

„I Like New Zealand Best’

London Correspondents for New Zealand Newspapers, 1884-1942

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	3
Abstract	4
List of Illustrations	5
List of Abbreviations	6
Introduction	8
London Correspondence	9
<i>News and the British World</i>	14
Methodology and Introductions.....	20
Chapter One: ‘A Western Word for her Battle Cry’:	
Journalistic Expatriation to London	26
Departures.....	27
Arrivals	38
London Careers.....	42
The Return	52
Chapter Two: ‘Press and Public’: British Stories and the	
Decline of News Currency	57
Form and Function.....	58
Correspondence and the British World.....	68
Layering London	78
Chapter Three: ‘And, Above all, the Colony’: New Zealand	
Stories and the Discourse of Nation	89
New Zealand and London.....	90
New Zealand News.....	100
Imagining Nation	114
Conclusion	122
Appendix One: Overview of Correspondence, Biographies,	
Biographical Sources and Methodologies for Confirmation	
of Authorship	128
Bibliography	133

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the roles and experiences of fourteen London correspondents for New Zealand newspapers, 1884-1942. It argues that these correspondents made a small but significant contribution to news flow into New Zealand and that the importance of London's role as an imperial, cultural and news-flow metropole make it central to studies of the New Zealand press during this period. However, correspondents identities as New Zealanders and the unique requirements of the New Zealand press system were also important, meaning that correspondents and their correspondence need to be addressed in terms of layered identity and of both imperial and domestic press systems.

List of Illustrations

Figure One: NZPA ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General.’, <i>Lyttelton Times</i> , 14 November 1908, p. 12.....	7
Figure Two: Example of early correspondence being published alongside telegraphs. <i>Lyttelton Times</i> , 7 January 1885, p. 5	62
Figure Three: Example of early personals within regular NZPA correspondence. Personals appear alongside miscellaneous news items in the final column. <i>Lyttelton Times</i> , 25 September 1885, p. 5.....	96
Figure Four: Example of the differentiation of personals by the NZPA. Personals appear under the heading „Anglo-Colonial Notes.’ <i>Lyttelton Times</i> , 1 March 1900, p. 3	97
Figure Five: Example of the diminished size of personals in later NZAP correspondence. <i>Christchurch Press</i> , 24 January 1936, p. 18	98
Figure Six: Example of the UPA’s coverage of Tawhiao in London. <i>New Zealand Herald</i> , 22 August 1884, p. 9	103
Figure Seven: Example of George McCullagh Reed’s coverage of Tawhiao in London. <i>New Zealand Herald</i> , 8 October 1884, p. 6.	104

List of Abbreviations

ATL.....	Alexander Turnbull Library
EPU.....	Empire Press Union
LSE.....	London School of Economics
NZAP.....	New Zealand Associated Press
NZPA.....	New Zealand Press Agency
UPA.....	United Press Association

ANGLO-COLONIAL NOTES

PERSONAL AND GENERAL.

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.]

LONDON, October 2.

The patriotism of the New Zealander abroad is simply overwhelming. The visitor's book in the New Zealand pavilion at the Exhibition is one long psalm of praise for the dominion. Here are just a few samples of the remarks penned by enthusiastic New Zealanders:—

"England's nice for a holiday, but not to live in."

"I would not change my New Zealand home for any I have seen in England."

"I wouldn't change my little wooden hut for you."

"I would not change my New Zealand home for my native home, Cornwall."

"New Zealand's the country of the future."

"New Zealand's one of the loveliest places I have ever seen."

"I like New Zealand best."

One might go on quoting similar expressions of opinion to the end of the column. The dominion's display at the Exhibition meets with general approval on the part of the visiting New Zealanders. One gentleman describes it as "Bonser," and another, in a burst of enthusiasm, writes "Magnificent!" The majority are content to describe it as "Excellent" or "Satisfactory," while one visitor with more gallantry than relevancy, writes "Kapai te wahine!" Whether he refers to English or New Zealand ladies, or the sex at large, is not very clear. Mr J. B. Tunbridge, late Commissioner of Police in New Zealand, writes: "Glad to see New Zealanders in charge; might be followed at the High Commissioner's Office."

Figure 1. NZPA ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General”, *Lyttelton Times*, 14 November 1908, p. 12.

Introduction

This is an exciting time for the historiography of the English-language press in New Zealand. Although the area had been quiet since Patrick Day's *The Making of the New Zealand Press* was published in 1990, Simon Potter's *News and the British World* (2003) has encouraged renewed interest and debate.¹ Potter's work comes out of the British world school, a group of historians interested in the history of the former British dominions who have produced a considerable body of scholarship since the first British world conference in 1998.² The press is central to this research, as it complements British world interests in communications, networks and the interaction of national and imperial identities. While several researchers of the New Zealand and Australian presses have adopted British world ideas, the historiographical tradition of overlooking the work of foreign correspondents continues. Given that correspondents operated outside New Zealand's borders, this was understandable in the context of nationalist press historiography, but it becomes problematic within British world studies. Foreign correspondents were central to the negotiation of national and imperial identities in the press and they engaged with the 'imperial press system' outlined by Potter. This study of fourteen correspondents writing from London for New Zealand newspapers between 1884 and 1942 recovers one branch of the history of British world foreign correspondents.

¹Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press: a Study of the Organizational and Political Concerns of New Zealand Newspaper Controllers, 1840-1880* (Wellington, 1990); Simon Potter, *News and the British World: the Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford and New York, 2003). A number of smaller works in New Zealand press history were published in the intervening period. Particularly significant is Ross Harvey, 'Newspapers' in *Book and Print New Zealand: a Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*, eds Keith Maslen, Penelope Griffith and Ross Harvey (Wellington, 1991), pp. 128-35. Moreover, a significant body of work has emerged on the Maori language press: See Jenifer Curnow, Ngapere Hopa and Jane McRae (eds), *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori Language Newspapers* (Auckland, 2002); Lachlan Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Maori 1855-1863* (Dunedin, 2006). The movement that influenced these works has fed into this thesis: both share the drive to recover the history of the press operating outside its established parameters. However, the Maori language press represented a significantly different model of journalism to its English-language counterpart, with distinct development models, audiences and aims. See, Jenifer Curnow, 'A Brief History of Maori-Language Newspapers', in *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori Language Newspapers*, eds Jennifer Curnow, Ngapere Hopa and Jane McRae (Auckland, 2002), pp. 17-41. The only possible correspondent in London for the Maori language press uncovered in this study is Patara Tuhi, named as 'the editor of a Maori paper' in the *New Zealand Herald* and in London with King Tawhiao, June 1884. Reed, George McCullagh, 'London Gossip About the Maoris.', *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July 1884, p. 9.

²For an overview of the development of the British World school, see Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, 'Introduction', in *Rediscovering the British World*, eds Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary, 2005), pp. 9-20.

London Correspondence

The study of foreign correspondence is an area with a lot of room for research. Although some attention has been paid to war correspondence, internationally and in New Zealand, these studies tend to have a military history focus and differ significantly from peacetime studies of foreign correspondence because of their concentration on temporary and reactive correspondence and on conflict-specific factors such as censorship and the place of soldier-reporters.³ Giovanna Dell'Orto's *Giving Meanings to the World* (2002) is the only extensive historical study of American foreign correspondence, and no large scale studies of correspondents working for former British dominion newspapers exist, although Chandrika Kaul has addressed British correspondents in India.⁴ The need for research into correspondence is at its most striking in the historiographies of the former British dominions. Each had a particularly strong connection with London, and with other colonial centres and as colonial identities grew, each looked for news specific to its needs and interests. Yet each was also reliant, to varying degrees, on telegraphic news generated in London.

In New Zealand, several studies have touched on foreign correspondence. Robin Hyde's work from China and London is addressed in Gillian Body and Jacqueline Matthews' edited collection of her journalism, *Disputed Ground*.⁵ The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* covers the lives of several correspondents, but little attention is given to their correspondence in any of these accounts and many of those who play a significant role in this thesis are not included in the *Dictionary*. Similarly, although it is discussed briefly in the *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, New Zealand war correspondence has been relatively under-

³Mark Pedelty, *War Stories: the Culture of Foreign Correspondents* (New York and London, 1995); R. T. Stearn, 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900', in *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed J. M. MacKenzie (Manchester, 1992); 'War Correspondents' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* eds Peter Dennis, Jeffrey Grey, Ewan Morris and Robin Prior (Melbourne, 1995), pp. 638-41. Not all studies of war correspondence come out of military historiography, see Daniel Kane, 'Each of us in His Own Way: Factors Behind the Conflicting Account of the Massacre at Port Arthur', *Journalism History*, 31:1 (2005), pp. 23-33.

⁴Giovanna Dell'Orto, *Giving Meanings to the World: the first U.S. Foreign Correspondents, 1838-1851* (Westport and London, 2002); Chandrika Kaul, 'Imperial Communications, Fleet Street and the Indian Empire c. 1850s-1920s', in *A Journalism Reader* eds Michael Bromley and Tom O'Malley (London and New York), pp. 58-86. Dell'Orto is critical of her only significant predecessor, John Hohenberg's *Foreign Correspondence, because of its largely narrative focus*. Dell'Orto, p. 17; John Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondence: the Great Reporters and Their Time* (New York and London, 1964).

⁵Gillian Boddy and Jacqueline Matthews (eds), *Disputed Ground: Robin Hyde, Journalist* (Wellington, 1991).

analysed.⁶ Allison Oosterman is addressing this with her study of Malcolm Ross, who began his war correspondence by covering the Samoan „Troubles’ in 1899 and went on to become New Zealand’s „First Official War Correspondent’ during World War One.⁷ Ross’s career has also been studied by Ron Palenski, with his popularity – when so little research has been conducted into New Zealand journalism history – indicative of the dominant position of war correspondence.⁸

Several factors contribute to the historiographical under-representation of foreign correspondence. As will be discussed below, the sources are problematic: newspapers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contain a large amount of correspondence but few other records remain. Indeed, as many correspondents were freelance, few records were generated. Further, foreign correspondence does not support the narratives of change and monopolism that dominate press historiography. The late nineteenth century saw widespread change in the nature of the press in New Zealand. Population growth led to the emergence of daily publication in the 1860s and the subsequent commercialisation of the then highly politicised press; the domestic telegraph was established in the 1860s and 1870s and connected to the under-sea telegraph in 1876.⁹ Day labels these shifts as „monumental’.¹⁰ Felicity Barnes provides a similar assessment of changes to international news flow, arguing that the arrival of the under-sea cable in 1876 led to an „upsurge in [the] frequency, volume, concentration, and immediacy’ of news and facilitated a sense of „simultaneity’ with London, from where most of the news was sent.¹¹ Increases in international news flow encouraged changes in the domestic press, namely an upsurge in circulation and demand for news, and Barnes argues that these changes combined to create a press that was „radically different’

⁶„War Correspondents’ in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, ed Ian McGibbon (Oxford, 2000), pp. 486-9.

⁷Allison Oosterman, „Malcolm Ross, New Zealand Newspapers and the Samoan “Troubles” of 1899’, *Australian Media Traditions* (2007),

<<http://www.csu.edu.au/special/amt/publication/oosterman.pdf>> (accessed 8 August 2008), pp. 1-25; Allison Oosterman, „Malcolm Ross, New Zealand’s First Official War Correspondent’, JEANZ Conference (2003),

<<http://www.jeanz.org.nz/Conference%202003%20Allision%Oosterman.htm>> (accessed 8 August 2008).

⁸Ron Palenski, „Malcolm Ross: a New Zealand Failure in the Great War’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 39:1 (2008), pp. 19-35.

⁹Day, pp. 1, 111-36.

¹⁰Day, p. 1.

¹¹Felicity Barnes, „New Zealand’s London: the Metropolis and New Zealand’s Culture’ (University of Auckland History PhD thesis, 2008), p. 222.

from that of the pre-1876 period.¹² The period 1884-1942 also saw widespread changes in press content, with the emergence and consolidation of a distinct journalistic discourse and a significant movement towards populism.¹³ Often labelled as ‚new journalism’, this change is demonstrated in New Zealand by the *Truth* (1905) and *Sun* (1924) newspapers.¹⁴ Although little research has been conducted into new journalism in New Zealand, Oosterman’s work suggests that she plans to address it in the near future. She ends a paper on the Samoan ‚Troubles’ of 1899 with the statement that:

[Ross’s wordy] despatches were merely an identifiable extension of his usual form of journalism which had been formulated over the 18 years since joining the *Otago Daily Times* in 1881. By the turn of the century there was no hint that this style of war correspondence would not continue to be publishable.¹⁵

It is also commonly held that connection to the under-sea telegraph led the national news agency, the United Press Association (UPA), to sustain a ‚monopoly’ over foreign news flow into New Zealand. After several years of competition, the UPA emerged as the only agency to supply foreign news in 1880. It held a dominant market position, preventing competition through its strength, strong copyright laws and by barring its subscribers from seeking alternative sources of telegraphic news.¹⁶ Echoing the discourse of monopolism that is central to discussions of the international news agency cartel, New Zealand press historians see the UPA as monopolistic: Ross Harvey argues that ‚[n]o other supply of overseas news was available to newspaper proprietors in New Zealand [in the 1890s and t]here was no significant competition after 1878’.¹⁷ Similarly, Oosterman states that the UPA held a ‚monopoly’ on foreign news at the time of the First World War.¹⁸

Although foreign correspondents adopted the discursive changes brought about by

¹²Barnes, ‚New Zealand’s London’, p. 213.

¹³Donald Matheson, ‚The Birth of News Discourse: Changes in News Language in British Newspapers, 1880-1930’, *Media, Culture and Society*, 22:5 (2000), pp. 557-573.

¹⁴Richard Joblin, ‚The Early Years of John Norton’s *Truth*’, *New Zealand Journalism Review*, 3 (1990), pp. 3-6.

¹⁵Oosterman, ‚The Samoan “Troubles”’, p. 19.

¹⁶Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 32.

¹⁷Tehri Rantanen, ‚The Struggle for Control of Domestic News Markets (1)’, in *The Globalization of the News*, eds Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Tehri Rantanen (London, 1998); Ross Harvey, ‚A “Sense of Common Citizenship”? Mrs Potts of Reefton, New Zealand, Communicates with the Empire’, in *Media and the British Empire*, ed Chandrika Kaul (Basingstoke and New York, 2006), p. 199.

¹⁸Oosterman, ‚First Official War Correspondent’, pp. 1-2.

new journalism, because they continued primarily to provide news-by-mail until 1942, they sit outside ideas of change and monopolism. Just as present-day media scholars have been quick to investigate the implications of the internet on news flow, historians of the late nineteenth century press have focused their attention on that period's new media, the telegraph. However, research into the internet has not been at the expense of traditional sources of news, and the implications of the former for the latter have also been addressed.¹⁹ This has not been the case historiographically, with Elizabeth Morrison's study of Australian journalist James Harrison one of the few to acknowledge the ongoing role of news-by-mail within post-telegraph news flow.²⁰ Further, correspondence is counter to ideas of monopolism. The UPA was dominant and monopolistic in the sense that it prevented an alternative telegraphic agency being established in New Zealand. However, the assumption that therefore it held a monopoly over all aspects of news flow will be challenged here. Early London correspondence was treated as news by correspondents and editors and was consistently discussed in editorials: „[t]he letter of our London correspondent, on our sixth page, contains the latest news of colonial interest’.²¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, „news-by-mail’ was often published, consisting of both foreign correspondence and selections from foreign newspapers that had arrived by ship. This was the continuation of a pre-telegraph practise and suggests that the arrival of the telegraph did not end the acceptance of this form of news. Moreover, correspondents operated in the same environment as the UPA, and their work was influenced, and at times defined, by the need to make up for its shortfalls.

The other important factor discouraging research into foreign correspondence is the national focus and nationalist tendencies of much press historiography. While early texts did use press content to examine domestic interest in news from other nations, New Zealand press historiography has had a national focus since its inception.²²

¹⁹See, for instance, John Dimnick, Yan Chen and Zhan Li, „Competition Between the Internet and Traditional News Media: the Gratification-Opportunities Niche Dimension’, *Journal of Media Economics* 17:1 (2004), pp. 19-33.

²⁰Elizabeth Morrison, „“Grub Street Inventor”: James Harrison’s Journalism, Old and New, in Geelong, Melbourne and London’, in *Disreputable Profession: Journalists and Journalism in Colonial Australia* ed Denis Cryle (Rockhampton, 1997), p. 69.

²¹Anon, „Editorial’, *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 1885, p. 4.

²²A.D. McKinlay, „The New Zealand Metropolitan Press: a Critical Study of Foreign News and Comment’, *Pacific Affairs*, 6:1 (1933), p. 2.

Guy Scholefield's *Newspapers in New Zealand* (1958) is a narrative account of newspapers operating within New Zealand and pays little attention to overseas influences. Although James Sander's history of the UPA, *Dateline: NZPA* (1979), necessarily examines the UPA's negotiations for supply of overseas news within global and imperial news systems, he does this on largely national terms arguing, for instance, that the UPA's 1947 partnership arrangement with Reuters was 'a cornerstone of [the UPA's] own maturity'.²³ These works culminated in Day's *The Making of the New Zealand Press*. Day argues, following Benedict Anderson, that the domestic telegraph and subsequent development of the UPA facilitated and encouraged the formation of New Zealand identity: 'in a country dominated in the nineteenth century by regional considerations and affiliations, the press was in the vanguard of the development of a national focus'.²⁴ Although all the correspondents in this study lived in New Zealand prior to going to London, and many have played a significant role in our national story, because they acted outside New Zealand their actions have been largely overlooked. Scholefield was a London correspondent for eleven years, and knew several others, yet his and their London experiences are excluded from *Newspapers in New Zealand*.²⁵

This situation is repeated internationally, with the international movement that in the former dominions encouraged a rejection of imperial narratives in the 1960s and 1970s and in the former colonies and Britain, post-colonialism, encouraging national histories to be written and fore-grounded, with insufficient reference to the interrelations between nations. Potter argues forcefully for the need to address this trend in press historiography, suggesting that the influence of Anderson, in particular, has been problematic. He labels Anderson's insistence that the 'imagined communities' facilitated by the press were primarily national as 'overly simplistic' because it overlooks 'the continuing importance of regional [and imperial] identities' and the importance of events and forces from outside the boundaries of nation.²⁶ Moreover, Potter catalogues the connectivity of the British and dominion presses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century press

²³Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958); James Sanders, *Dateline-NZPA: the New Zealand Press Association, 1880-1980* (Auckland, 1979), pp. 158-9.

²⁴Day, pp. 3-4, 238.

²⁵Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand*, p. 86.

²⁶Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 215; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991), pp. 34-7, 120-5.

through a structure he labels the ‚imperial press system‘.

News and the British World

The British world school provides the impetus to reincorporate correspondents into the history of the New Zealand press. ‚British world‘ is a label that has been applied to a number of historians of Britain and the former British dominions who have been re-examining the relationships between those nations and questioning the national foci of previous work. These studies form part of a much broader trend and the concept of the British world has been influential in the historiographies of Britain, the former British dominions and, to an extent, India for at least the last decade. Linda Colley’s *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992) was the catalyst for this change.²⁷ Although Colley’s focus was largely confined to Britain she encouraged debate, both on ‚the nature of British identity‘ and on the use of the term ‚British‘ to describe those living outside the British Isles.²⁸ Out of the latter debate came the British World Conferences, beginning in 1998, and a growing body of scholarship. Works in this school do not hold a uniform view of the nature of the British world but there are several common characteristics: all have an emphasis on transnational histories within an imperial context and on concurrent – national, regional and imperial – identities; they subsequently question the dominance of ‚colony-to-nation‘ theses; to facilitate these arguments, British world studies focus on linkages – migration, transnational organisations and associations, transport, and communication systems.²⁹

British world arguments provide a useful schema for understanding the period examined in this thesis. The nineteenth century saw not only unprecedented emigration from Britain, but equally unprecedented growth in communications and transport. In the 1850s, it took over three months for news to reach New Zealand by ship; this was reduced to hours when the telegraph was introduced in 1876, meaning that members of the British world could maintain contact and more easily

²⁷Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992).

²⁸Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, ‚Introduction‘, in *Rediscovering the British World*, eds Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary, 2005), p. 12.

²⁹Buckner and Francis, p. 16; Carl Bridge and Kent Federowich, ‚Mapping the British World‘, in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, eds Carl Bridge and Kent Federowich (London and Portland, 2003), pp. 1-15.

imagine themselves as part of an imperial community.³⁰ Communication and connectivity facilitated the British world, a fact that has seen many British world studies focus on the media, particularly the press, and British world thinking incorporated into existing press historiographies.³¹ British and dominion presses were well positioned within the communications and business systems that served all aspects of the British world and actively formed press-specific organisations and systems. British world press studies are too numerous and varied to be adequately addressed here, but Potter's *News and the British World* stands out as the most significant.³² Although his was not the first study of the press within this context, Potter's work has been widely praised, is a consistent site of engagement for subsequent studies, and a source of reconceptualisation for many. Peter J. Henshaw has labeled it a „watershed“.³³

Potter addresses the period 1876 to 1922 and provides a detailed structure, the imperial press system, through which the connectivity of the dominion and British presses during that period may be understood. The imperial press system began in the late nineteenth century as an „embryonic“ system of linkages within the British world and was encouraged by the increased connectivity brought about by the under-sea telegraph and steam transport. Journalism was a peripatetic profession and journalists traveled throughout the empire.³⁴ Imperial history and enthusiasm meant that there was always an audience for stories from throughout the British

³⁰Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 29-31.

³¹Potter has suggested that the press may be „the single most important institution acting to define the limits for the acceptable integration of the British world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries“. Simon Potter, „Communication and Integration: the Press and the British World in Britain and the Dominions, c. 1876-1922“, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:2 (2003), p. 191.

³²Several edited collections focus on aspects of the British world press: Chandrika Kaul (ed), *Media and the British Empire* (New York, 2006); Simon Potter (ed), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857-1921* (Dublin, 2004). For a study of the British world press that predates Potter, see Denis Cryle, „The Empire Press Union and Antipodean Communications: Australia-New Zealand Involvement 1909-1950“, *Media History*, 8:1 (2002), pp. 49-62.

³³Peter J. Henshaw, „Review: *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* by Simon J. Potter“, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30:4 (2004), pp. 911-2. In the New Zealand context, Ross Harvey demonstrates the shift towards British world conceptualisation. While he had published widely with little reference to Britain and Empire, since 2002 his work has concentrated on aspects of the British world, addressing domestic interest in foreign news and political and commercial influences on the supply of that news in the late nineteenth century. See, Ross Harvey, „Bringing the News to New Zealand: The Supply and Control of Overseas News in the Nineteenth Century“, *Media History*, 8:1 (2002), pp. 21-34; Harvey, „A „Sense of Common Citizenship?““, pp. 190-204.

³⁴Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 16-24.

world and that newspapers in those countries shared structures of funding, communication and news flow, as well as common formats.³⁵ This was consolidated by the centrality of London to English-language news flow. The ‚imperial integration‘ that underlies the imperial press system grew into the early twentieth century, fostered by public interest in imperial news, politicians and ‚constructive imperialists‘, individuals from around the British world who sought to foster imperial connections and strength, motivated by imperial sentiment and concern at Britain’s relative economic decline.³⁶ These constructive imperialists were often associated with the Empire Press Union (EPU). Established in 1909, the EPU ran Imperial Press Conferences, provided support for dominion journalists in London and, after 1935, financed exchanges to bring them to Britain. Potter argues that this system had a significant effect on press content, augmenting the supply of dominion and British news and enabling readers to ‚imagine themselves as members of an imperial community, if they so wished‘.³⁷

The imperial press system was neither overcome by imperial sentiment nor uniformly supportive of imperial concerns. Although Potter emphasises the importance of dominion reciprocity, London held a consistently dominant position. This is particularly true with reference to news flow, and Potter acknowledges that London ‚exerted an inevitable influence over how events were reported around the British world‘.³⁸ While the dominions had some influence over news flow in Britain – for instance, British desire for dominion advertising encouraged coverage of dominion news – all the dominions operated in varying degrees of periphery.³⁹ This contributed to dominion dissatisfaction with the news coverage provided by British sources. This was especially the case for New Zealand, whose small size rendered it the most reliant. Moreover, the system was repeatedly undermined by business and political concerns, with many newspaper and news agency proprietors, journalists and politicians promoting the imperial press system only when it was expedient to do so. For instance, during the South Africa War, the UPA was ‚keen to restrict the supply of war news‘, fearing escalating costs, and made the unpopular choice to rely on news-by-mail accounts from Major Maddocks at the front rather

³⁵Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 24-7.

³⁶Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 1, 15-6, 56.

³⁷Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 15-6, 56.

³⁸Potter, ‚Communication and Integration‘, p. 198.

³⁹Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 112.

than extended coverage from London.⁴⁰

The flexibility and lack of didacticism evident in Potter's imperial press system is a strength of the British world school. Catherine Hall is one of its most interesting and articulate exponents. She asks: '[w]hat happened to Britons born on sites of empire? What were the effects of the process of creolization on identity formation? Who claimed [or employed] which identities, and when, where, why and how, was always a matter of historical specificity and of relations of power'.⁴¹ It is in arguments such as these that the trope of the 'world' becomes particularly useful. To an extent, those excluded from the British world were alien to its inhabitants, but there was room for difference, growth and competition within that world, and for many different narratives under the umbrella of the British world school.

The British world model has three important implications for this study. First, its flexibility enables a detailed investigation of what was a small aspect of the British world, correspondence to New Zealand newspapers. It is thus possible to retain the conceptual framework of a New Zealand press system as distinct from its imperial counterpart. Even during their time in London, correspondents retained their connection to a distinct New Zealand press system. They wrote for a New Zealand audience and responded to the needs of New Zealand newspapers. Few were engaged with the EPU before going to London, but all had worked for New Zealand newspapers. Similarly, while levels of engagement with the imperial press system in London varied, engagement with the New Zealand press system was necessary to their becoming correspondents and appears to have been extensive.

Second, it is possible to focus on correspondence from London. Although New Zealand had several particularly strong relationships within the British world – the primary research for this thesis has uncovered correspondents in Australia, Canada and South Africa – the relationship with London was paramount.⁴² As Katie

⁴⁰Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 45-7.

⁴¹Catherine Hall, 'What did a British World Mean? Reflections on the Nineteenth Century', in *Rediscovering the British World* eds Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary, 2005), p. 23.

⁴²In terms of correspondence, New Zealand had one particularly strong nineteenth-century relationship outside the British world. Before and for thirty years after the establishment of the under-sea telegraph, a correspondent in San Francisco sorted and sent American and European news to New Zealand. Before telegraphic connection, this correspondent was the only consistent source of foreign news.

Pickles argues, „newspaper coverage around the British world looked to Britain’, and London, in particular, was the news flow metropole throughout the period of this study.⁴³ Fleet street was a popular destination for journalists, and became the home of New Zealand’s only correspondence agencies, making it central to the history of foreign correspondence; news from London had a high news value, leading to coverage with unrivalled detail and scope; and London’s cultural, political and economic importance to New Zealand meant that the stories were consistently generated there about New Zealand and New Zealanders.

Third, as Hall highlights, a British world schema retains the focus on identity – of journalists, readers, subjects and imagined communities – that has always been present in press histories, without confining that focus to national identity or within a nationalist mandate. Press historians have always engaged with debates over identity. In New Zealand, Day’s research echoes nationalist historian Keith Sinclair in arguing that in the 1870s and 1880s the domestic telegraph provided a „vanguard’ for the national identity that Sinclair sees forming in the 1890s.⁴⁴ Sinclair is the most well known exponent of the ‚colony-to-nation’ thesis in the New Zealand context, arguing for a gradual and complex, but nonetheless progressive, movement towards national identity that took shape in the 1890s and was more or less established by the 1940s.⁴⁵

James Belich disputes the colony-to-nation thesis, arguing that New Zealand history post-European settlement can be divided into periods. The first, ‚progressive colonisation’, saw settlers exploit natural resources and borrow extensively for infrastructural and industrial development. From the 1880s onwards, however, Belich argues that this independent and progressive trajectory was abandoned in favour of ‚reforging’ and consolidating links with Britain, a process he labels ‚recolonisation’. Although it had an economic basis – the catalyst was the beginning of refrigerated shipping to Britain in 1882 – Belich stresses the ideological outcomes of recolonisation, arguing that New Zealanders moved from a relatively independent identity to one that was dominionist and subservient to

⁴³Katie Pickles, *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell* (Basingstoke and New York, 2007), p. 9. See also, Barnes, ‚New Zealand’s London’, p. 216.

⁴⁴Day, p. 4.

⁴⁵Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (Wellington, 1986).

Britain between the 1880s and the 1920s, becoming ‚an ideological and economic [...] semi-colony of Britain’.⁴⁶ Barnes provides a recolonial interpretation of the New Zealand press in the period from 1876 to 1940 and suggests that ‚the space-excising qualities of new communication technologies’ strengthened New Zealand’s relationship to London, moving it from a periphery to a hinterland and necessarily increasing its ideological attachment to the metropole.⁴⁷ That is, she argues that the under-sea telegraph encouraged re-engagement with Britain, facilitated the New Zealand public’s adoption of London as their own and their re-adoption of a shared imperial past, and thus interrupted the development of a New Zealand national identity.⁴⁸

Neither argument adequately expresses the identities held by the correspondents in this study or suggested in their correspondence. The process of expatriation challenged correspondents’ identities as New Zealanders and as members of the British world and accounts of their time in London range between feelings of homecoming and homesickness. It could reasonably be expected that correspondence would support either the colony-to-nation or recolonisation model. This was not the case, with its position within news flow meaning that correspondence instead provided a consistent nationalist perspective between 1884 and 1942, while also highlighting the importance of the relationship between New Zealand and London. Again, such an approach fits within the British world school. Although Potter’s imperial press system relied on the under-sea telegraph, he acknowledges that such technology sustained a ‚multiplicity of identities’, imperial, national and regional, with which dominated in any given text often being commercially determined.⁴⁹ He also highlights the importance of the term ‚colonial nationalism’ to contemporary thought. As colonial identities grew, many hoped that strong and prosperous colonial nations would develop, becoming ‚comparable in status’ to Britain, but retaining imperial loyalty. This argument was stressed by Scholefield, one of the correspondents addressed in this study: ‚the loyalty of the

⁴⁶Belich, p. 11. For a detailed critique of recolonisation, see Miles Fairburn, ‚Is There a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?’, in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts*, eds Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin, 2006), pp. 143-167.

⁴⁷Barnes, ‚New Zealand’s London’, p. 218. The essential difference between a periphery and a hinterland is one of identification: a hinterland can claim ownership of its city, a periphery cannot claim ownership of its metropole.

⁴⁸Barnes, ‚New Zealand’s London’, p. 218.

⁴⁹Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 215; Potter, ‚Communication and Integration’, p. 202.

colonies is more likely to be increased than otherwise by any encouragement they may receive [from Britain] in their perfectly legitimate development'.⁵⁰

Although the British world school has highlighted the environment in which they operated, little has been done to establish foreign correspondents (or non-telegraphic news flow) as unique investigative categories. It is thus the aim of this thesis to offer an initial investigation into what has the potential to become an interesting and important area in press historiography. It has two research questions:

1. What identities did London correspondents claim and how did they employ those identities?
2. How did London correspondents fit into imperial and national press systems?

Methodology and Introductions

This study consists of fourteen case studies of London correspondents for New Zealand newspapers, 1884-1942. Although correspondence from London appeared sporadically from the earliest newspapers, 1884 provides the first extant case of a correspondent going to London and saw the establishment of the first correspondence agency. In 1942, the UPA established its first permanent correspondent in London, effectively signalling the end of the correspondence era. While the UPA has made its considerable records available to researchers, few sources remain from the smaller organisations that supplied New Zealand newspapers from the 1880s. Two agencies are known to have operated in London during the period analysed in this thesis, the New Zealand Press Agency (NZPA) and the New Zealand Associated Press (NZAP), but few records remain from either, a result of their limited size and life spans and their being based overseas. Moreover, newspapers organised their own correspondence or received freelance material, and Oosterman has found overseas war correspondence beginning in 1899.⁵¹ Despite the considerable quantity and range this indicates, few sources other than the journalism itself remain.

The methodologies available for this project are thus severely limited. A political

⁵⁰Guy H. Scholefield, „The Dominions and the Navy’, Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 28 March 1909, p. ?, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

⁵¹Oosterman, „The Samoan “Troubles”’, pp. 1-8.

or structural examination, such as Day's *The Making of the New Zealand Press* or Potter's *News and the British World*, is not feasible; neither is a narrative overview, such as Sander's *Dateline: NZPA*. Moreover, the historiographical limits make content or discourse analyses, like Dell'Orto's *Giving Meanings to the World*, problematic: textual interpretation relies on adequate contextual knowledge.⁵² Significant imperial events – coronations, anniversaries, and so on – attracted correspondents and many studies of imperialism have focused exclusively on such events.⁵³ However, the aim of this thesis is to establish patterns of correspondence, making such a focus inappropriate.

For these reasons, this thesis will be based around fourteen case studies which have been chosen, following Bridget Griffen-Foley's analysis of the expatriation of Australian journalists to London, „because [...] accounts of their activities in London are extant'.⁵⁴ With the stipulations that accounts of the correspondents and the nature of their correspondence be available for study (although not necessarily content analysis), and that they wrote primarily from London, the correspondents analysed are (in order of arrival in London): George McCullagh Reed; Alfred S. Rathbone; C. Rous-Marten; William Pember Reeves, Maud Reeves, James Whitelaw; Guy H. Scholefield; Arthur J. Heighway; Jane Mander; J.C. Graham; W. H. Bickley; Robin Hyde; H. Leslie Verry; and A.W. Mitchell. (Appendix One provides brief biographies.) Although this is by no means a complete set, it comes from a thorough investigation of journalists' memoirs and biographies, the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and other databases, contemporary industry publications such as the *New Zealand Journalist* and the *Australasian Journalist* and brief references in secondary sources.⁵⁵ Scholefield and Heighway both wrote

⁵²David Deacon, Michael Pickering, Peter Golding, Graham Murdock, *Researching Communications: a Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis* (London, 1999), p. 180. Deacon *et al* refer specifically to critical linguistic analysis, arguing that „it is doubtful how far [this] predominantly syntactical form of analysis [...] can adequately explain the social relations of power which language incorporates and generates.' However, this argument applies to all textual analyses that fail to incorporate contextual research and to a broader range of contexts than power relations, such as journalists' ideologies and career paths. Indeed, Dell'Orto's work has been criticised because the secondary source on which she based her sampling was inaccurate, Jonas Bjork, „*Giving Meanings to the World: the First U.S. Foreign Correspondents, 1839-1859*', *Journalism and Mass Communications Quarterly*, 80:2 (2003), p. 457.

