BUNDLING, REPRINTING, AND REFRAMING: SERIAL PRACTICES ACROSS BORDERS

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ABSTRACT

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This article explores the circulation of periodical material between metropolitan and regional locations in early twentieth-century North America. It asks how the globalized consumer technology of the household magazine was being taken up outside of cosmopolitan centers through the framework of local, regional, or national concerns. For example, mainstream Canadian monthlies such as The Western Home Monthly and Maclean's frequently engaged with, or re-used, content and formats taken from New York publications. To understand these transnational publishing dynamics, we argue, it is crucial to attend to the material practices of magazines. The article analyzes several such practices, including both editorial and sales strategies. We look at the reprinting or reframing of complete features and of excerpts from other periodicals. We examine the simultaneous serialization of novels in American and Canadian publications, using a case study of Martha Ostenso's Wild Geese. And we offer the first critical discussion of "bundling," whereby US and Canadian titles were packaged together as a single subscription. It argues that the affordances of seriality, particularly timeliness and increased circulation through decreasing prices, allowed editors to redeploy metropolitan print materials for a regional readership eager to imagine themselves as participants in the new project of modernity.

KEYWORDS: seriality, Canada, cross-border

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In July 1925, Winnipeg-based magazine *The Western Home Monthly* proudly announced that it had "secured the exclusive rights for Canada" for the serialization of *Wild Geese*, Martha Ostenso's award-winning novel of prairie life.¹ Describing Ostenso as "a Manitoba girl, educated in the schools of Brandon, Winnipeg, and Manitoba University" and her novel as "the finest contribution to Canadian fiction of the present age," the advertisement locates the novel clearly within both an emergent national body of literature and a distinctly regional landscape (fig. 1).² The magazine makes no reference to the fact that the novel would be simultaneously serialized in *Pictorial Review* as part of the Famous Players-Lasky First Novel Award, a major prize that Ostenso had won in 1924. In its presentation of the first installment of *Wild Geese*, the New York-based *Pictorial Review* focused on the number of competitors Ostenso had beaten, and did not mention her Canadian connections.

Pictorial Review massively out-circulated The Western Home Monthly. Launched in 1899 as a women's fashion magazine, Pictorial Review had reached a circulation of 200,000 by 1907, 1.1 million by 1915, 2.5 million by 1923, and 3 million by 1937.³ *The Western Home Monthly*, on the other hand, despite launching in the same year, had only reached 180,000 subscribers in 1932 at which point, according to the Time magazine article "Maple Leaf Magazines," it was the most widely circulating of Canada's "Big Five" household magazines. The article points out that the Home Publishing Co. had surged into first place when they renamed their flagship magazine The National Home Monthly and gained 60,000 new subscribers as a result. Canadian magazines were also being helped along in the early thirties by the new tariff imposed on American magazines, as a result of which "in three years Canadian distribution of the ten leading U.S. magazines has dropped from 750,000 to 150,000. From this decline Canada's Big Five reaped harvest."4 Despite that harvest, Canadian magazine circulation remained a mere fraction of that of its US associates.

When we consider the serialization of a popular novel in a magazine, then, we must recognize that popularity in Canada is a different kind of thing altogether—so different, in fact, that it can be tempting to cordon off Canadian print culture from its hulking American neighbor. We see this impulse at work in the history of protections the Canadian state has put in place in an effort to foster a national culture, as well as in disciplinary formations that distinguish American from Canadian literature rather than reading across the continent.⁵This tendency, however, has the adverse effect

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of ignoring the transnationalism, as well as the regional formations, of print culture. It ignores in particular the way the Canadian periodical press has been in constant dialogue with that of the United States. In a recent article, for example, Will Straw looks at "the varieties of physical deformation that came to typify certain categories of Canadian magazine . . . forms and formats that are abnormal or eccentric relative to norms that had been established, for the most part, in the United States." The "forms of deformation" he lists include the insertion of unexpected materials, the elision of publication information, and the re-gathering of "materials in aberrant formats," alongside "a reduction in the quality of paper, color reproduction, lay-out, and editorial coherence."⁶ While deformation is one way of considering the relationship between the serial media produced in cosmopolitan centers like New York and those produced outside



FIG. I The Western Home Monthly, July 1925.

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these cultural hubs (including provincial areas of the US and, of course, Canada), it is also possible to conceive of this relationship as *re*formation. As the mainstream magazine extended from cosmopolitan centers to regional outposts like Winnipeg, both forms and content were reused, reframed, or transformed, while new forms and content specific to the magazine's more local audiences were added. What results is an often uneven engagement with the urban modernity represented by magazines like *Pictorial Review*, an engagement characterized by anxiety and refusal, but also fascination with an American mass culture that was rapidly becoming *global* culture.

One could look at the relationship between Pictorial Review and The Western Home Monthly as deformation or degradation: where the former featured slick paper, color illustrations, and a sizeable circulation, the latter printed black and white reproductions of (in the case of the serialization of Wild Geese) the same images onto book paper and distributed those images with about 6% the circulation. But, as Straw reminds us, cross-border comparisons like this are not about creating hierarchies but rather about understanding circulation and seriality with more nuance through "the study of minor cultural forms (like avant-garde poetry or versions of Canadian popular culture)," which can reveal the "complex set of relationships between the magazine cultures of Canada and the United States."7 Like Straw, we are invested in globalizing periodical studies through transnational and regionally-inflected reading strategies that are attentive to the similarities, differences, incoherences, and simultaneities of periodical publishing in the early twentieth century.8 We are also indebted to Patrick Collier and James J. Connolly's work in Print Culture Histories beyond the Metropolis, in which they identify a "metropolitan bias" in studies of modern print culture, one that must be decentered in order to reveal "the way in which seemingly isolated places were sites of cultural creativity."9 Jessica Berman's definition of "transnational" is also particularly apt for decentering national bias. Berman points to "the disruptive, critical energy of the prefix 'trans' and the slippages it marks out when paired with terms like 'nation.'" She suggests that the prefix "serves to decenter the 'national tradition' as an object of inquiry, exploring texts in relation to other, transnational horizons of expectations, even while recognizing the importance of their local commitments."10 In relation to these local commitments, we are particularly interested in how serialized materials are re-formed when they move from metropolitan to regional print venues, a dynamic that tends to be erased when print cultures are studied in strictly national frameworks.¹¹

