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Old Media, New Media, Intermedia: The *Toronto Star* and CFCA, 1922–1933

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Early radio was *read* and *seen* as much as it was listened to. In fact, early radio audiences were inextricable from newspaper readerships. The link goes beyond cross promotion and publicity, but the most direct connection is the best starting point: newspapers owned many of the first radio broadcast licenses in Canada and built some of the first commercial radio stations in North America. Leading the way in Ontario, the *Toronto Star* began broadcasting through “wireless telephone” on March 28, 1922. Its first broadcast did not feature breaking news, weather, financial, or agricultural market reports. Instead, the broadcast was a musical concert featuring local singers and instrumentalists providing a selection of classical music, and the “syncopated harmony” of jazz. The performance was transmitted from a remote studio to an estimated one thousand homes already equipped with amateur receiving sets. Two special audiences also gathered to listen together: the general public at the Masonic Temple and First World War veterans at the Christie Street Military Hospital (see figure 12.1, audience at hospital). The front page coverage the following day extolled not the quality of the musical performances, but the clarity of the broadcasts, with careful note of the range of the received broadcast for the benefit of amateur “radio fans” scattered more than a hundred miles beyond the city limits. From Brantford, Ontario, to Buffalo, New York, radio fans wrote letters praising the technical quality of the broadcast (March 29, 1922, 1).

In a time when the “wonder” of radio was itself a spectacle, the *Star’s* coverage of the event focused almost exclusively on the technical element of broadcasting, asking readers with radio receiving stations at home to

share not only the quality of their reception, but also to specify what kind of set they were using. In these early days of experimentation with radio, broadcasting was not simply a novelty entertainment; it was a technological wonder that "marked a new step forward in Canadian radio circles" (March 29, 1922, 1). The desire of any popular newspaper was not simply to cover, but to be a *part* of such a modern, technological spectacle. In its editorial following the inaugural radio concert, the *Star's* editors, like all proponents of radio's potential, imagined the "limitless" possibilities forged by the wireless, global reach of this new technology, "transcending imagination" (March 29, 1922, 6). The latent message of the editorial suggests that newspapers valued radio because it could transcend the temporal and spatial limitations of circulating newsprint. The *Star* continued the musical concert series weekly, and soon began a nightly thirty-minute program (April 10, 1922, 1). While the concert series, like the first broadcast, was entirely musical, the nightly program was more varied, consisting of music, topical lectures, a children's bedtime story, and sporting and financial bulletins.¹ With the completion of the *Toronto Star's* own transmitting station, CFCA, atop its head office building, the nightly program was expanded to one hour in June 1922, but its variety format remained the same balance of music, stories, business and sports bulletins, and brief feature lectures (June 23, 1922, 10, 13).² Despite the integration of the studio within the *Star's* newspaper office, it took another few months for CFCA to include the *Star's* news content in its radio programs.

Pervasive synergies of cross-media ownership since the introduction of radio in the 1920s make direct investments across media commonplace. Yet there was nothing inevitable about newspapers such as the *Toronto Star* staking a claim to the centre of early radio. Why would a newspaper venture into broadcasting? And why would it begin with musical programming to a public audience instead of a newscast to home listeners? This chapter sets out to answer these questions, placing the case study of the *Toronto Star's* CFCA within the context of a broadening role for newspapers in an emerging mass popular culture at the turn of the twentieth century. The combined provision of leisure and cultural technologies as supplements to news and information established an expansive social function for newspapers in both their printed form and their publishing companies. In that context, radio could indeed be understood beyond the

1 The *Star's* first few daily broadcasts also included a telegraphed report from its parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa, a feature quickly dropped from the variety format.

2 In the first years of radio, a licensed "station" and its call letters referred to the equipment and location of a specific transmitter, rather than a frequency on the radio spectrum. Initially, while the *Star* awaited the construction of its own "station," its programs were transmitted from 9AH (later CKCE) in cooperation with the electronics manufacturer Canadian Independent Telephone Company.

confines of a promotional or business venture as an innovative feature of the newspaper form itself.

The Newspaper Supplement and Intermediality

Newspaper-owned radio stations did not dominate the new broadcasting industry in Canada for very long. In fact, their brief importance predates the policy preoccupations of Canadian nationalism that emerged as a result of commercialized, American network radio later in the 1920s (Dorland 1996, xi; specific to radio, see Jackson 1999).³ Studies of Canadian cultural industries, including earlier editions of this very book, have largely been shaped by this “policy reflex” (Wagman 2010). This is especially true of radio, although recent scholarship has turned to audience reception and listening cultures, alongside continued interest in representation and programming.⁴ Our focus on the beginnings of radio broadcasting in Canada, when newspaper-owned stations predominate, turns to the public mediation of an increasingly integrated media culture in order to understand better the mutually constitutive nature of these media forms. Radio listening took shape, and was rendered a meaningful cultural practice, through newspaper reading, making both audiences one media public. The newspaper organized its radio programs to fulfill an experience begun by reading its printed stories, and in turn edited its print columns (especially its radio page) as an essential component of listening to its broadcasting.

