

Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: La Nación reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914

Winder, Gordon M.

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Zur Verfügung gestellt in Kooperation mit / provided in cooperation with:

GESIS - Leibniz-Institut für Sozialwissenschaften

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Winder, G. M. (2010). Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: La Nación reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914. *Historical Social Research*, 35(1), 140-166. <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.35.2010.1.140-166>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer CC BY Lizenz (Namensnennung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den CC-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de>

Terms of use:

This document is made available under a CC BY Licence (Attribution). For more information see:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

Imagining World Citizenship in the Networked Newspaper: *La Nación* Reports the Assassination at Sarajevo, 1914

Gordon M. Winder*

Abstract: »Die Vorstellung einer Weltbürgerschaft in einer vernetzten Zeitung: *La Nación* berichtet über das Attentat in Sarajevo, 1914«. This paper analyzes *La Nación*'s reporting of the assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand in the week following the event. Analysis identifies the narrative components to these assassination stories, including geographical imaginaries and the places and networks of news production. Particular attention is paid to the mediatized ritual of mourning and succession that takes place in the capital cities with which *La Nación*'s Buenos Aires readers are networked. Analysis is facilitated by some comparison with the coverage of the same event in *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New Zealand Herald* (Auckland). *La Nación* shared copy and sources with these and other newspapers, and printed similar stories about the assassination, but it cultivated its own local readership and its own ideas of citizenship in the wider world. Each editor imprinted his readers as moral citizens of the world, authorising them to participate in the events as mourners, activists and compassionate observers, but also preconditioning the ways they can imagine assassination and the interactions of the diplomatic world. Analysis reveals expected roles in international affairs for citizens of world cities, which are conveyed as moral lessons and tales, wrapped in imagined communities stretching across the globe, but actualized locally.

Keywords: geography of the news, geographical imagination, globalization, global city, assassination.

La Nación Reports the Assassination at Sarajevo, 1914

Modern political assassinations make great press because they involve powerful people and ideas in dramatic struggles in the public arena, usually a metropolitan center equipped for speedy transmission of the news among a network of capital cities.¹ *La Nación*, a major daily printed in Buenos Aires, fascinated

* Address all communications to: Gordon M. Winder, Seminar für Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Ludwigstraße 33/IV, 80539 München, Deutschland; e-mail: Gordon.Winder@econhist.vwl.uni-muenchen.de.

¹ This paper was presented at the workshop Telecommunication and Globalization: Information Flows in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century, held at the Karl-Jaspers Centre, University of Heidelberg, 24-25 September 2009. I am grateful to the organiser, Roland Wenzlhuemer, and to the participants for their helpful comments. David Bade compiled summaries of some of the newspapers. Thanks to Eveline Duerr for comments.

its readers with the news of the assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand and Princess Sophia, and its associated personal tragedies, rituals of mourning, condolence and political succession, the hunt for the perpetrators, their subsequent trial, and relevant moral and political lessons. This paper analyzes *La Nación*'s reporting of the assassination in the week following the event, partly by comparing and contrasting this with coverage in *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New Zealand Herald* (Auckland).² Located far from the action and knowing about the events only from the daily stream of bulletins about it arriving on their desks from news agencies, the editors of these three newspapers may simply have been "birds on a wire" all singing the same tune. This paper identifies the narrative components to these assassination stories, including geographical imaginaries, the places and networks of news production and, especially, the mediatized ritual of mourning and succession that takes place in the capital cities with which each city's readers are networked. How global were the geographical imaginaries and ideas of citizenship in the news in 1914? How did newspapers cast the imagined readers and their possible engagement with the story? Were the geographical imaginaries in the stories different in Buenos Aires, Los Angeles and Auckland? What identities were ascribed to victims, assassins, diplomats, communications and to nations and their relations, in reporting this clash between empire and nationalism in Bosnia?

While the newspapers studied printed similar stories about the assassination, each cultivated its own local readership and its own ideas of citizenship in the wider world. Each editor imprinted his readers as moral citizens of the world, authorising them to participate in the events as mourners, activists and compassionate observers, but also preconditioning the ways they could imagine assassination and the interactions of the diplomatic world. For example, where *La Nación* envisioned friendly and moral relations between Catholic states, *The New Zealand Herald* identified its readers' sympathies with Austria-Hungary's constitutional monarchy, which paralleled Britain's political arrangements. Analysis reveals expected roles in international affairs for citizens of world cities, which are conveyed as moral lessons and tales, wrapped in imagined communities stretching across the globe, but actualized locally.

² This paper is part of a larger research project into coverage of assassinations between 1865 and 2007. The broad aim of this project is to establish continuities and developments in the narrative structures of assassination reporting under globalization processes. The political murders studied include those of President Lincoln in 1865, Tsar Alexander II in 1881, Archduke Franz-Ferdinand in 1914, Chancellor Dolfuss in 1934, Mohandas Gandhi in 1948, President Kennedy in 1963, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 and Benizir Bhutto in 2007. I acknowledge the support of a research grant in aid from The University of Auckland which enabled me to research in newspaper archives in North America. Research for this paper was conducted at libraries in the University of California Los Angeles and The University of Auckland.

In 1914, *La Nación* was a metropolitan newspaper, funded through local sales of advertizing space and available daily. It relied on telegraphic bulletins³ sourced from a world-wide news agency cartel,⁴ and sent along the South Atlantic cable by Agence Havas, but it had some correspondents located in foreign capitals. It was a modern newspaper,⁵ an old form of media that, reportedly, is now dying as advertizing revenues dry up in the intense competition among global media.⁶ But in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the modern newspaper was a transformative and internationalizing force that mediated a public sphere, usually construed as a series of national presses and their publics. The modern newspaper can be directly associated with time-space compression⁷ or time-space distancing,⁸ and with a new bias of communication.⁹ It has been related to both forms of cultural imperialism¹⁰ and practices for domesticating international news.¹¹ The new, bourgeois public sphere¹² that

³ James Carey, "Space, Time and Communications: A Tribute to Harold Innis," in *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, ed. James Carey (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 142-172; James Carey, "Time, Space and the Telegraph," in *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, ed. David Crowley and Paul Heyer (New York and London: Longman, 1991), 132-137.

⁴ Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Teri Rantanen, *The Globalization of News* (London: Sage Publications, 1998); Teri Rantanen, *The Media and Globalization* (London: Sage Publications, 2005).

⁵ Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York and London: Guilford Press, 2001).

⁶ Philip Meyer, *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2004).

⁷ David Harvey, "Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils," *Public Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 529-564.

⁸ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Vol 1: Power, Property and the State* (London: Macmillan, 1981); Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).

⁹ Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951); A. Kroker, *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant* (Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1984).

¹⁰ Daniel C. Hallin, *We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere* (London: Routledge, 1994); Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent* (London: Vintage, 1994); Edward S. Herman and Robert W. McChesney, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism* (London: Cassell, 1997); Bernd Hamm and Russell Smandych, eds., *Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy of Cultural Domination* (Peterborough Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004).

¹¹ The tailoring of news to local markets is a well-known aspect of news production and may properly be a matter of internationalisation of news under the early twentieth century news agencies as well as of globalization under new media corporations. See for example Lisbeth Clausen, "Localizing the Global: 'Domestication' Processes in International News Production," *Media, Culture and Society* 26, no.1 (2004): 25-35; Christian Christensen, "Pocket-books or Prayer Beads? US/UK Newspaper Coverage of the 2002 Turkish Elections," *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 109-128; J.A. Noakes and K.G. Wilkins, "Shifting Frames of the Palestinian Movement in US News," *Media, Culture and Society* 24 (2000): 649-671; Paul C. Adams, "The September 11 Attacks as Viewed

it generated was inhabited by new imagined communities,¹³ new geographical imaginaries,¹⁴ new language,¹⁵ a new journalism,¹⁶ and a new sense of place.¹⁷ This sphere was actualized through mediatised rituals,¹⁸ and by modern use of myth.¹⁹ In short, the modern newspaper constituted a new mediascape offering enormous possibilities for inter-cultural transactions and power.²⁰ As so many late nineteenth century newspaper titles claimed, the modern newspaper offered the news of the world for an urban, regional or national readership, in the process writing and legitimizing many identities, including the ‘Argentina’ of *La Nación*.

