UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND.

The Newspaper as a Public Service.
Forty years of "The Lyttelton Times"
Christchurch
New Zealand.

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[Signature]
PREFACE.

At a time when, in Canterbury, journalism has risen to the dignity of an academic career, when it represents and moulds the public opinion which makes and unmakes governments, it may be fitting to enquire into the origins and the early development in journalistic and political spheres of the newspaper, which, founded by the earliest colonists, has developed its functions side by side with the general progress of the Province.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For the preliminary work Harrop's "Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield" and his book on "England and New Zealand" were found particularly useful and H.F. Vigram's "Story of Christchurch", has afforded a means of collecting the main events in the history of the Province incorporated in that of the paper. The other sources have given details in the general scope of the work, but practically all the information has been obtained by direct readings from the Leading Articles and general column of "The Lyttelton Times" and records of the Company.
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INTRODUCTORY.

The establishment of a new colony in a new land, always an adventurous enterprise attended by a degree of uncertainty, its very immaturity thrusting innumerable difficulties in the path of its pioneers, has always demanded that among the attributes of its first settlers should be found those of moral and physical fitness, particularly of perseverance in the face of inevitable disappointments, and of righteous ideals for the maintenance of the spiritual and intellectual well-being of the settlement.

For the fine cities and the great countries of the world are not those founded on material wealth alone, where palatial houses and towering offices are evidence of the race for wealth and luxury; but may be found where a spirit of cooperation has prevailed in a well-ordered community for the establishment of principles of justice and equality of opportunity for all its members.

In spite of the manifold delays and hindrances which obstructed those who worked for the colonisation of New Zealand by England and in spite of the protracted conservatism of the British Colonial Office which was loath to grant a representative constitution to the new colony, there has, I think, been no more suspicious beginning to any colonising scheme in the long history of British expansion than to that of New Zealand. The breaking away of the American colonies had taught the English the necessity of refraining from undue interference in the internal affairs of their colonies. Canada and the Durham Report had driven that
necessity further home. New South Wales was beginning to feel
the drawbacks of the transportation system, and South Australia
witnessed gross mismanagement of Native affairs. In short,
these mistakes had taught Englishmen what not to do in colonising
enterprises, and New Zealand gained the benefit which accrued
from experience. She was granted representative government
before many years had elapsed; there was no attempt to send
convicts to her shores; and in her dealings with the Natives,
although warfare was not avoided and a few unscrupulous individual
colonists were prone to strike unfair bargains with the Maoris,
there was more endeavour made to treat them as equals than had
been the custom in other countries.

Again, New Zealand was fortunate in possessing a further
factor in successful colonisation which had been lacking at the
outset in earlier colonies. In the main settlements there was
brought out as an integral part of the enterprises, a press,
type, pens, ink, paper, an editor and reporter, for the purpose
of establishing a journal at the earliest opportunity. The
value of the early New Zealand newspapers has been inestimable as
a source of encouragement to those who met unforeseen hardships
before they were able to settle down, and as a political force
ready at all times to cry out against abuses and demand the
best possible system of government for the colonists. To the
man whose selection of ground was unfortunate or who was unable
to provide shelter for his family, the newspaper served as an
encouragement and helped him to sustain hope and make the best
of his position. Its political worth was evident in the
development of the government of the country from the control
of the Colonial Office in London to complete representative
government, for which practically every New Zealand journal
fought from the date of its first issue until such government
was assured.

In the early years, journalism was the sole advertising
medium, and the sole chronicler of local events and the growth
of the settlements, with the result that historians have found
the pages of the first newspapers a veritable mine of information
in compiling provincial histories. When to these functions are
added those of public educator, of distributor of news from the
outside world, of arbitrator in disputes; when the newspaper
served as an organ of public opinion, catered for the literary
desires of its readers, and endeavoured to deal with all matters
with an impartial outlook, the important part which journalism
played in establishing the colonies cannot be overestimated.

The first newspaper published in New Zealand was "The New
Zealand Gazette", of April 18th 1840. Its first issue had been
printed in London in 1839 before the departure of the colonists,
and the date given above is that of the publication of its second
number at Wellington. It was intended to give information to the
first emigrants under the New Zealand colonisation scheme. The
journal ceased publication in 1844.

Wellington's next paper was "The New Zealand Colonist and Port
Nicholson Advertiser", August, 1842, but it was destroyed by fire
the following year.

"The Wellington Independent", an important journal of the early times, began on April 2nd, 1845; and survived for many years, taking a leading part in political controversies, and numbering many prominent politicians among its contributors. It was incorporated in "The New Zealand Times" in 1870.

Auckland was also supplied with newspapers early in its career. The settlement was founded in 1840, and in a few months "The New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette" was published. It lasted for only a year and was succeeded by "The Auckland Standard", which lived four months. There was also an Auckland paper, "Te Karere o Hui Tireni", or "The Maori Messenger", written wholly in Maori, which was regarded as being of considerable importance in view of the native difficulties. "The Auckland Times", August 29th 1843, enjoyed a short but vigorous career. Like most early journals, it was in sharp conflict with the Government. Suppressed in a few weeks, the type having been seized, it appeared on coarse paper, printed by the aid of an ordinary mangle for some time before reappearing in its old form, to last until 1846. "The Southern Cross, New Zealand Guardian and Auckland, Thames and Bay of Islands Advertiser", was first published in April 1843. It was a weekly journal, which in 1851 became "The Southern Cross", subsequently becoming a daily paper and merging into "The New Zealand Herald" in 1863.

Otago was similarly fortunate in its possession of an early newspaper. "The Otago News", December 1843, was its first paper,
but lasted only a little longer than a year. It was succeeded on February 6th, 1851, by "The Otago Witness" which is still flourishing, having been acquired by "The Otago Daily Times" Company, and is the oldest weekly newspaper in New Zealand.

Several other journals had been attempted, but none showed any stability and did not persist for long. Only a few of the present New Zealand papers were commenced before the sixties or even seventies.

Canterbury was as promptly served as any province had been, but its first newspaper is the only one in New Zealand which survived the early years and is still being published. As has been seen, there were newspapers in existence in New Zealand before "The Lyttelton Times", but "The Otago Witness" is the only one to run it close in its continuous history of over seventy-five years. Although printed in Lyttelton for only the first twelve years of its life, it retained its original name ever since until, on August 1st, 1929, when the proprietary company amalgamated with an Auckland newspaper company, it became "The Christchurch Times".

"The Lyttelton Times" was initiated as a public service, and throughout its long history, has remained loyal to the original pledges, which founded the tradition of guardianship of the public interests and protectorship of the weak. Not always on the popular side, it has been often single-handed in its support of its Liberal principles. It has taken its share in all the important movements in municipal and political affairs. Its editorial staff has given many prominent men to the public life of New Zealand. Fitzgerald, its first editor, was a Superintendent
of the Province and a Prime Minister of New Zealand. Crosbie Ward, William Reeves and W. Pember Reeves were ministers of the Crown. Bowen, an early sub-editor was an author of the educational system of the Dominion. Its growth and history have corresponded to a remarkable degree with the growth and history of the Canterbury Province. It has yielded a powerful influence not only in its Province, but also in forming and guiding the national and imperial sentiment of the people throughout the Dominion on progressive and sound lines. In its double function of guided and embodying the public opinion of the community over which it exerted influence it has consistently maintained the high standard of British journalism. By its championship of new ideas in legislation it has helped to make political history; and it has built up a name for fairness, moderation and integrity, which augers well for the continuance of its widespread influence in the interests of the Dominion and the Empire.
CHAPTER 1.

CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT.


The years following the voyages of Captain Cook were barren ones in so far as the settlement of New Zealand was concerned. A direct cause of this may be found in the current rumours and reports of the unusual ferocity of the native Maoris and the inhospitable nature of a large part of the coast line.

The man who may be regarded more than anyone else as the founder of the Dominion is Edward Gibbon Wakefield. His interest in New Zealand dates from about 1832 when he drew attention to the slovenly way in which settlement was conducted. The failure of capricious proposals had been progressing, also making mention of the French projects for colonising the newly discovered land. He was able to arouse the sympathy of many of the English and from the English interest the attention of others besides himself and it was proposed to form an Association which, working through Parliament, would investigate the possibilities of a systematic colonisation.
tion of New Zealand. The Association was met by severe opposition from the Colonial Office which rejected its first overtures on the grounds that it threatened the destruction of the Maori race. Altering their views later, however, they held that the matter was one not for an Association but for a Company incorporated by Royal Charter; so the New Zealand Company was formed, and was established by the beginning of 1839.

A commencement was at once made by the despatch of a survey expedition followed by settlers, which impelled the Government to send out Captain Hobson as Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, to treat for the cession of sovereignty from the Maoris as well as to reassert British claims based on Cook's discovery.

The Annual Report of the Company of 1843, made mention of two proposals; one, the foundation of a Scottish Settlement, and the other, the establishment of a Church of England Settlement. The project for the Scottish Settlement was begun first, and the site where Dunedin now stands was selected. The Church of England proposal therefore, had to wait until 1847 before a Committee of Management was formed. Wakefield, desirous of obtaining help from the English Church found considerable difficulties confronting him owing to the jealousy existing between the New Zealand Company and the Church Missionary Society. Eventually he found a man whose
experience in colonial matters and whose activities in Irish problems made him the type of man wanted at the head of the venture. John Robert Godley, a strong churchman, was the man who ultimately became the founder of Canterbury. Godley and Wakefield met in November 1847 and in less than two months Godley was elected a director of the New Zealand Company and was actively engaged in forming a committee to manage the arrangements for the new settlement.

The Canterbury Association was finally incorporated in May 1848, and was well received by the Government. For the purpose of securing a site, Captain Thomas, who had previously visited New Zealand was sent out as agent. It was at first thought that the Wairarapa Valley would be suitable but Captain Thomas showed a definite preference for Port Cooper (Lyttelton) and the wide expanse of plain behind the surrounding hills. On May 14th 1849, the Governor, Sir George Grey, gave his assent to the site and Captain Thomas arrived in Port Cooper in July of that year.

The agreement between the Canterbury Association and the New Zealand Company gave the Association an option over a large area of land, fixed at 2,500,000 acres, on condition that land to the value of £100,000 was sold in the first six months. Profits from its sale were to go to (i) Spiritual and secular education in the Province, (ii) Public works, and (iii) immigration. Some difficulty was experienced in selling the required amount of land, but through
the generosity of Lord Lyttelton and others, who guaranteed to make up any deficiency, a measure of stability was given to an otherwise somewhat uncertain enterprise.