This case study paints in details at the conceptual “edges” of the technologies of radio and newsprint by looking at the moment when the intermedial relation is most overtly at play (Marvin 1988, 8). Éric Méchoulan (2003) has argued that intermedia “functions on the level of the media melting pot from which a well-defined medium slowly emerges and is institutionalized” (22). In other words, intermedia is a conceptual tool for describing that which “precedes the medium” as a recognizable, distinct technology.⁵ Although most evident with the introduction of a new medium,

3 In Canada, as is well known, policy and regulatory debates over commercialization and public interest led to a Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting in 1929, the nationalized radio programming of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1932, and the nationalized radio network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936 (Vipond 1992; Raboy 1990). These policy interventions did not upend the dominance of commercial companies relying upon popular content produced in the United States, even on the CBC itself (MacLennan 2005; Skinner 2005; Vipond 1999).

4 Among a growing body of research on Canadian radio history, we draw attention to MacLennan (2008, 2012), Vipond (2009, 2010), and Kuffert (2009) for their studies of early listening cultures, as well as Webb (2008) for his social history of a regional broadcaster.

5 We borrow our understanding of media from Lisa Gitelman (2006), who argues media are socially realized structures of communication, including the hardware and social protocols necessary

the intermedial relation between newspaper and radio, in this case, is supplementary, not just complementary. The character and cultural importance of the one medium is incomplete—even meaningless—without the encounter with the other. Rather than privilege radio in its relation to the newspaper by defining the case study as a genealogy of “listening in,” we are more broadly interested in the ways intermediality operates through a singular mode of address, with news serving as part of the variety of modern leisure. In exploring the propensity for newspapers to be early leaders in owning and operating radio stations, we focus specifically on their capacity and expertise in providing variety, leisure, and amusement as supplements to the news. As a result of this approach, we trace the exhibition and visual display of radio listening—its illustrated logic—as practices borrowed from newspaper supplements. While this methodology derives from the necessary constraint of turning to archives of print documents, not least the newspaper itself, we demonstrate nonetheless that the act of listening to radio in its earliest years was constantly supported by looking, writing, reading, depicting, and visually documenting the novelty of the practice. Both at the time and looking back now, these practices are all the more important because of radio’s ephemeral, ethereal qualities.

The North American newspaper became a nexus of popular culture at the turn of the twentieth century. Central to this transformation was the incorporation of expansive, illustrated weekend supplements (Barnhurst and Nerone 2001; Rutherford 1982). The weekend supplement included extensive commentary, directories, and advertising for all sorts of popular amusements and consumer technologies, but its material form was even more important. Through the weekend supplement, newspapers drew upon aspects of other media, including serialized novels, magazines, posters, and sheet music. Different qualities and sizes of paper and colour printing encouraged readers to collect and treat parts of the newspaper as keepsakes. Weekend supplements also took a central place by employing new media forms such as comic strips and serialized moving pictures.⁶ As we have argued elsewhere (Gabriele and Moore 2009), Canadian newspapers developed such features in tandem with their counterparts in the United States, although following a path of nationalist distinction with a civic emphasis on informativeness and educational value against the sensationalist,

for understanding it and the cultural practices that make up the communication process (7). The development of those protocols that eventually made each medium distinct from the other was a social and cultural process. We argue that process for radio was established through print culture. Further, however, the practices of listening were also essential for developing a literacy for understanding the print radio columns. Our focus here is on newspapers, though it took place in other print media as well (Douglas 1987, 1999).

6 For the *Toronto Star* in particular, features such as illustrated and colour comic supplements appeared in the *Star Weekly* after its creation in 1910. Archived and microfilmed separately from the daily *Star*, and in later decades taking the form of a national magazine, the *Star Weekly* is often neglected despite functioning in the 1910s and 1920s as an expanded weekend edition.

secular metropolitanism of the “American Sunday paper.” In the first decade of the twentieth century, American newspaper syndicates standardized and disseminated much of this material, so that weekend supplements such as magazines and comic strips entered the daily press of smaller cities, including in Canada, and were no longer the exclusive domain of metropolitan newspapers in the United States.

