6

A Child Stolen by ‘Gypsies’ Must Be a ‘White’ One

The Child-theft Motif in Nineteenth-century Print Media

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My mother said, I never should
Play with the Gypsies in the wood;
If I did, she would say,
Naughty little girl to disobey.
Your hair shan’t curl,
Your shoes shan’t shine,
You gypsy girl, you shan’t be mine.
And my father said if I did,
He’d rap my head with the teapot lid.

English song for children[59]

I’ll trade you to the gypsies for a trackhammer.

American proverbial saying (Meyers 81)

59 In an article for *The New York Times* entitled “The Poetry of Rope-skipping,” published in 1973, Francelia Butler reports of a rope-skipping rhyme based on this English song for children. She notes that the rhyme she heard in Belfast had two versions: one from a girl’s and one from a boy’s point of view: “My mother said I never should Play with gypsies in the wood. If I should She would say, “Naughty girl to disobey “Disobey disobey, “Naughty girl to disobey.” I wish my mother would Hold her tongue. She had a boy When she was young. I wish my father would Do the same. He had a girl with awful name.” And here is the boy’s variant of the rope-skipping rhyme: “My mother said I never should Play with gypsies in the wood. The wood was dark, The grass was green, In came Sally With a tambourine. I went to the sea—No ship to get across. I paid 10 shillings For a blind white horse, I was up on his back And was off in a crack, Sally told my mother I would never come back.”

Throughout the seventeeth and in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the myth of the 'gypsy' child-theft – especially the inherent moment of anagnorisis – was a common theme for Dutch history painting. Deemed the pinnacle of pictorial art, history painting was patronised by the Dutch royalty and high nobility, with the result that all the persuasive powers of this art form were summoned to ascertain the noble origin and the social whiteness of the stolen girl-child Preciosa. With the rise of urban mass culture in the nineteenth century, the child-theft motif gained striking popularity among lower-ranking social strata and was inexpensively mass (re-)produced in various printed forms: decorative prints, broadsheets, book illustrations, magic lantern slides, and later in films. The narrative broke away from Cervantes's *novela*, gaining more general contours while, importantly, the focus shifted from the moment of anagnorisis to incorporate and emphasise the moment of abduction. Here, I advance one possible explanation as to why this shift of emphasis took place. European feudal elites used the story of child-theft to produce, maintain and enhance the self-aggrandising image of themselves: for the members of this social strata, it was important to prove that, after a series of trials, a high-born individual remained unchanged (or constant as Preciosa's Christian name Constanza infers), i.e. virtuous, virgin, noble, enlightened, of blue blood; all qualities that are visualised on canvas with recourse to the colour white.

A century later, the child-theft narrative – already an established tool for the production and conferral of white identity among the aristocrats – was appropriated by other social groups who could simply adopt a reverse line of reasoning: if a child has been stolen by 'gypsies', it must be a 'white' one; no further proofs are needed. By highlighting the moment of abduction in the narrative structure of theft and recuperation, the rest of society – from the aspiring nobility through the bourgeoisie, to the factory workers and the peasantry – could in different historial periods, and still can, participate in a symbolic rite of initiation whose primary effect is to ascribe whiteness by implication. The motif should be viewed as one of the important tools in the aesthetic arsenal of the nation-building projects under way in nineteenth-century Europe. The consolidating effect of whiteness as the lowest common denominator for the various and otherwise conflict-ridden social strata within the bourgeoning European nations is, in my view, one of the reasons why the tale of 'gypsy' child-theft experienced such a crescendo of popularity over the entire nineteenth century in a plethora of visual forms.

A brief historical note is needed here. The nineteenth century saw an immense expansion of the printing industry, and a proliferation of printing techniques as part of the emergence of a markedly pictorial mass culture. "[I]n a time when literacy was not universal, the printed image was the single most widely shared form of cultural experience" (Anderson, ii). In his history of graphic design, Stephen Eskilson describes how the byways of London were covered with broadsheets, playbills, posters and various printed ephemera, a situation which other Western metropolises witnessed, too, especially in France, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the United States (28–29). The rise of cities and their demand for popular print media translated into new technologies that made the exposure to images affordable and widely available to multitudinous audiences. Taking a look at the transformations in the timespan between history painting and silent film, we can observe a development in the sphere of image-production technologies towards increasing the impact of a single image, and reducing the role of its material carrier. While an oil painting was, as a rule, commissioned and owned by one patron, the techniques of engraving and etching enabled wider circles of people to relish one image. Still, decorative prints had a limited print run and acquiring them was only within the means of the wealthy. With the advent of the magic lantern and later films, new forms of image consumption arrived, allowing for even larger audiences to see and be entertained by images without having to possess them in a physical form. Thus, the size of the audiences that were exposed to a single image grew in an exponential manner. This development has had far-reaching implications when it comes to the mass production, distribution and consumption of racist and, in our case, antigypsy images.

Unlike the previous chapter, where I attempted to trace every history painting on the topic of 'gypsy' child-theft produced during the Dutch Golden Age, in this chapter, I consider only a fraction of the countless and still largely unexplored images of child-theft circulated in the nineteenth century. I will limit myself to highlighting the variety of printed images, paying attention to their physical form (format and artistic technique); to the content structure (number of scenes) that reflects the narrative potential of the story, and its visual structuring in scenes along the axis of time as well as to some of its basic functions. The images in my selection come from five main sources: the online archives of the British Museum (UK), the Rijksmuseum (the Netherlands), the Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature

(USA), the Berlin State Library (Germany) and the Magic Lantern Web Resource Lucerna (Germany). The chapter ends with an additional listing of images, all of which have been meticulously referenced and can be viewed online. It is necessary to say at this point that the examples of the motif's visualisations provided for consideration here form a non-representative sample of printed images. The selection mainly reflects the state of archival research in the UK, the Netherlands, the USA, and Germany as well as online availability. For that reason, it would be presumptuous to draw anything but broad conclusions as to how the motif of 'gypsy' child-theft transformed with the flourishing of print media in the nineteenth century or what its specific functions were in given historical time-spaces. Each and every image raises many questions: who produced this image and for what purpose? In what context(s) was the image embedded? Who purchased the image and what prompted their interest in it? How many copies of the image were (re-)produced and what was the size and the structure of the audience that it reached? What narratives was the image accompanied by? What aesthetic traditions and technological innovations did it reflect? These are all questions that remain beyond the scope of my investigation. By presenting a selection of printed images in this section and a selection of films (or of moving images) in the next section, my aim has been to foreground the need for further, context-sensitive and interdisciplinary research – research that simultaneously accounts for the manufacture of social and/or national 'white' identity, with recourse to 'gypsy' figures in concrete historical time-spaces; that considers the social and material conditions in which the images are produced, disseminated and received as well as the narrative, aesthetic and technological developments that account for the journey of this age-old myth through various media.