The failure of the New Zealand Company in 1850 made necessary further arrangements in order that the Canterbury Association should be able to carry on its settlement. Accordingly an Act granted the Association the privileges it had previously enjoyed under the New Zealand Company.

In London a Society of Intending Canterbury Colonists had been formed in April 1850, when a constitution drafted by Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald, later first Superintendent of the Province and first Editor of "The Lyttelton Times", was adopted, and a representative committee to act on behalf of the colonists was elected.

In September, the first four ships sailed from Plymouth, arriving in December at Port Cooper where they were met by the Governor and Godley, who had come out some months previously. Those comprising the early pioneers were of every class and profession, although practically all were members of the Church of England. The Canterbury Association had exercised a strict control over the selection of colonists with the result that a healthy moral atmosphere existed.

Articles on the colonisation of Canterbury, in the columns of the London "Times" and the "Spectator" represent
the views of the English newspaper press concerning the enterprise.

On December 19th, 1849, "The Times" expressed its "agreeable surprise" at the prospect of the scheme's actually being carried to a tangible conclusion. With a warning against possible dissension among the colonists and the statement that colonies had always been and always would be in the nature of experiments, a certain amount of paternal advice was given to those about to go to New Zealand, followed by the sincere hope that Canterbury would prove a congenial and agreeable home.

On August 1st, 1850, the same paper, referring to the farewell given to the departing colonists on board one of the first ships, recommended them to give up all idea of returning to England, to attempt to model the colony on the fashion of their native country and "to knit new ties, new affections and new associations to the land of their adoption."

In an article on the same occasion, "The Spectator" of August 3rd 1850, assured its readers of the good qualities of the men who were going out, and wished the colony every success; it too, hoped that there would be an absence of dissension.

The articles demonstrate the result of the disappointing colonising efforts in West and South Australia, in that Englishmen had not yet alienated from themselves that element
of suspicion which had attached itself to colonial adventures of previous ages. Yet the acceptance of the fact that the colonists were men of industry and high ideals suggests that there were those who felt that here was a project different from previous schemes which had been mainly political, and that there was a very considerable chance that the colony would be an unqualified success.

Soon after the arrival at Lyttelton, the name of Society of Canterbury Colonists was changed to that of the Society of Land Purchasers, which itself later decided that the interests of the settlement would be best served by the election of a council representative of the general body of colonists.

The newly elected council consisted of many who played a very important part in the later development of the Settlement, containing, amongst others, the names of W.G. Brittan, T. Cholmondeley, Dampier, W. Deans, J.H. Fitzgerald, H. Tancred and E.R. Ward.

One of the earliest visitors to the Canterbury Settlement was Bishop Selwyn, who came in the first week of January 1851. The Bishop officiated at a service on the Sunday and addressed a meeting of colonists prior to his departure.

Then Saturday January 11th was marked by the publication of the newspaper which has since enjoyed the longest continuous existence of all papers in New Zealand.
J. E. Fitzgerald, the first number of "The Lyttelton Times" was printed and issued from a small shed on the slopes of Lyttelton Harbour.
CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF A NEWSPAPER

Need in Colony for an Organ of Public Opinion - Movement in Society of Intending Colonists for establishing a paper - Ingram Shrimpton - Prospectus issued - Fitzgerald as Honorary Editor - Arrival at Lyttelton - Selection of site and erection of office - Opportunities for work - The first issue - Its contents and characteristics - London "Times" comment - The first Leading Article - Probable policy - "Fitzgerald", a tribute from J. R. Godley.

The class of colonists as depicted in the first chapter would naturally take some thought for an organ of public opinion and literary contributions which would help to maintain their intellectual well-being in a place at the antipodes of the centre of civilisation and culture.

Obviously that need would be satisfied by the establishment of a newspaper.

It is recorded in the minutes of a meeting of the Society of Intending Colonists on August 1st, 1850, in London, that a letter had been received concerning the establishment of a paper in Lyttelton. The Chairman,
Mr. W. G. Brittan, stressing the importance of the question, expressed the willingness of the Council "to enquire and report on the best method of establishing it". It was unanimously resolved "that a paper ought to be established", the Council to act as Mr. Brittan had suggested. Members were urged to become subscribers and to encourage the cooperation of friends.

The Council's enquiries brought out the fact that among the members of the Canterbury Association was one Ingram Shrimpton, of Oxford, printer to the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of Great Britain. Approached with a view to his taking over the task of establishing the paper, Shrimpton, a practical business man, saw the need for a guarantee against any loss that might be incurred. The Association's funds however could not be used for the purpose of founding a newspaper, but private members undertook to become subscribers at the rate of a guinea a year, for the first year of publication.

Mr. Brittan, at the next meeting of the Society on August 5th, 1850, "urged on the colonists the importance of establishing a newspaper immediately on their arrival at the settlement. He submitted a Prospectus which had been issued by the Council with a view to carrying this object into effect, and requested members to get as many
as possible of their friends in this country to subscribe."

Arrangements were then definitely settled and Shrimpton agreed to bring out and manage the newspaper. A report to this effect was made at the meeting of the Society on August 15th, 1850.

Shrimpton's interest in the scheme, personal as well as professional, showed that he was possessed of more than ordinary enthusiasm. From his own office he selected three presses to send out; one, an Atlas Press for fancy printing, one a Columbian Press for working off engravings, and the Stanhope Press which printed "The Lyttelton Times" for the first four or five years of the paper's existence. Type, paper and ink came also from his office. Unable to make the necessary arrangements to emigrate, he selected land for his son and later came to New Zealand himself as soon as he could. With the plant, shipped on the "Charlotte Jane" he sent his son, John Ingram Shrimpton, his nephew George Tayler, an overseer and manager named Varyer and a compositor, Winchester. Further supplies of paper, type and ink followed in later vessels. The estimated value of the plant when set up in Lyttelton was £2,500.

Shrimpton was unable to afford a paid editor for his paper, but his anxiety in this respect was relieved by the generous offer of James Edward Fitzgerald, who was going
out to help Godley in his administration of the settlement, to edit the journal without pay until such time as Shrimpton himself came out or appointed a permanent man. This brilliant young man, educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, had been captivated at an early age by the idea of the Canterbury Colonisation scheme and had spoken enthusiastically at many of the meetings in England. A thorough Irish gentleman, quick, impulsive, witty and winning in manner and conversation, he possessed an impetuous nature and a great fighting spirit. The pleasantness of his general bearing offset his sudden and quick changing moods which caused him at times to be misunderstood by many who had no insight into his nature. His career was the epitome of his character, brilliant and full of rich promise but unfortunately lacking stability and permanent influence. First Editor of "The Lyttelton Times", first Superintendent of Canterbury and later first Prime Minister of New Zealand, he had vigour and keenness that earned him respect and admiration of which any man would be justly proud. The striking tribute paid him by Godley at the Annual Dinner of the Canterbury Association in London in November 1859 will be quoted later in the estimate of him as editor of "The Lyttelton Times", and excellently typified the opinions held of Fitzgerald by
many others besides Codley.

The "Charlotte Jane" arrived at Lyttelton on December 16th, 1850. The first problem of those in charge of the newspaper was to secure a site for an office. The plant was not unloaded for several days but in the meantime a section at No. 2 Norwich Quay was acquired. This land was on a steep slope behind a store where the Union Steamship Company's office is now situated.

The erection of the building - it resembled a shed more than anything else - was hurried on. One room with a corner partitioned off for the editor, calico instead of glass in the windows, a boarded floor and shingle roof, one fireplace in the editor's corner, were the main details of the office where "The Lyttelton Times" was first printed. A trench was dug round the outside of the building for the purpose of carrying off the rain water of which there was fortunately none for three months, thus enabling the plant to be unpacked and assembled in the open air. Discomforts undergone by the staff in those busy days of preparation were considerable, while all the time orders were rushing in for Custom's Forms, placards, advertisements, notices and other printed matter. This rush of work would no doubt have relieved Shrimpton, had he been present, or any doubts as to the financial success of the paper. The first "job", according to the account given by George Tayler in "The Lyttelton Times" of January 11th, 1901, on the occasion of
the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the paper, was a Custom's Form for Dr. A. J. Alport, and was printed in open air before the roof of the office had been erected.

Quite a crowd collected round the office on the morning of Saturday January 11th, 1851, when the first copies of the journal were issued between nine and ten o'clock. The staff had been working day and night for nearly a week, the four outside pages being printed two days before publication. The four inside pages - it was an eight page edition - were begun at five o'clock on the Saturday morning, Tayler working the press and Winchester rolling for him.

An accident of peculiar interest, showing how the climate of the district affected the plant, occurred when the first rollers were made in Lyttelton. Using the mixture of glue customarily employed in England, they hung the rollers up to dry a few days after arrival. A hot North Westerly wind, however, soon melted them and a firmer composition was necessary when they were remade, to withstand the warmer climate.

The contents of the first issue make exceedingly interesting reading. Advertisements, cards, public notices filled the front outside page. A "card" from "Richard Beamish, general commission agent", in one corner;
an auction sale announcement by A.J. Alport, a warning against damaging timber-wood, a list of articles for sale at the local grocer's store, helped to reflect certain of the journalistic features of the mother country. There too was a notice of familiar type; a subscription list had been opened towards helping the widow of John Williams who had met his death while crossing the hills between Lyttelton and Christchurch. The conviction of Joseph Bennett for drunkenness, an accident to a boating party, an entertaining "Poet's Corner" containing a few stanzas on "A First New Zealand Sunset", a notice to correspondents demanding the name and address of all communicants, all combined to evoke a further burst of enthusiasm from the London "Times".

"It is difficult," said that paper, "to glance at the first number of "The Lyttelton Times" and to associate its existence with a community not quite a month old. So far from being ashamed of our namesake we are positively proud of his acquaintance and envious of his power. English newspapers, like the British constitution, have grown gradually into their present strength. In the Canterbury Settlement ----- society, journalism, laws, institutions are all eighteen hundred and fifty-one years old at starting."
Contained also in the issue were accounts of the voyages of the four pioneer ships, records of the meetings of the Society of Land Purchasers and the General Meeting of colonists for the election of a new Council.

The publisher's note and a reminder that all advertisements would be continued and charged until such time as they were withdrawn by the advertiser, complete, with the exception of the leading article, an interesting and enlightening survey of the spirit in which the new colony was progressing.

The newspaper was from its inception, truly part and parcel of the Settlement. Recognised, as the Prospectus stated, as an organ for expressing the life of the colony, it was distinctly understood however, that it owed no allegiance to the Society of Colonists, to the Canterbury Association, or to the New Zealand Government.

Laying stress on these principles and giving an indication of the policy of the paper, Fitzgerald wrote a spirited leading article which earned him praise wherever it was read, and largely determined the basis of the policy of "The Lyttelton Times" to the present day.