While newspapers’ primary identity and business model remained rooted to print sales, many of their weekend supplements experimented with intermedial forms, inserting tabloid novels, song sheets, and glossy magazines, and even collaborating to produce newsreels. By 1922, newspapers were practiced in adopting such intermedial strategies for expanding circulation, and newspaper reading had already come to include other activities. The paper itself now included cut-out toys, puzzles, and collectible inserts; its amusement and sporting columns helped schedule leisure time, as its advertising helped schedule consumption. Further, newspapers frequently sponsored community events, from trade shows to charity concerts to election night gatherings that turned reports of voting returns into popular festivals. While this is clearly a matter of commercialization, the emergence of weekend supplements as a central part of popular culture and a significant part of newspaper publishing should be taken as an extension of publicity. In the sense of making public, or constituting a public, publicity transforms the pursuit of increased circulation into a complex relation of public service and popular appeal, not reducible to maximizing advertising and profits. This is not to deny the importance of circulation as a matter of sales, but rather to attenuate that aspect as only part of the social relation of publicity. In 1922, newspaper readers were addressed as a social and civic public, not just a market. The relationship between newspapers and their newly-formed radio stations was similarly not simply commercial. Newspapers understood radio as enabling a fulfillment of their mandate of public service, including, but not limited to, providing popular entertainment in the mode of weekend supplements. The connection was explicit for Judith Walker, who ran the Chicago *Daily News* station WMAQ: “When I thought of a women’s program, I would think of it emanating from the women’s department of the paper... We tried to tie the paper and the station together” (cited in Hilmes 1997, 72).

Radio as an Extension of the Public Service of Newspapers

Newspaper publishers owned a significant proportion of the earliest radio stations in Canada, as in the United States.⁷ About half of the first

⁷ Compared to Canada, it is important to note a reversed trajectory of newspaper-ownership of radio stations in the United States, which begin to dominate throughout the 1930s, whereas Canadian newspapers largely withdraw from broadcasting with its nationalization in Canada in the 1930s.

two dozen commercial broadcasting licenses in Canada were issued to newspapers.⁸ Scholarly explanations of the early adoption of radio by newspapers build upon the contemporary rationales given by newspaper publishers themselves. First is the instrumental logic of cross promotion in the face of competition from other newspapers (Allen 2009, 51). Owning a radio station meant broadcasting the newspaper name as a form of advertising to encourage buying the paper itself.

A second explanation is that newspapers were keen to take up fads and novelties, or phrased more charitably, to adopt new technologies in order to fulfill their established place in the cultural vanguard. In Montréal, *La Presse* already had plans for one of the most powerful radio transmitters in North America when it began a radio column to keep its readers informed about “la grande merveille de la téléphonie sans fil” (April 29, 1922, 1). Newspaper publishers were also likely to espouse a principle of public service, though this sentiment could be self-serving in and of itself. For the manager of the *Kansas City Star’s* WDAF, “in terms of management, public service, and program quality, the newspaper was simply the best kind of owner” (cited in Stamm 2011, 14).

Mary Vipond (1992) concisely proposes all three factors in her comprehensive history of the first decade of radio broadcasting in Canada: newspapers perceived an affinity with radio as the latest fad to secure publicity and therefore sales, but also took the more principled stance of radio serving “as a natural extension of and supplement to their role as media of communication” (44). Announcing with great fanfare its “free wireless and radiophone service,” the *Vancouver Sun’s* “advanced method of news distribution” was just one of the latest technologies used to provide “the best newspaper service to the public that science permits” (March 7, 1922, 1). Radio would thus allow the *Sun* “to contribute its quota in the interest of commercial and social progress... The undertaking will prove to be the most popular feature ever adopted by any newspaper” (March 9, 1922, 1). In hindsight, positioning radio as a “feature” of the newspaper seems incongruous because radio developed, in time, its own form and distinct identity; but conflating the newspaper-radio program and the radio-newspaper page regularly occurred within the press. When *La Presse*

According to Stamm (2011), newspapers in the US in the 1930s pioneered the techniques of media convergence precisely through operating radio stations, a trend that “continued into newly licensed FM stations after 1941 and television stations after 1948” (5).

⁸ Newspapers owned ten of twenty-three early radio broadcasting licenses listed in the *Winnipeg Tribune* (April 25, 1922, 5), and four more are owned by George Melrose Bell, publisher of the *Regina Leader*, which assumed one of his licenses upon opening CKCK in Regina. Vipond (1992, 21), citing a different source, lists twenty-one of these, with both discrepancies newspaper-owned: the *Calgary Herald* CHCQ and *Edmonton Journal* CJCA.

solicited print advertisers nationally, it called its radio page “Canada’s Greatest Radio Medium,” and focused on details about its radio station rather than the newspaper’s circulation (*Toronto Globe*, May 13, 1922, 7). The interchangeable address of readers and listeners is a key logic behind how the *Toronto Star* edited its radio page and programmed its broadcasts.

