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- Filling in the Gaps, Doing What We Have Always Done in TRAIL
- Illustrated, Incitive, and Indecent: **Comic Censorship and the Effort to Stem Youth Corruption**



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**About the Cover**: *The Speaker of the House presides from the Speaker's chair at the top of the Rostrum*. n.d. Digital photograph. Kids in the House. Accessed 5, 2023. https://kids-clerk.house.gov/images/content-images/con-first-4-speakerchair.jpg.

### **Editor's Corner**

### House Speaker Shuffle: McCarthy Departs, Congress Seeks New Leader

Jennifer Castle

n a stunning turn of events, the United States witnessed a political earthquake that has sent shockwaves across the nation. The ousting of Speaker of the House Kevin McCarthy has left many of us wondering what's next in the turbulent world of American politics.

I wrote another version of this editorial, exploring the history of the 1884 Antideficiency Act and its effect on government shutdowns. A quick primer: Thanks to a 1980 interpretation of the Act by then-Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, Applicability of the Antideficiency Act Upon a Lapse in an Agency's Appropriations.1 But what is the Antideficiency Act? It's a quirky piece of legislation, and its idea is simple: Don't spend money you don't have.<sup>2</sup> It sounds like common sense, right? But here's the twist—in Civiletti's opinion, it can lead to government shutdowns if Congress doesn't pass a budget or a spending bill in time. Because of his ruling, ten federal funding gaps have led to actual employee furloughs within federal government departments since the Carter Administration (about four per decade) because politicians could not agree on the budget.<sup>3</sup> In an interview with the Washington Post nearly 40 years later, Civiletti said, "I couldn't have ever imagined these shutdowns would last this long of a time and would be used as a political gambit. My opinion was a purely direct opinion on a fairly narrow subject and has been used in ways that were not imagined at the time."4

And that brings me to McCarthy's dilemma: Eight of his Republican colleagues chafed at the bipartisan deal he made with President Joe Biden to avoid a federal default.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, they cast their votes in opposition to the bill that Congress approved on September 30, which aims to maintain current funding levels for the federal government until mid-November.<sup>6</sup>

Those same politicians, led by Matt Gaetz, collaborated with their Democratic counterparts, creating a historical moment when McCarthy became the first speaker in US history to be removed from the position through a vote. Though I suppose it wasn't entirely a shock because his role as Speaker has been fraught with controversy, including his election. It took 15 ballots for McCarthy to be elected, only after making concessions to some members of the right-wing Freedom Caucus, of which Gaetz is a member. It was the longest multiballot speaker election since 1856. Later, it was revealed that McCarthy had been in direct communication with former

President Donald Trump during the January 6th attack on the Capitol, pleading with him to call off the mob. <sup>10</sup> This was a major point of contention among some House Republicans, particularly the Freedom Caucus. <sup>11</sup>

The shakeup could also significantly affect the upcoming midterm elections. The GOP's internal strife might affect their ability to present a cohesive front to voters. Democrats, on the other hand, may see an opportunity to gain more seats in the House if they can capitalize on Republican divisions. It's too early to say for sure, but it's clear that the GOP is at a crossroads. The Republican Party now faces the challenge of selecting a new Speaker to bridge the gap between the different factions and lead with unity. But interim Speaker Patrick McHenry immediately ordered Rep. Nancy Pelosi out of her D.C. office—the same one that was ransacked by January 6 rioters—while she was at the funeral of Rep. Dianne Feinstein.<sup>12</sup> Both parties have opportunities and challenges to navigate in the coming months. As our nation moves forward, it is imperative that we prioritize unity and effective leadership to address the pressing issues facing our country.

**Jennifer Castle** (jennifer.castle@vanderbilt.edu), Librarian for Human and Organizational Development, Vanderbilt University.

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### From the Chair

### Benjamin Aldred

ocuments to the People is coming up on the 5th anniversary of going open access, trying to live up to the meaning of our name, actually delivering documents to the people. In honor of that anniversary, we are looking to take an additional step in that journey and I want to talk a bit about why and what open access should mean to collection philosophy in the government documents world.

Government documents have a long history of dedication to the principles that underlie open access, even before the terms were used in a library science context. Concepts like the Congressional Franking Privilege, the public domain copyright status of works produced by the federal government and the Federal Depository Library Program all represent efforts that make sure information is available to the public. Efforts to make sure that the fruits of government work were not hedged off from public access. These tie to core elements of the philosophy of open access and have been part of government information not just in the United States of America, but in many parts of the world.

But open access isn't always enough. Open discoverability is important too, so that people can find their way to this

information in the ILS of their local libraries. Without discoverability, the information may remain hidden. It is for this reason that *Document to the People* is seeking indexing in the Directory of Open Access Journals. The DOAJ provides free metadata to everyone, including libraries, allowing the direct linking of full text in a way that makes information more accessible. While *DttP* is indexed in several prominent subscription databases, those may be out of the price or subject range of the libraries that the majority of Americans have access to.

It is our hope by seeking inclusion in the DOAJ that we can increase our reach to libraries that could not afford those databases, so that we can increase the access of patrons who do not have access to an academic library, that we can increase the reach of our authors talking about many of the important issues facing the world in these troubled times and hopefully plot a strong course for *Documents to the People* in the future.

**Benjamin Aldred** (baldred2@uic.edu), Assistant Professor, Reference and Liaison Librarian, University of Illinois Chicago.