Let me outline, first, some salient typological features of the motif's visualisations. Looking at the decorative prints, one can hardly fail to observe the consistent colour coding of human bodies: 'whiteness' and 'gypsyness' are more often than not marked on the level of clothes and skin or hair colour. The most recurrent contrast – as in Dutch history paintings – is that of a female (representing a social group the viewer is supposed to identify with) in a full-length white dress juxtaposed with a 'gypsy' female (representing a social group the viewer is supposed to distance him/herself from), who is clad in anything but white: in simple dark clothes, in elaborate colourful or black clothes, in circus costumes, in shapeless dark rags, etc. Constructed as the obverse image of the socially desirable individual, the 'gypsy' figure serves as a plastic tool

for negotiating 'whiteness' (i.e. belonging to the European realm of civilisation, to the national project, to the notion of universal humanity[60]) used by the different social strata and later by the emerging nations on the territory of Europe.

In terms of physical format, the sample of nineteenth-century printed images presented for close scrutiny here contains eight decorative prints, including engravings, etchings, mezzotints and lithographs, most of which were published in London; two broadsheets from Holland; a dozen illustrated children's books from England, the USA and Germany, and one set with magic lantern slides, again from Victorian England. In terms of narrative content and structure, the motif of the child-stealing 'gypsy' is visualised in a number of distinct ways: in one scene; in paired scenes; in multiple scenes that are presented at a glance as in broadsheets, or spread over the length of a book or over the duration of a magic lantern slideshow. The visual narratives become more complex, reflecting the growing capacity of the print media to (re-)tell the story with greater pictorial detail and with greater realism, while reducing production and distribution costs. If in the English decorative prints, the child-theft motif is compressed to a single scene or to a pair of scenes, which reflects the narrative's basic structure, the two Dutch broadsheets elaborate the story in a dozen scenes, expanding them with captions. In children's books, too, the series of illustrations that accompany the text is spread across the entire length of the book, while in the magic lantern slide set *The Gipsy's Revenge,* one can follow the drama of child-theft in as many as 34 scenes. Obviously, in time not only does the number of depicted scenes grow but also the variants of the story.

It is the temporal dynamics of the child-theft motif that makes it rich in possibilities (as compared to the static palm-reading motif, which is limited to a single event) and, as we shall see in the section on early films, it allows for countless modifications along gender, age, class, and plot lines. To summarise, genderwise, the stolen child could be a girl or a boy; agewise, it could be a baby, a young child or an adolescent of marriageable age. In terms of social class, the stolen person could belong not only to the aristocracy but also to other social strata of the majority society, and this one variable represents a major innovation in the motif structure. Finally, timewise, the interval between the theft

60 I have in mind Richard Dyer's pertinent observation that as long 'race' is applied only to 'non-white' peoples, 'whiteness' functions as a human norm that claims universality. Or as he succinctly puts it: "Other people are raced, we are just people" (1).

and the rescue/recognition could vary from a couple of hours to several years, while the trials during the 'gypsy' phase prove to be an inexhaustible source of variation.

It is also instructive to note that during the nineteenth century the motif of the 'gypsy' child-theft seeped from the highest forms of art all the way down to children's stories, nursery rhymes, proverbs and even lullabies (cf. Nord 11; Meyers 55–56, 76–85). During the silent film era, it was embraced by filmmakers as one of the markedly lucrative stock plots. In addition to its basic function of implicitly ascribing 'whiteness' to social classes (classism), or to national majorities across Europe (racism), and thus negotiating class and/or national 'ethno-racial' belonging (identity), it can be overlaid with further, more nuanced meanings – thus it can perform multiple functions[61] of which the disciplining function is probably the most widespread. Some research has already been conducted in this direction. Jodie Matthews notes, for instance, that the eighteenth-century German scholar Heinrich Grellmann looked upon "the childish fear of Gypsies as universal, obvious and long-established" (137); in his dissertation, written in 1787, he asks: "as children, have we not, at some time or other, run affrighted from a Gipsey?" (8). Taking this question as a starting point for her inquiry, Matthews examines the recycling of the 'gypsy' child-stealing myth in Victorian juvenile literature. She regards the common features of the stories as an indicator of the narratives' cultural function, concluding that the narratives "perform the same ostensible task: demonstrating the subject's proper place in a social order" while at the same time betraying "anxieties about the legitimacy and naturalness of that social order" (137; see also Matthews 2008).

Nord comments that the child-stealing stories associated with 'gypsies' "express the anxiety created by adhering to an absolute and inherently fallacious separation between peoples and offer reassuring

61 In psychoanalytical terms, the fantasy of being stolen by 'gypsies' is considered to have a compensatory character, as the French-Swiss psychoanalyst Charles Baudouin discusses in his book *The Mind of the Child*, first published in 1931: "A child, for example, will imagine that it is not the offspring of those who give themselves out to be its parents, but that it had been stolen by gypsies, and subsequently adopted into its present home. Obviously, this idea shades into or combines with the myth of heroic birth. The child dreams that it is of royal origin, or at least of noble lineage. Victor Hugo's *L'Homme qui rit* is a fine elaboration of this theme, and like all variations of the same motif brings us back in a few steps to classical and mythological tales." (165–6). Nord subjects the motif to a Freudian reading and considers it in reference to Freud's theory of the family romance (11–12).

explanation for differences within grups that exist universally" (11). Charnon-Deutsch puts forth the same argument, though in more abstract terms, claiming that "[i]n each culture where it surfaces, the stereotype of the Gypsy baby thief responded to particular configuration of power and stages of national development" (38; see also Fass). Anat Elisabeth Meyers formulates a high number of valuable ideas in her Master's thesis entitled *The Gypsy as Child-Stealer: Stereotype in American Folklore* (1987) in an attempt to account for the motif's origin, forms and functions and also highlights, like no other scholar before, the cross-border dimension of its popularity. During several years of fieldwork Meyers collected accounts of the child-stealing story from native-born Americans of diverse backgrounds (Swedish, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, Afro-American, Jewish, Mexican, Japanese, German and Italian) as well as from informants coming from Poland, France, Spain, Marocco, Tunisia, Iran, Iraq, India and Mexico (56–64).

If we go back to Grellmann's influential dissertation, a second and more vigilant look at the text shows that the renowned German scholar poses his rhetorical question in the middle of a paragraph, where he describes the dark skin colour of 'gypsies' as opposed to that of Europeans who are 'white' by assumption, hence the fear: "Their dark brown or olive coloured skin, with their white teeth appearing between their red lips, may be a disgusting sight to an European, unaccustomed to face such pictures. Let me only ask if, as children, we have not at some time or other run affrighted from a Gipsey?" (8). Historical circumstances may vary, but the black-and-white skin colour dualism remains at the very core of the 'gypsy' child-theft narrative and its pictorial interpretations, supplying it with its meaning-production mechanism. In his book *Zigeuner, Wilde und Exoten*, for instance, Karl Hölz calls attention to the parallelism of opposing attributes in Grellmann's text: 'white' Europeans vs. 'black' 'gypsies', dressed vs. half naked, to point out that these descriptions follow a colonial technique of contrasts whose aim is not to describe the unfamiliar but to create evaluating patterns of identification (cf. 54). Invariably, the motif serves as a plastic platform for (re-)definition of group social and/or national 'white' identity and for (re-)negotiating the crucial issue of belonging that each individual inevitably and repeatedly faces in the course of his/her life.