Like other newspapers of the time, the *Star* was an avid publicist of the newest technologies (cf. Dooley 2007). Its interest in radio preceded its entry into broadcasting, in much the same way that it rhapsodized about other technologies.⁹ It was not surprising that during the inaugural broadcast, the *Star*’s managing editor, J.R. Bone, would reference other technologies in considering how experimenting with radio was part of the public service that the *Star* provided its readers: “The *Star*’s interest is simply that...its primary duty is to give its readers the news...the most practicable way of dealing with it from a news point of view is not only to describe what is being done by others, *but to give practical and public demonstrations of the invention...*It is hoped, also, that the service which The *Star* will send out hereafter will be a real service to the city and province in supplying information and entertainment” (March 29, 1922, 2; emphasis added). Bone’s speech reveals the rationale for the relationship that the newspaper imagined it would have to the radio station and that both would have to the audience. Keeping its readers abreast of the latest news required the newspaper not simply to report, but to do: to take part in the development of radio’s potential through experimentation. Upon the closing of CFCA in 1933, this logic was explicitly stated by the paper: “[The *Toronto Star*] in its whole history has always been alert on behalf of the public for the new and significant, and which does things as well as writes about them when they are done” (August 29, 1933, 6; emphasis added).

Public service also required publicity, for the newspaper embodied both information and entertainment. The *Star* led the way in the Toronto market for promotional schemes, designed to increase circulation by promoting the paper itself. The job of doing this fell to the Promotions Editor, William Main Johnson. Johnson began work with the *Star* in 1910 as a reporter; after the First World War, he served as a Parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa. By 1921, Johnson began the specialty editorial work of weekend papers writing “special articles,” becoming the Pictures Editor for both the daily and weekly editions in 1922—a vital position, given the pictorial page’s position as the back cover of the daily edition, and the rotogravure section’s function as the cover of the *Star Weekly*. Later that same

⁹ For example, the *Star* claimed to be the first newspaper in Canada to use wireless to send location reports to the newsroom (August 10, 1903, 1), and later profiled the technology of its new printing press and composition room (August 26, 1905, 1–7).

year, this work expanded when he took charge of "editorial promotion" for the *Star*. This work involved crafting and carrying out promotional activities that aimed to cultivate an active and engaged relationship with readers. These schemes positioned the newspaper as a vehicle publicizing planned activities. However, they frequently went beyond the newspaper page, bringing the community together through events that exceeded their typical roles as readers or listeners. Examples of such schemes include free parties for children in local parks with organized games, sports activities, and treats like ice cream cones.

One prominent coupon "voting" scheme involved the purchase of an animal for the Toronto Zoo, as selected by children by sending in ballots marked with their preferences. Elephant "Baby Stella," as she was named by readers, two white peacocks and Tiny Tim, a bear, were eventually purchased throughout 1923. Stella and her companion peacocks were introduced during a twenty-eight-mile-long parade that ran from Oakville to Toronto and included an accompanying orchestra and floats (June 15, 1923, 1). These animals continued to appear throughout the pages of the *Star* over the following year, part of a tactic Johnson called the "accumulative effect," which linked promotional schemes together (letter, Johnson to Ralph Pulitzer, April 28, 1924, 2. Box 2, Correspondence, 1910-1931. File 5, Job Applications & references, 1912, 1924-1931). Such promotional schemes were important because they built certain audience relations, part of the "service" Bone referenced during the inaugural broadcast. In the words of a contemporary working at the Boston Advertiser, this form of promotional work carefully included "a tone of friendliness and sincerity that must be highly effective in the making of permanent attachment to the paper" (Edgar D. Shaw to Johnson, May 6, 1924. TPL. Box 2, correspondence 1910-1931. Folder 5, Job applications and references, 1912, 1924-1931). The attachment to the paper was not only important for the promotional elements that obviously led to greater circulation and popularity, but was also viewed by the paper as part of the way it serviced the community by bringing it together.

Within this context, holding a concert for the inaugural broadcast by CFCA makes perfect sense. Although Johnson described his work as Promotions Editor as involving "the problem of appealing to the whole mass of the people, the same constituency which a departmental store appeals to" (letter to C.L. Burton of Robert Simpson's Co; December 19, 1930, Box 2, Correspondence 1910-1931; File 5, Applications & References, 1912, 1924-1931), children were understood as a specific "medium for this purpose": "this specialized policy of interesting the

youngest generation and through them all the other generations has proved a marked success" (Johnson to Pulitzer, April 28, 1924,1). The interest in child readers specifically coincided with the enthusiasm young boys had for radio experimentation. Indeed, Susan Douglas (1999) notes that young middle-class boys were avid radio fans and marked a special constituency of early radio enthusiasts (65–69). As Hilmes (1997) points out, and the recent work by Elena Razlogova (2011) confirms, early radio enthusiasts were more diverse than Douglas's early work suggests. Indeed, Hilmes notes how the focus in the mainstream press on white, middle-class boys and their shenanigans was strategic fodder for the intervention by "responsible corporations" (39). Nonetheless, boys were frequently addressed within the pages of the newspaper directly, integrating the wider appeal to young readers through the paper's youth section and through its promotional schemes.