Global media, aided by new telecommunications technology, new global media corporations, and political change,²¹ are more recent phenomena. Prod-

From Quebec: The Small Nation Code in Geopolitical Discourse,” *Political Geography* 23, no. 6 (2004): 765-795.

¹² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

¹⁴ Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004); Denis Cosgrove and Veronica Della Dora, “Mapping Global War: Los Angeles, the Pacific and Charles Owens’s Pictorial Cartography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, no.2 (2005): 373-390; Matthew Hannah, “Torture and the Ticking Bomb: The War on Terrorism as a Geographical Imagination of Power/knowledge,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no. 3 (2006): 622-640; Ghazi-Walid Falah, Colin Flint and Virginie Mamadouh, “Just War and Extra-territoriality: The Popular Geopolitics of the United States’ War on Iraq as Reflected in Newspapers in the Arab World,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no.1 (2006): 142-164; Brett Christophers, “Visions of Nature, Spaces of Empire: Framing Natural History Programming Within Geometries of Power,” *Geoforum* 37 (2006): 973-985.

¹⁵ Carey, “Space, Time and Communications.”

¹⁶ Michael Schudson, “The New Journalism,” in *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, ed. David Crowley and Paul Heyer (New York and London: Longman, 1991), 137-145.

¹⁷ Teri Rantanen, “The New Sense of Place in 19th-century News,” *Media, Culture and Society* 25, 2003: 435-449.

¹⁸ Steve Cottle, “Mediatized Rituals: Beyond Manufacturing Consent,” *Media, Culture and Society* 28, no. 3 (2006): 411-432.

¹⁹ J. Jack Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* (New York and London: Guilford Press, 2001); S.E. Bird and R.W. Dardenne, “Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News,” in *Social Meanings of News: A Text-reader*, ed. Dan Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997), 333-349.

²⁰ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); D. Hesmondhagh, “Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production,” *Media, Culture and Society* 28, no. 2 (2006): 211-231.

²¹ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*; Herman and McChesney, *The Global Media*; Karim H. Karim, “From Ethnic Media to Global Media: Transnational Communication Networks Among Diasporic Communities,” Oxford: International Comparative Research Group, Strategic Research and Analysis, Canadian Heritage, WPTC-99-02, June 1998. <<http://www.transcomm.ox.uk/>

ucts of a recent form of globalization, global media have diverse and contested effects. New transnational identities have emerged, along with transnational public spheres and new senses of global citizenship. At the same time, global media have exacerbated the conventional news geography: the roles of leading news centres and of news peripheries have been confirmed within the emerging geographies of production;²² the under-reporting of affairs in many countries persists.²³ Debate continues on whether mobile phones, satellites, fibre optic cables and computing have enlarged and democratized the public sphere, whether the new technologies are imposing their own geographies of production and consumption of news, or whether the possibilities for a more inclusive and democratic media are being hijacked by state and corporate agendas.²⁴

working%20papers/karim.pdf> (accessed December 19, 2009). Jaap Van Ginnekin, *Understanding Global News: A Critical Introduction* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998, reprinted 1999). See also Simon J. Potter, "Webs, Networks and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century British Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 621-646.

²² Jaap Van Ginnekin, *Understanding Global News: A Critical Introduction* (1998; London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999); William A. Hachten and James F. Scotton, *The World News Prism: Global Media in an Era of Terrorism*. 6th ed. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State Press, 2002); Lisbeth Clausen, *Global News Production* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2003).

²³ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "The 'World of the News' Study: Results of International Cooperation," *Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (1984): 121-134; Dan Halton, "International News in the North American Media," *International Journal* (2001): 499-511; Wayne Wanta, Guy Golan and Cheolhan Lee, "Agenda Setting and International News Media: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2004): 364-377.

²⁴ Some sense of the character and scope of the debates can be gained from the following: Steven Livingston and Douglas A. Belle, "The Effects of Satellite Technology on News-gathering from Remote Locations," *Political Communication* 22, no.1 (2005): 45-62; P. Seib, "Weaving the Web: The Internet's Effect on International News Coverage and International Relations," *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 32, no.3 (2003): 617-641; Lisa Parks, *Cultures in Orbit: Satellites and the Televisual* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2005); Fiona Moore, "Telling it Like it is: News Websites and Online Newspapers," *Global Networks* 2, no. (2002): 171-177; J. Lynch and A. McGoldrick, "Peace Journalism: A Global Dialog for Democracy and Democratic Media," in *Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles*, ed. Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 269-312; K. Hafez, "Globalization, Regionalization and Democratization: The Interaction of Three Paradigms in the Field of Mass Communication," in *Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles*, ed. Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 145-164; M. Curtin, "Murdoch's Dilemma, or 'What's the Price of TV in China?'," *Media, Culture and Society* 27, no. 2 (2005): 155-175; Hsiang Iris Chyi and George Sylvie, "The Medium is Global, the Content is Not: The Role of Geography in Online Newspaper Markets," *Journal of Media Economics* 14, no. 4 (2001): 231-248. Daniella V. Dimitrova et al., "War on the Web: The Immediate News Framing of Gulf War II," *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 22-44.

While historians have interrogated the extent to which individual modern newspapers and national presses generated national communities and identities,²⁵ this paper explores the extent to which some widely separated modern newspapers shared news, developed their own narratives and formats, or constituted their readers as citizens of a broader, transnational entity than nation. If such early twentieth century newspapers shared a modern news narrative when reporting the same event, such as the assassination at Sarajevo, then perhaps the processes of internationalization that generated the modern newspaper deserve more critical attention. Perhaps, in order to construct and legitimize national identities, the modern newspaper also had to form an imagined international community, and it did this by reporting international news.

The assassination of the royal couple at Sarajevo was world news and was carried by each of the three newspapers studied here. In each case the news arrived off the wire, though the news agency varied. While we may expect that these three birds sang from similar song books, there was, nevertheless, room for editors to frame the bulletins and events for their readerships. Their modern news mediated political murder to readers by narrating relationships in ritual form.²⁶ The assassination was largely reported in terms of political tragedy. Readers were able to “tour” the scene of the crime²⁷ and to learn of the assassin’s sinister plot through the revelations of the police and courts. The nationalists’ attacks on the Habsburg heir were direct attacks on the existing order, so they invited commentary on the issue of succession, as well as on both the extent and causes of disorder, and the prospects for reestablishing order. These issues were not treated as simply local affairs, and all three of the newspapers studied contained comment on the impacts of the murders. The readers were also engaged as spectators in the ritual practices of commemoration, condolence, respect and sympathy. Among the values produced by the assassination coverage were ideas about sovereignty, legitimacy and diplomatic standing, all of which applied to the readers’ own polity, which may have been in better order than the ones on which the news focused. Analysis of the localization of

²⁵ See for example, Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); David P. Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Simon J. Potter, “Webs, Networks and Systems.”; G.J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); M. Harris and Tom O’Malley, eds., *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual* (Greenwood, Westport, USA: Greenwood Press, 1997); J. Hartley, *Popular Modernity: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture* (London and New York: Arnold, 1996); John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²⁶ Cottle, “Mediatized Rituals: Beyond Manufacturing Consent.”

²⁷ There were far fewer graphics in these newspapers than in contemporary newspapers, but in each case some attempt was made to map, describe or supply photographs of the scene of the crime. Thus, *La Nación* offered a landscape photograph of Sarajevo (June 29, 1914).

the coverage of the news from Sarajevo in first *La Nación*, and then, for comparative purposes, in *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New Zealand Herald*, therefore helps to establish both the form of the modern assassination news narrative and the scope for local framing of the news within the world-wide news agency web.