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The simultaneous serialization of Wild Geese is only one example of the complicated relationship that mainstream English Canadian magazines had with their southern neighbors during the early twentieth century. While The Western Home Monthly was not averse to borrowing content from American magazines and boosting subscriptions through bundling deals with popular American titles, Anglophone magazines in Ontario positioned themselves as champions of Canadian literature and rarely published American fiction.12 What they refused in American content, however, they made up for in adoption of American popular forms. As Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith show, in terms of layout and design, "Maclean's is markedly similar to The Saturday Evening Post, while Chatelaine and the Canadian Home Journal bear a striking resemblance to the Ladies' Home Journal."13 Rachael Alexander explores the similarities between the two "home journals" in more detail. She points out a dramatic change in the cover design of the Canadian Home Journal in 1922: the new font for the title, together with a shift towards an oblong cover image surrounded by a wide margin of white space, brought the magazine much closer to the Ladies' Home Journal in appearance. The influence may not have been entirely one-directional, however. Alexander finds two strikingly similar covers which appeared on the Canadian Home Journal for July 1922 and the Ladies' Home Journal a month later.¹⁴

These similarities only become clear when considering the magazine through what James Mussell calls its "mediating framework"-recurring page layouts, regular features, even illustration styles-rather than its content. The purpose of the mediating framework, Mussell notes, is "to reconcile difference by presenting new content in a form already known to readers."15 The deployment of American forms in Canadian serials thus suggests Canadian readers' familiarity with American magazines, alongside a sense, on the part of editors or readers or both, that a local equivalent was needed. As Fraser Sutherland points out, Canadian consumer magazines' attempt to "wed U.S. form with Canadian content, sometimes result[ed] in U.S. form and content"¹⁶ —that is, Americanization of form is often quickly followed by Americanization of content. The considerably greater population of the U.S., combined with high Canadian postal rates, created a challenge for Canadian magazines, which were often divided between an attempt to do what their American counterparts were doing but more cheaply (deformation, arguably), and an attempt to find their own niche by catering to local interests while maintaining recognizable American mass cultural forms (what we're calling reformation).

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This article will look at Canadian mainstream magazine publishing in the first decades of the twentieth century as a testing ground for better understanding how the globalized consumer technology of the household magazine was being taken up outside of cosmopolitan centers through the framework of local, regional, or national concerns. We will focus here on particular editorial practices in Canada, including subscription bundling, reprinting, and simultaneous serialization. The CFP for this special issue invited us to consider how "seriality marks the periodical as a continually evolving form, perpetually and necessarily repeating itself while also becoming something new." That pattern of repetition and reformation doesn't simply apply to the internal dynamics of a single title, but is equally relevant to the undertheorized practices of bundling and reprinting. We can think of these practices as ways for Canadian and regional periodicals to grapple with mass culture produced in metropolitan centers; equally, they could enable popular serial media and their audiences to access or re-use material from elite or specialized print sources. On this point, it is important to note that, to date, research on early twentieth-print culture has been pursued largely within the framework of modernist studies. This, as David Earle points out, leads to distortions: the fetishization of the first appearance and the little magazine means that other publication venues and formats, such as "reprint magazines and literary digests, reprint and circulating library hardback editions, pulp magazines, and paperbacks" are left out of the account.¹⁷ Patrick Collier pushes this argument further: "If high modernism's most durable contribution to western culture lay in its foregrounding of the relations between meaning, value and aesthetic form, its dominance has also devalued and deflected attention from the ways more modest, pragmatic, everyday material formssuch as newspapers, cheap magazines, and mass-produced books-create meaning and value."18 Collier's repetition of the term "value" points to its ongoing centrality to critical discourse. We propose, by contrast, to leave value in the background, and foreground seriality itself as an object of enquiry. Seriality transcends hierarchies, enabling us to compare diverse types of printed matter in terms of their circulatory and material practices. More specifically, we argue that better understanding the relationship between seriality, place, and the practices of bundling and reprinting is thus an important step in more rigorously theorizing the relationship between metropolitan cultural formations and their instantiations in more regional locales.

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POPULARITY, CELEBRITY, AND SERIALITY: READING THE MASS MAGAZINE AS A MODERN TECHNOLOGY

A consideration of the cultural role of Canadian mainstream magazines in the first decades of the twentieth century must take into account the shifting dynamics of serial publishing, the emergence of American mass culture, and the accompanying rise of modern celebrity culture alongside the advertising industry. Indeed, these various cultural and technological shifts are interconnected. Richard Ohmann's Selling Culture locates magazines at the heart of the emergence of mass culture at the end of the nineteenth century, when the combination of newly inexpensive printing and papermaking technologies, expanding reading publics, and the development of the advertising industry on a national scale allowed publishers to sell magazines at a loss and make their money on ad space instead.¹⁹ While the serialization of novels predated the 1890s, the new mass magazines took "from the literary monthlies . . . the idea of offering this [new] audience participation in a mainstream of national culture, though they rechanneled that stream in such a way that it no longer implied life membership in an elite club." Reading serialized novels became a means for readers to participate in the simultaneity of mass culture, which includes "the news, the top story, the celebrity, the smash hit, the best seller list, the top forty, the ten worst dressed women, the player of the week."20 Reading alongside a national public became a means of staying current and fashionable,²¹ and readers' desire to have timely access to publications from New York and London increased.

