

Fictional Systems:

Mass-Digitisation, Network Analysis, and Nineteenth-Century Australian Newspapers

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Among the extensive volume of fiction serialised in nineteenth-century newspapers, some titles appeared only once, in a single publication for a single readership. But many were published multiple times, in various forms and locations, as part of a broad culture of reprinting and repurposing content.¹ As multiple studies have shown, fiction reprinting became increasingly formalised as the century progressed: developing from unauthorised “borrowings” by individual editors to mutual systems of “exchange” and, from the 1870s, companies dedicated to supplying fiction to “syndicates” of newspapers.² Until recently, such studies have relied upon manually searching analogue archives, with analyses accordingly based on relatively small and selective samples: whether of the fiction published in particular (typically major metropolitan) newspapers, by particular (predominantly canonical) authors, or as recorded in particular (surviving) records of syndication agencies.³ Now, as with so many other areas of literary and book history, the significantly expanded access to periodical content provided by mass-digitisation is transforming the possibilities for research.⁴

Based on a sample of 9,491 fictional titles, serialised in 261 newspapers,⁵ and identified through analysis of the largest mass-digitised collection of historical newspapers available internationally – the National Library of Australia’s Trove Newspaper Database⁶ –this article radically revises existing accounts of fiction reprinting in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers. These emphasise the dominance of Tillotson’s Fiction Bureau and associated ascendancy of syndicated British over local writing. I demonstrate that Tillotson’s was only one participant among many in the colonial market, and offer a new account of the nature, timing, and effect of its engagement. Previously, the company has been associated only with major city periodicals. I show that it primarily engaged with second tier metropolitan and provincial newspapers, and that this occurred earlier, and more systematically, than has been recognised. The strong and stable presence of local writing for at least a decade after the arrival of syndicated British fiction refutes the claim that Tillotson’s, and other overseas agencies, ended opportunities for colonial authors. Moving beyond the practices of known agencies and agents, I confirm a significant shift in syndication practices in the 1890s, while demonstrating the role of specific Australian metropolitan newspapers in sourcing and distributing fiction for the colonies.

Where my analysis of fiction reprinting in metropolitan newspapers challenges various features of the established narrative, in turning to the provincial press – which has received almost no attention in earlier work – it reveals an entirely new set of activities and actors. Significantly, I show that periodical newspapers published and reprinted more serial fiction than their metropolitan counterparts. Such reprinting involved a range of semi-formal editor- and author-led arrangements. But most serial fiction in provincial newspapers was supplied by an extensive, active, and hitherto entirely unrecognised array of syndication agencies, operating within and beyond the colonies. This new account reveals a significantly more complex, varied, and populated set of processes and structures – local and global – than have previously been associated with fiction reprinting in colonial newspapers. It also exposes the extent to which past studies have approached the larger, previously largely-intractable, newspaper archive through the lens of smaller, more tractable ones, and how this perspective has shaped and distorted understandings of colonial literary culture and its connection to the international fiction market.

I Mass-Digitisation and the Fictions of Network Analysis

Of course, digital resources and methods are far from neutral lenses: they institute their own partial view. Periodical studies has been at the forefront of humanities research in acknowledging such partiality: contributions to the field were among the first to emphasise the large proportion of the archive not digitised, as well as the range of issues that affect access to the contents of mass-digitised collections.⁷ However, periodical studies is yet to move coherently beyond acknowledging such partiality to identifying its scope and effects, and devising strategies for interpreting results in that context. In particular, the key framework through which exploring the contents of mass-digitised collections is imagined and increasingly enacted in periodical studies – the network – tends to inhibit rather than enable nuanced historical analysis by obscuring the relationship between model and evidence. Periodical studies' increasingly frequent encounters with what are inevitably incomplete, though enormous, datasets make elaborating these issues essential as a precondition for this particular study of fiction reprinting in colonial newspapers, and for clarifying directions in the field as a whole.

As noted already, Trove is the largest collection of digitised historical newspapers internationally. On the date I ceased harvesting serial fiction for this article (16 July 2015) it made 17,620,635 searchable pages available, compared with 9,728,249 pages for *Chronicling America*, 11,162,283 pages for the British Newspaper Archive, and 10 million searchable pages for *Europeana Newspapers*.⁸ Although this page count is impressively high, in comparing the Australian newspapers digitised with those indexed for advertisers of the period, I estimate that approximately one fifth – 21% – of nineteenth-century Australian newspapers are represented in

Trove.⁹ For digital periodical research in general, this (perhaps surprisingly low) proportion should underscore the partiality of other major mass-digitised newspaper collections, where the number of pages available is significantly less, even as the number of historical newspapers was considerably more;¹⁰ for the current project it indicates that most Australian newspapers are omitted from this study of reprinting. Despite the substantial gap in the digitised archive, based on comparing my dataset with historical records I feel confident describing it as broadly representative, with the important provisos that metropolitan newspapers, those from colonies with smaller populations, and those operating earlier in the century, are somewhat overrepresented.¹¹

I also believe that my method for analysing Trove has identified most of the fiction serialised in the newspapers digitised at the time I ceased harvesting data. The combination of Trove's features and the paratextual method I have devised mean, unusually, Optical Character Recognition errors have very little impact on my results.¹² However, two issues – one relating to this method, the other to collection practices – did affect the type and range of serial fiction titles discovered. The first is the particular search terms used in harvesting relevant results. Where “chapter,” “serial and story,” “novelist,” “tales and sketches,” “storyteller,” and “story and teller” proved very effective in discovering instances of serial fiction in digitised newspapers, cases where other terms – such as “part” – were used by newspaper editors to introduce and segment relevant stories are not routinely captured. Discovery of serial fiction in provincial newspapers was specifically impacted by the routine exclusion of some newspaper supplements from collection procedures underpinning Trove: a well-known problem in periodical studies generally,¹³ and highlighted by my analysis of reprinting.¹⁴ Because provincial newspapers mainly published serial fiction in supplements, my findings almost certainly understate the publication and reprinting of such titles outside metropolitan centres.

Such discussion of the scope of the mass-digitised collection/s analysed, the means of investigation, and the representativeness of the derived data, should be offered in establishing the viability of any dataset employed in periodical studies. But the methods used in representing and interpreting data – far from neutral lenses for perceiving events and trends – also significantly shape findings. As already noted, network analysis is widely selected to imagine, and increasingly to enact, the possibilities of periodical research in the context of mass-digitisation. Such models have obvious appeal for periodical studies, with their portrayal of edges (relationships) between nodes (entities) mirroring the established, system-based understanding of print culture. The attractive network visualisations enabled by software such as Gephi compound this appeal. Applied to the extensive datasets derived from mass-digitised collections, network analysis appears to bring connections and configurations within periodical culture literally into view. Given its popularity, and my focus on newspapers that published the same stories, network analysis would seem the

obvious choice for this project. However, at least as it is currently deployed in periodical studies – and arguably inevitably – network analysis inhibits effective engagement with historical evidence. While individual projects overcome certain barriers to interpreting available data in historically meaningful ways, the emphasis on the “advances in the visualisation of data”¹⁵ enabled by network analysis prevents recognition and accommodation of the inevitable and significant gaps that remain in our evidence for constructing and interpreting such models.

Encouraged by the now routine designation of digital methods as “distant reading” – and necessitated by a lack of statistical literacy – scholars in periodical studies, as in the humanities generally, approach the results of network analysis essentially as visual representations that can be interpreted, or “read,” to discover the operations of historical systems.¹⁶ The most basic way in which this approach creates barriers to historical investigation is by rendering implicit the decisions and assumptions by which the data are constituted and arranged. Humanities researchers increasingly recognise data as artefact rather than fact,¹⁷ and algorithms as arguments that should not be black-boxed.¹⁸ But presenting network models as visual images – without the data underpinning and produced by such analyses – precludes assessment of these underlying procedures and their effects.

Approaching network visualisations as if they displayed historical entities and relationships also risks mistaking potential patterns for historical processes. Rather than historically meaningful in and of themselves, the connections displayed when large datasets of periodical content are subjected to network analysis potentially represent (some of) the effects of (perhaps multiple) occurrences not discernable from that model. For analyses of fiction reprinting, for instance, the same story might appear in multiple periodicals for different reasons: one newspaper editor might have bought the story from the author, others from that purchasing newspaper, or from a syndication agency; others, still, might have “borrowed” it from one of these newspapers or another, without payment and with or without acknowledgement.¹⁹ Where periodical research seeks to understand these underlying processes, the appearance of meaning presented by connections in network models occludes their range, complexity, and potential contradiction.

More generally, network visualisations compound the danger of anachronism associated with metaphoric references to the past in terms of networks. As a number of historians have argued, such metaphors risk projecting “contemporary, much faster, networked flows” – most obviously, those of the Internet – onto the historical context.²⁰ Translating metaphor into material form increases the rhetorical impact of this projection, with the sense of immediacy, uniformity, and cohesion presented by network visualisations functioning to occlude the specific and variable distances, extended temporalities, and complicated social, economic, and political negotiations involved in nineteenth-century periodical culture.

Although, in the embrace of network analysis in periodical studies, these challenges have not been adequately articulated, individual projects employ various strategies to forestall such misapprehension of the available evidence. The Viral Texts Projects publishes the data it harvests from *Chronicling America*, and describes data construction. By focusing on specific instances and richly contextualising them, Ryan Cordell's work on this dataset brings historical specificity and nuance to the interpretation of network models.²¹ Richard So and Hoyt Long's study of modernist networks does the same; these authors are also very explicit about the assumptions underpinning their model, allowing readers to accept or reject the terms under which they construct connections in modernist literary culture.²² Anne DeWitt avoids mistaking the potential patterns arising from data mining for historical processes by reading each of the "thousands" of articles resulting from searching six databases for seven theological titles. Although returning her to the challenge of evidentiary excess that network analysis is intended to overcome, this approach means all 355 articles included in her model meet her definition of genre formation (the claim of a likeness between two or more titles).²³

These strategies to counter the misapprehension of available historical evidence, while valuable, are unevenly applied, and do not address the more pernicious problem of the representational approach to network analysis in periodical studies: its incapacity to identify, and accommodate the effects of, evidence not available to be modeled. As demonstrated in the above analysis of Trove, mass-digitised periodical collections are not only partial, but considerably more partial than is generally appreciated. However much their partiality is canvassed in the broad, if the particular scope and absences of a particular collection are not detailed, the relationship of the resulting dataset to the historical system it seeks to investigate cannot be established. None of the above projects offer such an assessment of the collections on which their datasets are based. Where this tactic – of alluding to partiality without specifying its scope – is problematic in any form of digital periodical studies, its consequences are considerably amplified in network analysis.

Network models are contingent to a degree that is poorly appreciated by humanities scholars. With the exception of geospatial models, network visualisations arrange entities according to proprieties of the available dataset rather than externally locatable features. In a force-directed graph, for instance, algorithms position nodes based on the number of edges they share with others, and their strength. As a result, adding new nodes or edges – an inescapable prospect in a field where only a small portion of the archive is digitised – will always change the position of all entities depicted, often radically. The considerable gaps in what is available to be modelled in periodical studies mean that network visualisations based on mining mass-digitised collections invariably present fictitious systems. Projects that ignore this fictitiousness and base historical arguments on the structure of network models implicitly maintain that all data (or all data conceivably relevant to

understanding a particular historical system) is available. As such, they erroneously reinforce the sense of completeness – of coherent and self-contained systems – that the visualisation of network models projects.

The apparent completeness of network models obscures another gap in the evidentiary foundations of periodical studies: the documents needed to interpret the entities and relationships indicated. Although mass-digitisation is understood in terms of evidentiary excess, it concurrently creates a profound evidentiary imbalance for periodical studies, between extensive (though incomplete) information on the contents of periodicals, and very limited availability of the documents needed to understand the actors and institutions responsible for creating and distributing those contents. For this project, it is not only that the causal factors underpinning different instances of reprinting are multiple, though they are; the documents needed to determine what cause applies in what case are usually unavailable: rarely digitised, and for the most part, no longer in existence. Indeed, the reason Tillotson's has received so much attention in studies of fiction reprinting is because its archive, though "scrappy" with multiple gaps, is a comparatively "rich" resource in a context where most of the names, let alone the business activities, of syndication agencies have been lost to history.²⁴

Statistics are an alternative to the representational approach to network analysis predominantly employed in periodical studies, and some projects are using measures – for instance, graph density, modularity, or weighted degree – built into programs such as Gephi. However, these only characterise the effects of network modelling on the available dataset; they do not accommodate gaps in the available evidence. Scientific and social scientific applications of network analysis employ other, complex, statistics to this end. Measures of probability, for instance, assess the likelihood that stated characteristics of a modelled network would remain true if all data were available, while "forest" networks address questions of causality when the processes underpinning particular relationships are unknown but from a finite set.²⁵ Such measures recognise that questions relating to system structures and their dynamics are especially sensitive to data completeness. Even if the scholar has a representative dataset, for the results of network modelling to serve as a justifiable basis for argument, the likelihood that they are the products of data availability – or of random chance – needs to be established, and shown to be low.

Certainly, it is possible to apply these statistical approaches to characterising and accommodating gaps in data generated from mass-digitised collections, including for this project;²⁶ and some digital humanities scholars advocate the move to more sophisticated statistical assessments of error in employing methods such as network analysis for historical research.²⁷ But even if periodical scholars developed the literacies needed to conduct and interpret such measures – and narrowed the form of the questions asked of network models accordingly (more, what are the

structural effects of interrupting this type of relationship than, how does this system work) – I do not think network analysis would support an adequate encounter with historical evidence. First, it is questionable whether the range of actors and causal factors involved in the historical systems periodical scholars investigate is amenable to network analysis (where two types of relationships, and two or three types of entities, constitute a very complex model). More fundamentally, the probability measures needed to model systems based on highly incomplete datasets (such as that offered by mass-digitisation of nineteenth-century periodicals) are at odds with the centrality of documentary evidence to historical argument. Historians are interested in what occurred – and exploring why – not what might have taken place based on a series of assumptions. And even if mass-digitisation continues to the extent that probability measures relating to periodical content could be employed without too many assumptions,²⁸ the inevitable gap between such content and the evidence needed to understand underlying historical processes would mean that network analysis could only offer part of the methodological toolkit for any study.