6.1 The Story of 'Gypsy' Child-theft and the Visualisations of Its Temporality

This section briefly outlines the motif's visualisations with regard to the axis of time. It is easy to observe that throughout the nineteenth century the story of 'gypsy' child-theft was represented in three distinct ways: in one single scene, in paired scenes or in multiple scenes. The growing number of scenes lends a realistic feel to the narrative, making it particularly suitable for pedagogical use. The images from section 6.2. to section 6.4.2. are presented in an uninterrupted sequence to provide the reader with an overview of the developments in question, and thus to allow him/her to consider and compare the elaboration of the narrative into multiple scenes.

Distilled into one scene (**Fig. 17** to **Fig. 20**), the story of 'gypsy' child-stealing is commonly represented as an old woman – one, who is visibly beyond child-bearing age, carrying a small child on her back. This figure composition is particularly well-suited for art techniques with a limited colour palette. In these depictions, it is the advanced age of the 'gypsy' woman which signals to the viewer that she cannot be the child's birth parent and that, by inference, the child must have been stolen by her. Often the figure of the old 'gypsy' with a baby on her back is coupled with the palm-reading motif.[62] Interestingly enough, in our first example of nineteenth-century prints – *Group Portrait of Three Ladies and a Child* (1801), based on a drawing by John James Masquerier (**Fig. 17**) – the child-theft is suggested through hair colour: the young woman in 'gypsy' apparel carries a blond child. It is the boy's fair hair that should alert the viewer to his being stolen. Thus, the difference between the English ladies and the 'gypsy' woman in this printed image with a dyadic-world structure is marked only on the level of clothes; all three women are dark-haired and faired-skinned. The English ladies, though, glow in their full-length, white dresses, the pristine whiteness of the fabric matching the colour of their semi-bared breasts, while the 'gypsy' female is prudently covered in brownish shapeless gowns. (Surely, it is also possible to decode Masquerier's image as a rendition of a masquerade in which high-born ladies reenact the story of a 'gypsy' stealing a child, hence their identical skin tone.) Another print of that period in which the child-theft is hinted at only via hair colour

62 See, for example, the illustration *Zigeunerin* (last plate) in *Das allergrösster Bilder-ABC* (1828) by Theodor Hosemann.

is the black-and-white lithograph *Gipsy Girls* (1832–1868) (**Fig. 19**); it presents a somewhat unusual visualisation of the motif. Here, the theme of child-theft is secondary to the figure composition: the fair-haired boy, with a forlorn expression on his face, sits slightly behind two dark-haired 'gypsy' girls who crouch under a gnarled tree trunk, looking directly and somewhat mischievously at the viewer with their chins resting on their hands.

The second common figure composition that sums up the child-theft motif into one scene is exemplified by the English engraving *The Stolen Child* (1840), after a drawing by F. P. Stephanoff's (**Fig. 18**), as well as by two noteworthy paintings: *Constance (Preciosa) Abducted by the Gypsies (J. Cats, Het Spaans heidinnetje)* (1652–1681) by the Dutch master Leendert van der Cooghen (**Fig. 4**), and *The Stolen Child/L'Enfant volé* (1861) by the French artist Henri-Guillaume Schlesinger (**Fig. 15**), his colourful painting is known today only through the black-and-white engraving. All three works are dominated by the figure of a small child placed as a focal point in the lower centre of the composition, surrounded by dark 'gypsy' men, women, and children – the latter wear dark clothes and inhabit dark time-spaces and/or have a dark skin colour. The sense that the child is pulled down into the dubious (under) world of 'gypsies' is central to these images, and it is very strongly conveyed in Cooghen's work. At the same time, the artists make sure to mark the social or/and 'ethno-racial' difference of the kidnapped child: Cooghen depicts young Preciosa in an expensive copper-gold velvet dress with a fine white undershirt and a white collar; in Stephanoff's drawing the small girl resembles a white doll dressed up in white, whereas in Schlesinger's painting/engraving the difference is coded exclusively with reference to skin colour. The naked baby has 'white' skin that glows in the sunlight unlike that of his 'gypsy' admirers. Considered in the chronology of their creation, the re-focus from fine clothes to bare skin in these images clearly evidences that during the nineteenth century 'whiteness' underwent a shift in meaning, transforming from a 'social' to an 'ethno-racial' attribute.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Cooghen's choice of theme marks an exception for his time. His work is the only preserved history painting from the Dutch Golden Age known to me that takes interest in the moment of child abduction and not in the moment of anagnorisis. It strikes the attention that in his interpretation the stolen Preciosa is not dressed in white but in colours that match her 'gypsy' abductors and their night-time forest surroundings. One cannot help but wonder why.

One probable reason for this aesthetic choice is the specific meaning associated with whiteness: in Cooghen's time, white colour was used as one of the coded references for Preciosa's virginity, for the virtuous, pure inner nature of the noble female that remained constant regardless of circumstances, and so it would have been a less expedient choice of colour when portraying the infant girl at the moment of her abduction. Cooghen's mastery is displayed in transporting the feeling of ineffable horror aroused by the act of child theft: small, fine and richly dressed Preciosa has fallen into the hands of unscrupulous forest inhabitants, young and old, all bathed in the approaching darkness of the night. Not very different is the atmosphere created in another nineteenth-century English print: *Stolen by Gipsies. The Rescue*, (ca. 1875) based on a drawing by John Burgess (**Fig. 20**). In a dim underground interior, a small girl holding a tambourine is surrounded by adult 'gypsy' males and apparently urged against her wishes to perform a dance. In this image, the moment of rescue is already announced by the presence of soldiers who observe the scene from the top of the stairs in the upper left.

The third salient feature of images that highlight the moment of child abduction is the doll-like appearance of the stolen girl. I have already noted this with regard to Vlieger's drawing *Roma vrouw Majombe met Konstance*, (1643) (**Fig. 9**); his work bears many resemblances to an 1872 illustration published in the children's book *Anna, das geraubte Kind* (*Anna, the Stolen Child*) (**Fig. 28**). Similarly, in Cooghen's painting, and even more so in the English print *The Stolen Child* (1840) (**Fig. 18**), the depictions of the kidnapped girl come across as doll-like. All these images underscore, in a self-congratulatory manner, the desirability of the stolen 'white' child. Stylised as a doll, it offers a model of beauty worthy of imitation, being both an aspirational ideal and an object of desire, and in some of the works presented here the 'gypsies' are shown to marvel at the child from all sides in envious astonishment.[63] If we evaluate the situation from a more practical perspective, it is difficult

63 Another, rather recent example is an emblematic scene from the Polish film *Papusza* (2013) in which Papusza's mother stares at a white doll in a window shop some hours before giving birth. It is a cold winter day and the nine-month pregnant girl, wrapped in dark, rough clothes, is all alone in a muddy street. Her face reflection in the window shop contrasts sharply to the fancy lady doll wearing a full-length white dress and a wide-brimmed white hat. Later, the girl would call her daughter Papusza ("doll" in Polish) in emulation of the white lady doll. One can hardly oversee here the parallel to the black-and-white story pattern at the core of *Aethiopica*: a pregnant 'black' mother who falls for an idealised and highly desirable image of a 'white' woman.