⁵³Katie Pickles' *Transnational Outrage* is an excellent example of the benefits to be gained by concentrating investigations of news flow and empire on a particular event.

⁵⁴Bridget Griffen-Foley, „„The Crumbs are Better than a Feast Elsewhere": Australian Journalists on Fleet Street', *Journalism History*, 28:1 (2002), p. 26.

⁵⁵To avoid sampling biases, no correspondence uncovered whilst reading that of other

autobiographies which proved to be particularly useful sources, as were the existing biographies of Mander, Hyde and William Pember and Maud Reeves, as well as Hyde and Reed's published works.⁵⁶ Further, Scholefield and Verry's files at the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) in Wellington, and those of the UPA, were invaluable.

This methodology allows for a contextualised sample of correspondence, that is a sample chosen because its author and provenance are known, allowing for the examination of the range of factors influencing the correspondents' work and the confirmation that they were not stringers.⁵⁷ This methodology has proven fruitful, highlighting, for instance, the extent to which Reed's knowledge of King Tawhiao in New Zealand influenced his coverage of Tawhiao's journey to London and the ways Scholefield's engagement with the New Zealand community in London influenced his work. A secondary justification is that, while far from providing a complete history of correspondence agencies during this period, their extant interactions with several of the journalists studied provide an otherwise unavailable outline of their nature.

Because by-lines were uncommon, although not exceptional, during this time the depth of information available to confirm authorship varied greatly between subjects. Heighway provided a detailed list of the topics of many of his articles from London in his memoir and was only away from New Zealand for a year.⁵⁸ By contrast, Reed is known only to have begun correspondence for the *New Zealand*

correspondents was to be included. However, this problem was rendered hypothetical, as no such cases (for which the biographical requirements were also met) were found.

⁵⁶Guy H. Scholefield, 'Autobiography', ATL MS-copy-micro-0468, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Autobiography; Arthur J. Heighway, *My Inky Way Through Life* (Bramley, 1979); Rae McGregor, *The Story of a New Zealand Writer: Jane Mander* (Dunedin, 1998); Derek Challis and Gloria Rawlison, *The Book of Iris: a Life of Robin Hyde* (Auckland, 2002); Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: a New Zealand Fabian* (London, 1965); Ruth Fry, *Maud and Amber: a New Zealand Mother and Daughter and the Women's Cause 1865 to 1981* (Christchurch, 1992); Robin Hyde, *Journalese* (Auckland, 1934); George McCullagh Reed, *Calamo Currente or Casual Sketches on Things in General Including the Finding of Noah's Ark* (Auckland, 1887).

⁵⁷*Webster's New World Dictionary of Media and Communication* defines a 'stringer' as 'a correspondent, generally part-time, for a newspaper or other publication, who is not on staff'. Richard Weiner (ed), *Webster's New World Dictionary of Media and Communication* (New York, 1990), p. 468. In that sense, many of the correspondents in this study were stringers; however, with reference to foreign correspondents, the term takes on a supplementary meaning, generally referring to those correspondents in an area of particular news value who correspond for a number of publications with which they had had little or no prior engagement.

⁵⁸Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 16.

Herald in 1884 and to have returned to New Zealand in 1885.⁵⁹ Neither of these moves drew editorial comment and computer based comparisons of writing styles proved inconclusive.⁶⁰ Confirmation of Reed's authorship thus relied on a combination of contextual factors, such as the presence of advertisements for the newspaper he published in London beside correspondence and a comparison of arguments made in correspondence with those made elsewhere by him. Similarly, the number of journalists working for the correspondence agencies at any one time appears to have fluctuated and, as agency correspondence was not by-lined, authorship cannot be confirmed.⁶¹ All of the agency correspondents whose correspondence was analysed in this study were editors and most were also sole contributors although they will be labelled here as editors. The potential multi-voice of these sources poses a second problem: although the years of arrival and departure at the agencies are known in each case, the exact dates are unknown and are generally impossible to deduce from the texts. For this reason, in most cases, samples of agency correspondence begin at the start of the year after the correspondents arrival in London and finish at the end of the year before their departure.⁶²

Another problem is the question of representation. Griffen-Foley claims to have chosen her sample „because they give a cross-section of male and female experiences in the decades before World War II' but this cannot be the case without first completing a thorough census, something both she and I are unable to do.⁶³ To remedy this, a list of all known London correspondents was compiled. Although little could be uncovered of many, it suggests that the available sample covers the range of correspondence types (independent, working for the New Zealand Government, affiliated to a particular newspaper, and working for an agency).

⁵⁹Brian C. Rudman, „Reed, George McCullagh 1831/2-1898', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnz.govt.nz/>> (accessed 28 May 2008). His return is normally given as „by 1886', when he began editorship of the *Auckland Bell*, but passenger lists show that he returned in March 1885.

⁶⁰Computer analysis was based on Barbara G. Ellis and Steven J. Dick, „Who Was „Shadow'?" The Computer Knows: Applying Grammar-Program Statistics in Content Analyses', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 73:4 (1996), pp. 947-962 (see Appendix One).

⁶¹NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Mr Seddon's Tour. Arrival in England.', *Lyttelton Times*, 19 July 1897, p. 6.

⁶²As will be discussed in Chapter One, there are several exceptions to this. Scholefield's arrival in London was clearly signalled in correspondence, as were the arrivals of Rathbone and Rous-Marten and the death of Rous-Marten.

⁶³Griffen-Foley, p. 27.

Although this thesis is meant as an initial exploration of a complex topic, the significant figures in London correspondence are discussed: Rathbone and Rous-Marten established the correspondence agencies that operated throughout the period of this study, Scholefield initiated changes in content and function during World War One and William Pember Reeves, as Agent-General and High Commissioner, provided the only consistent source of telegraphic correspondence prior to 1942.

Finally, this thesis addresses only two of the three modes Stuart Hall has identified as available to communication, or indeed to any cultural product. The production („encoding’) and representation of correspondence were relatively accessible for analysis, but the question of how it was read („decoding’) remains unanswerable.⁶⁴ In his study of the inter-war press, Adrian Bingham was able to read market research, contemporary responses, and studies generated by Mass Observation to address this third mode.⁶⁵ Such sources were not available for this study, and although letters to the editor and editorials were consulted, responses to correspondence seldom appeared within them. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, this does not necessarily suggest disinterest in the news generated by London correspondents, but it is an important caveat to this study, which is necessarily an analysis of production and content rather than of reception.

In the three chapters that follow, it will be argued that London correspondents operated within a British world, but negotiated highly contested positions within imperial and domestic communities and press systems. It will also be argued that their correspondence provided a small but significant contribution to news flow into New Zealand. Chapter One addresses the London experiences and careers of these correspondents, arguing that it was in their individual stories that their identities as „New Zealanders’ were most contested. Chapter Two focuses on correspondents’ coverage of „British news’, arguing that this was a contested space, and one in which correspondents emphasised their New Zealand identities in unexpected ways and to a surprising extent. Chapter Three moves to New Zealand stories from London, arguing both that these stories were important and needed, and that they

⁶⁴Stuart Hall, „Encoding, Decoding’, in *Cultural Studies Reader*, ed Simon During (Florence, 1999), pp. 507-517.

⁶⁵Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 2004), p. 15.

acted to consolidate the New Zealand identity suggested more implicitly in British stories.

Chapter One

A Western Word for her Battle Cry: Journalistic Expatriation to London

Madame Chiang Kai-shek, who fights for the East and loves the West, has taken a Western word for her battle-cry. It is the word graven on the old chance-picked stone that Christopher Wren used over the southern door of St. Paul's Cathedral:

„Resurgam' – I shall rise again!⁶⁶

This study addresses a disparate group of correspondents and covers almost sixty years. They were years of widespread change, covering not only two World Wars but the period of accelerated growth and mobility associated with modernity, changes that centred on the press as the central forum for the expression and negotiation of that change and on London as the aspirational destination made available like never before by steam travel.⁶⁷ As such, the careers of the journalists involved vary significantly. George McCullagh Reed was a successful journalist, politician, newspaper proprietor and entrepreneur who was universally praised in New Zealand and arrived in London in 1884 with his family, a planned business and strong relationship with the *New Zealand Herald*, on whom he could rely for employment; in 1938 Robin Hyde arrived alone, after travelling through China largely alone, and had little of the financial support and emotional strength she would need in London. Yet, their roles as correspondents meant that they also had much in common and these commonalities will be the focus of this chapter. Each had a strong desire to go to London, and a degree of interest in its culture and politics, and in the contrast of history and modernity it provided. Each used correspondence to support other objectives: Hyde needed financial support while she attempted to further her literary career, while Reed's position with the *New Zealand Herald* enabled him to support and promote his London publishing venture, the *Anglo-New Zealander and Australian Times*.⁶⁸ Finally, Reed and Hyde both wrote for New Zealand newspapers while in London. Through their ongoing engagement with editors and expatriates, about whom they often wrote, correspondents retained a strong connection to New Zealand.

⁶⁶Robin Hyde, „Not Only Sacrifice' in *Disputed Ground: Robin Hyde, Journalist*, eds Gillian Boddy and Jacqueline Matthews (Wellington, 1991), p. 389.

⁶⁷Bingham, p. 56; Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 7.

⁶⁸Jacqueline Matthews, „Hyde, Robin 1906-1939', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnz.govt.nz/>> (accessed 20 May 2008); Anon, „Sudden Death of Mr. G.M. Reed.', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1898, p. 6.

This chapter will be in four sections, following the broad pattern of journalists' experiences in London: departures; arrivals; London careers; and the return to New Zealand. Close attention will be paid to six correspondents – Reed, Hyde, Guy H. Scholefield, Arthur J. Heighway, Jane Mander and H. Leslie Verry – because accounts of their time in London are particularly detailed. Scholefield's extensive description of his career as a correspondent makes him central to the third section. Reference will be made to several others – Alfred S. Rathbone and C. Rous-Marten were particularly important in the late nineteenth century, for instance – but their contribution to this chapter is limited by the relative scarcity of biographical details. Although William Pember and Maud Reeves' London lives are relatively accessible, the limited time each spent as a correspondent and the relative lack of importance of correspondence in their lives means that only brief attention will be paid to them here.

Departures

Bridget Griffen-Foley and Stephen Alomes have each studied Australian journalistic expatriation to London.⁶⁹ Neither have addressed correspondence but they do make passing references to New Zealand journalists and the factors they establish are supported by this study. Griffen-Foley and Alomes, like Simon Potter and others, see journalism as a ‚peripatetic profession‘.⁷⁰ The freedom and variety journalism offered attracted those who were ‚[c]urious and migratory‘; it gave journalists many opportunities to meet travellers and exposure to stimulating possibilities; and it provided a set of skills that could be and were applied in a variety of settings.⁷¹ For these reasons, Elizabeth Morrison's trope of the journalist as ‚roving player‘ has been readily accepted by journalism scholars. Morrison argues that a ‚theatre metaphor is appropriate for Australian colonial journalism, [with] actors moving from company to company and travelling players from place to place, even across continents, [working] wherever there [was] an audience that

⁶⁹Griffen-Foley, pp. 26-37; Stephen Alomes, *When London Calls: the Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain* (Cambridge, 1999). Although they share a set of key arguments, Griffen-Foley and Alomes disagree on some aspects of Australian journalistic expatriation, see Griffen-Foley, p. 28.

⁷⁰Griffen-Foley, p. 27; Alomes, p. 39. See also, Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 20-2; R.B. O'Neill, *The Press, 1861-1961: the Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch, 1963), p. 203.

⁷¹Griffen-Foley, p. 27.

[could] understand the language and respond to the play'.⁷²

Reed appears to have been both curious and migratory, working as a Presbyterian minister, a politician, an immigration agent, a settlement agent, a newspaper proprietor, an editor and a journalist. Born in Ireland, he left for Australia in 1858 but returned several times and travelled repeatedly within Australasia.⁷³ Although he remained within journalism and Australasia after his time in London, 1884-5, he worked for four papers in three centres before his death in 1898. Journalism was a profession that suited his itinerant nature. He seems to have found easily prominent newspaper positions in Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland, working as either an editor or a leader-writer, and found journalistic employment to support business ventures.⁷⁴ His London correspondence, for instance, supported him while he launched the *Anglo-New Zealander* in London.

Angela Woollacott argues that the period 1870 to 1940 can be understood in terms of modernity „characterized by emergent global connectedness, increased movement around the world and economic and cultural interdependence”.⁷⁵ Journalistic transience grew in the early twentieth century, encouraged by the growing ease of travel and communication – which meant journalists could retain communication with editors while overseas – and the growth of the domestic press. This study supports Potter’s argument that journalistic expatriation increased in the twentieth century, with only five of the fourteen correspondents addressed leaving before 1900 and no cases prior to 1884 uncovered.⁷⁶ According to Allison Oosterman, New Zealand journalists began travelling to foreign wars with the Samoan „Troubles’ in 1898 and Griffen-Foley sees discussions of the „exodus’ of journalists in the *Australasian Journalist* and the comradeship of expatriate journalists in London as indicative of the strength of the movement in the early 1900s.⁷⁷ As its name suggests, the *Australasian Journalist* also catered for a New Zealand audience, and the *New Zealand Journalist* carried similar articles when it

⁷²Morrison, p. 76.

⁷³Anon, „Sudden Death of G.M. Reed”; Rudman.

⁷⁴Anon, „Sudden Death of G.M. Reed”.

⁷⁵Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, p. 7.

⁷⁶Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 20-27.

⁷⁷Griffen-Foley, p. 32; Oosterman, „The Samoan “Troubles””, pp. 3-5.

was re-launched in 1935.⁷⁸ These articles discussed both overseas conditions and opportunities, and departures and returns made up a large part of the ‚personals columns‘.⁷⁹

Scholefield knew Malcolm Ross well and mentions several journalists who left New Zealand for London in his autobiography.⁸⁰ Dux of Tokomairo District High School, he entered journalism in 1896.⁸¹ He moved frequently within New Zealand, working for the *Bruce Herald*, the *New Zealand Times*, the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Wellington Evening Post*, and the *Christchurch Press* before leaving for London.⁸² He expressed a sense of dissatisfaction and boredom with journalism in New Zealand punctuated by ‚momentary hope[s] of adventure‘.⁸³ He had tried at least two times to find journalistic work outside New Zealand before becoming a London correspondent in 1908.⁸⁴ On one occasion, he and another journalist asked their editors directly to send them overseas: ‚[w]e got as far as being vaccinated when our proprietors decided they knew we could not possibly reach the scene before the [Russo-Japanese W]ar ended. The war did, indeed, end – eighteen months later, long after I had returned to the North Island‘.⁸⁵

Implied in Scholefield’s case is not only desire for adventure but also dissatisfaction with journalism in New Zealand. Alomes sees this ‚cultural cringe‘ – the term coined by A. A. Phillips in 1950 to describe the ‚inferiority complexes‘ felt by Australian literary intellectuals that is now employed throughout the former dominions to refer to a variety of intellectual groups – as contributing to this.⁸⁶ In contrast with newspapers overseas, particularly in London, those of Australia and

⁷⁸The *New Zealand Journalist* was published briefly 1911-2 before being resurrected in 1935. It ceased publication in 1989.

⁷⁹See, for instance, E.H.S. Miller, ‚What Gets a Man a Job in Fleet Street? Some Requirements Outlined‘, *New Zealand Journalist*, 5:1 (1939), p. 2. The destination was not necessarily London, see ‚A.K.‘, ‚South Africa – Land of Opportunity‘, *New Zealand Journalist*, 2:1 (1936), p. 2 and ‚L.C.W.‘, ‚Journalists Who Have Crossed the Tasman‘, *New Zealand Journalist* 2:8 (1936), p. 6.

⁸⁰Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 117, 127, 142.

⁸¹Anon, ‚Doyen of Historians in N.Z. [sic] Dies‘, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 July 1963, p. 2.

⁸²Anon, ‚Doyen of Historians‘; Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 139, 142.

⁸³Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 139.

⁸⁴Scholefield’s papers contain a letter from the editor of the *Daily Mail* declining Scholefield’s application for employment in 1904. Letter, Editor of the *Daily Mail* to Guy H. Scholefield, 19 April 1904, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers; Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 131, 139.

⁸⁵Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 131, 139;

⁸⁶Alomes, p. 7; Katie Pickles, ‚Transnational Intentions and Cultural Cringe: a History Beyond National Boundaries‘, in *Contesting Clio’s Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History* eds Michael Dawson and Christopher Dummet (London, 2009), pp.141-61.

New Zealand were seen ‚inferior, second rate, provincial and even crude’.⁸⁷ Hyde complained in her 1934 treatise, *Journalese*, that ‚all day [sic], in New Zealand journalism[...] life becomes a matter of routine work and of suffering fools gladly’.⁸⁸ Similarly, Scholefield ‚viewed without enthusiasm the stultifying uniformity of journalism’ in New Zealand.⁸⁹ Griffen-Foley has noted that cultural cringe has a particular journalistic variant: while for artists it stemmed from the belief that much of cultural importance originated overseas, journalists believed that ‚„real” news’ also originated elsewhere.⁹⁰ After arriving in London in 1908, Scholefield was excited to be present at a site of authentic culture and used terms such as ‚the froth of events [sic]’ and ‚the splendour of [...] ancient history’ to describe the stories he covered.⁹¹

Dissatisfaction was not necessarily cultural. The *New Zealand Journalist* repeatedly contained articles comparing New Zealand pay rates disfavouredly with those of their British and Dominion colleagues.⁹² This is to be expected in a union publication, but the parochialism and limited circulation of most papers and periods of extreme competition in the 1920s and 1930s suggest that journalists were justifiably dissatisfied with their wages. Heighway ‚practiced economy’ in order to support himself in London in 1911 on his savings and ‚peripatetic earnings’ from journalism in New Zealand and London.⁹³ Hyde certainly saw journalists’ wages as unsatisfactory: ‚the Newspaper Proprietors’ Association, such of it as is not already broke, has taken to crooning “For ever to have and hold” over its money. There is what I call an extremely vulgar interest now taken in figures – outside the fashion pages’.⁹⁴

Fuelling journalistic dissatisfaction was the fact that many journalists aspired to be something else. Chris Hilliard argues that newspapers, in publishing New Zealand writing, were the ‚hubs of New Zealand literary life’ in the early twentieth

⁸⁷Alomes, p. 7.

⁸⁸Hyde, *Journalese*, p. 9.

⁸⁹Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 142.

⁹⁰Griffen-Foley, p. 28.

⁹¹Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, pp. 143, 156.

⁹²See, for instance, Anon, ‚The Exodus’, *New Zealand Journalist* 1:5 (1935), p. 1.

⁹³Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 18.

⁹⁴Hyde, *Journalese*, p. 10.

century.⁹⁵ This, combined with the opportunity for employment they provided, saw many aspiring writers working as journalists. Verry, writer of short stories and plays, supported himself through journalism before going to London in 1938. His failure to fulfil his ‚poetic illusion’ while in London led him to concentrate on journalism when he returned to New Zealand and he is primarily remembered as a journalist.⁹⁶ Similarly, journalism supplemented Mander and Hyde’s earnings from fiction writing throughout their careers.⁹⁷ The political role of the press had decreased markedly by the time of this study, but it still provided a flexible and influential occupation for part-time politicians.⁹⁸ Reed had been a member of the Queensland parliament for a brief period in the 1860s and represented Takapuna on the Auckland Provincial Council while publishing the *Evening Star* in the 1870s.⁹⁹ Similarly, William Pember Reeves combined journalism with politics before going to London and Ruth Fry writes that Maud Reeves took on the role of ‚Lady Editor’ for the *Canterbury Times* while consolidating her ‚political education’ after her marriage to William.¹⁰⁰ The press also provided a platform for those hoping to break into academia. Scholefield’s first book, *New Zealand in Evolution*, began as a series of articles, and he wrote before going to London that journalism was ‚against [his] natural bent, which was [...] literary or creative’.¹⁰¹

The desire to be something else, and somewhere else, was particularly strong in Hyde’s case. While Mander had briefly been able to edit her father’s newspaper and was supported at Columbia University’s journalism school by him before going to London in 1923, hers was a privileged experience among the many New Zealand women who attempted journalism careers in the early twentieth century. Gillian Boddy and Jacqueline Matthews state that for women journalists ‚the general

⁹⁵Chris Hilliard, *The Bookmen’s Dominion: Cultural Life in New Zealand 1920-1950* (Auckland, 2006), p. 27.

⁹⁶Anon, ‚PA Chief Oversaw the March of Technology’, Wellington *Evening Post*, 25 April 1996, p. 12; H. Leslie Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairoa [sic]’, p. 16, ATL MS-Papers-6811, Verry, Horace Leslie Papers. ‚On Board SS Tairoa’ is Verry’s diary and covers his journey from New Zealand and much of his time in London.

⁹⁷McGregor, pp. 34, 53-4, 84-5; Hyde referred to herself as ‚a writer who claims a love of verse foremost, but also writes novels and short stories and a journalistic hotch-potch’, Letter Robin Hyde to J. Anderson 13 November 1938, ATL MS-Papers-1724, Hyde, Robin Papers, quoted in Challis and Rawlison, p. 674.

⁹⁸Day argues that, although it did not disappear entirely, the political role of the press declined significantly throughout its establishment period, 1840-1880. Day, pp. 171, 201.

⁹⁹Rudman.

¹⁰⁰Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 11-2.

¹⁰¹Hilliard, p. 18; Guy H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in Evolution: Industrial, Economic and Political* (London, 1909); Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 127.

pattern was one of circumscription and segregation'.¹⁰² Throughout her life, Hyde struggled to support herself and her son through literary writing and journalism and also to accept the journalism that, as a woman, she was expected to write. She labelled herself during a break from journalism in 1936 as 'an ex-journalist who wouldn't go back'.¹⁰³ She felt a deeper dissatisfaction with life in New Zealand, and the '[i]nvasion, depredation, hypocrisy and loss' brought about by colonisation.¹⁰⁴ Boddy and Matthews see this as was one of the reasons for her 'abrupt departure' from New Zealand in 1938.¹⁰⁵

London was a beacon for these mobile, dissatisfied and culturally active journalists. James Belich and Felicity Barnes both see New Zealanders' attachment to London as increasing from the 1880s.¹⁰⁶ This situation was brought about by increases in connectivity and in New Zealand's economic reliance on Britain, leading Barnes to argue that London held 'imaginative predominance' for New Zealanders as a destination and as a symbol of modernity.¹⁰⁷ For Verry, London provided an opportunity to read, write and attend plays. It was also the ideal platform for his work and Verry's diary contains repeated references to a play he hoped to write for the West End.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, for Hyde going to London meant an opportunity to further her career and to meet with her publishers.¹⁰⁹ Heighway does not appear to have had literary ambitions, but saw London as the centre of history and culture, writing that 'enlarging my experience by seeing the [1911 C]oronation' was one of the motivations behind his departure for London and that he was able to gain 'a smattering of knowledge' of British history and culture during his time there.¹¹⁰ This is not to say that all the correspondents valued Empire highly – Hyde wrote that 'there is no warmth in my heart for England, no love, no filial pity, nothing but a sort of weeping rage' – but that London's place as an imperial centre added to its appeal as a destination for journalists.¹¹¹

¹⁰²Boddy and Matthews, p. 86.

¹⁰³Challis and Rawlison, p. 674.

¹⁰⁴Boddy and Matthews, p. 86.

¹⁰⁵Boddy and Matthews, p. 130.

¹⁰⁶Belich, p. 11; Barnes, 'New Zealand's London', pp. 1-13.

¹⁰⁷Barnes, 'New Zealand's London', p. 30.

¹⁰⁸Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', pp. 24, 26.

¹⁰⁹Matthews.

¹¹⁰Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 8, 18.

¹¹¹Challis and Rawlison, p. 666.

Woollacott has analysed the particular cultural importance of London for Australian women at the turn of the twentieth century, arguing that the journey to the largest city in the world ‚endorsed women’s rights to compete for success, fame, and [...] financial rewards’ and was a way for women to ‚express and act on [their] ambition’.¹¹² Although Woollacott identifies the gendered dimensions of this phenomenon, London’s ability to ‚endorse’ ambitions is evident in many of the cases in this study and can be applied to female and male colonials. Scholefield and Heighway both aspired to university study – Scholefield had studied at Victoria but could not complete a degree because of the time taken up by journalism – and each enrolled at the London School of Economics (LSE).¹¹³ Similarly, although he dreamed of becoming a play-writer, Verry arrived in London without a manuscript, hoping the city would provide him with the inspiration and impetus to fulfill his ambition.¹¹⁴

London was also a political metropole. The political appeal of London is evident in correspondence, with the workings of the British political system, as opposed to the politics themselves, a common theme:

[t]his should be the season of rest, Parliament having risen, and London being supposed to be at the seaside or on the moors, or anywhere but attending to the ordinary engrossing cares of life. In truth, crowded though the city always seems, one is forcibly reminded of the fact that everyone is out of town if calling anywhere to transact business or make an enquiry.¹¹⁵

The correspondents with the most significant political engagement in London were the Reeves. William had gone to London to take up the position of Agent-General in 1896 (renamed High Commissioner in 1905), a role that placed him at the centre of London politics.¹¹⁶ Both were politically active before their departure – William as a Member of Parliament and Maud as a feminist campaigner and politician’s wife – and they continued this activity after their arrival.¹¹⁷ They were also committed to Fabian socialism and met with fellow Fabians, several of whom they had written to from New Zealand, soon after their arrival.¹¹⁸ Again, their journey to

¹¹²Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, p. 6.

¹¹³Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 160; Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 11.

¹¹⁴Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairua’, p. 26.

¹¹⁵NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.’, *New Zealand Herald*, 14 October 1884, p. 6.

¹¹⁶Keith Sinclair, ‚Reeves, William Pember’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> (accessed 20 May 2008).

¹¹⁷See, in particular, Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 28-35, pp. 64-74 and Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, pp. 246-8.

¹¹⁸Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 24-7; Ruth Fry, ‚Reeves, Magdalene Stuart’, *Dictionary of New*

London appears not only to have facilitated their ambitions but to have endorsed them, with Maud, in particular, extending her political involvement after arriving in London. She served on the Fabian society's executive from 1906 to 1919, published her study of the London poor, *Round About a Pound a Week*, in 1913 and became Director of Women's services at the Ministry of Food in 1917.¹¹⁹ Fry sees the period 1908 to 1913, in particular, as the 'most active and productive' of her life.¹²⁰

The mythology surrounding Fleet Street – in addition to the real opportunities it provided for career advancement and adventure – added to the centrality of London to journalistic mobility.¹²¹ The opening paragraph of Scholefield's description of his early days in London contains the names *Daily Mail*, Fleet Street, Shoe Lane and the 'venerable *Standard*'.¹²² Verry's diary described his excitement at being able to buy London newspapers and he soon formed 'a newspaper habit'. He spent several days in London and returned to stay for an extended period after travelling throughout England.¹²³ On both arrivals in London, Fleet Street was one of the first destinations he visited.¹²⁴ This was not to search for work, his 'haunting Fleet Street' would come a little later, but a pilgrimage to the 'home' of the Fourth Estate'.¹²⁵

Where the correspondents addressed in this study differ most significantly from established patterns of journalistic expatriation is in the role played by the correspondence agencies. Rathbone established the Colonial Press Agency, soon renamed the NZPA, in 1884.¹²⁶ In 1893, Rous-Marten followed this with the formation of the NZAP.¹²⁷ From 1893 the agencies sent fortnightly 'London Letters' to the eight major dailies, with the NZPA supplying the liberal papers and the NZAP the conservative.¹²⁸ Prior to the establishment of these agencies, several

Zealand Biography (updated 22 June 2008) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> (accessed 20 May 2008); Sinclair, 'Reeves, William Pember'.

¹¹⁹Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 36, 69-70, 79.

¹²⁰Fry, *Maud and Amber*, p. 64.

¹²¹Alomes, pp. 40-1; Griffen-Foley, p. 28.

¹²²Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 143.

¹²³Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', pp. 14-7, 21.

¹²⁴Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', p. 21.

¹²⁵Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', p. 29; Griffen-Foley, p. 28.

¹²⁶Anon, 'All Sorts of People', *New Zealand Free Lance*, 27 April 1901, p. 3.

¹²⁷O'Neill, p. 110.

¹²⁸The NZAP supplied the *Otago Daily Times*, *Christchurch Press*, *Wellington Evening Post* and the

newspapers had had correspondents in London and the *New Zealand Herald* had had an office there.¹²⁹ Some of these correspondents, such as Reed, may have been sent to London by their newspapers, but the speed with which most were replaced by agency correspondents, the generic nature of much of their writing and their limited contribution to the historical record suggests that many were stringers.¹³⁰ This is an important shift: although New Zealand papers would have to wait until 1942 for a permanent telegraphic supply of London news, their widespread dependence on foreign or casual sources for their news and commentary from London was over.

Both agencies appear to have been successful, and although only one journalist is mentioned in each account of their establishments, more may have been appointed. When Rous-Marten died in London in 1908, NZAP correspondence continued without interruption. Although the quantity of correspondence was diminished until Scholefield arrived to replace him, its basic form and regularity were retained, with the only significant alteration being the inclusion of a London obituary for Rous-Marten.¹³¹ The question of who replaced Rous-Marten during this time is a difficult one. His niece and „very competent secretary’, Alice Evans, may have temporarily filled the role, or a stringer may have been employed.¹³² At any rate, Scholefield felt that he had no real competition for the position, writing that he saw his experience with each of the NZAP’s four affiliated papers as sufficient and „applied for the position with confidence’.¹³³ Scholefield’s memoir contains no reference to another correspondent, or to his replacement in 1919, although he does highlight the important role played by Evans.¹³⁴ Similarly, A.W. Mitchell – who began working for the NZAP in 1935 – appears to have been the sole correspondent

New Zealand Herald. The failure of several newspapers and the *New Zealand Herald*’s movement to the NZAP in 1893, meant that the NZPA’s affiliate newspapers fluctuated, although the *Lyttelton Times* subscribed consistently from 1893 onwards.

¹²⁹Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 21.

¹³⁰Brian Rudman states that Reed was „sent’ to London by the *New Zealand Herald*. Certainly he had worked for the *New Zealand Herald* prior to going to London, but his early correspondence seems to have been more casual in nature – he was labelled a „Special Reporter’ – and appeared alongside that of the existing correspondent for several months. Moreover, Reed returned to Britain relatively frequently and I have found no primary evidence to suggest he was sent to London by the *New Zealand Herald*. Rudman; George McCullagh Reed, „Tawhiao’s Visit to England.’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884, p. 6.

¹³¹NZAP ed anon, „Anglo-Colonial Notes.’, *Christchurch Press*, 3 June 1908, p. 8.

¹³²Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 167.

¹³³Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 142.

¹³⁴Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 167.

for much of his tenure and briefly continued the role after becoming the UPA's first London correspondent in 1942.¹³⁵ He had at least one colleague during this time, as J.C. Graham wrote briefly for the NZAP during the early years of World War Two.

The number of correspondents working for the NZPA is more ambiguous: Rathbone was its sole founder, but more soon followed. An NZPA article from 1897, containing one of the few extant discussions of the agencies to appear in correspondence, mentioned a second 'representative' of the agency while Rathbone's obituary suggested the names of several 'who have been associated with him in his newspaper work' as his potential successors.¹³⁶ The only available account of James Whitelaw's 1903 appointment to the NZPA was written by Scholefield, a distant observer, many years later.¹³⁷ Scholefield's subsequent appointment to the NZAP meant that his memoir also contains brief references to Whitelaw's London career, and there is nothing in that document to suggest that Whitelaw had a colleague.¹³⁸ The NZPA continued to supply correspondence for some time after Whitelaw's departure, but the stories of its subsequent correspondents are not extant.

The agencies accounted for a significant number of London correspondents, making up six of the fourteen journalists addressed in this study, and numbering at least two at any one time after 1893. Indeed, it is likely that the organisational structure provided by the agencies meant that their correspondents outnumbered their non-agency counterparts overall. This is certainly the case for agency correspondence, with its quantity and regularity surpassing that from other sources. More importantly, the agencies established a tradition of correspondence. Scholefield appears to have been well informed of the career paths of agency correspondents and of their functions.¹³⁹ Similarly, agency vacancies provided the

¹³⁵Letter A.W. Mitchell to T.M. Hinkley, 27 December 1945, ATL NZPA MS-Papers-7606 Box Six, NZPA Archive. Mitchell also continued to occupy the NZAP's office.

¹³⁶NZAP, ed Rathbone, 'Mr Seddon's Tour', *Lyttelton Times*; Anon, 'Obituary', *Lyttelton Times*, 19 April 1901, p. 3. The obituary names W. F. Robinson and H. von Haast as Rathbone's colleagues; I have uncovered little information on either.

¹³⁷Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 127.

¹³⁸In particular, Scholefield referred to Whitelaw as his 'opposite number', suggesting singularity. Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 147.

¹³⁹Those referred to by Scholefield in his memoir are Rous-Marten and Whitelaw. As he discussed Whitelaw's appointment in some detail, he was almost certainly aware of his predecessor(s). Scholefield, 'Autobiography', pp. 127, 142.

catalyst for journalists to go to London. Although Scholefield had been dissatisfied with New Zealand journalism for some time and pursued activities, both journalistic and educational, outside the scope of his work for NZAP once in London, it was ultimately Rous-Marten's death that led to his departure: „in 1908 a fresh vista opened up for me [...] providing a supplementary service by mail [for the NZAP]’.¹⁴⁰

None of the non-agency correspondents appear to have been sent to London by the newspapers they wrote for, but several organised to supply freelance correspondence before leaving for London and others made arrangements with New Zealand newspapers from London. Heighway organised to supply „certain papers in New Zealand and Australia’ before his departure, while Mander's regular columns for the Christchurch and Auckland *Suns* were organised from London.¹⁴¹ A few correspondents worked without agreements with New Zealand papers. While this degree of independence is significant, all of the correspondents featured in this study had worked for New Zealand newspapers prior to their departure and they maintained strong connections to them. Although Hyde's correspondence can be seen as independent, she drew on her connections with the New Zealand press and was particularly upset by a critical letter from an editor.¹⁴² William Pember Reeves had worked as a journalist and editor for the *Lyttelton Times*, as had his father and Maud had been „Lady Editor’ for the *Canterbury Times*.¹⁴³

Interestingly, imperial agencies such as the EPU do not appear to have directly encouraged correspondents to go to London. Potter argues for the influential role played by the EPU after its establishment in 1909 and has emphasised its work with London correspondents.¹⁴⁴ The journalists in this study support Potter's assertion, with Whitelaw, Scholefield, Heighway and Graham all having extant engagement with the EPU while in London. Initiated in 1935, EPU scholarships enabled many dominion journalists to travel to Britain; they seem to have been popular with New Zealand journalists and received a lot of coverage in the *New Zealand Journalist*.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 142.