Newspapers, Cities and Readers

The newspapers studied here were published on a daily basis in their respective metropolitan areas. Each was, and is still, an important urban institution. Founded in 1870 by the politician, historian and soldier Bartolomé Mitre and, until 1914, edited by José Luis Murature, a lawyer, both of whom had military backgrounds and held political office, *La Nación* was liberal, and aimed at a Roman Catholic and Buenos Aires readership. Harrison Gray Otis, a former Union Army officer, was owner and editor of *The Los Angeles Times*. Renowned for its civic boosterism, Otis's newspaper was also anti-trades union in stance. Its offices were bombed in 1910 by labour radicals.²⁸ After its merger with the *Southern Cross* in 1863, *The New Zealand Herald* emerged as a modern daily newspaper, aimed at a mass audience, but still with conservative views on domestic matters.²⁹ Its editors had been bellicose in condemning the "native rebellion" of the mid 1860s, and remained staunch supporters of Auckland business interests thereafter.

Each newspaper was located in a city of the 'New World' which was remote from the metropolitan centres of the global news production system in London, Paris, New York and Berlin. These newspapers were in fact interconnected by news wire services, but each had a rather different position on the world-wide web of telegraphic cables and news agencies. Paris-based Agence Havas was the main agency supplying international news copy to *La Nación*. New York-based Associated Press had this role for *The Los Angeles Times*. *The New Zealand Herald* used the New Zealand Press Association's contracts with Australian and London newspapers. Further, these were growing world cities in which immigration was a vital component of the economy, but these cities differed in terms of size, growth rate, regional projects, transnational networks and local society, and with significant consequences for the communities and geographical imaginaries each newspaper was likely to form.

²⁸ J. R. Hart, *The Information Empire: The Rise of the LAT and the Times Mirror Corporation* (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1981).

²⁹ Diana Morrow, "A Business to Business Relationship: The Origin and Development of Auckland Newspapers, 1841-2004," in *City of Enterprise: Perspectives on Auckland Business History*, ed. Ian Hunter and Diana Morrow (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), 152-176.

La Nación printed news for one of the major world cities of the early twentieth century. In 1914, there were 1.5 million inhabitants of “the Paris of South America.” The city’s diverse European migrant population boasted trans-Atlantic networks, aspirations and communications. As *La Nación*’s regular shipping news reveals (table 1), Buenos Aires was overwhelmingly a port focused on trans-Atlantic trade with European ports.

Table 1: Buenos Aires Shipping July 1914.

Anticipated arrivals and departures 5-30 July 1914, reported in <i>La Nación</i>		
Port Region	Share (%)	Ports
North Sea Europe	32.4	Hamburg, London, Amsterdam, Dunkirk, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Christiania, Gothenburg
Atlantic Europe	26.8	Liverpool, Southampton, Bordeaux, Bilbao
Mediterranean Europe	23.9	Genoa, Naples, Marseilles, Barcelona, Trieste, Rio Gallegos
Atlantic North America	9.9	New York, Mobile, San Antonio
Pacific Entry Ports	7.0	Panama, Wellington, Punta Arenas

Source: *La Nación*, 29 June to 5 July 1914.

Latin American, Caribbean and African ports did not register, Pacific connections were modest, and North America’s Atlantic ports were little more prominent in the comings and goings on the River Plate. Over half of the international news printed in the week following the assassination in Sarajevo was sourced in just five cities: Buenos Aires, Rome, London, Montevideo and Vienna (table 2).

Table 2: *La Nación*: Datelines 29 June to 5 July, 1914.

All International News			Commercial News		
Dateline	Share (%)		Dateline	Share (%)	
Buenos Aires	19.74		London	35.58	
Rome	10.58		Paris	11.62	
London	9.57		Hamburg	8.11	>50%
Montevideo	8.38		Berlin	6.55	
Vienna	6.98	>50%	Liverpool	5.39	
Madrid	6.32		Chicago	3.62	
Santiago	4.51		New York	3.06	
Rio de Janeiro	2.87		Total of 10,791 words		
Leipzig	2.69				
Salamanca	2.58	>75%			
Total of 107,045 words					

Source: *La Nación*, 29 June to 5 July 1914.

News from the capitals of Argentina’s neighbours Uruguay, Chile and Brazil made up almost 16 percent of international news. Buenos Aires itself was the single most important dateline for international news, as *La Nación* reported the manifestations of international networks, missions and events occur-

ring in the city, including the visit of a group of North American professors. London was the most important foreign source of commercial news, and with Paris and Hamburg was the dateline for over half of this category of *La Nación's* content.

A peripheral news world in global terms, Buenos Aires was not a significant news production center in the global news network, but it housed Agence Havas, Associated Press, and Reuters correspondents, each of whom collected news to wire back to his agency's main news clearing center in Paris, New York or London. Like other newspapers, *La Nación* appropriated news copy off the wire, but, in addition, analysis of its news content in the week after the assassination in Sarajevo reveals three *La Nación* correspondents in Paris, one each in London, Madrid, Rome and Salamanca, and another in Leipzig for the city's fair. *La Nación* was positioned at a nodal point in a network of news flows and its editors aimed to both establish and confirm Argentina in trans-Atlantic circuits as well as a thriving regional economy in southern South America. They used international news to legitimize Argentinian identity formation, as the title of the newspaper itself proclaimed. They converted international news into an idiom for local consumption and thus formed and dissolved identities as part of the processes of globalization.

Arnd Schneider identifies two such processes: reconversion, that is, adaptation to local contexts; and conversion, or export into global networks.³⁰ *La Nación* was involved in both processes. Schneider argues that, beneath the surface of the Buenos Aires stereotypes of "the Paris of South America" and the "City of European immigrants," "Argentine concepts of the self, as an admixture of indigenous, Spanish colonial, and European immigrant influences, are made in the New World – they are, in fact, *creole*."³¹ The ideology of the melting pot was dominant within Argentina, so while the country was understood as a nation comprising the descendants of European immigrants this involved geographical and cultural belonging bolstered by practices of cultural acquisition.³² Schneider identifies an upper-class notion of *criollo* involving unbroken descent from colonial Spaniards, used by the *familias tradicionales* to distinguish themselves as a decent class, in fact hybrid due to intermarriage, and made in the colony. This identity was formed by *La Nación* when it reported diverse local and even foreign events, for example when it reported affairs at the Vatican on a daily basis, or the activities of Argentine polo play-

³⁰ Arnd Schneider, *Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), especially chapters 1 "The paradoxes of Identity in Argentina" and 3 "The Buenos Aires Art World: Sites of Appropriation."

³¹ Schneider, *Appropriation as Practice*, 6.

³² Indeed, such appropriation of metropolitan identities for domestic purposes was a common feature of colonial societies. Lloyd Jenkins, "Fourierism, Colonization and Discourses of Associative Emigration," *Area* 35, no. 1 (2003): 84-91.

ers, army officers, diplomats and correspondents at the capitals of Europe.³³ Schneider also identifies an egalitarian notion of *criollo*, which refers to descendants from colonial Spanish and indigenous peoples. These notions permit some forms of hybridity, such as the *gaucho* life, but also European migrants who have creolized, and so formed the *familias criollas*. In Buenos Aires, this identity formation has resulted in the notion of *porteno*, the inhabitants of the port city of Buenos Aires, who speak *lunfardo*-dialect and thus exemplify the melting pot process.³⁴ Both Buenos Aires's *familias tradicionales* and *familias criollos* identified with European ancestors, class divisions and national models. Perhaps they also shared either the aspirations for, or the fears of, assassinations. Given this context, it is likely that the editors of *La Nación* expected their readership to have affinities with Europe and even with the Dual Monarchy. In printing the news of the assassination, they were engaged in news acquisition as part of a task of legitimizing and developing the identities associated with Buenos Aires, which was imagined as a European city.

By contrast, the Los Angeles of 1914 was a new and booming Western metropolis of the USA. It was growing at a phenomenal rate and already housed 500,000 inhabitants, but still it was only an emerging rival for the US Pacific coast world city of San Francisco.³⁵ Among the American "Wests" Los Angeles was a boomtown par excellence and booster voices were loud in its press.³⁶ The city grew first on the basis of railroad connections to the "East" via the Santa Fe (1887) and Southern Pacific (1876) railways, then through construction of its port facilities, which only began in 1897. In 1914, Los Angeles was beginning to enjoy trans-Pacific connections.³⁷ Already, oil was big business and Los Angeles was embracing the automobile and a future as the auto-centric metropolis, quintessentially modern, where car ownership went with suburban

³³ These topics were prominent in *La Nación*. It featured daily reports from the Vatican, totalling 400 words during the week June 29 to July 5, 1914. Readers could find commentary on the enigma of General Bazaine's performance during the Franco-Prussian War (7,534 words), and on the role of the military in national festivals (760 words). Brief bulletins reported the visits of Colonels Cezar and Peme to London and Aldershot, and Cezar's polo exploits in the United Kingdom. And brief notices announced the staffing of Argentine diplomatic posts in Iguacu, Konigsberg and Mazatlan, the imminent arrival in Buenos Aires of a new Brazilian ambassador, and new appointments made by other governments around the world.