Audiences do not merely exist; rather, they are constituted by various kinds of rhetorical addresses. The specific rhetoric of the printed page has been particularly important in this respect (see for example Anderson 1983; Martin 2004; Nord 2001). Michael Warner (2002) notes that texts and their circulation produce a very specific kind of public. Promotional schemes that extended the reach of the newspaper off the page (including radio) were essential in creating a constituent audience for the newspaper (and its radio station) that organized people into reading, and eventually listening, publics. Such publics were always engaged to perform a wide range of tasks (like clipping coupons, or counting words) or gathered to participate in events that went far beyond simply buying or reading a newspaper. Entertaining audiences was an integral part of this process. The focus on children not only ensured a generation of readers to come, but it extended the mass appeal through the domestic setting that was central to the newspaper's mission since the 1890s. The emergence of radio must be seen within the larger context of establishing the family as a key reading public, a way to get the "Whole Human Family United by Wireless" (March 11, 1922, 2). The inter-generational habits of reading were especially relevant for the multiple sections of the *Star Weekly*: its "family" of comic pages, rotogravure cover, serial fiction, and its entertainment, sporting, and automotive columns. The centrality of children for the newspaper's social function, public service, and mass appeal becomes especially important to keep in mind as we turn to CFCRA and the promotion of radio.

Radiating Fans and the Mass Public for Newspaper-Radio

A little chap said to him, "Gee, mister, it's a real radio."

*"What does it radiate?" asked the M.P.P., by way of
carrying on the conversation.*

*"Why, fans, of course," answered the boy, amazed at such
inutterable ignorance.*

—*"Radio Film Proved Magnet," Toronto Star, August 30,
1922, 26*

The *Star* declared 1922 "Radio Year" at the Canadian National Exhibition, primarily due to the presence of its own exhibition hall. The Exhibition had long been central to the public adoption of all things modern in Canada (Walden 1997). The *Star's* fairground building featured CFCA over loudspeakers, displays of radio technology, and a special film called *Radio*, co-produced by the local newsreel company Filmcraft. The scene at the *Star's* Radio building was dramatized daily in news items filed from the fair (see figure 12.2, photograph of Radio building). In these early days of broadcasting, the *Star's* Exhibition building was a key site for making more tangible the ephemerality of radio's radiating waves, and for gathering readers and enthusiasts in one physical location. Beyond being an educational site demonstrating the production of radio, the Radio building was characterized quite literally as producing radio listeners—enthusiastic, dedicated listeners. "Fresh fans are recruited daily from among thousands" was the headline summary for the last days of the Exhibition (September 8, 1922, 10). Newspaper readers were now avid radio "fans."

The transformation of scattered radio amateurs into a mass of radio fans is the overarching discourse in 1922 in the pages of the *Star*. The year began with a Canadian Press dispatch from Ottawa, hinting at the forthcoming regulatory enforcement of government licensing of both sending and receiving wireless stations (January 13, 1922, 1). In that context, the *Star's* daily programming on CFCA would stand paternalistically as a moderating force as well as a mediating institution, creating its audience of radio "fans" by connecting the leagues of young boys on the amateur front with the social pillars of religious, educational, and cultural institutions. For early concerts, "amateurs" with receiving sets at home were asked to

"please accept this invitation and co-operate by 'standing by'" during the broadcast, while "radio fans" were encouraged to participate fully in the event by being "good enough to write *The Star* at once" (March 28, 1922, 1). Wireless amateurs (now turned into radio fans) did not disappoint, helping to produce the daily columns of the *Star's* new Radio Department the following week, sending in letters, commentary, advice, questions, and even photographs of themselves and their tuning outfits. At the same time as the *Star* began its nightly radio program, its printed radio page included a daily comic strip, *Radio Ralf*, by Jack Wilson for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate (see figure 12.3, Introducing Radio Ralf), whose protagonist was a typical kid in the precocious comic mode. A small story of a real, Toronto "Ralf" was printed on the very same page: "The first thing Douglas W. Sparling and his friends do every afternoon when *The Star* arrives is turn to the Radio page." (April 12, 1922, 10). While the young male radio fan was key to "tuning in" the whole family, the nightly variety provided something for everyone: sports and business reports, classical and popular music, informative lectures, and a bedtime story.