In light of all these issues, I have not based any of the arguments below on the findings of network analysis, nor do I offer any network visualisations. But I do employ the method for specific practical and exploratory functions. Gephi's Multimodal Networks Projection feature enabled me to create a more manageable dataset by converting thousands of connections between fictional titles and newspapers into hundreds of connections between newspapers, associated with one another in terms of the number of fictional titles they shared in common. The network models I produced from this dataset suggested interesting features of my sample: for instance, that certain newspapers (such as Melbourne's *Leader*) were highly connected, and that metropolitan and provincial newspapers tended to cluster together, with few connections between them. However, in using these models as the starting point for analysis, I remained acutely conscious of their contingency and partiality: their status as algorithmic projections of an available dataset, describing only the potential effects of historical processes, and excluding, in any case, most of the actors and enterprises, local and global, implicated in the system I am investigating (not only the four fifths of nineteenth-century Australian newspapers not digitised by Trove, but other colonial and overseas periodicals, authors, syndication agencies, literary agents, publishers, and so on, involved with fiction reprinting in the colonies).

In other words, I treated the results of network analyses as potential indicators of meaning, not evidence of reprinting practices. To establish the basis for historical argument, I approached these various connections and patterns with the type of questions scholars have long asked in periodical studies, and based the answers on forms of evidence the field has traditionally relied upon. If newspapers published multiple titles in common I asked: Who owned these newspapers? What was the distance between them? What was the specific sequencing of republication? I studied digitised newspaper pages to query: Are page layout and typographical features the same in all

instances of publication? Are illustrations – and the same illustrations – present? Is the source of the fiction acknowledged? I searched critical bibliographies and published records of syndication agencies to find out: Who else published this story? How much was the author paid, who represented them, and what other authors did they work with? And so on. Rather than the delineation of system dynamics, this exploration yields an amalgam of pieces of evidence, enabling important insights but also producing multiple dead ends: places where I am compelled to acknowledge that gaps in the evidence (relating to periodical content and/or the documents needed to interpret it) mean I can go no further. My arguments arise from movement between the large and small scale, but always with an insistent recognition of the partiality of both. It is a particular view of a particular archive: significantly extended by mass-digitisation, and by the digital methods available to explore those contents, but necessarily and inevitably partial and provisional.

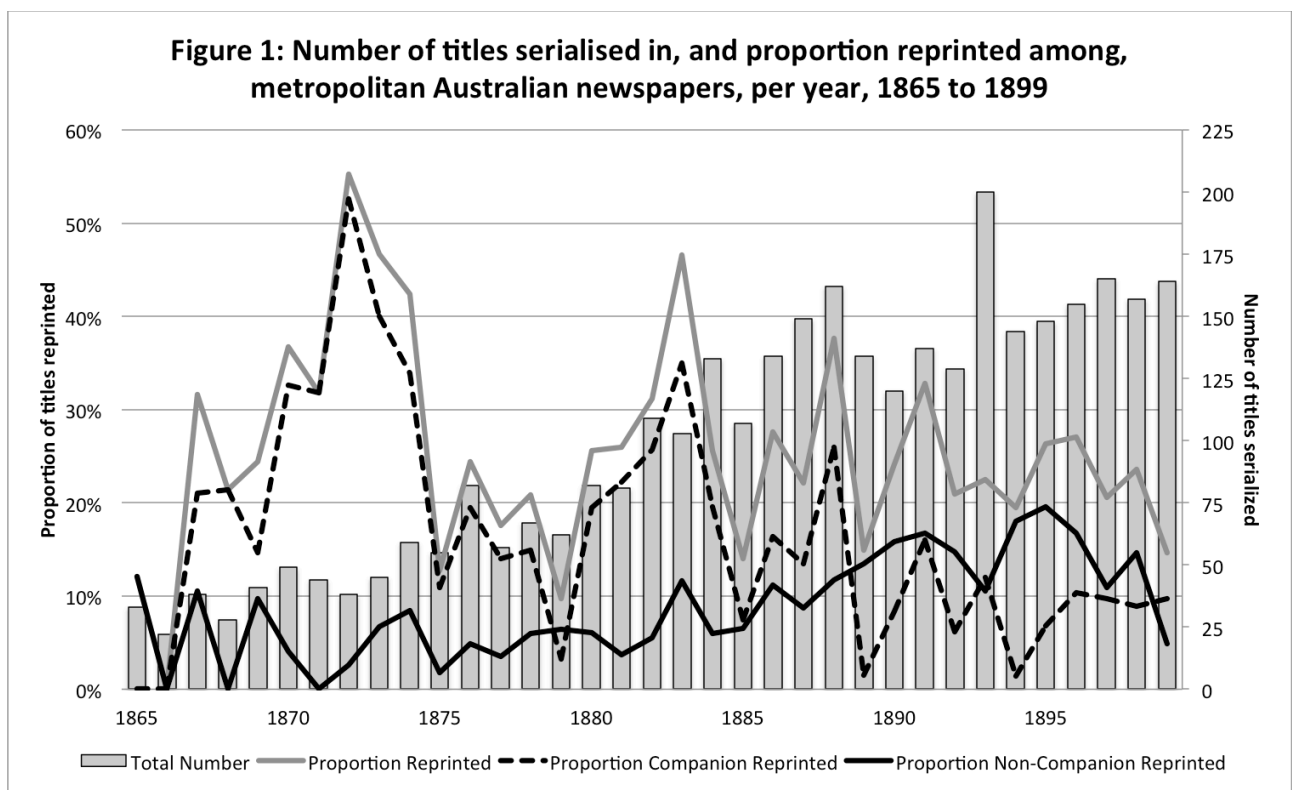
II Metropolitan Newspapers

In the existing account of fiction reprinting in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers, the mid- to late-1880s are identified as a period of dramatic change, instituted by the arrival and immediate dominance of British syndication agencies, principally Tillotson's. Prior to this time, critics agree that no established systems existed for sourcing overseas content. Discussing imported serials in this period, Toni Johnson-Woods writes that, "how they came to Australia remains a mystery," while noting the likelihood of piracy, especially of American fiction.²⁹ Others have described how colonial newspaper editors obtained fiction by contracting with individual British authors,³⁰ and through "unauthorized 'borrowings'," with short fiction more likely to come from local publications, and extended serials from overseas.³¹

Law ascribes Tillotson's dedicated involvement with the colonial market to "financial pressures in their home market." Where the company experienced strong returns in the home market from its beginnings in 1873 to the mid-1880s, towards the end of that decade such pressures "encouraged Tillotson's to search more energetically for returns elsewhere ... [through] ventures into America, the Colonies, and Europe".³² In making this move, Law argues the agency dealt only with "major city journals",³³ and the "standard arrangement for works by well-known writers like [Mary Elizabeth] Braddon" was for Tillotson's "to offer serial rights in a single colony for £75, or entire Australian and New Zealand rights for £100, thus leaving a Colonial editor or agent to sell on copy to other journals".³⁴ Paul Eggert concurs with Law's timing when he argues that overseas "agents ... saturated the local market with imported serials" from the mid-1880s,³⁵ while others join Law in emphasising the particular dominance of Tillotson's. Johnson-Woods, for instance, notes that Tillotson's provided "[n]early all of [the] imported stories" in major metropolitan newspapers.³⁶ Scholars also generally agree that the entry of overseas syndicates into the Australian

market had a deleterious effect on local literary production. Christopher Hilliard argues that fiction was supplied to the Australian colonies so cheaply by overseas syndication agencies, Tillotson's in particular, that local literary production was significantly constrained.³⁷

This established account would lead us to anticipate relatively haphazard and minor incidents of fiction reprinting in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers until the mid- to late-1880s, followed by a sudden, and substantial increase and consistency in the practice. The solid grey line in Figure 1, indicating the proportion of titles reprinted among metropolitan publications per year,³⁸ shows rather the opposite of this trend: high (though uneven) rates of reprinting prior to the mid-1880s, followed by an overall decline. These results require qualification, however, due to a phenomenon I will call companion reprinting. From the late 1850s, multiple daily metropolitan newspapers established weekly companions. As might be expected – and as the dotted black line in Figure 1 indicates – these jointly owned, and often jointly edited, publications frequently serialised the same stories.



Most fiction reprinted among metropolitan newspapers prior to the mid-1880s falls into this category of companion reprinting. The daily *Brisbane Courier* and weekly *Queenslander* were the first to engage in the practice routinely, with a particular emphasis on American fiction. (Perhaps the editors thought the content of these stories would speak to Queensland's frontier society; more likely, they felt justified in publishing such fiction for free, due to the lack of American

acknowledgement of international copyright.³⁹) A number of other daily and weekly companions (including the *Evening Journal* and *Adelaide Observer* in South Australia, the *Telegraph* and *Week* in Queensland, and the *Evening News* and *Australian Town and Country Journal* in New South Wales) also frequently serialised the same stories.⁴⁰ Still others – among them the largest and most culturally significant metropolitan newspapers – serialised significant amounts of fiction individually, but rarely, if ever, together.⁴¹

When companion reprinting is excluded, rates of fiction reprinting among metropolitan newspapers more closely resemble the established narrative. As the solid black line in Figure 1 indicates, the proportion of reprinted titles increased across the nineteenth century, unevenly prior to the mid-1880s, and more consistently from this time, albeit with a sharp decline in the second half of the 1890s. Broadly speaking, this trend corresponds with the time Tillotson's supposedly entered and dominated the colonial market, but demonstrates nothing of the dramatic and abrupt shift in fiction reprinting that might be expected. Comparing titles syndicated by Tillotson's with serial fiction identified in this study (see Appendix 1⁴²) further disrupts the prevailing account of that company's activities. The first five instances in this table, occurring between 1873 and 1878, were not organised by Tillotson's (definitely not for the three titles by Braddon,⁴³ and probably not in the other two cases⁴⁴). However, from 1880, almost all the fiction syndicated by Tillotson's appeared either the same or following year in one or more colonial newspapers.

Tillotson's systematic involvement with colonial newspapers from 1880 indicates the company acted offensively rather than defensively in its international expansion. The alignment between the authors serialised in colonial newspapers prior to 1880, and those syndicated by Tillotson's after this time, suggests an explanation for this alternative mode of engagement. Well before Tillotson's began, multiple authors later associated with that company were published – and published extensively – in colonial newspapers. In addition to Braddon, in the decade prior to 1875, multiple titles by Wilkie Collins, B. L. Farjeon, George Manville Fenn, James Payn, Charles Reade, and F. W. Robinson appeared in metropolitan newspapers, with a number reprinted two or more times;⁴⁵ the second half of the 1870s witnessed more serial fiction by these and other authors later syndicated by Tillotson's including Walter Besant and James Rice, William Black, Eliza Lynn Linton, Justin McCarthy, George Macdonald, Margaret Oliphant, and Dora Russell, again often published in two or more metropolitan newspapers.⁴⁶

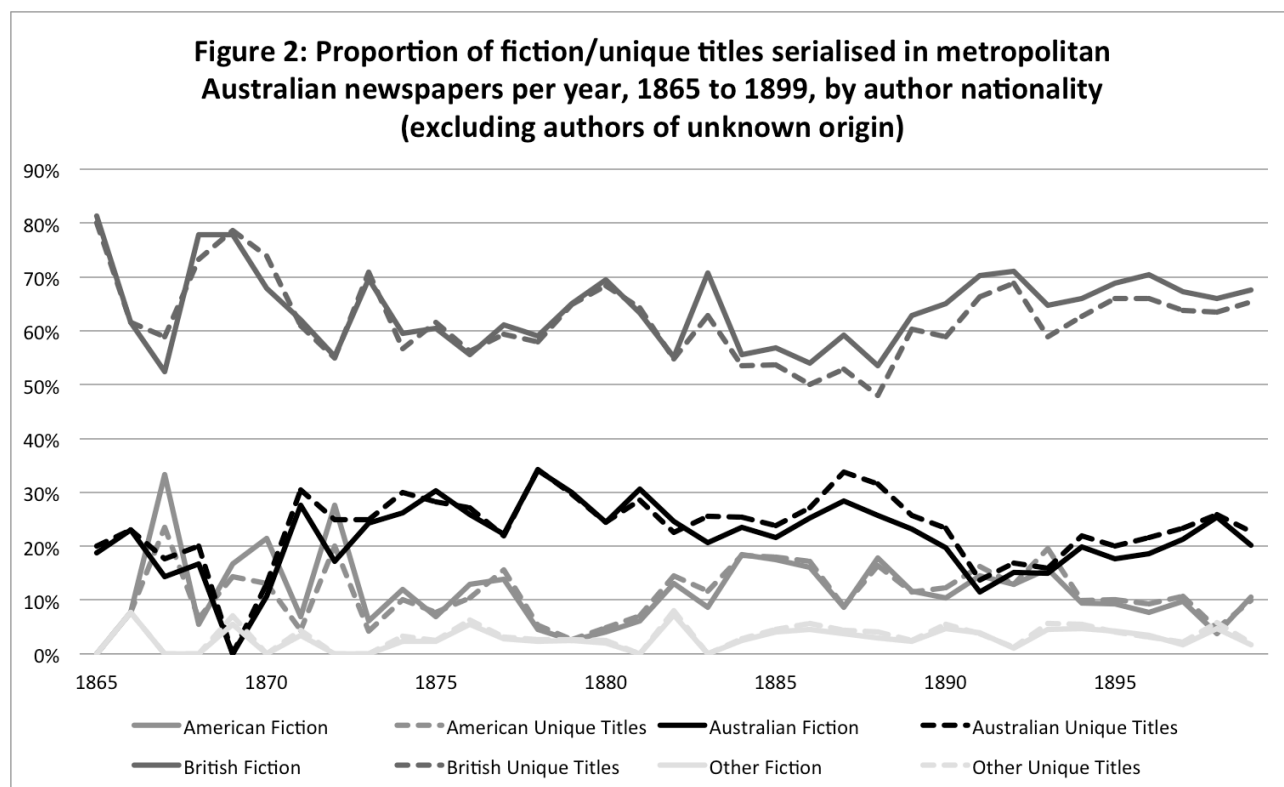
While pirating probably explains early, though much less extensive, appearances by some of these same high-profile British authors in provincial Australian newspapers,⁴⁷ metropolitan publications frequently serialised well-known British authors with explicit statements about copyright. Some of these claims regarding the purchase of rights to publication were general – for instance, that the title is “Published by special arrangement with the author,” or that the “Right of

republishing ... has been purchased by the proprietors” of the particular newspaper – while others were highly specific regarding the extent and nature of copyright – for instance, that it was for Australasia as a whole or in a specific colony; and exclusive or with the right to reprinting.⁴⁸ Combined with what Sarah Ailwood and Maree Sainsbury describe as the exceptional adherence of the Australian colonies, of all British dominions, to imperial copyright law,⁴⁹ such prevalent assertions of copyright strongly imply that these prominent British authors were published in metropolitan newspapers under contract and with payment. By 1870, then, and throughout that decade, many of the very authors Tillotson’s would seek to court were already negotiating extensively with the Australian press, in person or through agents. Instead of waiting until the mid-to late-1880s, and the decline of profits from syndication in Britain, it seems much more likely that Tillotson’s was urged by its authors to engage with the established Australian market from its origins.