to offer a convincing explanation as to what would motivate perceived 'gypsies', an outcast and persecuted minority group, to commit such a grave criminal act against powerful members of the majority. Often, it is the child's fine clothes, expensive jewels and/or its skin that are cited as a plausible reason. Indeed, such regalia represent valuable objects and theoretically could bring some monetary profit to the presumptive thieves. (Another question is whether aristocratic infants walk around decorated with heaps of precious jewellery, or in the case of the clothes, whether 'gypsies' could find so easily a reliable buyer of fine children's outfits.) These body embellishments, but also 'white' skin, make more sense if regarded as visual symbols of social status, for they communicate to the viewer that the infant stands at the top of the social ladder. We can go a step further and say that the real object of desire staged in these images is not the child itself but the social standing it has and represents. In a rather flattering manner, the viewer is thus invited to identify with a small defenceless girl (or boy) of supposedly superior breed, surrounded on all sides by ruthless 'gypsies', all inferior creatures following the logic of the juxtaposition, a gut-wrenching image that is bound to arouse strong feelings of anger and indignation and that can easily legitimise outbursts of violence.

In the second grouping of printed imagery, the story is presented in two separate scenes. The paired prints (**Fig. 21** to **Fig. 24**) foreground the two central moments in the child-theft narrative: the moment of separation and the moment of recuperation. In each pair, the two images mirror each other bringing to light a series of significant oppositions: white vs. colour/black, nature vs. culture, inside vs. outside, primitivism vs. sophistication, poverty vs. wealth, etc. In the first pair, for example, the 'gypsies' are gathered with their livestock at the brow of a hill under the open sky while the child's birth family, apparently a wealthy one, lives in an exquisitely furnished mansion. It is hardly a surprise that in both pairs, the child is reunited with a mother figure clad in a voluminous white dress.

In the third and final grouping of printed images that includes broadsheets, children's book illustrations, and magic lantern slide sets (**Fig. 25** to **Fig. 30**), the story of the 'gypsy' child-abduction and recovery is fleshed out with increasingly more realistic detail, and its temporality is expanded in a growing number of scenes. It is notable that in the broadsheets, a precursor of comics, the story is presented at a glance, and thus characterised by a compressed sense of time: the scenes are arranged next to each other, all of them contained on a single sheet

of paper. Children's picture-books, in turn, foreground the temporal dénouement of the story simply by giving it more space: the scene illustrations are arranged at greater spatial intervals from each other taking up the lenght of an entire book. Another way of communicating temporality is offered by the magic lantern slide sets, illustrated here with one overview screenshot. In these slide sets, it is already possible to recreate the unfolding of the story in real time. During the projection performance, the intervals between the static images are no longer spatial but temporal, which makes the magic lantern show closer to a real-life experience furnishing it with an even stronger persuasive effect. In addition, the reception of the broadsheets and book illustrations or magic lantern slides is not left to the viewer alone but is mediated by elaborate texts: captions, autonomous stories and, in the case of magic lantern shows, by readings and musical scores.

The collection of images here indicates that the illustrated stories were mainly targeted at youngsters at the impressionable age of five-six years. In these stories, a child who strays from his/her parents or disobeys their instructions is punished by a stint in the merciless underworld of 'gypsies', where he or she may suffer various hardships, such as beatings, torture and neglect. The most frequent fare, as it appears though, is being forced to work as a street entertainer. The motif is reused in a very different socio-historical context shaped by new notions of childhood as well as by new pedagogical approaches to child's upbringing. Apparently, it was deemed fit to guide a child's socialisation through scare stories and threats of physical punishment and public humiliation. It is also illuminating to note that the equation of 'gypsies' with members of the various ambulant *métiers*, for example, in the Dutch broadsheets (**Fig. 25** and **26**) or in the children's books (**Fig. 27** and **29**), directly echoes the myth of the bohemian, perpetuated by the avant-garde artists in nineteenth-century France. As Brown demonstrates in her comprehensive study, the mythical figure of the "real bohemian" is filled with multiple and often contradictory significations, while having a complex relationship to a mix of diverse social/ethnic groups. Next to the Roma minority, these groups included "*saltimbanques* (mountebannks), vagrants, ragpickers, street musicians and various related urban *flâneurs*" (20). Brown explains that the bohemian subcategory of *saltimbanques,* often indistinguishable from the Roma, referred to a host of ambulant entertainers, exercising an astounding plethora of occupations: they could be *bateleur*s, jugglers, organ grinders, equestrians, exhibitors of wise animals, conjurers, and

fortune tellers, to name but a few (cf. 28–29). During the nineteenth century, the bohemians were the object of numerous prohibitive legal measures imposed by the French authorities; laws were put in place to control the alleged child-stealing perpetrated by *saltimbanques* who, after the Revolution of 1848, were even accused of being "the natural auxiliaries of the Socialist establishment" (25). Brown concludes that the *saltimbanques* "were often the object of a hatred bordering on racial prejudice and of a fear that was political" (29).

To sum up, the story of 'gypsy' child-theft is one of the aesthetic tools elaborated in the context of seventeenth-century history painting with the purpose of ascribing 'whiteness' to the feudal ruling elites in Europe. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though, the motif was appropriated by the newly emerging popular print media (and by extension, by the social groups they catered for) and reinterpreted so as to instigate one important cultural switch: a conferral of 'whiteness', commonly associated with the aristocracy, to other social strata so that the attribute expanded its scope, offering a shared and highly covetable identity to the various groups of people within the imagined nations in Europe. As such, the 'gypsy' figure has proven to be instrumental in the transformation of 'whiteness' from an aristocratic (classist) attribute to an 'ethno-racial' (racist) attribute. The remaining subsections in this chapter offer a cursory glimpse into the period, offering a selection of exemplary works to call attention to the need for further interdisciplinary and context-sensitive research.

6.2 Prints: The Motif in One Scene

In the following four prints (**Fig. 17 to Fig. 20**), the story of 'gypsy' child-theft is condensed down to one scene. The last image also contains a premonition of the rescue scene.

Fig. 17. John James Masquerier, Anthony Cardon (print maker), *Group Portrait of Three Ladies and a Child;* the lady on the right dressed as a gypsy with the child (the young Earl) on her back, 1801, paper, stipple, printed in colour, 535 × 498 mm.

Fig. 18. F. P. Stephanoff, W & E Hott (engraver), *The Stolen Child*, 1840, print engraving, 192 × 160 mm.

Fig. 19. Thomas Barker of Bath, John Robert Dicksee (print-maker), *Gipsy Girls*, 1832–1868, paper, lithograph, 305 × 243 mm.

Fig. 20. John Bagnold Burgess, Charles Henry Jeens (print-maker), *Stolen by Gipsies. The Rescue*, ca. 1875, paper, etching and engraving on chine collé, 558 × 732 mm.

6.3 Prints: The Motif in Two Scenes

The paired images in this subsection (**Fig. 21 and 22; Fig. 23 and 24**) visualise the two pivotal moments in the story: the child's abduction and its recovery.