³⁴ Schneider, *Appropriation as Practice*, 6-7 and 10-11.

³⁵ Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation and Urban Order* (London: Phoenix, 1999), 520.

³⁶ William Cronon, George Miles and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1992); Robert V. Hine and John M. Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

³⁷ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 414. *The Los Angeles Times* was reporting shipping arrivals and departures in June and July of 1914.

home ownership.³⁸ Hollywood, incorporated as a city just four years earlier, was emerging as the American “dream factory.”³⁹ Los Angeles’ population already had many languages, ethnic identities and political persuasions, and its citizens had many points of attachment around the Pacific Rim and “south of the border” as well as “back East.”⁴⁰ But theirs “was the only city in America, at the time, that was peopled by migrating Americans”⁴¹ and the city’s press was engaged in a booster campaign to attract Americans to southern California. In 1914, Los Angeles was an American city vying with other US cities for migrants, capital and profile. Los Angeles residents looked anxiously to the south in 1914, where US troops were marshalled, ready to intervene in the Mexican Revolutionary War. Their press was only distantly engaged with Europe and this relationship was largely mediated through the services of Associated Press. The editors of *The Los Angeles Times* looked to New York and Washington, but not to Los Angeles’ competitor San Francisco.

Despite her relatively small population of about 130,000 inhabitants, Auckland enjoyed trans-Pacific as well as trans-Tasman cable connections in 1914, and her ports opened to commerce with Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Ocean destinations.⁴² Although less than a half of one percent of the city’s trade by value in 1908 was with Latin American and African ports compared with 58.7 percent with UK ports, Auckland shipping connected with many regions. Another 13.1 percent of its trade was with Australian ports, 9.9 percent with North American ports, and 9.6 percent with Pacific Islands. Asian (5.3%) and continental European (3.0%) ports also featured.⁴³ Nevertheless, Aucklanders were told that they were “better Britons.”⁴⁴ The population statistics confirmed that most traced their descent from the United Kingdom and many would soon steam to war in Europe and Palestine carrying British ensigns and wearing the insignia of the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps. These British Empire affinities were being constructed in the local press for diverse purposes, as historians Keith Sinclair and James Belich have made clear.⁴⁵ Former Prime Minister Richard Seddon had championed a vision of New Zealand as a sub-imperialist in the South Pacific. His eyes were drawn to the islands of Fiji,

³⁸ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, 803-841. *The Los Angeles Times* offered a supplement devoted to automobiles and car sales, as well as some curiously phrased news bulletins, including “Three Automobiles Hurt”. *The Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1914.

³⁹ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, 520-552.

⁴⁰ Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).

⁴¹ Hall, *Cities in Civilization*, 804.

⁴² Winder, “Seafarer’s Gaze.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ J. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001).

⁴⁵ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (North Sydney and Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1986); Belich, *Paradise Reforged*.

Tonga and Samoa. New Zealand politicians had eschewed membership of the Commonwealth of Australia and now pursued an independent economic course based on an expanding trading relation with the United Kingdom. Sporting prowess in international matches was a vehicle to sell butter in Britain as well as the new national identity of muscular, masculine, Christian “better Britons” to New Zealanders of all kinds, including Maori.⁴⁶ Long frustrated by Maori resistance to their colonising efforts and by the skepticism of London finance markets following the failures of their earlier rounds of investment, Auckland businesses had come to rely on aggressive expansion into international waters.⁴⁷ Government ownership of the economy, including its leading bank and a stable of public enterprises, now looked set to drive their fortunes upward. In 1914, they looked forward to a continuation of the butter and railroad boom that had finally seized hold of Auckland’s regional hinterland. They also anticipated a new surge in immigration, but this was to be sourced from the United Kingdom and not from Eastern Europe or Asia.⁴⁸ William Massey, the Prime Minister in 1914, headed the Reform Party, with a modernizing agenda. In this context, *The New Zealand Herald* portrayed Auckland and New Zealand as competitive entities in Australasian and British Empire contexts. As a member of the New Zealand Press Association, the *Herald* could mobilize news bulletins and commentary from London and Australian newspapers, as well as from Reuters. Like Buenos Aires and Los Angeles, Auckland was not a major news production centre in 1914, but, like them, it had newspapers that were networked into news agency business and that declared that they offered the news of the world to their local readers.

Sources of News of the Assassination

The assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand and Princess Sophia at Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 is known as an event that set in motion a clash of empires,⁴⁹ but this is the view from history, not from that of the contemporary newspaper printing news in the week following the murders. It was not until the 28th July that Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and not until 1st

⁴⁶ Nick Lewis and Gordon M. Winder, “Sporting Narratives and Globalization: Making Links Between the All Black Tours of 1905 and 2005,” *New Zealand Geographer* 63, no. (2007): 202-215.

⁴⁷ Winder, “Seafarer’s Gaze.”

⁴⁸ Eveline Duerr, “Arcadia in the Antipodes: Tourists’ Reflections on New Zealand as Nature Experience,” *SITES. A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*. Special Issue: Mobility, Migration and Multiculturalism in New Zealand 4, no. 2 (2007): 57-82.

⁴⁹ Joachim Remak, *Sarajevo: The Story of a Political Murder* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959); Lavender Cassels, *The Archduke and the Assassin* (Muller: London, 1984). Ruth B. Henig, *The Origins of the First World War*, 3rd ed, (London: Routledge, 2002).

August that Germany declared war on Russia. While the murder and reactions to it were important international news in the first week after the assassination, news editors in London, Paris, Berlin and New York, let alone in Buenos Aires, Los Angeles or Auckland, treated the event as yet another tragedy for the Habsburg family and a matter of diplomatic correspondence among the great powers. Indeed, these were the basic news stories in each of the three newspapers studied here.

The assassination was the most important front page story in *La Nación* for the entire week after the event and, altogether, it printed 16,785 words on the assassination over seven days (table 3).⁵⁰ News agency copy sourced from within the Austro-Hungarian Empire made up 43.7 percent of this coverage.⁵¹ The single most important dateline was Vienna, where the Emperor went into mourning, and where the funeral service was held, but reports also arrived from Trieste as agency correspondents followed the bodies from Sarajevo back to Vienna, from Sarajevo as military law was imposed on the city, and from Budapest⁵² and Prague as newspapers in the Empire's other chief cities reported on local reactions to the murder. Reports from Europe's capitals made up another 16.9 percent of the news. *La Nación* printed agency bulletins announcing the reactions of Europe's leaders to the murder. Some reports were secured from Belgrade, which alerted readers to the Serbian President's denunciation of the attack, police work to arrest Princip's collaborators and to suppress student protests in Belgrade, and the remembrance services held by the Austrian am-

⁵⁰ This compares with 25,758 words on the assassination published in *The New York Times* in that same week, 19,136 in *The Times* of London, 7,156 words in Toronto's *Globe* and 6,110 words in *The New Zealand Herald*, which, like the *Globe*, offered no Sunday edition, but which in any case was already preparing its next day's edition when the assassins began their work on June 28, 1914. Both the Albanian Succession, with its attendant hostilities between Turkey and Greece, and the Mexican Revolutionary War were prominent features in *La Nación*, with the future of Mexico the more important story. But *La Nación* devoted only 4,566 words to the Mexican War, half of this from the USA, where Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean representatives were involved in mediating between the Mexican factions. Indeed, the newspaper's coverage was much more extensive than that in *The Los Angeles Times* and sourced from diverse places including 12.1% from Mexico City and Vera Cruz, another 8.5% from Rio, 13.0% from Berlin, Paris and Madrid, and 16.4% from Buenos Aires, including a lengthy commentary from former editor Dr. Murature, now Minister for the Exterior.