The type of newspapers Tillotson’s dealt with also reconfigures its relationship to the colonial market, and explains why its earlier, systematic involvement has been overlooked. Where previous studies have stated or assumed that Tillotson’s worked only with major metropolitan publications, and targeted their analyses accordingly, in fact, the company was much more likely to engage with second-tier metropolitan newspapers. As Appendix 1 details, the *South Australian Chronicle* was a leading colonial customer of Tillotson’s, as were the *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening News* from South Australia, and the *Week* and *Telegraph* from Queensland.⁵⁰ As the 1880s progressed, and especially in the 1890s, Tillotson’s was also increasingly likely to contract with provincial publications, at first the earlier and larger newspapers in this category – such as the *Goulburn Herald*, *Bendigo Advertiser*, *Morning Bulletin* and *Capricornian* – proceeding to multiple, smaller enterprises, including the *Barrier Miner*, *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, *Elsternwick Leader*, *Launceston Examiner*, *Launceston Daily Telegraph*, and *Oakleigh Leader*. By comparison, the major metropolitan dailies and weeklies typically associated with Tillotson’s – the *Age*, *Australian Town and Country Journal*, *Leader*, *Sydney Mail* and *Illustrated Sydney News* – published very few titles syndicated by that company.

An exception to this latter trend occurs with what Law calls the “expensive serials” of the 1890s. Tillotson’s paid large amounts for these titles by prominent authors, which were not published in its own Bolton newspaper group. Law argues that this fiction was “purchased particularly or exclusively for the American market”,⁵¹ but as Appendix 1 shows, it was also acquired by major metropolitan newspapers, including the *Age*, *Leader*, *Sydney Mail*, and *Australian Town and Country Journal*. Although these major periodicals thereby engaged with Tillotson’s, the company’s primary involvement with second-tier metropolitan and provincial newspapers shows it moved into the Australian market via the same approach it pursued in Britain:

by sourcing fiction for newspapers that lacked the resources to pursue content independently. The focus of earlier studies on major metropolitan newspapers provides the obvious, practical, reason why this parallel in Tillotson’s activities in Britain and Australia has been overlooked. But arguably, the notorious Australian “cultural cringe” also plays a role, encouraging the perception that Tillotson’s – as a British company, and despite its provincial position in the home market – would naturally occupy a privileged position in the colonial cultural sphere, dealing only with the most prestigious newspapers.



Given the empirical evidence to the contrary, we might perceive this same bias in the widespread view that Tillotson’s entry into Australia immediately ended opportunities for local authors. The assumption that Australian newspaper editors would inevitably select the imported over the local product is challenged by the results in Figure 2, indicating the proportion of American, Australian, British, and “Other” fiction serialised. The solid lines in this graph indicate overall proportions (including titles reprinted a number of times in a single year), while the dotted lines represent the proportions of unique publications supplied by authors of these different nationalities (a more accurate means of assessing opportunities for local authors, who were significantly less likely than British writers to have their fiction reprinted). Although British writing is clearly dominant, Australian serial fiction has a sustained presence through the 1870s and much of the 1880s, often comprising over 30% of the fiction available and, as late as 1887, 28% of all

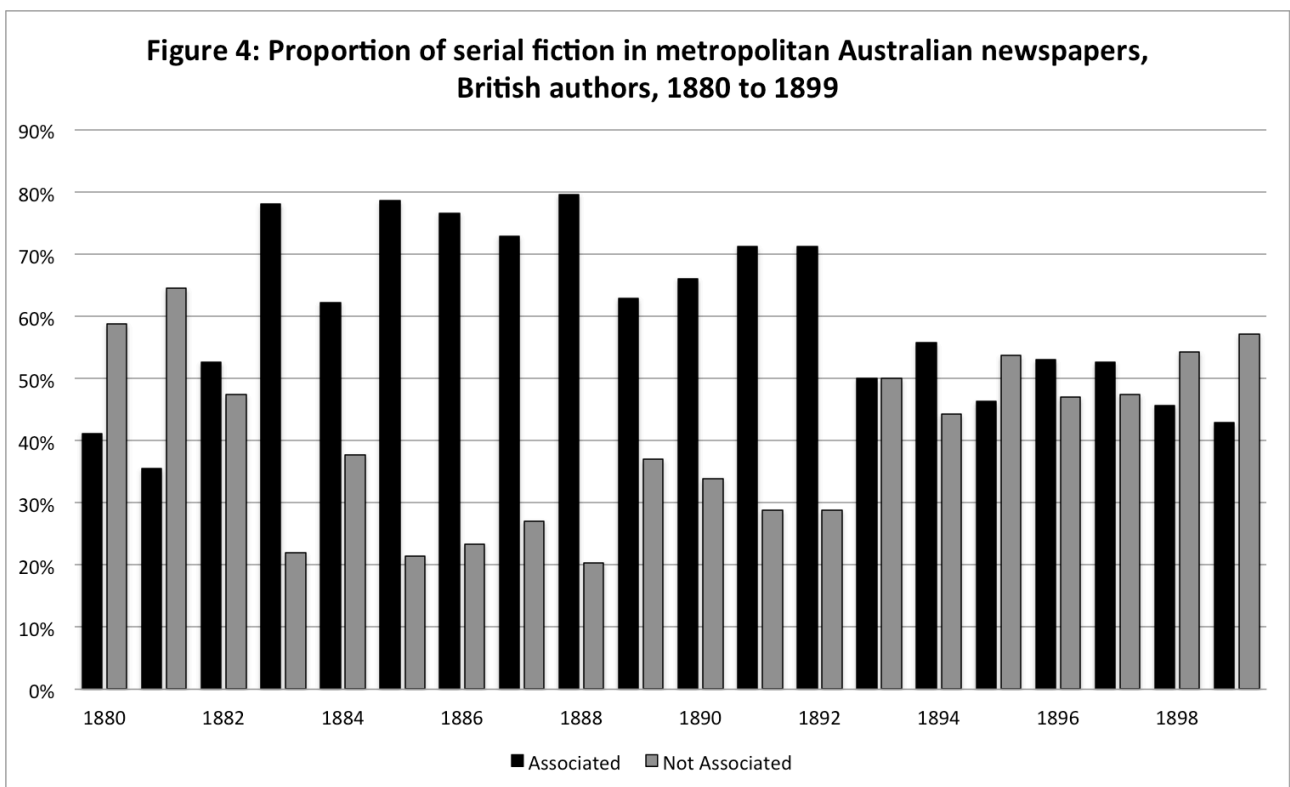
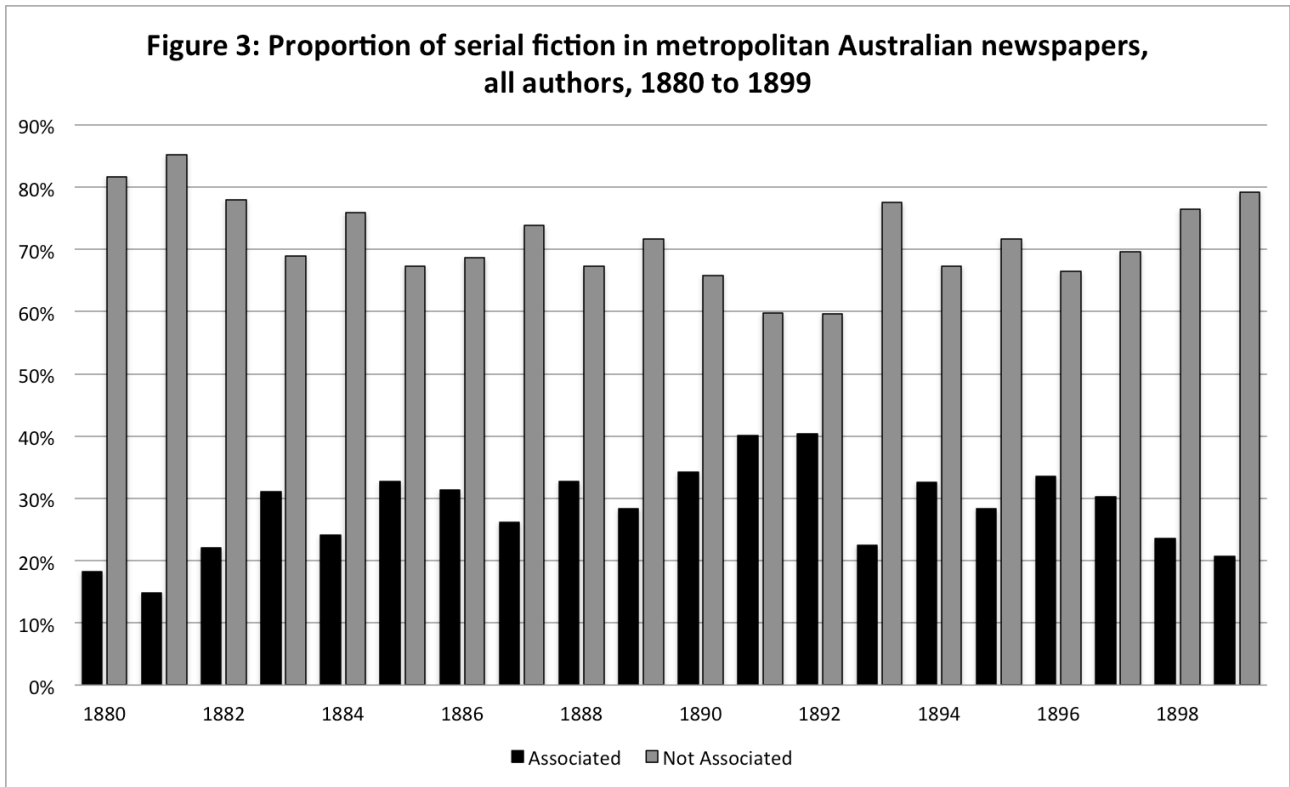
known fiction, and 34% of unique titles. In other words, for a decade after Tillotson's engaged with the Australian market in the late 1870s, and for seven years after the company began systematically to sell fiction to colonial newspapers, opportunities for Australian authors remained constant.

The trends discussed thus far clearly indicate that Tillotson's was not the predominant actor in colonial fiction publishing that previous histories have claimed. But understanding what companies, individuals, and practices supplied fiction to colonial newspapers in the absence of this prior explanatory framework presents a challenge. Based predominantly on indexes of major metropolitan newspapers, advertisements in industry publications, and/or surviving correspondence, Law, Johanningsmeier, and others have noted the involvement of various overseas agents and agencies in the Australian market, including the major American enterprises (McClure's and Bacheller's),⁵² and British literary agent, A. P. Watt.⁵³ For this latter figure, the concurrence of the titles he syndicated in Britain with their appearance in Australian newspapers indicates that Watt's role in colonial fiction publication was much more organised and consistent than has been appreciated.⁵⁴ However, without more information about the specific titles syndicated by these and other agents and agencies, and the terms under which they were contracted, it is impossible to be precise about the extent of their activities, including in comparison with Tillotson's.

A more general perspective on the syndication industry and its operations is possible by assessing the contributions to serial fiction in metropolitan newspapers of approximately 100 authors,⁵⁵ associated by various sources with well-known syndication agencies and agents (the Authors' Alliance, Authors' Syndicate, Northern Newspaper Syndicate and W. C. Leng as well as Tillotson's, McClure's, Bachelor's and Watt).⁵⁶ Comparing these associated authors with the rest of the field affirms the established and efficient mechanisms through which these syndicators operated, in that the average number of titles published by authors is much higher for the former group than the latter. Indeed, all but two of the top twenty, and many of the top forty, authors most serialised in colonial metropolitan newspapers were aligned with these particular organisations.⁵⁷

Yet the perceived dominance of these particular agents and agencies in the Australian market is simultaneously challenged by the relatively small proportion of serial fiction by these 100 or so authors in colonial metropolitan newspapers, and its decline over time. Figures 3 and 4 compare the proportions of fiction supplied by associated and non-associated authors: the former overall, the latter for British authors only.⁵⁸ In overall terms, the high proportion of serial fiction by non-associated authors in Figure 3 – always 60% or more, often in excess of 70% – is especially surprising given the high average number of titles that associated authors contributed. Although my list of authors is undoubtedly incomplete, and small relative to the size of this publishing context, this result emphasises how much we do not know about the source of fiction in colonial newspapers: what Johnson-Woods describes as a “mystery” before 1870, remains largely a mystery

after 1880. Certainly, Figure 3 indicates a situation very distinct from Tillotson’s supplying “nearly all” of the serial fiction imported into the colonies.