Fig. 21. Henry Singleton, F Green (print maker), *Gipsey's Stealing a Child*, 1801, paper, colour mezzotint, 448 × 573 mm.
Curator's note: Pair to *The Child Restored*

Fig. 22. Henry Singleton, F Green (print maker), *The Child Restored*, 1801, paper, colour mezzotint, 448 × 573 mm.
Curator's note: Pair to *Gipsey's Stealing a Child*

Fig. 23. Maria Spilsbury, M. Place (print maker), *The Stolen Child Discovered amid the Crew of Gypsies*, 1805, paper, stipple, 510 × 484 mm.
Curator's note: Pair with *The Lost Child Found, and the Felicity of the Nursey Restored*

Fig. 24. Maria Spilsbury, M. Place (print maker), *The Lost Child Found, and the Felicity of the Nursey Restored*, 1805, paper, stipple, 503 × 485 mm. *Curator's note*: Pair with *The Stolen Child Discovered amid the Crew of Gypsies*

6.4 The Motif in Multiple Scenes

In the broadsheets (**Fig. 25** and **26**), children’s picture books (**Fig. 27, 28** and **29**) and magic lantern slides (**Fig. 30**) that follow, the story of ‘gypsy’ child-theft is expanded in numerous scenes around the main structure of loss and recovery. The elaboration of a greater number of scenes instills the narrative with greater vividness and versimilitude and makes it particularly fit for pedagogical use. The captions to the two Dutch broadsheets are relatively short, so I have incorporated in this section both the original language version and the respective English translation. These verbal and visual texts exemplify the disciplining function of the ‘gypsy’ child-theft story, which as Nord shows “became a useful admonition to wayward and recalcitrant children” in the eighteenteth and nineteenth century (11).

Text in captions:

The Gypsies

Little Louis asked his mom to go to play with his friends. “Go, darling,” she said, “but do not walk far away, especially do not leave the garden.” The cheerful child walked out.

Seeing a beautiful butterfly, he followed it. Thinking only of the butterfly, he did not see the garden fence and got lost in a neighbouring forest.

At last, he had caught the butterfly. Louis wanted to go home now but could not find a path in the dense forest. Weeping, the poor little one walks from one side to the other and finally drops down exhausted under a tree where he sleeps.

Suddenly he wakes up; an ugly old woman is standing before him. “Get up!” she shouts, and grasping him by the arm, she pulls him through the forest. Little Louis cries hot tears of fear but the old one always walks on. They arrive at an open place in the forest where three gypsies and two children in rags are sitting around a big fire. One of the gypsies tackles the child and threatens him with the whip should he continue crying. Now, they pull off the poor one’s beautiful clothes to change them for some torn rags.

Fig. 25. *The Gypsies / De Zigeuners*, Monogrammist G.J., 1894–1959, paper, broadsheet with 8 performances, 400 × 268 mm.

These gypsies are fairground travellers. After many hours of walking, they arrive in a city where a fair is taking place. There, they make Little Louis collect the money while one of the gypsies makes a huge bear dance and another one plays on a barrel organ.

One of the spectators recognises the child. He immediately gets the gendarmes. The gypsies are now brought handcuffed to the prison.

The good man brings the child back to his parents. He reproaches his disobedience on the way.

Upon coming home, Louis throws himself crying in his mother's arms and tells about his unfortunate adventure. He promises to never be disobedient again. [my translation, R.M.]

De zigeuners

De kleine Louis vroeg aan zijne mama verlof om met zijne kameraadjes te gaan spelen. «Ga, lieveling,» zei ze, «maar loop niet ver weg; ga vooral niet uit den tuin.»

Het vroolijke kind liep naar buiten. Een mooien vlinder ziende, liep hij dien na. Alleen denkend aan den vlinder zag hij het hek van den tuin niet en verdwaalde in een naburig woud.

Eindelijk had hij den vlinder gevangen. Louis wilde nu naar huis gaan, maar kon in het dichte woud geen weg vinden. Weenende loopt de arme kleine van den eenen kant naar den anderen en valt eindelijk uitgeput onder een boom neer, waar hij inslaapt.

Eensklaps wordt hij wakker; een leelijk oud wijf staat voor hem. «Sta op!» roept ze, en hem bij den arm vattend, trekt ze hem mee door het bosch. De kleine Louis huilt heete tranen van vrees, maar de oude loopt altijd door. Ze komen op eene open plaats in het bosch aan, waar drie zigeuners en twee in lompen gehulde kinderen om een groot vuur zitten. Een der zigeuners pakt het kind aan en bedreigt hem met de zweep, als hij nog huilt. Nu trekken ze den armen kleine zijne mooie kleeren uit, om ze te verwisselen met eenige gescheurde vodden.

Deze zigeuners waren kermisreizigers. Na vele uren geloopen te hebben komen zij in eene stad, waar kermis was. Daar doen ze den kleinen Louis geld ophalen, terwijl een der zigeuners een reusachtigen beer laat dansen en een ander op een draaiorgel speelt.

Een der toeschouwers herkent het kind. Dadelijk haalt hij de gendarmen. De zigeuners worden nu geboeid naar de gevangenis gebracht.

De goede mijnheer brengt het kind naar zijne ouders terug. Onder weg verwijt hij hem zijne ongehoorzaamheid.

Thuis gekomen werpt Louis zich weenende in de armen zijner moeder en vertelt haar zijn ongelukkig avontuur. Hij belooft nooit meer ongehoorzaam te zijn.

Text in captions:

Marie, the Disobedient Girl

Although her parents had forbidden her, Marie walked out of the garden quietly and went to the forest to collect wood.

After she had walked a long time, she became tired and fell asleep on the forest side.

Gypsies who just passed by took her up and brought her into their cart.

Then, one of them took off her beautiful clothes and, undisturbed by her crying, she dressed Marie in rags so that she looked like a poor child.

The first thing she was taught was cooking food for the gypsies.

Then, she had to learn to dance on a tightrope and all the while risked breaking her neck.

Then, she had to learn how to make arts and got lashes if she did not do well.

Fig. 26. *Marie the Disobedient Girl / Marie het ongehoorzame meisje*, Gordinne, 1894–1959, broadsheet with 12 performances, paper, 399 × 270 mm.

When she knew everything, she had to take part in the performances and was put on display in front of the tent next to the other artists.

She danced beautifully on the rope to the great entertainment of the many spectators.

But one day she lost her balance and fell. When she was picked up, she was unconscious and while someone carried her away through the crowd, her father and mother, who were also present at the show, recognised their lost little daughter.

They pulled her out of the hands of the gypsy and when Marie came to herself, she recognised her parents whom she never left again.

The policemen arrested the gypsies and brought them to prison as a punishment for their crime. [my translation, R.M.]

Marie het ongehoorzame meisje

Niettegenstaande hare ouders het verboden hebben is Marie stilletjes uit de tuin geloopen en den weg naar het bosch opgegaan om kapelletjes te vangen.

Nadat ze lang geloopen heeft word ze moe en valt aan den boschkant in slaap.

Zigeuners die daar juist voorbij kwamen namen haar op en brachten haar in hun wagen.

Men trek haar toen haar mooie kleederen uit en zich niet aan haar gehuil storende trok men haar lompen aan zoodat zij er als een arm kind uitzag.
Het eerste wat men haar leerde was het eten voor de zigeuners te koken.