### Get to Know . . .

### Perveen Rustomfram

Gwen Sinclair

Perveen Rustomfram presides over one of the newest regional federal depository collections at the Ned McWherter Library at the University of Memphis (UM), which is also a depository for Tennessee state publications. She has had a fulfilling and illustrious career at UM, where she started as a reference and instruction librarian in 1995. She previously cut her teeth on government documents at the Memphis Public Library, where she worked from 1987 to 1993. Originally from Hyderabad, India, she obtained a BSW in Social Work from Bombay University, an MA in Sociology from the University of Hyderabad, a BLS in Library Science from SNDT University, and an MLS from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

Perveen loves the variety of challenges inherent in working with government information in a regional depository. She is proud of her accomplishments since her appointment as head of Government Publications in 2013. For example, she restarted retrospective cataloging of federal documents and is currently involved with selecting titles for remote storage, which requires intimate knowledge of the collection in terms of which sections are growing and which are stable. In addition, UM is a Center of Excellence, Preservation Steward, and Digitization Partner for Peace Corps publications. Recently, her department began adding born-digital Tennessee documents to UM's online repository.

The UM library has been a depository since 1956 but only became a regional in 1989. The documents collection was once a library-within-a-library. Several years ago, the library consolidated its reference desks, which Perveen believes may have impacted the volume of reference questions and level of expertise in the collection. The move to an all-digital FDLP makes her wonder whether the decrease in tangible material will further impact librarians' familiarity with their collections. In terms of developing her own expertise, Perveen said, "I would like to go more into the Serial Set because I think it's a very interesting resource, and I would like to learn more about the government's open data initiatives."

Tennessee has an unusual disposal process. When Saundra Williams was the depository coordinator, UM made a unique "shared holdings" arrangement with six other Tennessee libraries that hold portions of the regional collection. Thus, UM is the regional for documents received from 1989 to the present and its own share of the pre-1989 collection, while the other libraries hold various portions of the pre-1989 regional collection. This arrangement adds a layer of complexity when it comes to handling discards because the library is also a member of the Association of

Southeastern Research Libraries (ASERL) and uses its disposition database. Perveen expressed gratitude that FDLP staff members are more involved with the disposal process when libraries withdraw from the FDLP. Two Tennessee selectives have dropped status recently, and Perveen was glad for GPO's help with the withdrawal and disposal process.

Perveen's passion for the intricacies of government information is evident in her selection of data.census.gov as a favorite resource. She finds it satisfying to keep up with its ever-evolving interface and to teach others about using it. "I wouldn't say I'm proficient at it—it keeps improving and new capabilities are added to it. Every time you get into it, it's 'Oh, I can do this with it!" She also enjoys promoting government information to K-12 schools and has given numerous presentations to teachers and school librarians in Memphis. Perveen serves on the GODORT Government Information for Children Committee as well.

In addition to her work promoting census data and K-12 resources, Perveen coordinates many other events. During the pandemic, she initiated monthly virtual gatherings for Tennessee GODORT coordinators, which have proved popular and are still taking place. Since 2018, her department has organized voter registration drives each year in partnership with the county election commission. In conjunction with the drive, she has organized a companion panel event where experts from the University address a voting-related theme.

In the future, Perveen looks forward to traveling, particularly to Egypt and Morocco. "The cultures really fascinate me—the pyramids!" she exclaimed. Walking and watching films are other favorite pastimes. "I would really like to get into knitting, but I work long hours and don't have time right now," she added regretfully.

Perveen offered the following advice to new government information librarians: "Be very organized. Take time to understand the process of government information and how it works. Reach out to others outside your library for help—the gov docs community is very helpful and supportive. It can be a lot of fun! Buckle up!" she said with a laugh.

**Gwen Sinclair** (gsinclai@hawaii.edu), Chair, Government Documents & Maps Department, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library.

# Filling in the Gaps, Doing What We Have Always Done in TRAIL

Jen Kirk, Sinai Wood, and Laura Sare

The Technical Report Archive & Image Library (TRAIL) identifies, acquires, catalogs, digitizes, and provides unrestricted access to US government agency technical reports. Technical reports describe the process of engineering or scientific research and often include in-depth details including raw data. TRAIL currently consists of over four-dozen member institutions whose annual membership fees and volunteered staff time further the efforts of the project. The mission of TRAIL is to ensure preservation, discoverability, and persistent open access to government technical publications regardless of form or format. TRAIL has been in existence for nearly seventeen years and has made 93,514 technical reports openly accessible in that time.

This article covers the work of TRAIL since its tenth anniversary in 2016. For the work and history of TRAIL up to that point, please read the article summarizing the first ten years of TRAIL in Documents to the People vol. 44, no. 2 (https://www.journals.ala.org/index.php/dttp/article/view/6070/7795). Additional resources include the TRAIL History page at https://www.crl.edu/grn/trail/about-trail/history-trail and the page on publications and presentations about TRAIL at https://www.crl.edu/grn/trail/current-activities/PapersPresentations.

### Overview of TRAIL

TRAIL members are made up of designated liaisons from each member institution, as well as personal members, who are not from member institutions, but volunteer their time. Currently there are fifty-three institutional members and thirteen personal members. TRAIL content comes from donors, libraries, or other institutions that wish to provide technical reports for digitization.

TRAIL content is easily accessible through the search interface at http://www.technicalreports.org/. This interface searches reports stored in HathiTrust and the University of North Texas (UNT) digital libraries. Both UNT (https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/TRAIL/) and HathiTrust

(https://www.hathitrust.org/) have a TRAIL collection that can be searched separately. As of December 2022, UNT had 30,522 reports available. The HathiTrust TRAIL collection had 62,992 reports.