¹⁴¹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 8; McGregor, p. 81.

¹⁴²Boddy and Matthews, pp. 83-5.

¹⁴³Fry, *Maud and Amber*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 191.

¹⁴⁵Anon, „Exchange of Journalists’, *New Zealand Journalist*, 2:8 (1936), p. 3; W.H. Bickley,

The conditions of the exchange, however, stipulated that the journalists worked for British newspapers and discouraged extended stays, although W.H. Bickley wrote that ‚[p]resumably no one can stop [an exchangee] resigning his [sic] job in New Zealand and taking another in England’.¹⁴⁶ This was true for Graham, the only correspondent in this study to have participated in an EPU exchange, who joined the NZAP after working for a succession of British newspapers.¹⁴⁷

Similarly, although the cultural pull of the Fleet Street newspapers was an important factor in correspondents’ decisions to go to London, job offers were not. Scholefield applied to at least one editor before his appointment to the NZAP. He received a kindly but definitive rejection letter:

I am sorry to disappoint you, but I should certainly not recommend your coming to London on the chance of obtaining journalistic employment [...]. The field is very full, except for men of exceptional ability, and you could not hope to immediately obtain a position which would enable you to prove that you possessed this.¹⁴⁸

Arrivals

Ros Pesman argues that travel is ‚not only an event, it is also a metaphor’.¹⁴⁹ As such, journalists’ arrivals in London were particularly significant. For those who were British born – Rathbone, Rous-Marten and Reed – the journey represented both a literal homecoming and a new beginning. Reed’s London publication, the *Anglo-New Zealander*, differed significantly from his previous business and journalistic ventures. Similarly, in establishing their agencies, Rathbone and Rous-Marten were markedly extending their journalistic careers. Both had worked in journalism for some time before going to London but neither had headed their own organisations and only Rathbone had been an editor. For those who were visiting London for the first time, the arrival took on greater symbolic value. Verry’s first action was to take a tour of the city on a double-decker bus and soon after he began seeing as many plays as he could, often twice a day: ‚I feel justified in visiting le theatre [sic] as much as possible, in not attempting to write just yet, but in

‚Exchange of Journalists’, *New Zealand Journalist*, 4:1 (1938), pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁶Bickley, ‚Exchange of Journalists’, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷J.C. Graham, ‚Newspaper Work in England: Random Jottings of a New Zealander’, *New Zealand Journalist*, 4:9 (1938), p. 4.

¹⁴⁸Letter, Editor of the *Daily Mail* to Scholefield, 19 April 1904.

¹⁴⁹Ros Pesman, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad* (Melbourne, 1996), p. 184.

cherishing the ambition'.¹⁵⁰ Barnes has found that it was common for New Zealanders arriving in London to 'perform familiarity', that is, to locate the landmarks and cultural icons they had read so much about in New Zealand.¹⁵¹ Through her publisher, Mander was introduced to the London literary scene, an experience she called 'something like a homecoming'.¹⁵²

Correspondents' arrivals, however exciting, were difficult. Rae McGregor writes that '[d]elighted as [Mander] was to find herself in such dramatic company, she soon found that to support herself in London she would have to accept any work that was available'.¹⁵³ Exactly two months after Verry arrived in London he recorded in his diary that the previous week 'was perhaps the least positive [...] of my existence here[.] I am not collecting anything precise for an article or series or travel volume -- [sic] praise be. I did but sleep in, go out late, write a letter or two [and] procrastinate'.¹⁵⁴ This anxiety and disillusion was common to many expatriate journalists in London and was often discussed in the *New Zealand Journalist*.¹⁵⁵ However, what unites most of the journalists in this study, and sets them apart from many other groups of expatriates, is the degree of support they received from British, Imperial and New Zealand groups to ease their transition into life and journalism in London.

Before leaving New Zealand, Heighway felt that although 'I had no great idea of my ability [...] I had learnt the basic craft of reportage and writing and I knew that with the skills of shorthand and composition, my pencil and pieces of paper could earn me money'.¹⁵⁶ Heighway saw correspondence as his main form of financial support and arrived in London with several of his articles already planned.¹⁵⁷ He organised a 'special commendation' while passing through Melbourne that enabled him to base a story on a night at a Salvation Army soup kitchen.¹⁵⁸ This was the night before the 1911 Coronation, and formed part of a trio of stories Heighway planned to write about the event. Another article focused on the Coronation itself:

¹⁵⁰Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', p. 24.

¹⁵¹Barnes, 'New Zealand's London', p. 32.

¹⁵²McGregor, p. 79.

¹⁵³McGregor, p. 80.

¹⁵⁴Verry, 'On Board SS Tairoa', p. 27.

¹⁵⁵See, for instance, Graham, 'Newspaper Work in England'.

¹⁵⁶Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁸Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 13.

„to that end I made the necessary contacts as a journalist and a member of the [EPU]. I registered at their headquarters to receive all available information and invitations; also with the High Commissioner for New Zealand’.¹⁵⁹ His third Coronation article followed the „high speed organisation at work in processing and piecing together’ film coverage of the Coronation, a story he arranged with Barker’s Topical Pictures soon after his arriving in London.¹⁶⁰ Barker’s was an interesting choice: the company provided film coverage of the Coronation, involving considerable logistical and technological skills, to be screened at cinemas throughout the Empire. Heighway was keen to point this out, writing that „my mind turned back to [...] when I sat in crowded audiences and gazed transfixed at the depiction of some striking scene here in London’.¹⁶¹

The *New Zealand Herald*’s London office was a source of support and work for Reed and provided him with story suggestions.¹⁶² Through this connection, he was also able to promote the *Anglo-New Zealander* to a New Zealand audience and advertisements for that journal appeared alongside his correspondence in the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁶³ Like Heighway, he engaged with London organisations soon after his arrival, with his first article including an interview with „Mr. F. W. Chesson’ of the London Aborigines’ Protection Society.¹⁶⁴ Presumably the *New Zealand Herald*’s offices in London supported Rathbone in his establishment of the NZPA. Their London correspondence was replaced by that of the NZPA as soon as it was established. Certainly, Rathbone and Rous-Marten were supported financially by the papers they represented when they arrived in London and both had arranged to supply them with correspondence before leaving New Zealand.¹⁶⁵

By the time Scholefield arrived in London, the NZAP was well established, with an office, a secretary and a format for the correspondence ready on his arrival. This seems to have helped him to establish himself in London:

[t]he [NZAP] was in the Daily Mail [sic] building at the corner of Fleet street

¹⁵⁹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁰Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 13.

¹⁶¹Heighway, „The Great Coronation Film: A Thrilling Story of Enterprise and Speed’, *Otago Daily Times*, 5 August 1911, p. 4.

¹⁶²Reed, „Tawhiao’s Visit to England.’

¹⁶³*New Zealand Herald*, 17 November 1884, p. 4.

¹⁶⁴Reed, „Tawhiao’s Visit to England.’

¹⁶⁵Anon, „Mr. Charles Rous-Marten.’, *Christchurch Press*, 23 April 1908, p. 7; Anon, „All Sorts of People’.

and Shoe Lane [sic ...]. It was a prominent site within a hundred yards of Ludgate Circus and a quarter of a mile from St Paul's. [...] My routine in the morning soon included a walk through the city from Fleet street, along the Strand and Whitehall, to Victoria street. There, the office of our High Commissioner would attract visitors from the Dominion and New Zealanders living in London.¹⁶⁶

William Pember Reeves' correspondence grew out of the New Zealand Government's request for supplementary coverage of the South Africa War.¹⁶⁷ As he was already employed as their Agent-General, the support he received was significant; once the position was promoted to High Commissioner in 1905, his salary was higher than that of the Prime Minister.¹⁶⁸ As his wife, Maud Reeves shared this support. Her correspondence did not occur until 1911, and was encouraged by Scholefield, acting in his capacity of editor of the NZAP, who suggested she write articles based on her research into the plight of the London poor and sent those articles to the newspapers he represented in New Zealand.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, arriving in London provided the Reeves' with an opportunity to meet others who shared their political beliefs. William had been writing to fellow Fabians in London from New Zealand and Sinclair writes that he „fell in with congenial groups of people who understood his political ideals and shared his intellectual interests' soon after arriving in London.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, as Agent-General and High Commissioner, he met many leading British politicians, including Winston Churchill.¹⁷¹

Verry, Mander and Graham do not appear to have planned to write for New Zealand newspapers on arrival in London. Verry worked his passage to London and, although his diary of his early days there contains several references to articles he planned to write for British newspapers, his first correspondence article did not appear in the *New Zealand Free Lance* until 28 December.¹⁷² Mander arrived in London in 1923 but did not begin her correspondence for the *Christchurch Sun* until

¹⁶⁶Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 143.

¹⁶⁷Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁸Sinclair, „Reeves, William Pember'.

¹⁶⁹Scholefield, „Autobiography', pp. 145-6.

¹⁷⁰Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, p. 249.

¹⁷¹Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, p. 251.

¹⁷²H. Leslie Verry, „London's Maginot Line: New Zealanders Contribute Formidable Pieces to Its Armament', *New Zealand Free Lance*, 28 December 1938, p. 5.

1924.¹⁷³ As such, Verry and Mander received little initial support from New Zealand newspapers and neither appears to have been engaged with the EPU. Hoping to support himself by writing for British publications, Verry sought out contacts and opportunities, a process he labelled ‚haunting Fleet Street’, with little initial success.¹⁷⁴ The expatriate community was an early source of companionship and excitement for him (‚I received [New Zealand author] Nelle Scanlan’s invitation to morning tea this week. Celebrities!’) and he visited New Zealand House frequently, to socialise and read the newspapers held there.¹⁷⁵ Mander arrived in London with connections to the London literary scene through her publisher and friends in New York. Her initial work reflected this and she supported her fiction writing with articles for London publications and working as a reader for her publisher.¹⁷⁶ Little is recorded of Graham’s arrival in London in 1936 – it was not until he joined the staff of the NZAP in 1938, towards the end of his stay in London, that his writing appeared in the *New Zealand Journalist* – although, as a participant in the EPU’s exchange scheme, he was guaranteed employment on arrival.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, arriving as a correspondent for the UPA, Bickley received the support of that agency and presumably of its affiliate office in London.

London Careers

The compilation and dissemination of information about New Zealanders in London, in the form of personals columns, was one of the agencies’ central roles. As such, agency correspondents were at the centre of the expatriate community. Scholefield wrote that the NZAP’s ‚red and white sign beckoned to New Zealanders’ and the role of informal representative to the New Zealand community was important to him. Soon before leaving New Zealand he completed what he called two ‚formalities’: the first was his marriage to Adela Bree and the second his becoming a Justice of the Peace ‚to perform quasi-legal duties that might arise in the New Zealand colony in Britain’.¹⁷⁸ He also used his position – both his occupation and his access to London’s archival material – to research prominent

¹⁷³McGregor, pp. 79-81,

¹⁷⁴Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairoa’, pp. 21, 29.

¹⁷⁵Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairoa’, pp. 24, 27.

¹⁷⁶McGregor, pp. 79-81.

¹⁷⁷Bickley, ‚Exchange of Journalists’, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 142.

New Zealand figures like William Pember Reeves and the Wakefields and to clarify debates surrounding New Zealand's early history for those at home. He established, for instance, that a diary allegedly verifying the ‚race‘ to Akaroa between the *Britomart* and *L'Aube* was incorrect: ‚I was able to publish the official correspondence between Captains Hobson and Owen Stanley. Much as I respect the recollections of early settlers I have always advised students and writers of theses to study the period sufficiently beforehand to be able to reinforce faulty memories‘.¹⁷⁹

In 1910, the concerned family of a missing New Zealand sailor, Huia Ruwakai, contacted the British police. The police soon identified a prisoner with a number of aliases as Ruwakai, but his parents were unconvinced and contacted Scholefield. ‚I [was] granted permission to interview the man in the Northallerton gaol but the Home Secretary's condition was that I should not „use it for the papers“‘.¹⁸⁰ Scholefield was unconcerned by this restriction and proceeded to interview the man.

[I]t was obvious he was no Maori. He told me that he came from Georgia and had never been to New Zealand. It was clear he was not Huia Rukuwia; equally clear that to white country policemen all coons look like and this man had had Huia's name cheerfully dumped on him.¹⁸¹

Scholefield questioned several New Zealand sailors and established that Rukuwai had in fact died of consumption. ‚All I had then to do was get a copy of the death certificate from Somerset House and inform the parents in Auckland.‘¹⁸²

Political concerns meant that Scholefield was not appointed official war correspondent in 1914.¹⁸³ In spite of this, he went on to play an active role in the New Zealand community in London during World War One, describing the declaration of War as providing him with ‚new duties, additional work [and] a new

¹⁷⁹Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, p. 150.

¹⁸⁰Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, p. 151.

¹⁸¹Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, p. 151.

¹⁸²Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, p. 152.

¹⁸³As Oosterman has established, despite Scholefield's initial assumptions, and those of the New Zealand Government, the specification that only one war correspondent would be allowed to represent each of the dominions made Scholefield's candidacy untenable. As a representative of the NZAP he was unable to supply news to their competitors and the position went, after much debate, to Ross. Oosterman describes Scholefield's recollections of the time as ‚sour‘, and it is clear that he was disappointed. He described accreditation as ‚his first thought‘ when war was declared. Oosterman, ‚First Official War Correspondent‘, pp. 2-3; Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, pp. 164-6.

outlook', and he was made a honorary Lieutenant in the Royal Navy.¹⁸⁴ London was 'the rallying point' for New Zealanders participating in all aspects of the War and the NZAP's Fleet Street office became 'rendezvous for many New Zealanders who wanted to know how to play their part'.¹⁸⁵ In addition to an augmented supply of news and personal details for the NZAP, Scholefield and Evans compiled a card index of serving New Zealanders, 'carefully annotated from official papers and despatches and [...] from correspondents glad to be kept in touch with news from home' and in December 1916, Scholefield began publishing the *New Zealander*.¹⁸⁶

According to Scholefield, English newspapers provided little New Zealand news and newspapers sent by families in New Zealand seldom reached the soldiers.¹⁸⁷ Scholefield recognised that New Zealand soldiers were eager for news from home and, after securing funding from a variety of sources including the New Zealand Government and the Red Cross, he began publishing the *New Zealander* to meet this need. He initially published 2000 copies; at its peak, the circulation was 12 000.¹⁸⁸ His editorship of the *New Zealander* elevated his position within the expatriate community, and journalist J.M.D. Hardwick wrote in 1954 that 'he became widely, if indirectly, known to the New Zealanders at war' through the journal.¹⁸⁹ The *New Zealander* contained news from the New Zealand newspapers received by the NZAP and from a fortnightly cable 'sent as a labour of love' by W. H. Attack, the head of the UPA.¹⁹⁰ The content of the *New Zealander* appears to have varied greatly. Scholefield recalled that 'the column that was most avidly read was sporting news' and that there 'was a good deal of betting, we were told', but also that the saddest column was 'Gone West', in which we chronicled deaths on both sides of the water. Our issue of [17 January] 1919, during the influenza epidemic in New Zealand, contained a whole page of deaths, the first news to many on service of friends and relatives lost.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 166; Anon, 'Obituary', *Wellington Evening Post*, 19 July 1963, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 166.

¹⁸⁶Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 167.

¹⁸⁷Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 168.

¹⁸⁸Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 169.

¹⁸⁹J.M.D. Hardwick, 'Retired' But Still Busy: Historian Makes Work His Hobby', *Freedom*, 26 May 1954, p. 6.

¹⁹⁰Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 168.

¹⁹¹Scholefield, 'Autobiography', p. 169.

Scholefield extended his role beyond the expatriate community, speaking at public meetings and contributing to the British press on topics relating to New Zealand.

Soon after arriving in London I wrote to the press in defence of New Zealand sportsmanship. Since the retirement of [William Pember] Reeves from New Zealand House there were few qualified to speak on behalf of the Dominion. [Whitelaw] rarely expressed himself in print. Miss Evelyn Isitt on the London staff of the Manchester Guardian [sic] was a more vigilant corrector of the press, and [New Zealand expatriate journalist] Constance Barnicoat also played her part.¹⁹²

Scholefield's self-compiled bibliography lists numerous contributions to British publications from his time in London. Although he may also have written news articles for British papers, those listed are generally opinion pieces. This distinction appears to have been significant to him, as neither domestic journalism nor London correspondence are recorded in his bibliography.¹⁹³

His desire to defend „New Zealand sportsmanship' tended to manifest in letters to the editor. His articles in the British press, however, focused on Empire and New Zealand's place within it. He described himself in his memoir as „a militant colonial nationalist' and his articles reflected this position. Most focussed on aspects of New Zealand's place within the British Empire, and he emphasised that the dominions needed to grow in order to maintain imperial strength.

New Zealand today is in a rapid transition from the original colonial state to the national state. [...] With the increase of the native-born there will be a growing insistence that the economic necessities of the country, as a self-contained entity, shall not be subordinated, even to Imperial considerations.¹⁹⁴

He was not arguing for a decrease in the imperial connection, but advocating for colonial nationalism, writing elsewhere that „England will [one day] yearn for an ally of her own blood, for a race of Anglo-Saxons who can sail their own ships and [sic] range their own seas and defend their own hearths, fearlessly and with self-respect, and all to uphold the same flag that the Imperial Navy flies today'.¹⁹⁵

Scholefield valued these contributions and, like many other expatriate journalists in London, he kept copies of them after his return to New Zealand. However, they

¹⁹²Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 147.

¹⁹³Scholefield, „Autobiography', pp. 268-73.

¹⁹⁴Guy H. Scholefield, „From a New Zealand Correspondent', *The Times*, published 24 May 1909, p. ?, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers. The article was published anonymously but Scholefield has initialled it as being his own.

¹⁹⁵Letter, Guy H. Scholefield to the Editor of *The Times*, published 28 March 1909, p. ?, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

raised questions regarding his place within New Zealand and British societies. New Zealand offer of a Dreadnought to the Royal Navy in 1909, rather than using the ship to strengthen their own navy, had been prompted, he felt, by ‚impulse rather than mature consideration’ and he criticised the decision in several British newspapers and journals and in the expatriate publication, *British Australasian*. Interestingly, he does not appear to have contributed to the debate on the issue in the New Zealand press, either surreptitiously through the NZAP or in by-lined articles. He felt that his views may not have been acceptable to the New Zealand public, writing that ‚[h]aving been in London for a year or so I was perhaps out of touch with public opinion’.¹⁹⁶ In spite of his ongoing engagement with the expatriate community, this sense of division grew and by 1919 he ‚was conscious I was losing touch with my generation’ in New Zealand.¹⁹⁷

The EPU was formed in 1909, a year after Scholefield’s arrival in London. It provided him, not only with support, but also with an important role and status on Fleet Street and he soon became an active member, organising pageants and petitioning Members of Parliament on its behalf.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, it was an important point of contact with other London correspondents representing newspapers from throughout the dominions at EPU events: his ATL papers contain invitations to a number of events, including a dinner at the Savoy Hotel to meet the ‚overseas press members’ attending the 1917 Imperial War Conference.¹⁹⁹ His connection with the EPU appears to have been a significant one to him and he kept many letters, pamphlets, invitations and programmes with the EPU masthead.

Although Scholefield’s engagement with Fleet Street newspapers was relatively limited – he was not permanently employed by them like Whitelaw – he formed

¹⁹⁶Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 153.

¹⁹⁷Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 188.

¹⁹⁸Scholefield was listed as secretary of the New Zealand pageant committee for ‚The Festival of Empire. Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London.’, in which they re-enacted the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers. He was one of a group of correspondents, including Whitelaw, to sign the ‚Memorandum re-British Empire Newspaper Correspondents’, petitioning for recognition of the journalists of the ‚important organs’ in the dominions at the 1911 Imperial Conference: ‚In the absence of advice from those in a position to know the relative claims and rights of the Oversea Press [sic], there is a danger that privileges may be granted, as has happened in the past, to persons not regularly or authoritatively representing the newspapers they mention, or representing journals of minor importance, to the exclusion of the more important organs in the Dominions’, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

¹⁹⁹ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

many connections with the British community.

During my years in England I lived and functioned as a professional Englishman. Living in south-west London, Streatham, taking my part as a citizen, paying rates to the metropolitan borough of Wandsworth, I was also a burgess of the City of London by virtue of our Fleet street office. I would be summoned to witness ceremonies such as the Pricking of the Card. [...] There were [also] occasional summonses to serve on the grand jury at the Sessions House, Newington Causeway, and on common juries in the King's Bench Division at the Royal Courts of Justice.²⁰⁰

There is little discussion of friends made in London in his memoir, but many appear to have been British and he was still corresponding with one twenty years after his return to New Zealand.²⁰¹ Scholefield went to London bored with journalism and frustrated that he had not managed to achieve his academic or literary goals while in New Zealand. The straightforward nature of his role in the NZAP enabled him to pursue other goals and he gained a DSc. His first book, *New Zealand in Evolution*, was based on newspaper articles written in New Zealand and was published soon after his arrival in London. Another, *The Pacific: Its Past and Present*, was based on his doctorate and published soon before his return to New Zealand in 1919.²⁰² Several later publications were researched while he was in London and this time can be seen as the basis for his later career as an historian and national biographer.

Scholefield's case is exceptional for several reasons. His memoir provides a detailed account of his time in London and focuses on the themes of empire and nation that are central to this thesis. Moreover, like several other correspondents in this study, as part of a correspondence agency, he was in constant contact with members of the expatriate community, as well as with prominent members of the British press and imperial agencies like the EPU. He spent a particularly long time as a correspondent, arriving in 1908 and not returning to New Zealand until 1919, and his success was such that he awarded an OBE in 1920.²⁰³ Finally, Scholefield valued his role as a representative of New Zealand highly, an attitude that saw him play an active role in the expatriate community and in London society and criticise Whitelaw for failing to do the same.²⁰⁴ The themes his London career highlights

²⁰⁰Scholefield, „Autobiography’, pp. 147-8.

²⁰¹Letter, Guy H. Scholefield to James Bone, 3 September 1947, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

²⁰²Guy H. Scholefield, *The Pacific: its Past and Present* (London, 1919).

²⁰³ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

²⁰⁴Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 147.

are, however, demonstrated to a lesser degree by all the correspondents in this study.

None of the correspondents had gone to London merely to correspond and, like Scholefield, all pursued other goals, encouraging their integration into British society. Most wrote for British publications of various kinds. Rous-Marten wrote for a railway enthusiasts' journal; Heighway for a cycling journal; Verry, Scholefield, Whitelaw and Graham for Fleet Street newspapers; and Hyde for a London socialist journal.²⁰⁵ Verry attended plays, wrote and tried to find work on Fleet Street. He had a degree of success selling freelance articles to British, American and Canadian papers and had several short stories published in London.²⁰⁶ Similarly, Mander and Hyde pursued their literary careers, with Mander publishing two novels while she was writing for the *Sun* newspapers.²⁰⁷ Fiction writing never paid enough to support them, and McGregor writes that, when she was ill late in 1925, Mander continued her *Sun* work to the point of exhaustion.²⁰⁸ Throughout the period of his correspondence, Reed published and promoted the *Anglo-New Zealander* and Heighway rode a bicycle throughout Britain and Europe, contributing to the British Cyclists' Touring Club magazine, and returning to London to research articles and attend classes at the LSE. He appears to have been disappointed by the school, and wrote that „my association with the [LSE] was to use it as a backdrop and introduction to helping forward any enquiry or information I sought. I had to earn my living. No subsidies for students then, as there are now’.²⁰⁹

Correspondents' engagement with the expatriate community varied greatly. As a freelancer, Heighway had no obligation to write about expatriates and did not do so. However, he would have met other New Zealanders at the Coronation, where correspondents from each dominion were grouped together in special stands, and at the LSE, which was then headed by Reeves.²¹⁰ As correspondent for the *New Zealand Herald* and editor of the *Anglo-New Zealander*, Reed would have met

²⁰⁵Anon, „Charles Rous-Marten’; Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 14; Verry, „London’s Maginot Line’; Scholefield, „From a New Zealand Correspondent’; Anon, „Success in London: Death of Former New Zealand Journalist’, *New Zealand Journalist*, 5:12 (1939), p. 4; Graham, „Newspaper Work in England’;

²⁰⁶ATL MS-Papers-6811, Verry, Horace Leslie Papers.

²⁰⁷They were *Allen Adair* (1925) and *The Beseiging City: A Novel of New York* (1926).

²⁰⁸McGregor, pp. 84-5.

²⁰⁹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 16.

²¹⁰Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 11-12.

many members of the expatriate community, and his articles focussed on two men with connections to New Zealand, Tawhiao and Hugh Shortland, a lawyer who had lived briefly in New Zealand. Hyde and Mander were often sought out by New Zealanders in London and Hyde was one of the New Zealanders Verry visited during his early stay in London.²¹¹ His diary lists many more, and Verry seems to have seen the connection as important, writing ‚and how we home folk cling together’.²¹²

The Reeves had a complex relationship with the New Zealand expatriate community. On the one hand, as a High Commissioner, William Pember Reeves was at its heart and his history, *The Land of the Long White Cloud*, was published in 1898, two years after his arrival in London.²¹³ (Scholefield recalled his excitement and awe at meeting him in his memoir and the NZAP frequently covered his activities).²¹⁴ On the other hand, their engagement with British groups was significant, and each took positions within British organisations.²¹⁵ Maud published *Round About a Pound a Week*, a Fabian-influenced survey of British living conditions (and an echo of the columns she had supplied Scholefield in 1911), in 1913, was active in the suffrage movement and became director of women’s services for the Ministry of Food in 1917.²¹⁶ Reeves fulfilled a variety of roles, including an unpopular directorship of the LSE, 1908-1919.²¹⁷ London provided them only limited satisfaction, with the scandal surrounding their daughter Amber’s pregnancy, their son Fabian’s death in France in 1917 and William’s forced resignation from the LSE all tainting their time there.²¹⁸ Such was their dissatisfaction that Sinclair writes that ‚Reeves’s only remaining enthusiasm was for Greece: he adopted a new country’.²¹⁹

Although none of the other agency correspondents have left the extensive biographical detail available in Scholefield’s case, their correspondence mentions numerous encounters with expatriate New Zealanders and suggests extensive

²¹¹Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairoa’, p. 38.

²¹²Verry, ‚On Board SS Tairoa’, p. 27.

²¹³Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, pp. 264-5.

²¹⁴Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 145.

²¹⁵Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, pp. 264-5.

²¹⁶Fry, ‚Reeves, Magdalene Stuart’.

²¹⁷Fry, ‚Reeves, Magdalene Stuart’; Sinclair, ‚Reeves, William Pember’.

²¹⁸Fry, Ruth, ‚Reeves, Magdalene Stuart’; Sinclair, ‚Reeves, William Pember’.

²¹⁹Sinclair, ‚Reeves, William Pember’.

engagement with an expatriate community. All agency correspondents provided personals columns (discussions of the expatriate community), routinely met New Zealand officials on visits to London and were met by expatriate New Zealanders seeking promotion.²²⁰ Most importantly, they appear to have been present at many of the events held by, or important to, the expatriate community. An NZPA correspondent wrote in 1903 that a dinner for „Lord Northcote given by the Anglo-colonial community in London’ was a ‚genuine success’ while an NZAP correspondent was present in 1935 a dinner held by the ‚New Zealand colony in London’ to ‚honour [...] in some way’ a visiting All Blacks team.²²¹

All correspondents also imagined a connection to New Zealand through their audiences. Mander began her correspondence as ‚a series of articles describing events which [she] thought would be of interest to the people back in New Zealand’.²²² Heighway planned ‚special angles’ on the Coronation and other aspects of life in London, aiming to make his articles ‚as unusual as possible’ and thus interesting to his audience.²²³ Correspondents commonly addressed readers directly and repeatedly asserted that they were writing and researching on their behalf.²²⁴ Few accounts of direct communication between correspondents and their New Zealand editors remain, but the available evidence suggests that this was an important factor in correspondence. As she appears to have written only one article from London, editorial reactions to Hyde’s London correspondence are unavailable. On arriving in London, however, she received a letter from her New Zealand editor, Otto Williams, addressing her writing from China. The letter suggests the extent and potential impact of editorial commentary received by correspondents. It was the last in a series of such letters, and provoked a strong response from Hyde. Williams’ claim that her account from the battlefield in China was not sufficiently ‚snappy and sensational’ and that she should have hinted at sexual misconduct (rather than mere brutality) on the part of the Japanese soldiers, undermined

²²⁰See, for instance, NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 19 January 1885, p. 5; NZAP, ed C. Rous-Marten, ‚New Zealanders at Home.’, *Christchurch Press*, 24 August 1899, p. 3.

²²¹NZPA, ed James Whitelaw, ‚Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 January 1904, p. 11; NZAP, ed A.W. Mitchell, ‚A Reunion in London: Presentations to Rugby Team’, *Christchurch Press*, 24 January 1936, p. 16.

²²²McGregor, p. 81.

²²³Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 12, 16.

²²⁴George McCullagh Reed, ‚The Shortland Case. Revultion [sic] of Public Feeling in England.’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884, p. 6. The ‚head of your London office’ was probably the *New Zealand Herald*’s then London correspondent, who I have not been able to identify.

everything she had achieved as a woman journalist.²²⁵ As Boddy and Matthews argue, „Williams was happy to have a woman correspondent in the battle zone, as long as her weapons were feminine wiles and sex appeal’.²²⁶

Scholefield’s papers contain two letters between himself and Phineas Selig, then manager of the *Press* and one of the governors of the NZAP.²²⁷ Amongst the UPA’s considerable records, however, is a detailed account of communication between T.M. Hinkley, the UPA’s news editor, and Mitchell after his appointment as their first London correspondent in 1942. Their correspondence was extensive, and they often used the telegraph, a tool that would have been unavailable to many earlier correspondents because of cost. That said, Mitchell appeared to be unsurprised by the level of communication and comment he received, suggesting that this had also been part of his role with the NZAP and, more generally, that communication between London correspondents and their editors was significant. Mitchell received both general instructions from Hinkley („it would facilitate sub-editing if you did not employ so many prefixes and suffixes’) as well as more specific suggestions:

[w]hile listening to the BBC yesterday afternoon I heard a talk of plastic surgery by a man introduced as “Mr Archibald McIndoe, one of Britain’s leading plastic surgeons.” [sic] I can recall an A. McIndoe who was educated at Otago Boys High School and the Otago University and I did hear recently that he was engaged in plastic surgery in Britain.²²⁸

Connection to New Zealand via imagined national audiences and direct editorial communication contributed to a sense of isolation from New Zealand. This was clearly articulated by Mitchell. Writing to Hinkley about what form his news from London should take, that is, what form he perceived to be desired by his readers, he wrote,

I try to keep an eye as much as I can on New Zealand newspapers to watch for subjects, but I cannot say that I have time to follow them as closely as I should

²²⁵Boddy and Matthews, pp. 83-5.

²²⁶Boddy and Matthews, p. 84.

²²⁷The letters discussed aspects of news flow, with Selig informing Scholefield that Reuters (rather than the NZAP, as Scholefield had hoped) would buy the rights to Captain R. F. Scott’s 1910 Antarctic expedition and Scholefield apprising Selig of his attempts to lower postage rates on New Zealand newspapers in Britain. Letters, Phineas Selig to Guy H. Scholefield, 28 July 1910, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers; and Guy H. Scholefield to Phineas Selig, 5 July 1912, ATL MS-Papers-5493, Scholefield, Gavin: Papers Relating to G.H. Scholefield; O’Neill, p. 271.

²²⁸Letters T. M. Hinkley to A. W. Mitchell, 5 March 1943 and 19 January 1945. ATL NZPA MS-Papers-7606 Box Five, NZPA Archive.

like to. [...] I should appreciate it very much if you would give me periodically your views of the service [...] as I am naturally keen to know your opinions. [...] My reason for asking this is that, working by myself, there is a tendency occasionally to have a sense of “loneliness”. To know what you think in New Zealand is the best remedy.²²⁹

Similarly, Scholefield’s sense that he was ‘losing touch with his generation’ appears to have been highlighted by his increased engagement with the New Zealand community during World War One, and was one of the motivations behind his return to New Zealand in 1919.²³⁰

Similar concerns were expressed and demonstrated by the other correspondents. Mander made a point of reviewing books by New Zealand authors in her columns for the *Sun* newspapers and although she was excited to find a copy of Jean Devanny’s *The Butcher Shop*, the work highlighted her isolation from the New Zealand writing community. It was ‘a first novel, I presume from various indications. I cannot help wondering what those gentle souls who have been horrified at my books are going to say to their latest author’.²³¹ What she did not appear to realise is that the book had been banned in New Zealand the previous year.²³² Similarly, Heighway – whose correspondence focused on descriptive accounts of London life – felt that New Zealand audiences would misinterpret his articles and form the wrong image of the city.

Contemplating [the British General Post Office], I say, you may be pardoned for thinking it would be the outcome of pronounced rush and activity. But if you do think so, you are far from the truth. That is not the British way of doing things. The Englishman refuses to be rushed. He does his work slowly – apparently – but he does it. [In New Zealand post offices] there would be an atmosphere of feverish activity, the bending of every faculty to the accomplishment of a task within the shortest possible space of time. In the London central office you will see nothing of that.²³³

The Return

Of the fourteen journalists that formed this study’s initial sample, six did not return to New Zealand permanently. Hyde committed suicide in London in 1939.

²²⁹Letter A.W. Mitchell to T.M. Hinkley, 13 July 1942. ATL NZPA MS-Papers-7606 Box Five, NZPA Archive.

²³⁰Scholefield, ‘Autobiography’, p. 188.