The ambition of the colonists that Canterbury should reflect as fully as possible the ideas and institutions of the parent state, implied, as the leading article pointed
out, that there should be some means of supplying the inevitable literary deficiency. The newspaper, which was to supply that want, owed to the colonists an impartial treatment of public affairs from the point of view of political opinion so long as there existed only one paper in the colony. This impartiality, Fitzgerald hoped to maintain as long as was necessary. Fitzgerald however, ever a man for battles and argument, must have found considerable difficulty in suppressing his natural inclinations and looked forward with great eagerness to the time when the establishment of another paper would free him from his obligations. In the London "Times" of July 5th 1851, the opinion was expressed that the editor of "The Lyttelton Times" was "nonplussed" by the difficulty of his situation, but it noticed that he was only waiting with commendable patience till the time when party politics would become a source of argument and spirited articles. In one place the first leading article gave a clue to the side on which the paper would later range its forces. The non-party element of the paper was made all the more necessary from the consideration that "we are at present living under a government which affords the colonists no legitimate and constitutional mode of stating their opinion upon questions of public interest such as they would possess under a representative government." The policy of the Reforming Colonists in the struggle for representative government would find a strong advocate in the journal.
"Mr. Fitzgerald", said J. R. Godley at the Annual Dinner of the Canterbury Association in London, in 1859, "had special duties to perform in connection with me .... and he had still a higher duty, for he was editor of a newspaper, and, as such, undertook the responsible task of promoting the intellectual food, the material for thought and the incentive to action for the young community .......... By the manner in which Mr. Fitzgerald edited the newspaper he rendered as essential a service as was ever rendered to a colony. I will venture to say that any man who was in the habit of reading "The Lyttelton Times" of that day will agree with me that no newspaper was ever conducted with loftier aspirations or with a more honest desire to elevate and raise the tone of the people amongst whom it circulated .........."

"The Lyttelton Times" was founded by men who were devoted to the cause of freedom, men whose grace, wit and knowledge commanded universal admiration, and whether they were aware of it or not, they gave to the journal a tradition of public service and of guardianship of popular interests which was worthy of the highest ideals of the age.
CHAPTER 111.

1851 - 1856.


Fitzgerald's hope that "The Lyttelton Times" would be an accurate reflection of the life of the settlement was not an idle boast, yet for some time there were matters of such importance both to Canterbury and to the colony as a whole, that local news was overshadowed. The question of self-government for the different settlements was urged in the columns of "The Lyttelton Times", both in the leading articles and in the correspondence. Godley was the champion of the colonists in their demand
for the establishment of separate provinces, and he was supported throughout the long struggle by criticisms of the existing state of New Zealand politics and by proposals for future government, which appeared from time to time in that journal. An article on February 1st, 1850, described the form of government as despotic, and urged that all energies should be directed towards "First, the separation of our settlement into a province of itself; and secondly, to procure such provision in the Act which will be passed establishing these Provincial Governments as will give us really and practically the management of our own affairs."

A year later, Fitzgerald wrote: "How long is this to last? .... Not one man in the settlement has yet been able through any legitimate channel to express an opinion upon any question relating to the general welfare; no one has voted for a candidate; no one knows how the public revenues are applied." That attitude was upheld by "The Lyttelton Times" with increasing vigour, and at the same time complaints were made against the Canterbury Association. It was not keeping faith with the settlers and was acting as if it were relieved of all responsibility towards the colonists for the administration of its powers.
In this period progress was slow in all things, and not until July of 1852 was it announced that the Ordinance proposed by Sir George Grey which had been the object of all the criticism and attack by the advocates of self-government had been disallowed in April 1851 by the Colonial Secretary. The news was received by "The Lyttelton Times" with joy; "Let us be thankful then that the Ordinance is no more; let us wait in the hope that the first Parliament of New Zealand will enact a sound, constitutional and popular law .......". The desired object was achieved on September 27th 1853, when the first Canterbury Provincial Council met, with Fitzgerald, now no longer editor of "The Lyttelton Times" as Superintendent of the province.

This, the first political victory of the paper, was fought on the side of the settlers for freedom from the centralised and autocratic government of Sir George Grey. There is little doubt that Fitzgerald's championship in "The Lyttelton Times" of this popular course, while he was editor, had influence in winning for him the honour of election as First Superintendent of Canterbury.

The elections to the first General Assembly of New Zealand took place at almost the same time as the provincial elections. On the eve of these, the "Times" discussed the part played by the Canterbury settlement in achieving parlia-
mentary government, and later gave a fair and generous analysis of the Assembly, expressing sanguine hopes for the worthy fulfilment of the duties of the newly-elected members.

Rejoicing in the freedom from vice in the conduct of the elections and from the traditional taint of the electoral system of the mother country, "The Lyttelton Times" viewed the event as a landmark in the history of the province and discerned both in the General Assembly and in the Provincial Council an opportunity for an intelligent, forward, strenuous and well-informed criticism which would mark every step made by these "real, living Governments."

With the establishment of the Provincial Council, the Canterbury Association lost its standing in the Province. Henry Sewell had arrived in February of 1853 for the purpose of winding up its affairs, and immediately became involved in a newspaper controversy over the non-publication of the Association's accounts. The controversy was long and bitter, with Fitzgerald as Sewell's strongest opponent. Sewell was also involved with the Trustees of Church property in a series of letters to the paper. These at length called forth a refusal on the part of the editor to publish letters unless couched in moderate language and free from personal abuse. When the Provincial Council in June 1855, took over
the liabilities of the Canterbury Association, "The Lyttelton Times" expressed the gratitude of the colonists to the Association:-

"And now with unfeigned thanks for past services and in all kindness of feeling, the Province of Canterbury bids farewell to the Canterbury Association ........"

While at times the paper had seen fit to criticise the Association in many respects, it gave due credit to the body which had guided Canterbury through the first five years of settlement.

Almost side by side with the struggle for self-government, the question of land policy was being developed. The price of crown land in New Zealand had been regulated in England, and through Sir George Grey had been fixed in 1853 at ten shillings an acre, with exceptions made in the Canterbury and Otago Settlements. It was manifestly difficult for land to be sold in Canterbury at £3. 0. 0. an acre when just over the border it could be bought for a sixth of the price. "The Lyttelton Times" took the question up, recommending that the matter should be referred to the colony, at the same time urging that endeavours be made to keep the price up to a certain mark; the paper in this respect being the only one in New Zealand assenting to the high price theory for land. "Once let the land
that all difficulties will vanish ....?" The Home legislation was universally condemned and further, jealousies were arising between adjoining settlements as to the exact definitions of boundary lines, which could be cleared up by treatment by the colonists themselves. In such a way was the position summed up by the "Times" which recommended in addition that holders of small areas of land be encouraged as against the speculator in large runs. The policy of the paper with regard to the land question has not changed with the years and the principle was the same then as when the Ballance Government was in power in the later years of the century.

We turn from the purely political aspect of the newspaper's history, and find that in the first few years "The Lyttelton Times" had been building up the reputation which it has maintained through over seventy-five years of progress, and even in those days was serving as a worthy model for the press of the colony. As "The New Zealand Journal", commenting in 1852 on some early editions of "The Lyttelton Times" said: "In neatness of appearance and general excellency of management it has lost nothing, while its advertisements bespeak the growing importance of the settlement ....... We shall rejoice for the sake of New Zealand if the press generally will
take pattern from this member of their fraternity."

The compliment was not undeserved. If the style, examined from a twentieth century viewpoint appears often bombastic and rather too frank, it must be remembered that times have changed and that what would now provoke a charge of libel passed then as a normal and often well-deserved criticism. An example may be taken from the comments of "The Lyttelton Times" on the appointment of Colonel Campbell as Land Commissioner in Canterbury. Campbell was unpopular with the journal from the beginning and was subjected to much cutting invective: "There could hardly have been found another man whose presence in this settlement as an official would have been so offensive to its inhabitants ...... His name is never mentioned in this settlement uncoupled with an expression of contempt. Strongly as we have reprobated his doings, our language has been tame in comparison with what we daily hear whenever he is the subject of conversation."

Would such a skanking attack be tolerated in a newspaper of 1929?

The boldness of the articles extended even to the highest officials in the colony. In 1853, W. G. Wakefield was accused by the paper of "a career of unblushing falsehood ever since he has taken a leading part in the management of our affairs."
Even Sir George Grey did not escape. "The Lyttelton Times", of March 11th 1854, announced the late Governor's departure for England with the remarks:

"..... The only quality approaching to statesmanship capable of being discerned in his character is Secretness..... Distrusting and distrusted, he would have been a tyrant but for want of power."

Yet "The Lyttelton Times" had beyond any question of doubt the reputation of a newspaper whose columns were so free from abuse and immoderate utterances as to form an example for others to follow! Criticism of the policy of contemporary journals was frequent but it was always the policy, and not the journal, which "The Lyttelton Times" attacked.

The prospect of the first rival newspaper in Canterbury was welcomed with joy by Fitzgerald, on April 24th, 1852. An opportunity had arisen which would relieve him of the difficult position of endeavouring to do justice to the opinions of all parties in the community. But the opportunity was short lived and "The Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser" passed out of existence in about two months.

More serious opposition came with the establishment of "The Canterbury Standard" in August, 1853. "The Lyttelton Times" expressed the view that there was room for two papers in the settlement and that with the granting of
representative institutions more opportunity would occur for political pursuits. While expecting differences of opinion the editor entertained no doubt that the spirit of the argument would be such as to conduce to the advantage of the public.

Reviewing the apparently well-established "Standard" in July of 1854 the "Times" expressed a worthy ideal and a confident belief in the extent of its own influence.

"If the journals in this Settlement, the youngest born of England, unite in setting a good example to older colonies in this respect alone (absence of personality and abuse) they will be doing a good work the effect of which will be felt through a farther extent of time and place than we should be inclined at first sight to imagine."

In the past, "The Lyttelton Times" had, according to the pledge given, opened its columns to those wishing to criticise its opinions, so long as it was the sole organ of public opinion. It was now announced that "we no longer consider ourselves bound to place our columns at the disposal of those who wish to criticise our remarks; ...... now we stand in the position of any journal in England or elsewhere and shall adopt the general rule."
It still however, maintained its independence of all political parties and on May 10th 1856 regretted that its contemporary had seen fit to accuse it "of becoming a party champion," at the same time expressing the opinion that the longer party politics were kept in the background the better it would be for Canterbury.

