A Thesis presented for Honours in History

by

1947

10.3.77
PROLOGUE

"The liberty of the Press is the Palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman."

Junius.

"The newspapers! Sir, they are the most villainous - licentious - abominable - infernal - Not that I ever read them - no - I make it a rule never to look into a newspaper."

Sheridan.
"I know not what use there may be in the study of history, if it be not to guide and instruct us in the present."

Disraeli.

In the year 1946 the British National Union of Journalists made a request for an inquiry into the operations of the Press in the United Kingdom. That inquiry is now under way. A similar request was made in the New Zealand Parliament, but so far no inquiry has been instituted.

Why was it necessary to make such a request? Or does a country develop the Press, like the Government, it deserves?

Rudyard Kipling declared that the function of the Press was to act as "king over all the children of pride". More recently Wickham Steed has elaborated the definition. The function of the Press, he declares, is "to chasten the haughty and succour the weak, to scorn the bigot and confound the sceptic, to serve truth without fear, to admonish the people and expose the demagogue, to chide the wayward and embolden the faint-hearted - in a word to provide sound comment upon public life in all its aspects". This, says Steed, should be "the task of the Press and the source of its power".

Has the New Zealand Press lived up to these expectations? Or has it cut itself off from the source of its privileges and its power and become "a branch of trade" rather than an organ of public opinion? Wickham Steed declares that the commercialisation of the Press has proceeded to such a degree that it has become "the central
problem of modern democracy". It is the aim of the present thesis to examine this contention in relation to the development of the Press in New Zealand.
"There is no Humour in my Countrymen, which I am more inclined to wonder at than their general Thirst after News.... The mind is kept in a perpetual Gape after knowledge, and punished with that burning Thirst, which is the Portion of our modern newsmongers and Coffee-House Politicians."

Addison.

The development of the printing-press and of liberty for the individual have gone hand in hand.

So long as literacy was confined to the few and men kept for the most part to their own hamlets, there was little opportunity for intellectual speculation: indeed there was little need for it so long as the paternalistic set-up of feudal society continued to operate reasonably well. In mediaeval times it was assumed that what a man believed and what a man thought was the business of the Church. The temporal power of Princes might sometimes parry the effect of ecclesiastical interference (as John of Gaunt protected Wyclif), but intellectual freedom was the exception and not the rule. The Church enforced obedience by admonition and excommunication, and to these sanctions were added a system of punishments - fines, imprisonment and the stake - meted out by a series of ecclesiastical courts.

The Reformation struck a fatal blow at ecclesiastical control in England, though the desuetude of ecclesiastical courts in their jurisdiction over the laity was not legally recognised until 1876.({1}) The Reformation found a powerful weapon in the newly developed printing-press, even though the Church had always subjected the publication of books to a very strict control. Ecclesiastical censorship survives today only in exhortation and,

({1}) Phillimore v. Machin.
more specifically, in the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum" of the Roman Catholic Church, but even as it now stands the "Index" gives sufficient indication of the powers of suppression that belonged to the Medieaval Church. The latest edition of the "Index", published at the Vatican in 1938, contains a list of some 4,000 works forbidden throughout the world in any translation. In theory no layman may read any of these books without special permission granted only for single books and exclusively in single cases. The list includes such items as Gibbon's "Decline and Fall", Montaigne's "Essays", Richardson's "Pamela", Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris", and the same writer's "Les Misérables". Other writers on the list include Hobbes, La Fontaine, Locke, J.S. Mill, Stendhal, and Voltaire. As regards authorship, no Roman Catholic, priest or layman, may publish, without previous permission, any book on theology, Church history, canon law, ethics, or any other religious or moral subject. In practice, of course, this censorship is now largely inoperative, although as late as 1938 Alfred Noyes was obliged to withdraw and amend his "Voltaire".

While the Reformation was still undermining the authority of the Church, the gap was being filled to some extent by the growing power of temporal princes. Thereafter the furtherance of individual liberty assumed a political character, building on the foundations of liberty already won by religious reformers; for constitutional reformers could more readily enlist the printing-press to their service when the spirit of inquiry that emerged with the Renaissance was no longer fettered by ecclesiastical control.
Constitutional reform was a cause made all the more urgent as the course of the Industrial Revolution proceeded. In upsetting the structure of society, however, the Industrial Revolution also brought the means for its reform: on the one hand the feudal relationship between master and servant was dehumanised and men were forced to endure more irksome physical discomforts; at the same time, the course of discussion, already imbued with an element of scepticism, was promoted by the closer contact of men with one another, by the readier comparisons which greater mobility provided, and by the spread of speculative thought which the Industrial Revolution itself provoked and which it facilitated through the further development of the printing-press.

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News, of course, is as old as men and the letter imparting news is as old as the written word. From such beginnings grew newsletters with a wider purpose than communication between individuals. The earliest equivalent of the modern newspaper were the "Acta Diurna" of the Roman Empire. The "Acta Diurna" began as official announcements read out to public gatherings in the provinces and in the course of time they came to include news of crime, sports, and sensational events as well as official intelligence.

From this arrangement there emerged the colourful town-crier of mediaeval Europe. The crier acted as a servant of the Mayor who received his news by letter from the capital, the intelligence being quite irregular and coming most often in times of
emergency, when men were being called to arms or kinsmen were being told of a battle's progress.

Following the example of Imperial Rome, the circulation of news came to be regarded as the prerogative of the Crown, a claim given greater force by the co-operation between Church and State and by the rise of absolute monarchies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first signs of opposition to this prerogative came from recalcitrant nobles who paid men to inform them of events in the capital by way of newsletters written by hand. As time went on these private newsletters lost much of their conspiratorial character, although Henry VIII in England did all he could to suppress "abuses" in the circulation of news. Throughout his reign and that of Elizabeth, however, the writers of newsletters became more and more active. This was due less to misgovernment or the ambitions of noblemen than to a general spirit of inquiry prompted by the Renaissance, bringing with it a growing political sense and helped in its expression by advances in the art of printing.

It was not till the time of James I that the private publication of foreign news was explicitly permitted, although the printing of Home news was still forbidden. Following on this concession, written news-letters were gradually replaced by printed pamphlets - "Mercuries", "Corantos" and Gazettes". The first regular publication in Europe appeared in Germany in 1609; the first in England - "The Weekly Newes" - in 1622. Ten years later activity in England was checked by an Edict of the Star Chamber which forbade all private publication of foreign news.
It was not till the time of the Civil War, ten years later, that the printing-press was put to any widespread political purpose. The Star Chamber was abolished in 1641 but it was more by accident than design that the Press found itself free for the first time in the chaos of Civil War. There was "dope" enough in the controversies of the time and a host of fiercely partisan journals sprang into being. At the accession of Charles I in 1625 only one regular newspaper existed: by the close of his reign 25 years later, every important feature of British journalism had appeared: news, leading articles, advertisements, even pictures found their way into print. Moreover, the same short period provided the philosophical basis for a free Press in Milton's "Areopagitica" of 1644, a work that still remains the finest defence of unlicensed printing. "Give me," said Milton, "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."(1) It was a discursive age, Milton could not but agree, yet he believed that Truth would emerge from this free discussion, and it was this Truth that men were seeking. "When", he said, "the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, so that it has not only wherewith to guard its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing over her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the

twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." (1)

Most of the Parliamementarian and Royalist "diurnals" were suppressed by Cromwell in 1649 and replaced by official newspapers, one of which was edited by Milton himself. In 1655 Cromwell carried the process a stage further and suppressed all publications except the "Mercurius Politicus" and the "Publick Intelligencer", both conducted by Cromwell's protégé, Nedham.