Canada didn't have many of its own magazines in the early decades of the twentieth century. This is largely due to its dispersed and mostly rural population; as Sutherland points out, "magazines require a sizeable population base, and a largely urban one."²² In this respect, Canadian readers were in a similar position to American readers living outside of large metropolitan centers such as New York and Chicago. Unlike American readers, Canadians had benefitted from the vagueness of colonial copyright laws, such that an inexpensive reprint-publishing industry could flourish in the late nineteenth century.²³ What George L. Parker demonstrates in the late nineteenth century and Straw shows in the 1930s was also true in the intervening decades: Canadian readers were invested in getting their hands on American serial publications as a means of participating in, and keeping right up to date with, an emerging globalized culture.

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What shifted over those decades was their means of access. Frank Felsenstein and James J. Connolly make this point about Muncie, Indiana, in What Middletown Read, their study of the role of the public library and leisure reading in a small American city at the turn of the century. They see, in the 1890s, a rising concern on the part of readers with cosmopolitanism, evident both in the library's many subscriptions to New York magazines and in local publications' attempt to reduce "the sense of distance between Muncie and the rest of the world," both by reprinting "material produced elsewhere and provided by wire services" and including "ads for local businesses [that] reflected close attention to commercial trends."²⁴ Felsenstein and Connolly argue that magazines like Harper's and the Century helped readers "to look outward" and "encouraged an awareness that was, if not cosmopolitan, at least tending toward a fuller sense of connection and involvement with the wider world."25 New York was not merely another location, but a metonym of global culture. This mixture of local publications reprinting news from elsewhere, and local libraries subscribing to New York magazines, points toward the multifaceted ways in which regionally located readers engaged with mass culture.

The relationship of Canadian magazine readers to New York was similar to that of the people of Muncie. As Nick Mount details in *When Canadian Literature Moved to New York*, the unparalleled role of New York City in the emergent magazine publishing industry made it particularly attractive to Canadian authors, who were, Mount demonstrates, actively reading magazines with New York mastheads before their exodus.²⁶ The size of the New York magazine industry allowed it easily to flood Canadian markets, while Canadian publishers struggled to find a large enough readership to sustain themselves. As Mount makes clear, in the 1880s and 1890s neither readers nor authors were particularly concerned with national divisions:

From a national perspective, Canadian writers of this period lacked literary cultures; from a transnational perspective, they were surrounded by such cultures. Raised on imported books and magazines, as young adults they read in their own as well as English and American magazines about the new regionalist movement led by westerners and southerners (men and women, like them, from the continent's cultural margins), about young literary adventurers such as the English Rudyard Kipling and the American Richard Harding Davis, about the new journalism being created by Joseph Pulitzer

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and William Randolph Hearst. And they read of the attention these literary celebrities received, attention unheard of in Canada.²⁷

Mount's account suggests that transnational and regional perspectives were much more influential than nationalism in the turn-of-the-century magazine publishing industry. Yet by the 1920s Canadian mainstream magazines were eagerly advertising their nationalism. There are a few ways to account for this shift. On the one hand, the years after WWI saw a rise in the popularity of nationalist sentiment, which was framed as an "authentically new nationalism," part of a general spirit of debunking prewar culture.²⁸ At the same time, as the Canadian market was increasingly swamped by American competitors with greater access to advertising revenue, publishers like Maclean began to seek out government protection for locally-produced content.²⁹ Publisher interventions and the Canadian government's growing support for Canadian cultural production culminated in the 1930 tariff on the import of American magazines, which was "calculated according to the amount of advertising material contained" and "justified as compensation for the losses suffered by Canadian manufacturers caused by magazine advertising of American goods."30 While the arguments for these tariffs were overtly commercial, they were often couched in nationalist rhetoric. In this context, the decision of Canadian magazines like The Western Home Monthly, Chatelaine, and the Canadian Home Journal to mirror American forms while promoting Canadian content is not surprising. The familiar structures of New York periodicals had become symbolic of modern cosmopolitanism, while the emphasis on home-grown culture was a way of insisting that Canadians deserved to participate in the project of building modernity, rather than merely observing it from afar.

Looking at magazines in Canada gives us a different perspective on the commercial serial as a media form, revealing how it transforms once it leaves cosmopolitan centers like New York and London. It also helps us to complicate and nuance our understanding of seriality as a practice that does not, to quote the CFP again, "operate[] transparently, or equally, within all periodical genres, or within the minds of readers," or, we would add, in the minds of magazine editors and publishers. We turn now to look more closely at two practices—subscription bundling and reprinting—that characterize the ambivalent relationship between Canadian periodicals and American mass culture.

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CLUBBING DEALS AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF CANADIAN MAGAZINES



FIG. 2 Beaver Daily Times 8 Jan 1907.

Generally known as clubbing—or, in some cases, "cut-rate clubbing"—the practice of bundling subscriptions allowed readers to pay less for individual magazines by ordering them through a clubbing agency rather than directly through the publishers. As an explanation published in the January 8, 1907 issue of the Beaver Daily Times explains, "it means getting together a number of magazines to be furnished in one order at a greatly reduced price" (fig. 2).31 Clubbing agencies often divided magazines into "classes" according to price. Though the practice dated back to the nineteenth century, in the early twentieth century it had started to provoke some controversy. In 1909 the publisher of Popular Mechanics issued a statement against clubbing, arguing that the magazine was "worth its subscription price of \$1.50" and that "Cut rates . . . are unjust to the newsdealers"; he finished with a public notice that the recent clubbing offers appearing on the pages of "The Motor Boat" were a mistake and would not be honored.32 A 1912 issue of The American Stationer mentions a suit brought by Popular Mechanics magazine in the United States District Court of Massachusetts for damages related to cut-rate clubbing offers.33 Similarly, in a 1910 address "To the Members of the American Woman's League" on the pages of the Fine Arts Journal, publisher Frank J. Campbell states that a reduced clubbing rate "not only stamps the transaction as dishonorable so far as the publisher is concerned, but places you ladies of the American Woman's League, who are helping to maintain this organization by subscriptions solicited from your friends and acquaintances, in a difficult position."34 He goes on to describe clubbing as a method "of quick circulation production" that drives down the quality of the magazine by "compel[ing] the publisher to either cut down his reading pages and replace them

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with advertising matter, or suffer a loss through his periodical output." Various other journals and newspapers refer to the practice disparagingly as a sign of a magazine's deficiencies. Recalling Straw's use of the word "deformation," these concerns about the reduction of a magazine's value through clubbing deals suggest a tension between publishers' desire for the magazine to be perceived as a valuable cultural object and the commercial mechanisms through which they were being circulated. The tension between the value of content and the explicit commercialism of serialization is at the forefront of disputes over clubbing deals.