While *Radio Ralf* aimed to mirror the initial importance of juvenile boys as prototypical radio fans, a different daily comic strip came to the radio page in July, bringing with it a new gimmick more directly tied to the wide appeal of the variety on the nightly radio program. Created by Al Posen in 1921, United Feature Syndicate's *Them Days Is Gone Forever* was already running in dozens of newspapers across North America, providing something akin to an illustrated song (Altman 2004, 182–192). The *Star* placed it amidst the features of the radio page. Each day's strip was a rhyming lyric of a comedic song, complete with a line of musical notes to sing along. While other newspapers promoted "Them Days" for the ability to "sing a comic strip" (*Oakland Tribune*, August 13, 1922) and read a "musical cartoon" (*Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1922), the *Star* transformed it by actually broadcasting the lyrical tune on its nightly radio show using local musicians. Theatrical musicals and song sheet adaptations had long exploited the popularity of newspapers' comic characters (Gordon 1998, 80–81). Now, with radio, the intermedial play of a serial mix of comic strip and comic song happened just hours apart. The co-ordinated variety of the radio page and the radio program was most overt with the "Them Days" comic song, but also used were features such as letters from fans about their listening experiences, pictures of their radio sets, answers to listeners' written questions, not to mention listing the next radio program's lineup alongside photos of featured singers and musicians. Such explicitly intermedial relations between the radio program and the radio page make

it evident that they were addressing a single public in tandem.

With its own CFCA transmitter fully functioning atop the *Star*'s office building in June, tangential radio ventures began to supplement the work of broadcasting. The *Star*'s Radio Car was one such project—one that further coordinated the paper's address to its audiences across a range of media. In July 1922, the *Star* built the travelling radio receiving station to provide CFCA radio concerts for remote audiences at parks across its entire listening radius, throughout the city and beyond, to "give the public a more complete radio service...you make see and hear for yourself tonight" (July 27, 1922:1, see figure 12.4, photograph of Radio Car). Seeing and hearing, reading and listening, tuning in and being "there," the logic of newspaper-radio was manifest in the mobile radio tuner: "something like a combination of a steamboat on wheels and a prowling trench mortar. At the stern a coiled wire cylinder rears skyward. And on the roof, in front, perches a moveable horn."¹⁰ Beginning late in July at Sunnyside, Toronto's newest amusement park, the Radio Car was dispatched nightly, drawing crowds of several hundred people away from the other amusements at hand. The remote concerts offered by the Radio Car—on occasion as far as Oakville, Barrie, and Oshawa, and in dozens of parks around the city—provided radio listening to the vast majority of the public who did not have receiving sets at home. It also provided a way to continue the habit of radio listening during long summer evenings when people were more likely to be outside than at home near the radio. Each afternoon, the *Star* printed that evening's radio program in capsule form, but the previous evening's radio broadcast was reviewed in eyewitness story form, specifically framed by the newsworthy arrival of the Radio Car to enliven the crowd at a park by transforming their leisure into listening. The Radio Car helped listener-readers to see radio through the spectacle of the technology in the form of a specially-made automobile.

Radio and Shifting Temporalities of Newspaper Reading

Newscasts were one of the final elements that the *Star* added to its daily CFCA radio program, late in August 1922. Commencing just in time for the "Radio Year" Exhibition of 1922, the addition of news and weather transformed the CFCA "concerts" into a full-service program directly

¹⁰ A young Edward S. (Ted) Rogers, just twenty-two years old but already moving to the centre of the new industry, recalled operating the Radio Car as part of his work in 1922 for the Independent Telephone Company (Chaplin 2005, 72). This role is not mentioned at the time in the *Star* itself, however, although Rogers was profiled by the Radio Department for his pioneering amateur transmissions from suburban Newmarket, picked up in Scotland (September 20, 1922, 11).

paralleling every section of the daily newspaper. By the end of the year, the newspaper-radio went one step further than the printed paper had ever ventured by broadcasting on Sundays (November 30, 1922, 17). Radio allowed temporal shifts in how the public engaged with news and conceived of the immediacy and informative capacity of the newspaper. The point is not that radio reports replaced newspaper stories, but that they supplemented print news by allowing occasional emergency broadcasts and updates on developing stories, as we will review shortly. The extension of the newspaper's news function to its radio service was hardly promoted as a momentous or innovative feature. Indeed, the first news bulletins were noted only after the fact as providing "an agreeable surprise to the listeners" (August 25, 1922, 7). Of course, the story of the first newscasts on CFCF appeared on the radio page (for the benefit of its radio fans) rather than the *Star's* front page (for the benefit of its readers seeking news).