Under the Restoration, Sir Roger L'Estrange, an old Royalist pamphleteer, was appointed "Surveyor of the Press" (1663). On him was conferred by Royal grant "all the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligences, diurnals and other books of public intelligence...with power to search for and seize the unlicensed and treasonable, schismatical and scandalous books and papers." (2)

Sir Roger L'Estrange himself published "The Observer" under the patronage of the Court. "The Observer" consisted of comment without news. "His diction", said Macaulay, "though coarse and disfigured by a mean and flippant jargon which then passed for wit in the green-room and the tavern, was not without keenness and vigour....the paper....was at this time the oracle of the Tory party, and especially of the parochial clergy." (3)

In 1665 appeared the "Oxford Gazette", an official bi-weekly edited by Muddiman, and beginning while the Court was still at Oxford during the Plague. After the Great Fire in the following year, the journal was transferred to London where it has

(2) Donald: "Newspapers" in Enc. Brit.
appeared ever since as the "London Gazette", the official organ of the Government. Macaulay has described the "Gazette" as it appeared in the closing stages of James II's reign: "The "London Gazette" came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a Royal proclamation, two or three Tory addresses, notices of two or three promotions, an account of a skirmish between Imperial troops and the Janissaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cockfight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog. The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. Sometimes indeed, when the government was disposed to gratify the public curiosity respecting an important transaction, a broadside was put forth giving fuller detail than could be found in the "Gazette", but neither the "Gazette" nor any supplementary broadside printed by authority ever contained any intelligence which it did not suit the purposes of the Court to publish. The most important parliamentary debates, the most important state trials, recorded in our history, were passed over in profound silence! (1)

By 1679 it was lawful for anyone to print a history, a poem, or a sermon - at his own risk. This liberty still did not extend to newspapers and the judges were unanimous in declaring that no man had a right to publish political news unauthorised by the Crown. To "publish any newspaper whatever", said Chief Justice Scroggs in 1680, was not only illegal, but "showed a manifest intent to the breach of the peace." (2).

In London the coffee-houses were the fount of news. From there news passed, by word of mouth, often unreliably no doubt, to the inns and the market places, and some men made a living by picking up the scraps of information to send by letter to provincial subscribers. These newswriters drifted about the

(2) Quoted by Steed: "The Press" p.113.
coffee-houses, the inns and the Old Bailey, and sometimes perhaps they went to the gallery of Whitehall. Such were the sources from which the citizens of the provinces and the greater part of the gentry and the clergy learned almost all they knew of the history of their own time. Except in London and at the two Universities, there was scarcely a printer in the kingdom.

In 1695, seven years after the "bloodless" Revolution, there was still no true newspaper in England. Wellwood, a zealous Whig, had taken over the "Observator" from the Royalist L'Estrange. A bookseller published the "Athenian Mercury", devoted to natural philosophy, casuistry, and gallantry. A fellow of the Royal Society published at intervals a "Collection for the Improvement of Industry and Trade", listing the price of stocks, business projects, and "advertisements of books, quack medicines, chocolate, Spa water, civet cats, surgeons wanting ships, valet wanting masters, and ladies wanting husbands."(1) The "London Gazette" was still as partial and meagre as under the Stuarts and only 8,000 copies were printed, much less than one to each parish in the kingdom.

Then, in 1695, "while the Abbey was hanging with black for the funeral of the Queen(Mary II) the Commons came to a vote, which at the time attracted little attention; which produced no excitement; which has been left unnoticed by voluminous annalists, and of which the history can be but imperfectly traced in the journals of the House, but which has done more for liberty and for civilisation than the Great Charter or the Bill of Rights." (2)

(2) Ibid p.167.
Early in the session a select committee had been appointed to see what temporary statutes should continue. The Committee recommended that all these acts be renewed, and the Commons agreed, except in one case. The question was put to the House concerning each Act in turn. When it came to the "Act for preventing abuses in printing seditions, treasonable, and unlicensed Pamphlets, and for regulating of printing and printing presses," then, as Macaulay writes, "The Speaker pronounced that the Noes had it; and the Ayes did not think fit to divide." (1)

The House of Lords resisted the decision. The Commons demanded a Conference and a staunch Whig delivered to the Lords a paper setting out the reasons which had prompted the Lower House not to renew the Licensing Act. (2) The Act was condemned for reasons that could readily appeal to the mercantile mind: it involved commercial restrictions, petty grievances and jobbery; it enabled the Company of Stationers to extort money from publishers; it empowered officials to search private homes under the authority of general warrants; it confined the foreign book trade to the port of London; it detained valuable packages of books at the Custom House till the pages were mildewed; and the Licensor's fee was unfixed.

The Lords yielded without a contest.

At no stage was there any question of principle involved, except insofar as it was a principle of efficiency in a commercial world, but such considerations were sufficient to achieve what


(2) "The Craftsman", 20th Nov. 1731, says this paper was written by Locke.
Milton's "Areopagitica" had failed to do.

The event passed almost unnoticed. Evelyn and Luttrell did not think it worth mentioning in their diaries. No allusion to it is to be found in the periodical journals.

The Licensing Act expired on 3rd May, 1695. Within a fortnight, "Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign" re-appeared after fourteen years of silence. Ten days later came the "English Courant". Others followed quickly. "At first they were small and mean looking. Even 'The Postboy' and 'The Postman', which seem to have been the best conducted and most prosperous, were wretchedly printed on scraps of dingy paper." (1) None appeared more than twice a week.

It is significant that the infant newspapers were all on the side of William III. Although newspapers were not prohibited by any statute, it was by no means clear whether or not they were legal in terms of the common law. In practice, however, Ministers of the Crown were indulgent so long as journalists continued to be cautious. The King was always mentioned with profound respect. Nothing was ever said about the debates and divisions in either Lords or Commons. Indeed, leading articles seldom appeared except in the "silly season". All the invective was directed against the Jacobites and the French. The effects of virtual emancipation, however, were salutary. Able men were attracted to the trade and newspapers once more began to take their place in society after a lapse of almost half a century. Journals became fresher and were published more frequently than before.

On Wednesday, 11th March, 1702, appeared the first English daily newspaper - the "Daily Courant". It aimed to give "all the material news as soon as every post arrives, and it is confined to half the compass to save the public at least half the impertinences of ordinary newspapers." (1)

Marlborough's victories in Flanders whetted the public appetite for news and when he crushed the French at Ramillies in May, 1706, the "Daily Courant" printed a supplement giving intelligence from "An Express arriv'd this Evening". (2) This piece of enterprise prompted a venture in evening journalism, and two months later the "Evening Post", published at "Six at Night," came into the field. Other evening papers followed. They gave sporting news, the results of horse races and the betting odds.

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The reign of Anne was in many respects the spring-time of British journalism. To this period belong four pre-eminent names: Defoe, Swift, Steele and Addison.

In the early years of the eighteenth century the fierce contests between the Whigs and Tories brought a rapid expansion of political journalism. The most famous periodical was Defoe's "Review" which first appeared on 17th February, 1704. It was a Whig organ that found an opponent in "The Examiner" to which Swift and Prior contributed. Defoe aimed to make the "Review" an organ of moderation, ecclesiastical and political, and of broad commercial interests. His contribution to journalism at this period was his abandonment of the dialogue form and the partisan tone.

(1) Quoted by Steed: "The Press". p.115
(2) Ibid.
He adopted a clear-cut style, cultivated moderation and aimed at accuracy. "The Review" was a model of straightforward prose; in this respect, and in the variety of its contents, it exerted an influence on British journalism out of proportion to its circulation, which was never large. "The Review" was a four-page production appearing tri-weekly and lasting till 11th June, 1713. In that year, after being released from a short term of imprisonment, Defoe began editing a new trade journal - the "Mercator" - for the opposite camp. The "Review" was suffered to die quietly.