The Western Home Monthly, however, referred to clubbing with exclusively positive connotations throughout its run. Published in Winnipeg by Home Publishing Co., a division of the Stovel Print Co., between 1899 and 1932, the magazine announced as early as 1901 its "ambition to make The Western Home Monthly the representative publication of the great middle classes, a magazine designed especially for those who dwell remote from business centers."35 The tension here between universal class appeal and regional specificity is a microcosm of The Western Home Monthly in general, which was constantly negotiating a desire to reproduce the forms of more cosmopolitan magazines and the need to cater more specifically to its regional readership. In this context clubbing might be perceived not as deformation but rather as reformation, a concrete strategy for aligning The Western Home Monthly with the serial patterns of American magazines, harnessing local readers' appetite for transnational culture in order to generate more subscriptions for their own local publication.

The magazine frequently reached out to readers to help them achieve their goal of increased popularity and appeal, asking for feedback and patiently explaining that an increase in circulation will lead to an increase in profit, which they "will spend . . . for the improvement of the magazine." "We cannot," the May 1901 editorial continues, "hope that every subscriber and every reader will start out and get a club of twenty or thirty subscribers, but is it asking too much when we request each subscriber to secure just one new name?" Far from framing themselves as above schemes to increase circulation—and thus above the commercialism of the serial press—the editors overtly encouraged their readers to join in on these schemes so that they, the readers, might support a magazine that reflects the needs of their (middle-class, non-urban, white, English-speaking Canadian) community.

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Interestingly, in order to better suit the needs of their audience, the editors positioned the magazine as needing to become more modern in ways that actually brought it closer in line with its cosmopolitan brethren to the south. The first evidence of clubbing offers in The Western Home Monthly dates from November 1903, an issue in which the editors announced a new, enlarged format: "The pages have been lengthened somewhat and the number run up to twenty-four. This, with the addition of a cover, gives a paper nearly twice as large as it has hitherto been."36 Among the many other improvements-the substitution of "good book paper . . . for the news" and the addition of new departments and special articles-they proudly announce their clubbing offers under the subtitle "A Valuable Premium." The note "See page 19 for Our Clubbing Offers" appears in large font at the bottom of this page, and is announced again on pages 6, 8, 20, and 23. The offer itself includes a free copy of The Farmer's Business Guide along with a weekly newspaper of choice—all Canadian, several local.37 Thus, even as the magazine became formally more consistent with cosmopolitan publications, it continued to emphasize local content.

Indeed, for most of its 32 years The Western Home Monthly offered primarily local partnerships, with the Winnipeg Weekly Free Press, for example; often the deal was sweetened with a gift, likely also produced in Stovel's print shop, of a stamped apron or pillow case. But between 1905 and 1916, their clubbing offers took a decidedly transnational turn. Printed consistently between November 1905 and April 1907 as an overt enticement to subscription, this "complete Clubbing List of Papers and Magazines" (fig. 3)³⁸ offers a hugely diverse range of titles, including prominent American titles like Cosmopolitan and Scribner's. The doubled prices in this listing-of each periodical on its own, and bundled with The Western Home Monthlysuggests that Stovel was not only promoting their own publications (they also printed The Nor'West Farmer) but also acting as a kind of clubbing agency. Furthermore, the chaos of this page resembles nothing so much as Straw's deformations, the "gathering up of multiple materials in aberrant formats"39 alongside a loss in editorial coherence. It is the pride with which the editors foregrounded this practice that reveals it as reformation, an active pursuit of editorial identity through engagement with American mass culture. The shift from local to transnational clubbing deals suggests the editors' willingness to experiment with methods that might push their magazine closer to the ideal of the modern serial while continuing to cater to local cultural concerns.



FIG. 3 The Western Home Monthly, January 1906.

Over time, *The Western Home Monthly* would refine its clubbing offers, first narrowing them down to a shorter list and then doing away with this overt advertising for American periodicals altogether in favor of the promotion of Canadian titles. This shift aligns with the post-WWI rise of nationalist sentiments — but, lest we presume that the magazine entirely divorced itself from its relationship with American culture, the 1920s also saw the introduction of regular Hollywood and travel columns. The January 1929 issue introduced a new annual travel feature, while the December 1929 issue saw the first instalment of "Shadowland With All Its Vagaries," dedicated to the goings-on of Hollywood. Indeed, perhaps the most significant lesson to be learned from *The Western Home Monthly* was how regional magazines imagined themselves in relationship to the globalized network of serial media. In the case of subscription bundling, the editors recognized the affordances

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of serial publication as an opening into promoting locally-produced culture: readers' preexisting appetites for American culture could be harnessed to increase subscriptions for a local magazine as well. Another affordance offered by seriality is, of course, reprinting, and while reprint publishers had a long history in the form of Canadian literary piracy, the forms reprinting took in mainstream magazines were more varied and complex.