The broadcasting radius of several hundred miles now exceeded the geographic circulation of the newspaper itself. However, that very extension of the reach of the daily paper only drew attention to a temporal problem of newsreading that had been unimportant before 1922: a significant majority of the *Star's* readership was outside the city and received their newspapers by train late in the evening, or even the following day. Programming would soon start at noon and provide intermittent news bulletins throughout the day, a format first tested with eight-hour daily programming during the 1922 Exhibition. The benefit of broadcasting news bulletins was immediately evident; with no afternoon editions circulating on Labour Day, the *Star* Radio Car was described in the paper as "a very able substitute for the newspapers" (September 5, 1922, 8). *Star* broadcasts had always included closing stock market reports and evening reports of sports scores, not fearing a loss of sales from its own afternoon papers because these features scooped its morning edition competitors. Early morning papers, such as the *Toronto Globe*, had long arranged special express delivery trains throughout Southern Ontario to ensure regional readers received their papers before breakfast (begun in 1887; see for instance *Globe*, March 3, 1888). Now, in 1922, afternoon papers like the *Star* had a very different deadline: the radio news broadcast at 7 PM. It was simply not possible for the paper to be delivered to all readers before that time on a daily basis, certainly not in every direction for up to 300 miles or more. Just two weeks after the introduction of radio news, the *Star's* Radio Department reported "This Town is Modern—Gets News by Radio," describing how the Erie Electric Company in Hagersville was copying the CFCF live bulletins by shorthand in order to post them outside the shop

each evening, "drawing big crowds" (September 22, 1922, 10). The article does not note or even contemplate how many fewer (or perhaps more) newspapers were sold by the local newsdealer.

Live on-location reporting became a CFCA specialty. In practice, this primarily meant sports events.¹¹ However, the epitome of breaking news and live broadcasting was election night reports of voting returns. In fact, election returns were some of the first broadcasts in the United States, notably for the first evening on Westinghouse's KDKA on November 2, 1920 (Douglas 1999, 166). Election nights had long been a carnival of sorts, sponsored by newspapers (see figure 12.5, showing crowd at Telegram Office for June 1908 election night, TPL T-13292). Readers had grown accustomed to expecting something other than the immediate results in the newspaper the next day; with radio, the common festive gathering at the newspaper office could be made even more immediate, and extended across a vast region. Usually, the crowd gathered at the newspaper's head office was part of the story, just as CFCA's election night news was itself newsworthy beginning in 1922. The first election returns CFCA provided were for the British election of November 15, 1922, lasting until midnight, long after its regular program. For Toronto municipal elections on New Year's Day 1923, the *Star* arranged for twenty-six "public bonfire points" all around the city, where fires warmed audiences gathered to hear the vote count through loudspeakers. The Radio Car was at Earls Court Park on St. Clair, despite the winter night, and several movie theatres outside the city limits were reported to have installed loudspeakers to provide the radio returns to their audiences.

Later that year, a few days before an Ontario provincial election, the *Star*'s Radio Department asked all readers with loudspeakers to write, telephone, or wire the radio editor if they were planning a public election gathering for their neighbourhood (June 18, 1923, 8). The result was a network of forty receiving stations, over a quarter from outside the city, all listed in the paper as places to gather to hear the vote counts. Despite the growing convenience of staying home to hear election night returns on the radio, the *Star* head office downtown was still promoted as "one continuous attraction" consisting of "movies, music, and community singing." At the multimedia spectacle, election returns were animated with political cartoons and slide pictures, while the results themselves were "promptly issued to the public through the medium of the presses, lantern slides,

11 By February 1923, CFCA was broadcasting live commentary for hockey games by remote microphone, including the first such hockey play-by-play by Foster Hewitt, whose iconic line, "he scores," was featured in the *Star*'s promotion of CFCA's broadcast of the opening ceremonies and first game at Maple Leaf Gardens (February 9, 1922; November 12, 1931).

radio, and telephone" (June 23, 1923, 4). For the Canadian federal election of 1926, the *Star* "doubled its facilities" by co-operating with two King Street banks to provide a pair of stages where jazz orchestras and moving pictures offered entertainment as extra editions, while CFCA transmitted results of the vote (September 13, 1926, 1).

The idea of other media supplementing the printed page can be traced to the escalating spectacle of such intermediality on election nights, stewarded and centred upon newspaper head offices—now extended well beyond downtown sites through radio broadcasting. Indeed, the prospect of such exceptional occasions was manifest in the perceived necessity to be ever ready for emergency broadcasting. The rarity of actual emergencies did not hinder the *Star* from profiling moments when its radio broadcasts kept the newspaper present in mind when print copies could not be delivered. A snowstorm in February 1924, recalled a decade later when CFCA ceased operations, was just such an event. CFCA effectively replaced routine news operations between the city and the rest of Ontario, and "at the request of the Canadian Press, broadcast a service for them to Ontario newspapers which were unable to receive dispatches in the ordinary way" (August 29, 1933, 6). Similar moments merited front page stories lauding how CFCA could overcome the limitations of normal newspaper reporting. Early in 1925, false rumours that an ill Prime Minister Mackenzie King had died could be followed closely in radio bulletins all weekend (February 23, 1925, 1). Just a week later, an unprecedented earthquake occurred near Toronto, and CFCA could broadcast reports immediately upon its impact, keeping the public informed and relieving anxiety (March 2, 1925, 1). In both cases, the news broke Saturday evening, and CFCA could provide news throughout Sunday, more than a full day before Monday morning papers.