To some degree, Figure 4 presents a more recognisable narrative. It shows that authors associated with known syndication agencies and literary agents supplied the majority of British fiction serialised in metropolitan colonial newspapers: more than 75% in the 1880s. However, the decline in this proportion in the late 1880s and through the 1890s – to less than 50% by 1898 and 1899 – suggests a significant shift in the supply of fiction to the colonies. Though less obvious, the same trend is present in Figure 3, where the overall proportion of serial fiction by authors associated with these specific agencies falls from 40% in the early 1890s to 20% at the end of that decade.

Further reinforcing the sense of change in the 1890s is the resonance between these results and two other trends, presented in previous graphs. The first is the decline in the proportion of fiction reprinted among metropolitan newspapers in the second half of the 1890s. As Figure 1 shows, where 20% of fiction serialised in metropolitan newspapers appeared in two or more (non-companion) periodicals in 1895, by 1899 this proportion has fallen to only 5%. The second is the decline in Australian fiction in these periodicals. Although not as definitive as would be expected from existing accounts of overseas agencies saturating the local market, the reduction in Australian writing shown in Figure 2 – from 28% of serial fiction (or 34% of unique titles) in 1887, to 20% (or 23%) by 1899 – implies the emergence of new sources of fiction for these metropolitan colonial newspapers. The most probable explanation of these combined trends is increased competition in the Australian market from new, overseas agencies. More syndication agencies, offering overseas fiction at reduced prices,⁵⁹ would logically produce a decline in the market-share of earlier syndicators, while increasing the presence of non-Australian fiction. Lower prices, in reducing the need for metropolitan newspapers to join together to purchase particular stories, would also explain the reduced incidence of reprinting among such publications.

In fact, Elizabeth Morrison has proposed this interpretation already, describing the entry of new overseas syndicators, and growth in competition, as a feature of the colonial fiction market in the 1890s.⁶⁰ But her claim that these new companies were American is countered by the national origins of fiction serialised. As Figure 2 shows, British fiction increased as a proportion of titles serialised in colonial metropolitan newspapers from the late 1880s, while American fiction remained stable, and even declined. Although American companies are known to have syndicated British fiction, including for Australian newspapers,⁶¹ one would expect some growth in the presence of American titles if such companies constituted the majority of competition in the market. The fact that British authors were responsible for around 60 to 70% of the fiction serialised in colonial metropolitan newspapers in the 1890s suggests some, if not most, of this increased competition was supplied by British enterprises.

While much about overseas influences on the Australian market in the late 1880s and 1890s remains unclear, the manner in which particular newspapers engaged in fiction reprinting before

and during this time offers new insights into the local industry's operations and structure. Two newspapers – Melbourne's *Leader* and the *South Australian Chronicle* – and three companion publications – the *Brisbane Courier* and *Queenslander*, the *Evening Journal* and *Adelaide Observer*, and in the 1890s, the *Telegraph* and *Week* – emerge as so central to the colonial culture of reprinting that, in the available dataset, few instances of the phenomenon do not involve one or more of these newspapers.⁶² The fact that these newspapers also serialised the most fiction overall affirms the importance of reprinting as a means by which colonial metropolitan newspapers accessed content.⁶³ More specifically, the sequence of reprinting among these papers and others indicates the roles they played in distributing serial fiction throughout the colonies.

Table 1 summarises instances of reprinting involving these newspapers, and whether they published first or subsequently. It shows that the *Leader* routinely published fiction that subsequently appeared in other colonial newspapers, suggesting its editors sourced titles and sold them to other newspapers, particularly those I have described as second-tier metropolitan publications.⁶⁴ Most of the reprinted fiction initially published by the *Leader* was by authors associated, above, with known syndication agents and agencies. But only a small number of these titles (one in the 1880s, four in the 1890s) can be tied directly to Tillotson's. In this respect, the *Leader*'s position in the colonial culture of reprinting demonstrates the practice Law proposed as standard – for Tillotson's to sell fiction by well-known authors to a single metropolitan publication, leaving it to distribute rights within the colonies⁶⁵ – while emphasising that Tillotson's was not the only company pursuing this approach; the *Leader* was connected to international syndication networks, not reliant on one organisation for its fiction.

Table 1: Instances and sequence of reprinting among non-companion Australian metropolitan newspapers

		1865-1879	1880s	1890s
Total incidents of reprinting		29	73	146
<i>Leader</i>	Published first (incl. simultaneously)	12	16	30
	Published subsequently	1	4	10
<i>South Australian Chronicle</i>	Published first (incl. simultaneously)	6	13	27
	Published subsequently	9	24	20
<i>Brisbane Courier</i> and/or <i>Queenslander</i>	Published first (incl. simultaneously)	4	11	15
	Published subsequently	2	6	19
<i>Evening Journal</i> and/or <i>Adelaide Observer</i>	Published first (incl. simultaneously)	1	13	24
	Published subsequently	5	7	17
<i>Telegraph</i> and/or <i>Week</i>	Published first (incl. simultaneously)	0	4	11
	Published subsequently	0	10	36

Although involved in almost as many incidents of reprinting as the *Leader*, until the 1890s the *South Australian Chronicle* adopted the opposite approach: tending to serialise fiction already published elsewhere in the colonies. The *Leader* was its single main source of fiction; but the *South Australian Chronicle* reprinted titles from a range of other newspapers, including major metropolitan publications (such as the *Age*, *Illustrated Sydney News*, *Australian Town and Country Journal*, and *Australasian*), smaller metropolitan newspapers (the *Express and Telegraph*, *Queenslander*, *Telegraph* and *Week*, and *West Australian*) and potentially, even regional publications.⁶⁶ This wide range of sources refutes the view that only major metropolitan periodicals supplied fiction to other colonial publications, while further dismantling existing perceptions of Tillotson's dominance in the market. Earlier, I identified the *South Australian Chronicle* as one of Tillotson's main colonial customers, alone or in conjunction with other periodicals. Here, Tillotson's is repositioned as only one source of its fiction among other enterprises, including numerous colonial newspapers.

For the companion newspapers listed in Table 1, the fiction they published following its appearance in other local periodicals was typically by high-profile British authors, and often sourced from the *Leader*. In contrast, the fiction they published first, and then supplied to other newspapers (including each other) was by lesser-known (or unknown) authors. This latter sequence suggests that the *Brisbane Courier* and *Queenslander*, *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening Journal*, and in the 1890s, the *Telegraph* and *Week* were colonial conduits for cheaper sources of serial fiction. In this context, growth over time in the number and proportion of titles first published by these newspapers corresponds with the idea of a structural shift in the sources of colonial serial fiction in the late 1880s and 1890s. It suggests that these newspapers were contracting with newer fiction syndicators, providing a key avenue through which these enterprises entered the colonial market to compete with, and ultimately, to substantially displace, established agencies.

III Provincial Newspapers

The account offered thus far radically expands previous conceptions of colonial fiction reprinting and syndication, indicating much more varied and complex positions within a dynamic system than have hitherto been recognised. The complexity of that system increases considerably when provincial newspapers – regarded by most existing scholarship as uninvolved in fiction publishing – are included. Analysing reprinting among these newspapers reveals multiple, semi-formal and formal systems of fiction distribution operating, for the most part, entirely apart from the metropolitan press, and indicating new dimensions of the nineteenth-century circulation of fiction, within the Australian colonies and globally.

As Figure 1 did for metropolitan newspapers, Figure 5 shows the number of titles serialised in, and proportion reprinted among, provincial newspapers, per year, from 1865 to 1899.⁶⁷ Prior to the mid-1870s, provincial newspapers serialised relatively little fiction, and any reprinting was from metropolitan (predominantly British, but also Australian) periodicals. When fiction reprinting among provincial newspapers began, as in the metropolitan context some of this activity was between companion publications (although in this case, the trend occurred a decade later and involved only one pair of newspapers: the daily *Morning Bulletin* and weekly *Capricornian*, which in fact serialised more titles in common than any other newspapers in my sample).⁶⁸

Even without these companion publications, the solid black line in Figure 5 shows a clear correlation, from the mid-1870s, between the presence of serial fiction in provincial newspapers and incidences of reprinting among such publications. Indeed, almost as soon as reprinting began, it became the dominant source of fiction for provincial newspapers, regularly comprising around 40 to 50%, and up to 60%, of titles serialised (whereas, among non-companion metropolitan newspapers, this figure is always less than 20%, and often less than 10). More significantly, comparing Figures 1 and 5 (the former resized here for that purpose) shows that, from the mid-1870s, provincial newspapers significantly outstripped their metropolitan counterparts in terms of both the number of stories serialised and the proportion of fiction reprinted. This finding is hugely significant in and of itself, and bears repeating: fiction publication was more active and interrelated in the provincial than in the metropolitan press, even as discussion of this phenomenon – including its structural features – has focused almost exclusively on the latter publications.

Some reprinting among provincial newspapers resulted from editor- and author-led endeavours, of varying degrees of formality. In addition to their shared publications, the *Morning Bulletin* and *Capricornian* serialised multiple stories in conjunction with other provincial newspapers, including a number each with the *Armidale Express*, *Bendigo Advertiser*, *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, and *South Bourke and Mornington Journal*. These titles were typically acknowledged as reprinted from British periodicals (most often, *Chambers*) and the majority appeared first, by a few weeks, in the *Morning Bulletin* and *Capricornian*, although the reverse also occurred. This pattern of reprinting suggests an exchange system, where the *Morning Bulletin* and/or *Capricornian* were sent to other provincial editors in return for their newspapers. A more formal – though more limited – reprinting arrangement was practiced by the *Goulburn Herald*, at different times with the *Hay Standard* and *Cootamundra Herald*. The layout and timing of these publications indicates that the *Goulburn Herald* sold partly printed sheets to the other two newspapers,⁶⁹ while the unattributed nature of these stories – even those by famous authors, such as Wilkie Collins – suggests that the *Goulburn Herald* did not reduce its income stream by paying writers or intermediaries for the right to publish and reprint.

Figure 5: Number of titles serialised in, and proportion reprinted among, provincial colonial newspapers, per year, 1865 to 1899

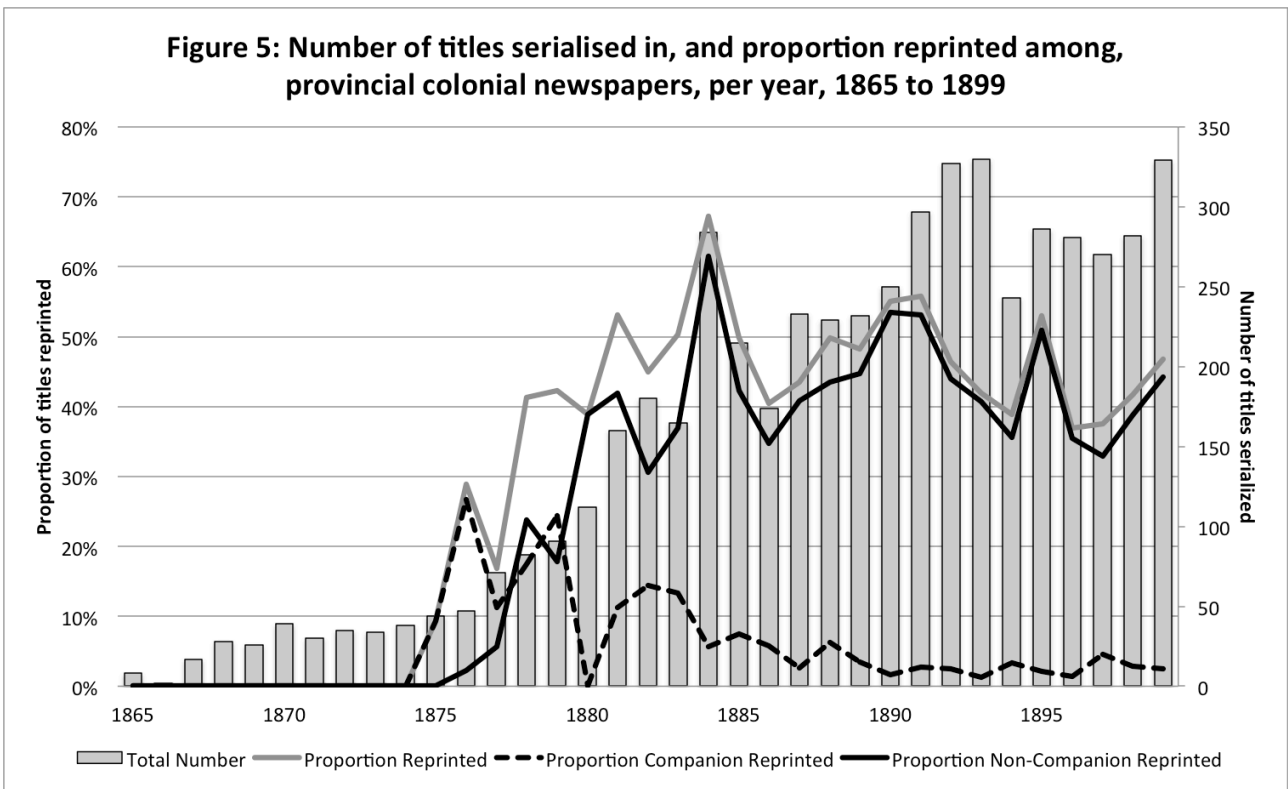
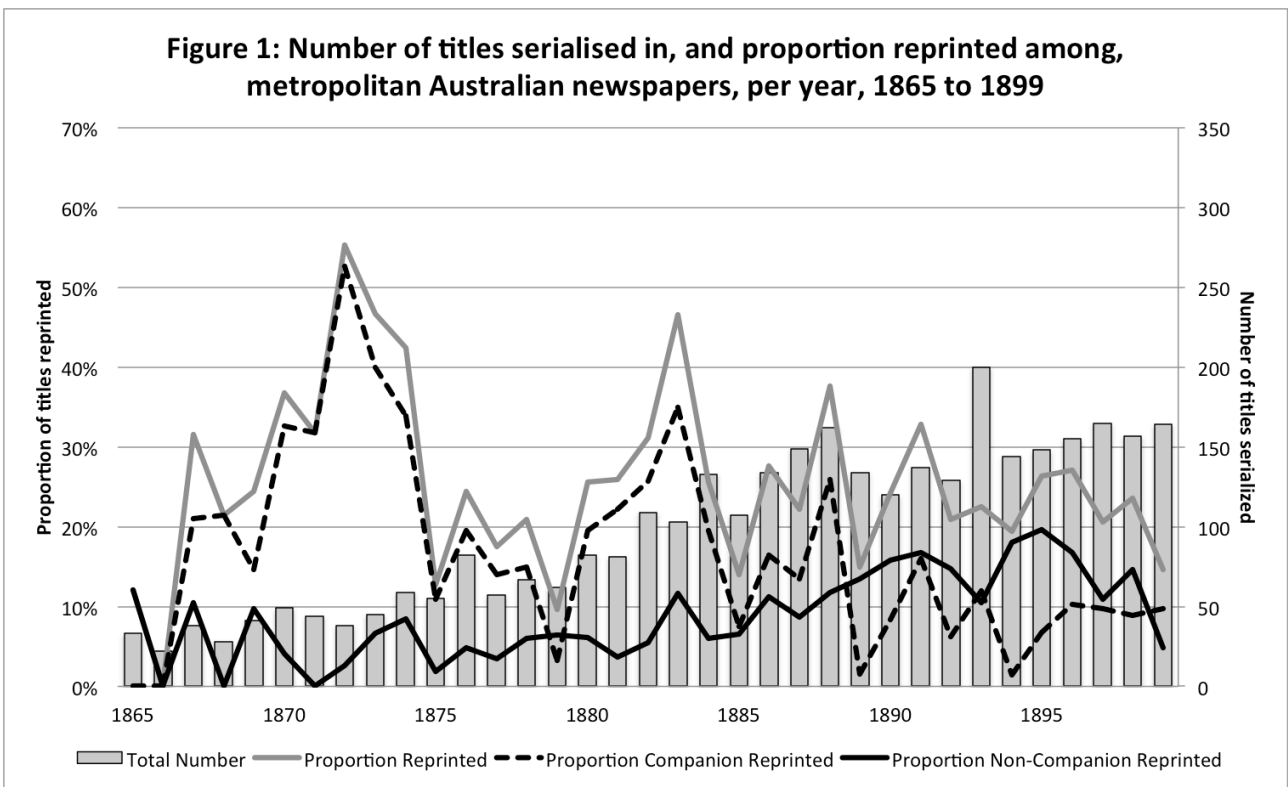