All the goals TRAIL accomplishes come from the efforts of the Working Groups. These groups meet online at various frequencies as determined by the number of projects they are trying to accomplish. A Steering Committee oversees the progress of the Working Groups and interacts with the Center for Research Libraries (CRL) who hosts the website and workspace. TRAIL has an annual meeting to update members about progress and to discuss and approve new projects and initiatives.

To learn more about TRAIL's reports, visit the TRAIL Tools webpage (https://www.crl.edu/grn/trail/about-trail/trail-tools), which includes a link to TRAIL Guides (https://trail guides.crl.edu/series). TRAIL Guides include inventories of items digitized by government agencies and names of report series digitized by TRAIL. The LibGuide also provides lists of the issues or volumes TRAIL needs to make the online series complete. Libraries can utilize these lists to make decisions on retention of their tangible technical report collections.

In the past few years TRAIL has moved beyond a focus on digitizing tangible print reports and has started investing in digitizing reports currently only available on microcard. Digitizing this new format meant creating new workflows to ensure these reports provide the same detailed metadata as their print-based counterparts.

### What's New

### Microcard Project

While TRAIL has digitized tens of thousands of print reports, following an annual meeting discussion in 2017, the Steering Committee began investigating digitization of another format for technical reports: microcards. Microcards were developed in the 1940s as a hybrid of a catalog card and its content.

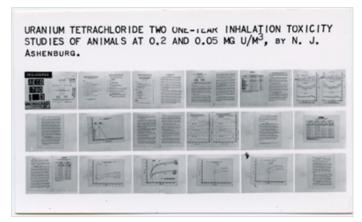


Microcard Reader. Morgan Milburn and Mark Phillips, "Breaking Down Barriers to Accessing Technical Literature on Opaque Microcards." https://tdl-ir.tdl.org/handle/2249.1/156389.

Printed on opaque cards similar to index cards, researchers use specific readers to magnify the micro-print on a view screen. These cards were developed to save shelf space rather than for ease of patron use.<sup>1</sup>

Like microfiche, the cards differed with their positive typeface and opaque backing. While certain machines can be used for both microcards and microfiche, the requirements to view the content were very different. While Fremont Rider, the inventor of microcards, anticipated wide dissemination, primarily to academic libraries, there was only a short period of production and adoption between the 1940s through 1960s before it was eclipsed by microfiche.<sup>2</sup>

Despite its relatively low impact in later 20th-century library developments, one significant adopter produced microcards relevant to TRAIL: the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). One of the most prolific federal agencies producing technical reports, the AEC funded laboratories across the country to investigate atomic energy. Beginning in the 1950s, the AEC adopted the microcard format for publications and instituted its own microcard distribution program for technical reports.<sup>3</sup> The *Twentieth Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy* 



Microcard Example. Morgan Milburn and Mark Phillips, "Breaking Down Barriers to Accessing Technical Literature on Opaque Microcards." https://tdl-ir.tdl.org/handle/2249.1/156389.

Commission announced that "Forty-nine depository libraries have been established throughout the country. . . . The Commission has authorized establishment of 15 additional depositories. When completed, this library system is intended to make available at least one collection of nonclassified documents in each metropolitan area of 500,000 or more persons." Like its print compatriot, the AEC microcard program grouped reports by laboratory/entity but the print and microcard formats had different distribution systems.

Given TRAIL's success digitizing AEC print technical reports, turning attention to the microcard format would complement existing digitized reports. Microcards present many challenges with their format, but digital copies of these reports would be useful to researchers, so a new digitization workflow needed to be developed. TRAIL partnered with the University of North Texas (UNT) for this work, digitizing and ingesting into their digital library repository via the Microcard Pilot Project. One thousand cards were selected to go through the digitization process to identify workflows, partnerships, and benchmarks.<sup>5</sup> Both UNT and the Steering Committee deemed the project to be a success and worth the extra effort to bring these reports online. In 2019, TRAIL began digitizing the University of Arizona's AEC Microcard Collection. It included 33,000 reports on over 50,000 microcards. It is important to note that because of the AEC microcard program described above, AEC collections in libraries vary in size. Arizona's collection is just one example. An informal survey across four institutions conducted by the authors in 2021 indicated a range of materials from 22.4 linear feet to 109.7 linear feet of microcards.<sup>6</sup>

Following the workflows identified in the Microcard Pilot Project, UNT sourced a commercial vendor for digitization to save money and time. After digitization, UNT and the TRAIL Processing Group conducted a post-processing procedure. This procedure has staff at UNT divide a digital file of the entire

**Table 1. Distributed Cataloging Metrics** 

Number of Reports Cataloged	Cataloging Entity
1,850	TRAIL Central pre-digitization project (pre-2019)
1,000	Test Records by TRAIL Central and the Colorado School of Mines (2019-2021)
490	TRAIL Central (2022)
198	Stanford University (2022)
170	University of Illinois Urbana-Campaign (2022)

microcard into report pages and add metadata to the digital files. At the University of Arizona, TRAIL staff (staff hired through TRAIL membership fees) create catalog records, with support from additional partners, which is described in the Distributed Cataloging section below. UNT delivered microcards to the digitization vendor from November 2020 to May 2021. All cards have been scanned and are either available publicly online or are in the post-processing queue. As of spring 2023, thirteen percent have been uploaded to the UNT TRAIL Microcard Collection (https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/TRAMC/).