²³¹Jane Mander, ‘The Butcher Shop.’ Jane Mander Writes of Jean Devanny’, *Christchurch Sun*, 30 April, 1927, p. 12.

²³²Bill Pearson, ‘The Banning of *The Butcher Shop*’, in *The Butcher Shop*, ed Heather Roberts (Auckland, 1981), pp. 225-34.

²³³Arthur J. Heighway, ‘The “G.P.O.” [sic] London. What Good Organisation Will Do.’, *Otago Daily Times*, 12 February 1912, p. 4.

Whitelaw worked for the NZPA for at least eight years before joining the *Daily Mail*.²³⁴ He then worked for a succession of London papers before his death in 1939.²³⁵ Rathbone and Rous-Marten died in 1901 and 1908 respectively, while both still heading their correspondence agencies.²³⁶ Rathbone and Rous-Marten were British born and, although Rathbone's obituaries contain few details, Rous-Marten appears to have been thoroughly reintegrated into London society. After his death, the NZAP sent out an obituary from the *Engineer*:

there were few railways in the kingdom his position on which he couldn't [sic] identify almost to a mile by a glance from the carriage window. [...] There has been so far only one Rous-Marten, and it is not easy to believe that there can ever be another. [...] Mr Rous-Marten was a charming companion and a sincere friend. His death leaves a blank; it is not easy to see how it can be filled.²³⁷

Similarly, although William Pember and Maud Reeves were active in the expatriate community, particularly during William's time as Agent-General and High Commissioner, their friends and networks grew increasingly European and each returned to New Zealand only briefly before their deaths.²³⁸

The majority of correspondents, however, returned to New Zealand. Heighway planned only a limited stay in London. He stayed for almost exactly twelve months and his return appears to have been brought on by this: after Christmas and New Year, 'Spring loomed large and I must see something of Europe'; after several months in Europe, 'came preparation for return. I had had a wonderful twelve months of travel and experience'.²³⁹ Several other journalists had similar time limits. Bickley went to cover the 1937 cricket tour of England and, although he investigated 'prospects for employment' in London at, he claimed, the request of other New Zealand journalists, he returned soon after.²⁴⁰ Graham's involvement with the EPU exchange scheme carried with it the expectation that he would return and he did, although his decision to join the NZAP suggests that he was not necessarily governed by this.

²³⁴Anon, 'Success in London'; Letters Dominion London Correspondents to Unspecified, 8 March 1911 and W. H. Morston, Secretary of the EPU, to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, 26 April 1917, ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers. Whitelaw left New Zealand in 1903 and the last reference I have found to him as a London correspondent is from 1911. By 1917, the NZPA was represented in London by Miss E.L.C. Watson, about whom I have found no other information.

²³⁵Anon, 'Success in London'.

²³⁶Anon, 'All Sorts of People'; Anon, 'Mr Charles Rous-Marten'.

²³⁷NZAP ed anon, 'Anglo-Colonial Notes', *Christchurch Press*, 3 June 1908, p. 8.

²³⁸Fry, *Maud and Amber*, p. 93.

²³⁹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 16-7.

²⁴⁰Bickley, 'Exchange of Journalists'.

Perhaps more relevantly, despite its initial appeal, Graham was dissatisfied with journalism in London, writing soon before his return that life in London was „more complicated, more competitive, more full of worries and uncertainties, than in New Zealand, and it is not surprising that so many Fleet Street journalists are burnt out before middle age’.²⁴¹ Dissatisfaction with life in London appears to have been a common motivation. According to McGregor, soon before Mander’s return to New Zealand, she was frustrated with city life, her finances and her career: „London was becoming harder for her to survive’.²⁴² By the end of 1931 Mander was „flat broke’ and soon resolved to return to New Zealand.²⁴³ Although he did not offer it as a reason for his departure, Heighway expressed a similar distaste for large cities: „I have seen the clogged arteries of cities, their slum areas and their packed commuter transport. That’s not life’.²⁴⁴

For others, a return to New Zealand represented a failure to achieve their goals in London. Verry’s diary mirrored his mood as it moved from a polished and edited tone – he planned to sell sections as articles – to a collection of notes narrating his fears and failures. He abandoned it well before he left London: „Fleet Street is hopeless. What am I to do? Mon Dieu, I am glad to have still my ideas and my little bank account, so that still I could live here for twelve months without fear, I believe, although certainly without great excitement’.²⁴⁵ Although Verry gained significant publicity in New Zealand on his return, publishing articles in *The Listener* on his experiences in London „during two war-time months’, the ambitions that sustained him as he „haunted Fleet Street’ and battled his „poetic illusion’ in 1938 were not achieved.²⁴⁶ His obituaries focussed on his later success as head of the UPA, making little reference to his time in London and none to ambitions outside journalism or New Zealand.²⁴⁷ Similarly, although nothing is recorded of Reed’s motivations for returning, the *Anglo-New Zealander* seems to have been

²⁴¹J.C. Graham, „Journalism in England: a New Zealander’s Impressions’, *New Zealand Journalist*, 4:1 (1938), p. 7.

²⁴²McGregor, p. 90.

²⁴³McGregor, p. 91.

²⁴⁴Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 4.

²⁴⁵Verry, „On Board SS Tairoa’, p. 31.

²⁴⁶H. Leslie Verry, „Propaganda Works the Wrong Miracle’, *Listener*, 2 February 1940, p. 11.

²⁴⁷Anon, „PA Chief’.

unsuccessful and he sold it soon before returning to New Zealand in 1885.²⁴⁸

Failure to integrate into London society also discouraged permanent expatriation. Although Heighway raised the possibility of his not returning in his memoir, he quickly dismissed it:

I had no family links with England. [...] I had been inside only one home in England and then only for a short spell. [...] I realised I had no English background and particularly no school background of worth in English eyes. [...] On the commercial side, although I had made some minor contacts with London newspaper circles, there was no lure to me in that life as I then saw it.²⁴⁹

Similarly, Graham seems to have seen himself as an outsider on Fleet Street:

[n]or do I think English journalists as a whole work very hard. They grumble a lot, but when one works in an office with them, it usually turns out that they do not really know what hard work is. [...] On a London paper for which I worked most of the staff spent an hour or two of their seven-hour day doing nothing and the seven-hour stretch included a leisurely meal.²⁵⁰

The decision was less clear for Scholefield („I had come to England for five years only, and had never intended to stay [for eleven years]. Should my future be in England or back home?') but his eventual return seems to have been motivated primarily by the desire to return to New Zealand.²⁵¹ He wrote that he „wanted to be part of the new era I could see opening in the Dominion. The deciding factor in the end [however] was our young family. The three children had suffered with food rationing in the war [...]. In New Zealand there was an abundance of food and sunshine'.²⁵² Such homesickness for New Zealand was a common theme. Mander wrote soon before leaving London that „I am really getting quite homesick for quiet and sunshine and scenery and the hills of my childhood' and Heighway recalled that „I had been so homesick [on one occasion] that although I had had a good breakfast on a bright and sunny day [...], I could do nothing better than crawl back to my hotel [...] and go to bed for the rest of the day'.²⁵³

If journalism was a peripatetic profession, it was surely also a diverse one. Yet, in spite of varying ages, generations, genders and beliefs, the decision of each of the

²⁴⁸I have not been able to establish the publication life of the *Anglo-New Zealander* but it appears not to have continued long after Reed's departure and Rudman has labelled it „short lived'. See Rudman.

²⁴⁹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 18.

²⁵⁰Graham, „Journalism in England'.

²⁵¹Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 188.

²⁵²Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 189.

²⁵³McGregor, pp. 91-2; Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 18.

correspondents in this study to go to London confirmed their place within a British world and the centrality of London to that world. Correspondents may have differed significantly in their responses to London – from idealisation to disgust and from permanent expatriation to equally permanent retreat – but underlying each decision to go to London was its position as a cultural and imperial metropole, one that resonated in the world of journalism, and in those of the economic, intellectual, cultural and political pursuits to which the press was linked throughout this period. Correspondents clearly relished the opportunity to go to London and six of those discussed here did not return permanently to New Zealand. Many were influenced in this by the imperial press system. Correspondents engaged with British and imperial organisations in London, the EPU was an important part of correspondents' lives in London after its establishment in 1909, and Fleet Street retained its cultural importance throughout the period of this study, with the majority of the correspondents publishing in the British press.

The process of correspondence, however, highlighted the potentially conflicting identities adopted by correspondents. Correspondence – whether it was at the request of the New Zealand Government, entrepreneurial, or out of financial desperation – encouraged engagement with the New Zealand press system. The decision to go to London was often motivated by dissatisfaction with life and journalism in New Zealand, yet the opportunity to go to London, or to correspond after arriving independently, was offered by New Zealand organisations. The agencies may have been based in London, but each was still governed by New Zealand newspaper syndicates and staffed by New Zealand journalists and non-agency correspondents had arrangements with New Zealand newspapers, or, in the case of William Pember Reeves, with the New Zealand Government. As Scholefield, in particular, clearly demonstrates, this role placed many correspondents at the centre of the expatriate New Zealand community in London and, as will be argued in Chapter Three, correspondents provided extensive coverage of New Zealanders and New Zealand stories. Moreover, as will be developed below, correspondents responded to a need for supplementary news from London, and supplied stories on British subjects but with a distinctive New Zealand perspective.

Chapter Two

Press and Public: British Stories and the Decline of News Currency

But this is a very fallacious notion. The press and public now begin to feel that they are being treated with contempt, and thus a personal feeling of wrong is added to the intense indignation felt about Mr Beck himself and to the anxiety that each person must [...] feel lest he or she may some day come in for like outrage.²⁵⁴

In defining what was required of the UPA's new London office in 1942, news editor T.M. Hinkley described correspondence in two parts: ‚[w]hat we want is our own interpretative matter [including] articles that will let the [New Zealand] public know what the people of Britain think [and] items of specific New Zealand interest.’²⁵⁵ Hinkley's model is applicable to this study and, despite significant changes between 1884 and 1942, correspondents consistently provided supplementary coverage of Britain, as well as articles ‚of specific New Zealand interest’. The former will be the focus of this chapter. This is a large area and not confined to British stories. As London was the global and imperial centre of news flow and the main source of European correspondence to New Zealand, London correspondents frequently sent non-British items. This decreased markedly, however, over the period, with the declining currency of correspondence leading to an increased focus on Britain, and on London in particular. As was discussed in the Introduction, audience reception is difficult to gauge; the form correspondence took and its position within the newspaper, however, suggest that it made a significant contribution to news flow into New Zealand and this will be developed below.

The focus of the remainder of this chapter will be the British world identities employed within correspondence. Increased coverage of London consolidated the centrality of the British public as a subject for correspondence, and such a focus – providing, as it did, New Zealand readers with detailed and sympathetic accounts of the experiences and opinions of their British contemporaries – supports the assertion that correspondence enabled readers to imagine themselves as members of

²⁵⁴NZAP, ed C. Rous-Marten, ‚Adolf Beck's Martyrdom. The Great Judicial Scandal.’, *Christchurch Press*, 13 October 1904, p. 8. Beck was twice wrongly convicted for crimes committed by another man, to whom he bore a physical resemblance; he gained significant public support, through the press, before he was pardoned in 1904.

²⁵⁵Letter, Hinkley to Mitchell 27 April 1942, ATL MS-Papers-7606-Box Five, NZPA Archive.

a British world. However, the term ‚concurrent identities’, so often used in British world scholarship, is inappropriate in this case.²⁵⁶ As Catherine Hall has noted, identities in the British world were ‚not essential or fixed’ but flexible and ever changing.²⁵⁷ Because of this, the varied experiences and linkages that made up the British world require separate vocabulary. This is clearly demonstrated in London correspondence, with correspondents tempering their focus on the British public with categorisation, thematisation and their self-identification as New Zealanders. For these reasons, it will be argued in this chapter that the term ‚layered identities’ best describes London correspondence.

Form and Function

The nature of correspondents’ positions influenced the form of their correspondence. Non-agency correspondence was generally made up of individual articles – although much of Jane Mander’s work for the *Sun* newspapers was in column form – and non-agency correspondents paid greater attention to ‚British’ items. All correspondents pursued goals other than correspondence while in London, but this was more important for non-agency correspondents, few of whom went to London planning to correspond, and they sent considerably less correspondence than their agency counterparts.²⁵⁸ Subjects varied greatly, with correspondents often writing about their own specialities or areas of interest. Thus, Mander focused on literature and Robin Hyde on pro-China activism. Although non-agency correspondents were significantly less constrained regarding what and when they wrote, none were truly independent. Some arrived in London with agreements with New Zealand newspapers, several made arrangements after their arrivals and all had been engaged with the New Zealand press system before their departure. Similarly, as Arthur J. Heighway was organised enough to arrange part of his article on the London poor before arriving in London, it is likely that some articles were sufficiently planned to be sold to editors before his departure, thus restricting what he could write.

²⁵⁶Karl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, for instance, argue that ‚[t]he rise of colonial national identities did not contradict or undermine imperial Britishness’ but instead encouraged ‚concurrent identities’. Bridge and Fedorowich, p. 6.

²⁵⁷Catherine Hall, p. 23.

²⁵⁸All but one of the agency correspondents in this study (Graham) appear to have gone to London planning to correspond; by contrast, half of the non-agency correspondents (Mander, William Pember and Maud Reeves and Verry) arrived in London without that intention.

Until the early twentieth century, agency correspondence generally consisted of columns. From around 1908 – when Guy H. Scholefield took over the NZAP – articles appeared more often. Although its frequency remained static at approximately one package of correspondence per fortnight, the quantity of agency correspondence grew in size over this period, going from one or two columns per package of correspondence in the 1880s, to four or five articles by the 1930s. These changes mirrored growth in newspaper size, but appear to have been more than was required at some times. A.W. Mitchell, who took the NZAP as his model when he began to write for the UPA, sent more correspondence than war-time papers could handle, prompting Hinkley to tell him: ‚[o]ur newsprint situation is fairly keen and there is not much room for trimmings. What we want is the meat’.²⁵⁹ Agency correspondence also followed newspaper expansion into smaller publications and the NZAP’s letter head from 19010 labels them as the London office of the *Auckland Weekly News*, the *Otago Witness* and the *Weekly Press*, as well as the four dailies that they had represented from their establishment.²⁶⁰

Although their structure and engagement with the expatriate community meant that the agencies focused on New Zealand items, every package of agency correspondence contained non-New Zealand stories. When the NZPA was established, the UPA was the sole source of telegraphic news and its supply was hardly satisfactory. As Jeb Byrne and Ross Harvey have each noted, ‚to be terse was to save money’ and early telegraphic news was necessarily concise.²⁶¹ In the early correspondence period, this led to significant misinterpretation of the news items received by telegraph and left New Zealand readers open to being misled. Several years before he left for London but after New Zealand’s connection to the under-sea telegraph, George McCullagh Reed wrote two articles for the *New Zealand Herald* which that Noah’s Ark had been discovered.²⁶² In the first article, he informed readers that news of the discovery had been received by telegraph. In

²⁵⁹Letter, Hinkley to Mitchell, 5 March 1943.

²⁶⁰ATL MS-Papers-0212, Scholefield, Guy Hardy Papers.

²⁶¹Jeb Byrne, ‚The Comparative Development of Newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the Nineteenth Century’, *American Studies International*, 37:1 (1999), p. 65; Ross Harvey, ‚Bringing the News to New Zealand’, pp. 21-34.

²⁶²Reed, *Calamo Currente*, pp. 1-3.

the second, he consolidated the hoax by detailing a British expedition to the ship.²⁶³ Readers lacked the ability to verify the story elsewhere and Reed wrote that the story was widely believed until he announced, several months later, that he had invented it himself.²⁶⁴

As well as its brevity, early telegraphic news could be unreliable. In 1888 the telegraphic connection between Europe and Australia and New Zealand was lost. Political tensions in Europe led many to assume that the outage had been caused by the outbreak of war and it was not until eighteen days later, after mines had been laid and a gunboat launched from Melbourne, that the cause was found to be volcanic activity.²⁶⁵ Morrison argues that tersity and unreliability, as well as engrained public expectations and the unfamiliarity of telegraphic news, enabled news-by-mail to retain its currency for a period after telegraphic connection.²⁶⁶ Thus, correspondence and other news-by-mail – generally that taken from foreign newspapers – continued to be published regularly until the early twentieth century.

News flow into New Zealand gradually improved over the correspondence period. Radio broadcasts began in the 1920s and alternative sources of electronic news were introduced in the 1930s. A second telegraph connection, the Pacific Cable, was completed in 1902 and telegraph rates were lowered after the 1909 Imperial Press Conference, leading quickly to an increase in supply.²⁶⁷ The overall trend was one of growth, with the number of words received by the UPA going from 44 152 in 1883 to just under one million in 1931.²⁶⁸ This – combined with decreases in the time and cost involved in travel – encouraged the UPA to send correspondents to cover important events, such as W.H. Bickley's coverage of the 1937 cricket tour, by telegraph. Widespread dissatisfaction with telegraphic news remained, however, and the UPA changed its supply agreements frequently. Telegraphic news did not, as Felicity Barnes has suggested, facilitate a situation of

²⁶³Reed, *Calamo Currente*, pp. 1-3, pp. 82-5.

²⁶⁴Reed, *Calamo Currente*, pp. 1-3.

²⁶⁵Lynne McDonald, „The Tie That Binds: the Pacific Cable and the Men Who Worked on the Cable Stations’ (University of Auckland History MA thesis, 2006), p. 27.

²⁶⁶Morrison, p. 69.

²⁶⁷Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 156-7.

²⁶⁸Sanders, p. 16, p. 60. Sanders does not give any numbers for the period 1932-1942.

„simultaneity’ between New Zealand and London.²⁶⁹ „An Old Hand’, writing in the *New Zealand Journalist* in 1935, felt that „our oversea [sic] news service in New Zealand is no better in quality than it was 30 or 40 years ago’, criticising the „copy’ as indecipherable, lacking in continuity, and resembling „turbid and intermittent effluent’.²⁷⁰ In spite of the appointment of Ross as official war correspondent, dissatisfaction was particularly high during World War One and, as will be discussed below, this prompted significant changes in the correspondence agencies’ supply.

These factors enabled correspondents to undermine the UPA’s „monopoly’ over foreign news flow into New Zealand. Although there are few historical sources of public attitudes towards news flow, the correspondence analysed in this study contained several significant markers of news currency. Early correspondents referred to the urgency with which they wrote and sent their stories. Reed dedicated a large part of an 1884 article on the Shortland case, subtitled „Latest Details Before the Departure of the Mail’, to detailing his attempts to send current news, writing that he was „anxious to send the latest information’ to New Zealand and describing his attempts to persuade Shortland’s lawyer to provide him with information then unavailable to British newspapers.²⁷¹ When this was refused, he claimed to have said „but that won’t do for me. I want to know before the mail goes out to-morrow [sic] morning, else the matter will be delayed for a time’.²⁷² Editors seem to have shared this sense of urgency, and early correspondence appears to have been published as soon as possible after its arrival.

Early correspondents and editors referred to correspondence as news and treated it as such. An NZPA correspondent wrote in 1887 that their letter contained „all the news’ from London regarding proposed limits on emigration to Australasia.²⁷³ An editor wrote in 1884 that „[w]e publish to-day some interesting items of news received from our London correspondent. Several new facts in connection with the

²⁶⁹Barnes, p. 222.

²⁷⁰Sanders, pp. 45, 50-1; „An Old Hand’, „Cable Service’, *New Zealand Journalist* 1:2 (1935), p. 5.

²⁷¹Reed, „The Shortland Case’.

²⁷²Reed, „The Shortland Case’.

²⁷³NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Our London Letter.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 19 January 1887, p. 6.

and was an innocent man with his...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

On the 27th inst. the vessel of St. Helena...

taken prisoner near Galdal when he...

Intelligence has been received here...

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

THE AUCKLAND LOAN.

might in "Forget-me-not" in an...

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

SAKIROKA, Jan. 6.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

to the law. In the simplicity of...

Figure two Example of early correspondence being published beside telegraphs.

Lyttelton Times, 7 January 1885, p. 5.

[...] case will be found'.²⁷⁴ This is the only example of editorial discussion of correspondence uncovered in this study. The inclusion of correspondence in this forum is nonetheless significant, as editorials were reserved for discussions of significant topical issues. Similarly, as Figure Two illustrates, early correspondence was published besides telegraphic news, rather than amongst opinion columns and soft news stories. Correspondence was not the only news-by-mail to appear alongside the telegraphic news and news-by-mail columns sourced from foreign newspapers – the main source of international news in the pre-telegraph period – were also included in the late nineteenth century.

Further, early correspondence was news in the sense that it provided important information that was new to its audience. This was even more evident in New Zealand stories, but the flow of non-New Zealand news was highly constrained in the early correspondence period and news-by-mail provided information and detail that was otherwise unavailable. The telegraph was essentially a reactive medium. That is, it provided coverage of events after they had happened. Seldom did the telegraph provide coverage of events that had failed to happen, or were significantly delayed, and readers and editors in New Zealand were often left to guess at such outcomes. In the early correspondence period, the column format employed by correspondents meant that they provided more narrative coverage, helping to answer questions about the progress of events in London: „Parliament has now been a fortnight in session, and as yet, with the exception of the formal introduction of the great measure occupying the minds of the nation, no progress whatsoever has been made towards the realisation of the object for which alone the Autumn session was called'.²⁷⁵

Limited contact with New Zealand meant that correspondents' ideas of currency surely differed from those of their readers and editors. This study has uncovered no contemporary accounts of public attitudes to correspondence, with letters to the editor tending to concentrate on topical local issues. Harvey draws a similar conclusion in his study of the *Inangahua Times*, 1894-5, finding „little evidence' in

²⁷⁴Anon, „Editorial', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884, p. 4.

²⁷⁵NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Our London Letter', *Lyttelton Times*, 18 December 1884, p. 5.

editorials and letters to the editor to suggest that newspapers were being produced for an audience interested in foreign news.²⁷⁶ While his suggestion that readers were disinterested in foreign news is questionable – if editors were willing to pay for UPA coverage and correspondence, then the lack of editorial or public comment was more likely related to the nature of these spaces rather than to public attitudes to foreign news – this study has found letters to the editor to be an unhelpful source of public attitudes towards correspondence.

As telegraphic news grew in size, familiarity and reliability, the currency of correspondence decreased. The urgency with which correspondence was treated appears to have declined during the 1890s, with considerably less reference made to the speed of writing or postage and increased reference to the delay: ‚I do not wish to recapitulate what you already know by cable’.²⁷⁷ Similarly correspondence ceased to be published beside telegraphic news around 1900. Although other non-telegraphic content continued to be published, the news-by-mail columns also disappeared around this time. Concurrent with this decline was a decrease in the urgency of publication, with correspondence articles appearing over several days after their arrival. Thus, while correspondence with the same dateline tended to be published on the same day throughout the 1880s and 1890s, by the early twentieth century correspondence was being published over two or three days. Under Mitchell’s editorship, the NZAP sent a large number of articles on various topics; their publication reflected this, with some articles with the same dateline appearing several weeks apart and datelines frequently overlapping.²⁷⁸ The fact that the only editorial reference to correspondence uncovered in this study appeared in 1884 suggests that this facet of its currency declined relatively swiftly, and was certainly gone ten years later, the period of Harvey’s investigation of the *Inangahua*

²⁷⁶Harvey, ‚A “Sense of Common Citizenship”’, p. 201.

²⁷⁷NZAP, ed C. Rous-Marten, ‚The New Zealand Loan. The Opening of Tenders.’, Christchurch Press, 13 June 1895, p. 3.

²⁷⁸This meant that datelines often intersected: For instance, two articles datelined 27 October 1937 were published in the Christchurch Press on 16 November 1937; these were followed on 18 November 1937 by an article datelined 20 October 1937. NZAP ed A. W. Mitchell, ‚New Zealanders Abroad: Personal Notes from London’, Christchurch Press, 16 November 1937, p. 3; NZAP ed A. W. Mitchell, ‚Work of Wool Secretariat: Visit to Yorkshire’, Christchurch Press, 16 November 1937, p. 17; NZAP ed A. W. Mitchell, ‚Defences of the Empire. Navy League Dinner in London.’, Christchurch Press, 20 October 1884, p. 4.

Times.²⁷⁹

Correspondence regained its currency at certain times, particularly during conflict or events of significance to New Zealand. News-by-mail columns were reintroduced in some newspapers during World War One, and the War led to significant changes in the nature of the content supplied by the correspondence agencies. The ‚new duties, additional work [and] new outlook’ Scholefield felt at the outbreak of World War One were reflected in the NZAP’s coverage of the War, with a significant increase in the quantity sent and also in the number of non-London based stories.²⁸⁰ Although Scholefield was not an official war correspondent, he was made an honorary lieutenant of the Royal Navy and travelled to the front.²⁸¹ The NZAP’s articles continued to be sent from London, but contained a combination of articles on the War taken from British newspapers, interviews with, and accounts of, serving New Zealanders and stories based on Scholefield’s observations at the front.²⁸² He depicted this contribution as important in his memoir, writing that in one instance he was able ‚to give my papers in New Zealand scoop on the first story of the Fleet at war’.²⁸³ Indicative of significant changes in news flow in the inter-war period, the NZAP’s coverage of World War Two, under Mitchell’s editorship, did not follow this pattern. While the NZAP provided coverage of the War, the number of official war correspondents had increased significantly and Mitchell does not appear to have left London in search of stories.²⁸⁴

Although Mander generally provided opinionative, literary columns, the 1926 London strike was sufficiently newsworthy for her to change her style. This change provided one of her only non-literary contributions to the Christchurch *Sun*. Mander’s literary columns were not datelined, but she chose to do this herself in

²⁷⁹Anon, ‚Editorial’, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 October 1884, p. 4.

²⁸⁰Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 164.

²⁸¹Anon, ‚Obituary’, *Wellington Evening Post*, 19 July 1963.

²⁸²Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, pp. 164-6.

²⁸³Scholefield, ‚Autobiography’, p. 168.

²⁸⁴*New Zealand Journalist*, 7:6 (1941), p. 4 and 7:8 (1941), p. 7. The journalists listed are J. H. Hall, Bob Miller, R. L. McKay and W. S. Jordan. Several journals were published for the troops during World War Two. One, *Crete News*, was overseen by Geoffrey Cox, ‚a New Zealander with Fleet Street experience’ who would go on to become one of New Zealand’s best known foreign correspondents. ‚Service Newspapers’, in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, ed Ian McGibbon (Oxford, 2002), p. 488.

„Not Worrying"! London in Striketime': „[t]his is Monday, May 3. [...] It seems that after all we are in for it ... [sic] the first general strike in the history of Britain'.²⁸⁵ The article covered the subsequent twenty-four hours, ending with another reference to the date, the only other example found in her correspondence: „[o]ne can record that on this May 4 [...]'.²⁸⁶ This changed attitude was met editorially. The article was accompanied by a photograph of London during the strike – Mander's columns usually contained a photograph of herself or of another author – and it was given one of the few three-lined headings, and the only exclamation mark, to accompany Mander's correspondence.

Despite regaining its currency during these times, the general trend was one of decline. When Scholefield left for London in 1908, he seemed to value highly the NZAP's service but his attitude had changed significantly by the time of his departure:

[t]he future of [the NZAP] was a question-mark. [...] The work itself, while not arduous, was unsatisfactory owing to the distance between London and New Zealand with mails taking six weeks in either direction. The time was ripe for using radio but our proprietors regarded with disfavour the first murmurings of Marconi's messages.²⁸⁷

In fact, the NZPA did adopt wireless technology, but the failure of several of its papers during the 1930s saw the agency close before it could fully utilise the technology. Although the NZAP was in operation until at least the 1960s, it continued to provide correspondence-by-mail throughout this period.²⁸⁸

The decline in the currency of correspondence had three important implications. As will be developed further in Chapter Three, items relating to New Zealanders took on greater significance. As they provided virtually the only „New Zealand news' from London throughout the period of this study, agency correspondents at all times sent these stories, but their proportional growth was marked, as was their differentiation from other stories. The NZPA's early correspondence mixed New Zealand and non-New Zealand stories in its weekly „London Letter', but by the 1890s the correspondence was in two parts. The agencies continued this division

²⁸⁵Mander, „Not Worrying"! London in Strike Time.', *Christchurch Sun*, 9 June 1926, p. 8.

²⁸⁶Mander, „Not Worrying"!'

²⁸⁷Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 188.

²⁸⁸Scholefield, „Autobiography', p. 188; O'Neill, p. 110.

throughout the period of this study and this model was taken up by the UPA. It appears to have been significant to Hinkley and he never addressed the two forms of correspondence together in his discussions with Mitchell.

Second, non-New Zealand items focused increasingly on Britain and on London in particular. The currency of early correspondence was so strong – and the UPA’s early telegraphic supply so problematic – that early agency correspondents sent news from throughout Europe, and sometimes further a field, in their columns. This attests to London’s prominent position for access to and the supply of news. Further, it highlights the fact that, as Katie Pickles notes with reference to twentieth century news flow, the „British Empire was not insular, but affected by those considered as “outsiders”,²⁸⁹ As the currency of correspondence declined, the number of non-British stories decreased markedly, and they appeared only rarely in the twentieth century. At the same time, stories focussing on London grew in prominence. Although Heighway travelled widely throughout Britain and Europe, almost all his correspondence related to London. Interestingly, he did write about his travels through Britain, but chose to publish them in the magazine of the Cycling Tourists’ Club, apparently without payment.²⁹⁰ Heighway emphasised the importance of London to correspondence in his memoir, referring to it „that always inexhaustible subject – London itself”.²⁹¹

Finally, correspondents focused increasingly on „soft news’. This was not a movement towards commentary, which had been present since the earliest correspondence and declined throughout the period of this study as the politicisation of the New Zealand press continued to decrease.²⁹² In 1942, Mitchell was surprised to be asked for his opinions: „I was interested particularly to know that you place so much emphasis on my own commentary. I had not realised this sufficiently, chiefly because in the past it had not been required of [the NZAP]’.²⁹³

²⁸⁹Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, p. 5.

²⁹⁰Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 14. The alternative reading – that Heighway’s non-London stories were rejected by New Zealand newspapers – is not likely: publication in New Zealand would not have precluded his submitting them in Britain, and he makes no mention of this in his memoir.

²⁹¹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 11.

²⁹²That is to say, political and topical commentary declined; cultural commentary, such as that provided by Mander, increased.

²⁹³NZPA, Letter Mitchell to Hinkley, 13 July 1942.

Although telegraphic supply grew significantly, charges were still per word, encouraging a focus on ‚hard news‘, that is coverage of ‚major, unique events, temporally highly specified, with consequences that insist on the attention of [...] audiences‘.²⁹⁴ In response to this, correspondents sent ‚soft news‘ such as „feature stories,” „enterprise stories,” or [...] „human interest stories”,²⁹⁵ These stories were sent throughout the correspondent period, but they made up a greater proportion in the twentieth century and were effected by changes in patterns of correspondence. For instance, under C. Rous-Marten’s editorship, the NZAP had sent detailed coverage of the British Parliament. When Scholefield replaced him in 1908, he abandoned these in favour of short interviews with prominent politicians on ‚topics of overseas interest‘.²⁹⁶ In both instances, correspondents provided a supplementary service, compensating for deficits in the UPA’s ‚hard news‘ supply in the nineteenth century and sending soft news items once this service improved.

Correspondence and the British World

The supplementary function of correspondence enabled readers in New Zealand to imagine themselves as members of a British world. That is not to say that correspondence brought readers into a situation of ‚simultaneity‘ with Britain – there was always a significant delay between writing and publication – but that correspondents highlighted New Zealand’s connection to Britain. They did this by stressing the relationship between two publics (readers in New Zealand and the British public ‚speaking through their press‘); by providing detailed and evocative accounts of events in London; and, in the case of agency correspondents, by creating a sense of continuity in their successive columns and articles.²⁹⁷

Discussions of British public opinion appeared frequently throughout the correspondence period. Reed wrote in 1884 that ‚[p]ublic opinion [...] has very much changed since the matter was originally brought to light‘ and a correspondent for the NZPA referred in 1885 to ‚the sensation of the hour in London‘.²⁹⁸ As

²⁹⁴Ulf Hannerz, *Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents* (Chicago, 2004), p. 31.

²⁹⁵Hannerz, *Foreign News*, p. 31.

²⁹⁶Scholefield, ‚Autobiography‘, p. 148.

²⁹⁷NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.‘, *Lyttelton Times*, 11 February 1885, p. 5.

²⁹⁸Reed, ‚The Shortland Case‘; NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.‘, *Lyttelton*

correspondence lost currency and concentrated more heavily on London, discussion of public opinion increased and by the time Scholefield moved to London in 1908, public opinion was discussed in many NZAP articles on Britain. This declined during World War One, but did not disappear, with an NZAP correspondent praising, for instance, the British public's 'patience' towards Germans and Austrians living in London.²⁹⁹ Hinkley stressed the importance of British public opinion in his letters to Mitchell, writing that the UPA wanted to know 'what the average Londoner-in-the-street was saying'.³⁰⁰ As non-agency correspondents seldom provided New Zealand stories, their writing contained many references to British public opinion. Both of H. Leslie Verry's articles for the *New Zealand Free Lance* in 1939 referred to public opinion, with 'Lloyd George, "Tuppenny Dean" and Paul Robeson' taking 'the changing temper of the British public' as its central theme and his coverage of the National Book Fair focusing on what 'makes the book fair so popular' with Londoners.³⁰¹ Similarly, Heighway wrote in 1911 that the public provided the traditional Cornish fair's sole protection against modernisation in '[t]hese [...] times of change': 'in its spirit it will, I suppose, endure yet, for these customs are firmly fixed in the composition of the people and will not be eliminated'.³⁰²

Discussions of a broad range of topics addressed public opinion. That is, public opinion was an important lens through which correspondence was written. An NZPA column on the 1885 general election opened with the statement that '[t]he general election is, as you will readily believe, absorbing public interest to the exclusion of almost every other topic, colonial, imperial or domestic'.³⁰³ Similarly, commenting on an exhibition arranged by the 'Commercial, Labour and Statistical Department of the Board of Trade' in 1906, in which 'a number of diagrams, dealing with various branches of labour and trade statistics, [were] to be exhibited',

Times, 8 April 1885, p. 5.

²⁹⁹NZAP, ed Guy H. Scholefield, 'Interning the Lot. Precautions Against Aliens.', *Christchurch Press*, 1 July 1915, p. 4.