⁵¹ *La Nación* cited Vienna's *Freundenblatt* and *New Free Press*, Budapest's *Pester Lloyd*, Rome's *Tribuna* and *Il Corriere d'Italia*, London's *The Times*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Chronicle*, Hamburg's *Norddentsch Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Frankfurt Zeitung*, the *Prague Tagesblatt* and *Agence Havas* in Paris.

⁵² From Budapest *La Nación* reported the *Pester Lloyd* newspaper attacking Serbia, the Empire's own press censorship, and the Serbian newspaper *Samon Prava*. It claimed to have evidence linking a Serbian official to the plot and directly linked Calrinovirch to aspirations for a pan-Serbia (July 3 and 5, 1914).

bassador.⁵³ But there was only one report from St. Petersburg, where the Tsar had ordered extra security at court.⁵⁴ This pattern was similar in all three of the newspapers studied.

Table 3: Assassination Datelines in *La Nación* and *The Los Angeles Times*, 29 June to 5 July 1914.

<i>La Nación</i>			<i>Los Angeles Times</i>		
Dateline	Words	(%)	Dateline	Words	(%)
Vienna	7,300	43.7	Vienna	4,420	31.1
Budapest	285	1.7	Sarajevo	1,430	10.1
Trieste	200	1.2	A-H Empire	5,850	41.2
Prague	75	0.4	Berlin/Cologne	690	4.9
Sarajevo	60	0.4	Paris	420	3.0
Cettinje	35	0.2	London	175	1.2
A-H Empire	7,955	47.6	Rest of Europe	1,285	9.1
Rome	800	5.3	New York City	3,020	21.2
London	630	3.8	Los Angeles	2,000	14.1
Berlin/Kiel	565	3.4	Washington DC	75	0.5
Madrid/Valencia	375	2.2	Unspecified	1,980	13.9
Belgrade	235	1.4	Americas	7,075	49.7
Paris	100	0.6	Total	14,210	100.0
St. Petersburg	20	0.1			
Sofia	15	0.1			
Rest of Europe	2,740	16.9			
Buenos Aires	6010	36.0			
Rio de Janeiro	40	0.2			
Santiago	40	0.2			
Americas	6,090	36.4			
Total	16,785	100.0			

Source: *La Nación* and *The Los Angeles Times*, 29 June to 5 July 1914.

Nevertheless, *La Nación*'s datelines were not the same as those of *The Los Angeles Times* (table 3). The US newspaper had a similar amount of coverage, but only two datelines in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (41.2 percent of copy), and only three in the rest of Europe (9.1 percent). This was partly because Associated Press was the only named news agency source, whereas *La Nación* used Agence Havas. Where *The Los Angeles Times* featured Berlin, Paris and London as its European datelines, in that order of precedence (table 3), *La Nación*'s coverage from European capitals highlighted reactions in first Rome, then London, Berlin and Madrid (table 3). More importantly, almost half of the

⁵³ *La Nación* reported that authorities in Serbia forbade a student protest against martial law in Bosnia (July 1, 1914), and that President Skuptchina had telegraphed his condolences and a condemnation of the attack (July 1, 1914). This was followed by arrests of a student with more bombs (July 3, 1914) and of a student assistant to Princip and Calrinovich (July 4, 1914). On July 4, 1914, *La Nación* announced that a religious service would be held at the Austrian Embassy.

⁵⁴ *La Nación*, July 1, 1914.

content in *The Los Angeles Times* was sourced from US datelines. Similarly, Buenos Aires accounted for over a third of the copy in *La Nación*. For both newspapers, news of the assassination was actually news about local reactions to the assassination and opportunities for commentary. Neither newspaper paid any attention to the other. *La Nación* paid scant attention to reactions in Washington DC or New York City, let alone Los Angeles, but did report bulletins from Santiago de Chile and from Rio de Janeiro. *The Los Angeles Times* simply offered no news on the subject from Latin American capitals. These two newspapers' datelines situated them in relation to rather different networks of world cities, from which they largely excluded each other from any reference.⁵⁵

La Nación shared the modern assassination story circulating among all of the newspapers studied. This story featured the political tragedy for the Austrian Emperor, information about the scene of the crime and details of the assassins' sinister plot, concerns over the Austrian succession and disorder in the Balkans, and the rituals of international commemoration, condolence and sympathy for the Emperor. Together, these themes built a sense of sovereignty, legitimacy and diplomatic standing for the participating nations, and served to denigrate Slav nationalisms and anarchist politics. However, this shared narrative was expressed idiosyncratically in each of the three newspapers studied.

“The Horrible Assassination at Sarajevo”

Buenos Aires readers learned that *La Nación* condemned the political murder as a “barbaric crime”: the indefensible, planned work of a fanatic; an act that “the world unanimously condemns” as a “criminal extravagance of political passions.” *La Nación* drew a parallel with the recent assassination of Prince George of Greece. Princip's work “adds to the horrors of these times.” Arrests of anarchists were reported in a number of European cities, and the scale of the terror campaign was seen to be broader than simply an attack in Sarajevo.⁵⁶ *La Nación* wrote that “the entire world” sympathised with the “venerable em-

⁵⁵ When *La Nación* did engage with the USA, it focused on events that related to Argentina's interests. Indeed, in the week after the murder in Sarajevo, *La Nación* reported the roles of the Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean delegations in Niagara Falls. They had joined the USA's representatives in efforts to mediate between Mexico's political factions who were combatants in the Mexican Revolutionary War. *La Nación* reported approval of this mission from the Vatican and from Frankfurt newspapers. Europeans, unable to intervene in Mexico because of the Monroe Doctrine, hoped that Argentina would be able to restrain both the Mexican factions and the USA, and bring about a peace in Mexico.

⁵⁶ Italian police detained Hamado Alessandrini with anarchist papers and terror plans for la Romagna to coincide with the assassination in Sarajevo according to the Roman newspaper *Tribuna*. *La Nación*, July 2, 1914. Citing London's *Times and Daily Chronicle*, *La Nación* also reported the arrest of the Serbian Party leader, Gestanovitch, in Bosnia (July 1, 1914). Indeed there were reports of multiple arrests in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo, which were placed under martial law, and also in Belgrade by the Serbian Government.

peror,” who came from an “ancient royal house,” but had suffered a series of “cruel disgraces,” the latest of which robbed him of his heir, who was “frankly clerical” and “federalist” in politics, and had shown “admirable fiscal policies.” Both were “men of energetic and militaristic temperament” unlike the new, more docile heir, the Emperor’s favourite. In numerous ways, the Archduke was portrayed as an exemplary military gentleman, who was surrounded by men of a similar type.⁵⁷ This was a “horrible assassination in Sarajevo,” but that title was used to head a 3,575 word account of the Habsburg family.⁵⁸ *La Nación* also published a 2,245 word commentary on the “tragedy of the Archduke’s romantic love.”⁵⁹ On the 2nd of July readers learned of the Austro-Hungarian government’s discussions of action against Serbia. The confessions of the assassins, the detention of ten more suspects, and the details of the plot appeared in the newspaper over the next three days, but totalled only 350 words. In the week after the murders, *La Nación* emphasized the personal tragedy of the royal family over the plotting of the nationalists.

Generally, this narrative squared with that published in *The New Zealand Herald*, which also read the Habsburgs as a civilizing and moral force in the Balkans, albeit because the Dual Monarchy was a constitutional monarchy, like Britain’s, and therefore New Zealand’s, rather than because of the aristocratic family’s military, Roman Catholic and gentlemanly attributes. Princip’s act was seen in Auckland as a dangerous precedent in the context of a British Empire facing militant nationalists in India and Ireland. Moreover, this narrative served the purposes of bolstering a New Zealand identity as a civilized, British, constitutional monarchy that obtained its nation hood peacefully and that would continue to exclude migrants from uncivilized lands. *The New Zealand Herald* denounced the Bosnian perpetrators of the evil deed and lamented the uncivilized passions of the Slavs.