Figure 1: Number of titles serialised in, and proportion reprinted among, metropolitan Australian newspapers, per year, 1865 to 1899



Another, semi-formal system of reprinting is associated with an enterprising local author: David Hennessey. As a journalist, editor and publisher, Hennessey had access to the networks required to organise syndication of his fiction, and did so with at least five titles.⁷⁰ There is also substantial evidence his ambitions extended beyond placement of his own work, with Hennessey

establishing a number of publishing enterprises,⁷¹ including Hennessey and Harper, which advertised itself as “Authors’ Agents, Press Correspondents, Advertisement Contractors, Publishers, etc. etc.,” listing among its services: “The Printing and Publishing of Books, Serial Stories, etc., arranged for in England or the Colonies”.⁷² Despite the advertisement’s claim, with one possible exception,⁷³ I have only discovered instances where Hennessey syndicated his own writing. Even so, his success in placing fiction in the provincial press offers a significantly more substantial example of authorial syndication than the only previously identified colonial example: James “Skipp” Borlase’s abortive attempt to establish a fiction syndication agency in the 1860s.⁷⁴

While editor- and author-led endeavours contributed to the practice, the vast majority of fiction reprinting among provincial newspapers occurred through formal syndicates. In contrast to the metropolitan context, where instances of reprinting typically involved two or three periodicals, provincial syndicates were extensive, encompassing multiple newspapers and titles. Identifying these syndicates is necessarily a provisional exercise (particularly for the 1890s, when stereotype and reprint columns rather than ready printed – largely identical – supplements became the norm). However, patterns of reprinting in the available sample indicate at least eleven substantial syndicates operating in the provincial market, summarised in Table 2 (with details, including specific titles, authors, and dates of publication, in Appendix 2). Given the large number of nineteenth-century Australian newspapers not digitised, and the tendency for collection practices to exclude supplements, I have no doubt the number of periodicals involved in these syndicates – and probably the number of syndicates in operation – was substantially greater than I have discerned. But even on the available evidence, with newspapers the main source of fiction in the Australian colonies,⁷⁵ and more titles serialised in provincial than metropolitan publications, these provincial syndicates should be recognised as the major publishers of fiction in nineteenth-century Australia.

Table 2: Summary of fiction syndicates in colonial provincial newspapers, 1877 to 1899

	Years	News-papers	Colonies of Newspapers Identified	Titles	National Origin of Titles
1	1877–1892	41	NSW (15); QLD (6); SA (7); TAS (1); VIC (12); WA (0)	74	Am/Can (16); Aust (41); Brit (10); Other (1); Unk (6)
2	1883–1893	20	NSW (3); QLD (0); SA (3); TAS (1); VIC (13); WA (0)	30	Am/Can (8); Aust (5); Brit (5); Other (1); Unk (11)
3	1885–1890	10	NSW (0); QLD (3); SA (2); TAS (0); VIC (5); WA (0)	14	Am/Can (4); Aust (4); Brit (2); Other (1); Unk (3)
4	1886–1893	31	NSW (2); QLD (1); SA (6); TAS (0); VIC (21); WA (1)	35	Am/Can (7); Aust (0); Brit (24); Other (0); Unk (4)
5	1887–1893	11	NSW (8); QLD (2); SA (1); TAS (0); VIC (0); WA (0)	21	Am/Can (7); Aust (4); Brit (6); Other (1); Unk (3)
6	1891–1899	47	NSW (8); QLD (7); SA (6); TAS (2); VIC (23); WA (1)	51	Am/Can (6); Aust (14); Brit (6); Other (4); Unk (21)

7	1892–1899	13	NSW (4); QLD (0); SA (1); TAS (0); VIC (8); WA (0)	38	Am/Can (11); Aust (4); Brit (13); Other (0); Unk (10)
8	1892–1899	24	NSW (0); QLD (0); SA (2); TAS (0); VIC (22); WA (1)	73	Am/Can (22); Aust (9); Brit (17); Other (1); Unk (24)
9	1893–1899	13	NSW (11); QLD (0); SA (1); TAS (0); VIC (0); WA (1)	29	Am/Can (16); Aust (3); Brit (5); Other (0); Unk (5)
10	1897–1899	22	NSW (19); QLD (0); SA (0); TAS (1); VIC (2); WA (0)	10	Am/Can (1); Aust (5); Brit (1); Other (0); Unk (3)
11	1897–1899	19	NSW (9); QLD (0); SA (2); TAS (1); VIC (6); WA (1)	12	Am/Can (2); Aust (2); Brit (3); Other (3); Unk (2)

To my knowledge, the first syndicate in Table 2 is the only one that has been identified and described previously. Morrison, one of the few scholars to consider provincial colonial newspapers in any detail, identifies this syndicate as owned and managed by Donald Cameron, under the Cameron, Laing and Co. imprint.⁷⁶ To Morrison’s excellent account I can add only a little. Although many early and later titles in the syndicate were from overseas (especially America), as Morrison notes Cameron, Laing and Co. focused on local fiction. Morrison emphasises the significance of this investment in colonial writing; but I think the claim could be pushed further, to identify this local syndicate as the most prolific publisher of Australian novels until at least the end of the nineteenth, and probably well into the twentieth, century.⁷⁷ Highlighting the role of newspapers as one of the few avenues of publication for colonial authors, only a small number of the titles syndicated by Cameron, Laing and Co. were ever issued as books. As a consequence, they are largely absent from the existing Australian bibliographical record, even as many are by well-known and popular writers of the period.⁷⁸ Comparing the sequence of titles published by this syndicate with those in New Zealand newspapers – digitised through Papers Past – suggests Cameron, Laing and Co. operated beyond the Australian colonies as well as between them,⁷⁹ and where Morrison suggests the syndicate ended in 1888,⁸⁰ the evidence suggests it continued beyond that time, until at least 1892.⁸¹

While I do not know who owned the other enterprises listed in Table 2, their practices, including the fiction they issued, help to characterise the different syndicates, and the provincial fiction market, in various ways. The most notable dynamic is a rupture in the early 1890s, when Syndicates 1 through to 5 ceased operating and Syndicates 6 through to 11 began. The syndicates in the first group had the same basic format: two partly printed sheets, usually published as a supplement to the newspaper (which often, was only two or four pages itself). Supplements typically started with a poem, followed by an instalment of a serial story and sometimes a short story or two. The remainder was comprised of what Morrison describes, in reference to Cameron, Laing and Co., as “a melange of reprinted material, most of the latter extracted from overseas –

chiefly American – magazines and newspapers”.⁸² Yet within this standard format, the syndicates demonstrated significant variation.

Their scale differed, with Syndicates 3 and 5 noticeably smaller than the others. Where most offered a mixture of short, medium and full-length serials, with a preponderance of the latter, Syndicate 2 mainly dealt in short serials (completed in two or three issues). The short stories serialised in Syndicate 2 were predominantly of overseas origin, with the large proportion of unknown authors suggesting unauthorised borrowings from overseas periodicals. But the Australian content incorporated elsewhere in its supplements – in the form of poems and illustrations – implies that Syndicate 2, like Syndicate 1, was of local origin.

Syndicate 4 serialised no local fiction, and was exceptional in other ways too. Where the other syndicates in this period published one lengthy serial at a time, Syndicate 4 offered multiple serials concurrently,⁸³ and where the other syndicates published the same sequence of titles, but often months apart in the different newspapers, in Syndicate 4, publication occurred within a day or two across all periodicals.⁸⁴ This marked difference in timing suggests that Syndicate 4 was highly organised from its origins, whereas the other syndicates grew organically, with newspapers able to join at different stages, receiving the full run of partly printed sheets in sequence.

The authors serialised by Syndicate 4 indicate that it was closely aligned with the international fiction market of the period. Many of its titles were by the high-profile British writers associated above with known syndication agents and agencies (including titles by Besant, Clarke, Doyle, Fenn, Henty, Quiller-Couch, and Stevenson), and two of its stories – Braddon’s “Like and Unlike” and Caine’s “The Bondman” – were specifically syndicated by Tillotson’s (in fact appearing in the provincial newspapers before colonial metropolitan publication). Whether organised from within the colonies or imported, Syndicate 4’s distinct practices and well-known authors quickly won market share, with multiple newspapers transferring to it from other syndicates, especially Cameron, Laing and Co.⁸⁵ Yet even with this apparent success, Syndicate 4 shared the fate of the other enterprises in this first group, ceasing operations in the early 1890s as a new group enter the market, either out-competing earlier syndicates, or filling a void left by their demise.

Beyond the distinct periods in which they operated, the two groups of syndicates can be differentiated in two ways. First, where those in the first group traded in partly printed sheets, most in the second offered more flexible reprinting formats,⁸⁶ allowing editors to incorporate syndicated contents (for instance, three columns worth for the serial story) with their own advertising. Second, where the earlier syndicates can be clearly differentiated from each other, this is much less true of the later enterprises. All syndicates in the second group published a general, international mix of fiction, with a high proportion of authors of unknown origin. Movement of newspapers between

syndicates was also significantly more common,⁸⁷ suggesting greater competition in the market and the agency of provincial editors.

Of this second group, Syndicates 6 and 10 were probably local: both serialised a relatively high proportion of Australian fiction. The former also featured a small amount of local advertising on some of its partly printed pages, while the latter included local content among its general interest materials (for instance, an article on the “Improvement of New South Wales Stock” in a syndicate largely comprised of provincial New South Wales newspapers). Syndicates 8 and 9 were probably American imports: both incorporated a preponderance of American fiction accompanied, in the former case, by advertising for American products and services (for instance, “Genuine Magic Soap,” “Patents” lawyers, and “Murray and Lanman’s Florida Water”). If American, they could be any of the multiple enterprises Johanningsmeier identifies as emerging in the 1890s, but for which little, if any, evidence survives.⁸⁸ Based on the available evidence, the remaining two syndicates (7 and 11) could be either local or American.⁸⁹

These provincial syndicates present exciting possibilities for future research: confirming local enterprises (beyond Cameron, Laing and Co.) would expand existing histories of nineteenth-century Australian fiction publishing (and displace the longstanding view that this activity did not occur);⁹⁰ associating these syndicates with specific American or other overseas companies would add an important new transnational dimension to colonial periodical studies and nineteenth-century literary culture more broadly. While I hope others might find evidence to support their own arguments in the sequence of titles I have constructed, here we reach the limits of what the extensive sample of fiction used in this study can indicate. As discussed earlier, mass-digitisation of historical newspapers significantly expands access to periodical contents, and offers an important new foundation for research. But this evidence is not complete, or sufficient, in and of itself. On the one hand, the sample I have employed is a partial reflection of the fiction published in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers, potentially biased in ways that can be difficult to qualify or quantify. On the other, it offers only the echoes of institutional and social configurations and practices that cannot be read directly from periodical contents, and may not be discoverable by other means.