### **Distributed Cataloging Project**

As TRAIL has pursued this new technical report format, working groups and TRAIL staff have had to adjust their cataloging workflows. The original TRAIL workflow had staff catalog the report before digitization. Microcards are much easier to read and catalog after digitization, so the workflow was reversed. After UNT's post-processing work, TRAIL staff apply descriptive metadata and coordinate distributed cataloging work across volunteer institutions—Stanford, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, and Colorado School of Mines.

As one can imagine, digitizing 33,000 reports creates quite the amount of material to catalog. The Steering Committee and Central Working Group are leading TRAIL into a new multi-year project with these partners to describe the microcards (see table 1). This work is vital to patron access and use as most federally issued reports in microcard format are minimally described and not discoverable at the title-level in discovery layers, WorldCat, or library catalogs. Tangible cards are hard to read even if a library is lucky enough to have a microcard reader that they can maintain and keep running, and even more rarely have the ability to print.

Despite these challenges, and through the efforts of individuals across TRAIL member institutions, TRAIL has developed another innovative workflow to increase access to and promote awareness of technical reports. Federal government technical reports in microcard format have not been distributed in decades, so eventually, TRAIL may complete the set and libraries can deaccession their copies while increasing access for

their patrons. TRAIL plans to retain and archive the microcards they digitize.

### **Gap Fills**

Part of the reason for digitizing the microcards was to provide a more complete corpus of AEC technical reports through TRAIL. The TRAIL Collections Working Group identifies reports through series, or groups of publications usually having a report number assigned by the Superintendent of Documents or the issuing agency. One goal is to have complete runs of each series TRAIL digitizes. Early on, as TRAIL processing series inventories were created (https://trailguides.crl.edu /series), it became evident that acquiring all reports in a series would be much more difficult than anticipated for a variety of reasons. For instance, agencies either did not publish or did not retain publication lists, finding aids, or indexes of their reports, meaning the exact number (or numbering) of reports in a particular series is unknown. Even if the numbering for a specific series is known, in some cases report numbers were assigned to an author but were never published. This adds to the likelihood that if one potential donor is missing a report then perhaps all potential donors would be missing that same report because the report was never actually published. Additionally, some report numbers in a series may have been published as journal articles or as classified/limited distribution reports, and not as more readily accessible technical reports. Investigating the reasons why TRAIL's holdings for a particular series are incomplete takes many volunteer hours. Before 2021, TRAIL efforts had been focused on processing new series, so filling gaps happened largely as a happenstance of accepting content from donors over the years.

At the 2021 TRAIL Annual Meeting, members in attendance voted "filling series gaps" as a high priority. The Gap Fills Project, a concerted effort to acquire and process reports that fill gaps in existing TRAIL-processed series, was launched with the Collections Working Group shepherding the work. Mel DeSart, Head of the Engineering Library and Head of the Mathematics Research Library at the University of Washington and longtime TRAIL Collections Working Group member, took the lead on this project. He decided to start with the US Bureau of Mines (USBOM) and systematically asked for gap fills in all USBOM series by sending emails to specific groups: first to TRAIL members, secondly to science and technology librarian email lists, thirdly to government document librarian email lists, and finally working through a TRAIL member institution posting "Needs" to the Government Publishing Office (GPO) FDLP eXchange (https://www.fdlp.gov /collection-tools/fdlp-eXchange). Because each group is given a

deadline to respond, the next group on the email list cannot be contacted until the needs list is updated.

We are pleased to announce that over 630 reports have been acquired from the first 2+ selected series calls, mostly from TRAIL members. Special thanks go to the MIT Libraries, who supplied many of those reports. Once we have completed the call for USBOM gap fills, the next federal agency targeted is the National Bureau of Standards (NBS).

This project continually evolves as we receive inquiries from potential donors. We have been offered microfiche for gap-fills, but our current preference is for paper so that our fiche digitization vendor, the University of North Texas (UNT), can focus on their portion of our microcard digitization project work. We have also been asked whether we accept scanned copies for gap fills. We do accept donor-scanned reports if those scans meet UNT specifications. Those specifications and other details have been provided to donors and are publicly available at the TRAIL website: https://trailguides.crl.edu/series/gapfill.

Accepting scanned reports has resulted in creating yet another workflow for our TRAIL Processing Working Group, and most likely will add additional (less familiar) workflows as we begin to discuss acquiring born-digital technical reports. Presently we are beginning to explore issues associated with born-digital content, such as file types, format types (CD, DVD, digital file, etc.), and proprietary software implications. We also plan to reach out to academic libraries and federal agency partners to learn from their efforts.

### How to Learn More and Get Involved

If this work sounds interesting, whether it be looking for reports to fill the gaps in the TRAIL collection or helping explore born-digital technical reports, TRAIL invites anyone to join our mission to make technical reports openly available and easily accessible. To learn more about our Working Groups see our website (https://www.crl.edu/grn/trail/working-groups). TRAIL also has several communication methods to keep TRAIL members and the public informed about our work and progress. Additional ways to get involved include utilizing the Media Kit to promote TRAIL reports at your library via social media (https://www.crl.edu/trail-media-kit). You can also join

our TRAIL Talk email list if you are unable to become a member at this time but still want to be informed about TRAIL's efforts to get updates on TRAIL webinars and newsletters. You can also send an email to TRAIL@crl.edu and mention you would like to join TRAIL talk. Please feel free to contact any of the authors to learn more about TRAIL.