Vervolgens moest zij leeren koorddansen en liep elk oogenblik gevaar den hals te breken.

> Daarna moest zij kunsten leeren maken en kreeg zweepslagen als zij het niet goed deed.
>
> Toen zij nu alles kende, moest zij op de voorstellingen mee werken en werd voor aan de tent naast de andere kunstenmakers ten toon gesteld.
>
> Zij danste prachtig op het koord tot groot vermaak van de vele toeschouwers.
>
> Maar op een dag verloor zij het evenwicht en viel. Toen men haar op nam was zij bewusteloos en terwijl men haar weg droeg door het volk, herkende haar vader en moeder, die ook op de voorsteling waren, hun verloren dochtertie.
>
> Zij trokken het uit de handen van den zigeuner en toen Marie tot zich zelve kwam, herkende zij hare ouders, die ze nooit meer verliet.
>
> De agenten pakten de zigeuners op en brachten ze naar de gevangenis als straf voor hunne misdaad.

6.4.1 Illustrated Books for Children and Juveniles

Denn sie rauben sehr geschwind –
Jedes böse Gassen Kind.

Georg Dennlers, "Zigeunerfrieda", 1890

The Gypsies are coming
The old people say
To buy little children and take them away.
Fifty cents for the fat ones
Twenty cents for the lean ones

Shel Silverstein, "The Gypsies Are Coming", 1974

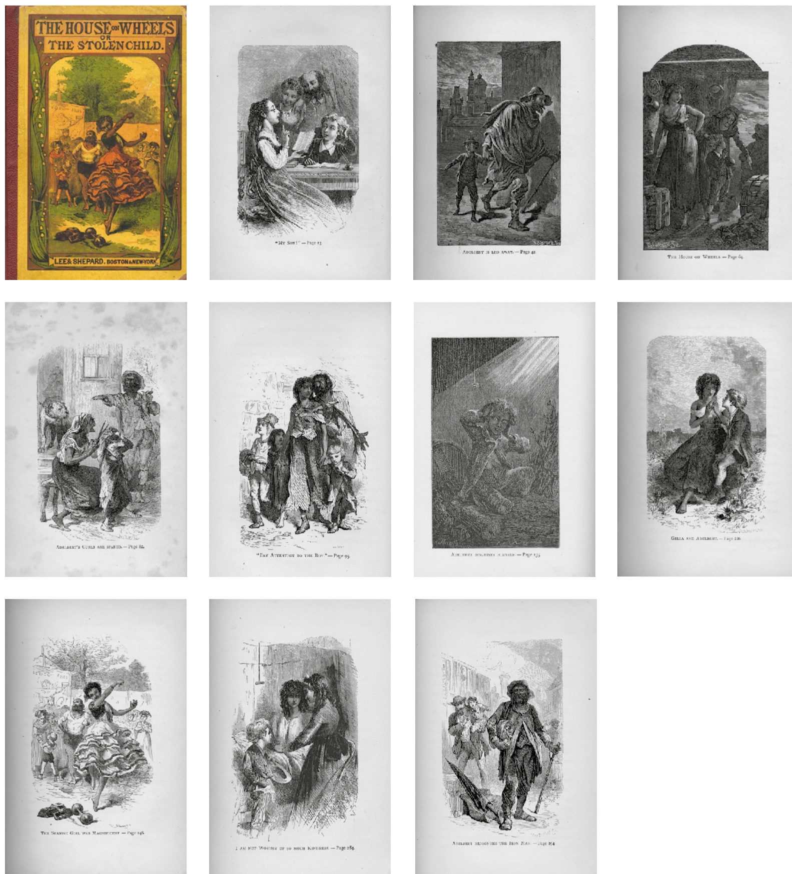
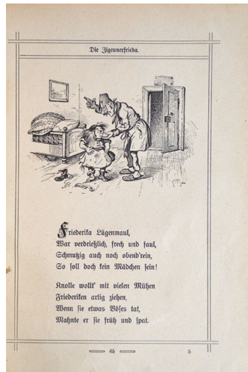


Fig. 27. Émile Antoine Bayard, Illustrations to the book *The House on Wheels, or, The Stolen Child* written by Stolz, 1871.

Fig. 28. Illustration to the book *Anna, das geraubte Kind* written by Alexander Löwen, 1872.



Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Friederika Lügenmaul,
War verdrießlich, frech und faul,
Schmutzig auch noch obend'rein,
So soll doch kein Mädchen sein!

Knolle wollt' mit vielen Mühen
Friederiken artig ziehen,
Wenn sie etwas Böses tat,
Mahnte er sie früh und spat.

65 5

Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Auf der Straße, in den Stuben,
Balgt die Frieda mit den Buben,
Ausgelassen spät und früh,
Aber folgsam war sie nie.

Wenn man sie zum Kaufmann schickte,
Oder wenn sie Strümpfe strickte,
Oder wenn sie sonst was sollte,
Immer schimpfte sie und grollte.

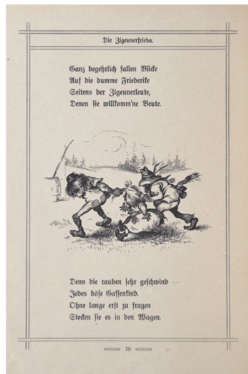
67 5*

Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Draußen vor dem Tore standen
Wägen von Zigeunerbanden.
Kaum hat Frieda die geseh'n,
Bleibt sie gaffend dorten steh'n.

Glotzt in jene Fensterscheiben —
Was die Leut' im Wagen treiben,
Das ist jetzt ihr Wissensdurst,
Alles and're ist ihr Wurst.

69



Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Ganz begehrlich fallen Blicke
Auf die dumme Friederike
Seitens der Zigeunerleute,
Denen sie willkomm'ne Beute.

Denn die rauben sehr geschwind —
Jedes böse Gassenkind.
Ohne lange erst zu fragen
Stecken sie es in den Wagen.

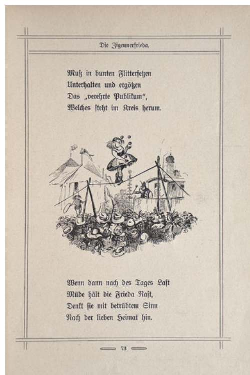
70

Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Zwei Zigeuner, schwarz und greulich,
Packten jetzt die Frieda eilig,
Warfen sie, trotz ihrem Schrei'n,
In den Wagen, schwupps, hinein!

Und hierauf in wilder Flucht
Man sofort das Weite sucht.
Frieda heult vor Angst im Wagen,
Doch umsonst ist jetzt ihr Klagen.

71



Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Muß in bunten Flitterfetzen
Unterhalten und ergötzen
Das „verehrte Publikum",
Welches steht im Kreis herum.

Wenn dann nach des Tages Last
Müde hält die Frieda Rast,
Denkt sie mit betrübtem Sinn
Nach der lieben Heimat hin.

73

Die Zigeunerfrieda.

Sie vergleicht die jetz'gen Plagen
Mit den längstvergang'nen Tagen,
Wo sie froh und sorglos war
Bei dem lieben Elternpaar.