Even as many questions remain, this study of fiction reprinting in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers profoundly reconfigures existing conceptions of the phenomenon. Writing in the *Melbourne Review* in 1878, James Smith described Australian literature as eclipsed beneath “the shadow of England’s mighty and ever-spreading literature”.⁹¹ While this contemporaneous description resonates with claims by subsequent literary historians and periodical scholars, as I have shown with respect to trends in fiction reprinting in Australian newspapers, the situation was considerably more complex. At the time Smith was writing, and for at least a decade after, local

serial fiction had a sustained presence in the pages of both metropolitan newspapers and their provincial counterparts. In the former group, Tillotson's Fiction Bureau was not the central and dominant influence that has been proposed, but one participant among many in a colonial market where both local and overseas enterprises played active roles. Nor were metropolitan publications the dominant purveyors of serial fiction in the colonies: provincial newspapers published more fiction, supplied by an extensive group of syndication agencies operating in the colonies and beyond. And when international fiction did become more prevalent – with American fiction increasingly prominent in provincial newspapers and British fiction displacing much local writing in metropolitan publications – this occurred during a decline in the importance of reprinting as a mechanism for attaining and distributing fiction in the colonies, and of newspapers as vehicles for fiction. Certainly, much remains to be discovered about the fiction in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers, and the means by which it was published and republished. But as this study has shown, the previous view that British fiction and institutions dominated the colonial market should not supply the structure for future investigations.

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Notes

¹ The culture of reprinting encompassed general social practices such as scrapbooking (Garvey, *Writing*) and was endemic to nineteenth-century journalism, where identifying and reprinting relevant or interesting content was a central part of the newspaper editor's job. Although "scissor-and-paste" journalism was discussed in a pejorative sense, as Bob Nicholson writes, there was no "clear professional consensus ... about how much copying was too much, or how soon was too soon to reprint another paper's material" (Nicholson, "'You'," 275; for discussion of reprinting as a feature of nineteenth-century Australian journalism see Kirkpatrick, *Sworn*).

² Important studies include: for America, Johanningsmeier, *Fiction* and McGill, *American*; for Britain, Donaldson, *Popular* and Law, *Serialising*; and for Australia, Hilliard, "Provincial" and Morrison, "Serial."

³ According to Johanningsmeier, this manual approach has yielded critical bibliographies that are "perfunctory and inadequate" for studying fiction reprinting because they tend either to list limited examples of fiction reprinting, or to provide a number without indicating if they were originally sourced, "borrowed," or syndicated (Johanningsmeier, "Frank," 285).

⁴ Identifying and analysing reprinted content has been a focus of prominent projects in digital periodical studies: Nicholson used keyword searches to identify reprinted American jokes and slang in British newspapers (Nicholson, "Looming"); more ambitiously, the Viral Texts Project employs a text reuse discovery algorithm to identify reprinted passages in multiple genres ("Viral Texts: Mapping Networks of Reprinting in 19th-Century Newspapers and Magazines," <http://viraltxts.org/>; see also, Cordell, "Reprinting"; Smith, Cordell and Mullen, "Computational").

⁵ These 261 newspapers operated under 339 banners. Although fiction was serialised in Australian newspapers as early as 1828, I concentrate on the period from 1865 to 1899, when over 98% of serial fiction titles discovered in this project were published. I focus on serial fiction because, as Elizabeth Morrison writes, it is "*sui generis*, ... hav[ing] its own characteristics and effects" (Morrison, "Retrieving," 28). But my analysis of Trove (discussed in detail in section one of this article) has also uncovered over 7,000 titles completed in a single newspaper edition, also extensively reprinted.

The full dataset used in this study, and for the individual figures, is available at: https://katherinebode.files.wordpress.com/vpr_data-and-figures.xlsx. I am in the process of creating a searchable and downloadable database for all of the fiction discovered, which I aim to release in early 2017.

⁶ National Library of Australia, "Trove Newspaper Database," <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper>.

⁷ Such effects include errors introduced in Optical Character Recognition (OCR) rendering of searchable text; quality and zoning issues implicated in the composition of digital collections; and the modeling of contents by search and relevance ranking algorithms and other features of collection interfaces. For early work in periodical studies highlighting the partiality of mass-digitised collections see Mussell, *Nineteenth-Century* and Solberg, "Googling."

⁸ Library of Congress, "National Digital Newspaper Program," <http://www.loc.gov/ndnp/>; findmypast, "The British Newspaper Archive," <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>; Europeana Newspapers, "Europeana Newspapers is Making Historic Newspaper Pages Searchable," <http://www.europeana-newspapers.eu/>.

⁹ This estimate is achieved by comparing titles digitised by Trove with those listed in the three editions of the *Australian Newspaper Directory* (Gordon and Gotch, 1886, 1888, 1892), and averaging the results. Of the newspapers published at least once a week (the category predominantly digitised by Trove) Gordon and Gotch identify 749, 868, and 647 in these years respectively. In contrast, at the time I ceased harvesting serial fiction from Trove, that collection contained 142, 161, and 171 newspapers operating in those respective years, equivalent to 19, 19, and 26% of those in operation, or an overall average of 21%. (Note: the total number of digitised newspapers for 1892 excludes West Australian and Tasmanian titles, as these colonies are not included in the *Directory* I have consulted for this period.) For discussion of gaps in analogue holdings of Australian newspapers see Morrison, “Archaeology” and “Retrieving”.

¹⁰ For instance, compared with 647 daily and weekly newspapers available in Australia in 1892 (see footnote 9), or even 740 when fortnightly and monthly newspapers are included (Gordon and Gotch, 1892), Johanningsmeier identifies 15,205 (2,226 daily, and 12,979 weekly) operating in America in 1899 (Johanningsmeier, *Fiction*, 17).

¹¹ Based on comparison with the three Gordon and Gotch indexes, for most colonies, metropolitan newspapers are almost twice as likely to be digitised as provincial ones. The exceptions are Victoria (where an average 20% of metropolitan newspapers are digitised as opposed to 25% of provincial newspapers) and South Australia (where the average is 62 and 71% respectively). These averages are the extreme ends of another effect of the digitisation process: newspapers from colonies with smaller populations (Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia) are more represented in Trove than those from larger colonies (New South Wales and Victoria). For the years covered by the Gordon and Gotch directories, an overall average of 40% of newspapers from the former group are digitised, compared with 23% from the latter.

As described in footnote 9, of the newspapers listed by Gordon and Gotch, a higher proportion (26%) are digitised for the final year (1892) than for the previous two years (with 19% coverage for 1886 and 1888). While this result indicates increased coverage over time, the opposite trend is suggested by comparing Trove’s holdings with Rod Kirkpatrick’s totals for provincial newspapers in the colony of New South Wales. In this case, 100% of titles identified by Kirkpatrick in 1850 are digitised, decreasing to 71% in 1860, 37% in 1870, 33% in 1880, and 28% in 1890 (Kirkpatrick, *Country*). I am strongly inclined to believe the trend indicated by comparison with Kirkpatrick’s study for three reasons. First, overrepresentation of early titles makes logical sense: given the overall, and substantial, growth in the number of newspapers operating in Australia across the nineteenth century, digitising a relatively small number of titles in early decades captures a relatively large proportion of the historical total (the same logic applies to the smaller/larger colony comparison discussed above). Second, despite the much smaller range of newspapers listed, Kirkpatrick’s longitudinal span makes it a more reliable indicator of trends over time. Finally, and I think most convincingly, the increased proportion of newspapers digitised in 1892 based on the Gordon and Gotch comparison is attributable to a particular combination of historical factors (significant economic depression in Australia in 1890) and collection practices (a gradually increasing number of newspapers digitised by Trove). Where Trove’s strategy is designed to ensure relatively consistent representation of periodicals in a context where the number of titles generally increases, the significant decline in Australian newspapers created by the 1890 recession (from 868 in 1888 to 647 in 1892 – see footnote 9) produces overrepresentation in this instance.

¹² This method identified serial fiction by searching for terms used in their paratext and harvesting, then processing, the results. The success of this approach derived from the interaction of relevant search terms with four features of Trove’s interface: its page segmentation, relevance ranking algorithm, manual correction of title information, and Application Programming Interface (API). In contrast to *Chronicling America*, and much of *Europeana Newspapers*, Trove segments or zones

pages into articles, enabling targeted searching of content. The relevance ranking algorithm increased the likelihood of identifying serial fiction by returning to the top of the list of results articles where the search term appears in the title (defined as the first four lines of text) and/or is recurrent in the article body. “Chapter” was the most successful search term employed in this project because it is frequently used both to introduce (appearing in the title) and to segment (appearing throughout the body of) serial fiction instalments. Given the focus on terms used in article titles, manual correction of this information – to 99% accuracy – ensured that OCR errors did not significantly affect search results. Finally, Trove’s API enabled me to export search results wholesale, and in a form amenable to automatic and semi-automatic data processing. For in-depth discussion of the technical, bibliographical and epistemological challenges of automatically identifying and harvesting serial fiction from digitised historical newspapers see Bode and Hetherington, “Retrieving.”

¹³ Brake, “Lost.”

¹⁴ As discussed in the final section of this paper, most of the fiction published in provincial publications appeared in supplements, supplied in a common sequence (and often on identical, ready printed sheets) to multiple newspapers. In the course of analysing the data, I discovered a number of instances where particular provincial newspapers appeared to serialise an irregular number of titles – or only one – in a sequence. Occasionally, further investigation confirmed an irregular or one-off publication: the newspaper simply happened to publish the same story – often sourced from a popular British or American periodical – around the same time as the syndicate, perhaps coincidentally, perhaps motivated by that story’s appearance in one of the affiliated newspapers. Much more frequently, a newspaper’s apparently singular or irregular publication of the same titles as a syndicate turned out to be an effect of missing supplements (or less commonly, other factors, particularly very limited availability of editions for digitisation or poor quality microfilm, leading to digital pages so illegible that only limited instances of recurrent reprinting were discoverable by automatic means).

¹⁵ DeWitt, “Advances.”

¹⁶ “Distant reading” is a term coined by Franco Moretti (“Conjectures”), now widely employed in periodical studies (see for example Liddle, “Genre”). For a detailed critique of “distant reading,” including its association with the decontextualizing strategies of “close reading,” see Bode, “Equivalence.”

¹⁷ Gitelman, *Raw*.

¹⁸ Nowviskie, “a game.”

¹⁹ Not only did editors adapt content supplied in stereotype columns and reprinted sheets to their specific purposes, thus changing its appearance from publication to publication, but in the Australian context at least, reprinted fiction was often presented in such a way as to suggest to readers they were receiving something new or original: for instance, as “Now First Published” or “An Original Story.”

²⁰ Lester, “Imperial,” 134. Frederick Cooper, for instance, argues that this process erases so-called “lumps” in space: “places where power coalesces surrounded by those where it does not, places where social relations become dense amid others that are diffuse” (*Colonialism*, 91; see also Potter, “Webs”).

²¹ Cordell, “Reprinting.”

²² As the authors write, “The principal assumptions organizing this particular ‘arrangement’ of the historical record are, first, that publication in a specific periodical can be taken as a measure of a poet’s objective relation to other poets publishing in that periodical for a given time span. And second, that the combined weight of these relations can be calculated across many hundreds of poets and many thousands of poems” (So and Long, “Network,” 148).

²³ DeWitt, “Advances.”

²⁴ Hilliard, “Provincial,” 655.

²⁵ In this method, millions of network, containing all possible combinations of causes, are created to explore and contrast the range of possible dynamics.

²⁶ For instance, I could use statistical measures of probability to extrapolate from observed republication instances in the various types of newspapers to calculate the probability that the 50% of titles appearing only once in my sample would be republished if the approximately 80% of colonial newspapers not digitised by Trove were included. Alternatively, a “forest” network could be devised to explore the system dynamics that result when all possible causes of reprinting in nineteenth-century newspapers are considered.

²⁷ Goldstone, “Distant.”

²⁸ While digitisation will surely continue in some form, the funding available for this process is declining even as large parts of the historical record remain undigitised. Although Trove is world-leading in its approach to digitising historical newspapers, as I write this paper the Australian Government has announced large cuts to the National Library of Australia, certain to impact the pace and perhaps even the possibility of future digitisation efforts (see, for example, Hitch, “Trove”).

²⁹ Johnson-Woods, *Index*, 6.

³⁰ Morrison, “Serial,” 311–12; Johnson-Woods, “Mary,” 112–13.

³¹ Law, “Savouring,” 81.

³² Law, *Serialising*, 80. Although Law locates Tillotson’s regular involvement with the colonial market in the mid- to late-1880s, he identifies four earlier – irregular – instances when serial fiction handled by Tillotson’s was published in Australian newspapers: Dora Russell’s “Beneath the Wave,” and B. L. Farjeon’s “No. 119 Great Porter Square,” in the Melbourne-based *Australian Journal* (a magazine rather than a newspaper) in 1879 and 1881 respectively; and Eliza Lynn Linton’s “My Love!” and John Saunders’s “Victor or Victim?” in the *Age* in 1881 (Law, *Serialising*, 75–76).

³³ Law, *Serialising*, 76.

³⁴ Law, *Serialising*, 76.

³⁵ Eggert, “Robbery,” 129.

³⁶ Johnson-Woods, *Index*, 6. The newspapers referenced are the *Australasian*, *Leader*, *Australian Town and Country Journal*, *Sydney Mail* and *Queenslander*.

³⁷ Hilliard, “Provincial,” 662.

³⁸ Measuring the number of unique and reprinted titles per year captures the majority of instances of reprinting among metropolitan newspapers in the dataset. However, it excludes the limited number that occurred in consecutive years (for example, when one newspaper began serialising a story in December of one year, and another began publication in January of the next), and as such, understates discovered reprinting. It also excludes cases where colonial publications of the same story were separated by a number of years or even decades. In these latter cases, the exclusion is intended, as such instances are much less likely to relate to one another, or to the structures facilitating fiction reprinting.

³⁹ Statements in the colonial press at the time reinforce the latter explanation. For instance, responding to a correspondent’s accusation of plagiarism, the *Australian Journal* asserts that, “we see our own original papers – both stories and poetry – so frequently copied by American periodicals, that we never have any hesitation about extracting American productions that are worth copying” (cited in Johnson-Woods, *Index*, 7).