Since the first days of broadcasting, such instances of the utility and public service of radio bettering newsprint had elicited concern from editors and publishers. The spectre of being scooped by the immediacy of radio was central to a well-documented battle between radio and newspapers (Stamm 2011; Pratte 1993). Throughout the 1920s, bans were issued on radio using Canadian Press wire service, which was owned by a collective of newspaper publishers and had exclusive right to distribute Associated Press wire stories in Canada (Allen 2009). Such national policies were rarely upheld because Toronto newspapers in particular refused to abstain from bringing news to air on radio. No doubt this was instigated by the *Star's* direct ownership of CFCA, but by the end of the decade the *Globe* was regularly supplying a newscast to Rogers' CFRB and the

Telegram to Goderham & Worts' CKGW (53). Initially in 1922, however, the *Star's* competition on the air was less its rivals at newsstands in the city of Toronto than the freely available jazz and news of American airwaves. When it came to radio, competition in Toronto went beyond the city's own newspapers, as broadcasts from almost every point in the United States could be received in Southern Ontario better than any other point in Canada. While the *Star's* radio page printed an unsurprising amount of publicity for American programming, the editors nonetheless maintained a surprising emphasis on CFCA's own reach south of the border, constantly calling for distant listeners to send in letters. "Canada's Finest Covers America" was a slogan offered by a listener-reader, and it became the station's slogan (December 16, 1922, 11, see figure 12.6, map with slogan). A whole chart of alternative slogans was submitted by another listener shortly afterward, appealing this time more directly to the interchangeable variety of the *Star* and its broadcasting, providing a slogan for each of Radio, News, Editorials, Sporting, Want Ads, and Advertising, and the result was: "Canada's Finest Circulation Attained" (February 10, 1923, 6).

Conclusion

CFCA was a short-lived radio station, as were most newspaper-radio stations in Canada. The station was shuttered in 1933 after only eleven years in operation. At the time, the *Star* noted that it had been an open supporter of the federal government's steps to nationalize radio broadcasting. Indeed, the *Star* continued to provide sponsored regional newscasts to the Toronto CBC affiliate until 1946, promoted daily on its own radio page. Although CFCA likely left little mark on the overall development of private radio broadcasting in Canada, the case is important for highlighting the changing ways publics were addressed in an increasingly diverse mediated landscape. CFCA's history is thus not specifically about the birth of radio; it problematizes mass media publics generally. The radio audience was already a newspaper readership, forged through the circulation of the paper on a daily basis to family homes in urban and suburban settings alike, across an entire metropolitan region. The temporal and spatial character of broadcasting was not without precedent. To the contrary, as we have continually pointed out, the character of radio listening at first complemented newspaper reading so closely as to make the radio page and radio program both supplements of the newspaper, engaged in organizing a newly-formed common public. By 1922, newspaper circulation already had temporal elements outside of the paper's periodicity, due especially to supplements like puzzles, cut-out toys, keepsake posters, coupons, and

serial stories, all of which required saving the paper beyond its due date. The newspaper-radio station further supplemented the temporal rhythms of newsreading by adding an element of continuity between print editions, with evening hours and Sunday programs, the latter especially important in Canada (Gabriele 2011). Circulation itself is not merely an economic or empirical fact; it is a conceptual matter of the newspaper's social function. Although each form of media is often understood as having distinct audiences, the modern mediated public is always intermedial and understands each individuated medium through and in relation to the knowledge and leisure practices of the other.

Analytically, neither of the two forums for the *Star's* publicity should be given priority as the primary site of the novelty of radio; the mass broadcast of the radio program was designed to be accompanied by the mass reading of the radio page, and vice versa. This helps further explain our opening question about the need for public concerts for those without home radio receivers in the first days of radio. Facilitating active listening did not simply expand the audience and market for the new medium and its consumer goods—as if radio suppliers' advertising were the main concern of the *Star's* radio page. Taking newspaper reading beyond the page and transforming knowledge gleaned from reading into social activities was an organizing principle for the newspaper overall, especially for someone doubly charged with promotions and radio programming like the *Star's* William Main Johnson. "Listening in" involved *writing in* and *reading up* the next day. Much like the act of reading the newspaper, the act of listening went well beyond the specific mediated moment. A sense of the entire mediated environment is necessary to capture the nuances of the shifting temporal and spatial organization of bodies, practices, and technologies. To write these histories requires an eye to how media worked together. Placed within an intermedial context, already both urban and suburban, the addition of radio to newspaper publishing makes sens

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