Denkt oft an die schönen Stunden,
Die sie hat daheim gefunden.
Doch die Reue kommt zu spät,
Schlimm es jetzt der Frieda geht!

74

Fig. 29. Karl Pommerhanz, Illustrations to the poem "Die Zigeunerfrieda" written by Georg Dennler, 1890.

6.4.2 Magic Lantern Slideshows: *The Gipsy's Revenge* (1886)

The magic lantern slide set presented here (**Fig. 30**) tells the story of child abduction and recovery in 34 scenes. Each scene is recreated on a separate glass slide (square, 83 mm). The slides were produced by the British photographer and entrepreneur James Bamford who shot the scenes with life models using both his studio set and exterior locations. Ludwig Vogl-Bienek reports in his article "Sentiment to Order: The production of Life Model Slides by Bamforth" that Bamford began shooting and manufacturing life models series in the early 1880s; *The Gipsy's Revenge* is the first set with life model slides with a reliable publication date. The photographs from the series were entered into the copyright register at Stationer's Hall in London on September 18th, 1886 (11; see also Volg-Bienek 2016: 244, 250–251). Notably, James Bamforth modelled in the set both as the Count (on slides 6–10, 20–21, 23–24, 27) and as Black Bertram the 'gipsy' (on slides 29–32).

Fig. 30. Slide set: *The Gipsy's Revenge*, story: Bamforth & Co., 34 slides, 1886.

6.5 Further Visual Works Related to the ‘Gypsy’ Child-theft Motif

Paintings

Cäsar, Willich. *Zigeunerin*, 1846–1886, oil on canvas, 104 × 81 cm, Kaiserslautern, ArteMIS, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Kunsthistorisches Institut.

Eckersberg, Christoffer Wilhelm. *Den tyske sangerinde Emilie Pohlmann som Preciosa/Die deutsche Sängerin Mademoiselle Emilie Pohlmann als Preciosa*, 1825, oil on canvas, 45.5 × 35 cm, Aabenraa, besitz Christian Panbo, Diathek online, Technische Universität Dresden, Institut für Kunstgeschichte.

Hausmann, Friedrich Karl. *Pariser Strassenkinder*, 1825, oil on canvas, 163.5 × 205.5 cm. Bez. R.o.: F.C. Hausmann Paris 52. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Inv. Nr. 1333.

Printed Images

de Bayalos, Aimé, and Lemercier & Cie (printmaker). *La Esméralda.* 1838, paper, lithograph, 236 × 178 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1900,1231.1365. *Description*: “A portrait of the character Esméralda, a gypsy girl, half-length, seen from the front; her hand is raised in response to her dog at left; her head is slightly lowered to the left; she stands outside the facade of a church with mullioned windows and floral motif, seen at right; beyond at left, the exterior of a building.”

Burgess, John Bagnold. *Stolen by Gipsies*, 1875, paper, etching/engraving, 553 × 732 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1912,1217.490. *Description*: “A little girl stands holding a tambourine, with a sullen expression as a gipsy musician speaks to her, his companion jumping enthusiastically as if to encourage the child to play; a group of men sitting around a table watch from the right; in the foreground a mother cradles her baby, a young boy sits on the ground at her feet eating an apple; two large urns in the open-fronted.”

Cole, R. (printmaker). *The True Pictures of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, ca. 1753–1760, paper, sipple, etching/engraving, 188 × 270 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1929,0208.8. *Description*: "Double portrait of the perjurer Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires, the gypsy woman she accused of assisting in her supposed abduction in 1753; design in two compartments, within each an almost half-length portrait within ornate frames, both sitters looking to right; cartouche below; illustration to the 'New Universal Magazine.'"

Cole, R. (printmaker). *The True Pictures of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires.* 1754, paper, etching/engraving, 186 × 260 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1851,0308.164.

The Committee of 6 Aldermen, 1753, paper, etching, 207 × 314 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1868,0808.3940.

Description: "Satire on the Jewish Naturalization Act and the Canning Affair; six aldermen at a table discussing bribery and circumcision; one of them is Sir Crisp Gascoyne who refers to his support of Mary Squires, "the gypsy", against the accusations of Elizabeth Canning who stands behind him."

The Conjurors 1753, 1753, paper, etching/engraving, 248 × 350 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1868,0808.3935. *Description*: "Satire related to the Canning affair."

David, Jules. *Phoebus et la Esméralda*, 1841–1843, paper, 567 × 396 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1905-3436.

Dorn, Edouard. *Preciosa de Weber. Fantasie pour Piano.* Offenbach: Jean André, ca. 1990.

Edgcumbe, Richard, and Thomas Worlidge (printmaker), *Mary Squires the Gypsy,* 1754, paper, etching and drypoint, 209 × 170 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1859,0806.16. *Description*: "Portrait of Mary Squires, whole length, standing to right, leaning on a short stick, wearing hat, cape, apron."

Elizabeth Canning. Mary Squires the Gypsy, ca. 1753–1760, paper, engraving, 120 × 202 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1851,0308.165. *Description:* "Double portrait of the perjurer Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires, the gypsy woman she accused of assisting in her supposed abduction in 1753; design in two compartments, within each an almost half-length portrait within a roundel, the women's names in banners beneath; illustration to the 'London Magazine.'"

Folkema, Jacob. *De Spaanse heidin Preciosa*, 1702–1767, 16.2 × 10.8 cm. Rijksmuseum, Object No RP-P-1903-A-23927. (**Fig. 31**)

The Gypsy's Triumph, 1754, paper, etching, 326 × 258 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1868,0808.3931.
Description: "Satire on the Canning Affair; Crisp Gascoyne and Mary Squires, 'the old gypsy', carried in triumph by four old gypsies carrying broomsticks and wearing pointed hats."

Hosemann, Theodor. *Zigeunerin*, In: *Das allergrösster Bilder-ABC.* Berlin, 1828: [22] last plate.

Isaacsz, Isaac, and Pieter Nolpe (print maker). *Don Jan en Konstance in de rechtbank*, 1643, paper, etching/engraving, 146 × 129 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1883-A-6911.

Keyert, Rienk. *Ontwerp voor een behangselschildering of schilderij met het Spaanse Heidin Preciosa en Don Juan*, 1719–1775, paper, watercolour (paint), design for wallpaper painting, 204 × 153 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-T-1996-98.

Mary Squires in Conversation with Sir John Hill, 1753, paper, etching, 248 × 188 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1868,0808.3934.

Nolpe, Pieter (print maker). *Don Philippo en Eleonora*, 1643, paper, etching/engraving, 136 × 115 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1883-A-6912.

Preciosa, oder: Abenteuer eines Mädchens unter den Zigeunern, ca. 1882, Oehmigke & Riemschneider (Publishers), coloured lithograph, landscape format, 33.5 × 42 cm, Museum Europäischer Kulturen, Ident. Nr. D (33 C 3714) 33/1984.
Caption: "Camp of Roma in the forest, the girl cooks over the open fire, the others lie, dance or stand around. Text overleaf: A romantic story from Spain. In almost all European countries, not even excluding England, one encounters the strange migrant population of the Gypsies ..."