⁴⁰ I have discovered 68 titles shared by the *Brisbane Courier* and *Queenslander* (most actively in the late 1860s and 1870s); 94 by the *Evening Journal* and *Adelaide Observer* (most intensively in the 1880s and early 1890s); 76 by the *Telegraph* and the *Week* (particularly in the 1880s); and 33 by the *Evening News* and *Australian Town and Country Journal* (fairly evenly spread across the 1870s, 1880s and early 1890s). Strictly speaking, the daily *Evening Journal* and weekly *Adelaide Observer* were not companions: the latter was specifically aligned with the daily *South Australian Register*. However, the same proprietors published all three, meaning the same structure and rationale as companion reprinting underpins the serial stories shared by the former two newspapers.

⁴¹ For instance, the *Argus* and *Australasian* serialised 27 and 201 titles respectively, but none together; the *Age* and *Leader* serialised 57 and 287 titles respectively, but only one together (Robert Louis Stevenson’s “The South Seas” in 1891); the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Sydney Mail* serialised 19 and 221 titles respectively, but only four together (all prior to 1865); the *West Australian Times* and *Western Mail* serialised 84 and 140 titles respectively, but only one together (Mrs H. Smith’s “Love and Liking,” published as “Topsy Turvy” in 1885); and the *Adelaide Advertiser* and *South Australian Chronicle* serialised 11 and 246 titles respectively, but only six together.

⁴² The list of titles in Appendix 1 is certainly incomplete. As noted already, I have not identified all fiction serialised in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers, and Law mentions a number of authors in connection with Tillotson’s – including F. W. Robinson, George MacDonald and Henry Lucy – without listing the titles syndicated (Law, *Serialising*, 77).

⁴³ Law shows that John Maxwell, Braddon’s agent and husband, syndicated these three titles. Where Law identifies “To the Bitter End,” appearing in the *Age* in 1872, as the first title by Braddon to be syndicated in the colonies (Law, *Serialising*), I would propose a publication discovered in this project – “My Sister Caroline,” in the *Leader* in 1870 – as an earlier instance. In contrast, two even earlier publications – of Braddon’s “Eleanor’s Victory” and “Henry Dunbar,” in the *Goulburn Herald* in 1864 and 1865 respectively – were probably unauthorised and unattributed borrowings from British periodicals. (Both were published without attribution, and in the latter case, under a different title: “The Outcasts.” The text of “Henry Dunbar” is the same as that of the

1863 *London Journal* publication of the work.) A number of Braddon's novels not listed by Law as syndicated (by Maxwell or Tillotson's) were also serialised in metropolitan colonial newspapers between 1872 and 1880 – including “Strangers and Pilgrims” (*Australian Town and Country Journal* and *Evening News*, 1873), and “Lucius Davoren; or, Publicans and Sinners,” published under the title “Publicans and Sinners” (*Sydney Mail*, 1873).

⁴⁴ Due to the predominantly metropolitan newspapers that Tillotson's dealt with in the 1880s, it seems likely that the two other, early instances – Dora Russell's “Footprints in the Snow” (syndicated by Tillotson's in 1876 and appearing in the *Maitland Mercury* in 1877) and Florence Marryat's “Her Father's Name” (serialised in Britain in 1876 and by the *Newcastle Morning Herald* in 1878) – were “borrowed” by these provincial publications.

⁴⁵ Based on the sample available, the titles published and the metropolitan newspapers they were published in are: Collins's “The Moonstone” (*Brisbane Courier*, *Queenslander*, 1868), “The New Magdalen” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, *Evening News*, *Leader*, 1873), “The Dead Alive” (*Leader*, 1874), “The Frozen Deep” (*Brisbane Courier*, *Leader*, *Queenslander*, *South Australian Chronicle*, 1874), “The Law and the Lady” (*Leader*, *South Australian Chronicle*, 1874), and “The Dream Woman” (*Brisbane Courier*, *Queenslander*, *South Australian Chronicle*, 1874); Farjeon's “London's Heart” (*Adelaide Observer*, *Evening Journal*, *Sydney Mail*, 1872), “Jessie Trim” (*Adelaide Observer*, *Evening Journal*, *Sydney Mail*, 1874), and “Golden Grain” (*Sydney Mail*, 1874); Fenn's “Aboard the Sea-Mew” (*Illustrated Sydney News*, *Leader*, 1869), “Both Sides of the Mirror” (*Leader*, 1869), and “Zekel Flint” (*Leader*, 1869); Payn's “One of the Family” (*Adelaide Observer*, 1867), “Found Dead” (*Leader*, 1868), “The Disappearance of George Driffel” (*Leader*, 1869), “A Country Family” (*Adelaide Observer*, *Leader*, 1869), and “At Her Mercy” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1873, *Adelaide Observer*, *Evening Journal*, 1874); Reade's “Griffith Gaunt” (*Evening News*, 1867) and “Put Yourself in His Place” (*Evening News*, 1872); and Robinson's “The Man From Glasgow” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, *Evening News*, 1871), , and “True to Herself” (*Evening News*, 1873).

⁴⁶ The titles published and the metropolitan newspapers they were published in this period are: Besant and Rice's “When the Ship Comes Home” (*Leader*, 1876), “By Celia's Arbour” (*Sydney Mail*, 1877), “Shepherds All and Maidens Fair” (*Leader*, 1876), “The Monks of Thelma” (*Leader*, 1878), and “Le Chien D'Or” (*Australasian*, 1878); Black's “Three Feathers” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1875), “The Marriage of Moira Fergus” (*Sydney Mail*, 1875), “Madcap Violet” (*Leader*, *South Australian Chronicle*, 1876), “Green Pastures and Piccadilly” (*Leader*, 1877), and “MacLeod of Dare” (*Brisbane Courier*, *Leader*, *Queenslander*, 1878); Collins's “The Two Destinies” (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1876), “The Captain's Last Love” (*Age*, 1877), “The Haunted Hotel” (*Evening Journal*, 1878), and “The Fallen Leaves” (*Evening Journal*, 1879); Farjeon's “The King of No-Land” (*Sydney Mail*, 1875), “An Island Pearl” (*Evening Journal*, *Sydney Mail*, 1876), “The Duchess of Rosemary Lane” (*Sydney Mail*, 1876), “Love's Victory” (*Evening New*, 1876), and “Solomon Isaacs” (*Evening News*, 1877); Fenn's “Both Sides of the Mirror” (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1875) and “Hard to Win” (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1879); Linton's “Under Which Lord” (*Australasian*, 1879); McCarthy's “Miss Misanthrope” (*Australasian*, 1877) and “Donna Quixote” (*Evening Journal*, 1879); Macdonald's “St Michael and St George” (*Sydney Mail*, 1875), “The Gifts the Christ Child Brought” (*Sydney Mail*, 1876), and “Sir Gibbie” (*Sydney Mail*, 1879); Oliphant's “May” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1876), “Carita” (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1876), and “Within the Precincts” (*Sydney Mail*, 1878); Payn's “Halves” (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1875), “Walter's Word” (*Australasian*, 1875), “Fallen Fortunes” (*Evening Journal*, 1876), “The Best of Husbands” (*Evening Journal*, 1876), “What He Cost Her” (*Australasian*, 1877), “Less Black Than We're Painted” (*Evening Journal*, 1878), and “Under One Roof” (*Evening Journal*, 1879); Reade's “Hard Cash” (*Evening*

News, 1877); Robinson's "A Bridge of Glass" (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1875), "A Woman's Ransom" (*Evening News*, 1875), and "Poor Zeph!" (*Evening News*, 1878); and Russell's "Beneath the Wave" (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1878) and "Footprints in the Snow" (*South Australian Chronicle*, 1878). Not included in this survey are American authors such as Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Although they were published in Australian newspapers in this period, they were not part of the publishing context that Tillotson's arose from, and did not become involved with that company until after it had already expanded internationally, into the American market.

⁴⁷ Collins's novels, for instance, were published in a number of provincial newspapers before 1880, including the *Goulburn Herald* ("Armada," 1868), *North Eastern Ensign* ("Miss or Mrs?" 1874), *Capricornian* ("Fatal Fortune," 1875; "The Captain's Last Love," 1877); the same is true of stories by Farjeon ("Grif: A Story of Australian Life," *Miner's Advocate*, 1873; "Shadows on the Snow," *Fremantle Herald*, 1877; "Little Liz," *Northern Star*, 1877), Reade ("Put Yourself in His Place," *Newcastle Chronicle*, 1876), and Robinson ("Under the Spell," "One-and-Twenty," "Carry's Confession," and "Aynard's Roost," all in the *Goulburn Herald*, 1870, 1871, 1871, and 1873 respectively).

⁴⁸ On occasion, these specific claims about copyright combine into a coherent narrative regarding the colonial purchase and resale of rights. In May 1872, Farjeon's "London's Heart" was published in the *Sydney Mail* with the claim that, "The sole right of publishing in this colony Mr Farjeon's new story has been purchased by the proprietors of this journal" (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/162663731>). The *Adelaide Observer* reprinted the story in June 1872 with the notice, "The exclusive right of republishing 'London's Heart' in South Australia has been purchased by the Proprietors of the *Adelaide Observer*" (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18824068>); then, in July 1872, the *Evening Journal* – owned by the same proprietors – began the story with the statement: "The exclusive right of republishing 'London's Heart' in South Australia has been purchased by the Proprietors of this paper" (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/196741453>).

⁴⁹ Ailwood and Sainsbury, "Copyright."

⁵⁰ As Appendix 1 details, of the 45 instances I have found where fiction syndicated by Tillotson's was published in colonial metropolitan newspapers in the 1880s, the *South Australian Chronicle* was involved in 22, in addition to 12 of 52 in the 1890s. Another weekly South Australian newspaper, the *Adelaide Observer*, and/or its daily affiliate, the *Evening News*, were involved in 11 of these syndicated publications in the 1880s and 14 in the 1890s. Queensland-based companions, the *Telegraph* and *Week*, also serialised a significant number of titles syndicated by Tillotson's, either singly or together: 9 in the 1880s and 20 in the 1890s.

⁵¹ Law, *Serialising*, 88.

⁵² Johanningsmeier notes McClure's connection with Australia based on author correspondence and the publication of Twain's "The American Claimant" – secured at great expense by McClure in 1892 – in the *Age* in that same year (Johanningsmeier, *Fiction*, 76). This expanded sample shows that Twain's story was also published in the *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening Journal* in 1892, suggesting McClure moved beyond the leading metropolitan papers in his engagement with the colonial market.

⁵³ It is clear, based on the copyright descriptions in newspapers, that Cassells also supplied the Australian market. One of many examples is Headon Hill's "By a Hair's Breadth," serialised in the

Sunday Times with the notice: “Special rights of serial publication secured by the “Sunday Times” from Cassell and Co., London” (<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/125518175>).

⁵⁴ Titles syndicated by Watt in Britain and published the same month in Australian newspapers include: Payn’s “The Heir of the Ages” (*Illustrated London News* and *Leader*, *South Australian Chronicle*, and *West Australian Times* from January 1886); Besant’s “The World Went Very Well Then” (*Illustrated London News* and *Sydney Mail* from July 1886); Black’s “Wolfenburgh” (*The Graphic* and *Sydney Mail* from July 1892); and S. R. Crockett’s “The Grey Man” (*The Graphic* and *Sydney Mail* from January 1896). Titles that appeared in Australian newspapers a month after their British appearance include: Black’s “Sunrise” (monthly parts, Sampson Low from April 1880, and *Leader* from May 1880); Besant’s “All Sorts and Conditions of Men” (*Belgravia* from January 1882, and *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening Journal* from February 1882); and Robert Buchanan’s “Master of the Mine” (*Illustrated London News*, from July 1885, and *South Australian Observer* from August 1885). For a list of Watt’s “belt and braces” publications see Law, *Serialising*, 106–7.

⁵⁵ The authors are: Mary Albert, Grant Allen, S. Baring-Gould, Frank Barrett, J. M. Barrie, William Black, Walter Besant, Guy Boothby, James S. Borlase, Hjalmar H. Boyesen, Frederick Boyle, M. E. Braddon, Rhoda Broughton, Robert Buchanan, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Hall Caine, Sir Gilbert Campbell, Ina Leon Cassilis, Wilkie Collins, Hugh Conway (Frederick John Fergus), Marie Corelli, S. R. Crockett, Mary Angela Dickens, Edmund Downey, Arthur Conan Doyle, Harry Stillwell Edwards, Selwyn Eyre, B. L. Farjeon, Geo. Manville Fenn, J. Monk Foster, Jessie Fothergill, R. E. Francillon, Alice French, Charles Gibbon, Ernest Glanville, H. Rider Haggard, Iza Duffus Hardy, Thomas Hardy, Joel Chandler Harris, Bret Harte, Joseph Hatton, Julian Hawthorne, G. A. Henty, Anthony Hope, E. W. Hornung, William Dean Howells, Mrs. (Margaret Wolfe) Hungerford, Sarah Orne Jewett, Rudyard Kipling, William Le Queux, John K. Leys, Eliza Lynn Linton, Henry W. Lucy, Justin McCarthy, George MacDonald, Katherine S. MacQuoid, Arthur W. Marchmont, Florence Marryat, Helen Mathers, L. T. Meade, George Meredith, Mrs (Mary Louisa) Molesworth, J. Fitzgerald Molloy, J. E. Muddock, Rosa Mulholland, David Christie Murray, W. E. Norris, Mrs. (Margaret) Oliphant, “Ouida” (Louise de la Ramee), David Pae, James Payn, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Eden Phillpotts, Arthur Quiller-Couch, Charles Reade, Compton Reade, Mayne Reid, “Rita” (Eliza Humphreys), F. W. Robinson, Dora Russell, W. Clark Russell, John Saunders, Adeline Sergeant, James Simson, Hawley Smart, Emily Spender, “John Winter Strange” (Henrietta Eliza Vaughan Stannard), Robert Louis Stevenson, Frank R. Stockton, Annie S. Swan, Frederick Talbot, Mary H. Tennyson, Lily Tinsley, Mark Twain, Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, William Westall, Stanley Weyman, Walter Wood, and Emile Zola.