Defoe was the earliest and in many respects the greatest of Grub Street hacks; he was the most versatile and the most prolific writer of his day and no journalist until the time of Cobbett appealed to so wide a circle of readers - "to all, in fact, who were able to read". (1) He spoke to the common people and was pilloried in their causes. It is perhaps a pity that it can also be said, "he soon grew sufficiently callous to write, presumably for pay, on all sides of any given subject." (2)

The reign of Anne was a critical and discursive age, providing ample opportunity for a man of culture and society, such as Steele, to guide the arguments of men. Steele began his tri-weekly "Tatler" in 1709. As official gazetteer, he had access to the most trustworthy foreign news; each issue of the "Tatler" contained several essays, each of them dated according to their subject, from some particular coffee-house. In these essays Steele gave expression to "the spirit of humanised puritanism which

(1) Legouis: "A Short History of English Literature" p.209.
existed beneath the babel of the coffee-houses". (1)

Steele found a collaborator in Addison, whose scholarly habits sharpened a natural gift for observation. Addison's style was perfect for the purpose - lucid, colloquial, full of individuality and yet chastened by a careful choice of words. The fall of the Whig ministry in 1710 deprived both writers of lucrative positions, and the "Tatler" itself died on 2nd January, 1711. Two months later (1st March, 1711), however, Steele and Addison issued the first number of "The Spectator" which appeared daily until December of the following year. Each issue was confined to a single theme. It was, in fact, a series of pamphlets dealing with the morals and manners of the time and giving a penetrating picture of middle-class culture and character.

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In the reigns of George I and George II, the influence of the press steadily increased, though periodical writing was far less brilliant than in the preceding period. Even so, the Press could claim such contributors as Fielding, Lyttelton and Chesterfield. Corruption loomed large throughout the period. "Other ministers may have bribed on a larger scale to gain some special object, or in moments of transition, crisis or difficulty. It was left to Walpole to organise corruption as a system, and to make it the normal process of parliamentary government." (2)

During his last decade of office, Walpole paid at least £50,000 to writers in defence of his ministry. (3)

(1) Routh: "Steele and Addison" C.H.E.L. Vol.IX.Ch.II, p.34.
(3) Ibid p.435.
ministerial writer and author of "Cato's Letters", was given the sinecure post of "Commissioner of Wine Licensers".

By 1724 there were three daily and five weekly papers printed in London, as well as ten which appeared three times a week. By the middle of the eighteenth century almost every important provincial town had its local organ. In 1731 a writer in "The Gentleman's Magazine" stated: "Newspapers are of late so multiplied as to render it impossible, unless a man makes it his business, to consult them all.... upon calculating the number of newspapers it is found that (besides divers written accounts) no less than 200 half sheets per month are thrown from the press, only in London, and about as many printed elsewhere in these kingdoms;.... so that they are become the chief channels of amusement and intelligence." (1)

The influence of the newspaper increased with the growth in numbers and circulation. "The people of Great Britain", said Mr. Danvers in 1738, "are governed by a power that was never heard of as a supreme authority in any age or country before.... It is the government of the Press. The stuff which our weekly newspapers are filled with is received with greater reverence than Acts of Parliament, and the sentiments of one of these scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom." (2)

"The Craftsman", set up by Bolingbroke and Pulteney and edited by an obscure writer named Amherst (who devoted twenty years of service to the Tory faction) is said to have reached a circulation of 10,000 during the period and the journal contributed largely to the downfall of Walpole. Magazines such as "The Craftsman" afforded a more certain and rapid remuneration

than books and gave writers a greater scope than newspapers. "The Gentleman's Magazine" appeared in 1731. It was quickly followed by a rival, the "London Magazine", and by 1750 there were eight periodicals of this kind.

In 1760, when George III came to the throne, the stamp and advertisement duties imposed by Anne in 1712 were still operating and George II had imposed an additional tax of 1d. on newspapers and another shilling on advertisements but the demand for newspapers was so great that these impositions do not appear to have seriously checked the growth of journalism. Seven new magazines were published between 1769 and 1777. The number of stamps issued in the United Kingdom increased as follows:-

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Stamps</th>
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<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>7,411,757</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>9,464,790</td>
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<td>1774</td>
<td>12,300,000</td>
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At the beginning of the eighteenth century the newspaper had served little further purpose than to disseminate news and make known the wants of the community. Comment had been reserved for pamphlets or journals appearing weekly, or, in most cases, at longer intervals. Swift, Addison, Steele and Defoe had all contributed to political reviews that were almost entirely occupied with party warfare and which made no attempt to fulfil the functions of a regular newspaper: "Cato's Letters", "The Craftsman" and "The North Briton" (chief organ of the Tory party) were all of the same nature.
These two types of periodical, one giving news and the other comment, were gradually amalgamated during the course of the eighteenth century. Dr. Johnson's "Idler", for instance, was first published in the columns of a newspaper, "The Universal Chronicle", and Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" first appeared in "The Public Ledger".

The widening purview and growing influence of journalism brought the Press into more open conflict with the Law as the eighteenth century advanced, and as writers became more critical of the Government. By 1768 Horace Walpole noticed that newspapers were beginning to print every libel that was sent to them. (1) The legal position of newspapers, which had always been doubtful, now became even more uncertain. The Commons strained the interpretation of their Parliamentary privilege to protect themselves from libel and there was a general tendency to withdraw Press cases, as far as possible, from the cognizance of juries and civil authorities were assisted in this aim by the attitude of the judiciary. Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice from 1756 to 1788, contended that there were two distinct parts to every case of libel: firstly, there was a question of fact, which was for the jury to decide, and, secondly, a question of law, which was altogether for the judges. The question of fact was whether the incriminated person had or had not written or published the alleged libel. The question of law was whether the document was or was not libellous. On this second question (which was the crux of every case of libel), the jury was bound absolutely to follow the discretion of the judge. For fourteen years Mansfield

pronounced this doctrine and at the end of that time he declared that he had always been supported by the unanimous decision of the judges who had sat with him. Moreover, the doctrine laid down by Mansfield was that of a long succession of the most eminent legal men in England: it was certainly the attitude of Holt, for instance, one of the greatest and most constitutional of judges.

The rising tide of popular opinion, however, introduced a challenge to the suppressive character of Mansfield's doctrine and the issue was brought to a head through the publication of the letters of Junius.

The leading article in its modern form cannot be traced back further than the French Revolution. Prior to that time political bias was shown in essays, in scattered comment, in a partial selection of news, and in letters written, for the most part, under assumed names. One such letter appeared in "The Public Advertiser" on 21st January, 1769, under the pseudonym "Junius". This letter reviewed the whole political condition of the country and attacked with great virulence the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Weymouth, Lord Granby, and Lord Mansfield. In succeeding letters the unknown writer assailed the sovereign and his foremost ministers and attacked almost every aspect of administration.

The letters of Junius enjoyed a widespread popularity, being copied into many other newspapers and they were imitated by almost every other public writer of the time. The outburst appeared at a propitious moment: "A misgovernment relieved by
no gleam of success at home or abroad and equally fatal to constitutional liberty and to imperial greatness, had reduced the nation which had lately been the arbiter of Europe to a condition of the most humiliating, the most disgraceful impotence. "The Press and the jury-box", says Lecky, "alone remained for opposition." (1)

Junius was not original or particularly prescient in political affairs but no writer excelled him in virulent invective and studied sarcasm. His importance lay in popularisation, giving arguments their simplest and strongest expression: "...the bloody Barrington, that silken, fawning courtier at St. James's....who wants nothing in his office but ignorance, pertness, and servility...." (2) The King's mother was "the demon of discord" and the Duke of Grafton "degraded below the condition of a man". (3) Junius exaggerated personalities to win his point and in doing so he produced what Lecky calls "a gallery of monsters". (4) His popularity is proof of the exasperated state of public opinion at the time.