REPRINTING AND REFRAMING

A prime example of the complexity of magazine reprinting practices is *The Western Home Monthly*'s feature "What the World is Saying," which began in 1905 and ran almost continuously each month until 1932. It consists of a set of short excerpts from other periodicals, of decreasing length and decreasing levels of editorial commentary across the feature's run, but always accompanied by a heading and attribution. The headings might be slightly sardonic ("Quite So," "And Why Not?") or more factual ("The Eskimo," "Proportional Representation").⁴⁰ This feature reads like a single-page network visualization of transnational periodical culture, or even like a prototype of the hyper-link, vaunted by new media theorists for its ability to generate non-linear relationships between multiple different texts.⁴¹ That network-like layout becomes more striking over time. While this fascinating feature is worthy of further study, for the purposes of this article we will offer just a brief analysis.

The first appearance of the feature is in the November 1905 issue, where it presents ten news-filled paragraphs, topped with an elaborate cursive masthead and an anthropomorphic globe doffing his top hat to report his news to a tiny gathered crowd (fig. 4).⁴² The clearly implied global scope proves to be rather overstated, as the ten sources cited include *Toronto News* twice, the *Toronto Star* once, and the *Canadian Manufacturer* twice; the other publications referenced are *Harper's*, *Collier's*, an advice book by a New York celebrity, and a London medical journal. "The world," in this case, consists of Toronto, New York, and London. Urban and cosmopolitan centers rule the day, quite likely out of necessity given the difficulty a Winnipeg-based writer may have had gaining access to a wider range of publications in 1905. A decade later, the besuited globe had disappeared and the number of news snippets had increased to 35; in another ten years it had further increased to 50. With the feature still occupying only a single page, the layout becomes more compressed and the excerpts

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FIG. 4 The Western Home Monthly November 1905.

shorter and less chatty; the overwhelming impression is of a world ever more complicated and diverse, that an educated reader must strive harder to keep up with. What is particularly notable for our purposes, however, is how the range of publications diversifies. The editors don't begin to draw on anything like a truly transnational range of publications, but instead feature an increasing number of titles from smaller towns and rural regions. The November 1925 issue includes, for example, the Duluth *Herald*, the Kingston *Whig*, the Nanaimo *Herald*, the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press*, the Sault Ste. Marie *Star*, and the Neepawa *Press*. Toronto, New York, and London are certainly present, but they no longer dominate the landscape as they did in 1905.⁴³ The image of the world this feature produces is one in which Winnipeg is actively in dialogue with people across the Western world, in both cosmopolitan and regional locales; it stubbornly refutes the centering

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of serial publishing as a New York phenomenon as well as the demotion of cities like Winnipeg, Nanaimo, and Sault Ste. Marie to second-class participants in modernity. Instead, these locations (and their newspapers and magazines) are placed on a par with New York and London, and the magazine's readers are invited to imagine themselves as part of a global community of readers who are able to keep abreast of modern culture through reading successive issues of serial publications.⁴⁴

This practice of reformation, a kind of replication of material across periodicals, involves a time-lag and a change of serial rhythm, as a monthly magazine gathers, reflects on, and juxtaposes snippets from daily and weekly as well as monthly publications. In this way, features like "What the World is Saying" become in effect metaserials, commenting on the emerging landscape of serial publishing. This recalls Mark Turner's argument that periodicals, as a technology of modernity, produced new rhythms and temporalities of daily life. While cycles of publication could generate what he calls "temporal symmetry" via the "simultaneity" of "collective media culture," periodical publishing was not necessarily symmetrical: "that is, because there are competing, overlapping cycles of time that confront the reader in the different periodical cycles . . . the result could as easily be confusion as cohesion."45 Temporal symmetry plays out very differently in "What the World is Saying" than in the example discussed at the start of this article, when the Western Home Monthly acquired Canadian rights for the serialization of Wild Geese, publishing it simultaneously with the version in the American monthly Pictorial Review.

Yet there is also a clear similarity. In both cases, reformation happens through recontextualization. On the pages of the *Western Home Monthly*, the paragraphs in "What the World is Saying" are entirely detached from their original contexts—the rest of the article they're taken from, the rest of the page, the material format of the original periodical. In the case of *Wild Geese*, some aspects of this context are retained and some are changed. For instance, the same illustrations are used in both magazines, but in one they are in color; in the other, in black and white. The text is the same, but it is broken up and arranged differently. The material context of the *Western Home Monthly* makes the episodes of *Wild Geese* look different from the way they look in *Pictorial Review*, and surrounds them with Canadian instead of American articles and adverts. But it is important that the two serializations both started in the same month, August 1925. There is none of the delay or deferral that is evident

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in some aspects of the relationship of Canadian to American literary and print cultures. $^{\rm 46}$

Wild Geese was not the only one of Ostenso's texts to be published in both an American and a Canadian magazine. Her short story "The Storm" is another example, and one which provides quite different insights into the cross-border circulation of periodical material. It also demonstrates how periodicals might cement their own national and regional identities by interpellating particular authors into the communities that the publication represented.

In the autumn of 1924, Ostenso published her first book of poems, A Far Land, and also her first magazine short story. "The Storm" is about a father and son, Ole and Young Ole, who are boat-builders. Young Ole, abandoning his father's traditional methods, goes away to work for a competitor at a factory. He is nearly lost in a storm, when sailing in one of the inferior factory-made boats, but is rescued by his father and returns to work beside him as a craftsman. The story appeared in an austerelydesigned intellectual monthly, the American-Scandinavian Review, alongside an article on Shakespeare and Elsinore, a profile of an American architect of Swedish descent, and a special section devoted to St. Birgitta of Vadstena.47 "The Storm" occupied eight consecutive 6 3/4 x 10 inch pages, and was surrounded by white space and decorated only with a pen-and-ink device suggestive of a cloud, at the end. The magazine does contain advertisements at the front and back of the issue, but none interrupt the reading of the story. No introductory information about Ostenso was given, but the publication of her work in this periodical emphasizes her Scandinavian origin and, in effect, claims her as part of a diasporic culture.