The duties of the press towards its readers, and the desire for good feeling between journals were frequently treated in the early editions of "The Lyttelton Times." Among these oft-repeated and sometimes over-emphatic articles, the general principles which served as the aim of the newspaper were fairly clearly defined. One occasion was provided by the fine inflicted on the proprietors of the Wellington "Independent" in 1852, for libellous utterances. "Now is the time for a generous reconciliation of differences ... We look for that kind good temper in which alone a fair and earnest search for truth can be conducted ... The people must choose what they will have, a free paper or an enslaved one - the press of London or the press of Paris".

So far no mention has been made of the character of the news of local and general interest which "The Lyttelton Times" supplied its readers. One of the great events of the week or month, as the case may be, was the arrival of vessels from England with newspaper files and foreign news. The crises in
Europe after the revolutionary movements of 1848, and later, the progress of the Crimean War, were portrayed as the news came to hand. Such patriotism was evinced during the war period that a subscription list was opened at the newspaper office in aid of the families of soldiers killed in the Crimea. Feeling reference was made in January 1853 to the death of the Duke of Wellington, which had occurred in the previous September. Communication was very uncertain in those days and sometimes over a year, and always several months would elapse before the settlers in Canterbury learned of European events.

The local news was given in the "Journal of the Week" column. A disastrous fire was raging in Dean's Bush in February 1851; a cautious policy was being pursued by settlers in the purchasing of goods; small findings of gold, copper and coal were being reported from time to time; and several whales were observed off the coast near Kaiapoi. Then there was the controversy over communication between Lyttelton and Christchurch. "The Lyttelton Times" advised immediate action in making a dray road over the hills, and decried the proposal that Christchurch should be made the Port.

As the anniversary days came round, the closing year's progress was reviewed in comprehensive manner, the general tone being one of satisfaction and hope for the future.
The value of Canterbury as a pastoral district was increasing every year and as settlers occupied land further out in the backblocks the amount of wool produced, increased rapidly and in 1856 the first shipment of wool was sent to England. Agricultural farms were also becoming more numerous while the town grew with the arrival of every ship. The newspaper showed glances of what the future of Canterbury was to be, meeting the difficulties of the colonists as they arose and endeavouring to present solutions which would be beneficial to the settlement.

A growth in size of "The Lyttelton Times" coincided with the growth of the Province. An eight page issue of foolscap size had been used for the first two years, with occasional supplementary leaves. "An advertising supplement was begun in 1853 but even with this it was found that a weekly edition was hardly sufficient to cope with the news supplied by the paper. Numerous apologies for delays in publication of much material showed that the "extra" number of Wednesday July 26th 1854 would be a success. The experiment began during the first meeting of the General Assembly of New Zealand and was continued from that time. By March 1856 twelve pages of matter were printed and the paper was proving a decided success in all respects."
Several changes had taken place in the managerial and editorial staff during the first five years of publication. In April 1851 a young man named Francis Knowles came into the office of "The Lyttelton Times" with a copy of a paper he had edited on board ship on the way out from England. Fitzgerald engaged him immediately as the first sub-editor of the newspaper. Knowles, who later deserted journalism for the church, was a kind and much loved man with good literary ability. Fitzgerald continued writing the main editorials but practically all the rest of the literary work was done by Knowles, who collected news and papers from ships as they arrived and combed the town for articles of interest. He remained on the staff for only a year, resigning at about the same time as Fitzgerald, in the middle of 1852. Knowles gave a short account of his experiences in journalism in the Jubilee number of "The Lyttelton Times" of January 11th 1901, including this sentence: "It was indeed the day of small things but there was a good deal of promise in the little weekly then, and it had all the elements of a paper in small compass."

John Birch then took over the editorship, helped occasionally by articles from Christopher Bowen who later, with Crosbie Ward, bought the paper from Shrimpton. Birch, a cultured and scholarly writer was in the editorial
chair when the Constitution Act of 1852 came into force in February 1853 and the first elections took place. He showed courage and skill in managing the policy of the paper and was aided by a humorous style of writing.

Soon after the elections, Ingram Shrimpton himself came to New Zealand and took charge of the business. He secured new premises in Oxford Street, Lyttelton, where the paper was printed after September 1854.

A few minor changes took place in the staff during these years but no records exist which give them in any detail. Birch, Bowen and Shrimpton were the leading men until 1856. In March of that year Birch retired and Crosbie Ward became editor.

July 2nd 1856 saw the paper published under different management. Shrimpton had sold the copyright of "The Lyttelton Times" and a lease of the property for twenty years, together with the plant. The purchasers were Crosbie Ward and Christopher Bowen who were to pay the sum of £5000, secured by mortgage at 11½ for five years. The agreement was completed and arranged on October 6th 1856, the partnership between Bowen and Ward beginning on the first of that month.

* See Appendix Page 81
CHAPTER IV.

THE WARD - BOWEN PARTNERSHIP, 1856 - 1859.


The partnership between Crosbie Ward and Christopher Bowen dated from October 1st 1856. Ward was to be the editor at a salary of £200 per annum. He had come out to Canterbury for the purpose of winding up the affairs of his two brothers who had been drowned in Lyttelton during the first year of the settlement. He did not enjoy the farming life on Quail Island which his brothers had owned and became involved in political movements. A brilliant and witty speaker, energetic and fearless he was later on prominent in politics. He was moreover a born journalist,
fond of parodies and squibs, with a lively sense of
humour and a pen that was sometimes fiercely combative.
He carried on the battle for the freedom of colonial
institutions with zeal and wrote many striking articles
on the subject of the Colonial Office.

Bowen, nominally the sub-editor, had come out with
his father in 1850, and until 1852 was private secretary
to Godley. He then became returning officer for Canter-
bury and a frequent contributor to "The Lyttelton Times".
He was apparently a part-time sub-editor during Birch's
editorship. Bowen also was a brilliant journalist, and
one of the original promoters of the education system of
New Zealand adopted in 1877.

Neither Ward nor Bowen was, however, a practical
printer, and as a consequence the financial side of the
paper suffered heavily. An old cash book and a private
ledger show that wages were irregularly paid, and that by
the end of 1859 a loss amounting to just over £1000 had been
sustained by the partnership. It seems that financial
assistance had been lent on several occasions by William
Reeves who came into the partnership in 1859. His connec-
tion with the newspaper will receive treatment in the next
chapter. This new partnership was arranged during 1859,
to commence on January 1st 1860. Bowen, who had been
receiving £200 a year as sub-editor, withdrew and went
back to England where he remained until 1864, returning then as a resident magistrate in Christchurch.

Ward and Bowen began their period of management by an article on July 2nd 1856 when they set out the lines on which they proposed to base their future policy. The general policy would be the same as before and the paper's columns would be open for differing opinions on local and general subjects, although the right was reserved to refuse the publication of letters of personal abuse. The journal's own opinions would be freely expressed and the editors hoped for a fair and impartial hearing. The differences between political parties, the article said, could be ascribed to the relations between the General and Provincial Governments. Necessities had compelled the provinces to undertake responsibilities unsuited to them and detrimental to the colony as a whole. Few politicians were working for the good of New Zealand, being influenced by provincial jealousies. A proposal for the introduction of the American system of federalism was rigorously attacked, the article declaring that no analogy existed between a federation uniting to form a central government and a colony whose provinces had been conceded separate municipal rights. "The Lyttelton Times" would oppose any measure tending to the separation of the colony into petty individual states, and in many cases vosuced concerning issues. "We protest"
yet did not ignore the necessity of local powers, owing to the difficulties created by tardy means of communication. The provinces should, however, be restrained from undue assumption of legislative powers or of administrative independence of central authority.

The Ward-Bowen partnership however, coincided with a quiet period in politics, and "The Lyttelton Times" devoted much of its space to other matters. The protracted discussion on the subject of communication between Christchurch and Lyttelton, the frequent substitution of English news and local intelligence columns for leading articles, is evidence of the lack of any momentous political grievances. The main contributions of the paper to New Zealand political questions as a whole, centred round three main features.

In the first place there was the friction between the General and the Provincial Governments. The existing system of government was, the journal maintained, too complicated for a young country like New Zealand and the possibility of the provinces becoming independent petty states needed forestalling by strengthening the hands of the central legislature. The "Times" expressed apprehension at the danger of the system of elected superintendents. Powers not granted the superintendents by the central government were given them by the Provincial Council and in many cases exceeded reasonable limits. "We protest",
said the number of October 10th 1857, "against the
elective system of appointing superintendents....", as a departure from the rule that heads of the Executive
should be representatives of the Crown, and as "an
experimental scheme, rashly and hurrriedly patched up."

Secondly, the subject of Waste Lands was not
settled until September, 1858, when an act was passed in
the House of Representatives making no vital change in the
regulations, but reserving the ultimate control to the
central government. "The Lyttelton Times" subscribed to
that policy as being the nearest approach to the principle
it had always advocated; namely, the right of the colony
to administer its own waste lands.

The third feature of the period was the question of
vote by ballot. This method of voting was proposed in
the House of Representatives in May, 1858, and was intended
to displace the existing method of declaration by a show of
hands at the conclusion of the opposing candidates' addresses
on the " hustings". A poll was often demanded by the candidate
defeated by the show of hands, and this was carried out by
the electors declaring their votes to the returning officer
orally before a certain time. The Times was a strong
advocate of this open voting system, attacking the new
proposal on May 29th 1858. "A man whose position is such
in this country as to make him afraid of giving his vote according to his conscience, can be worth very little ... Canterbury settlers have a sufficiently English feeling to require that the candidate for their votes should appear before his constituents on an open hustings ... and that they, (the electors) should openly record their opinions on his political creed. "The Lyttelton Times" was on the winning side, for the proposal was not then carried by the House. A summary and criticism was made of all the business of the House as it came to hand, but news arrived very irregularly, causing a popular cry for the removal of the seat of government from Auckland to a more easily accessible place. The cry was taken up and maintained by the journal in correspondence and articles.

But as already stated, there were no outstanding political issues during these years and elections in Canterbury were fought mainly on personal questions owing to the general similarity in the prospects opened up by the candidates. It is probable that the unhealthy financial state of "The Lyttelton Times" was indirectly due to the lack of political controversy, for public support undoubtedly fluctuates with the changing interest of the political side of a newspaper.