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### Illustrated, Incitive, and Indecent

### Comic Censorship and the Effort to Stem Youth Corruption

Kristin R. Moore

oday, one would be hard-pressed to find a child, teen, or adult in the United States who has not been exposed to comic culture in some sense—a cultural element we share with those Americans from almost a century ago. Comic magazines (hereby referred to as comics) were a staple of American youth culture from the late-1930s to the mid-1950s. According to Paul Lopes, a 1944 study found that nearly every American between six and seven years old read comics, and Shawna Kidman estimates that prior to the comic book crash beginning in 1954, there were around 70 million American comic readers a number which not only exceeded the US Census Bureau's estimate of nearly 60 million Americans under age 20, but made up roughly 40% of the American population. In other words, around two in five Americans were comic readers at the time. In fact, comics were so popular that to promote literacy among soldiers, the US military even used specialized editions of popular comics, such as Action Comics' Superman stories, which contained simplified language and quizzes titled "How well did you read?"2 It is clear that the medium was recognized to have engaged readers in all different parts of life, but if comics were so well read among Americans youths and adults alike, why did their popularity decline?

For many, the answer is said to lie with Fredrick Wertham, the chosen scapegoat for comic censorship, and his 1954 publication of *Seduction of the Innocent*.<sup>3</sup> But, as will be seen below, comics had come under scrutiny—and legislation—for potentially increasing, if not directly causing, the rate of juvenile delinquency in the US and beyond long before the publication. *Seduction of the Innocent* was merely a catalyst for, but not the cause of, comic legislation.

But what were these comics, and why were they considered so dangerous to American youth? Namely, what were crime and horror comics? In 1955, the US Congress described these as short, illustrated, and detailed lessons on committing any "form of crime, degeneracy, bestiality, and horror."

This definition then expanded to include comics with even the implication of violence or the inclusion of the supernatural. The report even cited Superman due to his superhuman abilities in fighting criminals. Evidenced by court cases in which children reported inspiration from crime comics and incidents of children injured trying to fly, there was the belief that these comics could incite at-risk children to commit crimes or cause confusion between fiction and reality.<sup>5</sup> For many Americans, this potential threat to youth safety and morality meant that comics, especially crime comics, needed to be purged from the newsstands.

### **Foreign Precedent**

The United States was not alone in experiencing comic culture, nor the fears surrounding it. As soon as comics began to rise, various countries across the globe enacted legislation to censor them for a variety of reasons and at various levels.

### Europe

Federico Zanettin explains how mainland Europe censored comics even before World War II. Under Adolf Hitler, who rose to power in 1933, Germany banned comics nearly entirely. It wouldn't be until post-WWII that comics would begin to reenter West Germany, and those that did were censored, with an official commission against comic violence later forming in 1954. Meanwhile, under Benito Mussolini, Italian legislation against comics steadily increased before culminating in a ban of all foreign or foreign-inspired comics but Disney comics in 1938. And for those countries receiving comics, including France, Spain, and Italy (when not banned), those imported and translated tended to be altered to meet the country's modesty and moral requirements.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, in France, Richard I. Jobs explains that the post-war period saw a rise in juvenile delinquency and fears of the Americanization of French youths—the blame of which went to American comics,

particularly crime comics. This resulted in the Law of 16 July 1949 on Publications for Young People passing to form a commission "to oversee juvenile publications," determine if materials were for children or adults, as well as ban the selling of adult materials to minors. These actions were largely taken to avoid American influence on youth, and helped to maintain control of fascist regimes, but also to stem perceived moral corruption of youth, and in the case of France, juvenile delinquency.

Off the mainland, the United Kingdom had concerns closer to the United States than that of mainland Europe. These concerns came to a head at the same time as they did in the US, and on May 6, 1955, the UK Parliament signed the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act. This banned the making and selling of crime and obscene comics in England, Scotland, and Wales, and banned the importation of those comics or their printing supplies across the entire UK.<sup>8</sup>

### Australia

Like in France, Browyne Lowe explains that in Australia and New Zealand there were concerns over imported American comics, both due to their content and fears of the Americanization of youth. These concerns, along with wartime conditions, prompted the Australian government to temporarily ban the importation of foreign comics during WWII, only to have the panic return once the ban was lifted and eventually develop into calls to ban entire genres of comics—and not just American crime comics.<sup>9</sup>

### Canada

In Canada, the concern was more with juvenile delinquency than Americanization. On February 2, 1949, Edmund Davie Fulton, a member of parliament, first brought his concerns regarding crime comics and juvenile delinquency to the House of Commons with Bill No. 9, which set out to add comics to the list of media covered by section 207 of the Criminal Code, which provides penalties for the publishing and distribution of obscene materials. After not meeting the time limit of the session, it was reintroduced later in the year on September 28, 1949, as Bill No. 10 and passed on December 5, 1949.<sup>10</sup>

### The United States

### **Obscenity Precedent**

The line between the informing and the entertaining is too elusive for the protection of that basic right. . . . What is one man's amusement, teaches another's doctrine.—
Justice Stanley Reed in *Winters v. New York*<sup>11</sup>

On March 29, 1948 in Winters v. New York, the US Supreme Court ruled to invalidate a previous New York statute due to vagueness, along with stating the quote above.<sup>12</sup> This not only set the precedent for requiring states' obscenity statutes to have clear definitions of what was obscenity and what types of material could count as obscene, pointed states to the need to include not only comics, but types of comics and their depictions, in later legislation, but also presented the ideology that would fuel legislators from the local to federal. Further, the issue of obscene materials was no stranger to the US courts, even before being written into United States law itself. According to Donna Dennis, in the early 19th century, the courts in some states began to rely on English law to prosecute obscenity, which differed from blasphemy and was typically associated with sexuality, charges, while in 1850 the issue of prosecuting moral nuisances made it into the law with the ruling of Phalen v. Virginia and in 1873 obscene literature was federally banned from the mail.<sup>13</sup> These changes to US federal and state laws throughout the nineteenth century would prove the basis for legislation against comics in the mid-twentieth century, while Winters v. New York would encourage its refinement.