³⁰⁰Letter, Hinkley to Mitchell 27 April 1942.

³⁰¹H. Leslie Verry, 'Lloyd George, "Tuppenny Dean" and Paul Robeson: Remarkable Meeting Significant of Changing Temper of British People', *New Zealand Free Lance*, 28 June 1939, p. 5; Verry, 'London's Maginot Line'.

³⁰²Arthur J. Heighway, 'A Cornish Fair. In With the New – Out With the Old.', *Otago Daily Times*, 12 September 1911, p. 11

³⁰³NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, 'Our London Letter.', *Lyttelton Times*, 13 January 1886, p. 5.

an NZPA correspondent focussed on the British public.³⁰⁴ The exhibition contained statistics from various areas, including foreign trade, shipping and railway traffic, but it was those areas with popular significance that were stressed:

subjects treated include the occupations of the people and the changes they have undergone in forty years; the state of unemployment over the same period; the movement of wages for thirty years; the fluctuations in the prices of food and other articles for varying periods; the consumption per head of certain articles; [and so on].³⁰⁵

Correspondents were generally sympathetic towards the British public. War-time articles stressed the sacrifices made by the populace, with an NZAP article published in 1942 emphasising the impact of paper restrictions on citizens:

[e]very section of the community is affected. For instance, many purchases in shops are no longer to be wrapped in paper. Only foodstuffs or articles which a retailer has agreed to deliver to customers may be wrapped. [...] There have been as a result some unusual scenes in Oxford street, London's famous shopping centre. People are returning home with unwrapped purchases – shoes, hats, material, shirts.³⁰⁶

Appearing alongside articles about war policy and military developments, these articles stressed the connections between the two countries. In spite of the magnitude of military and political events, everyday Britons retained their importance to New Zealanders.

Correspondents' focus on the British public was such that few of the non-English groups in London during the period of this study, groups central to much scholarship about London, appeared in correspondence.³⁰⁷ When Heighway arrived in London in 1911, he was part of a wave of journalists from throughout the British world who were also there to cover the Coronation. His fellow correspondents are not mentioned in his memoir, but he would have encountered them at the Coronation itself, at functions organised by the EPU, and in the crowds that were full of officials, spectators and other journalists. Yet, the subject of his two extant articles about that event was unquestionably London. He discussed the Empire in an abstract sense („the spread of Empire knowledge and enthusiasm'), and he

³⁰⁴NZPA, ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General.', *Lyttelton Times*, 22 September 1906, p. 12.

³⁰⁵NZPA, ed Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes', 20 September 1906.

³⁰⁶NZAP ed A.W. Mitchell ed, „Saving Paper in Britain: Purchases from Shops not Wrapped', *Christchurch Press*, 8 January 1942, p. 2.

³⁰⁷See, for instance, Angela Woollacott, „The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-Century London', *Signs*, 25:3 (2000), p. 762.

mentioned his intended readers in Australia and New Zealand, but described the event as a ‚great scene‘, a ‚vivacious throb‘ of ‚glitter and [...] pomp‘.³⁰⁸ Although he provided statistics for the origins of the vagrants he encountered at a soup kitchen on the Coronation eve (‚Fourteen men from New Zealand were glad to sleep in that hall last year. Australia sent 91, Canada 29 [and so on]‘), he preferred to subsume them into the London crowd:

[i]t is almost useless trying to paint the scene inside that hall. Some get into conversation with others, but a great oppressive sadness seemed to dominate everyone. Some disrobed and settled to bed early. Some sat disconsolately on the side of their “coffins.” [sic] Some lay down fully dressed for the night. Perhaps they had no shirt, or a newspaper did duty for one. In a corner a group produced a pack of cards and played the inevitable game. Some mended clothes, and some washed.³⁰⁹

From the twentieth century onwards, groups from outside the British world were discussed infrequently, but some – particularly French and Americans – prompted criticism. Mander, returning from a holiday in Paris in 1924, wrote: ‚[o]nce again I have been to Paris. That is not wonderful. But I have returned. That is‘.³¹⁰ While her description of the trip highlighted Paris’s cultural appeal (and London’s centrality to it) she felt that the city was ‚first and foremost a vast death trap‘.³¹¹ She objected, in particular, to the ‚whirling maelstrom of motor vehicles‘ and the ‚globe-trotting American, [...] particularly the summer visitor‘.³¹² Having lived in New York for a decade prior to arriving in London, Mander had a particular interest in and knowledge of America, and it appeared as a subject of her correspondence far more than that of any other correspondent addressed in this study. Early in her correspondence, she wrote that ‚I am still seeing London as a contrast to New York. I keep telling the English I meet that the proper way to appreciate their metropolis is to have 10 years in the American inferno first. After New York, London is a sprawling, quiet, restful, old-world village‘.³¹³

³⁰⁸Heighway, ‚The Great Coronation Film‘; Arthur J. Heighway, ‚The March of the Dead-Beat. Scenes in London Streets.‘, *Otago Daily Times*, 26 July 1911, p. 6.

³⁰⁹Heighway, ‚The March of the Dead-Beat‘.

³¹⁰Mander, ‚A City of “Toots.” [sic] Americanised Paris.‘, *Christchurch Sun*, November 18 1924, p. 8.

³¹¹Mander, ‚A City of “Toots”‘,

³¹²Mander, ‚A City of “Toots”‘,

³¹³Jane Mander, ‚At the Sign of Fleet. English Art and Letters.‘, *Christchurch Sun*, 23 May 1925, p. 8.

Further, discussions of the many pro-imperial events that occurred in London during the correspondence period were generally written with a focus on Britain or New Zealand. A 1937 NZPA article, „Defences of the Empire: Navy League Dinner in London’, focussed almost exclusively on Britain, quoting a speech by Winston Churchill in which he invoked the „Empire’ but focussed on the need to defend Britain against „the hungry, have-not’ nations’ of Europe.³¹⁴ The only specific reference to the dominions focused on New Zealand: „[congratulatory messages] included a Cablegram from the Hawke’s Bay branch of the Navy League avowing its interest in the increasing strength of the British Navy and its appreciation of the part played by the Navy league to that end’.³¹⁵ There were exceptions to this focus: Scholefield expressed a pro-imperial stance and under Alfred S. Rathbone’s editorship, the issue of imperial federation was often promoted by the NZPA.³¹⁶

The press was the most common source of public opinion. This was particularly the case for agency correspondents, who drew most of their British items from that source. The quantity of their correspondence, teamed with a clear mandate to cover New Zealand stories, meant that agency correspondents relied heavily on newspapers for their British items, and their columns often included a series of newspaper summaries. When articles began to appear more frequently, this trend continued. A package of correspondence from the NZAP, for instance, published in the Christchurch *Press* 10, 11 and 12 March 1915, provided twenty three articles – the quantity being augmented by the War. Of these twenty three, ten were researched New Zealand stories or columns, four researched British stories and nine British stories quoted directly from London newspapers. Several unnamed newspapers were quoted, as were *The Times*, Reuters and the American Press Agency. As neither of these agencies were available to the NZAP, these stories can be assumed to have come from London newspapers. Although correspondents did at times question the general applicability of opinions expressed in the press – an NZAP correspondent wrote in 1916 that „agitation some months ago [...] was, to be quite candid, a newspaper agitation, and it had little backing in public opinion’ –

³¹⁴NZAP, ed Mitchell, „Defences of the Empire’.

³¹⁵NZAP, ed Mitchell, „Defences of the Empire’.

³¹⁶NZPA, ed Rathbone, „Our London Letter’, 19 January 1885, p. 5; NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Our London Letter’, *Lyttelton Times*, 1 April 1886, p. 5.

this was rare, with most seeing the generalisations provided by the press as indicative of public opinion: „the leading papers [...] are a very significant sign of the times’.³¹⁷

Non-agency correspondents were generally less reliant on Fleet Street for British items and Heighway’s account of his time in London suggested extensive research. He attended coronation events and organised interviews with camera-operators, church leaders, welfare providers and officials at the London County Council, Scotland Yard and the London docks. His articles provided large quantities of figures – for instance that in 1910, 10,374 missing people were found in London by Police – and, as references are not given for these, it is likely that they were independently researched. Similarly, while Hyde’s „Not only Sacrifice’, was an opinionative piece drawing on her experiences in China, London and New Zealand, it is anchored in her experience of a protest in London’s Red Lion Square.³¹⁸ They maintained, however, the use of Fleet Street papers in discussions of public opinion. Heighway, frequently used them as a source of public opinion, and Hyde used them to illustrate public disinterest in China: „China’s off the front pages’.³¹⁹

Britain’s dominance of English-language news flow, and New Zealand’s reliance on these sources, its dominion status and public interest, meant that domestic news – that is news relating exclusively to Britain’s internal affairs – made up a large part of British news flow into New Zealand throughout the period of this study and this was repeated in correspondence.³²⁰ Some domestic news was directly relevant to New Zealand. Both nations shared the monarchy, Britain was an important trading partner and British politicians could influence imperial policy. However, the

³¹⁷NZAP, ed Scholefield, „Interning the Lot’; NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Our London Letter’, *Lyttelton Times*, 8 January 1885, p. 5.

³¹⁸Hyde, „Not Only Sacrifice’, p. 387.

³¹⁹Hyde, „Not Only Sacrifice’, p. 387.

³²⁰McKinlay, p. 2; Hannah-Lee Benbow, „Argus, New York and Home: a Critical Evaluation of Miles Fairburn’s Exceptionalism Thesis’, (University of Canterbury History Honours Dissertation, 2006), p. 27. The latter study provides data for telegraphic news from the period 1912 to 1935 and finds a slight decline in the proportion of British news (that is, news where Britain was the primary or sole actor) categorised as domestic (without reference or perceivable relevance to other nations). All military news was categorised as non-domestic, because of its inherent internationality. However, the proportion of domestic news remained high, going from 65.4%, 1912-3 to 53.1% 1934-5. This was slightly lower than the proportion of American or Australian news classified as domestic, a factor understandable because of the high proportion of news classified as British military.

supplementary function of most correspondence meant that much was not, and articles covering British court cases, theatre, weather and so on were common. Rous-Marten was remembered in one obituary, not for the coverage of Imperial, European and British news provided by his agency, but for his reviews of London musical productions.³²¹ Similarly, Heighway's articles had subjects such as London boarding houses and the plight of its homeless, while the NZPA's 'London Gossip' columns discussed British society scandals:

Two society scandals loom on the horizon. The first will *on dit* [sic] take the form of an action for slander arising out of a gambling bout, in which a noble Duke (spoken of as the defendant) lost large amounts under curious circumstances. The other has to do with a venerable Duchess who recently presented her young husband with the key of the street.³²²

This was encouraged by correspondents' focus on London, with the same ideas of its cultural primacy that encouraged its place as a centre of journalistic expatriation influencing their correspondence. This was particularly evident in Mander's writing, but other correspondents shared her cultural focus. Verry had two articles from London published in the New Zealand *Free Lance* in 1939. The first covered the National Book Fair in London – mentioning fourteen British writers or historical figures – and his second, ostensibly an account of the 'Changing Temper of British People' in the lead up to World War Two, mentioned singer Paul Robeson as well as several prominent politicians.³²³ Robeson's 'reception last night was tremendous. His two songs grew, at the insistence of the audience, into four, and when finally, as a request number, he sang 'Old Man River,' 10,000 people forgot their political zeal for a minute or two as they enjoyed his inimitable singing'.³²⁴

London landmarks featured prominently in correspondence. Even New Zealand born correspondents arrived in London with some knowledge of the city's geography, knowledge that was shared by their readers, and based in shared imperial history and in London's position as a cultural and political metropole.³²⁵

³²¹Anon, 'Charles Rous-Marten'.

³²²NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, 'London Gossip', *Lyttelton Times*, 17 October 1893, p. 2.

³²³Verry, 'London's Maginot Line'; Verry, 'Lloyd George'.

³²⁴Verry, 'Lloyd George'.

³²⁵Woollacott, 'The Colonial Flaneuse', pp. 766-9.

Just as New Zealand visitors ‚performed familiarity’ with London by stressing their knowledge of its geography, correspondents evoked familiarity through repetitive references to its landmarks.³²⁶ In his article on the National Book Fair, Verry mentioned, the West End, Earl’s Court, ‚the underground’, ‚No. 10, Downing Street’, Bart’s Hospital and the War Office.³²⁷ These landmarks were often employed in markedly different contexts. In 1884, Reed wrote of Tawhiao’s party: ‚But not being able to speak English, how could they appreciate [a service at St Paul’s Cathedral]? Do you mean they watched the gesticulation and facial expression?’³²⁸ By contrast, Hyde wrote in ‚Not Only Sacrifice’ that Chinese activist Madame Chiang Kai-shek took for her ‚battle-cry’ the term ‚“Resurgam” – I shall rise again!’, from over the Cathedral’s southern door.³²⁹ The use of St Paul’s to both criticise and praise these outsiders of the British world speaks for its cultural primacy. It was a landmark to which ideas of the British world and of London could be attached.³³⁰

Common correspondence topics included the weather and other seasonal and annual events such as public holidays and significant dates in the political and business calendar. A correspondent for the NZPA wrote in August 1884 that ‚[t]his should be the season of rest, Parliament having risen, and London being supposed to be at the seaside or on the moors’ and in 1893 that the ‚heat during the past week has, owing to the damp atmosphere, been frightfully oppressive’.³³¹ A later NZPA correspondent provided a detailed account of the weather in 1905, writing that ‚[w]e had some wind on Wednesday, accompanied by heavy rain showers’ while Mander joked that ‚[a]nything from London these days is incomplete without reference to the weather’.³³² Roger Hargreaves argues, with reference to Fleet

³²⁶Barnes, ‚New Zealand’s London’, p. 32.

³²⁷Verry, ‚London’s Maginot Line’.

³²⁸Reed, ‚Tawhiao’s Visit to England. Actions of the Aborigines’ Protection Society.’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884, p. 5.

³²⁹Robin Hyde, ‚Not Only Sacrifice’, p. 389.

³³⁰For extended discussion of the importance of London landmarks to the New Zealand imagination, see Felicity Barnes, ‚War “Zones”: The Metropolis and New Zealand, 1940 and 2005’, *History Compass* 3 (2005), pp. 1-8. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, Reed did not see Maori as belonging to the British world.

³³¹NZPA, ed Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter’, 14 October 1884; NZPA, ed Rathbone, ‚London Gossip’, 17 October 1893. Both articles had a two-month delay between dateline and date of publication, meaning that Londoners were well into autumn – and New Zealanders into spring – by the time the articles were read.

³³²NZPA ed James Whitelaw, ‚Topics of the Day.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 May 1905, p. 12; Mander, ‚At the Sign of Fleet’.

Street, that the practice of covering „annual events such as the January sales [and] maypole dancing [... meant that n]ewspapers and picture agencies unwittingly conspired to help construct a rigid, repetitive but potent image of regional and national identity’.³³³ Although on a smaller scale, a similar argument can be made for correspondence, with correspondents inviting their readers to engage with everyday life in London through reference to annual events and thus to identify with its residents.

Correspondents also stressed the normality of everyday life in London. Mander’s coverage of the 1926 strike was published under the heading, taken from her text, „Not Worrying”!³³⁴ She wrote that

in spite of the fact that there are no trains, no buses, no underground, reduced light, heat and postal services, the outer face of this most extraordinary old city seems much the same, and the temper of its people strangely good-humoured and unperturbed.³³⁵

A subsequent article, published a month later, continued this argument

Londoners forgot [the strike] joyously. A lovely Whitsun restored everybody’s balance. ... [sic] The rush of normal life came on us; the elated spring; the desire to make the most of the wonderful two weeks when the laburnum, the may, the bluebells, the rhododendrons, the gorse, and the chestnuts are all out together. If nothing else had killed the strike this Whitsun would have done it.³³⁶

In contrast to the UPA’s reports, correspondents included personal references in their stories, adding to the evocative tone of correspondence. Discussing London weather, an early correspondent for the NZAP wrote: „certainly there has not been [such a cold winter] during the past thirteen years, that I can assert from personal experience’.³³⁷ Even agency correspondents, who wrote anonymously, referred to themselves and developed personas that encouraged their readers’ engagement: „[r]eaders of my introductory paragraphs to these letters may have no doubt often wished I would abbreviate the flowery preparatory periods and proceed promptly to

³³³Roger Hargreaves, *Daily Encounters: Photographs from Fleet St* (National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2007), p. 74.

³³⁴Mander, „Not Worrying” „

³³⁵Mander, „Not Worrying” „

³³⁶Jane Mander, „Business as Usual. London is Normal Again.’ *Christchurch Sun*, 8 July 1926, p. 8.

³³⁷NZAP, ed C. Rous-Marten, „London Chat.’, *Christchurch Press*, 9 February 1906, p. 6.

unfold my news budget'.³³⁸ In the descriptive detail she provided and her self-positioning within the article, Hyde encouraged her audience to envisage themselves with her in London, while remaining highly observational:

[i]t's very dark, this February night in Red Lion Square, London. When the couple of hundred people [including Hyde] (no Chinese) who have been attending the stepping-off meeting of the No Silk Movement come out into the open, laden with literature and little silver and red badges disclaiming 'Refuse to Buy Japanese Goods!', the soft, cold drizzle causes some dismay. Will we be able to set the balloons off?³³⁹

Most correspondents provided a series of articles or, in the case of agency correspondents, a succession of columns or articles over a number of years. Their narratives reflected this, using phrases like 'In my last letter', 'As I mentioned previously' and so on.

In a former letter I mentioned Mr F. W. Webb's gigantic express engine, "Greater Britain" [...] The performance is exciting great interest in the railway world. The result will not be known until next week, but by Mr Webb's courteous invitation, I shall be present at one of these sensational experimental trips.³⁴⁰

In introducing themselves into their stories, correspondents were also acting as mediators, providing metropolitan knowledge and perspectives that were otherwise unavailable to their audiences and interpreting events for them. Mander's dual roles – those of correspondent and established author – saw her adopt this practice regularly, and she positioned herself as a gatekeeper of London literary knowledge. In her first article for the Christchurch *Sun*, in which she discussed the work entered into the newspaper's writing competition, she was eager to appear modest: although she had 'heard what may writers, literary agents and publishers in New York and London had to say of [...] colonial work', she did 'not pretend to be a critic'.³⁴¹ However, she soon abandoned this modesty, providing an extensive critique of the work, with reference to both her position within the New Zealand writing community – '[t]hese stories are not up to the [standard of] work that was published in New Zealand 20 [sic] years ago' – and her access to metropolitan knowledge – 'I hope my readers are able to get hold of the anthologies of English

³³⁸NZPA, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, 'London Gossip', *Lyttelton Times*, 6 October 1893, p. 3.

³³⁹Hyde, 'Not Only Sacrifice', p. 387.

³⁴⁰NZAP, ed. C. Rous-Marten, 'Anglo-Colonial Notes', *Christchurch Press*, 7 June 1898, p. 5.

³⁴¹Mander, 'Our London Letter. "The Sun" Appreciated. [sic]', *Christchurch Sun*, 19 April 1924, p. 12.

and American short stories that appear now every year. Though opinions differ as to the merits of many of them, they do represent, on the whole, a fairly good standard'.³⁴²

Correspondents thus encouraged audience engagement with, and interest in, events in Britain. They were not static and confined to the black and white of the newspaper but alive, ongoing, and generally treated sympathetically. This was augmented by their expansion of telegraphic coverage which reminded readers of stories that received only limited telegraphic coverage and may have been quickly forgotten, and provided subsequent and supplementary detail. Ulf Hannerz argues that, in doing this, correspondents make

distant places and people less one-dimensional, more complex, than they may be in much hard news reporting [and] make the people and places involved in some ways more durable. They do not freeze distant places in time, but they intimate that there is an ongoing life beyond the fifteen minutes of fame.³⁴³

Layering London

Correspondents provided a detailed and evocative picture of London which highlighted its position as a cultural and political metropole and encouraged New Zealand readers to see themselves as members of a British world. Yet, the correspondence analysed in this study does not suggest a „concurrency’ of identities; rather, through a process of categorisation, thematisation and their self-positioning as New Zealanders, correspondents evoked a layering of identities, in which New Zealand identity was paramount. In his analysis of New Zealand’s movement towards independence, W. David McIntyre argues that New Zealand achieved independence from Britain „by a long, peaceful, and often subtle process. The landmarks are not dramatic and the process is suffused with paradox and ambiguity’.³⁴⁴ McIntyre is referring to New Zealand’s political independence, but his statement suggests two points relevant to this study. First, that the relationship with Britain remained important throughout the period, 1884-1942. Second, that cultural markers which differentiated New Zealanders from Britain played an

³⁴²Mander, „‘The Sun’ Appreciated’.

³⁴³Hannerz, *Foreign News*, pp. 33-4.

³⁴⁴W. David McIntyre, „Imperialism and Nationalism’, in *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (2nd edition), ed Geoffrey W. Rice (Auckland, 1992), p. 337.

important role in mediating political ambiguities. Such othering occurred in a variety of ways throughout the British world. The supplementary function of correspondence, London correspondents' reliance on the British press as a source of British stories and their filtering of stories from London meant, however, that they delineated a clear hierarchy of identities and emphasised 'New Zealandness'.

Articles attempting to categorise Londoners appeared frequently. The construction and othering of British identity was central to the establishment of a distinct New Zealand identity. As Keith Sinclair argues, 'Pakeha New Zealanders had to decide who they were, but also who they were not'.³⁴⁵ Heighway saw categorisation as an established genre of correspondence, writing in 1911 that

[i]n an article on the crowds of London mention of the terrific rush of traffic and the capable control maintained by the City and Metropolitan Police – splendid bodies totalling some 15,000 men – has come to be regarded as axiomatic. No such article, in point of fact, would be in any way complete without that reference [...].³⁴⁶

As with much of his correspondence, Heighway aimed to take a different approach to the genre: 'it is the present writer's intention to turn from those well-worn points and describe so far as possible some few of the dozens of "crowds" that make up London'.³⁴⁷ He concluded, however, that this was impossible. 'The London crowd – it is all these and more. It is illimitable and indescribable. It is not only like Janus – two-faced, – but it is an hundred-faced. At that it must be left'.³⁴⁸

In a similar article, 'England and the English', an NZAP correspondent attempted to categorise English attitudes towards sport with overt comparisons to New Zealand.³⁴⁹ Differences stemmed, they argued, from the different histories of the two nations, from the 'innate conservatism' of the English and from the relatively high levels of professionalism in Britain: '[w]hereas in the colonies all sports are democratic, in England most of them are class activities. Here, for example, Northern Union and Association football are recognised as trades'.³⁵⁰ The correspondent concluded that these traits significantly differentiated the two

³⁴⁵Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 94.

³⁴⁶Arthur J. Heighway, 'The London Crowd. Varying Tides of Life.', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 December 1911, p. 9.

³⁴⁷Heighway, 'The London Crowd'.

³⁴⁸Heighway, 'The London Crowd'.

³⁴⁹NZAP ed Scholefield, 'England and the English'.

³⁵⁰NZAP, ed Scholefield, 'England and the English'.

nations, writing that „[i]pso facto there is a conflict’:

English ideas upon the ethics of the game are quite the antithesis of ours. There is a great deal more professionalism in England, both on the game and the crowds, than in any of the colonies, yet the Englishman is honestly convinced that the victories of colonial teams here are the result of training on professional lines. Thoroughness is not a characteristic of English athletes.³⁵¹

Hannerz, in his discussion of contemporary foreign correspondents, *Foreign News* (2004), argues that „story lining’ or themetisation is inherent to the process of correspondence.³⁵² Hannerz sees the „story line’ as a theme, motif, or frame of understanding which is present throughout writing about a certain region or group and influences the way „stories are selected, contextualized [sic], and presented to portray regions in foreign news’.³⁵³ He gives the examples of the aftermath of Apartheid in correspondence about South Africa and Arab-Israeli conflict in discussions of the Middle East as twenty first century examples of themetisation.³⁵⁴

The supplementary nature of the correspondence analysed in this study, its minor position within news flow, and correspondents’ reliance on Fleet Street sources made themetisation inevitable. Despite the brevity of early telegraphic news, its frequency meant that it always far outweighed correspondence and correspondents therefore focused on providing detailed coverage of a select number of issues.

Heighway’s arrival in London in 1911 to cover the Coronation of George V suggested a real affection for the Empire. He signalled this in several articles, highlighting, for instance, the importance of cinematography to the dissemination of images of London and the gains for imperial unity to be made from that technology.³⁵⁵ While his coverage spanned the twelve months he was in London, the Coronation was the catalyst for his departure and a significant news event. It was also the only topic on which he wrote more than one article. Heighway’s first Coronation article does not appear to have been published in New Zealand (possibly due to the extraordinary and unprecedented coverage of the event mobilised by the EPU) but he claimed in his memoir that it was a standard account

³⁵¹NZAP, ed Scholefield, „England and the English’.

³⁵²Hannerz, *Foreign News*, pp. 102-3. See also, Ulf Hannerz, „Foreign Correspondents and the Varieties of Cosmopolitanism’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33:2 (2007), pp. 299-311.

³⁵³Hannerz, *Foreign News*, pp. 102-3. Because of this study’s broad temporal scope, the term „themetisation’ will be used instead.

³⁵⁴Hannerz, *Foreign News*, pp. 102-17.

³⁵⁵Heighway, „A Great Coronation Film’.

of the ‚procession and all its trappings‘.³⁵⁶ His second article, ‚The Great Coronation Film‘, discussed Barker’s Topic Pictures’ filming of the Coronation for distribution throughout the empire, for which he interviewed the picture agency’s owner and observed some of the filming.³⁵⁷ For his third Coronation article, ‚The March of the Dead-Beat‘, Heighway spent the night before the event at a London soup kitchen, hoping to provide a ‚contrast to [the Coronation’s] splendour‘.³⁵⁸

In choosing these depictions of the Coronation, Heighway mirrored the three dominant themes evident in the correspondence analysed in this study. Britain and New Zealand shared the Monarchy and an Imperial history but it was symbolised, in particular, by London. This made tradition, Monarchy and ‚all its trappings‘ a constant theme in London correspondence. In 1906, an NZAP correspondent described Exeter Hall as having been ‚associated with many social and religious movement of the past century‘: ‚[a]mong the interesting meetings which have been held in this historic hall, may be mentioned that in connection with the anti-slavery movement on June 1st, 1840‘.³⁵⁹ That this was not an article on the history of Exeter Hall, but on its closure – ‚It is sad to reflect that in a few weeks Exeter Hall, which was opened in 1831 [...] will have ceased to exist as a centre of religious activity‘ – suggests the importance themetisation had, not just over story selection, but also over the way stories were presented.³⁶⁰

Mander, too, focused on Britain’s traditions. ‚With the Literary “Lions”‘, opened by emphasising the cultural traditions that had encouraged her to go to London:

[t]he first affair I went to in London after the general strike had ended was the Women Writers’ luncheon. Long years ago, when I was wandering about the wilds of my native bush in North Auckland, I had my dreams, and one of them was to be a guest some day at the annual dinner [sic] of the Women Writers of England.³⁶¹

This opening is an interesting one in the context of the story, the majority of which is dedicated to criticising the luncheon: ‚it has come true, that dream of mine, and I should like to be able to chronicle that for once Anticipation [sic] and Reality [sic]

³⁵⁶Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 12.

³⁵⁷Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 13; Arthur J. Heighway, ‚The Great Coronation Film‘.

³⁵⁸Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 13; Arthur J. Heighway, ‚The March of the Dead-Beat‘.

³⁵⁹NZAP, ed Rous-Marten, ‚London Chat‘.

³⁶⁰NZAP, ed Rous-Marten, ‚London Chat‘.

³⁶¹Jane Mander, ‚With the Literary “Lions.”‘, *Christchurch Sun*, 16 May 1925, p. 12.

met on terms of equality. But I am afraid I cannot. [... T]here was no thrill to it'.³⁶²
 On another occasion, Mander was surprised when she „bump[ed] unawares into the King of England' in Kew Gardens, but dismissed it as not as unusual as it first appeared: „in London, tradition smites you in the face at every turn, and only a few can get above it'.³⁶³

Although its embodiment of Empire and tradition was central to London's appeal it was also used to criticise the metropole and the British public. An NZAP correspondent wrote in 1894 that

[u]nquestionably, the sensation of the week has been the sending of a Duchess to gaol. So profound is still the Englishman's reverence for rank – even rank acquired by marriage – in spite of all [the] progress of democratic ideas, that this proceeding seems to most people to be so extraordinary as to be almost sacrilegious. And it is, I think, tolerably certain that had the Dowager-Duchess of Sutherland been a mere “common person” she would have experienced a much longer sojourn in durance vile than the six weeks for which she had been condemned for a very grave offence.³⁶⁴

An NZPA correspondent employed a similarly satirical voice to discuss the British public's attitude towards the monarchy in 1905:

[f]or some time past the loyal Briton has been in a constant state of mild disquietude with regard to the Royal Family. In the first place there was the operation for appendicitis on the Princess Victoria, then there were vague rumours that all was not well with the Queen; next the King was laid up with what the world was told was “merely a rather severe cold,” and the crown all the Prince of Wales had to undergo an operation, the nature of which has been sedulously concealed.³⁶⁵

Similarly, although – like Imperial history and tradition – modernity was an experience shared by both Britons and New Zealanders, the growth and technological development commonly associated with modernity were symbolised by and demonstrated in London. This meant that modernity was a prominent theme in London correspondence. Heighway's second Coronation article, „The Great Coronation Film' highlighted the magnitude of recent technological developments:

[i]f, at a very liberal estimate, five million people by crushing, crowding, and heroic discomfort, saw the Coronation procession in London on June 22, 50 millions [sic] – nay, 100 millions [sic] – will see it with comfort, ease, and pleasure, and in every case with the smallest possible sacrifice of time, by

³⁶²Mander, „With the Literary “Lions”,”

³⁶³Mander, „At the Sign of Fleet’.

³⁶⁴NZAP, ed C. Rous-Marten, „London Notes.’, *Christchurch Press*, 8 June 1894, p. 5.

³⁶⁵NZPA, ed James Whitelaw, „Personal Notes from London.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 24 May 1905, p. 2.

means of the cinematograph film.³⁶⁶

The theme of modernity was evident in many of Heighway's articles, with topics including the British Post Office („the stupendous statistics of the work accomplished by the British Post Office') and the London docks („[f]igures lend but little aid to the imagination. By seeing alone will you be impressed; and that impression will be one to endure through life').³⁶⁷

Modernity was often placed in contrast to history, with Heighway taking this juxtaposition as the central theme of his coverage of a Cornish fair:

[t]hese are times of change, and even the old-fashioned Cornish fair has had to go the way of all old things. [...] The ancient and the modern, the permanent and the temporary, the religious and the frivolous, stood shoulder to shoulder. The stately cathedral – the finest in the duchy – lifted its spire majestically skyward.

He saw such developments as sinister and unnatural:

[at the cathedral's] very doors a great spinning wheel lifted giddy couples in perpetual circlings. The flashing lights played strangely on their faces up there in the gloom backed by the cathedral spire. And still more strangely did the light flash over the upturned faces of the gaping crowd beneath.³⁶⁸

Modernity was the topic of many articles, with an NZAP correspondent highlighting the speed of developments in aviation technology: „[i]n comparison with aeroplanes other weapons of to-day [sic] fail in significance and fascination. They are losing their romance and passing into the back pages of history, just as the epoch events of a year or two ago have passed'.³⁶⁹ This article, written in 1918, acknowledged the importance of World War One to these developments, but gave precedence to the „modernity' more generally. Aeroplanes were manufactured in „new factories' rather than „war factories', and contributed to „the modern specialised industry' of aviation. The „[t]remendous questions of worker migration involved in these new factories' suggested not a wartime exception, but a time of „complex social experiment'.

Mander saw recent cultural shifts, brought about by modernity, as responsible for reactions to the 1926 strike: „I have a feeling [...] that the abuse of adjectives and

³⁶⁶Heighway, „The Great Coronation Film'.

³⁶⁷Arthur J. Heighway, „London Docks. Facts, Figures and Sketches.', *Otago Daily Times*, 13 January 1911, p. 10; Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 14-5; Heighway, „The “G.P.O.”',

³⁶⁸Heighway, „A Cornish Fair'.

³⁶⁹NZAP, ed Guy H. Scholefield, „A Cradle of Eagles', *Christchurch Press*, 17 January 1916, p. 7.

adverbs in these latter years has something to do with the general apathy last week. This has been a decade of superlatives. They have lost their power to amaze or affright'.³⁷⁰ Her analysis of changes in book jacket design took a similar position:

the removable book jacket was of the plainest typographical kind, intended to keep the binding of good books clean till they should be safe on library shelves. Then some progressive publisher realised that they could be used to advertise other books by the same author or offer books published by himself, and further that they could be decorated to attract attention.³⁷¹

The changes wrought by accelerated growth led to poverty on a scale unfamiliar and unimaginable to most New Zealanders, and as such misery was a dominant theme in London correspondence. Heighway's article on the London's poor on the Coronation eve provided a stark and sinister juxtaposition to the Coronation itself:

[in 1910] this one hall provided 123,000 men with food and lodging. In addition, 1,694 were given bread and butter and turned away for the night. Missionaries swept the streets between midnight and 4 a.m. [sic] and gave 60,457 miserable beings breakfast. In this fashion 60 tons of bread were consumed.³⁷²

Poverty, in particular the poor in London, was a topic that was repeated throughout Heighway's work, so much so that his memoir confused several of the details of this article with one published five months later.³⁷³ He also emphasised the theme of misery – that is, crime, poverty and hardship generally – in many of his articles. Discussion of an idyllic sounding journey through the canal system contained many misery references:

you then light your pipe and advance to the bow, and, seating yourself comfortably, meditate and philosophise upon the increasing rush and worry of modern life; how those poor devils in the city must sweat and swelter; how uncomfortably strenuous those labourers look in the fields as you float serenely by [...].³⁷⁴

Importantly for the issue of thematisation was the depiction of misery as a constant feature of London life: „[o]nce more the London police [...] have been perpetrating an astounding and scandalous blunder”.³⁷⁵ An early NZPA correspondent suggested that injustice was inherent in the British political system, writing in 1884 that

³⁷⁰Mander, „Not Worrying”.