The Los Angeles Times also featured headlines like “The Archduke a Pawn in Fate’s Tragic Hand,” “Princip Exalts in His Guilt,” “Aged Emperor is Overcome,” and “Curse of the Hapsburgs on Present Emperor,” that largely signalled the circulating narrative of a sinister plot and a personal tragedy.⁶⁰ But, in addition, it reported that Karolyi was visiting New York and that this “Hun-

⁵⁷ For example, photographic portraits of the Archdukes Franz-Ferdinand and Franz-Josef, which appeared alongside images of their wives, the Princesses Sofia Hohenberg and Zita de Bourbon Palma, showed both men in uniform (June 29, 1914). Later in the week, a bulletin sourced from Sarajevo confirmed the suicide of the police chief in charge of the Archduke’s security (June 30), while two further bulletins from Vienna announced the serious condition and then death of Colonel Morezzi from wounds sustained in Sarajevo. These men’s deaths reflected ideals of military honour. *La Nación*, July 4 and 5, 1914.

⁵⁸ *La Nación*, June 29, 1914.

⁵⁹ *La Nación*, June 30, 1914.

⁶⁰ *The Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1914.

garian Nationalist Will Arouse the Hungarians.”⁶¹ It reported that a boy in the USA claimed to be the rightful heir to the Dual Monarchy, a curious form of American reaction to events in Europe.⁶² *The Los Angeles Times* denounced the political murder, and extended sympathy to the Emperor, but also gave voice to Hungarian nationalism and the idea that the USA was a refuge for those wishing to escape the troubles of Eastern Europe. In this vein, the newspaper printed a piece by Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University entitled “Americanizing of Immigrants,” that ran in the same week.⁶³

In fact, *The Los Angeles Times*’s principal message was that assassins, revolutionaries and rebels were making news all around the world, not just in Sarajevo. In June and August 1914, *The Los Angeles Times* reported that Americans faced terror at home and abroad. The President was trying to mediate between Villa and Carranza to end the war in Mexico but with little progress.⁶⁴ The cartoon “Masque of the Red Death” (figure 1) signalled the extent of the terror.

Figure 1: The Masque of the Red Death.
STRIFE AND TURMOIL ALL OVER THE WORLD



With Militancy Menacing London, Mexico and Ireland Occupy the Center of the Stage of War and Warlike Preparations – Uprising in India is Feared, Albania and Nicaragua Sore Spots.
Source: *The Los Angeles Times*, July 4, 1914.

It has Austria and Serbia facing off in the front centre, but its forecast of the hot spots for trouble missed the impending conflagration in Europe. Nevertheless, urged on by “Riot,” “IWW” (the International Workers of the World), seemed eager to join in, gun in hand. *The Los Angeles Times* reported that anarchists were active at home. The very week of the assassination in Sarajevo,

⁶¹ *The Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1914.

⁶² *The Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1914.


⁶³ *The Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1914.

⁶⁴ Villa had changed his campaign plan and delayed attacks, while Carranza demanded more time to consider mediation. *The Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1914.

a bomb that was meant to murder Mr. Rockefeller in New York, misfired (figure 2).

Figure 2: IWW Bomb Meant for Rockefeller

**I. W. W. BOMB MEANT FOR ROCKEFELLER
KILLS FOUR OF ITS MAKERS, WRECKS
TENEMENT AND INJURES MANY TENANTS**



**ARTHUR CARON, ANARCHIST,
Photographed While Speaking At an I. W. W. Meeting.**

**ONLY TWO PLANES
FLY IN AIR RACE**

Three Waterplanes Weather-
bound at Sea Gate, Unable to
take off.

was handled in the best possible man-
ner.
At 3 o'clock sharp a gun from the
towers of old Castle William an-
nounced the start of the race, and
the two aeroplanes on the island thrust up
their engines. Soldiers closed ranks
for them through the crowd, and Pol-
lock, taking a machine he had built him-
self, got under way. He flew far south
of the Statue of Liberty until he was
above the fane of the Vesperland,
which was steaming slowly up the bay.

**Exploded in Apartment
Occupied by Tarry-
town Disturbers.**

ONLY ONE ESCAPED ALIVE

Victims Are Arthur Caron, Carl
Hanson, Marie Chavez,
and Charles Berg.

"MIKE" MURPHY GOT AWAY

Staggered Dazed Into Street
and Disappeared After Tele-
phoning to Berkman.

BATTERY IN CARON'S ROOM

Bomb Wrecked Three Floors of
1,626 Lexington Avenue and
Spread Debris for Blocks

TENANTS BURIED IN WRECK

Police Dig Them from Ruins and
Find Seven Badly Hurt—
Dog Basket Saves Baby.

PARTS OF BODY ON A CHURCH

Anarchist Berkman Identifies Dead
as Some of Those Calling for
at Tarrytown Tomorrow.

Source: *The Los Angeles Times* July 5, 1914

Where *La Nación* reported a civilized world condemning the Serb national-ist threat to established and respectable monarchs, *The Los Angeles Times* reported a world in disorder because of the monarchs and their opponents. It construed Los Angeles not as a force bringing order and civilization to the world, but as a modern refuge from the chaos and terror.

Sharing "Austria's Pain"

All three newspapers devoted many column inches to the funeral in Vienna, and to the messages of condolence and the services of memorial that were offered to the Emperor. Indeed, this was a major component of the assassina-

tion news story in *La Nación*, comprising over a third of all of the copy. Condolences poured in from throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire and from the capitals of Europe and America. For example, Kaiser Wilhelm was reported to have published a laudatory obituary, to have ordered the German Fleet to offer a salute, and to have planned a memorial service in Berlin.⁶⁵ As the bodies of the slain royals were transported from Sarajevo to Vienna, the Pope, the King of Spain, and other Roman Catholic leaders were reported to be preparing for the funeral in Vienna.⁶⁶ Over the 3rd, 4th and 5th July, readers could find 1,380 words in the pages of *La Nación*, that were datelined from Vienna alone, and that detailed the movement of the bodies to Vienna, the arrival of dignitaries for the funeral, the plan of the procession, the scenes at the funeral and in the Hofberg Palace, the proclamation by the Emperor to mark the passing of his son, his thanks for the expressions of sympathy sent to him, and the Catholic Union's show of homage to the old and new heirs.⁶⁷

This funeral was a tragic event shared by Argentinians. Argentina's Vice President sent the nation's "profound sentiments" to the Emperor and met Austria's representatives in Buenos Aires. The Chancellor instructed Argentina's ambassador in Vienna. Argentina would be represented at the funeral. In these ways, Argentina's diplomatic standing was confirmed in the press. Not only was respect for the Austro-Hungarian monarch's loss properly shown, but Argentina's mourning was associated with that of other great powers (table 4).

⁶⁵ *La Nación* reported that the Kaiser had been informed of the attack (June 28, 1914) and that he had published an obituary (June 30, 1914). Both the Kaiser (June 30, 1914) and the King of Bavaria (July 1, 1914) intended to attend the funeral in Vienna and offered to help, but in the end the Kaiser was unable to travel (July 3, 1914). Instead he ordered a military salute for the Archduke (July 1, 1914) and a memorial service in Berlin (July 4, 1914). He also telegraphed to Emperor Franz-Joseph encouraging him to continue a policy of peaceful benevolence towards Serbia (July 1, 1914). At the same time, *La Nación* summarized a report from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*: the newspaper advised Austria-Hungary against allowing Serbian representatives at the funeral in Vienna (July 3, 1914).

⁶⁶ The Austrian ambassador to the Vatican was organizing the funeral with the Pope (June 30, 1914), the Kings of Spain and Italy sent telegrams and representatives to the funeral, and organized memorial services in Madrid and Rome (June 30, 1914), and an Italian Admiral presented condolences to his Austrian counterpart (July 1, 1914).