### Comics at the Federal Level

At various points between 1950 and 1954, the US Congress heard from and received messages from law enforcement members, child experts, and comic publishers from across the country regarding their thoughts on the link between comics, the content of comics, and juvenile delinquency. The results from the responses were heavily mixed, but nearly all showed concern regarding juvenile delinquency, even if the individual respondents did not believe crime comics were the culprit. 14 And in 1955, the US Congress Committee on the Judiciary would release its interim report on comics and juvenile delinquency. In this, they determined that it was primarily the responsibility of the comic industry, and less so distributors, to censor publications, rather than that of individual sellers. While the report did not urge Congress to undertake any specific legislative action, citing a new effort at self-censorship of the comics industry (known as the Comics Code Authority), it did emphasize the importance of mass action needed from parents and organizations across the country.<sup>15</sup>

On October 26, 1954, The Comics Code Authority published a set of rules, known as the comics code, to regulate the content of comics in response to public outcry and the threat of federal intervention. These rules ranged from regulating how and what crimes could be portrayed, to banning the inclusion of vampires and profanity, to requiring "respect for parents, the moral code, and honorable behavior shall be fostered." <sup>16</sup> As

explained by Amy Kiste Nyberg, the code was enforced by having publishers seeking the seal of approval submit each issue to a review by the Comics Code Authority, where administrator Judge Charles F. Murphy and five women would review them for approval or rejection and make or suggest edits to ensure that the comics abided by the code.<sup>17</sup>

While the US Congress did not enact any legislation aiming to exclusively censor comics, leaving the matter up to the states and the industry itself, it did decide to enact legislation and make decisions to validate and assist states in enforcing their regulations. On June 28, 1955, the US Congress passed S.B. No. 600, which amended the standing statute banning the mailing of any "obscene, lewd, lascivious, or filthy book, pamphlet, picture, film, paper . . . or other article capable of producing sound or any other matter of indecent or immoral character" between states, or between the US and another country, to meet the description for obscene comics with violations punishable with a fine up to \$5000 or 5 years of imprisonment.<sup>18</sup> This regulation would help to prevent the importation of obscene comics into states that prohibited their sale altogether. Further, on June 25, 1957, in Roth v. United States, the US Supreme Court ruled that obscenity is unprotected by the First Amendment, and thus that obscenity statutes were constitutional. Additionally, the case defined obscenity in the law as referring to as being "utterly without redeeming social importance," with social importance excluding those that "encroach upon the limited area of more important interests."19 The court decided upon this definition despite stated worries that it was too broad, with fears that it would either allow infringement upon people's First Amendment rights or that it would be too broad to allow for prosecution.<sup>20</sup>

### Legislation Passed in the States

There were three main types of legislation passed in the states:

- 1. Those that banned the publishing and selling of obscene and crime comics to anyone.
- 2. Those that banned the publishing and selling of obscene and crime comics to minors.
- Those that banned distributors from requiring dealers to accept tie-ins, or bundles of publications 'tied together' in their delivery to vendors, containing obscene and crime comics.

### State Action: A Chronology by First Action *Oregon*

On November 5, 1948, following the ruling of *Winters v. New York*, the Attorney General of Oregon, George Neuner stated

that the standing Oregon Statute regarding obscenity, 23-924 of the Oregon Compiled Laws Annotated, should still be valid and constitutional and to consider it applicable to comics. Later, however, 23-924 would not be enough, and as an emergency act on May 13, 1955, Oregon would pass S.B. 173 to ban the sale of obscene comics with immediate effect.<sup>21</sup>

### Wisconsin

On December 14, 1948, Attorney General Thomas E. Fairchild ruled that a new ordinance allowing local governments, in particular Milwaukee county, to create advisory boards regarding comic obscenity censorship did not violate any standing statutes, but also noted the problem that people could continue to purchase obscene materials from counties that had not banned them. Despite noting this problem, it would be nearly a decade before there would be state-wide action. On August 15, 1957, Wisconsin approved S.B. No. 19, for publication on August 31, banning the selling of crime comics to minors.<sup>22</sup>

### North Dakota

On March 5, 1949, assembly member A. C. Langseth filed House Concurrent Resolution M, which encouraged law enforcement to enforce current statute 12-2107 authority on comic books. Just short of six years later, Langseth along with members Martin E. Vinje, Leland Roen, Adam Gefreh, T. E. Schuler, Lee F. Brooks, and Brynhild Haugland would propose H.B. No. 825 on March 1, 1955. The bill would go on to remove 12-2107, ban the selling, making, or display of obscene materials with additional punishment for those under twenty-one, ban tie-in sales, and explicitly recommend that law enforcement and judges consider the Comic Code Authority guidelines and stamp when deciding if a comic was obscene.<sup>23</sup>