The excitement surrounding the letters of Junius culminated in a letter to the King published on 19th December, 1769. This letter was so outspoken as to seem an easy target for prosecution. In the legal proceedings that followed, however, the combined power of the Monarchy, Parliament, and the Judiciary was pitted against the rising tide of public opinion - and lost. The jury-box combined forces with the Press and Woodfall, the printer of "The Public Advertiser", the jury found "guilty of printing and publishing only". Mansfield declared that such a verdict was quite irregular and he ordered a new trial. Meanwhile Miller,

(2) Quoted ibid p.449.
(3) Quoted ibid p.454.
(4) Quoted Ibid p.455.
who had reprinted the letter, was acquitted by another jury despite
the clearest evidence of re-publication, but amid great popular
applause. No attempt was then made to renew the prosecution of
Woodfall and the way was open for Junius to continue his onslaught
of abuse.

Lord Camden was the first great authority who begged
strenuously to differ with Mansfield. The abortive prosecution
of Woodfall showed how untenable Mansfield's view really was, in
face of the growing strength of public opinion. It ultimately
became one of the great objects of the Whig party to amend the
Law of Libel, and men such as Burke and Fox pushed the ideas of
Camden, Wilkes and Junius through constitutional channels and
solidified them in Fox's Libel Act of 1792. Henceforward it was
left for the jury to decide the intention and the nature of
published matter, although the judge still retained certain ill-
defined powers of directing the jury in its findings. The Libel
Act was an important means of bringing Parliament into closer
relation with public opinion and the popular will. It eased
the way for critics by regularising the legal position of news-
papers, but it also attracted a better class of men to the service
of the Press and led to a shrewder but more responsible type of
comment.

This development was further enhanced by the virtual
establishment of the right to report the proceedings of Parliament.
Although some reports had appeared prior to the accession of George
III in 1760, they were in fact quite contrary to a standing order
of the House. The accounts of Parliamentary proceedings that did appear were inaccurate and very partial, besides being splashed with surreptitious dashes and asterisks in the place of names. During the reign of George III the reports began to appear more openly. At the same time the irritation of the country was such that it would have been inexpedient to have tampered lightly with yet another of those liberties which constitutional reformers were flaunting in the face of the monarch. Wilkes was to prove how inexpedient it was to try and suppress such liberties, even though George III had resolved to be king in fact as well as in name.

As the reputation of the Government declined, the accounts of Parliamentary proceedings became more audacious, with names no longer disguised or reports confined to the recess of Parliament. The legality of Parliamentary reporting was at length (1771) queried in the House and the extent of the controversy which ensued can be measured by the fact that the debate was protracted till past four in the morning, the House being compelled to divide 23 times. Then came a brisk struggle between the House and the City. The Speaker ordered the arrest of several printers who had published parliamentary debates, but the warrant was defeated by invoking against it the exclusive jurisdiction of the City within its own limits. "That Devil Wilkes", as the King called him, was at that time Lord Mayor of London. "The Society for the Support of the Bill of Rights" voted each printer £100 and Wilkes's carriage was drawn again and again through the streets by an enthusiastic mob. The Commons replied by committing Wilkes to
the Tower for six weeks, "but his residence there was one continued triumph". (1) Three times the Commons summoned Wilkes to appear at the Bar of the House but each time he steadfastly refused to answer. Meanwhile the printers remained at liberty.

From this time forward reports of proceedings in the House of Commons were tacitly permitted. In the Lords, the prohibition remained a little longer but the example of the Commons was soon silently followed. The nation was thus enabled to study and to judge the proceedings of its representatives, while Fox's Libel Act of 1792 facilitated the presentation of that judgment.

No two men contributed more to the growth of a free Press in Great Britain than Wilkes and "Junius", and it was the Press which they helped to free that gave new strength and steadier purpose to the popular movement for reform.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Press had secured a large measure of independence, through the activity of agitators such as Wilkes and "Junius", of judges such as Camden, and of Members of Parliament such as Burke and Fox. The development of advertising as a concomitant of the Industrial Revolution added further to the independent status of the Press. This emancipation, however, was only in its early stages and its powers were tentative. Napoleon was following fast on the flood-tide of Revolution in France and the contingencies of the time might at any moment have been used to justify repressive measures; newspapers were still confined to a fairly small group of readers; corruption was still rife and the name "Journalist" still smacked of chicanery and political management.

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On New Year's Day, 1785, appeared the first number of "The Daily Universal Register". The new paper excited little attention: papers were starting up and dying every month, coming in on the new wave of democratic thought. Two years later the newcomer changed its title to "The Times".

"The Times" was founded by John Walter I, a man of great business efficiency who was not above receiving £300 a year to ensure that the efficiency of his paper was adapted to suit the purposes of the Government and who also did a little blackmailing on the side - by way of changing fees for the suppression of libels. Not till 1803, when John Walter II took over from his father, did "The Times" show signs of responsibility.

In 1808 came "The Examiner", issued by a group of young Liberals under the leadership of Leigh Hunt and his brother John. "The Examiner" was the most outspoken paper of its day and contained some of the best literary and dramatic criticism. One of Leigh Hunt's contributors was Thomas Barnes, who joined the staff of "The Times" in 1809 and became editor eight years later.

Barnes was the first genuinely responsible and independent editor in British journalism. Virile, plainspoken, scholarly and fastidious, Barnes so dominated the newspaper world that the course of English journalism in the early nineteenth century must largely be followed in the paper which he edited. His task had been greatly eased by the business ability of John Walter I and his son. The installation of steam-power in 1814 placed "The Times" a long way ahead of its rivals on the mechanical side.
Until that time the Press had remained a handicraft undertaking. The innovation of steam made mass production possible: it reduced costs and brought a tremendous speeding up of the whole process of printing and disseminating news. The event has been described by Charles and Mary Beard in their "Rise of American Civilisation" as of greater importance than the surrender of Napoleon in the following year. (1)

While retaining strict anonymity, Barnes co-operated with the Duke of Wellington to secure Catholic emancipation; he played an important part in securing the passage of the great Reform Bill in 1832; he gave decisive support to Peel in 1834; he helped in the preparation of the Tamworth Manifesto and in launching the new Conservative Party. "This lover of liberty and justice, whose Bohemian habits never compromised his high principles, not only gained recognition for the new profession of journalism but brought that 'Awful Monosyllable', "The Times", to a height of power that it has never reached again." (2)

Here is the philosophy of Barnes the journalist: "John Bull, whose understanding is rather sluggish - I speak of the majority of readers - requires a strong stimulus. He swallows his beef and cannot digest it without a dram; he dozes composedly over his prejudices which his conceit calls opinions, and you must fire ten-pounders at his closely compacted intellect before you can make it apprehend your meaning or care one farthing for your efforts." (3)

William Cobbett is perhaps the only other journalist of the time who can stand comparison with Barnes. Cobbett's influence was immense. In 1816 he reduced the price of his "Weekly Political Register" from 1/0½d. to 2d. The effect was "prodigious", (4)

(1) Quoted Enc. Social Sciences Vol. XII p.328.
(2) Hudson: "British Journalists and Newspapers" p.31.
(3) Ibid pp.31-2.
putting a journal within the reach of the lower classes for the first time. Cobbett was a man of the people. His vigorous style "drew the attention of the upper and commanded the enthusiasm of the lower classes". (1) He was in himself, says Hazlitt, a Fourth Estate. He was also wildly extravagant and inconsistent, and he lacked all-round journalistic ability. His news-getting resources, for instance, could not be compared with those of "The Times".

* * * * *

The Victorian age was infused with a commercial outlook. It was an age of hard work: respectability itself is not easy. It was an age of God, of middle-class sensibility, and of little children in the mines and factories. There was progress, it is true, in social services, in forms of government and in religious toleration; but the process was slow and the fight hard. It was a critical and discursive age that thrust aside the metaphysics of the Romantic period that preceded it, but the writers were too flurried by passing events to perceive the temper of their time and wholly express it: Dickens, Thackeray, Carlyle, Tennyson - "these giants seem to frustrate themselves: with all the potentialities of greatness they refuse to be great". (2)

There was too much to do to think too profoundly. Mr. Squeers summed up much of the Victorian outlook when he instructed the young Nicholas Nickleby: "C-l-e-a-n, verb, active, to make bright, to scour. W-i-n, win, d-e-r, der, winder, a casement.