⁶⁷ This mediatized ritual of commemoration was only special to the victims of the assassination in terms of the scale and spread of the activities reported. Other deaths were commemorated by *La Nación* that week including those of General Pollio in Turin, and the Countess of Waldsee in Hanover. Reportedly, Joseph Chamberlain received condolences from the British monarch, lamentations from the French press, as well as a 1,577 word obituary that related his life to the formation of the British Empire. Curiously, *La Nación* also commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of Don Bosco that week, with a letter of sympathy from the Academy of Fine Art in Milan, and commentary from writers in Buenos Aires. A transnational figure linking Italy and Argentina, Father Bosco had been recruited by the Archbishop of Buenos Aires and was associated with a mission to Patagonia, schools and orphanages, and the Salesian Order within the Roman Catholic Church.

These were not simply distant events for Buenos Aires residents. The funeral was matched in Buenos Aires by a parallel memorial service at its cathedral.⁶⁸ As *La Nación* reported, Buenos Aires residents showed that they felt “the pain of Austria.” In keeping with the identities it was constructing for the nation, *La Nación* reported that Colonel Urquiza represented the Vice President of the Argentine Republic, and that the diplomatic corps attended the ceremony, which was conducted by Monsenior Espinosa. *La Nación’s* readers learned that sympathy for Austria was also expressed in commemorative services in Rome, Madrid, Berlin, Paris, London, Washington DC, Sofia and Santiago, and in the Austrian Embassy in Belgrade (table 4). Here were further signs of the Roman Catholicism, the militarism and the Buenos Aires-Madrid-Rome political and religious axis that anchored the nation’s identity in *La Nación*.

Table 4: *La Nación*: Remembrance.

Country	Condolences	Memorial Services
Argentina	President	Buenos Aires
The Vatican	Pope	Rome
Italy	King and Foreign Minister	Rome
Spain	King and Queen Mother	Madrid
Germany	Kaiser, King of Bavaria, President	Berlin
France	President and Chief of Cabinet	Paris
United Kingdom	Parliament and Foreign Secretary	London
USA	President	Washington DC
Bulgaria	President	Sofia
Chile	Foreign Minister	Santiago
Serbia	President	Austrian Embassy, Belgrade
A-H Empire	Services are held throughout the empire	

Source: *La Nación*, 29 June to 5 July 1914.

Both *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Los Angeles Times* also reported commemorative services in world capitals, each with a different list, but neither Auckland nor Los Angeles were reported to have held services. Neither city was a capital, and so this is perhaps not to be expected, but, significantly, neither newspaper reported that a service had taken place in Buenos Aires. These were three cities with different networks of attachment as well as different diplomatic status, but each city’s newspaper mediated the assassination in Sarajevo and the turmoil around it as part of its own project of identity construction. In these projects, the mediatized rituals of mourning featured prominently because they placed Argentina, New Zealand and the USA in respectable positions in the community of nations.

⁶⁸ *La Nación*, July 5, 1914.

Conclusion: Writing *La Nación*

Those *portenos* who read *La Nación* in the week after the murders at Sarajevo learned that they lived in a Roman Catholic world, in which Buenos Aires was an important city, and one neatly wired for communication with the capitals of Europe. Argentine moral authority was written into *La Nación's* stories, in terms of religious, aristocratic, military and diplomatic associations. Princip's attack was an un-Christian act and the Serbs and Bosnians were sinister plotters. In contrast, the militaristic, gentlemanly Habsburgs, whose heir had tried to protect his wife during the assassins' attacks, and whose patriarch now mourned yet another tragic loss, were models of heroism and piety that spoke to Argentine character. The Pope and the Roman Catholic monarchs of Spain and Italy would look to the Emperor in his time of loss. The tragic events in Europe were shared by Argentinians, who expressed their sympathy, shared the Emperor's grief, and looked to the Vatican for leadership in troubled times. The assassination narrative included a moral tale of suffering and an injunction to be a citizen by showing Roman Catholic solidarity with the Emperor. *Portenos* were shown to be engaged in proper ways with these distant events through the sending of condolences and declarations of sympathy in commemorative services. No sympathy was extended to the national aspirations of the assassins, and certainly none at all to the methods of the assassins.

Readers also learned that Argentina's politicians and diplomats, including the former editor of *La Nación*, were at work as respected members of an ensemble of civilized European and American nations. Argentina ranked with its rivals Brazil and Chile, but also the USA, Spain, Italy, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. While the assassination would have international impacts, these would be largely confined to a possible new Balkan War, which would add to the tensions in the Mediterranean, and therefore intensify problems for Italy. Argentina would be distanced from the effects. The important points for readers were that Argentina was a sovereign entity and that her representatives were associated with the courts of Europe. Thus, Argentinians were written as moral participants in an international community of nations and their capitals. This was a community arranged in a hierarchy, and Argentina and Buenos Aires were imagined as having both great power and metropolitan status.

This was networked news: there was an off-the-wire journalism in *La Nación*. The newspaper's readers may not have fully appreciated the network bias in what they read, but they would have understood that the key datelines were Paris, Rome, Buenos Aires, Madrid, London, New York, Berlin, and Vienna. In declaring its sources, *La Nación* named not only Agence Havas, the face of the world news agency cartel for Argentina, but also European newspapers, viewed as "national press," and therefore equivalent to *La Nación*. Collectively, this use of datelines and sources worked to build a picture of "European opinion" and of *La Nación* as a national newspaper on par with the major dai-

lies of the European press. As it celebrated in its title, *La Nación* routinely made Argentina into a particular kind of modern nation state within a context of modern communications.

In fact, this was an international project: both *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New Zealand Herald* had similar projects, but different hierarchies and different networks. Each of the three newspapers could only accomplish its project by resorting to international comparisons. The three newspapers' assassination stories had some of the key features that we might associate with a global mediascape. Each newspaper, but especially *La Nación*, engaged their readers in a mediatized ritual.⁶⁹ This was a tragic event shared by Argentinians who participated in "Austria's pain" by attending memorial services. In each newspaper, the distant events were mediated to construct various identities. These were not simply national identities, but also urban identities, and imagined networks of world cities. Readers learned about diverse geographical imaginaries, including an unnamed world of Latin republics, monarchies and the Vatican, the modern British Empire comprising democratic settler states associated with the home country, and the world of terror that was even investing the USA. Each newspaper also had a zone of unmentioned places. For readers in Buenos Aires, *La Nación's* print world encompassed Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil, the USA and Europe, but few reports came from outside that zone. Thus, the news geographies of production centers and peripheries were plain to see. In part, these geographies were artefacts of the news wire services to which each newspaper subscribed, but they were also artefacts of the imaginaries each editor was writing.

La Nación worked to generate an imagined Argentine community within Buenos Aires.⁷⁰ It cloaked its news in the identities of the *familias tradicionales*. This work can be understood in much the same way as we have understood the media's forming of public opinion in support of nation or empire in other contexts.⁷¹ *La Nación* wrote a particular version of the nation, and it did this, partly, by reporting Argentina's engagement in the world. It did this even when, as in the case of the assassination at Sarajevo, it was unclear that 'Argentina' had any interest in the events. By mediatizing the assassination from diverse capitals and within Buenos Aires, *La Nación* constructed not merely a class identity within Buenos Aires, or a sense of the Argentine nation, but also a sense of citizenship in a broader community of nations and world cities. This

⁶⁹ Steve Cottle, "Mediatized Rituals: Beyond Manufacturing Consent."

⁷⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁷¹ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984). Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003). Neil MacNeil, "American Newspapers through Two World Wars," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 6, no. 2 (1947): 245-259; David P. Nord, *Communities of Journalism*.

was a trans-Atlantic community, in which Buenos Aires and Argentina had considerable status. As an imagined geography, it contrasted with the imaginaries conjured by *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Los Angeles Times* as they interpreted very similar news wires concerning the same distant events for their readers. Far from simply delivering news off-the-wire, these newspapers were glocalizing the news. This was certainly a matter of internationalization of news, and while it was a step short of producing a new, singular global identity, it was also a practice that generated transnational geographic imaginaries of citizenship. While the imaginaries used varied from newspaper to newspaper, reflecting the geo-political conditions in each world city, the narrative structures of a modern assassination story were repeated, suggesting a geographical continuity in the basic positioning of residents as moral citizens of the world after an assassination. It was in these fashions that each of these newspapers built urban, national and international identity.