Quast, Pieter Jansz, and Pieter Nolpe (print maker). *Majombe spreekt Pretioze moed in*, 1643, paper, etching/engraving, 134 × 110 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1883-A-6909.

———. *Konstance in gesprek met Don Jan*, 1643, paper, etching/engraving, 135 × 115 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1883-A-6910.

———. *Majombe en Konstance en rustende figuren*, 1643, paper, etching/engraving, 128 × 108 mm, Rijksmuseum, Object Nr. RP-P-1883-A-6908.

Fig. 31. Jacob Folkema, *De Spaanse heidin Preciosa*, 1702–1767, 16.2 × 10.8 cm.

Rembrandt van Rijn. *The Spanish Gipsy “Preciosa”*, ca. 1642, etching, 14.6 × 12.8 cm; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Nr. 23.51.3.

———. *A True Draught of Eliz Canning, with the House She was Confined in, also the Gypsies Flight, and Conversing with the Inspector General of Great Britain*, ca. 1753, paper, etching with stipple, 473 × 390 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1851,0308.168.
Description: “Five scenes relating to the affair of Elizabeth Canning: the house in Enfield, Mary Squires flying on a broomstick and conversing with Sir John Hill, and a portrait of Canning.”

———. *Voleurs D’Enfants [Child Thieves]. Les Faits-Divers Illustrés*, Nr. 199, Paris, 12 Aug 1909, title page. akg-images, Media Nr. 84063333.
Description: “Clashes in the posrt of Brooklyn in July 1909 during the expulsion of a group of twenty-four Roma with the steamboat SS Verdi to Buenos Aires.”

Whitby, William, and John Young (printmaker). *The Gipsy*, 1788, paper, mezzotint, 342 × 251 mm, British Museum, Museum Nr. 1919,0121.5.
Description: “A woman wearing a large bonnet over curly hair and a loose gown with a sash around the waist, looking back over her shoulder towards the viewer, with her left arm around the neck of a child and a little boy standing beside her, all facing away from the viewer in a landscape with a wooden palisade outlined against the night sky to left.”

Yrondy. *Entführung der Antoinette M.* [*Enfant enlevee par des nomads/Child Kidnapped by Gypsies*]. Illustration published in Le Petit Journal, Supplement Illustre, 13. Jg. (Paris) 2 Feb 1902, 30.0 × 41.7 cm, Sammlung Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, akg-images, Image Nr. AKG87166, and Image Nr. AKG4915677.
Description: “Pont-a-Mousson; on her way to school, ten-year-old Antoinette Mirguet is kidnapped by travelling basket weavers.”

Illustrated Books for Children and Juveniles

The eight nineteenth-century English titles that follow here, mostly novels for juveniles, come from the digitised collection of the University of Florida's Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, and are also available online (Baldwin). As the Baldwin Library's presentation text succinctly puts it, "[t]heir digitized collection currently holds over 6,000 books free to read online from cover to cover, allowing you to get a sense of what adults in Britain and the U.S. wanted children to know and believe." The picture book with poems for children by Shel Silverstein from 1974 is discussed by Meyers (54). The six German titles have been identified through various sources.[64] The poem "Die Zigeunerfrieda" by Georg Dennler and his picture book with poems for children is discussed by Mattenklott (219–220). The last book, published in several different editions, presents a complementary example to our topic, namely depictions of Jews as child-snatchers.

Books in English

Byrne, Charles Alfred. "The Remarkable Adventure of Tin Tin Rog." *Dream Land.* New York: Mook Brothers and Co. 14–20.

Capes, M., and Harriet M. *The Little Runaways.* Illustrator John Gülich. London: Sunday School Union, 1899?

Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. *Hid in a Cave, and, The Selfish Little Girl.* London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1859.

Freddy and His Bible Text, or, The Little Runaway. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1872.

Lowrie, R.W. "Playing Gypsies." In: Sophie May, et. *Nursery and Kindergarten Stories.* New York: Saalfield Pub. Co. 69–70.

Miller, Thomas. *Little Blue Hood.* Illustrator Henry Walker. New York: James Gregory, M DCCC LXIV.

Rother, Carl Mrs. *Lost and Found, or, Twelve Years with Bulgarian Gypsies.* London: Blackie & Son, 1887.

Silverstein, Shel. *Where the Sidewalk Ends.* "The Gypsies are Coming." New York: Harper & Row, 1974:50.

64 A comprehensive bibliography on 'gypsy' figures/representaions of Sinti and Roma in German literature for children and juveniles has been compiled by Projektgruppe "Zigeunerbilder" der AG Jugendliteratur und Medien (AJuM der GEW), also available online (Pommerening).

Stolz. *The House on Wheels, or, The Stolen Child.* Illustrator Émile Antoine Bayard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871.

Books in German

Dennler, Georg. "Die Zigeunerfrieda." *Onkel Knolle, Ein Bilderbuch mit lustigen Reimen.* Illustrator Karl Pommerhanz. Donauwörth: Verlag Mager, 1890: 64–74.

Goldschmitt, François. *Zwei Jahre bei Zigeunern: Volks- und Jugenderzählung*. Hamm in Westfalen: Breer & Thiemann, [1912].
Note: copy available in the Berlin State Library.

Hermann, Paul. *Die Zigeunerin oder der entführte Knabe.* Mainz: Kupferberg, 1880.

Linsmeyer, Adalbert. *Der gute Schutzman. Ein Leehreiches Bilderbuch zur Verhütung des Verkehrsgefahren*, Illustrator Wolfgang Wagner. München: Braun und Schneider, [1926]: 11.

von Löwen, Alexander. *Anna, das geraubte Kind: zur Erinnerung an Anna Böckler, das von Zigeunern frechgeraubte Töchterchen des Domainenpächters Böckler aus Treuen für Jung und Alt als warnendes Beispiel.* Deutsche Mährchen, Nr. 3, 1872.
Note: with 6 coloured lithographs as plates; electronically available on the website of the Berlin State Library.

Reichner, Klara. *Preciosa. Eine Zigeunergeschichte.* Illustrator Th. V. Pichler. Stuttgart: Verlag von Gustav Weise, 1882.

Schicksale eines Fürstenkindes. Parchim: J.H.L. Hoffmann, [1890?].
Note: with illustrations; copy available in the Berlin State Library.

Jews as Child-Thieves in Children's Books

Haase, Paul. *Der kleine Stapelmatz. Lehrreiche Geschichten für Kinder mit bunten und lustigen Bildern.* Leipzig: Verlag von Franz Ohme, 1910.
Note: Under the authorship of Gustav Theodor Drobisch, the 9th edition of this title appeared in 1875 also in Leipzig by a publisher called Germann; available on the website of the Berlin State Library.

The 6th edition of 1871 is also available on the website of Digital Library Braunschweig.
In these older editions, all under the authorship of Gustav Theodor Drobisch, the episode bears the title “The Bad Jew, or: The Ride to the Windmill” (Der böse Jude, oder: Die Fahrt auf der Windmühle). The illustrations, though, are very different from those in the edition of 1910. The Karlsruhe Virtual Catalog lists a 5th edition of 1870; obviously, the book was very popular in the German Empire.