(2) Sewell: "1840 and After" p.186.
When the boy knows this out of the book he goes and does it." (1)

"The reason-intoxicated Radical of the nineteenth century had all the fervour of the God-intoxicated Puritan of the seven­teenth," (2) but in general the Revolutionary spirit had mellowed; it had become steadier and more humane. It was an age, still, of courage and confidence. There was a boyish certainty, for instance, that the ever-growing Press would provide light to spread in darkness:

"The Press, all lands shall sing,  
The Press, The Press we bring,  
All lands to bless.  
Oh pallid want, oh, labour stark,  
Behold we bring the second Ark!  
The Press! The Press! The Press!" (3)

The Reform movement and the struggle for the freedom of the Press were, in fact, two aspects of a single movement to secure the development of the Constitution in accordance with the desires of the people. In 1832 the first great Reform Bill became law, and its enactment set limits to a belief in a static Constitution. For the future, what might be changed might be freely criticised.

Under the impetus of the popular movement for reform, the shackles on journalistic enterprise gradually disappeared. In 1825 restrictions on the size of newspapers were removed. In 1833 the tax on advertisements was reduced. Three years later the stamp tax was lowered to a penny.

The advances of the Press were closely bound up with technological progress on the one hand and with the spread of democratic thought on the other. It was not without reason that the British Press was proclaimed "the new ark", while it continued

(1) Dickens: "Nicholas Nickleby Ch.VIII.  
(2) Sewell: "1840 and After" p.12.  
(3) Quoted by Milner: "The Threshold of the Victorian Age"
to serve Liberal causes and while its power in this direction was so keenly felt that when the first number of "The Saturday Review" was published in 1855, announcing the paper's intention to undermine the influence of "The Times", the editor remarked: "No apology is needed for assuming that this country is ruled by "The Times". We all know it...." (1)

Across the Atlantic, parts of the pattern of the modern newspaper were being laid. In America the Press enjoyed greater freedom to develop, being unencumbered by a stamp-tax such as that which remained in force in Great Britain until 1855. In America, too, the growth of the Press was closely bound up with the spread of democratic thought. Jefferson could declare: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." (2) Nor can Jefferson be blamed for failing to foresee that economic control could be as effective as governmental. Men such as Jefferson, Barnes, and Cobbett were right in looking upon the printing-press as a symbol of human progress and emancipation insofar as the Press gave vent to the popular will - in accordance with which democratic institutions changed continuously as the needs of men developed.

Such was the tradition which the Press of the second British Empire inherited.

(2) Quoted ibid p.326.
II. SMALL BEGINNINGS

The Press in the Period of the Crown Colony

"...The office of a journal is to bind together by the ties of a common interest the various elements of a society; to awaken when supine, and to maintain when active, the habit of working in common for a common end; to remind men of what, as good citizens, they owe to the community - to remind them that, in the conduct of public business, they are bound to combine their influence, so that each may join his strength to the strength of all; jealously to watch for the earliest indications of apathy respecting the common good; to appeal to the nobler sympathies of men against the influence of selfish interests, to persuade them to the highest tone of sentiment; to encourage, awaken and defend all tendencies to improvement and to good; to censure boldly and inflexibly every neglect or violation of honour, justice and public faith; to impress upon our colonists that success depends on the energy with which we strive to render industry most productive and capital most abundant; to uphold the necessity for local government and national representation; to assert the independence, to maintain the character, and to spread the influence of the press; to aid in the progression of society and to be in charity with all. These are the legitimate functions of the press in a free country, but most in a community like this." (1)

At the turn of the nineteenth century the Church Missionary Society in Britain appointed the Reverend Samuel Marsden as senior chaplain to the Port Jackson settlement in Australia and it was here that Mr. Marsden first met natives from New Zealand. Marsden was full of Christian zeal and he nursed an ambition to spread God's word among a people for whom Captain Cook had had the highest respect and who were now coming into contact with the most adventurous but scarcely the best representatives of European

civilisation. On a visit to London in 1808, Marsden persuaded his organisation to set up a mission in New Zealand. The burning of the "Boyd" at Whangaroa in the following year, however, so lowered general regard for the Maori people that Marsden's scheme was delayed and it was not until 1813 that Thomas Kendall was engaged by the Church Missionary Society to act as catechist and teacher at the new Mission. Kendall paid a preliminary visit to New Zealand and then returned to Port Jackson. He sailed with Marsden in 1814, the party of 35 including two convicts on leave and eight Maoris. Marsden was also a practical man: he took with him three horses, three head of cattle, some sheep, turkeys, geese and other poultry. The party arrived at the Bay of Islands three days before Christmas.

Kendall set about learning the Maori language and capturing a new and unusual speech in the art of writing and printing. Before twelve months had passed, he had produced a book of 54 pages, the first work to be devoted wholly to the Maori Language. "There are undoubtedly many defects in it, "Kendall wrote to Marsden, "but it is good to make a beginning." (1)

"His estimate was correct," said Bishop Williams. "The Maori used would hardly be recognised as such; but it was a beginning." (2)

Kendall himself confessed the need for experienced

(2) Williams: "Bibliography of Printed Maori" p.7
assistance, and when he left for London in March, 1820, he took with him two Maori chiefs, the famous Hongi and his cousin Waikato. The party reached London in August and spent two months of their stay at Cambridge University. Here they furnished Professor Lee, Arabic scholar and linguist, with the material for a "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand," published by the Church Missionary Society at the end of the year.

Lee's "Grammar" eased the work of the Mission and paved the way for the first book printed in New Zealand. This was a "Catechism" in Maori produced by the Rev. W. Yate at Kerikeri in August, 1830 - a tiny brochure of six pages, the first two being unnumbered and blank. (1)

When the Church Missionary Society mission had been established in New Zealand for 19 years, the Society decided to send out a printing-press and at the end of 1833 William Colenso was engaged to take the dual role of printer and missionary. Colenso left for New Zealand in June, 1834, but not till 3rd January, 1835, were the printing-press and the heavy boxes of type landed from a vessel lying at anchor in the Bay of Islands. Two Maori canoes were lashed together and a platform built across them and by working in the early morning before the land breeze blew, Colenso and his helpers got the printing-press ashore. Many necessary articles, including printing paper, were missing. Everyone was anxious to see something printed so the missionaries supplied some writing paper for the purpose. It was decided

(1) Only two copies now extant; of Anderson: "Early Printing in N.Z." in "A History of Printing in N.Z." p.2
that the publication should be a portion of the New Testament and, as it had to be short, Colenso chose the "Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians," which the Rev. William Williams had recently translated into Maori. On 17th February, with the help of many make-shifts, Colenso pulled proofs of what he thought was the first but which was really the second book printed in New Zealand. The printing office at Paihia was filled with spectators to witness the performance. "One is reminded," says Johannes Anderson, "of the pulling of the first sheet of the Guttenberg Bible, so similar were many of the surrounding circumstances." On the 21st of the month, 25 corrected copies were printed, stitched and trimmed for the missionaries, the womenfolk of the settlement having furnished a few sheets of pink blotting-paper to make covers.

Two thousand copies of this booklet were ultimately printed, after supplies of paper had been found at the large central Mission store at the Kerikeri station. The supply of paper was also sufficient to print 1,000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, running to 67 pages, during 1835.