Most of these authors are British, but American (Boyesen, French, Harris, Harte, Hawthorne, Hay, Jewett, Stillwell, and Twain), Canadian (Allen and Parker), French (Verne and Zola) and Australian (Boothby) authors are also represented. Those for whom I have not found sufficient biographical information to allocate them a nationality are: Mary H. Tennyson, Frederick Talbot, and Walter Wood.

⁵⁶ See Colby, “Tale”; Jones, “Tillotson’s”; Johanningsmeier, *Fiction*; Law, *Serialising*; Turner, “Tillotson’s.” While Colby, Jones, and Turner focus on Tillotson’s authors, Johanningsmeier considers American syndication broadly, and Law explores a number of Tillotson’s competitors, including individual agents and companies.

⁵⁷ The top twenty most serialised authors in colonial metropolitan newspapers between 1865 and 1899, including the number of publications, are: M. E. Braddon (64); Dora Russell (44); James Payn (34); B. L. Farjeon (28); William Black and Wilkie Collins (27); Adeline Sergeant (25); J. Monk Foster and Mrs Oliphant (24); Geo. Manville Fenn (23); W. Clark Russell (22); Bret Harte and W. E. Norris (21); Ada Cambridge and Henrietta Eliza Vaughan Stannard (writing as “John

Winter Strange”) (19); Walter Besant (18); G. A. Henty and David Christie Murray (17); and Joseph Hatton, Henry Herman, E. Phillips Oppenheim, F. W. Robinson, and Hawley Smart (16). Cambridge, an Australian writer, and Herman, a British author, are the two exceptions in this list: highly serialised authors not associated with well-known syndicators in the sources I have consulted. The latter instance is probably an omission of the sources rather than an actual lack of association, given Herman’s longstanding collaboration with Murray (also appearing in this top-twenty list; syndicated by Tillotson’s and represented by A. P. Watt). These two authors wrote several novels together, including two published in colonial newspapers: “A Dangerous Catspaw” (*Australasian*, 1889) and “He Fell Among Thieves” (*Queenslander*, 1890; *South Australian Chronicle*, 1891).

Other writers associated with these well-known agencies and agents among the top forty most serialised authors in colonial newspapers in this period are: S. Baring-Gould (15); H. Rider Haggard, William Le Queux, and Eliza Lynn Linton (14); John Arthur Barry and Thomas Hardy (13); Robert Buchanan and John K. Leys (12); Guy Boothby, Hall Caine, and Mrs Hungerford (11). Authors not associated with overseas agencies that are among the top forty most published authors in colonial periodicals are predominantly Australian: Ernest Favenc (15); “Old Boomerang” (14); Ethel Turner (12); Rolf Boldrewood, Mary Hannay Foott, Catherine Helen Spence, and Atha Westbury (11). The British authors in this category – James Walter Smith and Florence Warden (14); Joseph Hocking (12); Mrs Leith Adams, Nat Gould, and Ellen Wood (11) – might well be associated with Tillotson’s or another agency by those more knowledgeable about British publishing than me.

⁵⁸ Given the extent of anonymous publication in nineteenth-century Australian newspapers (see Bode, “Thousands”) it is likely that the actual count of British authors was greater. Figure 4 only includes those whose identities have been verified.

⁵⁹ On reduced fees to authors for syndication in the final decade of the nineteenth century see Law, *Serialising*, 85.

⁶⁰ Morrison, “Retrieving,” 33.

⁶¹ Johanningsmeier, *Fiction*, 75–76.

⁶² Of the 73 and 146 instances of reprinting in the 1880s and 1890s, 5 and 14, respectively, do not involve one or more of these newspapers.

⁶³ Of the eight newspapers centrally involved in reprinting fiction within the colonies five are the most prolific publishers of fiction in this study, from both 1865 to 1899 and from 1880 to 1899. The overall totals are: *Queenslander* (352 titles), *Leader* (284), *Evening News* (259), *South Australian Chronicle* (246), and *Adelaide Observer* (231). The totals from 1880 to 1899 are: *Queenslander* (265), *South Australian Chronicle* (210), *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening News* (207 each), and *Leader* (168). The other newspapers I have identified as heavily involved in reprinting – the *Evening Journal*, *Telegraph*, *Week* and *Brisbane Courier* – are 9th, 10th, 11th, and 13th between 1865 to 1899 (with 175, 166, 160, and 92 titles serialised, respectively); and 8th, 7th, 11th, and 18th for the last two decades of the nineteenth century (with 146, 163, 135, and 38 titles, respectively).

⁶⁴ The newspapers mostly involved in publishing fiction previously appearing in the *Leader* were the *South Australian Chronicle*, followed by the *Adelaide Observer* and *Evening Journal*, *Western Mail*, *West Australian*, *Queenslander*, and in the 1890s, *Telegraph* and *Week*.

⁶⁵ Law, *Serialising*, 76.

⁶⁶ The *South Australian Chronicle* published fiction after provincial newspapers on two occasions, though I think the first of these is likely an unauthorised borrowing: in 1892, the *Capricornian* and *Morning Bulletin* published Henty's "In the Days of Mutiny" four months before it began, simultaneously, in the *South Australian Chronicle*, *Telegraph* and *Week*, and *Express and Telegraph*; in 1894, the *Ballarat Star* published Dora Russell's "A Country Sweetheart" a month before it appeared in the *South Australian Chronicle*.

⁶⁷ As in Figure 1, rates of reprinting among provincial newspapers are assessed on a yearly basis: that is, in terms of the number and proportion of non-unique titles per year. While this approach is useful for the comparison, it understates the extent of reprinting among provincial newspapers, which tended, more than for metropolitan cases, to occur in consecutive years.

⁶⁸ I have identified 124 titles serialised by both newspapers: predominantly short serials (across two or three editions) and most intensively from 1878 to 1882.

⁶⁹ For the *Hay Standard*, located in Hay, a bit over 500 kilometres from Goulburn, serialisation typically began two weeks after it occurred in the *Goulburn Herald*; for the *Cootamundra Herald*, located in Cootamundra, a bit under 200 kilometres from Goulburn, publication occurred in the subsequent week. Altogether, the *Goulburn Herald* published 27 titles with the *Hay Standard*, and 16 titles with the *Cootamundra Herald*.

⁷⁰ "Wynnum White's Wickedness" appeared in at least nine provincial newspapers in 1895 (*Armidale Chronicle*, *Bathurst Free Press*, *Gympie Times*, *Morwell Advertiser*, *Nepean Times*, *Port Macquarie News*, *Richmond River Herald*, *Traralgon Record*, and *Western Herald*); "An Australian Bush Track" was serialised in the *Bathurst Free Press*, *Gympie Times*, and *Western Grazier*, and in the metropolitan companions, the *Telegraph* and *Week*, in 1896; "The Dis-Honourable: A Mystery of the Brisbane Floods" was published in the *Richmond River Herald* in 1895 and in the *Barrier Miner*, *Bathurst Free Press*, *Morwell Advertiser*, and *Traralgon Record* in 1896; "The Mystery of Sea-Cliff Towers" appeared in the *Bendigo Independent*, *Goulburn Herald*, *Murrurundi Times*, and *North Queensland Register*, between 1897 and 1899; and "The Bells of Sydney" was serialised by the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* and *Ulladulla and Milton Times* in 1899 and 1900 respectively. The first three serials were published as books, in 1896, by Sampson Low in London.

⁷¹ In its *Richmond River Herald* appearance in 1895, "The Dis-Honourable" was published under a pseudonym (Carey Grove) with the note: "Published by special arrangement with Hennessey's Intercolonial Press Association" (<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page13502908>). The agency published the story as a book edition in the same year, a year before its Sampson Low publication in London (Hennessey, *Dis-Honourable*).

⁷² <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article134307271>.

⁷³ The exception is Australian author, Price Warung, whose story, "An Endorsement in Red," was serialised alongside a title by Hennessey ("The Mystery of Sea-Cliff Towers") in Hennessey and Harper's 1898 Christmas Annual. Both stories were published elsewhere – Hennessey's title in the *North Queensland Register* and the *Murrurundi Times*, in 1897 and 1898 respectively, and Warung's story in the *Western Grazier* in 1898 – and given his other activities, it is possible that Hennessey organised these appearances.

⁷⁴ Lucy Sussex describes an abortive attempt by Borlase to establish a syndication agency for original local fiction (it was announced but never appeared) (Sussex, "Bobbing").

⁷⁵ Book sellers and lending libraries were scarce in the Australian colonies (Johanson, *A Study*, 213; Eggert, “*Robbery*,” 134), and local literary periodicals were short-lived (Stuart, *Nineteenth*, 1). Though imported literary magazines and journals were present and popular, they were significantly more expensive, and less prevalent, than the “large, vigorous and thriving” local newspaper press (Morrison, “*Serial*,” 308).

⁷⁶ Morrison identified the Cameron, Laing and Co. syndicate based on advertising in the colonial press, and by comparing the list of titles provided there with fiction serialised in a sample of provincial newspapers (Morrison, *Engines*, 210–12; 253–56; “*Serial*,” 317–18).

⁷⁷ Where Cameron, Laing and Co. serialised 28 Australian titles from 1880 to 1884, the most prolific local book publisher (George Robertson) only published nine Australian novels between 1860 and 1889 and 22 in the 1890s (Bode, *Reading*, 44, 49).

⁷⁸ Cameron, Laing and Co. also issued Christmas editions, which featured only Australian fiction completed in a single issue, and were purchased by additional provincial newspapers (including the *Inquirer and Commercial News*, *Darling Downs Gazette*, *Kapunda Herald*, and *Western Champion*).

⁷⁹ National Library of New Zealand, “Papers Past,” <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>. Titles serialised by Cameron, Laing and Co. that appeared in New Zealand newspapers such as the *Tuapeka Times*, *Hawera and Normanby Star*, or *Waikato Times* include “Denis Devine,” “In the Folds of the Serpent,” “The Mystery of Major Molineux,” “Bonshaw: A Moreton Bay King,” “Marc Grecli,” “Dora Dunbar,” and “Days of Crime and Years of Suffering.” The involvement of Australian syndication agency, S. & D. Reid, with New Zealand newspapers in the 1890s has been described (Harvey, “Sources”), but as far as I know, this earlier cross-Tasman connection has not previously been noted.

⁸⁰ Morrison, *Engines*, 255.

⁸¹ I have made the determination that Syndicate 1 ceased operations in 1892; but it is also possible it continued, publishing the fiction I have allocated to Syndicate 6. In support of the first interpretation are: the different newspapers involved (more than half of the periodicals associated with Cameron, Laing and Co. up to and including 1892 were no longer serialising the same fiction in 1893), the different location of these newspapers (Syndicate 6 worked mostly with Victorian rather than New South Wales periodicals), and the different fiction published (Syndicate 6 serialised a large proportion of titles by unknown authors). Supporting the second interpretation are: the common authors involved (a number of the Australian writers serialised by Syndicate 6 were previously associated with Cameron, Laing and Co., including Ivan Dexter, Kenneth Hamilton, Captain Lacie, Harold M. MacKenzie, and Atha Westbury) and the common newspapers (almost half of the periodicals previously associated with Syndicate 1 appear in Syndicate 6 – though admittedly, the latter includes more than two thirds of newspapers not previously aligned with Cameron, Laing and Co.). Although a change in ownership could explain such dramatic shifts in publishing and business practices, Cameron, Laing and Co. was acquired by S. & D. Reid in 1888 (Harvey, “Sources”), so the timing does not correspond. On the balance of evidence I have therefore decided to list Syndicates 1 and 6 as separate.

⁸² Morrison, “*Serial*,” 317.

⁸³ For example, Fenn's "Commodore Junk," Russell's "The Frozen Pirate," and a children's serial – "My Plucky Boy Tom" by P. T. Barnum – were published concurrently by this syndicate.

⁸⁴ The difference in timing relates to the day of the week these (typically bi- or tri-weekly) provincial newspapers were issued.

⁸⁵ Five provincial newspapers moved from Syndicate 1 to 4, as well as two each from Syndicates 2 and 3.

⁸⁶ Where Syndicates 7 and 10 appear only to have traded in partly printed pages, Syndicates 6, 8, 9 and 11 offered a combination of partly printed and flexible reprinting.

⁸⁷ In particular, multiple provincial newspapers departed from Syndicate 6 in the 1890s – including five to Syndicate 8; three to Syndicate 9, two to Syndicate 10; and four to Syndicate 11 – leaving that enterprise with very few clients by the end of the century.

⁸⁸ Johanningsmeier provides a long list: "the American Short Story Company, the American Press Company, Frank Carpenter's Newspaper Syndicate, the International Syndicate of Baltimore, the Albert Bigelow Paine Syndicate, Syndicate Exchange, the Lorraine Literary Press Association, the Authors' Co-Operative Company, and the Wilson Press Syndicate" (*Fiction*, 96). Indeed, Johanningsmeier notes the difficulty of investigating even the major American syndicates – Bachelier's and McClure's, "ubiquitous in the Anglo-American literary publishing world of the 1880s and 1890s" – due to "the paucity of available manuscript and secondary materials" (*Fiction*, 67, 71).

⁸⁹ For Syndicate 7, the inclusion of four serial stories by Bertha Clay (an author-name of disputed origin, but strongly associated with fiction syndication in America) could indicate an American company or an Australian agency that actively acquired fiction from American sources; alternatively, its inclusion of advertisements for colonial companies in its partly printed pages (for instance, for "Australian Explosives" and a Melbourne dentist) could indicate a locally based agency or an overseas syndicate producing partly printed pages specifically for the colonial market, and seeking advertising revenue in that context. For Syndicate 11, the mixture of international fiction and the inclusion of miscellaneous American materials could suggest an overseas company providing general material for the international market or a local company extracting such material from international newspapers for colonial publication.

⁹⁰ I demonstrate and challenge the view that local publishing did not occur in Australia until the late twentieth century in my 2012 book (Bode, *Reading*, 27–103).

⁹¹ Smith cited in McCann, *Marcus*, 25.