A few weeks later, Ostenso's lucrative, high-profile prize was announced, and widely reported in newspapers. In its issue for I January 1925, the Toronto-based *Maclean's* magazine printed a lengthy feature titled "Martha Ostenso, Prize Novelist," with a headline stating that "Canadians were curious, and in many cases frankly incredulous, when a few weeks ago a news despatch [sic] stated that Martha Ostenso, of Winnipeg, had won a literary prize of \$13,500." It is her origin in Winnipeg which seems to provoke the incredulity. On 15 April 1925, *Maclean's* republished "The Storm."⁴⁸ The text is essentially identical, but the appearance of the printed story is completely different. The type is set in columns, a style that brings the fortnightly *Maclean's* closer to the newspaper format, whereas

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in *American-Scandinavian Review*, there are no columns and the pages resemble those of a book. *Maclean's* uses a small typeface and a dense presentation of the text. Since the pages of *Maclean's* are in the large format that had been made standard by the American mass magazines established in the late nineteenth century (IO x I4 inches), most of the story fits on two consecutive pages, with the top half of the first page taken up by a large charcoal illustration of villagers looking out into a stormy sea, by the well-known H. Weston Taylor (who often illustrated popular and young adult fiction such as Eleanor H. Porter's "Pollyanna" books and L. M. Montgomery's "Anne" novels) (fig. 5).⁴⁹ The final section of Ostenso's story is relegated to one of the back pages, and appears amid illustrations for toothpaste and breakfast cereal.

Presumably, Ostenso had some say in the decision to republish this story, but it is unlikely that she had any influence over the way she or her text were presented in these



FIG. 5 Maclean's April 15, 1925.

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magazines. We propose that an author like Ostenso might not necessarily invest herself in identity-building projects like The Western Home Monthly's attempt to label her as a Winnipeg girl: rather, the construction of her identity in terms of national or regional belonging was an editorial practice, another variation on reformation as a practice of appealing to local interests through transnationalism. Obviously, the introductory text in Maclean's claims Ostenso as Canadian, but an equally interesting point here is that the new bibliographic codes of the published story have moved it from the realm of high culture into that of the mainstream. Again, American forms are redeployed, but in quite a different way from the examples described in earlier sections of this article. The cross-border circulation of material through different serial publications can dramatically deform and reform it. The American-Scandinavian Review, with its small page size and thick paper, approximates to a slim book, and would be likely to be collected and preserved on readers' bookshelves as well as in libraries. The concentration of advertisements at the beginning and ending also suggests the practice, common with "quality" periodicals like Scribner's and McClure's, of binding full-year runs, with the ads stripped out, into collectible volumes.50 Maclean's, by contrast, was printed on inexpensive paper that quickly degraded, and advertisements were dispersed throughout its pages. Its large format meant that it would be more likely to be stored temporarily in a magazine rack than permanently on a bookshelf. So, Ostenso's story, which is about a character who learns to reject modern methods of massproduction, has itself become a mass-produced artifact. At the same time, it has become Canadianized.

Canadian magazines seeking to claim border-crossing authors such as Ostenso were, in effect, continually working against contrary efforts of the American serial press. In order to understand this process, and its relationship to the serial as fictional form, it is worth turning briefly to an example from a regional daily paper. On 22 January 1933, G. L. Peterson wrote a column on Ostenso in *The Minneapolis Tribune*. Peterson has apparently conducted an interview with the author, and he begins with a plea for her to abandon her restless travelling and return "home": that is, to Minnesota, where she had lived for some years. He writes: "Something should be done about bringing Martha Ostenso back to these parts to live. . . . She is forever flying away to New York or British Columbia or California or Mexico."⁵¹ Later in the article, he acknowledges the productiveness, in career terms,

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of her apparently constant movement. Her most recent book, he notes, was *Prologue to Love*:

It appeared first as a magazine serial, and the customers applauded it. Then it came out as a book. In this story Miss Ostenso leaves her immediate northwest for British Columbia.

The next story is also to be a magazine serial. McCall's has bought it for publication to start in May. "There's Always Another Year" is the tentative title.⁵²

The "news value" of the information about her forthcoming publication is evident, and the article effectively "trails" There's Always Another Year. Yet the emphasis on the serialization of her recent and forthcoming novels seems an implicit judgment on their quality: the use of "customers" rather than "readers" is telling.53 At the end of the piece, Peterson expresses his hopes for Ostenso's future work: "She must care a lot for the prairies. . . . And you hope she will find her farm beside a lake and there write the long book she has thought so often about."54 Peterson seems much less interested in national than in regional belonging, and seeks to anchor Ostenso in a particular landscape, rather than in a particular country. Equally, he longs for her growth as an author, so that with her "long" novel (too long, presumably, to appear in any serial magazine format) she will become a more valuable representative of midwestern literature. The image of Ostenso as a local girl who proved her worth in a cosmopolitan market is echoed between Peterson's review and The Western Home Monthly's advertisement for the Wild Geese serialization, though they resonate differently in these different publishing contexts.

In light of *The Western Home Monthly*'s complex relationship to American magazines, their reframing of Ostenso as a local girl rather than a cosmopolitan celebrity is far from simple. Indeed, there are implications of global celebrity in the same ad that calls her a "Manitoba girl"; it also refers to her winning a major prize "in a world competition of writers" (fig.I). The "world" figures here as the space where a local author's legitimacy is tested and proven. Both *The Western Home Monthly* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* attempt to lay claim to Ostenso as a local author, but precisely because she has proven herself in the New York publishing world. This cosmopolitan celebrity is both desired and rejected, at once an appealing form of modernity

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and a market-driven corruption of literary merit. These examples evince an anxiety, common in such regionally based serial publications, about the relationship between regionalism and cosmopolitanism, a desire to adopt the models that made New York publishing so successful while questioning their capacity to represent the specificity and uniqueness of regional identity.