On 23rd June, 1836, Colenso began printing the "New Testament" in Maori. He later engaged three Maori chiefs to act as pressmen at three shillings a week. "But

"while at first they were willing to learn, and to work, in their way, they caused so much trouble and anxiety, as well as loss, besides their getting to dislike the work as being wholly unsuitable to their habits, from there being so much standing still, that he was obliged to let them go and do without them." (1)

Three younger Maoris were employed later, but they did not

stay long. In November Colenso fell in with two Americans on board a whaler and as the men wished to leave their ship, Colenso engaged them at five shillings a week. They left nine weeks later. In February, 1837, he engaged two other Americans. One left in July but the other remained until the "New Testament" was completed in December, 1837. The finished volume, running to 356 pages, was then sent to England to be bound. (1)

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The founder of the newspaper press in New Zealand was a true contemporary of Barnes and Cobbett. Born in England in 1808, Samuel Revans had been attached to the printing trade before sailing for Canada in 1833. In Canada he collaborated with Chapman in issuing the first daily journal in North America, "The Monthly Advertiser." Revans entered wholeheartedly into political affairs — so wholeheartedly, in fact, that he was ultimately denounced as a rebel and he escaped to England with a price on his head. (2) Back once more in London Revans came into contact with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who secured an appointment for Revans as Secretary of the Executive Committee of the New Zealand Company, appointed to control the inception of the new settlement at Port Nicholson. Wakefield also entrusted to Revans the management of the printing-press which had been bought for the new settlement. With this press Revans began the first New Zealand newspaper, "The New Zealand Gazette," in

(1) Some copies were probably distributed without being bound in England cf. Reeves: "The Long White Cloud" p.104
1839. The first number was published in London, in two editions, the first on 21st August, the second on 6th September. This issue, which cost 9d., advertised books relating to New Zealand and the supposed needs of intending settlers; it contained a history of the New Zealand Company and outlined its aims; it dealt with the rules and conditions of emigration, particulars about Government and land in New Zealand; and it gave a short history and description of the country.

Perhaps the most interesting item in the first issue of "The Gazette," was a letter from a labouring man in New Zealand to his former employer in England. The letter began:

"New Zealand, December 15th, 1838.

"Sir,

I have taken the opportunity of sending the letter by the Coromandel loading with timber here but expect it will be March before she sails. Sir, we hope, please God to find you in good health as it leaves us perfectly well. Sir, we are in a beautiful climate, which agrees uncommonly well, more like England than Sydney, little warmer, black soil, clay underneath, much before Sydney to my thinking, you may see in the natives. The natives here are strong-looking people, brown coloured and the natives at Sydney are black, thin, bagged people...."

Copies of the first number, together with the type and printing-plant for producing "The Gazette" in New Zealand, were brought out by Revans on the immigrant ship "Adelaide." The second number of the paper was printed on 18th April, 1840, in a little raupo hut on the banks of the Hutt River, where the forgotten township of Britannia once anticipated a brilliant future. "The
Gazette" (to which was appended in the twentieth number the further title of "and Britannia Spectator") was a four-page demi-folio weekly, costing a shilling a copy and bearing the imprint of Edward Roe.

This second number of "The Gazette" contained nearly two pages of advertisements (by people who "beg to intimate" or "inform" or "announce"), a list of current prices, police news, accidents, shipping, social news - including the account of a dinner that was "one of the worst ever set on a table, with wine to match, but the enthusiasm of the company needed no artificial excitement" - Captain Hobson's proclamation of his Lieutenant-Governorship, and an Address by the Executive Committee of the New Zealand Company together with a provisional constitution drawn up by the Committee for the benefit of the new settlement.

The next two numbers tell the story of a Captain Pearson who had been arrested for some breach of the provisional Constitution but who refused to recognise the legality of the Court. With the aid of friends, Pearson escaped from the "watch-house."

One early advertisement bore the tag: "Apply Samuel McDonnell, Last tent, west end of the beach, 8th April, 1840."

Later came an appeal for volunteers "to form an exploring party to endeavour to visit the sources of the Hutt River, the party to consist of 24 persons to proceed in four boats, punts, or canoes; each person to bear his own expense....."

In the editorial of the fourth issue can be seen the beginning of friction with the Government in the North. Governor Hobson had never even visited the Port Nicholson settlement, let alone
thought of it as a possible site when planning to change his seat of Government. "The colonists of Port Nicholson would be pleased and willing to receive his Excellency among them," said "The Gazette," "provided he would recognise their rights, which he is bound most sacredly to respect and which could only be infringed in defiance of all justice, under the feeling that the people here have not the power to resist oppression."

In the same issue there is talk of raising funds to make a trip overland to the Bay of Islands. In the fifth issue appears the first instalment of an account of Jerningham Wakefield's journey on foot to Taranaki. The editorial gives a summary of trade and shipping in 1839 and in this number and the next "The Gazette" bolsters up hope about the ultimate prosperity of the settlement.

In November, 1840, the site and name of the settlement were changed to Wellington and the paper then appeared as "The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator." From October, 1841, the paper appeared alternatively as a bi-weekly and weekly.

The Wakefield system of colonisation had no more constant and able exponent than "The Gazette." At first moderate in tone, however, the "Gazette" became a very strong supporter of the New Zealand Company in its dealings with the Government in the North. On January 30th, 1841, Captain Hobson is warned of possible penalties for his recent conduct: recall is mentioned and the "sighing room" where he will be "civilly mocked at by Mr. Stephens." The policy of "The Gazette" was popular enough until hard times fell upon the little settlement and a scapegoat was then found in the New Zealand
Company. "The Gazette" was suddenly faced with a fierce rival in "The New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser," a bi-weekly sold at half the cost of "The Gazette." The struggle was too much for "The Gazette" and it closed with its 363rd number on the 25th September, 1844.

The "Gazette" printing-press was of the old Columbia type, capable of printing two or three hundred copies an hour. From "The Gazette" office it passed into the service of one or two subsequent papers, then, finding its way to Masterton, printed the local journal there until it and the whole plant were destroyed by fire. An old pressman secured the remains and these were exhibited as an interesting curiosity in the New Zealand Exhibition of 1889-1890.

Only two complete files of "The Gazette" exist — one in the General Assembly Library in Wellington, the other in the British Museum.

Hocken has left an impression of Samuel Revans ("the father of the New Zealand Press") as he appeared in the days of the Otago gold-rush in the early 'sixties. "He was of rough exterior," says Hocken,

"careless in dress and wore a conspicuously large panama hat. His eyes were dark, penetrating and deeply set, surmounted by thick, bushy eyebrows. His manner was restless, and his speech, though intelligent, often coarse. Some of these adjectives will apply as qualities of his leaders." (3)

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(1) Andersén: "Early Printing in N.Z." p.13
"The New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser," which had ousted "The Gazette" from the field, was published twice a week at 6d a copy, and charged 3/- for an advertisement of six lines or less. It was established by (Sir) Richard Hanson, who later became Crown Prosecutor. The increasing depression, together with the great fire which destroyed 57 houses in November, 1842, contributed to the death of "The Colonist" after only a year's existence. Its editorials were well written and free from the rough language so often featured in "The Gazette."

The direct successor of "The Gazette" was "The New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian," conducted by a committee of leading settlers, among them Petre, Clifford, and Lyon. Robert Stokes, a surveyor, was chosen as editor. "The Spectator" appeared once a week, and the price, as with "The Gazette," was 1/- a copy or £2 per annum. An active canvas resulted in 130 annual subscribers, and with the scanty income so derived, supplemented by advertisements at 3d a line, "The Spectator" began its chequered career on 12th October, 1844. Barely had six months elapsed before a scandalous advertisement appeared in its columns, followed in the next issued by an equally scandalous rejoinder. These were inserted by the printers, without the knowledge of the committee who promptly removed the printing elsewhere. The printers retaliated by issuing "The Wellington Independent" (2nd April 1845), at half the price of the "Spectator," published twice as often, and charging much cheaper rates for advertisements. "The Spectator" preserved a stony silence towards its rival but prepared a very effective means of ending it.
This was by buying the whole of "The Independent's" printing-plant over the heads of the unsuspecting printers, who rented it and felt secure that their plant was unmarketable. But suddenly and secretly it was purchased and, on the 9th August, four months after the venture began, the paper was suspended. The resolute printers appealed for a public subscription, bought a plant in Sydney and, in less than four months, jubilantly brought out the next issue. From this time onwards the two papers ran side by side as steady rivals for more than 20 years, until, by a curious irony of fate, "The Independent" swallowed up its aristocratic opponent (5th August, 1865). "The Independent" flourished nine years longer, issuing a six-page paper three times a week at 3d a copy. Then, on 30th April, 1874, it, in turn, was incorporated by "The New Zealand Times," which put forth its first issue the following day.