The proceedings of the Provincial Council however were a source from which Ward and Bowen drew material for a
running fire of criticism, much of it in humourous strain. The Council which was in office during 1857 was rather inactive and met on several occasions with no business on the agenda sheet. At other times the frivolous nature of the debates called forth accusations of "a timidity and indecision which are not calculated to advance the interests of the province." The unfortunate Provincial Secretary, whose duty it was to see that there was business ready for presentation to the Council, was the object of a particularly sarcastic comment in "The Times" of June 26, 1857. "The Provincial Secretary was a wonder to behold, and on that night capped the performances of the session by a crowning exhibition of his unequalled powers. He charmed members by his indifference to business, tickled them into roars of laughter, subsided into an independent member by the fire-place, was goaded again into being government, sat a while disconsolate on the ministerial bench, rose in wrath and stepped forward to confront an attacking member, then lifted his voice in a mingled strain of supplication, persuasion, remonstrance, annoyance and invective; and concluding with a torrent of impassioned denunciation, precipitated himself into the street and did not come back."

For Provincial Secretary read Mr. Jingle, and this passage in "The Lyttelton Times" might well take a place in that great work of Dickens in which the imperturbable
Jingle is a character.

The questions of communication between Christchurch and Lyttelton, and road improvement generally were thrashed out time and time again in correspondence and articles. At a dinner given by the staff of "The Lyttelton Times" to the proprietors on July 16th 1859, the Provincial Superintendent, Mr. Moorhouse, made reference to the position occupied by that paper and the Press generally in connection with road construction, and the help that had been afforded by the opening of its columns to all who wished to voice an opinion, so that a decision of benefit to the province might be arrived at.

The road between Christchurch and Lyttelton, via Sumerer, was opened on August 34th 1857. "The Times" had always advocated the early completion of this route. Supplies had been refused at times by the Provincial Council, but Fitzgerald had put prisoners on to the work and it had slowly progressed. The paper, in an account of the opening ceremony commented on the curious history of the project. "It has been taken up and dropped, and taken up again; it has been the cause of disputes and contention, a reproach to us among our neighbours and a stumbling block to ourselves." The completion of this road did not see the end of the agitation for road
improvement, and "The Lyttelton Times" was the first to draw attention to the possibility of the Port Hills eventually being pierced, and to support the early building of railroads. This was in August 1858, and a proposal which Moorhouse put before the Provincial Council the next month, when it was found that the province had a surplus of £15000 on which there were no immediate calls, began another controversy concerning the advisability of building a railway on the Sumner road or through a tunnel between Lyttelton and Heathcote. Fitzgerald, then in England, wrote several letters favouring the Sumner route, but the editorials replying to him, hoped that he would change his view when the facts were put before him. The difference of opinion between the proprietors of "The Lyttelton Times" and its ex-editor on this subject unfortunately was aggravated as time went on. Fitzgerald opposed the tunnel project vigorously, and it was largely due to this controversy that he later broke away from the newspaper so far as to found an opposition journal in 1861. "The Times" continued its advocacy of the tunnel line, and the popular demand for it was rewarded when in December 1859, the Provincial Council entered into a contract for its construction.

Reference has been made to the fact that Bowen was prominent in the province's educational concerns. While he was with "The Lyttelton Times" he supported the desire
of the Provincial Council in 1857 to adhere to the denominational as against the national or secular system. The paper expressed his view that religions had pulled together so far, that system of education should be established which would least lead to a collision of denominations. Such a system would be found in denominational schools. "What do we mean by different religious denominations", Bowen wrote, "if we do not mean different schools of education?" These opinions were immediately subjected to much critical correspondence which was replied to on May 23rd 1857.

"Our object is only to open and enquire into the question". "The Times" did not expect that the specific teaching of theology would be the main part of the system but it did expect that a secular system would give only a dry teaching of it resulting from the setting aside of certain time every week for the teaching of the subject.

Other matters to which prominence was given in "The Times" included the advocacy of extended immigration and provision of temporary habitation for immigrants while they were seeking an occupation. A keen interest was shown in the proposal for the establishment of telegraphic communication between Lyttelton, Christchurch and Kaiapoi, this scheme naturally appealing to the paper, as it would be the means of improving the facilities for gathering news.
The installation of fire engines was approved; a satisfactory postal system in Canterbury was claimed to be the most efficient in New Zealand; the possibility of a carpenters' strike was avoided in 1859 by timely advice from the paper; and statistical information was given from time to time showing the increase in the exportation of wool, mutton and dairy produce, in the number of cattle imported, and in the general growth of the settlement.

The proprietors were still labouring against the great difficulties which the lack of regular and frequent communication with other settlements and the rest of the world imposed on them. The English mail arrived so late in August 1858 that it was received with an "Extraordinary English Mail Number" on August 26th. Sixty days had elapsed since the last mail had come to hand. Incomplete records of passing occurrences were unavoidable owing to the impossibility of having a representative in every district to collect news; the paper was forced to rely many times on rumoured reports in order to satisfy the demand for local news. Scarcity of paper was also a source of anxiety, and the men were reduced to printing their editions on blue paper on more than one occasion.

In November of 1859 a new printing press was brought into commission - a Carton machine - which was a great
advance on the Stanhope Press, and could print off many more copies an hour than the two hundred of which the Stanhope was capable. Notice of an intention to enlarge the paper was given and in January 1865 it became an eight page issue, with pages twice the size of the original foolscap sheets.

Twice during this period the staff held what was known as a "wayz-goose", said to be a revival of an ancient English custom on anniversary and festive occasions. One of these took place on the eighth anniversary of the paper's publication, and the other took the form of the dinner already referred to which the staff gave in honour of their proprietors. They were apparently accompanied by a considerable amount of merriment and toasting.

"The Canterbury Standard" was still in existence and it is pleasing to record that the relations between the two contemporary journals were of a very amicable nature. "The Lyttelton Times" carried on the principle established during Fitzgerald's time, and frequently complained that newspapers in other parts of New Zealand adopted a regrettably "low and degraded tone". When Ward and Bowen therefore terminated their partnership in 1859, the principles of "The Lyttelton Times" were still consistent with those of 1851. They appealed, in one of their later articles,
to the New Zealand press to be moderate in its language and live up to the highest ideals of journalism. "We are now at a critical stage in our history; and the whole tone of our political world for years to come will depend in a great measure upon the formation of public opinion at the present time ......."
The new partnership - Ward, Hamilton, Haude and Reeves - was formed during this period. The store was changed from Oxford Street to Cuba Street, and business improved. The press was enlarged. In January 1864 the "Fawcett Times" was founded by the St James Press. It was later sold to the "Examiner". The "Press" was taken over by the "Press". The growth of "The Press". The business continued to flourish. The newspaper was successful. The newspaper was able to attract new readers.
as editor at a salary of £300 per annum. Hamilton, who held two-sixteenths, was then Organiser of Customs at Lyttelton. He had left England for the colonies in 1843, on the same vessel as Captain Fitzroy, and ultimately became Fitzroy's secretary during his period as Governor of New Zealand. Hamilton retained the secretaryship under following governors, until, in Sir George Grey's time he carried out exploration in the South Island prior to obtaining his position in the Customs Department. He retained his interest in the newspaper till his death twenty-five years later. Thomas W. Haude, a solicitor, held a one-sixteenth interest.

But the greatest personality and the most influential and business-like partner was William Reeves, whose portion was six-sixteenths, and who held the position of manager at £300 per annum. Born in England in 1825, he had been educated at a private school near London, later becoming a clerk in a bank. After gaining some experience on the Stock Exchange where he was not particularly successful, he decided to emigrate to New Zealand with his wife and child. He came to Canterbury in 1857, and found employment in the Customs Department under Hamilton. He then worked on a farm for a year before acquiring his interest in "The Lyttelton Times". His name will be so vitally connected with the...
journal's history during the following thirty years and his ideals and principles will be so clearly reflected in those of the newspaper that a short reference only will be made to him here. Suffice to say that he was the man who so suddenly changed the whole atmosphere of the office, bringing a healthier financial aspect and a stability which survived the severe depression through which New Zealand journalism passed before the end of the nineteenth century. Wages and accounts were now paid regularly; a successful business policy was adopted. At the end of his first year as manager, a profit of £400 was divided among the proprietors. The same amount was made in the second year; and the third, 1862, saw a profit of £1700. So that in three years under Reeves a total profit was made of £2500 where there had been a loss during the previous three years of over £1000.

Plans for a move to Christchurch had been contemplated in 1859, but it was Reeves who achieved that object. A small printing office in Gloucester St. was acquired, where improvements were carried out, making the value of the building about £1000. The offices occupied half the section on which the present building stands, and comprised two floors on the Cathedral Square frontage, the public office facing Gloucester Street. The necessity of publishing the paper in the true centre of population and of competing on equal terms with "The Press" founded in 1861, made the move from Lyttelton inevitable. Accordingly on
Thursday August 30th, 1863, the staff packed the plant on drays and trekked over the Sumner Road to Christchurch in time to publish the Saturday edition as usual. At the end of September the paper was published three times a week; on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and the increased advertisements indicated the rising importance of the journal. In March of the same year "The Lyttelton Times" contained a justification of its higher rates for advertising. The average circulation was estimated at 1500, occasionally rising to 2000. The advertiser was now deriving larger benefits from the paper and the number of advertisements had grown almost too great for the space available.

A small four-page volume entitled "Punch in Canterbury", edited by Ward and published from "The Lyttelton Times" office, appeared in April 1865, but lived for only a few months. It contained political cartoons, humorous verse and prose and varied literary contributions. "The Canterbury Times" a weekly publication by Reeves and Ward, commenced in July, was designed to give matter for general reading on amusements, instruction and information which was not within the scope of a daily paper.

"The Lyttelton Times" was published daily soon after the move to Christchurch. This new step was commented on in an article on July 3rd 1865. After having looked forward for some time to the publication of a daily paper, the proprietors were pleased to be able to make this advance, which
was a symptom of Canterbury's rapid progress in population and business. "An increased population, a more rapid reception of news from abroad, corresponding facilities for distributing the news, the completion of the inter-provincial telegraph .......... and the general prospect of increased vigour and material progress all over the province........" were the reasons given for the important forward move by "The Lyttelton Times".

"The Standard", which had been welcomed so heartily by "The Times" nearly three years previously, appeared before the public for the last time on Monday, April 23rd, 1866. Its leading article of that date, in announcing the sale of the paper to new proprietors, stated that it was proposed to establish an evening paper in its place. J. H. Smith, of "The Standard" a really brilliant writer was placed on "The Lyttelton Times" staff and became editor on the retirement of Crosbie Ward in 1857. Ward, his health breaking up, relinquished his active interest in the paper, and departed for England as Agent for Canterbury. At a dinner given by Ward and Reeves to their employees in April, references were made to the friendly feeling amongst all those in the establishment and to the high esteem in which Ward was held by the staff and the general public. He had taken an active part in politics, had been Postmaster-General in the New Zealand Ministry, and had been a strong advocate of the interests of
The Southerners during the protracted Separatist movement.