CONCLUSION

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The willingness of Canadian magazines such as *The Western Home Monthly* or *Maclean's* to take up, transform, or simply reprint American and international content suggests that familiar geographical boundaries cannot be tidily imposed on the serial production of the early twentieth century. It is not enough, however, merely to point out that national or regional categories are an insufficient way to understand the dynamics of serial publishing. As this article demonstrates, it is far more valuable to attend to the actual strategies, uneven and contested as they may be, that magazine editors were deploying in the moment.

As Canadian magazines continuously sought to increase their subscriber bases, they recognized the allure of American magazines, with their celebrity contributors and high production values, but also recognized the threat that they represented. Clubbing deals, and different forms of reprinting (from short paragraphs to stories and whole novels in instalments) show how regional magazines were influenced by American mass culture, and how they sometimes resisted that influence. The magazines were clearly eager to boost subscriptions through bundling deals and transnational affiliations, and equally eager to use their boosted subscriptions to advertise their own superior quality to their home audience. These examples show how magazine editors deployed the new possibilities of mass magazines as a means of negotiating a complex relationship with metropolitan, American and, ultimately, globalized mass culture. The affordances of seriality, particularly timeliness and increased circulation through decreasing prices, allowed editors to respond rapidly-though not always immediately-to the news of the day, surveying a whole range of print publications as well as a wider "world" that, as the Western Home Monthly's "What the World is Saying" column demonstrates, encompassed both cosmopolitan and regional locales. Thus, seriality was central to the development of a print modernity that extended its reach beyond world centers like New York and London, facilitating the participation of places like Winnipeg and Minneapolis.

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Yet, even as the mass media was imagined as creating a new kind of global simultaneity, the reality of serial publishing was one of unevenness and asymmetry. Serial publications could not slide seamlessly across borders, but instead encountered restrictions-in the form of import tariffs, distribution difficulties, censorship, technological lags and more-that delayed or distorted the transmission of material. Seriality as a print form is characterized just as much by hold-ups and blockages as by mobility and simultaneity. We argue that these blockages, and the magazines' strategies for working around them, are not necessarily modes of deformation. As the examples we've discussed demonstrate, the term "reformation" would be more appropriate to describe the way texts and images, layouts and formats, and contributors' celebrity images are reframed or re-formed as they move across different periodicals. In turn, this helps us understand more about the circulation of periodical material between metropolitan and regional locations. Through attention to practices such as subscription bundling, simultaneous serialization, and delayed reprinting, we can see how regionally-based magazines took up cosmopolitan cultural production and redeployed it for a readership eager to imagine themselves as participants in the new project of modernity.

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NOTES

I. Among the other dimensions of Ostenso's celebrity—her youth, precocious talent, and Icelandic heritage in particular—another key aspect of it was the deliberate elision of the contributions made by her partner and eventual husband Douglas Durkin. There is ample archival evidence that Durkin coauthored many of the novels attributed to Ostenso, including *Wild Geese*. Hannah McGregor, "Editing without Author(ity): Martha Ostenso, Periodical Studies, and the Digital Turn," in *Editing as Cultural Practice in Canada*, ed. Dean Irvine and Smaro Kamboureli (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2016), 106.

2. "Wild Geese by Martha Ostenso," The Western Home Monthly, July 1925: 27.

3. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 276.

4. "Press: Maple Leaf Magazines," Time, 26 Sept. 1932.

5. Such reading does not imply that the category of "nation" should be abandoned. Robert Zacharias points to the recent return of 1970s "literary continentalism" under the new name of hemispheric studies, but notes the "persistence of the nation within CanLit's engagement with the hemispheric turn," as well as an enduring "Canada-shaped hole in hemispheric studies." Zacharias argues that "While the changing social, economic, media, and political contexts make clear the need for scholars to engage alternative scales of thought, the demand to continue grappling with the nation-state within these changing contexts is equally clear." "The Transnational Return: Tracing the Spatial Politics of CanLit," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 41, no.1 (2016): III, 109.

6. Will Straw, "Constructing the Canadian Lowbrow Magazine: The Periodical as Media Object in the 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 6, no. 2 (2015): 113.

7. Ibid., 131.

8. See Harsha Ram's argument for "the necessity of scalar thinking, capable of mapping hierarchical cartographies of power as well as tracing the networks that link local and transregional histories". "The Scale of Global Modernisms: Imperial, National, Regional, Local," *PMLA* 131, no. 5 (October 2016): 1382.

9. Patrick Collier and James J. Connolly, "Print Culture Histories beyond the Metropolis: An Introduction," *Print Culture Histories beyond the Metropolis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 7. It is perhaps worth noting that this excellent volume still lacks any references to Canadian print culture.

10. Jessica Berman, "Is the Trans in Transnational the Trans in Transgender?" *Modernism/ modernity* 24, no. 2 (2017): 220.

II. See the collection Navigating the Transnational in Modern American Literature and *Culture*, ed. Doug Haynes and Tara Stubbs (London: Routledge 2017), which brings attention to the way that trans-regional—as well as transnational—debates shaped twentieth-century American literary culture and its interactions with other national traditions.

12. Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith, *Magazines, Travel, and Middlebrow Culture: Canadian Periodicals in English and French* 1925–1960 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 45, 60. Compare Katharine Bode's comments on the proportion of fiction by Australian and American authors published in Australian newspapers in the later nineteenth century. She notes the influence of syndicated fiction, sourced by international agencies and reprinted across numerous papers. "Thousands of Titles Without Authors: Digitized Newspapers, Serial Fiction, and the Challenges of Anonymity," *Book History* 19 (2016): 306, 315 n. 62.

13. Hammill and Smith, 26.

14. Rachael Alexander, "Imagined Women: Consumerism, Nationalism, and Gender in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* of the 1920s." PhD diss, University of Strathclyde, 2016, 223–30.