Many distinguished men were connected with "The Spectator" and "The Independent." Alfred Dommett wrote for the former and the latter claimed Featherston, Fitzherbert, Dr. Evans, (Sir) William Fox and Edward Jerningham Wakefield as contributors. It is not surprising, therefore, that both papers were preoccupied with political affairs. One occasion "The Independent" devoted 16 columns to a meeting addressed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield at the Hutt, and everything else was frankly crowded out. In its early days "The Independent" was a bold opponent of the New Zealand Company and its land purchasers; later it took up the cudgels for responsible government, being a bitter adversary of Governor Grey and his methods. Both papers struck without pity — ".... the underhand manoeuvres, the fobbing, the dodges
of the shallow, unscrupulous and corrupt politicians...." (their names were given) and ".... some minister who wastes the time of the Legislature by spitting out his individual spite and animosity against somebody who has offended his immediate self esteem." (1)

This was the hey-day of journalese. There was a ball in 1853 where ".... before then the fair and lovely devotees of Terpsichore were tripping the light fantastic toe" and the company did not leave until "bright Sol had beamed his morning rays." (2)

They were difficult days for the printer, too. Materials were often scarce and sometimes unobtainable. On one occasion, for instance, "The Spectator" was obliged to appear on red blotting paper for several weeks running. The substitute, says Johannes Andersen, took the ink "uncommonly well." (3)

* * * *

When, in February, 1840, British Government was established in New Zealand, Government notices and official publications were printed by Colenso at the Mission press.

Then, on 15th June 1840, "The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette" commenced publication at Korarareka. This was the second newspaper in New Zealand, and the first in the North. It was edited by the Rev. B. Quaife, a Congregationalist missionary "and a gentleman who, in addition to his editorial functions, combined those of preacher and instructor of the young." (4)

(1) Quoted by Mulgan: "The City of the Strait" p.201
(2) Ibid
Mr. Quaife held a lofty conception of his newspaper enterprise. "Our views are comprehensive; we wish to do good, so far as our power extends, to the whole community," declared the first editorial of "The Advertiser." The sub-leader was written in much the same vein: "The period has at length arrived when New Zealand, the antipodes of the civilised world, is to take its share of the attention of the nations of Europe, and occupy a prominent part in their considerations."

The paper was printed on Crown land right next the seat of Government: and Authority, in those days, was apt to be autocratic. Mild by the standards of "The Gazette" in the South, and pre-eminently respectable, "The Advertiser" was yet not long in falling foul of the Government. The burning question of the hour arose from the need to decide claims for land. Difficulties arose when the Government refused to recognise the validity of any purchase of land from the natives until an official inquiry had been made and a Government grant issued - and this was a tedious and expensive process. In the South, land grievances could be aired quite openly and the Government's land policy attacked with the utmost vigour and acerbity since no one was at hand to suppress seditious writing. In the North, the subject had to be approached with great circumspection, for there the Government was close by - right next door, in fact, to the man whose function it was to criticise. "The Advertiser" was in a predicament: its subscribers were either men accustomed to all the advantages of responsible Government and free institutions, which they had just left,
or they were adventurers, many of them having escaped from the despotism of New South Wales, who were now irritated to discover authority interfering in their affairs — the more irritated, no doubt, because those affairs were dubious.

Mr. Quaife could not avoid the question of land claims for long, especially when other matters, such as police, post-office and other branches of administration, were hopelessly mismanaged. "So, like the proverbial moth, he circled nearer and nearer to his doom." (1) Official notices had been advertised in the columns of "The Advertiser" from its inception, but towards the end of the year (1840) Quaife refused to accept these advertisements. Hobson was then forced to issue a "Gazette Extraordinary" (appearing first on 30th December, 1840) and he once again found a printer in Colenso at the Mission press. Then, in the twenty-seventh number of "The Advertiser" (10th December, 1840) Quaife ventured to suggest certain moderate reforms in the administration. This was too much for the Government. Mr. Quaife was peremptorily directed to appear before Mr. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, and threatened with all the pains and penalties of an old New South Wales Act dealing with the printing and publishing of seditious newspapers. "The Advertiser" was then suspended and, although a public meeting of settlers promptly resolved to send a deputation to intercede with Governor Hobson on Mr. Quaife's behalf, the paper was never to reappear.

The Government then proceeded to publish its own special "Gazette," which was issued free. It appeared weekly and, to complete reprisals, opened its columns to public and private advertisements which were printed side by side with official advertisements and notices. This was the forerunner of the present staid and solid "New Zealand Gazette" now issued once a week in Wellington.

Dr. Hocken thinks that Quaife was actually engaged by Hobson as printer for the official "Gazette." (1) If this is so (and it seems doubtful), it did not prevent Mr. Quaife from starting another paper, "The Bay of Islands Observer," in February, 1842. "The Observer" launched a violent attack on the Government but the Government was again too strong. Quaife was obliged to publish his humble apology and "The Observer" passed out of existence.

More than a year now elapsed before another paper appeared in the Bay of Islands settlement. Then, on 4th November, 1843, came "The Bay of Islands Advocate" which lasted only three months, dying in February, 1844. This closes the list of early papers in the Bay of Islands. With the exception of the official Gazette, there were four papers in all, lasting, on an average, only for ten months.

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The scene now shifts to Auckland, the place which Hobson proclaimed the new seat of Government in September, 1840. At this time the Auckland settlement was hemmed on the seaboard by mudflats and "Queen Street" was no more than a gully dotted with ti-trees. In Auckland the first newspaper was "The New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette," born on 10th July, 1841. It consisted of four small pages, issued weekly and costing the usual price for those days in New Zealand — one shilling a copy, the circulation being limited to 250 copies. The paper had a brief but stormy career. The first editor was Charles Terry, who was succeeded by William Corbett. Then came a fiery Highlander, Dr. Samuel McDonald Martin, who wrote such trenchant articles that the paper quickly fell foul of the Government. "Dr. Martin wrote with an iron pen and laid about him with such flail-like agility that before two months had elapsed he was treated with two or three actions for libel." (1) On 2nd April, 1842, the printing-plant of the company, together with the copyright of the paper, was sold by the proprietors to the Government for £1,700.

Only a week passed before the printing-press was put to use, in the Government's cause, to produce "The Auckland Star." This was edited by William Swainson, who had come to New Zealand to fill the position of Attorney-General. "The Auckland Star" lasted only four months.

A short life and a merry one was the keynote for most of the early papers in New Zealand. On 8th November, 1841, came

"The Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist" but after a month's run it was suspended. It was revived in November of the following year, but was once more suspended for two months in July, 1843. It then reappeared and survived until 1845.

The merriest career of all belonged to "The Auckland Times." Towards the end of the year 1842, Henry Falwasser, formerly a storekeeper and merchant in Sydney, and a man of many parts and several occupations, decided to start a newspaper in Auckland. He arranged with the Government Printer (John Moore—who had printed "The Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Gazette") to print the new paper with the plant which had been acquired from "The New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette." On 5th September, 1842, "The Auckland Times" made its début.

"Whether any suspicion arose as to Mr. Falwasser's ability to pay for the printing," says Dr. Hocken, "or as to the doubtful odour of his articles, it is certain that Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, then acting Governor, speedily stepped in and stopped the paper somewhere about the tenth number." (1)

Mr. Falwasser, however, was a man of ingenuity and resource. From here and there he collected a motley assortment of old type (such as that mostly used for printing billheads and rough jobs) and, with the aid of a mangle and rough paper, went on producing his paper under the triumphant imprint: "Auckland. Printed (in a mangle) and published by Henry Falwasser, sole editor and proprietor."