³⁷¹Jane Mander, „A New Art. Book Jacket Design.”, *Christchurch Sun*, 10 August 1926, p. 8.

³⁷²Heighway, „The March of the Dead-Beat”.

³⁷³Heighway, *My Inky Way*, pp. 12-3.

³⁷⁴Arthur J. Heighway, „The Waterways of England. A Wonderful Canal System.”, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 September 1911, p. 3.

³⁷⁵NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „London Chat”.

[t]he other day the public were startled at the arrest of a high dignitary of the Church on a charge of the most repulsive kin. [...] The fact is that in this fair land justice does peep from under her blindfold, and that she touches the scale sometimes with her little finger.³⁷⁶

This was not the first article to take this position and the correspondent wrote that ‚I have before alluded to the political tinge that pervades the administration of justice in England’.³⁷⁷

Moreover, London was presented as encouraging criminality. Heighway divided his article, ‚The Port of Missing Men’ into four parts. It opened by discussing the murder of George Seagar and subsequent manhunt; this was followed by a discussion of the areas of London able to hide his murderer; he then provided an overview of those hiding in London before giving the relevant statistics (‚[s]ome 20,000 police apprehend in each year over 110,000 persons’).³⁷⁸ Despite of the many issues raised in the article – the role of the policy, poverty, crime – Heighway chose to highlight London itself in his conclusion:

all these men, are hid by London. This great over-grown metropolis offers in her dark corners an abiding place and a shelter. The Mother of Mysteries prepares for the miserable miscreant dark alleys and loathsome warrens; for the flash cracksman equally she offers a gay land where safety is guaranteed by assurance; and for the distressed wanderer she spreads acres and acres of slummy tenements in whose recesses he may never be disturbed.³⁷⁹

Maud Reeves’ investigation of London’s poor was motivated by the Fabian doctrine, ‚Educate, Agitate, Organise’ and when it was published in book form in 1913 it became a best-seller.³⁸⁰ As the High Commissioner’s wife she was a common subject of correspondence and this, combined with the dominance of the theme of misery, saw Scholefield overlook the political differences between the Reeves and the conservative NZAP newspapers and commission three articles from her. She was eager to stress that her subjects were ‚poor, but respectable’, continuing the tradition of sympathy towards the public, but misery was her central theme.³⁸¹ She described houses ‚infested with bugs’, family budgets that were

³⁷⁶NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 2 February 1885, p. 5.

³⁷⁷NZPA ed Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter’, 2 February 1885.

³⁷⁸Heighway, ‚The Port of Missing Men. London. Where They Hide.’, *Otago Daily Times*, 3 June 1912, p. 10.

³⁷⁹Heighway, ‚The Port of Missing Men’.

³⁸⁰Patricia Pugh, *Educate, Agitate, Organise: 100 Years of Fabian Socialism* (London and New York, 1984), pp. 109-10; Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 69-70.

³⁸¹Maud Reeves, ‚How the Poor Live: Investigations in London. I. House Keeping in Lambeth Kennington.’, *Christchurch Press*, 19 August 1911, p. 7.

burdened by inflated food prices, the necessity of burial insurance and the ever-presence of death: „I spoke to a woman once, saying how sorry I was for her – she having lost six children. She looked pathetically at me and said: “what could I have done if they had all lived?””³⁸²

In spending the night at a soup kitchen to investigate poverty in London, Heighway adopted the role of a flâneur, an investigator and observer of modern, urban life with a particular interest in misery, who appeared in writing about London and other large cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁸³ Although the other correspondents did not take this position – the nature of the agencies made it improbable – the concept of the flâneur appears throughout the correspondence studied in two ways. First, correspondents were open to discussing the darker side of London. Second, they introduced and differentiated themselves as observers of London. Hannerz sees present-day correspondents’ invocations of the role of flâneur as promoting ‚cosmopolitanism’, or the view of the world as a single place, because the flâneur is a highly descriptive and evocative narrator. Yet, the correspondence analysed in this study suggests clearly that the concept of the flâneur in fact supports the opposite conclusion. Not only was such an approach implicitly critical, it actively differentiated correspondents and readers from the subjects of correspondence.

Each of the three themes had a discursive foil, through which differences between London and New Zealand and the New Zealand identities of correspondents and readers were emphasised. Against imperial tradition and history, New Zealand’s relative youth, progression and lack of ceremony were stressed. Mander’s memory of ‚the wilds of my native bush in North Auckland’, placed, as it was, beside an evocation of London’s cultural traditions, emphasised New Zealand’s relative youthfulness.³⁸⁴ In her encounter with George V in Kew Gardens, Mander presented herself as a naïve colonial:

I was oblivious of the world as I stood before a small flesh-coloured rhododendron, a marvel of delicacy, till I heard a voice that was certainly not

³⁸²Maud Reeves, ‚How the Poor Live: Investigations in London. II. Insuring for Burial.’, *Christchurch Press*, 21 August 1911, p. 8; Maud Reeves, ‚How the Poor Live: Investigations in London. III. The Golden Sovereign: No Fresh Milk’, *Christchurch Press*, 22 August 1911, p. 5.

³⁸³David Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity: Critical Explanations* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 28-31. See also, Woollacott, ‚The Colonial Flaneuse’, pp. 761-787.

³⁸⁴Mander, ‚With the Literary “Lions”’,

of the people, ask what variety it was, and to my utter astonishment, there stood the Queen of England at my left, with but two inches to spare between her portly person and mine. Realising I was obstructing the view of the shroud, I backed suddenly and bumped into the person behind. “Sorry, “ I murmured conventionally, and turned to behold the amused eyes of his Majesty of England.³⁸⁵

New Zealand was not necessarily in a backward position, with correspondents positioning it as a progressive contrast to Britain: „[t]he Australasian colonies have long been the possessors of Labour parties in Parliament. There has hitherto been no such thing here’.³⁸⁶

The naïve colonial also appeared with reference to modernity. After visiting munitions factories, an NZAP correspondent commented: „I saw the whole day’s output, and coveted with a child’s eyes the glittering barrels of gold and silver beans and cones and tiny bottles that are the bullets and caps and cartridges cases [sic] of modern war’.³⁸⁷ Writing about a fishing fleet based at Aberdeen, Heighway suggested that the size of British fishing fleets was beyond that imaginable in New Zealand, giving them an almost mythical status:

[t]he term “a thousand masts” is at all times a striking one, and is generally used as a metaphor to indicate a very large number of vessels. Not metaphorically, but in sober literal truth, must the term be applied to describe the scene to be witnessed in the trawling basin at Aberdeen when the fleet is in. We may go even further, and show by actual statistics that the phrase is insufficient to convey an actual impression of the sight, for not “one thousand masts” but two thousand and over may there be seen massed together.³⁸⁸

Heighway seemed to doubt that New Zealand readers could envisage the level of poverty he encountered in London: „[t]here is nothing like a few days in London for enforcing the value of the contemptible ha’penny and even the diminutive farthing. The average colonial will barely bother with copper change. Let him once make a threepenny meal in London and his view will be altered’.³⁸⁹

Similarly, an NZAP correspondent repeatedly warned New Zealand women of the dangers of London.

It is just as well that New Zealand ladies – as I was compelled to suggest in

³⁸⁵Mander, „At the Sign of Fleet’.

³⁸⁶NZAP, ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „The British Elections.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 5 September 1892, p. 6.

³⁸⁷NZAP, ed Scholefield, „A Cradle of Eagles’.

³⁸⁸Arthur J. Heighway, „The Harvest of the Sea. A Great Fish Market.’, *Otago Daily Times*, 31 October 1911, p. 12.

³⁸⁹Heighway, „The London Lodging House. Modern Administration.’, *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1911, p. 19.

reference to a previous case of this kind – should carefully note in this case, and take warning that, [...] if they are seen waiting for a husband or an omnibus anywhere in the neighbourhood of Regent street [...] they render themselves ipso facto liable to be thus treated [poorly] by unscrupulous members of the police force [...].³⁹⁰

It may be surprising that this correspondent assumed readers were likely to visit London, but the assumption that they would be unprepared on arrival was a common one. Maud Reeves placed her concern for British women in contrast with those in New Zealand: „[t]o a New Zealander [„bugs’ are] almost an unknown scourge – to an East End Londoner it is a very real and awful one. I have remarked to one of our women:– “What a lovely day.” Her unexpected answer was:– “Oh, I do „ope it won’t bring out the bugs.”[sic] „³⁹¹ This gendered depiction of the dangers of London was common, with Pamela Travers, an Australian correspondent whose work was syndicated in the Christchurch and Auckland *Suns*, writing in that „[o]ne feels that there is a malign unseen power gradually demolishing all the surplus women of England’.³⁹²

Although correspondents made a significant contribution to news flow into New Zealand – providing a supplementary service to that of the UPA throughout the correspondence period – and evoked a „durable’ and „complex’ image of London which enabled New Zealand readers to imagine themselves as members of the British world, they did not facilitate a situation of „simultaneity’. Indeed, this did not exist in the New Zealand press in the period 1884-1942. Although the establishment of a telegraphic connection with Europe in 1876 greatly improved New Zealand’s access to the metropole and augmented the size and speed of news flow into New Zealand, the UPA’s service was always too brief to truly compensate for the physical remoteness from London. Correspondents went some way to alleviate this, but the identities they invoked were always layered, rather than concurrent, with factors such as categorisation, themetisation and the persistent presence of New Zealand narrators and perspectives undermining such a conclusion. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this layering of identity was consolidated by the provision of specifically New Zealand stories from London.

³⁹⁰NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „London Notes’, 8 June 1894.

³⁹¹Maud Reeves, „II. Insuring for Burial’.

³⁹²Pamela Travers, „Pamela Passes.’, Christchurch *Sun*, 2 March 1925, p. 8. Travers’ correspondence contained no reference to her New Zealand audience, but many direct reference to those in Australia, suggesting syndication rather than correspondence.

Chapter Three

New Zealand Stories and the Discourse of Nation

I do not wish to recapitulate what you already know by cable; except that I may confirm the fact that the tenders amounted to just upon six millions[.] The actual average price is not yet known in London but will be stale news in New Zealand before this letter reaches you. But the point is that the bold venture has proved a brilliant success, above which the Colonial treasurer, the Agent-General and, above all, the colony, may be cordially congratulated.³⁹³

In outlining the nature of London correspondence in 1942, UPA news editor T.M. Hinkley made only passing reference to „items of specific New Zealand interest’. He did this not because New Zealand stories were unimportant, but because each understood the desired nature of the content: „I do not think it is necessary to elaborate [...] the other part of your work[,] the covering of items of specific New Zealand interest. You do this very well’.³⁹⁴ From a twenty first century perspective, however, New Zealand stories appear to be both interesting and contested, and this chapter will focus on outlining their form. As was discussed in Chapter Two, most correspondence contained at least brief reference to New Zealand through the introduction of New Zealand narrators and comparative references to New Zealand readers; the focus of this chapter will be those stories that made New Zealanders and New Zealand issues their central concern. Although not exclusively, this correspondence tended to be provided by the agencies and their work suggests that they had a consistent mandate to supply New Zealand stories.

One of the aims of this thesis was to question the nationalist trajectory of much press historiography by focusing on correspondents for national newspapers operating outside New Zealand’s geographic boundary. For nationalist historians, 1884-1942 was a period of transition and growth in New Zealand identity: although Keith Sinclair argues that national identity emerged in the 1890s, it was not until „about 1940’ that, „if asked to identify themselves, most people born in New Zealand would, without hesitation, have said that they were New Zealanders’.³⁹⁵ Such assumptions have recently been countered by James Belich who sees national

³⁹³NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „The New Zealand Loan’, p. 3.

³⁹⁴Letter, Hinkley to Mitchell, 27 April 1942.

³⁹⁵Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1980 2nd edition), p. 329.

identity in fact diminishing in favour of a pro-British, dominionist stance from the 1880s onwards.³⁹⁶ What is particularly significant about the correspondence analysed in this study is that it conformed to neither of these trends, instead providing a relatively static national focus throughout the correspondence period. The ‚historical specificity and [...] relations of power’ highlighted by Catherine Hall provide the basis for understanding the nationalist mandate evident in correspondence. It will be argued that the function of London correspondents, particularly their provision of otherwise unavailable New Zealand stories and their engagement with the expatriate community, encouraged this precocity. The work of London correspondents thus provides an important lens through which to view national identity in New Zealand.

New Zealand and London

During the correspondence period, significant New Zealand stories were generated in London, indicative of the importance of that centre to New Zealand’s economic, cultural and political environment and the need to address mobility, integration and shared jurisdiction when analysing international news flow. The late nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of issues important to New Zealand arising in London due, in part, to increased numbers of visitors from New Zealand. Although, as Helen M. Hogan has demonstrated, Maori travelled to London for a variety of reasons, a number arrived seeking redress from the Crown.³⁹⁷ Two such groups went to London in the early 1880s to petition against land confiscations, Hirini Tawhianga in 1882 and King Tawhiao in 1884.³⁹⁸ The latter became the subject of a series of articles by George McCullagh Reed and was discussed in early NZPA correspondence. Steam travel made this journey more accessible to them (a fact that was advertised in the Maori language press of the time), as it did to Pakeha.³⁹⁹ Although the numbers who made this journey are unclear, shipping lists published in the press attest to their significance, and the journalists discussed in this study support the conclusion that travel to London increased significantly between 1884 and 1942. Of the fourteen journalists studied, only five left New

³⁹⁶Belich, p. 11.

³⁹⁷Helen M. Hogan, ‚Stories of Travel: He Kōrero ēnui mō te Haereinga’ (University of Canterbury Maori PhD thesis, 1994), pp. 261-2.

³⁹⁸Hogan, p. 261.

³⁹⁹Hogan has found reports advising on the accessibility of steam travel for those who wished to petition the crown as late as 1906. Hogan, p. 262.

Zealand before 1900. Moreover, although questions of representation mean that the numbers of New Zealanders discussed by London correspondents cannot speak for trends in the numbers of expatriates, no package of agency correspondence was uncovered in this study that did not include reference to at least one New Zealander in London.

A number of New Zealand politicians travelled to London and the arrivals of Prime Ministers, in particular, were heralded by agency correspondents. This was encouraged by the colonial and Imperial conferences held in London from 1887. Prime Minister Joseph Ward's journey to London to negotiate the New Zealand loan in 1895 was the focus of two successive packages of NZAP correspondence.⁴⁰⁰ The first described in great detail Ward's success in acquiring the loan, leading the correspondents to write that the 'bold venture has proved a brilliant success' on which New Zealand 'may be cordially congratulated'.⁴⁰¹ The second package of correspondence, published almost two weeks later, provided further soft news coverage Ward's time in London:

Mr and Mrs Ward have managed to get a little pleasure into their programme amid all the rush of business and engagements. They dined lately with Lord and Lady Onslow; they went to Chiselhurst and spent a day or two with Mr Balme, subsequently visiting the tomb of Napoleon III. [...] Mr and Mrs Ward will pay a flying visit to Scotland immediately before their final departure for New Zealand via America.⁴⁰²

Economic links also increased during the correspondence period, symbolised by, but not confined to, the voyage of the *Dunedin* in 1882.⁴⁰³ The *Dunedin* was the first ship of many to carry a cargo of frozen meat from New Zealand to London and began the process Belich labels recolonisation, in which, he argues, New Zealand's economic and ideological dependence on London grew markedly.⁴⁰⁴ Before 1882, no frozen meat was exported to London, by 1901 100 000 tons of meat and dairy

⁴⁰⁰NZAP ed Rous-Marten, 'The New Zealand Loan'; NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, 'Anglo-Colonial Notes', *Christchurch Press*, 24 June 1895, p. 6.

⁴⁰¹NZAP ed Rous-Marten, 'The New Zealand Loan'.

⁴⁰²NZAP ed Rous-Marten, 'Anglo-Colonial Notes', 24 June 1895.

⁴⁰³Belich, p. 52.

⁴⁰⁴Belich provides the most recent and popular edition of an established argument in New Zealand's economic historiography. See, F.L.W. Wood, *Understanding New Zealand* (New York, 1944), pp. 99-100; W.B. Sutch, 'The Long Depression, 1865-95', in *Colony or Nation? Economic Crises from the 1860s to the 1960s*, ed Michael Turnbull (Sydney, 1966), pp. 3-34.

were exported and by 1941, this had reached 500 000 tons.⁴⁰⁵ The emergence of this ‚protein industry‘ saw New Zealand’s economy move much closer to Britain’s, with developments in ‚finance, processing, distribution and shipping to form a sophisticated mechanism connecting the [New Zealand] farms to their [British] markets‘.⁴⁰⁶ Correspondence provides ample evidence of this economic plank of recolonisation, in particular, ongoing and extensive coverage of the protein industry. Discussions of ‚Frozen Meat‘ occurred in most agency correspondence in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, making them by far the most frequently discussed economic items:

[a]lthough the past few weeks have shown a considerable accession of frozen meat on to the market, the prospects of the trade are every day increasingly brighter. That circumstance is not to be estimated by the actual price which the mutton is bringing, but by its relative price as compared with the Home-grown material, and the extent to which the consumption of the imported article is spreading in every part of the British Islands.⁴⁰⁷

Specialist economic correspondents (possibly stringers) in the twentieth century provided coverage of the frozen meat industry, although not at the expense of that supplied by the correspondence agencies. Other economic topics covered by agency correspondents varied greatly, from the successes of New Zealand businesses in London to consignments of stoats meant to destroy the rabbit population, suggesting significant integration of the two economies.⁴⁰⁸

The *Financial News* and *Financial Times* both are very complimentary to the Wellington Harbour Board. The latter, commenting on its last report, says:– [sic] “The Wellington Harbour Board is one of those boards whose bonds might be treated as a sound investment.” It adds, “The Board’s report is most complete and most satisfactory. It not only reflects the increasing prosperity of New Zealand, but also shows in all details that the Harbour Board is adhering to its policy of sound and careful finance.”⁴⁰⁹

London’s position as a cultural metropole meant that the achievements of the considerable number of New Zealand artists in London were often promoted by correspondents:

⁴⁰⁵Belich, p. 53.

⁴⁰⁶Belich, p. 62.

⁴⁰⁷NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.‘, *Lyttelton Times*, 7 January 1885, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁸NZAP ed Guy H. Scholefield, ‚Frozen Meat in 1914.‘, *Christchurch Press*, 10 March 1915, p. 4; NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter.‘, *Lyttelton Times*, 8 January 1885, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁹NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, ‚London Notes. Anglo-Colonial Jottings.‘, *Christchurch Press*, 7 June 1894, p. 5.

New Zealand vocalist, Mr Arthur Appleby, is winning high praise in one of the principal parts in the latest musical comedy out, "Lost, Stolen or Strayed"[.] The critics agree in crediting him not only with artistic singing but also with excellent acting. Mr Appleby ought one of these days to take a good place in great opera.⁴¹⁰

Appleby had an extensive career in London and was often mentioned in correspondence, especially by the NZAP, which, under the influence of C. Rous-Marten, provided extensive musical and theatrical coverage. Appleby appears to have courted this publicity – „Mr Arthur Appleby called on me a day or two ago’ – but still provides a useful example of the degree of coverage that could be received in correspondence.⁴¹¹ The NZAP covered Appleby’s career from 1899 to 1902, discussing his health („I was glad to notice that he appeared to have thoroughly recovered from the illness which prostrated him so long in the spring’), his individual concerts and the broader progression of his career („[h]e has just accepted an engagement with one of Sir George Edwards’s companies for a series of performances in the provinces and at the principal London suburban theatres).⁴¹²

The first half of the twentieth century saw New Zealand gain its political independence from Britain.⁴¹³ In 1908, the colony became a dominion; this label was abandoned officially in 1946 after a period of increasing independence, suggesting that, discursively at least, New Zealand had become a nation. Despite this progression, political decisions continued to be made in London with important implications for New Zealand: although 1939 marked New Zealand’s first independent declaration of war, it nonetheless stood beside Britain in making that declaration.⁴¹⁴ New Zealand Prime Ministers were often present for important political decisions and announcements and, although London’s political jurisdiction over New Zealand declined over the correspondence period, evidence of its influence appeared under A.W. Mitchell’s editorship. In 1942, for instance, the agency reported that policies were being developed that would disadvantage New Zealand’s export industry: „the financial position of the country [Britain] will be

⁴¹⁰NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „Anglo-Colonial Notes.’, *Christchurch Press*, 22 June 1897, p. 2.

⁴¹¹NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „New Zealanders at Home’.

⁴¹²NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „New Zealanders at Home.’, 24 August 1899; NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „Personal Notes from London.’, *Christchurch Press*, 10 April 1902, p. 3.

⁴¹³W. David McIntyre, *Dominion of New Zealand: Statesmen and Status, 1907-1945* (Wellington, 2007), p. 13.

⁴¹⁴Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Penguin, 2003), p. 391.

such that we shall be obliged to curtail our imports to the utmost extent possible'.⁴¹⁵ Moreover, non-governmental lobby groups with the potential to disfavour New Zealand were discussed in length by correspondents. Reed, for instance, concentrated two of his ten articles on Tawhiao's London delegation on the actions of the Aborigines' Protection Society, a body he feared would sway British public opinion against the settlers.⁴¹⁶

Correspondence speaks for the presence of a significant New Zealand community in the metropole, generally referred to by correspondents as „the New Zealand colony in London'.⁴¹⁷ Centred around the Agency General and High Commission, but informed by individuals, groups and organisations, – particularly the NZAP and NZPA, organisations such as the New Zealand Society and New Zealand Women's Association, and publications like Reed's *Anglo-New Zealander* and Guy H. Scholefield's *New Zealander* – this community was important to many expatriates, including correspondents, and provided emotional, physical and financial support. The expatriate community generated a large number of articles, written by agency correspondents.⁴¹⁸ Central to coverage of the New Zealand community in London were the personals columns provided by both agencies. A disparate group of paragraphs tacked on to early correspondence, these columns were soon separated under headings such as „Anglo-Colonial Topics' and „New Zealanders at Home'.⁴¹⁹ Appearing in each package of correspondence, and from each agency, personals columns provided lists of visitors to the Agency-General and High Commission as well as more detailed discussions of a selection of New Zealanders in London. The form grew in importance through correspondence period, reaching well over a column in length by the early twentieth century. Their nature was relatively constant throughout the period of this study, with two exceptions. First, during

⁴¹⁵NZAP ed A.W. Mitchell, „Farming in Britain. Post-War Policy Discussed.', *Christchurch Press*, 10 January 1942, p. 2.

⁴¹⁶Reed, „Tawhiao's Visit to England'; George McCullagh Reed, „Tawhiao's Opinion of London. He Creates a "Sensation" in Cheapside.', *New Zealand Herald*, 23 July 1884, p. 6.

⁴¹⁷See, for instance, NZPA ed Mitchell, „A Reunion in London'.

⁴¹⁸Mander, in discussing her encounters with other New Zealand writers, was the only non-agency correspondent to cover the New Zealand community in London. See, Mander, „At the Sign of Fleet'. Although it was not written in London, one of William Pember Reeves' telegrams provided a similar perspective: „New Zealand beat [? Blackheath] by five goals (one penalty) and three tries (32 points) to nothing. Wallace scored three tries, McGregor two and Glasgow and Stead one each. Wallace kicked a penalty goal. There was a great gathering of New Zealanders who cheered the team', William Pember Reeves, Untitled, *Christchurch Press*, 6 November 1905, p. 8.

⁴¹⁹NZAP ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Anglo-Colonial Topics.', *Lyttelton Times*, 25 May 1888, p. 6; NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „New Zealanders at Home.', *Christchurch Press*, 18 September 1899, p. 6.

World War One, the NZAP replaced the column with one entitled 'On Service', which discussed the careers (but not the deaths) of serving New Zealanders. Second, by the time of Mitchell's editorship of the NZAP, the column had, along with correspondence articles generally, significantly diminished in size. (Figures Three to Five provide examples of the growth and decline of the personals columns.)

The personals columns focused on successful, wealthy and Pakeha New Zealanders in London. Although Tawhiao and his party were still in London after the establishment of the NZPA, details of their visit were treated as individual news items rather than within personals columns. This does not reflect their rank: the activities of New Zealand Prime Ministers in London were included in personals columns as well as within larger articles. Similarly, analysis of the names of those included suggests a significant bias towards the wealthy. A column datelined 22 July 1899 discussed four successful New Zealand born singers, three men in London investigated the frozen meat market, a Lieutenant-General, a lawyer, William Pember and Maud Reeves, and 'Mr John M. MacKenzie', about whom little information was provided.⁴²⁰ The names of passengers about to leave London for New Zealand were often included in personals columns, but generally only the wealthy: after naming twenty-eight passengers 'outward bound for the colony' (including a doctor and two reverends) an NZAP correspondent added that '[i]n the third class there are about 86 [more] passengers'.⁴²¹

Within that framework, however, personals columns covered the London lives of a large and varied number with a connection to New Zealand. They provide, then, an important insight into the New Zealand community in London during this time.⁴²² One of the first personals columns to be labelled as such, for instance, discussed New Zealand born musicians Appleby, Mabel Manson, singer 'Princess Te Rangi

⁴²⁰NZAP ed Rous-Marten, 'New Zealanders at Home', 2 September 1899.

⁴²¹NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, 'Personal Notes From London.', *Christchurch Press*, 15 February 1906, p. 5.

⁴²²The personals columns have been an unknown but important source for historians of New Zealanders in London. In *William Pember Reeves*, for instance, Sinclair bases his discussion of Reeves' early time in London on the NZPA's 'Anglo-Colonial Notes'. However, he mis-cites them, assuming they appeared exclusively in the *Auckland Star* and were written in Auckland rather than London. Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, pp. 247-8.

ON TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1885

I had been another... almost exactly similar to those laid down... THE FEDERATION QUESTION... THE COLONIAL QUESTION... THE SOUTH ISLAND QUESTION... THE NORTH ISLAND QUESTION... THE WEST COAST QUESTION... THE EAST COAST QUESTION... THE SOUTH COAST QUESTION... THE NORTH COAST QUESTION... THE WEST COAST QUESTION... THE EAST COAST QUESTION... THE SOUTH COAST QUESTION... THE NORTH COAST QUESTION...

OUR LONDON LETTER.

LONDON, August 14.

THE FEDERATION QUESTION. The great question of the Federation of the Colonies still continues to excite the interest of the public...

ANNEXATION.

At last the nature of the intervention of England in the affairs of New Guinea has become plain...

THE COLONIAL QUESTION. The Colonial question on the subject will not be a matter of course... THE SOUTH ISLAND QUESTION. The South Island question is still a matter of course... THE NORTH ISLAND QUESTION. The North Island question is still a matter of course... THE WEST COAST QUESTION. The West Coast question is still a matter of course... THE EAST COAST QUESTION. The East Coast question is still a matter of course... THE SOUTH COAST QUESTION. The South Coast question is still a matter of course... THE NORTH COAST QUESTION. The North Coast question is still a matter of course...

THE SOUTH ISLAND QUESTION. The South Island question is still a matter of course... THE NORTH ISLAND QUESTION. The North Island question is still a matter of course... THE WEST COAST QUESTION. The West Coast question is still a matter of course... THE EAST COAST QUESTION. The East Coast question is still a matter of course... THE SOUTH COAST QUESTION. The South Coast question is still a matter of course... THE NORTH COAST QUESTION. The North Coast question is still a matter of course...

Figure 17. Example of early personals within regular NZPA correspondence. Personals appear alongside miscellaneous news items in the final column. Lyttelton Times, 25 September 1885, p. 5.

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NEW ZEALANDERS ABROAD

PERSONAL NOTES FROM LONDON

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, December 24.

Major J. I. Chrystall, M.C., 13th/18th Hussars, is to attend the forty-fifth course at the Senior Officers' School, Belgaum (India), from January 6 to March 28. Major Chrystall is from Christchurch and has been in the British Army since before the Great War.

The death occurred on December 21 of a veteran of the Indian Mutiny, Mr George Day, of Dacre-tree, Chaucer road, Ashford, Middlesex, at the age of 97. After service with the 60th Rifles (now the King's Royal Corps) he joined the 3rd Battalion of the 68th Foot (now the Durham Light Infantry), in 1857. After the mutiny he was sent to New Zealand, saw active service against the Maoris and was decorated. He left the army in 1867. Last July he was made an honorary member of the 68th Foot Regimental Association. His brother, Solomon Day, who died some years ago, was at the siege of Sebastopol and the battles of Inkerman and Balaklava.

Mr W. S. Percy, the actor-comedian and author, has gone to Blackpool to appear as the king in the Christmas pantomime, "Queen of Hearts." "June Inverclyde will be the chief danger. Mr Percy's new book, "Strolling Through England," illustrated by prints from engravings by himself, is having a most gratifying reception from the critics. Mr Percy is a man of great observation and has local county history at his finger tips. The book is one to enjoy, and should be useful or reference. He is an author who is entirely responsible for everything in his books, including the jacket, illustrations, and letterpress. The latest book is a companion to "Strolling Through Scotland."

George Nepia has taken a house near Clapham Common, with three other well-known New Zealand footballers, Charlie Smith, Jack MacDonald, and George Harrison. The house will be run as a "co-operative concern," all making their contributions on an equal basis. Another member of the "family" is R. Gillett, son of the 1905 All Black. Mrs Harrison will be the housekeeper until Mrs Nepia and Mrs MacDonald arrive.

"Animals have now developed a bad instinct, but children must still be trained," said Lieut.-Colonel J. A.

Figure Five. Example of diminished size of personals columns in later NZAP correspondence. Christchurch Press, 24 January 1936. p. 18.

Pai', Henry Stockwell, Kirley Campbell, and George Clutsam; Major-General Robley, who collected Maori art; Mr J. Bayne, former director of Canterbury Agricultural College; „Lieutenant G. Bailey, of Timaru'; and „[t]he Rev. [sic] Harry Vere White, M.A., who is well known in the dioceses of Wellington and Christchurch, where he successively held the positions of incumbent of Greytown and vicar of Kaiapoi'.⁴²³ Coverage of their lives in London varied greatly: as he had a forthcoming concert, hopefully with the other New Zealand musicians listed, Appleby was the focus of a paragraph; by contrast, Bailey was extremely ill, „suffering from something like a semi-paralysis of the knees', but received only two sentences.⁴²⁴

Although British celebrities, usually those about to leave for New Zealand as members of sporting, theatrical, or musical groups, were occasionally mentioned in early personals columns, the overwhelming majority of subjects had lived, even briefly, in New Zealand before going to London (or elsewhere – London correspondents often sent details of former New Zealanders living in Europe but visiting London). Inclusion was neither automatic nor uncontested. An NZAP correspondent in 1906 saw a „connection with New Zealand' as necessary for inclusion, but was uncertain of what this meant.

If [British] Parliamentary candidates may be regarded as connected with New Zealand through past Governorships, or through relationships with former Governors, the Sir James Fergusson, who was Governor of New Zealand in 1873-74 [sic], and Mr Rupert Guinness, who married Lady Gwendolen Onslow, daughter of Lord Onslow, must be included on the list.⁴²⁵

Other than wealth, whiteness, and a connection with New Zealand, criteria for inclusion in personals columns appears to have been relatively fluid. Despite the level of detail they provided, they do not seem to have been paid for by their subjects: their format was much more casual than their domestic counterparts and correspondents often sourced items for them from British newspapers, ships' passenger lists or the visitors' books at the Agency General and High Commission.

⁴²³NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „Personal Notes From London', 10 April 1902.

⁴²⁴NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „Personal Notes From London', 10 April 1902.

⁴²⁵NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „Personal Notes From London.', Christchurch *Press*, 28 February 1906, p. 7.

Personals columns provided an opportunity for women's experiences in London to be discussed. Although their inclusion in general correspondence was limited, many women made the journey from New Zealand to London during this period. Rous-Marten had travelled to London with his wife and niece and Reed with his wife and children. In the later period women were also correspondents, but earlier they appeared primarily as daughters, wives, singers, actors, students and teachers.⁴²⁶ Singer Phoebe Parsons, for instance, achieved some success in London that was not included elsewhere in correspondence but received detailed coverage in personals columns:

[c]alling the other day on Mrs W. F. Parsons, of Wellington, and her daughters, I had the pleasure of hearing Miss Phœbe Parsons sing. I was greatly pleased with her voice, which is a soprano of very fine dramatic quality. [...] Her voice was tried experimentally in the Albert Hall recently, and told out most satisfactorily.⁴²⁷

Despite her political activism, correspondence, and position within the expatriate community, Maud Reeves' only appearances in agency correspondence were within the personals columns. As the High Commissioner's wife, this coverage was extensive and she was mentioned in personals columns throughout William's tenure.

New Zealand News

Yet, although the UPA's supply of New Zealand news from London improved over the correspondence period, it failed to adequately cover the issues of importance to New Zealand arising in London or the activities of the New Zealand community. This study begins with Reed, writing for the *New Zealand Herald*. Although not an agency correspondent, he was directly associated with a New Zealand newspaper and involved with the expatriate community through the *Anglo-New Zealander*. The majority of Reed's correspondence (ten articles of eleven) focused on Tawhiao's London delegation while another addressed the trial of Hugh Shortland, a lawyer accused of murder who had lived briefly in New Zealand.

⁴²⁶The late nineteenth century saw significant changes for women and journalism in New Zealand and elsewhere. Although the identity of New Zealand's first female journalist is unclear, Dolce Cabot probably became the first full-time female newspaper staff-member in 1894. Similarly, the *Canterbury Times*' Ladies Page became the first publication to be written for women by women. Chanel Hughes, 'Dolce Cabot and the Canterbury Times "Ladies' Page": An Examination of Early New Zealand Women's Journalism' (University of Canterbury English MA thesis, 1998), p. 3, p. 9.

⁴²⁷NZAP ed Rous-Marten, 'New Zealanders at Home', 2 September 1899.

