperreal. In the twenty-first century, society, and the media that governs it, has moved on from Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*; images are no longer imbued with meaning, they are acted upon because the hyperreal has a call to action about it and the capacity to act out this call to action is easy and readily accessible, in an instant.

There is an urgency, a moral imperative to understand what the hyperreal has become and where it came from because “we”, the collective masses, have lost control and lost sight of the hyperreal. Never was this so well-proven than in the politics of the UK and America in the last few years, which have pushed the limits of hyperreality to a point where hyperreality starts to fall back on itself, erasing the simulations and replacing them with fake news (Merrin, 2018). In the world in which we all now reside, a better real is not offered as something simply remade, it is now erased and remodelled: a hyporeality, as William Merrin suggests (Merrin, 2018). This new era illustrates the move from broadcast to digital, from accumulated simulacra to the self-reproducing chaos of the fractal (Merrin, 2021):

We move from the broadcast world of hyperreality, where huge quantities of equipment were mobilised to produce and perfect the real, to the digital world of *hyporeality*, where the personal production of the real is hyperinflated and the real as a shared experience hyperdeflates. If hyperreality was marked by excess, then hyporeality (‘hypo’, meaning ‘under’ or less) is marked by decline or loss: for when the weight of the real comes down to the self and its productions, then little or nothing is required to create or to believe in it.

So much of the hyperreality in every chapter was marked by excess; the hyperreality was bursting out of its containing frames. Now we live in an era of disinformation, where governments are openly hostile to mainstream media, where propaganda, conspiracy theories, alternative facts, and shouts of ‘fake news’ (Merrin, 2020) are peddled in speeches and on social media. All of this illustrates that we are not just living in a post-truth society—but that truth has stopped being necessary to the real. That *anything* can be modelled as real, without the need for a model and that, crucially, whatever truth existed can be erased, quickly.

Hyperreality is not an unsystematic chaos, not everything is a hyperreal; there are patterns in the hyperreal that are familiar in their repetition. Hyperreality is man-made and the source of the hyperreal is man-made disruption, but people and nations can no longer pinpoint what that disruption is or was and, because of this, truth is being *manufactured* on a nation-scale that affects so much of the world. As Baudrillard says in the opening lines of *Simulations*, ‘Something has disappeared’ but there is a cause and effect in disappearance, and if we do not locate it soon we will forget what we were ever looking for.

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