It will be remembered that Fitzgerald opposed the construction of the Tunnel railway—his views differed in that respect from the opinions of "The Lyttelton Times". When he returned to Christchurch in 1860 he was somewhat limited therefore in his means of expressing his opinions through the columns of a newspaper. His only hope for a wide canvass of public opinion was to establish a rival paper, and this he did in 1861. An advertisement appeared in "The Lyttelton Times" of May 22nd, announcing that "The Press" would shortly be published. Ward, knowing Fitzgerald's ability, anticipated a political pamphlet of great vigour and gave it a rather restrained, though a warm welcome when the first issue appeared on May 25th, 1861. He suggested that "The Press" would prove hardly comprehensive enough to command public support; that it was too definitely political; and that it was conducting a fruitless campaign against the Lyttelton Tunnel railway. At that late date it was useless to condemn the whole scheme, for it had been sanctioned by the vast majority of settlers.

A bright and entertaining newspaper warfare ensued.

"The Press" attacked the Government, the press and the public for their political shortcomings. "The Times" claimed to prefer more wholesome stimulants than insinuation...
against individuals in and out of power, and published a few remarks in some editions by "A Corrector of The Press" who aimed at "upsetting unsound arguments and unsound men". Fitzgerald retaliated by a series of brilliantly sarcastic articles in which he endeavoured to ridicule "The Times". And so the attack went on unabated until Ward and Reeves announced their intention of discontinuing it and returning to "the paths of strict propriety" from which they had been drawn. Fitzgerald met the refusal of "The Times" to continue the discussion, with a sentence from Sir Andrew Aguecheek:

"'An I had known he had been so cunning of fence, I would have seen him hanged 'ere I had challenged him."

The facts of the argument were on the side of "The Lyttelton Times" but the battle of wits was in favour of Fitzgerald, who concluded by a few stanzas allegedly written by the editor of "The Times".

\[
\text{I remember, I remember,}
\text{On one dreadful Saturday,}
\text{Five months after that December,}
\text{How the "Press" came into play.}
\text{How the fighting Irish giant}
\text{(Save us, how his blows do hurt!)}
\text{When I tried to look defiant}
\text{Grinned and rolled me in the dirt.}
\]
The major source of argument, the tunnel scheme, was almost bound to end in favour of "The Lyttelton Times", for the work had already begun at that time and prospects of a successful completion of the contract within a few years were bright. Although at intervals the papers disagreed on many political issues, both received considerable public support and enjoyed a prosperous existence in the province.

The climax of the Reeves Ward partnership was the completion of the Lyttelton Tunnel. Ward actually left New Zealand a few weeks before the work was completed, but he had fought for it for many years. The question had been a political issue in the Provincial Council elections of 1861 when "The Times" advocated carrying on the work in spite of all difficulties. As a result of the advantages which would accrue by quick communication between Lyttelton and Christchurch, the newspaper saw a means of collecting its news more expeditiously. When "The Lyttelton Times" published its monthly summaries for transmission to England, the progress of the Tunnel was always mentioned and its advantages stressed time and time again. Moorhouse, the untiring Superintendent who did so much for the project, received unswerving support from Ward and Reeves and that support was a powerful factor in maintaining the interest of the public throughout the seven years of work.
The installation of the electric telegraph took place during the period of work on the railways and was advocated to no less extent by "The Lyttelton Times" as one of the greatest of all aids to communication. The Lyttelton - Christchurch telegraph was opened in 1862, and several paragraphs appeared in the paper after then, headed, "By Electric Telegraph". Efforts were made to have the telegraph installed over the whole island, and by 1866, Hokitika on the West Coast was linked by this means to Christchurch. Then a greater achievement, the laying of the cable across Cook Strait was received joyfully and optimistically in a congratulatory article. "We live in hopes that the line may do something to remove the endless petty differences which meet the public at every turn when transacting business with any of the departments of the General Government located there (Wellington)."

"The Lyttelton Times" also strongly advocated giving help and encouragement to a company which was endeavouring to commence a shipping service between England and New Zealand via a railway over the Panama isthmus. There had been some political opposition to this proposal but ultimately the advantages to be gained by the faster journey were demonstrated, and the Panama Company achieved its object. In the past, "The Times" had published monthly summaries for England, to go by the Suez route: though the canal of course was not
completed until 1869. In September 1866 a summary for the election to the provincial council was a meeting at Panama mail was also made, and the next year the Suez summary was discontinued.

These summaries were begun in 1861, and consisted of a precis of the political and other local news of the month. They dealt with every kind of topic; political, commercial, social and domestic, religious. Public works, telegraph improvements, road and railway construction, were discussed and criticised in the interest of the settlers. A detailed description of all the settled districts in Canterbury was given in January of 1861. "Wherever we go", the article said, "we find Nature meets man more than half-way". "The Times" was fully alive to the natural advantages which Canterbury offered its settlers. The weather, however, came in for adverse criticism at times, and the inevitable nor'wester, "the pest of our climate" was a source of some inconvenience to agricultural farmers.

Activities in the Province with regard to sport were given prominence. Races were held frequently, cricket was played in "good old English style" and clubs and associations sprang up in different quarters.

Intensely interested in politics, Reeves used his newspaper steadily towards the improvement of the political concerns of Canterbury. He frequently expressed regret that the people of Canterbury did not take the interest they should in politics. The element of party interest which he saw creeping into the
elections to the Provincial Council in 1861 was a matter of
great regret to him. "The Lyttelton Times" of August 14th
of that year said: "A new phase has come over the political
life of Canterbury. Hitherto public questions have been
discussed in a spirit of candour ....., and the characters of
men have been regarded as a sacred trust, not to be lightly
handled and still less eagerly assailed. But a new era has
been inaugurated by the introduction of a new element, the
element of party, so conducted, we regret to say, as to
degenerate into faction ....... " His hated "party spirit"
did not however run very high in Canterbury for a number of
years and the paper was quick to condemn any suggestion of the
introduction of such a system. In the matter of the actual
business of the Provincial Council, "The Lyttelton Times"
endeavoured to judge it by its acts, avoiding prejudice with
great pains. If the paper did not see eye to eye with the
Council, criticism was early forthcoming but never was it
suggested that the Council acted with any motive other than
that of endeavouring to promote the well being of the province.
Even when attacking the administration during Bealey's Super-
intendency, on the grounds of weakness, indecision and
incapacity, the paper believed the Council was acting as it
thought best, although a radical change of members was advocated.
The policy of Moorhouse during his four terms as superintendent,
taken exception to, as he regarded it, was based upon
abused and attacked by Fitzgerald in the columns of "The Press",
was as keenly defended in the columns of "The Times", and his election in 1866 for a fourth term of office was received by the paper as a triumph over the undesirable organised campaign of one of his opponents.

In the wider sphere of politics, concerning the government of New Zealand as a whole, "The Lyttelton Times" occupied itself mainly during this period with two questions. The first was the Native War in the North Island. Throughout the long struggle between the Maori and the European, Reeves and Ward worked for peace and reconciliation, supporting those two great friends of peace, Sir William Fox and Sir Donald McLean. The war was, "The Times" claimed, not a settlers' war but an imperial war. It was confident that, although the South Island had nothing to fear from the Maoris, assistance would be forthcoming from the Southern provinces which would help to attain a speedy peace. Sir George Grey, sent to New Zealand to settle the disputes, was unable to do so peacefully. His autocratic dealings brought about more than one political deadlock between his ministers and himself. "The Times", while trusting in his ability, regretted his autocratic control and was inclined to support the ministry against him. The employment of British troops in the war was taken exception to, as it resulted in several hard comments from the English Press accusing New Zealand of shirking the
responsibility of fighting her own wars. "Colonists are acutely sensitive to any judgment expressed by the old familiar organs of English opinion," said "The Lyttelton Times", "and the worst effect of the hostile spirit displayed by the British Parliament and Press is that it demoralises the public opinion of the colony ...". For these reasons the removal of British troops was keenly advocated; and when this was brought about, the attitude of English opinion rapidly changed.

The second political question, merged with the progress of the Native War, was the protracted argument on the subject of the separation of the two islands. The war and the separation policy were closely connected for the reason that, while there was little fighting taking place, the cry for separation was raised; yet when fighting was at its height, the South Island refrained from its cry and endeavoured to the best of its ability to assist the North Island in its trouble. The question of separation was first mooted by Henry Sewell in 1860, when his reasons were that the diversity of commercial interests, the inconvenience of locating the capital in Wellington, the obstacles standing in the way of progress, and the desire for central government, were obstacles standing in the way of the progress of the colony. He imagined that New Zealand as a whole would benefit by the change and each island would be better governed by its respective Assemblies. The fact that the seat of the General Assembly was at Auckland was a great drawback to the Southern provinces, whose colonists
were sometimes months in hearing of the business conducted during a session. The fact that Canterbury, the richest province in the colony, was helping to maintain other less prosperous ones seemed a particular hardship. With the separation policy "The Lyttelton Times" expressed its agreement within limits. While it recognised the evils of the existing system, it advised that the final step should be taken only when no other possible remedy existed. If the grievances of the South Island were appeased, then there should be no separation, but unless that happened, and unless the seat of government were transferred to a central locality, then no effort should be spared to break away from the dominance of the North Island. In February 1862, "The Lyttelton Times" maintained "That in this island we are only sensible of the presence of the general government by the continuous checks and hindrances imposed by its regulations in the way of general progress." But the cry for separation was not maintained at such a height after a few years. In 1866, the proposal was defeated in the House of Representatives by a two to one majority. The seat of government was about to be moved to Wellington. The Southerners had been promised redress of many of their grievances, and as a consequence a calmer temper prevailed and colonists were prepared to pull together for their common benefit and for the advancement of New Zealand as a whole.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE ABDLATION OF PROVINCES.

1868 - 1875.

Increases in staff - Long service of several members - Reeves guides the policy - Publication of "The Star" - Reduction of price - Depression in Canterbury - Press Association Telegraph - Development of Liberal policy - Native question - Educational policy - Public works and immigration - Abolition of Provinces - "Lyttelton Times" supports Provincialists - Stages of the struggle - Abolition Bill passed.