Tawhiao led the Kingitanga from 1860 until 1894 and was a well known and controversial figure among the Pakeha community – Reed had written about and criticised him frequently in ‚Calamo Currente’, a column in the *New Zealand Herald*, before going to London. Public animosity had decreased after the 1881 peace – Walter Hugh Ross claims that he was ‚fêted [sic] and made much of’ on a state visit to Auckland that year – but derision remained, with Reed writing in 1882 that Tawhiao had ‚a decided weakness for firewater’ and ‚a partiality for the Miss Prettymans’.⁴²⁸ These factors – Pakeha interest, concern and animosity – meant that Tawhiao’s 1884 journey to London to petition the Secretary of the State for the Colonies for a separate Maori parliament and a commission of inquiry into land confiscation became a major news event.⁴²⁹ Reporters were sent to cover his preparation and subsequent departure for London and editors speculated over what would happen when he arrived, fearing threats to settlement in the King Country.⁴³⁰ Similarly, Tawhiao received a lot of attention in London, with Reed describing this coverage in an article titled ‚London Gossip About the Maoris [sic]’: ‚[a]ll the London papers have something to say about the Maoris [sic], from the Times [sic] to Punch [sic]’.⁴³¹ Much of Reed’s coverage was flippant – ‚[Tawhiao’s cousin, Henare] Patara [...] had been wandering after the dictates of his own sweet will’ – but much was also investigative and significant. Little was known of Tawhiao’s intentions in London, the exact nature of his petition, or the response that could be expected from the Secretary, and Reed was eager to transmit these ‚particulars’ to New Zealand, although the content of the petition was not known publicly until 14 July, almost two months after his first article on Tawhiao was datelined.⁴³²

Despite this level of interest and the ongoing unanswered questions, the UPA provided little coverage of Tawhiao’s time in London, with one editorial stating ‚[w]e have heard very little by cable of what Tawhiao and his friends [are] doing in

⁴²⁸Anon, ‚Te Wherowhero, Matutaera Te Pukepuke Te Paue Te Karato Te-a-Potatau Tawhiao’, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* ed A.H. McLintock (1966) <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/W/TeWherowherotawhiaoMatutaeraTePukepukeTe/en>> (accessed 10 December 2008); Reed, *Calamo Currente*, p. 4.

⁴²⁹Walter Hugh Ross, ‚Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero Tawhiao’, *New Zealand History Online* (updated 17 November 2008) <<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/meida/photo/tukaroto-matutaera-potatau-te-wherowhero-tawhiao>> (accessed 10 December 2008).

⁴³⁰Anon, ‚Editorial’, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884.

⁴³¹Reed, ‚London Gossip’.

⁴³²George McCullagh Reed, ‚Tawhiao in England. Important Interview with Mr. F.H. Spencer.’, *New Zealand Herald*, 25 August 1884, p. 6.

London, and from this it would appear that they had not obtained audience with Her Majesty or the Prince of Wales'.⁴³³ That is, speculation was necessary because of a lack of information. Figure Six shows one of the few telegraphs published about Tawhiao, sent two days before his departure from London. Figure Seven is an article by Reed with the same dateline as that of the UPA. It was published before Tawhiao returned to New Zealand, although several months after the cable. The size difference is immediately noticeable, but equally important is the comparative breadth of information provided by Reed's article, for instance, that Tawhiao would not depart for two more days (another cable does not appear to have been sent with this information). Reed's article also contained a detailed overview of Tawhiao's time in London and information relevant to a New Zealand audience, such as the name of Tawhiao's ship and discussion of renewed threats to King Country settlement.

Reed's correspondence provided a specifically New Zealand perspective that was unavailable in both the telegraphic coverage and that eventually published in news-by-mail columns. Reed presented himself as having unique knowledge. When Tawhiao arrived at Plymouth, Reed informed one of his fellow passengers that Tawhiao 'took the Blue Ribbon [in] Auckland', before asking 'has he kept his pledge?'.⁴³⁴ Similarly, he criticised the accuracy of printed images of Tawhiao, suggesting that most were 'evidently taken from photographs, but the picture in the Graphic [sic] was drawn from life, and the artist has admirably caught, not only the features, but the expression of the King. It is by far the best thing of the kind that has been published here'.⁴³⁵ Further, he positioned himself on the side of the colonists, against the perceived threats that Tawhiao and his supporters might create in London. In an interview with Chesson, head of the Aborigines Protection Society in London, he criticised Chesson's suggestion that Maori should be able to retain their land, stating that 'as a matter of fact, [...] many of the younger natives are willing, even eager, to part with [it]'.⁴³⁶

⁴³³Anon, 'Editorial', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 1884.

⁴³⁴George McCullagh Reed, 'Arrival of Tawhiao in England'.

⁴³⁵Reed, 'London Gossip'.

⁴³⁶Reed, 'Tawhiao's Visit to England'.

TAWHIAO IN LONDON. |

LONDON, August 20.

**Tawhiao, the Maori King, had a
farewell interview to-day at the Man-
sion House with Lord Mayor Fowler.**

Figure Six. Example of the UPA's coverage of Tawhiao in London. *New Zealand Herald*, 22 August 1884, p. 9.

TAWHIAO IN ENGLAND.
DEPARTURE FROM LONDON.
PRESENTS FROM THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.
FROM ONE OF HIS OWN SUBJECTS.

London, August 20.
After a stay of eighty-one days in London, His Majesty the King of the Maori, is to depart to-day from London, in company with his cousin Patara Te Tahi, and Hon. Ropata Te Kahi. The King had decided to remain and enjoy the joys of London for a day longer, and join the King at Plymouth on Friday. Major Te Whero, and Mr. Skiffins (the interpreter), will remain in England a few months longer, with a view to guiding the Aborigines Protection Society in the steps to be taken to supplement and complete the result of the mission to the King. The King and his party passed the night at the Hotel de France, and it will interest some people to know that they are very comfortably housed in the saloon part of the ship, and that their baggage from the published card of the Queen's salute, passed all the same as if they were persons of high degree. In some respects it must be admitted that the circumstances of their departure pleasantly contrast with those of their arrival. His Majesty, when he was introduced to London, was left to his own resources. When he left he was escorted by an official of the English Government and a number of gentlemen, who, as arranged by their representations, have in a manner taken up the Maori cause. I should mention that Miss Wade, a maiden lady residing in Dorset, who for some twenty years has taken a deep interest in the native race of New Zealand, has been in London, having taken apartments in Montagu Place, Strand Square, immediately opposite Somerset House, where the King has been staying. The only companions with whom he stayed were the wife of the Maori, so it came about that, following upon a series of similar meetings, she arranged a religious meeting at her residence on the morning of the King's departure. She also made her own handsome presents of illuminated books, with which they appeared highly delighted. Similar words of kindness in the shape of morning gifts were also made by Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Theodore Fry, both of whose husbands are members of the British House of Commons, with that most respectable of thoughtful ladies which inspired the people to send all kinds of assistance and comfort to "Jumbo" for his voyage across the Atlantic. Mr. G. Palmer, M.P., considerably sent them a supply of Reading Biscuits. The programme started from Somerset House at twelve o'clock, and although the bulk of the luggage had preceded them, still one and the other had numerous packages for the safety of which they departed much anxiety. It was proposed that the King should embark at the Royal Albert docks, but the Queen had left here in the early morning, and consequently the party proceeded by special train from Fenchurch Street to Tilbury, whence they were conveyed by steam tender to the Hovea, which was lying off Gravesend. The railway journey was performed in a specially reserved carriage, in which were accommodated, besides the whole of the Maori party, Mr. Fuller, of the Colonial Office, as representing the Government; the Rev. P. H. Spencer, acting as Government interpreter; Mrs. Grace, of Richmond, the widow of a former Church missionary to the district of Tairā, in New Zealand; the Rev. Mr. Mosley of Christ Church, Woburn Square, London; Mr. F. W. Chesson, representing the Aborigines Protection Society; Mr. Kerry Nichol, author of "The King Country"; Mrs. Sainsbury, the lady at whose house the King had been staying, and for whom he has developed a profound regard; Mr. Jones, who Nothing happened to specially mark the journey, it being the fact that the King and

consent offer that we come here. We had been here only one month when New Zealand and all our lands were lost to us, and now we have been here two months and we have heard the words that we are to return, and Te Whero is to remain. I am not at all complaining that I think it is quite a proper arrangement. All the things have been brought together under one head, and the whole thing has been laid down at your feet. We have felt nothing but joy. It is quite right that you should look after the affairs of New Zealand, and that Te Whero should remain to keep you enlightened in the matter. We have come to this country, and our coming here has been a cause of life again to New Zealand. Therefore we have and these words that the very Queen herself should cheer and embrace us to give us life again. Though you look at us and see that my face is dark yet my heart is like the "poaka," clear and transparent, and there is no warfare in my heart. Here I am returning to my country, I feel myself as if I were to go, knowing that our hearts will be united in love. This is the greatest word of all love, love. It is love which has caused us to be called by the houses of belief and gentlemen. I wish to say a word about a person sitting here (Mr. Bowen) whose action has gone right to my heart. I will say to you that you are people of a Good Templar. Remain you here to make things clear and bright, and let your light be diffused abroad. Break in your love, great in your kindness; great in your sympathies; great in your charity; and we thank you for your all-forgiveness, leaving one of our number while we go away and return to our own country. (Heard here in your place, May God help you.)
PARATA TE TAI (the King's cousin) and Major Te Whero also spoke in similar terms.
At the close of the proceedings, tea and coffee were served to the assembled guests. The King, on retiring, grasped the Lord Mayor very fervently by the hand, and said, "I shall ever keep you in remembrance. God bless you."
In my last letter I incidentally alluded to a proposed union of American and Maori interests for mutual benefit. Among the first medical visitors to the Maori was an American physician (Mr. Frank Bowden), who professed to have large commercial and territorial interests in China and made himself very affable and agreeable to the Maori, taking them here, there, and everywhere, paying all expenses, and generally putting himself in endless trouble to accommodate them. He was courteous and kind, and showed himself very desirous of ascertaining the nature of the Maori provisions, reading them all the sentences in the power. All of a sudden he propounded the idea of starting an Anglo-Maori Company, the objects of which should be to work in conjunction with Tawhiao and the other chiefs for their mutual benefit. The idea was that the Maori were to provide the land and make concessions to the company, which might be made up of capitalists of both races—and that they were to work together to prevent colonial interference, and to preserve the King Country intact for their own purpose. Mr. Bowden seemed to have a notion that the chiefs in England were all powerful, and could do as they chose with the land, but after several interviews with them, and after, as I believe, seeing Mr. Chesson on the subject, I am credibly assured that the whole thing fell through. Meanwhile, through one of those many mysterious channels of which we know but whose actions guard would strike us, and it is said that the Maori were prepared to raise and put down at once all the necessary capital, even to the extent of ten millions sterling, on the necessary condition of land being obtained. I believe, however, that it generally came to be understood that the King was powerless in this latter matter, and the whole thing terminated in a fiasco.

THE CHORAL FESTIVAL AT ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH.

Mr. Jones, acting as Government interpreter; Mrs. Grace, of Richmond, the widow of a former Church missionary to the district of Tairā, in New Zealand; the Rev. Mr. Mosley of Christ Church, Woburn Square, London; Mr. F. W. Chesson, representing the Aborigines Protection Society; Mr. Kerry Nichol, author of "The King Country"; Mrs. Sainsbury, the lady at whose house the King had been staying, and for whom he has developed a profound regard; Mr. Jones, who Nothing happened to specially mark the journey, it being the fact that the King and
Several interesting features preceded the departure of Tawhiao. For instance, on Monday Mr. Fuller, of the Colonial Office, representing Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, presented each of the chiefs, on behalf of His Majesty, with a handsomely finished and framed portrait of Her Majesty the Queen. The gift was accompanied by a few words of regard from Lord Derby, who desired to wish them a prosperous voyage and safe return to their native land. Personally, Mr. Fuller expressed the great satisfaction it had been to him to have had the pleasure of accompanying them on several occasions. On receipt of the portraits, "the chiefs composed and sang a song, expressing their regret at only having seen the shadow of the Queen, and not her very person." Some of them also gave very hearty thanks in kind, but what are described as expressive words. Appropos of this I may mention that, all of a sudden, the London Standard has stirred a warm interest in the Maori cause. In its issue of today it stirred a wall of complaint against the Government because Tawhiao and his companions had not had a personal introduction to the Queen. The writer would appear to have been inspired from some quarter, for he evidently had very little knowledge of the position. In fact he made himself the mouthpiece of a certain well-known friend of the Maori. The simple reason why the King did not have a personal interview with Her Majesty was that he was not officially accredited to the Government.
Essentially, at all events, the Maori have been well treated in England, and they have not been slow to acknowledge their obligations. They have several times been the guests of the Lord Mayor of London—the last time on the eve of their departure, when they attended a farewell meeting at the Mansion House. Among the gentlemen present were: Mr. Chesson, Mr. Hyde Clark, M.P., the Rev. Mr. Gilbert (missionary to the Fiji Islands), and the Rev. P. H. Spencer, who once more did duty as interpreter. The Lord Mayor expressed the pleasure it afforded him to be able to bid them "good-bye," and expressed a hope that good might come of their visit to England. Tawhiao replied, and touched on the great love and kindness which had been shown him by many ladies and gentlemen in England. The chiefs, he said, would never, never, forget the love, and would report it among all their people. Mr. Hilton, Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, also made some observations, in reply to whom the chiefs were introduced to the Maori. They had, they said, nothing to add to what they had done; they had come and laid all at the feet of England, and thanked to English justice to see their own set right. The parting of the King with the Lord Mayor was very tender and impressive. Subjoined is a full report of what took place at the interview.
Addressing the King, the Lord Mayor said: May it please your Majesty—it gives me pleasure to see you here this afternoon. I hope that the result of your visit to England will be of much use; and that it will create an interest in the affairs of New

Zealand among the people here. I hope that the result of your visit to England will be of much use; and that it will create an interest in the affairs of New Zealand among the people here. I hope that you have seen in England will be of interest to you, and that you will look back with pleasure hereafter to your visit here. I have no doubt that Lord Derby has been very much interested in the statements which you have made to him, and he is very anxious to see what assistance he can give the Government of New Zealand to promote the just and righteous objects which have brought you to this country.
Mr. Hyde Clark, Mr. J. H. Kerry Nichol, and Mr. Hilton, at whose instance the King and chiefs joined the Order of Good Templars, spoke.
King TAWHIAO then rose, and replied as follows:— My Lord Mayor—Salutations. Here I am, standing in your presence, in your dwelling, in the midst of your own people, where you are living under the protection of justice, with the Home of Parliament before you, under the same rule. The King which has brought us here I have very much at heart. It was through my

Reed's other article from London addressed the trial of Hugh Rutherford Shortland for the murder of his wife Laura.⁴³⁷ Hugh's connection to New Zealand was less clear than Tawhiao's. He had worked briefly in New Zealand but was British born, as was Laura, although his father lived in New Zealand and Reed thought he was „well respected there'.⁴³⁸ Another journalist, writing in New Zealand after reading about the case in a British newspaper, knew Hugh had been to New Zealand, but seemed unsure of the nature of the connection, writing that he was „said to be a New Zealand barrister'.⁴³⁹ The marriage lasted for less than a month before Laura's death by drowning and Hugh's behaviour – he had gone into hiding before her death and the pair had been estranged for most of the marriage – saw him accused of her murder.⁴⁴⁰ The death was eventually ruled accidental, with a post-mortem failing to find any evidence that she had not simply fallen into the pond while playing fetch with her dog, it having „returned home wet on the day in question'.⁴⁴¹ As the circumstances of her death were suspicious – Laura was wealthy and was not the first heiress that Hugh had wanted to marry – the story received a lot of attention in the British press.⁴⁴² The fact that Reed's other articles had focused on Tawhiao, however, suggests that it was Hugh's connection to New Zealand, rather than the scandalous nature of the story, that led Reed to investigate the case.

As Reed's correspondence illustrates, „items of specific New Zealand interest' made up for significant shortfalls in the supply of news to New Zealand, extending coverage of telegraphic stories and providing more contextualised accounts than those gleaned from foreign newspapers. Negotiations with the UPA's supply agencies in London and Australia often focussed on New Zealand news and, as the Tawhiao telegraph cited above illustrates, New Zealand's peripheral position within the imperial press system was particularly evident in the coverage of New Zealand stories.⁴⁴³ Despite some concessions, the Australian agencies had little motivation to gather New Zealand news and limited access to the shared knowledge needed to gauge what should be included: as James Sanders argues, „even to the Australians',

⁴³⁷Reed, „The Shortland Case'.

⁴³⁸Reed, „The Shortland Case'.

⁴³⁹Anon, „The Shortland Murder Case.', *Otago Witness*, 26 July 1884, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁰Reed, „The Shortland Case'.

⁴⁴¹Reed, „The Shortland Case'; Anon, „The Shortland Murder Case'.

⁴⁴²Reed, „The Shortland Case'.

⁴⁴³Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 154-7.

New Zealand ‚remained [...] little more than a subscriber at the end of a wire [with] virtually no say in the compilation or management of the services it received from across the world’ until the 1940s.⁴⁴⁴ This had a significant effect on correspondence, particularly that provided by the agencies, because their level of engagement with New Zealand editors and directors was higher, and expectations surrounding the nature of their correspondence were clearer and more defined. Their correspondence and the Hinkley-Mitchell letters demonstrate that they had a consistent mandate to cover New Zealand stories.

No package of agency correspondence without a New Zealand story was uncovered in this study. Most packages included an overview of individuals and events within the expatriate community (the personals columns) as well as New Zealand stories in article form. Although the NZAP’s early correspondence columns contained a high proportion of British and European stories, New Zealand subjects were equally significant. One of their ‚London Letters’, published 1 April 1894, discussed proposed alternative telegraphic and mail ‚routes to the antipodes’.⁴⁴⁵ Treatment of these proposals was positive and detailed, with developments in their favour highlighted and those involved in their promotion named and praised: ‚Lord Brassey though the value of the new route had been convincingly established [and h]e therefore trusted that the proposal would be well supported. The meeting [to discuss the new mail route] was unanimous in its feeling [of support]’.⁴⁴⁶ This ‚Letter’ was followed by a number of personals, discussing New Zealanders in London. By Mitchell’s editorship of the NZAP, the format and currency of correspondence had changed significantly, but many New Zealand stories were still included. A batch sent 24 December 1935, for instance, contained ‚Personal Notes’ about New Zealanders in London and a detailed account of a dinner given by the

⁴⁴⁴Sanders, pp. 158-9. ‚An Old Hand’ made a similar point in the *New Zealand Journalist* in 1935: ‚New Zealand is dependent for her cable service entirely on Australia and [...] it is an Australian service first and all the time for which New Zealand pays for the use.’ ‚An Old Hand’, ‚Cable Service: Dependence on Australia’, *New Zealand Journalist* 1:3 (1935), p. 5. To Sanders, the UPA’s 1946 partnership agreement with Reuters is more significant than their establishment of a London office in 1942. This may be true, although *Dateline* was commissioned by the UPA and contained extensive promotion of that organisation’s prestigious relationship with Reuters; moreover, the London office was the beginning of the movement that led to the partnership with Reuters.

⁴⁴⁵NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, ‚Our London Letter’, *Christchurch Press*, 1 April 1894, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁶NZAP ed Rous-Marten, ‚Our London Letter’, 1 April 1894.

New Zealand community to honour visiting athletes.⁴⁴⁷

Although few accounts of public attitudes towards news flow during this period are available, Caroline Daley and Greg Ryan's studies of the 1905 All Blacks tour of Britain have established that public demand for New Zealand stories could be vocal.⁴⁴⁸ Not expecting the tour to be such a success, neither the UPA nor individual newspapers had organised special coverage, and early stories were notable for failing to provide information beyond the bare results of the games.⁴⁴⁹ Public interest was high – a crowd gathered outside the offices of the *Otago Witness* to wait for the result of the first game to arrive by telegraph – and demand for greater coverage began after ‚a couple of weeks'.⁴⁵⁰ This led the UPA and individual newspapers to organise separate coverage, testament to the importance of the event but also reflective of the number of New Zealanders in Britain because of the tour as many of these correspondents were also players. Telegraphic coverage was supplied by William Pember Reeves with the UPA organising supplementary coverage from its London affiliate, the APA. News-by-mail came from players, commentators, the British press and the correspondence agencies. However, the agencies maintained an important position as they provided the only news-by-mail from an established source and were the only groups to cover the tour from beginning to end.

The labelling of New Zealand stories as ‚news' and references to the urgency with which they were despatched continued throughout the late-nineteenth century and, like British stories, they were published alongside telegraphs during that time. ‚Loan and Mercantile', an NZPA article published in the *Lyttelton Times* on 20 October 1893, was positioned between international telegraphs and domestic political news, both segments with high news value. Although the article was not discussed in that day's editorial, the correspondent emphasised the story's currency and the urgency with which they treated it: ‚[c]olonial readers will be anxious to

⁴⁴⁷NZAP ed Mitchell, ‚New Zealanders Abroad'; NZAP ed Mitchell, ‚A Reunion in London'.

⁴⁴⁸Caroline Daley, ‚The Invention of 1905', *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004*, ed Greg Ryan (Dunedin, 2005), pp. 69-88; Greg Ryan, *The Contest for Rugby Supremacy: Accounting for the 1905 All Blacks* (Christchurch, 2005).

⁴⁴⁹Daley, p. 73; Ryan, p. 16.

⁴⁵⁰Daley, pp. 73.

learn some thing respecting the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile'.⁴⁵¹ The correspondent went on to detail the lengths they had gone to to investigate the story, before discussing later developments: „[s]ince writing the foregoing I have received a further *communiqué* [sic] from a private source. My informant states that a provisional agreement has been come to, and that within the next fortnight the statutory meeting of the [Loan and Mercantile] Company will be held, when a scheme of reconstruction will be submitted [...]'.⁴⁵² As a story with financial implications for New Zealand, and one that threatened its reputation in London, the fate of the Loan and Mercantile Company was important news for a New Zealand audience and it was treated as such in correspondence.

Although it is difficult to gauge, the decline in currency appears to have been slower for New Zealand than for British stories. While correspondents did provide „soft news’ New Zealand stories – supplying personals columns and detailing the minutiae of the lives of High Commissioners and other New Zealand dignitaries – they adopted a „hard news’ tone to cover important issues and continued to investigate stories, only turning to the British press for discussions of New Zealand’s reputation in that forum. This is evident in the NZPA’s coverage of Prime Minister Joseph Ward’s attendance of the 1907 Imperial conference:

[a]sked [by the NZPA] if he shared the views of some that the conference had been abortive, the New Zealand Premier said: “No, certainly not. [...]” On the eve of his departure from London [Ward] made the following statement:– “[...] I fully recognise that in honouring me the people of Great Britain have been showing their goodwill to New Zealand and their desire to draw closer the ties which bind them to their kinsmen across the seas. [...]”⁴⁵³

This was in stark contrast with the agency’s normal tone, which, under James Whitelaw’s editorship retained the column format of early correspondence even as Scholefield’s NZAP moved towards articles. William Coull was a New Zealander visiting London, whose journey was treated much less formally in the same column: „Mr William Coull, of Dunedin, was this week revisiting in Fleet Street the scenes of a boyhood spent amongst the printing presses of a generation back’.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Loan & [sic] Mercantile’, *Lyttelton Times*, 20 October 1893, p. 5.

⁴⁵²NZPA ed Rathbone, „Loan & Mercantile’.

⁴⁵³NZPA ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General’, *Lyttelton Times*, 3 July 1907, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁴NZPA ed Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes’, 3 July 1907.

Ward's return to London in 1911, this time for the first Imperial conference, demonstrates the changes that had taken place since the 1880s, but also the continued importance of correspondence to the flow of news about New Zealand. The central issue of concern to a New Zealand audience was the gifting of the dreadnought *New Zealand* to the British navy. The NZAP did not cover this story, perhaps because – as Scholefield recalled in his memoir – he felt uneasy about the decision.⁴⁵⁵ Also, Scholefield may have known that the story had sufficient news value to be covered by the UPA.⁴⁵⁶ The NZAP provided two „soft news’ stories: one outlined Ward's activities („The opening of the Imperial Conference has only redoubled the strenuousness of the Prime Minister's life in London. On Saturday there was polo, and on Monday the luncheon with the King [...].’) while another discussed those of other New Zealanders in London for the conference.⁴⁵⁷ A third article discussed the conference itself, providing a level of detail and a New Zealand perspective that was not evident in the UPA's coverage. After complaining that the press had been barred from the conference and bemoaning their subsequent reliance on Colonial Office summaries of events, an NZAP correspondent outlined those events that related to New Zealand.⁴⁵⁸

In his reply – each of the Prime Ministers replied for his own Dominion – Sir Joseph Ward referred feelingly to his recollections of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the last conference, and to the great Empire work which he initiated. “I want, in a humble way,” he said, “to add my personal testimony to what I believe has been one of the greatest things in the century from the historical point of view of the British Empire [...].”⁴⁵⁹

The middle section of his article appears to have been edited out – an editorial voice noted that it contained details already covered by telegraph – but the final paragraphs, containing a lengthy interview with Ward and discussion of his reception in the British press, were included.⁴⁶⁰

During periods of regained currency, the correspondence agencies' supply favoured

⁴⁵⁵Guy H. Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 153.

⁴⁵⁶See UPA, „New Zealand Dreadnought Launched. Great Gathering at Glasgow.’, *Christchurch Press*, 4 July 1911, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁷NZAP ed Guy H. Scholefield, „London Personal Notes. Prime Minister's Busy Day.’, *Christchurch Press*, 5 July 1911, p. 8; NZAP ed Guy H. Scholefield, „The London Season. New Zealanders at Buckingham Palace.’, *Christchurch Press*, 5 July 1911, p. 10.

⁴⁵⁸NZAP ed Guy H. Scholefield, „Imperial Conference. First Week's Proceedings.’, *Christchurch Press*, 5 July 1911, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁹NZAP ed Scholefield, „Imperial Conference’.

⁴⁶⁰NZAP ed Scholefield, „Imperial Conference’.

New Zealand. Scholefield's augmented supply of correspondence during World War One included many stories about the British war effort and his time in Crete, but New Zealand stories were the agency's central concern during this time. Despite the magnitude of events – which saw the NZAP provide detailed and investigative British stories – over half of stories that mentioned the War also mentioned New Zealand. Similarly, World War Two increased NZAP's coverage of New Zealand stories. Although under Mitchell's editorship, the agency continued to provide personals columns and some New Zealand stories, the focus had turned to soft news British stories: in 1936, early in Mitchell's editorship, New Zealand stories, including personals columns and those that merely contained reference to New Zealand represented just under half of NZAP correspondence; in 1942, however, similar stories made up about 70 per cent of all NZAP stories.⁴⁶¹

Thus it was in New Zealand stories, in particular, that correspondents undercut (and responded to) the UPA's 'monopoly' of foreign news flow into New Zealand. New Zealand stories had another structural underpinning, with a noticeable movement towards an exclusively New Zealand audience in the early correspondence period. When the NZPA was established under the name 'Colonial Press Agency' in 1884, it served one newspaper in each of the four centres and several in Australia.⁴⁶² Although this speaks for the importance of the relationship with Australia during this time, it also suggests that New Zealand was the main audience from the beginning, with Australia as something of an afterthought. This bias is supported by the correspondence. Two columns were published 7 and 8 January 1885 in the *Lyttelton Times*. Both had the dateline 21 November 1884 and contained a mixture of British and colonial items.⁴⁶³ Of the seventeen stories included in these columns, eight- mentioned New Zealand but not Australia, two Australia but not New Zealand and a further two Australasia. 'New Zealand' or the names of specific New Zealand residents, landmarks or organisations ('the colony', 'Otago Boys' High school' and so on) occurred 48 times, as against 19 occurrences of Australian nouns and seven of Australasian.

⁴⁶¹ Calculated from three month samples of correspondence taken at the beginning of each year. The proportions were 42 percent New Zealand stories in 1936 and 70 per cent in 1942.

⁴⁶² Anon, 'All Sorts of People'.

⁴⁶³ NZPA ed Rathbone, 'Our London Letter', 7 January 1885; NZPA ed Rathbone, 'Our London Letter', 8 January 1885.

The date at which the NZPA ceased to supply Australian newspapers is uncertain. Australian stories declined gradually and unevenly, but it was described as the „New Zealand Press Agency’ in correspondence in 1897, with a correspondent, presumably Alfred S. Rathbone, writing: „I will allow the representative of the New Zealand Press Agency who met the Premier [Richard Seddon], to tell his story in his own way’.⁴⁶⁴ Three articles accompanied this statement, none mentioning Australia and all focussing on New Zealand. The first addressed Seddon’s arrival in London and overviewed his journey from New Zealand.⁴⁶⁵ A second article focused on the „New Zealand contingent’ arriving in London for Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee.⁴⁶⁶ An Australian party was already in London and could have been mentioned, but was not, except as part of a generalised imperial group, to which New Zealand was compared favourably: „the New Zealand contingent is the only one among the great number now in London from all parts of the Empire confined to men who are strictly volunteers. [...] This gives the New Zealanders [...] a decidedly distinctive standing’.⁴⁶⁷ A third article was more general, providing a selection of „Anglo-Colonial Notes’, and again making no mention of Australia. Each article was highly detailed („[t]he Premier, though he had been up until the vessel anchored, shortly after midnight, and had been turned out for breakfast at 5 a.m., looked fresh and genial’) and promoted New Zealand („[the New Zealand contingent] were undoubtedly a fine, stalwart, and one might say, handsome body of men’).⁴⁶⁸

This New Zealand focus remained throughout the correspondence period, with the provision of news exclusively to New Zealand newspapers becoming the general trend. (This does not necessarily equate to a growth in New Zealand voices in the press, as syndicated correspondence continued to appear.) The other correspondence agency, the NZAP, supplied only New Zealand newspapers from its establishment in 1893. Many correspondents supplied non-New Zealand publications from London (most wrote for Fleet Street newspapers, Reed and

⁴⁶⁴NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Mr Seddon’s Tour’.

⁴⁶⁵NZPA ed Rathbone, „Mr Seddon’s Tour’, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁶NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „The New Zealand Contingent’.

⁴⁶⁷NZPA ed Rathbone, „The New Zealand Contingent’.

⁴⁶⁸NZPA ed Rathbone, „Mr Seddon’s Tour’; NZPA ed Rathbone, „The New Zealand Contingent’.

Scholefield wrote for the *Anglo-New Zealander* and the *New Zealander* respectively, while H. Leslie Verry had articles published in British, American and Canadian newspapers and Robin Hyde wrote for European socialist journals) but Arthur J. Heighway was the only twentieth-century correspondent to write articles intended for more than one audience at a time, arranging to supply Australian and New Zealand newspapers with articles from London before leaving New Zealand.⁴⁶⁹ Heighway was born in Australia in 1888, but moved to New Zealand in 1897 and appears to have returned for the first time on his way to London. He published exclusively in New Zealand prior to 1911, writing before he went to London that, although he had been successful in New Zealand, he had „no great idea of [his] ability’ in an international context.⁴⁷⁰ His articles, however, were notable for their lack of reference to New Zealand: the country was mentioned once by itself (possibly due to editing); another article referred to „Australia and New Zealand’; and a third used the term „colony’.⁴⁷¹

Simon Potter argues for the need to address regional as well as national and imperial identities in the British world press. This assertion is borne out with reference to the New Zealand press during this period, with local stories receiving a great deal of attention. Potter’s assertion is not, however, supported by the correspondence analysed in this study: not only were references to Australasian identities limited, provincialism, that is, regionalism within New Zealand, was also downplayed. Patrick Day argues that „in a country dominated in the nineteenth century by regional considerations and affiliations, the press was in the vanguard of the development of a national focus’.⁴⁷² He is referring, in particular, to the UPA’s role in distributing regional news throughout the country. The national news provided by the UPA encouraged a national focus, while at the same time moving individual newspapers away from a model of promoting regional and partisan interests. Correspondents’ provision of New Zealand items can be seen in a similar light, with their imagined national audience, and the need for correspondence to be publishable throughout the country, leading to a national focus. Regionalism was

⁴⁶⁹Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁰Heighway, *My Inky Way*, p. 5, pp. 11-6.

⁴⁷¹Heighway, „The March of the Dead-Beat’; Heighway, „The Great Coronation Film’; Heighway, „The London Lodging House’.

⁴⁷²Day, pp. 3-4.

still important in the early period: Reed's coverage of Tawhiao in London showed a degree of vehemence and familiarity that would have been less at home outside the upper North Island. Reed took this further in the published form of his *New Zealand Herald* columns, *Calamo Currente*, by normalising sightings of Tawhiao that would have been foreign to most New Zealanders:

it must be admitted that at various stages in his route [through the King Country] the aged King who, from his age, ought to have known better, [was] in the habit of frequently driving out in carriages and buggies in entire defiance of public opinion, and those rule of decorum which should regulate the public conduct of persons of his rank.⁴⁷³

After Reed, London correspondents for the Christchurch and Auckland *Sun* newspapers provided the only significant correspondence for a regional audience.⁴⁷⁴ Jane Mander wrote for the Christchurch *Sun* for three years before the establishment of its Auckland counterpart in 1927, for which she also wrote.⁴⁷⁵ Both of these newspapers promoted local interests and highlighted local stories, a situation that was at its strongest before the establishment of the Auckland *Sun*. Mander, however, did not appear to be influenced by her Christchurch audience. She had not lived there and made no attempt to tailor her articles to the specific needs and interests of that city; instead, as Rae McGregor notes, she aimed her columns at an imagined national audience, a situation that became more natural after 1927.⁴⁷⁶ Indeed, her first article for the Christchurch *Sun* took a clearly national tone. She had been asked to comment on the newspaper's recent writing competition, but placed the competition within a national context, praising its contribution to the New Zealand writing community, discussing the entries with reference to the developments in New Zealand literature and praising one for being „true to the New Zealand locale’.⁴⁷⁷

In supplying correspondence for a New Zealand audience, correspondents and editors negotiated a complicated position. Although the agencies appear to have been well known amongst journalists, they were seldom openly discussed in the

⁴⁷³Reed, *Calamo Currente*, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁴Hyde also wrote for a regional audiences, but her output was limited. Hyde made no explicit reference to her audience, however.

⁴⁷⁵McGregor, p. 81.

⁴⁷⁶McGregor, p. 81.

⁴⁷⁷Mander, „“The Sun” Appreciated’.

press (the example from 1897 cited above is one of only two to have been uncovered in this study). Instead, agency correspondents were referred to as ‚our own correspondent’ or ‚our London correspondent’, implying a direct link to individual newspapers. So strong was this drive, that there were no visible differences in the formatting, labelling or treatment of the correspondence provided by the *New Zealand Herald’s* London correspondent and that provided by their NZPA replacement in 1884. Although it is in one sense exceptional, the 1897 article containing overt discussion of the NZPA provides a useful example of the complications of regional and national positioning. After an introduction in which an editorial voice stated that they would make way for ‚the representative of the New Zealand Press Agency’ a second voice appeared.⁴⁷⁸ Two columns follow, written by the NZPA representative who was instead referred to as ‚a representative of the *Lyttelton Times*’, the newspaper in which the article was published.⁴⁷⁹ Although it was uncommon for references to be so overt and so contradictory, the label ‚Our Correspondent’ continued to be used throughout the correspondence period.