### New York

The report, delivered February 15, 1950, determined that there was insufficient evidence that crime comics were directly correlated, but wished to investigate the matter more and elected to provide a more detailed report to the next session. However, it wouldn't be until April 15, 1954 that New York would pass three laws that went into effect July 1, 1954, including adding comic books to the list of materials under the jurisdiction of section 22-a of the criminal code, which deals with obscene materials; increasing the fine for allowing minor employees to sell or handle obscene materials; and banned the condition for dealers to accept tie-in sales of obscene materials from distributors. Additionally, on April 29, 1955, New York passed an act to make publishing, distributing, and selling obscene comics a misdemeanor, going into effect July 1, 1955.<sup>24</sup>

### Idaho

On March 19, 1951, Idaho approved S.B. No. 60 to prohibit dealers from having to accept tie-ins. Later, on March 13, 1957, the passage of H.B. No. 64, taking immediate effect, extended the law to include banning the sale and production of obscene comics to all.<sup>25</sup>

### Montana

On March 5, 1955, Montana approved an act to amend sections 94-3601 and 3602 of the Montana Revised Code, banning the selling of obscene comics to minors, the employment of minors to handle those comics in any manner, and requiring dealers to accept tie-ins.<sup>26</sup>

### Washington

S.B. 420 was enacted on March 18, 1955, banning the sale of any comics viewed to be obscene, requiring a license to sell comics, and for distributors to send several comics of each issue to the supervisor of children and youth services for review while retail dealers must do the same for any purchased outside of Washington. The licensure section, however, was ruled unconstitutional in *Adams v. Hinkle* on February 27, 1958, by the Washington Supreme Court, and on March 11, 1959, H.B. 92, and on March 29, 1959, H.B. 106 were approved to replace previous statutes.<sup>27</sup>

### Alaska

On March 28, 1955, Alaska approved H.B. 95, banning the sale of obscene comic books to anyone, with specific descriptions of horror, crime, and sexually indecent comics, as well as depictions of what constituted brutality.<sup>28</sup>

### Nevada

Assembly Bill No. 243, introduced by William Swackhamer, approved March 29, 1955, amended section 10144 of Nevada Compiled Laws (1929), and prohibited selling obscene materials, with a specific mention of comic books, including a note that each day of display would count as a separate violation.<sup>29</sup>

### Rhode Island

Approved a commission to investigate the impact of crime comics on juvenile delinquency on April 7, 1955, with the deadline for the report being February 15, 1956. The report, printed February 21, 1956, would not only recommend legislation against comics, considering it the government's duty due to their sale in public areas, but also recommend government-sponsored education for parents and applied pressure on publishers and distributors to not make or sell obscene comics. Less

than two months later, on April 9, 1956, Rhode Island passed S.B. 182 with immediate effect, banning the sale of obscene comic books.<sup>30</sup>

### Michigan

On April 17, 1958, Michigan approved Public Act No. 126, which directed local governments and law enforcement to prohibit people from selling or distributing obscene material and to determine their punishment according to their own jurisdiction.<sup>31</sup>

### California

On April 20, 1955, California approved the addition of section 16603 to the state's business and professions code, which banned distributors from requiring dealers to accept horror comic tie-ins, and the law went into effect on September 7, 1955.<sup>32</sup>

### Maryland

On April 28, 1955, and going into effect on July 1, 1955, Maryland approved H.B. No. 594, adding a section to the Annotated Code of Maryland (1951) to prohibit the sale of crime comics and obscene materials to minors and to prohibit distributors from forcing dealers into tie-ins that included those products.<sup>33</sup>

### Texas

April 29, 1955, Texas passed H.B. No. 23 under emergency approval to go into effect in September 1955. Citing the failure of standing statutes to prevent the sale of obscene comic books, the bill prohibited the making, distribution, and selling of obscene comics to all and banned tie-in requirements.<sup>34</sup> North Carolina

On May 23, 1955, North Carolina approved H.B. 1085 to go into effect July 1, 1955, amending G.S. 14-189 to ban the sale of crime and obscene comics to anyone.<sup>35</sup>

### Oklahoma

On May 24, 1955, Oklahoma approved under emergency H.B. 887, prohibiting the sale of obscene comics to minors, granting law enforcement permission to dispose of those deemed obscene in court, and prohibiting tie-ins. 36

### Illinois

On June 29, 1955, Illinois approved S.B. No. 118, which prohibited distributors from requiring dealers to accept tie-ins with obscene material, with a penalty of up to \$100 per violation.<sup>37</sup>

### Ohio

As part of H.B. 712, approved July 6, 1955, and going into effect October 6, 1955, amended the Ohio Revised Code to include 2903.10, which banned the sale of crime or obscene comics to minors, and section 2905.341, which prohibited tieins of obscene material.<sup>38</sup>

### Connecticut

On July 18, 1955, in Connecticut, § 3293d went into effect to ban the sale of obscene materials, with a large emphasis on comic books, to minors.<sup>39</sup>

### Virginia

On March 31, 1956, Virginia approved H.B. No. 171 to add section 18.113.1 to the Code of Virginia, banning the sale of obscene or crime comics to minors, and tie-in requirements of obscene material.<sup>40</sup>

### Pennsylvania

On June 1, 1956, Governor George M. Leader, despite the statement that the relationship between crime comics and juvenile delinquency was "not capable of statistical demonstration," signed Act No. 670 to go into effect in July, banned the sale of obscene comics to minors and tie-in requirements.<sup>41</sup>

### Minnesota

On April 6, 1957, Minnesota approved H.F. No. 791, banning distributors from requiring dealers to accept tie-ins with obscene material.<sup>42</sup>