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It will be recollected that the original staff of "The Lyttelton Times" was composed of merely four men, who obtained assistance at times from settlers willing to write articles or to collect news. Francis Knowles had been the first addition to the staff, and he was shortly followed by two or three printers and compositors. Then followed Birch, Ward and Bowen, and several new hands on the printing staff. According to a photograph of the staff in 1858, there were, excluding Ward, eight employees on the paper. Ten years later, at a farewell dinner given to their employees by
Ward and Reeves prior to Ward's departure, fifty persons were present. Although some of these were not members of the staff, it is probable that over forty men were employed in "The Lyttelton Times" office at that time. Under Reeves as manager and J. H. Smith as editor, the business steadily increased. Reeves himself wrote very little after 1870 but was satisfied to keep an observant eye on the working of the newspaper. Scorning humbug and popularity-hunting and always on the side of the poor and weak, he commanded the loyalty and devotion of the staff around him. After Ward's departure and death in England in November 1867, Reeves also undertook the editorial work for several months. Little was seen in the office of Hamilton and Maude, the other partners, and Reeves was to all intents and purposes the managing director, and almost the owner of the business. The knowledge that he was always on the watch kept the staff alert and keyed up.

In the editorial department, J. H. Smith, who had been on "The Standard" and was appointed to "The Lyttelton Times" in 1869, proved a very industrious and able writer, who worked hard at all the right subjects for editorial reference, not at those easiest treated. He had a simple, grave style, very readable. There was much importance laid, about 1875, on a series of articles he had written on Proportional Representation - a subject much discussed in the world since,
and tried in various places. During the sessions of the Provincial Council and General Assembly, Smith showed a strong grip of the business, and was an authority in agriculture and municipal matters. His general editing kept the paper on a high level of taste and style. It was a great handicap to him to follow Crosbie Ward in editing the paper, for Ward was not only a master of style and a powerful political writer, but shone in parodies and humorous works of many sorts. Moreover, his experience as a Parliamentarian and a Minister of the Crown gave him many advantages as a political polemic. It was, however, to Smith's credit that during the years of his tenure of office he kept up the high standard of his paper. The Canterbury Times, The Guardian.

During these years, contributions from many solicitors and University Professors in different parts of New Zealand were frequent and many of the leading articles even were written by men who had no active connection with "The Times". Among these was Dr. Foster, a barrister practising in Christchurch, the successor to the famous Austin in the chair of Jurisprudence at University College, London, and at that time first Lecturer in Law at Canterbury College. It was in the late sixties and early seventies that University Institutions were established in New Zealand.

Smith, who died in the last week of 1874, was succeeded by R. A. Loughnan, whose period will be reviewed in the next
chapter.

"The Lyttelton Times" has had on its staff at different times several men whose connection with the paper has lasted many years. John Burrell, whose name still appeared on the books of the Company in 1926, had joined as an apprentice in 1857. J. C. Wilkin, the Company's Manager in the late eighties and until 1907, and a shrewd, widely experienced man, was publisher for many years in the sixties and seventies. Several others of the staff joined as lads before 1875 and remained in the employment of "The Lyttelton Times" until well into the present century.

On May 14th 1863, the first number of "The Star" was published from "The Times" office, whose proprietors now controlled three papers, "The Canterbury Times", "The Lyttelton Times", and "The Star". They felt that the province would support an evening paper which would cater for the public in matters of general interest. It was to advocate no definite political policy, but to view all measures in the light of their benefits to the citizens.

It was found possible in 1870 to reduce the price of "The Times" from threepence to twopence a copy, but whereas it had previously been delivered to subscribers listed in the town, papers were now sold by runners and agents who made their own arrangements with the public.

Until the battle of the Provinces became a live issue, a limited scope was offered newspapers in the political field.
Apologies were frequent in the monthly summaries, for lack of interesting matter. For a few years a general depression in Canterbury and New Zealand was the cause of this. In 1861 the first important discoveries of gold had been made and trade at once increased greatly. But the population increased also, so that a diversion of exports to home consumption was necessary to maintain that population. Greater imports and the restriction of industry due to the allurements of the goldfields resulted in a commercial crisis in the middle and late sixties. The comparative stagnation of industry was reflected in the journalistic field. Christchurch’s three newspapers passed through a quiet period for a time until Vogel’s borrowing policy of 1870 brought a sudden though temporary relief. Local occurrences of sufficient importance for more than casual attention were rare, and little room was left for progressive movements. The formation of the Press Association Telegraph in 1872, whereby all the morning papers of the Dominion were served with news as soon as it came to hand in any one centre was a means of improving their intelligence departments and increasing their field of operation.

During these years the Liberal policy of "The Lyttelton Times" was being developed. A sympathetic and humane view of the rights and requirements of the working classes, a devotion to freedom and the independence of local government were traits of William Reeves which found an outlet in his paper. The attitude of "The Times" towards the native question was
unchanged. Fox and McLean, as Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs respectively received support from Reeves in their policy of peace and reconciliation with the Maoris. Spasmodic outbreaks of war occurred at intervals but it was observed in 1871 that the possibility of another "big" war was very remote.

In educational affairs, Canterbury was divided between the advocates of the denominational and secular systems. When Bowen was editor, "The Lyttelton Times" had supported the denominational system. "What are religious differences if they are not differences in education?" it had asked. That policy was changed with Reeves. The paper maintained that the abandonment of the denominational system would be a distinct gain to the community at large, as removing possible rivalry between sects. "The Times" considered that the Provincial Council Ordinance of 1873 placing education on a purely unsectarian basis was working admirably and was attacked only by a small minority of narrow-minded persons.

An important feature of the policy of the journal was its support of Vogel's public works schemes. His plans for state-controlled railways, and public works, and state-controlled immigration were supported as vigorously in the editorials of "The Lyttelton Times" as had been the progressive policy of Selwyn Moorhouse and the Lyttelton Tunnel. The first difficulties had been surmounted and passed by the time
Loughman became editor in 1875. The railway system was then fairly launched. The following years, progressive for a time, but later on overtaken by a depression, are of great importance in the history of the paper.

But the greatest struggle of the period up to 1875 was that of the abolition of the Provinces. "The Lyttelton Times" was on the side of the Provincialists, and although the cause was a losing one and "The Times" in the minority among the Press of New Zealand, it never ceased to urge delay and to argue that the political liberty of the people was not otherwise sufficiently guaranteed to warrant so drastic a development. The lowered status of the Provincial Institutions of Canterbury due to legislation granting Westland and Timaru local self-government gave rise to discussion on the advisability of abolishing the Provinces, in the Provincial Council of 1869, when a motion in favour of abolition was defeated only by four votes. "The Times", while admitting a need for reform in the Provincial system, would not agree that the time had arrived for its abolition.

In August 1874, Sir Julius Vogel's resolutions for abolition were received with applause from his supporters but with condemnation from the Provincialists. "The Lyttelton Times" argued that Canterbury, the wealthiest province in the Dominion would be a heavy loser by being forced to contribute a large share towards the railway and public works of less
fortunate districts. "The support for Vogel comes from men interested not in reforms, but in the Canterbury land funds". An appeal to the country should be taken before such a radical change should be made. Canterbury members of the House were openly criticised in the paper's columns for not meeting their constituents on their return from the session, and explaining why they had supported Vogel. Three men, Reeves, Rolleston and Montgomery had told their constituents their reasons for opposing him, and had received the approval of the citizens. "The Times" asked why the Abolitionists had not done the same. "We are not and never have been Ultra-Provincialists ..., but no radical change ought to be made in the constitution until the people have been consulted ..."

By 1875 the Provincial system had been developed fully and had suffered many clashes with the central government. Then the Abolition Bill came before the House and for many weeks the editor and many correspondents, some of whom had done good service in the province and helped to make the Provincial record what it was, continued the contest. R. A. Loughman was then editor and reinforced the work which Reeves was doing in the House with a succession of articles and reports on the debate. The Bill was passed eventually in September 1875, but the date on which it should come into force was an issue at the elections of 1876. These resulted in a victory for the Abolitionists, William Reeves losing his
seat to a young opponent of the Provincial system.

The general attitude which "The Lyttelton Times" adopted may be observed from an extract of July 24th 1875. "We have always admitted that Provincial Institutions are not perfect, but we maintain that hitherto they have been admirably adapted to the requirements of the colony, and we shall continue to oppose their abolition until we have before us a thoroughly matured scheme for the establishment of a more perfect set of institutions."

"The Times" failed to see such a system in the proposals of Sir Julius Vogel, and feared that the abolition of the Provinces would be accompanied by undue hardships on the more wealthy provinces, besides introducing a more complicated system of government. That these fears were magnified, experience has shown; but the cautious policy of "The Lyttelton Times" in supporting the continuance of the Provinces, and the long battle which raged in Parliament ensured that the new system was to be as free from difficulties as it was possible to make it.

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CHAPTER VII.

"THE LYTTELTON TIMES COMPANY."

1875 - 1890.

R. A. Loughnan becomes Editor - His previous experience - Fieldwick and Atack, sub-editors - Formation of Company - New buildings - Death of Hamilton - Competition in business - Increase in size and decrease in price - W. P. Reeves as Editor - Features of the period - "The Lyttelton Times" supports Drainage scheme - The fight against the Continuous Ministry - Trade in the Eighties - Elections of 1887 and 1890 - Victory of Liberalism marks new era in history of the journal - "The Lyttelton Times" and the Canterbury Province - Realisations of the early ambitions of the newspaper.

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It was in January 1875 that Robert A. Loughnan was appointed to be Editor of "The Lyttelton Times", a position which he held for over fourteen years, until August of 1889. Reeves, whose keen eye for literary talent has already been mentioned, had observed the vivid style and marked individuality of articles in "The Otago Daily Witness" contributed by Loughnan, and engaged him as Editor although aware that his knowledge of editorial duties was yet to be acquired. Reeves undertook to teach Loughnan as much as possible of his technical training in journalism, and expressed confidence in the new Editor.
"A good colt, sir," he remarked in the first days of Loughnan's appointment, "and I'm backing you to run well."

R. A. Loughnan had been born in Bengal, and educated in France and at Dublin. His earlier years in the colonies were spent in pastoral pursuits on the banks of the Murrumbidgee River, whence he came to New Zealand in 1865. For a time he was manager on a sheep station, and later manager at the meat preserving works at Fairfield. When that industry collapsed he took to journalism, and was musical critic on the "Otago Daily Times" when Reeves noticed his articles and engaged him as Editor of "The Lyttelton Times".

Henry Feldwick, later proprietor of the "Invercargill News" and a member of the Legislative Council, was sub-editor when Loughnan was appointed, but was succeeded in 1876 by W. H. Atack whose active interests in sporting and athletic events made him particularly suitable for that field of journalistic work. Atack had been educated at Christ's College, Christchurch, being a school-mate of W.E. Reeves, son of William Reeves. An English cricket team which toured New Zealand in 1877, and Australian teams of 1878 and 1880, were accompanied by Atack, who reported their matches for a syndicate of his own and other papers. The position of sub-editor was one of considerable responsibility, involving the direction of the course of work of the reporters and writers, and the selection of news of the world from mails and papers which came
to hand. Fouldwick had judgment, experience, directing energy and almost uncanny knowledge of all details of the arts of reporting and printing, and Atack's display of carefully selected and well set out news was evidence of his possession of the "news" faculty in great degree, and his ability to deal with whatever circumstances arose. When after ten years service on "The Times", he went on to the New Zealand Press Association staff, where he subsequently became manager, his loss was severely felt by the paper.