15. James Mussell, "Repetition: Or, 'In Our Last,'" *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 347.

16. Fraser Sutherland, The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989), 113.

17. David Earle, *Re-Covering Modernisms: Pulp, Paperbacks, and the Prejudice of Form* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 3. Lise Jaillant makes a similar point: "The focus on original publication and first editions is deeply engrained not only in modernist studies, but also in bibliography and book history." *Cheap Modernism: Expanding Markets, Publishers' Series and the Avant-Garde* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 3.

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18. Modern Print Artefacts (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 2.

19. Richard Ohmann, Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century (London: Verso, 1996), 25.

20. Ibid., 29, 15.

21. For a further discussion of the relation between the periodical and fashionability, see Hammill and Smith, chapter 3; Peter McNeil and Patrik Steorn, "The Medium of Print and the Rise of Fashion in the West," Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History 82, no. 3 (2013): 135-56.

22. Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 113.

23. George L. Parker, "English-Canadian Publishers and the Struggle for Copyright." In History of the Book in Canada, Volume II: 1840-1918, ed. Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Fiona A. Black (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 148-49.

24. Frank Felsenstein and James J. Connolly, What Middletown Read: Print Culture in an American Small City (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), 80, 90.

25. Ibid., 93.

26. Nick Mount, When Canadian Literature Moved to New York (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 10.

27. Ibid., 31.

28. Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 125.

29. Merrill Distad, "Newspapers and Magazines." In Lamond, Fleming and Black, History of the Book in Canada, Volume II, 303.

30. Mary Vipond, The Mass Media in Canada, 4th ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer, 2011), 38.

31. "What Magazine Clubbing Means," Beaver Daily Times, 8 Jan. 1907.

32. "Publisher's Notice," Popular Mechanics, November 1909, 151a.

33. "To Stop a Cut-Rate Clubbing Offer," The American Stationer, 28 Dec 1912: 19.

34. Frank J. Campbell, "To the Members of the American Woman's League," Fine Arts Journal 23, no. 2 (1910): n.p.

"To Our Readers," The Western Home Monthly, May 1901, 8.
 "Announcement," The Western Home Monthly, November 1903, inside front cover.

37. "The Western Home Monthly Clubbing Offer for 1903-1904," The Western Home Monthly, November 1903, 19.

38. "Here's Your Chance!," The Western Home Monthly, January 1906, 2.

39. Straw, "Constructing the Canadian Lowbrow Magazine," 113.

40. "What the World Is Saying," The Western Home Monthly, May 1923, 68. This was quite a distinctive feature in the context of monthly magazines, although other types of digest can be found. For instance, Maclean's magazine had a section called "Review of Reviews" which reprinted or excerpted short articles from a range of other periodicals. "What the World Is Saying" is, however, closer in form to the reporting in American regional newspapers which, since the 1840s, had favored short paragraphs, with many of the items clipped from other papers. See Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, The Form of News: A History (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 102.

41. See Lev Manovich's The Language of New Media (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001) for further discussion of the "'flat,' nonhierarchical network of hyperlinks" as a model in which "every object has the same importance as any other, and . . . everything is, or can be, connected to everything else" (16).

42. "What the World Is Saying," The Western Home Monthly, November 1905, 7.
43. "What the World Is Saying," The Western Home Monthly, November 1925, 96.

44. Compare Mitchell Rolls and Anna Johnston's analysis of the mainstream mid-twentiethcentury Australian magazine Walkabout, which "sought to bring rural places, affairs, and sensibilities to the forefront of national attention" and "encouraged its readers to be curiousabout themselves, their neighbours, their local areas, the nation, and the [Pacific] region." This book provides a model of how to "approach cultural studies from a non-metropolitan perspective"; like The Western Home Monthly, Walkabout was based in a city, but one distant from the major metropolises of New York, London etc. Mitchell Rolls and Anna Johnston, Travelling Home, 'Walkabout Magazine' and Mid-Twentieth-Century Australia (London: Anthem Press, 2016), 7.

45. Mark W. Turner, "Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century," Media History 8, no. 2 (2002): 188.

46. Modern serial publishing often laid claim to simultaneity, in that readers in different locations could read texts or news at the same moment. But the practical operations of the

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book trade, the postal service, and censorship could work against this. As Pearce Carefoote notes, "Until 1958 officials could refer to a list of proscribed publications to supplement their own discretion when refusing to admit a book into the country. The first list, issued in 1895, named forty-seven American serials; by 1957 over one thousand 'indecent' books were prohibited, reflecting the growth of the paperback book trade." See Pearce Carefoote, "Government Censorship of Print," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume III:* 1918–1980, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 468. The unevenness in terms of access to literature also operated along regional lines. In the late 1880s, census data recorded 290 booksellers and stationers in Ontario, but just 18 in Manitoba. See Greta Golic, "Bookselling in Town and Country," in Lamonde, Fleming and Black, *History of the Book in Canada, Volume III*, 213.

47. Martha Ostenso, "The Storm," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, September 1924, 549-56.

48. Martha Ostenso, "The Storm," *MacLean's*, April 15, 1925, 17–18, 69. (For simplicity, we refer to the magazine as "*MacLean's*," the title it used for most of its run. But in 1925 the title was spelled with a capital L.)

49. MacLean's, April 15, 1925, 17.

50. Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, "The Rise of Periodical Studies," *PMLA* 121, no. 2 (2006): 520.

51. G. L. Peterson, "Miss Ostenso Starts Out for Mexico Again," *The Minneapolis Tribune*, January 22, 1933: 7.

52. Ibid.

53. On serialization and cultural value, See Candida Rifkind, "The Returning Reader: Canadian Serial Fiction and Mazo de la Roche's *Jalna*," in *Middlebrow Literary Cultures: The Battle of the Brows*, 1920–1960, ed. Mary Grover and Erica Brown (London: Palgrave, 2012), 171–86.

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54. Peterson, "Miss Ostenso", 7.