### Florida

On June 20, 1957, Florida approved H.B. 728, to go into effect October 1, 1957, prohibiting the sale of obscene literature (including comics) to anyone, with additional penalties to minors, and prohibiting tie-in requirements.<sup>43</sup>

### South Dakota

On March 1, 1961, South Dakota approved H.B. 705, banning the distribution through the mail, including imposing charges for those mailing the content in from other states, and set out how to report mail believed to contain obscene materials.<sup>44</sup>

### Mississippi

On June 1, 1962, Mississippi approved with immediate effect H.B. No. 913, to be known as the 'Mississippi Law on Obscenity', banning the importation or exportation of obscene materials into or out of Mississippi, and the making and selling of obscene materials in the state. Four years later, on May 26,

1966, with an effect of July 1, Mississippi approved H.B. No. 97 to bar tie-in requirements.<sup>45</sup>

### New Jersey

To go into effect October 18, 1962, New Jersey passed an act to supplement New Jersey Statute Title 2A, banning the selling or distribution of obscene materials to all, citing the effect that the materials had on minors and contributed to Juvenile delinquency.<sup>46</sup>

### State Inaction

Despite this widespread action taken across the nation, not all states decided to take direct action on comics for a variety of reasons, including opting to rely on standing regulations, believing it could be dealt with without legislation, or that any action would not hold legally. Massachusetts, for example, in wake of the comic industry deciding to work on a self-censoring policy, opted to send standing obscenity legislation to law enforcement officials and spoke with comic dealers in major cities about the issue rather than enacting additional legislation at some point between July 1953 and July 1954, while Vermont resolved to do the same June 10, 1955. 47 Some, like Nebraska on January 22, 1955, while indicating the desire to draft stricter legislation against crime comics, determined that it would be best to rely on existing obscenity legislation rather than risk new regulations likely to be ruled unconstitutional, citing the decision of Winters v. New York. 48 Others initially introduced legislation but ultimately weighed against passing it. For example, on January 14, 1955, in Utah, D.E. Hammond and Orval Hafen proposed S.B. No. 31, which intended to ban distributors requiring dealers to accept tie-ins, but withdrew the bill on March 10.49

### **State Reports**

Some states, like the federal government, performed formal reports to study the situation of crime comics and juvenile delinquency in their own state and determined not to enact legislation. For example, Colorado in 1955, with the support of thirty-four assembly members, and Tennessee on March 21, 1955, resolved to have a commission report on the link between crime comics and juvenile delinquency. Colorado delivered its report in November of 1956 and determined that no additional legislation was necessary due to standing obscenity statutes, nor desired due to freedom of the press. Tennessee never saw legislation arise following the approval of the report, though it is of note that Tennessee senator Estes Kefauver was a member of the federal subcommittee investigations, and in December of 1956 stated to the juvenile delinquency subcommittee that the comic situation had improved with public pressure.<sup>50</sup>

### The Effects

Even if not every state invoked comic legislation, the effect on the comics industry, as one could imagine, was massive. According to Kidman, comic sales dropped by half between 1954 and 1955, and publishers by 1956, while monthly issue titles decreased from around six hundred to around two hundred.<sup>51</sup> This meant a severe loss of diversification among comics aside from the censorship of surviving comics. The code itself limited how crime, criminals, and law enforcement could be presented, entirely banned "terror," "horror," and supernatural creatures, dictated what type of language could be used (including promoting good grammar), and banned even references to homosexuality.<sup>52</sup> This restricted not only creative writing and artistic freedom, but placed blanket bans on entire concepts without regard to how they were presented in individual comics. The enforcement of the code itself was also contentious and subject to the reviewers' individual opinions developed within pre-Civil Rights Movement America. For example, one of the regulations of the code was that "ridicule or attack on any religious or racial group is never permissible," but in 1956, an issue of Incredible Science Fiction by Entertainment Comics depicted a black astronaut whose race was not revealed until the end of the story, which prompted Comics Code Authority administrator Judge Charles F. Murphy to reject the comic for depicting a black astronaut.<sup>53</sup> Additionally, what constituted a crime comic in some states could, in theory, include the depiction of characters breaking segregation laws as a positive thing—the banning of even implied homosexuality certainly explicitly opposed the LGBTQ civil rights movement.

But the situation would not stay the same forever. On June 21, 1973, the US Supreme Court in *Miller v. California* elected to develop a new definition of obscenity that better aligned with the First and Fourteenth Amendments. This new definition replaced the previous "social importance" factor with evaluating if "the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value." While this change wouldn't get rid of censorship completely, especially with the comics code in place, it was much less reliant on personal opinion than the previous method of deciding if something was obscene—marking the start of a new beginning for the comics industry.

### **Present Day**

While the situation of comics has drastically improved since the 1950s, attempts at censorship are far from over, with the battle shifting from newsstands to our schools and libraries. One of the most recent examples reflecting the crime comic censorship is that of *Assassination Classroom*, a popular Japanese manga series by Yusei Matsui from the 2010s intended for high school-age adolescents. In this series, a class of middle school students are tasked by the Japanese Government with assassinating their alien-octopus teacher under threat of the end of the world: all while trying to do their best in school to get into their top choice of high school. Reportedly, at least four states (Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina) as of April 13, 2023, have received calls to remove the series either from schools and/or public libraries. And the main reason people are calling for its removal? Fear that it will incite students to kill their teachers amid the most recent wave of gun violence.<sup>55</sup>

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