Experience was the sole teacher for journalists in those days. There was no school of journalism, and University institutions were in their infancy; so that initiative and adaptability were great assets to the ambitious journalist. Speeches of politicians and magnates were reported sometimes verbatim, sometimes in summarised reports, and a general impartiality in all subjects was demanded by the newspaper proprietors, and appreciated by the public.

In 1881, the partnership, consisting of Reeves, Hamilton and Pount, was converted into a limited liability company, with a nominal capital of £45,000, in shares of £10 each. William Reeves retained the major interest, and became Managing Director, with J.C. Wilkin as Secretary. The formation of the Company brought into the proprietorship R. A. Loughman, J.C. Wilkin and W. Pember Reeves, who acquired shares.
Plans were prepared in 1882 for a new building in Gloucester Street, with a frontage of 100 feet and a depth of 90 feet to Cathedral Square. Building operations were commenced the next year and the present establishment was opened in 1884, and was a testimony to the progressive policy which Reeves had pursued since his connection with the newspaper. The early minute books of the Company show that dividends were frequent, that wages were now paid regularly and that in the early eighties the profits of the business ranged between £8000 and £9000 a year.

Hamilton, who had been one of the proprietors for twenty-five years, died on December 6th, 1883. Born in Kent, England, he had been educated at Paris, Harrow and Brussels, and had wide experience in different parts of the world. At the time of his death he was a member of the Canterbury College Board of Governors, of the governing body of Christ's College, and a proprietor of "The Lyttelton Times". His interest in the Company was acquired by Reeves and Maude.

Before the company had been formed, the size of "The Lyttelton Times" had been increased. The year 1870 was a successful one in Canterbury. The papers were doing well, and partly because of this, and partly on account of the rivalry between "The Times" and "The Press", the latter dropped its price the next year from twopence to one penny, and "The Times", in response, doubled its size, now being an eight page edition.
When the reaction came, and advertisements fell off, it was found difficult at times to fill the paper, and as W. H. Atack wrote in his reminiscences for the Jubilee number of the journal in 1926, "various dodges were resorted to to fill up the fifty-six columns". Actually, there was scarcely enough business to keep one newspaper healthy, and the city at that time had two morning papers, two evening papers, and two weeklies. Competition was incessant and fierce. The reduction in price to one penny in 1886 was the turning point for "The Lyttelton Times", since the consequent accession of more subscribers placed it in a stable position. Yet even then troubles were not at an end, because advertisements were few and were paid for in general by long-dated bills. Cash was scarcely known, and the earnings of the Company for a period in the late eighties were sufficient to pay only wages and the cost of material. A further crisis occurred when William Reeves died in 1891, and it was left to J.C. Wilkin to weather the commercial storm and establish the prestige and influence of the newspaper as firmly as ever before.

In August 1889, Loughman retired from the Editorship and was succeeded by W. Pember Reeves, who had been Editor of "The Canterbury Times" and a frequent contributor to the daily paper. He had been educated at Christ's College, Christchurch and Canterbury College and studied law, in which however he had little interest. Politics and journalism were his spheres and until
1890 his prose and satirical verse were features of "The Lyttelton Times". In that year he took office as a Minister of the Crown in the Balfour Government, and politics demanded the greater part of his time.

The chief events in the political and municipal world during the fifteen years of Loughman's editorship were the abolition contest, the fight for drainage in Christchurch, and the long struggle with the Continuous Ministry. The abolition contest has been treated already, as it had begun some years before Loughman joined the paper, but a municipal battle followed early.

Christchurch was without drainage and was becoming increasingly unhealthy. A drainage campaign was necessary, which involved the creation by law of one united district for drainage purposes, sweeping aside for the time being the several municipalities of which Christchurch was composed. This was an inroad on municipal liberty which inspired horror in many people, who, "The Lyttelton Times" stated, believed that Nature must in all things be compelled to obey the wishes of the different communities. The proposal to borrow the necessary £200,000 was to many an enormous and unwarranted financial burden. Those amenable to these considerations added to the difficulties, a stubborn disbelief in the hygienic arguments put forward. Engineers who had constructed systems similar to the proposal for Christchurch in different parts of the world, were called in to give advice on the question. The
columns of "The Lyttelton Times" fought hard for the system and engineering experts converted the reporting staff into amateur engineers, who wrote all they knew in support of the scheme which was to mean so much to the city. R.A. Loughman writing in 1926 of those days, says: "To look back on that prolonged, fierce, most healthy fight is an inspiration. No one, by the way, fights like that nowadays."

"The Times" gained a victory on this occasion, and as the work progressed, gave continual reminders of the success of the scheme to those who had opposed it, by references to each new achievement in the establishment of the drainage works.

The next great enterprise was the running fight with the "Continuous Ministry". Sir Harry Atkinson at the head of this ministry was subjected to long and scattering attacks by "The Times", on matters of the Property Tax, Public Works Policy and Land Settlement. Atkinson was faced with years of fluctuations in trade, years of alternating depression and boom, resulting from the extensive public works policy of Vogel, who had encouraged land speculation, with the consequent land boom in 1874-1876. It was because of the subsequent collapse of this boom that New Zealand had to fight the long depression. First the settlers failed, then the mortgagees had to take up the burden, till finally it recoiled on the banks. The moving averages of trade during the eighties show how the evil was met, by retrenchment and increased production. Civil servants
lost ten per cent of their salaries, public works were almost stopped, while exports increased only slowly. Since the heavy burdens were attributed to the borrowings of Vogel and subsequent speculation, the Atkinson ministry was generally supported by the Newspaper Press. "The Lyttelton Times" fought virtually single-handed for Liberalism and was the only large journal in the colony to advocate the Ballance programme at the polls in 1890 and to support the Ballance government when it took office. Sir George Grey's campaign through New Zealand in opposition to Atkinson and the narrow majority of the Liberals after the elections of 1887 were hailed as the reawakening of Liberalism and the birth of wide and altruistic ideals. The desertion of four Liberal members to the opposition, brought back the Continuous Ministry for a time to power and the hostile attention of "The Times".

The sweeping victory of the Liberals in 1890 was however the forerunner of a long period of Liberal Ascendancy during which "The Lyttelton Times" was rewarded for its long years of opposition by an equally long period of political supremacy in New Zealand, and the removal of the barriers preventing the union of Canterbury. That union was effected by the great struggle for the Midland railway which glorified the decade of the eighties with another great victory for the journal.

"The Lyttelton Times" fought in Canterbury for justice to all, for equal opportunities to all, for the protection
of the defenceless, for the good of the many, and it insisted at the same time on the protection of all rights and the compensation of all privileges lawfully acquired. It saw in the new ideas the real elements of national greatness, the basis of individual prosperity, the prevalence of reason, the fostering of the best interests of both Labour and Capital, the rapid development of manufactures side by side with the best utilisation by the people of the country's resources.

"The Times", in short, hoping for the realisation of a noble dream, practically united Canterbury in the belief that the time for realisation had come; and by using the power bequeathed to it by its old traditions, marched at the head of its company a long way towards its goal. In truth, "The Lyttelton Times" had grown up with the country, and the honoured position it occupied at the beginning of the nineties was the legitimate reward of the progressive policy it adopted at the opening of that period, and had vigorously maintained throughout.
CONCLUSION.

We have followed the line of development of "The Lyttelton Times" since its inception in 1851 until, forty years later, it was about to embark on a long period of political supremacy in Canterbury and when it had taken its place as one of the recognised beneficiary factors in the progress of the Province. It has been followed through its function as a non-party journal, when, being the sole organ of public opinion in the province, its duty was to cater for the needs and requirements of every one of its subscribers, and through the change in function which came with the introduction of a definitely opposition newspaper. The break came in 1861, when the establishment of "The Press" relieved the proprietors of "The Lyttelton Times" of the restraint hitherto imposed on them, and furnished the opportunity for the rapid development of the Liberal policy which they have maintained ever since.

The study has shown the steady evolution of a political system whereby the people are possessed of the fullest measure of control and are made the direct sponsors of the government. "The Lyttelton Times" has seen the introduction of the first New Zealand Constitution of 1853; it has seen the development of the Provincial system through the following years, has witnessed the clashes of the Provincial with the General Government, and was prominent in the final struggle resulting in the Abolition of the Provinces in 1875. It has seen the development of railways and
and public works, and has been associated either directly or indirectly with every progressive movement in Canterbury and nearly every one affecting New Zealand as a whole.

Democracy in New Zealand has in the sphere of journalism - and "The Lyttelton Times" may be taken as a worthy example - achieved one of its triumphs in that there appear in prominent journalistic positions, very few men who have worked with evil intent towards the people. Some there may have been who, unconsciously and through the pursuance of mistaken ideals, have retarded the progress of their country, but it is difficult to accuse any one of them with not having had the interests of New Zealand at heart.

As an institution of public service, journalism has exercised an enormous influence for justice and prosperity; and from the time of the humble beginnings of the oldest Canterbury paper there has been a devotion to duty, a spirit of sacrifice and a high regard for the noblest ideals of life which have helped to make New Zealand the home of a free, contented and democratic people.
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Siegfried: Democracy in New Zealand.
APPENDIX.

The only existing source of information concerning the early years is a cash book of Ward and Bowen's time. It contains the details of the sale of "The Lyttelton Times" from Shrimpton to those men. The price was to be £5000 for the copyright, the plant, and lease for 20 years, with a mortgage for five years at 11%.

An inventory on the mortgage form shows what the plant then consisted of (1856):

"Three and a half cases English Pica, small pica, long primer Bourgeois Bremer, Minion and nonpareil type. Ten hundredweight of English Pica, small pica, papered up fonts of two line English Great Primer, four line, five line, ten line, twelve line, sixteen line, and other jobbing and fancy types, and types for borders; six frames with frame racks and case racks with appurtenances; imposing iron with appurtenances; twenty-six jobs in type consisting of Customs House forms, Bill heads, blank acceptances, Government forms, Union Bank forms; and six iron galleys; six imposing sticks, three letter boards. Quantities of 15 cms and other lengths 4 and 6, one case of brass rule, quantity of quotations and justifiers; one royal and one denny printing presses, one galley press, one copper plated, with fittings to each, one standing press, one cutting press with fittings to each, one Roller mould and boiler, with roller stocks and frames."