Imagining Nation?

The position of agency correspondents within the New Zealand press system made their focus on New Zealand stories inevitable: with two exceptions they wrote for an exclusively New Zealand audience and responded to holes in the UPA’s supply of New Zealand news. The nationalism evident in these stories was not, however, inevitable. As Potter has established, the imperial press system meant that the press was not an exclusively, or even primarily, nationalist forum, with imperial and regional discourses also being supported.⁴⁸⁰ Similarly, Daley has found British criticism of New Zealand in news-by-mail coverage of the 1905 All Blacks tour.⁴⁸¹ Moreover, although the process of correspondence encouraged engagement with the expatriate community, correspondents were not necessarily nationalist and some would not have classed themselves as New Zealanders. Reed had been born in Ireland, and moved repeatedly between Britain, Europe, Australia and New Zealand throughout his life. Although he died in New Zealand in 1898, he had lived in

⁴⁷⁸NZPA, ‚Mr Seddons Tour’.

⁴⁷⁹NZPA, ‚Mr Seddons Tour’.

⁴⁸⁰Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 211-6.

⁴⁸¹Daley, p. 75.

Australia for much of the time after his return from London. He occupied a peripatetic and largely British world that excluded his being or becoming specifically a ‚New Zealander‘. Yet, in their oppositional stance towards criticism from Britain, their championing of the New Zealand community and New Zealand interests, their focus on New Zealand’s unique history, and their identification of significant markers of national identity, correspondents provided a nationalist interpretation of events in London, consolidating the layered identities evident in British stories.

In the same way that British stories often sided with the British public against those in authority, New Zealand stories were often critical of British political decisions, although as telegraphic coverage improved these stories declined. New Zealand and Australian concern over Germany’s colonial intentions in the Pacific in the 1880s generated a number of articles that were highly critical of the British government’s stance. Events reached something of a climax in early 1885 when the New Zealand Government telegraphed the Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing that a steamer was ‚ready to start from the Colony forthwith‘ and requesting permission to annex Samoa.⁴⁸² The NZPA’s discussion of events stressed that New Zealand animosity was towards the inefficient government rather than the British public, labelling the former ‚submissive‘.⁴⁸³ The request was rejected, but the correspondent felt that although ‚[i]n the absence of detailed explanations, nobody [amongst the British public] seemed capable of understanding the position‘, ‚I am free to admit that from the first the object set forth has been regarded universally as Utopian‘.⁴⁸⁴ Britain and Germany then agreed that, for the time, neither would annex Samoa, a situation the correspondent regretted:

[t]he golden opportunity is lost, and New Zealanders can only lament that the prescience of her statesmen who foresaw all this was not appreciated at its true value. However, there is this satisfaction, that there had been no vacillation or suspense in relation to Samoa and the decision has been prompt and final.⁴⁸⁵

The only instance in which British newspapers were a consistent source of New Zealand items was in the defence of New Zealand’s reputation in those forums. It

⁴⁸²NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter‘, *Lyttelton Times*, 5 March 1885, p. 5.

⁴⁸³NZPA ed Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter‘, 5 March 1885.

⁴⁸⁴NZPA ed Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter‘, 5 March 1885.

⁴⁸⁵NZPA ed Rathbone, ‚Our London Letter‘, 5 March 1885.

is clear that Fleet Street was an important space for the projection, negotiation and validation of New Zealand achievement and identity throughout the period of this study and correspondents were keen to protect New Zealand's reputation in that forum. Correspondents were amongst those expatriate New Zealanders who actively defended New Zealand by writing to the editors of prominent British newspapers. This attitude carried over into correspondence, and correspondents frequently criticised discussions of New Zealand in the British press. Reed's coverage of Tawhiao in London provided an early example of this:

[a]ll the London papers have something to say about the Maoris, from the Times [sic] to Punch [sic], the so-called funny article in latter being really weak and very stupid. This, however, is how the Sunday Referee goes on (I merely furnish it as a specimen): -

The Maori King has been recognised by several members of the Tichborne Defence League at Arthur Orton. [...] King Tawhiao dined at Gaiti's the other evening. Angosturs, who speaks a few words of Maori, explained to his illustrious guest that if he had only sent word he was coming, a waiter should have been roasted whole for him in honour of the occasion.⁴⁸⁶

Although this excerpt provided only a small part of the article, it was given prominence: the title was „London Gossip About the Maoris’.

Such articles could contain barely-disguised contempt for the British press. The following is from an NZPA column, published in the *Lyttelton Times*, 2 May 1885:

“THE BITTER CRY OF NEW ZEALAND.”

A curious paragraph has been going the rounds of the papers, and do not be surprised if you are shortly invaded by an army of widows seeking that consolation which is denied them in England. It appears that someone in the Colony has written to Mr Spurgeon for a widow and the request having been published in the *Sword and Travel*, has been taken up by the general Press [sic], and under the catching motto of “The Bitter Cry of New Zealand” it has conveyed probably to every home in the British Islands the representation that you need “shiploads of widows in New Zealand.”⁴⁸⁷

Similarly, an NZAP column from 1894 informed readers that

In the Scottish *Leader* (Edinburgh) [sic] there is an alarmist article on “Snakes in New Zealand,” based on a reported landing of a snake at Timaru, and another at Oamaru[,] where they emerged from the ballast of vessels. The *Leader* anticipates a vigorous multiplication of these pests if once they gained a foothold in the colony. But, luckily, they haven't.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶Reed, „London Gossip’.

⁴⁸⁷NZPA ed Alfred S. Rathbone, „Our London Letter.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 2 May 1885, p. 6.

⁴⁸⁸NZAP ed C. Rous-Marten, „London Notes.’, *Christchurch Press*, 7 June 1894, p. 5.

The New Zealand community in London was not met with uniform support in New Zealand – a 1910 editorial in the *Christchurch Press* labelled them a ‚little clique of busybodies’ – yet this study has found no evidence of the group being criticised in correspondence.⁴⁸⁹ This reflects the positive attitude taken by correspondents towards Pakeha New Zealanders in London. Accounts of the criminal trials of New Zealanders, although they appeared infrequently, were sympathetic. Reed appeared eager that Hugh Shortland be acquitted of his wife’s murder:

[t]here is now, however, every hope that he will be acquitted of the awful charge brought against him. [British p]ublic opinion has very much changed since the matter was first brought to light. At first appearances seemed greatly against the prisoner, but now his extraordinary behaviour since his marriage is attributed to eccentricity rather than crime. This feeling has gradually gained ground not only in London, but in Devonshire, as the various scraps of evidence have from time to time leaked out.⁴⁹⁰

Similarly, the NZPA’s coverage of the trial of John Langford Crumpe, ‚who hails from Auckland’ for his cousin’s murder in 1907, downplayed his crime and emphasised his age and fragility, describing him as ‚the old man’ and ‚even more feeble than before’ who had to be ‚provide[d] with a chair in the dock’.⁴⁹¹

Sympathetic accounts were not restricted to criminality. Many New Zealanders travelled to London for medical treatment and discussions of their progress implied that their health was of concern to the wider community: ‚Mr W. B. Common, of Gisbourne, who came to England some weeks ago chiefly in order to consult a specialist, has, his friends will be glad to hear, made satisfactory progress under the treatment of the physician consulted’.⁴⁹² Similarly, obituaries were often included. An NZPA correspondent covered the 1906 service for Sir Walter Buller:

[a] memorial service was held at St Paul’s Cathedral yesterday at noon, in the newly-consecrated Chapel of the Order of St Michael and St George, to which order of knighthood the deceased belonged. The little chapel was well filled, the congregation, which consisted chiefly of New Zealanders, numbering about a hundred.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹Anon, ‚Editorial’, *Christchurch Press*, 21 September 1910, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁰Reed, ‚The Shortland Case’.

⁴⁹¹NZPA ed James Whitelaw, ‚Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General’, *Lyttelton Times*, 10 July 1907, p. 3.

⁴⁹²NZPA ed James Whitelaw, ‚Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General’, *Lyttelton Times*, 26 September 1906, p. 9.

⁴⁹³NZPA ed James Whitelaw, ‚Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General’, *Lyttelton Times*, 3 September 1906, p. 12.

The correspondent went on to list many of the mourners, who included the then High Commissioner, Sir William Baille Hamilton. Information about casualties and missing soldiers was provided during both World Wars, and placed in separate articles rather than within the personals columns: „[u]nless New Zealand’s first V.C. of this war, Sergeant Pilot J. A. Ward (Wanganui) has managed to avoid being taken prisoner by the Germans, and this is unlikely, the indications are that he has lost his life when his Wellington was shot down during a raid over Hamburg’.⁴⁹⁴

Further, while London’s position as a cultural metropole may have encouraged the discussion of New Zealand writers, artists, actors and musicians in correspondence, it does not account for the universal praise they received. In its positive lens and focus on metropolitan achievement, this 1908 personals column is typical of such an approach:

Miss Grace Joel, of Dunedin, is the only Antipodean artist to have a canvas on view at the New Gallery exhibition of the Society of Portrait Painters. Her picture is that of a young girl, and may be described as “a harmony in pink.” It is exceedingly well done and deserves the place awarded it by the selectors – a position “on the line” in the principal room. Very few outsiders indeed have managed to get into the S.P.P. show this year, and Miss Joel is naturally much gratified at her success.⁴⁹⁵

Not only was the correspondents’ admiration of her work expressed („[i]t is exceedingly well done’), but the importance of her achievement was stressed for the New Zealand reader („[v]ery few outsiders have managed to get into the S.P.P. show this year’).

The adoption of a shared history encourages national identity.⁴⁹⁶ Felicity Barnes has cited New Zealand’s re-adoption of its Imperial history during this period as evidence of recolonisation.⁴⁹⁷ She argues that, while in the progressive colonisation period, the youthful and noble but primitive image of the „New Zealander on the bridge’ represented New Zealand’s distinct past and future, with recolonisation this

⁴⁹⁴NZAP ed A.W. Mitchell, „Sergeant Ward V.C. Last Flight Over Hamburg’, *Christchurch Press*, 9 January 1942, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁵„NZPA ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 19 December 1908, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁶See Krishan Kumar for a discussion of the importance of history to nationalism: „A social group that does not have, or cannot invent, a past is not and cannot be a nation’. Krishan Kumar, „Nationalism and the Historians’, in *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, eds Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (London, 2006), pp. 7-20.

⁴⁹⁷Barnes, „New Zealand’s London’, pp. 1-3.

image was abandoned in favour of an Imperial past that allowed New Zealanders to appear as both British and modern in the present.⁴⁹⁸ While correspondents engaged with British Imperial history – this could not have been avoided given their location – they were active in their interrogation of New Zealand’s distinct history. This was particularly the case for Scholefield, whose general history, *New Zealand in Evolution*, was published soon after his arrival in London and who described himself as having ‘a special interest in New Zealand history’, but all correspondents addressed the topic.⁴⁹⁹ Obituaries often focused on ‘old colonists’ and veterans of the New Zealand Wars: ‘[y]et another veteran of the old New Zealand Wars [...] has passed to his rest. In this instance I refer to Major-General Hugh Shaw, who won the Victoria Cross in New Zealand, and who was lately in command of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment’.⁵⁰⁰ Similarly, published accounts of New Zealand’s colonial history were praised by correspondents: ‘[a]n interesting sketch of a past New Zealand, seen from a missionary point of view, has been written by Miss Annie Butler, and published by the Religious Tract Society, under the title of “Glimpses of Maori Land.”’⁵⁰¹

Finally, correspondents focused on themes and events commonly seen as markers of New Zealand’s national identity by historians. They fore-grounded sporting and military prowess – both so often associated with the national character of New Zealand.⁵⁰² To these, Sinclair adds the demarcation of the ‘New Zealand type’.⁵⁰³ Not surprisingly, the image of the ‘New Zealander’ that appeared in British stories, was also present in those about New Zealand. In 1904, an NZPA correspondent interviewed Charles Onyon, a New Zealander visiting London after working in South Africa as a correspondent for the *New Zealand Times* and *Dunedin Star*.⁵⁰⁴ The article focused on the prospects for New Zealand trade with South Africa, which the NZPA correspondent reported were good because of New Zealanders’

⁴⁹⁸Barnes, ‘New Zealand’s London’, pp. 1-10.

⁴⁹⁹Scholefield, ‘Autobiography’, p. 130.

⁵⁰⁰NZAP, ed Rous-Marten, ‘Personal Notes From London.’, *Christchurch Press*, 18 October 1904, p. 8.

⁵⁰¹NZPA, ed Rathbone, ‘Our London Letter’, 19 January 1887.

⁵⁰²See, for instance, Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History* (Auckland, 1987), pp. 81-216; Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp. 125-173.

⁵⁰³Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp. 79-93.

⁵⁰⁴NZPA, ed James Whitelaw, ‘A New Zealander in South Africa. Prospects of New Zealand Trade.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 13 January 1904, p. 11.

comparative work ethic, „energy and fighting capacity’.⁵⁰⁵ Importantly, these New Zealanders shared the correspondents’ positive attitude towards New Zealand, with one correspondent writing that „[t]he patriotism of the New Zealander abroad is simply overwhelming. The visitor’s book in the New Zealand Pavilion at the 1908 Imperial Exhibition is one long paean of praise for the dominion’.⁵⁰⁶

Although Maori continued to be excluded from the nation constructed in London, indigeneity was repeatedly appropriated for use in Pakeha national identity. An 1899 personals column contained an account of a Huia feather being worn by a New Zealand singer based in London:

[w]hen chatting with Miss Therese Sievwright the other day, I noticed that she wore a somewhat peculiar feather, prominently displayed in the belt of her dress. She explained to me that it was a huia feather, which had been sent to her as a gift, supposed to bring good luck, by Mrs Howie, a New Zealand lady of Maori (Rangitira) descent, herself a singer of much merit. Miss Sievwright is charmed with the gift, and wears it on all occasions. She is having it handsomely mounted.⁵⁰⁷

The correspondent stressed the feather’s rightful position as a object of beauty in the metropole, while also emphasising the New Zealand community in London („When chatting with Miss Therese Seivwright’) and connections between New Zealand and its expatriates („sent to her as a gift’)

The New Zealand stories provided by the NZPA and NZAP consolidated the layering of identity discussed in Chapter Two. Conforming to neither the colony-to-nation thesis nor the recolonisation model, correspondents not only focussed on New Zealand stories, but provided a consistently nationalist interpretation of events in London. Although the movement towards soft news meant that the number of stories with an oppositional attitude towards Britain decreased, later correspondents continued to praise New Zealand and New Zealanders, to discuss its unique history and to highlight markers of national identity. Moreover, although no extant accounts have been uncovered in this study to confirm that agency correspondents had an explicit mandate to provide pro-New Zealand or nationalist stories from

⁵⁰⁵NZPA, ed Whitelaw, „A New Zealander in South Africa’.

⁵⁰⁶NZPA ed James Whitelaw, „Anglo-Colonial Notes. Personal and General.’, *Lyttelton Times*, 14 November 1908, p. 12

⁵⁰⁷NZAP ed Rous-Marten, „New Zealanders at Home’, 2 September 1899.

London, their correspondence, its position within news flow, and correspondents' biographies suggest that this was the case. Correspondents appear to have sought to counter the UPA's 'monopoly' over foreign news flow and its failure to supply adequate New Zealand news and in doing so they adopted a surprisingly and consistently nationalist tone. They provided, then, a unique interpretation of events in London and contributed a distinctive voice to the various discourses that made up the press in the period 1884-1942.

Conclusion

Katie Pickles argues that ‚it is easy for transnational approaches to inadvertently reinforce the nation’.⁵⁰⁸ The terms ‚inadvertently’ and ‚reinforce’ certainly apply to this thesis. What began with the aim of recovering imperial aspects of the New Zealand press, in fact uncovered nation in unexpected places and to a surprising extent. Just as the majority of correspondents returned to New Zealand, so too did much of their writing look to this country. Indeed, the importance of London and journalism to New Zealand’s cultural history meant that this thesis has focused of many of those who play a significant role in our national story: William Pember Reeves, Jane Mander, Robin Hyde and Guy Scholefield have all been held up elsewhere as iconic New Zealanders.⁵⁰⁹

Such an outcome, as Pickles suggests, is not uncommon. Archival repositories and research agendas favour national approaches and, in the case of this study, so did the news flow structures that governed correspondence for the New Zealand press, 1884-1942. Within a British world schema, this is not necessarily a problem. As Simon Potter suggests, the imperial press system meant that the press could sustain imperial, regional and national identities.⁵¹⁰ That argument is supported by this study. Although correspondents engaged in an ongoing process of othering, this did not undermine their sense of Britishness. Rather, it highlighted a separate New Zealand identity within that framework. The correspondents and correspondence analysed in this study speak for the importance and interrelations of empire and nation, of London and Lytelton, to the history of the press in New Zealand. They are best understood, then, in terms of layered identities: correspondents adopted and employed both national and imperial identities, although it was national identity that was fore-grounded in correspondence; similarly, they engaged with both imperial and national press systems, although the latter had a more significant impact content.

Scholefield most clearly demonstrates the conflicting personal identities held by correspondents. He went to London having already written his first work of New

⁵⁰⁸Pickles, ‚Transnational Intentions and Cultural Cringe’, p. 159.

⁵⁰⁹See, Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, pp. 292-3; McGregor, pp. 100-1; Challis and Rawlison, p. 666; Hilliard, 18-20.

⁵¹⁰Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 215.

Zealand history and knowing that his role with the NZAP would put him at the heart of the expatriate community. Yet, he was also highly dissatisfied with life in New Zealand. He had attempted to find journalistic employment outside New Zealand repeatedly, had moved frequently within New Zealand before going to London and was frustrated by his inability to achieve his academic goals. Once in London, he found status through the EPU and through his position with the NZAP, gained a DSc, and „lived and functioned as a professional Englishman’.⁵¹¹

His case was perhaps exceptional – he received an OBE before leaving London, engaged with the New Zealand community to an unprecedented extent through the *New Zealander* and had exceptional intellect and ambition that would be demonstrated in his later historical and biographical works – yet Scholefield was representative of the experience of most correspondents. Even those working independently retained a connection to New Zealand through editors and readers, as well as through their informal engagement with the expatriate community. New Zealanders in London sought out Hyde and Mander and High Commissioner William Jordan was the first to find Hyde after her death in 1939.⁵¹² At the same time, each was excited to arrive in London and eager to make the most of the political, economic, cultural and journalistic opportunities it provided. London was an important and aspirational destination for journalists from throughout the Empire and the correspondents in this study appear to have adhered to the mythology of Fleet Street, with many writing for, and eagerly reading, British newspapers. H. Leslie Verry claimed to have explored the city „by night and day’, looking for work and inspiration, attending plays, and seeking out the cultural landmarks that he had read about so often in New Zealand.⁵¹³ Six correspondents did not live in New Zealand again and all those who have left accounts of their time in London seem to have enjoyed much of the experience.

In some ways, this experience was reflected in correspondence. London’s cultural appeal was highlighted over and again, with repeated reference to its landmarks and icons, and to the literary and artistic life afforded its more privileged inhabitants. In their focus on public attitudes to significant events and advocacy for the rights

⁵¹¹Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 147.

⁵¹²Matthews.

⁵¹³Verry, „On Board SS Tairoa’, p. 21.

of the public, correspondents positioned the experiences of everyday Londoners as an important subject: ‚[t]he press and public now begin to feel that they are being treated with contempt’.⁵¹⁴ Correspondents’ treatment of the British public was particularly sympathetic, highlighting the importance of the relationship between the two nations and the imperial dimensions of New Zealanders’ identities during this period. Moreover, such sympathy – combined with the durable evocation of London life and landscapes provided in correspondence – encouraged reader engagement with life in London. A situation of ‚simultaneity’ did not exist, but a British world did, and this was encouraged by correspondence.

Yet, correspondents did not evoke concurrent identities. Instead, through categorisation, thematisation and their self-positioning as New Zealanders, correspondents encouraged ‚othering’, or the demarcation of separate New Zealand and British identities. Significant separate identities had emerged by the 1880s and the differences between Britons and New Zealanders, and between the experiences of life in the two countries, were stressed by correspondents. Arthur J. Heighway felt that his readers in Australia and New Zealand would struggle to comprehend the sights he described: ‚[b]y seeing alone will you be impressed; and that impression will be one to endure through life’.⁵¹⁵ Moreover, New Zealand stories – which were provided largely by George McCullagh Reed and the agency correspondents – consistently highlighted separate New Zealand identities. The personals columns meant that the New Zealand community in London was discussed in each package of agency correspondence. New Zealand items were also covered in separate stories, with trade, Prime Ministerial delegations and New Zealanders’ cultural achievements in London amongst the many topics discussed. Prime Minister Joseph Ward, in London in 1895 to negotiate the New Zealand loan, was covered by two successive packages of NZAP correspondence.⁵¹⁶ The first provided a detailed account of the success of his mission while the latter provided a descriptive, soft news, discussion of his and his wife’s time in London.

Although historians differ greatly in their interpretations of New Zealand national

⁵¹⁴NZAP, ed Rous-Marten, ‚Adolf Beck’s Martyrdom’.

⁵¹⁵Heighway, ‚London Docks’.

⁵¹⁶NZAP ed Rous-Marten, ‚The New Zealand Loan’; NZAP ed Rous-Marten, ‚Anglo-Colonial Notes’, 24 June 1895.

identity in the period 1884-1942, the identity projected in correspondence was relatively static. Not only did correspondents provide New Zealand stories throughout the correspondence period, they provided consistently nationalist interpretations of events in London. This did not undermine imperial Britishness – for the most part this was colonial nationalism – but it did serve to further layer the identities expressed in correspondence. Correspondents objected strongly to criticism of New Zealand in the British press, consistently praised the achievements of New Zealanders in London, treated the New Zealand expatriate community sympathetically and highlighted established markers of New Zealand national identity. For instance, while the 1905 All Blacks tour generated a large amount of one-off correspondence (sent from outside London) and saw a significant increase in the publication of syndicated and other news-by-mail content, it was also covered in great detail by established agency correspondents and by William Pember Reeves.

That this layering of identity appears to have been expressed more strongly in correspondence than in the lives of individual correspondents suggests that it had a structural basis. Although Heighway and Alfred S. Rathbone wrote for an Australasian audience, all other correspondence was written exclusively for New Zealand newspapers and British and New Zealand stories were clearly demarcated in the Hinkley-Mitchell letters. Because of this, correspondents responded to the unique needs of the New Zealand press system. Although it was not a prerequisite for inclusion in this study, all fourteen correspondents had written for New Zealand newspapers before leaving for London. Maud Reeves' involvement with the press prior to departure for London was the most limited, but she had worked as the „Lady Editor' of the *Canterbury Times* after her marriage and had married into an important Canterbury newspaper family.⁵¹⁷

News flow into New Zealand changed significantly between 1884 and 1942. New Zealand's connection to the under-sea telegraph in 1876 had led to the formation of the UPA in 1880 and to a dramatic decrease in the time taken for news to reach New Zealand. News flow continued to improve, with the number of words received by the UPA increasing by 2 200 percent between the 1880s and the 1930s.

⁵¹⁷Fry, *Maud and Amber*, pp. 11-2.

By the 1930s, alternative telegraphic and radio services were providing news to the New Zealand press and radio broadcasts were giving New Zealanders access to alternative sources of news. Yet correspondence maintained a significant position within news flow. In the nineteenth century, in particular, correspondents provided hard news stories which were not available in the UPA's service, particularly stories relating to New Zealand issues. These stories were treated as news by the press, where they were published with urgency and alongside telegraphic coverage, enabling them to undermine the UPA's 'monopoly' over foreign news flow into New Zealand. By the twentieth century, soft news stories dominated. Such stories were still significant, providing otherwise unavailable detail and extended coverage of New Zealanders and New Zealand stories. Moreover, as coverage of World War One demonstrates, the currency of news-by-mail could be regained during events with high news value.

This did not undermine correspondents' engagement with the imperial press system as outlined by Potter. In a broader sense, their presence in London and their newspapers' desire for coverage of the metropole speaks for the importance of that system and of the British world. Elizabeth Morrison's trope of the 'roving player' holds for many of the correspondents addressed in this study and most found at least free lance work on Fleet Street relatively easily.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, the number of journalists going to London appears to have increased between 1884 and 1942 and was institutionalised by the establishment of the NZPA and NZAP, while permanent expatriation decreased, with only two of those who would not return permanently to New Zealand leaving after 1900. The EPU played an important role in the lives of many of the correspondents, and J.C. Graham had gone to London on an EPU exchange in 1936. The detailed coverage of imperial events provided by correspondents suggests that the EPU's orchestration of such events was successful, although they some may have been disappointed by the Anglo-New Zealand focus of the correspondence analysed in this study.

The experiences of correspondents other than the fourteen addressed here and the broader structures that governed their correspondence would surely repay further investigation. This thesis has shown them to be fruitful areas for research and has

⁵¹⁸Morrison, p. 76.

confirmed the need to look beyond New Zealand's geographic borders when writing the history of the New Zealand press. News flow, common structures and models, peripatetic journalists, and the economics of newspaper ownership made the press inherently international during this time. However, while movement and change are central to understanding the correspondence period, so too is stasis. As Morrison has briefly signalled, the continuation of pre-telegraphic practise in the post-telgraph era is a significant but overlooked area in the history of the press. This is particularly the case with reference to news flow, as it undercuts the dominant narratives of monopolism and change. Moreover, stasis is also important to understanding the identities projected in correspondence, with those analysed here providing a consistently layered evocation of New Zealand identity, and of New Zealanders' imperial identity. To use a phrase common at the time – and today – they were „our correspondents', writing from a New Zealand perspective and for a New Zealand audience throughout the correspondence period.

Appendix One. Overview of Correspondence, Biographies, Biographical Sources
and Methodologies for Confirmation of Authorship

Name and Date of Birth	Correspondence ⁵¹⁹	Authorship ⁵²⁰	Biography ⁵²¹
Bickley, W. H. (?-?)	Coverage of the 1937 cricket tour for the UPA.	Identifiable as the only correspondent providing coverage of the tour for the UPA.	New Zealand born. Little of Bickley's career was uncovered. He worked for the UPA and travelled to London to cover the New Zealand cricket team for them.
Graham, J. C. (?-?)	Worked briefly for the NZAP in 1938.	Not applicable: as Graham worked for the NZAP only briefly and under Mitchell's editorship his correspondence was not analysed.	New Zealand born. After an EPU exchange and work for a succession of Fleet Street newspapers, Graham worked for the NZPA for a short time the returned to New Zealand.
Heighway, Arthur J. (James) (1888-1978)	Supplied individual articles, appearing in the <i>Otago Daily Times</i> , the <i>Christchurch Press</i> and other Australian and New Zealand newspapers between July 1911 and May 1912.	By-lined	Australian born, although raised in New Zealand. After working for New Zealand newspapers, Heighway travelled to London to attend the 1911 Coronation. He stayed for a year, during which he travelled, studied at the LSE and corresponded.
Hyde, Robin (Iris Wilkinson) (1906-1939)	Wrote only one article from London, 'Not Only Sacrifice', published in the <i>Auckland Mirror</i> , July 1939.	By-lined	South African born, although raised in New Zealand. Hyde arrived in London in September 1938 to pursue her literary career after travelling and corresponding in war-torn China.
Mander, Jane (1877-1949)	Published book reviews, columns and several articles in the <i>Christchurch</i> and <i>Auckland Suns</i> between 1924 and 1932.	By-lined, although she appears to have also supplied anonymous book reviews that were not analysed.	New Zealand born. Mander was an established author and already in London when approached by E.C. Huie to write for the <i>Christchurch Sun</i> .
Mitchell, A.W. (?-?)	Edited and wrote articles for the NZAP	NZAP. Difficult to identify as it was in	New Zealand born [?]. Mitchell went to

⁵¹⁹The nature and period of correspondence.

⁵²⁰The methodology employed to confirm authorship. (By-lines were taken as sufficient proof of authorship.)

⁵²¹Overview of correspondent's time in London.

	from 1935. Mitchell's correspondence with Hinkley suggests that he was also sole-correspondent. He continued to send these articles after his he began to correspond for the UPA in April 1942, although this content has not been analysed.	article form, with articles published over several weeks. Confirmed as NZAP correspondence if three or more articles appeared with the same dateline. Published with the by-line „O.C.’ after 1940, differentiating it from other correspondence.	London for the NZAP in 1935 before becoming the UPA's first London correspondent in 1942, although the position was not confirmed until 1943.
Rathbone, Alfred S. (Stewart) (? - 1901)	Edited and wrote columns for the NZPA, 1884 to 1901. 1901 not analysed.	NZPA. Easily identified as it was in column form. The establishment of the NZPA in 1884 was confirmed by comparative content analysis of <i>Lyttelton Times</i> and <i>New Zealand Herald</i> (the latter subscribed to the service before the establishment of the NZAP). Correspondence was analysed until 1900, the year before Rathbone's death, as the point at which he ceased to correspond was indeterminable.	British born. Rathbone went to London to establish the NZPA in 1884; he held the position of editor of that organisation until his death in 1901.
Reed, George McCullagh (1831/2? - 1898)	Correspondent for the <i>New Zealand Herald</i> with the by-line "Special Reporter". Articles published between July and September 1884.	As at least one other correspondent was writing for the <i>New Zealand Herald</i> at the same time as Reed, a computer-based comparison of language style was undertaken, comparing samples from the "Special Reporter", the "London Correspondent" and work known to be written by Reed (from <i>Calamo Currente</i> , the published version of his columns for the <i>New Zealand Herald</i>). Following Ellis and Dick, the analysis compared numbers of words per sentence, sentences per paragraph, the proportion of passive sentences, and results	Born in Ireland. Reed went to London in 1884 to establish an expatriate newspaper, the <i>Anglo-New Zealander and Australasian Times</i> . The venture appears to have been unsuccessful and he sold it in 1885 and returned to New Zealand.

			for Flesh Reading Ease and Flesh-Kinaird Grade Level tests. The results were inconclusive, although they favoured the “Special Reporter”, with a perfect match on the Flesh Reading Ease test, of 49.7 against 34.7. However, Reed can still be comfortably identified as the “Special Reporter”: his last column in the <i>New Zealand Herald</i> before his departure for London was published in 22 March 1884, suggesting that he would arrive in London around June; the first article for the “Special Reporter” was datelined May 23; advertisements for the <i>Anglo-New Zealander</i> appeared in the <i>New Zealand Herald</i> twice, both accompanied by articles written by the “Special Reporter”; the “Special Reporter” repeated Reed’s preoccupation with Tawhiao’s allegiance to the Blue Ribbon, a topic repeatedly addressed in his columns in New Zealand.	
Reeves, Maud (Magdalene Stuart) (1865-1953)	Wrote three articles on London’s poor supplied to the NZAP newspapers by Scholefield. Published August 1911.	By-lined	New Zealand born. Reeves went to London as the wife of the Agent General in 1895. She provided three articles for publication in New Zealand at Scholefield’s request in 1911.	
Reeves, William Pember (1857-1932)	Telegraphic accounts of the progress of the South Africa War, 1899-1901 and the 1905 All Blacks tour and as well as economic reports.	His war coverage was identifiable as the only non-UPA telegraphic coverage of the South African War. His coverage of the 1905 tour appeared under by-lines such as ‘the Government cable’. His economic updates were not identifiable.	New Zealand born. Reeves was in London as New Zealand’s Agent General when he was asked to supply extended coverage of the South African War by cable. He later added economic reports and covered the 1905 All Blacks Tour.	
Rous-Marten, C.	Edited and wrote	NZAP. Easily	British born. Rous-	

(Charles) (184?-1908)	columns for the NZAP, 1893-1908.	identifiable as still in column form. Some articles were sent with the columns, and have been included if they shared a dateline. The agency's establishment in 1893 was identified through comparative content analysis, while Rous-Marten's death saw a marked decrease in the quantity of correspondence.	Marten went to London in 1893 to found the NZAP and was still in charge of the agency when he died in 1908.
Scholefield, Guy H. (Hardy) (1877-1963)	Edited and wrote articles for the NZAP, 1908-1919. 1919 not analysed.	<p>NZAP. Scholefield's arrival in London in 1908 was easily identified as correspondence was limited after Rous-Marten's death and increased markedly on Scholefield's arrival; his departure was not identifiable, and correspondence for 1919 was thus not analysed.</p> <p>Some articles were identifiable through references to them in his „Autobiography’: he introduced a series of articles profiling prominent British politicians, articles about the establishment of the <i>New Zealander</i> were certainly authored by him, and as he toured the front in May 1916, stories on the War datelined June and July are certainly his.</p> <p>Other articles were confirmed only with three or more corresponding datelines, although publication was generally spread over only two days.</p> <p>Scholefield, „Autobiography’, p. 149, p. 168, p. 171.</p>	New Zealand born. Scholefield replaced Rous-Marten as editor of the NZAP in 1908, returning to New Zealand in 1919.
Verry, H. (Horace) Leslie (1916-1996)	Wrote two articles for the <i>New Zealand Free</i>	By-lined.	New Zealand born. Verry travelled to

	<i>Lance</i> , December 1938 and June 1939.	Verry's ATL papers contain a number of articles written for British, American, Canadian and New Zealand publications. The two from New Zealand, articles published in the New Zealand <i>Free Lance</i> , 1938-9, were analysed. The question of whether he had published elsewhere in New Zealand was investigated but it seems unlikely: no articles were uncovered in the <i>Free Lance</i> , 1938-9, and the size of his collection of articles is large enough to suggest that it is relatively complete.	London in 1938, travelling there and in Europe for almost two years, but only contributing two articles from London for New Zealand, although he wrote a series on his time in Europe after returning to New Zealand.
Whitelaw, James (? - 1911)	Edited and wrote columns for the NZPA, 1903- (1911) Correspondence analysed: 1904-1910.	NZPA. Easily identifiable as in column form, although his arrival and departure dates are unclear.	New Zealand born. Whitelaw arrived in London in 1903 and the last account of his being associated with the NZPA is in 1911.

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