References

- Adams, Paul C. "The September 11 Attacks as Viewed From Quebec: The Small Nation Code in Geopolitical Discourse." *Political Geography* 23, no. 6 (2004): 765-795.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Baldasty, G.J. *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*. Madison, Wisconsin and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Barnhurst, Kevin G. and John Nerone. *The Form of News: A History*. New York and London: Guilford Press, 2001.
- Belich, James. *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001.
- Bird, S.E. and R.W. Dardenne. "Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News." In *Social Meanings of News: A Text-reader*, edited by Dan Berkowitz, 333-349. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997.
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver and Teri Rantanen. *The Globalization of News*. London: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Carey, James. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Carey, James. "Space, Time and Communications: A Tribute to Harold Innis." In *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, edited by James Carey, 142-172. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Carey, James. "Time, Space and the Telegraph." In *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, edited by David Crowley and Paul Heyer, 132-137. New York and London: Longman, 1991.
- Cassels, Lavender. *The Archduke and the Assassin*. Muller: London, 1984.
- Castels, Manuel. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

- Christensen, Christian. "Pocketbooks or Prayer Beads? US/UK Newspaper Coverage of the 2002 Turkish Elections." *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 109-128.
- Christophers, Brett. "Visions of Nature, Spaces of Empire: Framing Natural History Programming Within Geometries of Power." *Geoforum* 37 (2006): 973-985.
- Chyi, Hsiang Iris and George Sylvie. "The Medium is Global, the Content is Not: The Role of Geography in Online Newspaper Markets." *Journal of Media Economics* 14, no. 4 (2001): 231-248.
- Clausen, Lisbeth. *Global News Production*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2003.
- Clausen, Lisbeth. "Localizing the Global: 'Domestication' Processes in International News Production." *Media, Culture and Society* 26, no.1 (2004): 25-35.
- Cosgrove, Denis and Veronica Della Dora. "Mapping Global War: Los Angeles, the Pacific and Charles Owens's Pictorial Cartography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, no.2 (2005): 373-390.
- Cottle, Sreve. "Mediatized Rituals: Beyond Manufacturing Consent." *Media, Culture and Society* 28, no. 3 (2006): 411-432.
- Cronon, William, George Miles and Jay Gitlin, eds. *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co, 1992.
- Curtin, M. "Murdoch's Dilemma, or 'What's the Price of TV in China?'" *Media, Culture and Society* 27, no. 2 (2005): 155-175.
- Dimitrova, Daniella V. et al. "War on the Web: The Immediate News Framing of Gulf War II." *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 22-44.
- Duerr, Eveline. "Arcadia in the Antipodes: Tourists' Reflections on New Zealand as Nature Experience." *SITES. A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*. Special Issue: Mobility, Migration and Multiculturalism in New Zealand 4, no. 2 (2007): 57-82.
- Falah, Ghazi-Walid, Colin Flint and Virginie Mamadouh. "Just War and Extra-territoriality: The Popular Geopolitics of the United States' War on Iraq as Reflected in Newspapers in the Arab World." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no.1 (2006): 142-164.
- Fogelson, Robert. *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984.
- Giddens, Anthony. *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Vol 1: Power, Property and the State*. London: Macmillan, 1981.
- Gregory, Derek. *The Colonial Present*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by T. Burger and F. Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Hachten, William A. and James F. Scotton. *The World News Prism: Global Media in an Era of Terrorism*. 6th ed. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State Press, 2002.
- Hafez, K. "Globalization, Regionalization and Democratization: The Interaction of Three Paradigms in the Field of Mass Communication." In *Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles*, edited by Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao, 145-164. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

- Hall, Peter. *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation and Urban Order*. London: Phoenix, 1999.
- Hallin, Daniel C. *We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Halton, Dan. "International News in the North American Media." *International Journal* (2001): 499-511.
- Hamm, Bernd and Russell Smandych, eds. *Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy of Cultural Domination*. Peterborough Ontario: Broadview Press 2004.
- Hannah, Matthew. "Torture and the Ticking Bomb: The War on Terrorism as a Geographical Imagination of Power/knowledge." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no. 3 (2006): 622-640.
- Harris, M. and Tom O'Malley, ed. *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual*. Greenwood, Westport, USA: Greenwood Press: 1997.
- Hart, J. R. *The Information Empire: The Rise of the LAT and the Times Mirror Corporation*. Washington DC: University Press of America, 1981.
- Hartley, J. *Popular Modernity: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture*. London and New York: Arnold, 1996.
- Harvey, David. "Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils." *Public Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 529-564.
- Henig, Ruth B. *The Origins of the First World War*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent*. London: Vintage, 1994.
- Herman, Edward S. and Robert W. McChesney. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. London: Cassell, 1997.
- Hesmondhagh, D. "Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production." *Media, Culture and Society* 28, no. 2 (2006): 211-231.
- Hine, Robert V. and John M. Faragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Innis, Harold. *The Bias of Communication*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951.
- Jenkins, Lloyd. "Fourierism, Colonization and Discourses of Associative Emigration." *Area* 35, no. 1 (2003): 84-91.
- Karim, Karim H. "From Ethnic Media to Global Media: Transnational Communication Networks Among Diasporic Communities." Oxford: International Comparative Research Group, Strategic Research and Analysis, Canadian Heritage, WPTC-99-02, June, 1998, <<http://www.transcomm.ox.uk/working%20papers/karim.pdf>> (accessed December 19, 2009).
- Kroker, A. *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*. Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1984.
- Lewis, Nick and Gordon M. Winder. "Sporting Narratives and Globalization: Making Links Between the All Black Tours of 1905 and 2005." *New Zealand Geographer* 63, no. (2007): 202-215.
- Livingston, Steven and Douglas A. Belle. "The Effects of Satellite Technology on Newsgathering from Remote Locations." *Political Communication* 22, no.1 (2005): 45-62.

- Lule, Jack. *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism*. New York and London: Guilford Press, 2001.
- Lynch, J. and A. McGoldrick. "Peace Journalism: A Global Dialog for Democracy and Democratic Media." In *Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles*, edited by Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao, 269-312. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- MacNeil, Neil. "American Newspapers through Two World Wars," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 6, no. 2 (1947): 245-259.
- Meyer, Philip. *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age*. Columbia: University of Missouri, 2004.
- Moore, Fiona. "Telling it Like it is: News Websites and Online Newspapers." *Global Networks* 2, no. (2002): 171-177.
- Morrow, Diana. "A Business to Business Relationship: The Origin and Development of Auckland Newspapers, 1841-2004." In *City of Enterprise: Perspectives on Auckland Business History*, edited by Ian Hunter and Diana Morrow, 152-176. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006.
- Noakes, J. A. and K. G. Wilkins. "Shifting Frames of the Palestinian Movement in US News." *Media, Culture and Society* 24 (2000): 649-671.
- Nord, David P. *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Parks, Lisa. *Cultures in Orbit: Satellites and the Televisual*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Potter, Simon J. *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- Potter, Simon J. "Webs, Networks and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century British Empire." *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 621-646.
- Rantanen, Teri. *The Media and Globalization*. London: Sage Publications, 2005.
- Rantanen, Teri. 2003. "The New Sense of Place in 19th-century News," *Media, Culture and Society* 25: 435-449.
- Remak, Joachim. *Sarajevo: The Story of a Political Murder*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959.
- Schneider, Arnd. *Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books, 1978.
- Schudson, Michael. "The New Journalism." In *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, edited by David Crowley and Paul Heyer, 137-145. New York and London: Longman, 1991.
- Seib, P. "Weaving the Web: The Internet's Effect on International News Coverage and International Relations." *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 32, no.3 (2003): 617-641.
- Sinclair, Keith. *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*. North Sydney and Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1986.

- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle. "The 'World of the News' Study: Results of International Cooperation." *Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (1984): 121-134.
- Thompson, John B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Van Ginnekin, Jaap. *Understanding Global News: A Critical Introduction*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999. First published 1998.
- Wanta, Wayne, Guy Golan and Cheolhan Lee. "Agenda Setting and International News Media: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2004): 364-377.
- Winder, Gordon M. "Seafarer's Gaze: Queen Street Business and Auckland's Archipelago, 1908." *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 1 (2006): 50-64.