The motto of the paper was changed from "veluti in speculum" (It's in a mirror) to "Tempora mutantur—nos non mutamur in illis" (The

times change, but we do not change with them).

The compression of the mangle varied; sometimes it was so violent as to drive the ink right through the paper and the letterpress could be read there by looking-glass reversal; sometimes the lettering was so faint as to be hardly legible. Words were printed with letters of various types and small capitals, italics and old English met incongruously in the same word. "If," says Hocken, the production was "not a confusion of tongues, it was certainly a confusion of letters." (1)

The tone of the paper was in full accord with such a resourceful "Sole Editor and Proprietor" and it seems that only the amusement which it occasioned saved the paper from prosecution. The early numbers were issued free. Gradually its appearance improved, with the occasional addition of a little more type, better paper, and the better handling of the mangle, until, in its 42nd number, on 13th April, 1843, it said farewell in quite presentable form. On November 7th of the same year it reappeared in legitimate form, printed with type lately arrived from Sydney. It continued in its hearty and independent style until 17th January, 1846, when its 159th number was issued. A week later Henry Falwasser died and the journal ceased. With all its vicissitudes, "The Auckland Times" almost equalled in duration the united age of its predecessors in the North; and Henry Falwasser himself was a true contemporary of Revans and of Barnes and Cobbett.

* * * *

In the mid-forties came two newspapers which showed signs of greater stability — "The Southern Cross" which lasted for 20 years, and "The New Zealander" which lasted for 21 years.

The promoter and first editor of "The Southern Cross" was Dr. Martin, who had been associated with the first paper printed in Auckland, "The Herald." That paper had closed its existence much against Dr. Martin's will. He was, indeed, so indignant with what he considered to be the weak-kneed attitude of the proprietors that he brought an action against them for breach of his engagement as their editor. He won the case and was awarded £640. He further relieved his wounded feelings by writing a little pamphlet addressed to Lord Stanley (then the principal Secretary for the Colonies), entitled "New Zealand in 1842; or the Effects of a bad Government on a good country." This was probably the first pamphlet to be written in New Zealand. Martin's next step was to start "The Southern Cross." He was so vigorous a man, however, and the Government so sensitive, that it seems unlikely that "The Southern Cross" would have lasted as long as it did had not Martin delegated his editorial duties to a more amenable type of man when he left for England in the following year.

The proprietors of "The Southern Cross" were Brown and Campbell, two men with an eye to business. "The Southern Cross, New Zealand Guardian, and Auckland, Thames and Bay of Islands Advertiser" — to give the paper its full title — appeared on 22nd April, 1843, and continued regularly every week until its 106th Number.
(26th April, 1845), when it was suspended for financial reasons. It resumed publication in July, 1847, with the title shortened to "The Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian." In June, 1851 (Number 415) it was enlarged and on 20th May, 1862, it became the first daily newspaper in Auckland. Shortly afterwards the paper was sold to Julius Vogel. In 1876 the price of the paper was cut from 6d to 3d after the paper had again been sold, this time to A.G. Horton, who entered into partnership with the Wilson brothers, sons of W.C. Wilson who founded "The New Zealand Herald" in 1863. "The Southern Cross" was amalgamated with "The Herald" in 1876.

Another early paper began in Auckland on the 7th June, 1845, during the suspension of "The Southern Cross." This was "The New Zealander," owned by John Williamson, for many years Superintendent of the Auckland Province, and the Government Printer of the day. He was joined by W.C. Wilson and they became partners in the publication. The paper thrived to become the leading newspaper in the Colony. Wilson was a particularly enterprising man and effected many improvements, including the construction of the first gas-works in New Zealand and these were used to serve the printing office. In 1863 the partnership of Williamson and Wilson was dissolved. The former had adopted a philo-Maori policy at the outbreak of the Taranaki campaign and Wilson could not agree. It was then that Wilson began "The New Zealand Herald" which quickly began to supersede "The New Zealander." The philo-Maori policy of "The New Zealander" was unpopular and its circulation declined, notwithstanding a reduction in price to make it the first penny morning paper in the country (3rd April, 1865).
When its premises were destroyed by fire in 1886, "The New Zealander" appeared no more. One colourful incident marked the closing stages. "The New Zealander" found occasion to comment on an incident that occurred during Heke's war in the North, when some panic-stricken sailors had deserted their officers. The company of a warship lying at anchor in the Waitemata promptly took offence and a party of sailors came ashore, gathered before "The New Zealander" office in Shortland Crescent, passed a hawser round and over the roof of the tiny building which housed the printing plant and threatened to drag the office bodily down the hill. Only the promise of a retraction in print saved the situation.

* * * * *

The most prominent newspaper of the Crown Colony period was "The Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle." From the first issue of this paper comes the extract which heads this chapter; it is a noble conception of the function of the press - an aspiration, rather, towards which the press in the infant colony was groping, ably led by "The Examiner" itself.

Nelson, like Wellington, was a settlement of the New Zealand Company. It followed, therefore, that a printing press should accompany the first settlers to "Nelson Haven." The Examiner" was fortunate in attracting men of great literary ability and the paper towers above all its contemporaries in the 'forties. It was the property of Charles and James Elliott, who had previously
been engaged on "The Morning Chronicle." The first editor was George Rycroft Richardson, a lawyer, who was afterwards killed in the Wairau Massacre. The first number of "The Examiner" appeared on the 12th March, 1842, at the usual price for those days - one shilling a copy or £2 per annum.

At the foot of the first issue appeared the apologetic tag:

"We have to claim the indulgence of our subscribers for the unavoidable delay which has taken place in the appearance of our first number. We trust that the numerous interruptions arising from machinery out of order and types misplaced, in consequence of recent unpacking, will be considered a valid excuse."

This was barely a month after the arrival of the first settlers. The policy of the paper was made quite clear from the outset. The extract quoted at the head of this chapter was sufficient indication of high-spirited, liberal aspirations, as was the motto which "The Examiner" adopted: "Journals become more necessary as men become more equal, and individualism more to be feared. It would be to underrate their importance to suppose that they serve only to secure liberty: they maintain civilisation." (1)

To leave no doubt in the matter "The Examiner" explained its policy in full: "As advocate of public liberty our task is plain. We have but to pursue a beaten path. The institutions which, as Englishmen, we have been accustomed to hold in honour, and what have been for the most part wrested from the grasp of the

(1) De Tocqueville: "Of Democracy in America" Vol.IV p.220
oppressor and many evil-minded and designing men,
by the unbought and inflexible courage of manly
hearts... - the absolute toleration of religious
creeds; the sacredness of jury-trial, of habeus
corpus, and of the unfettered freedom of the press,
the right to choose our own magistrates, to conduct
our own local and municipal affairs, to make laws
for our own government by representatives freely
chosen by ourselves, the right not to be taxed but
by our own consent, but above all, the effectual
disjunction of the executive and legislative powers:
these are among the prescriptive rights of Englishmen:
of these we shall be found unflinchingly the advocates."

"The Examiner" also intended to support the Government in
its native policy ("if faithfully carried into effect") of endeavouring
to preserve the native race and to raise them to the rank of civilised
men. While the paper was "wholly independent" of the New Zealand
Company, it was natural that it should be "well persuaded" of the
advantages of the Wakefield system of colonisation. Finally "The
Examiner" pledged itself to free trade and to better facilities for
education.

"The Examiner" was an immediate success. Indeed, the
demand for it was so great that the first two numbers were re-set and
a second edition published - mainly, no doubt, for the benefit of
friends at Home.

In an early number of "The Examiner" the printer made an
appeal to subscribers in these moving words: "We beg to inform our
readers that there is a great possibility of our press
being rendered utterly useless for want of rollers.
These are used for inking the forms and an essential
ingredient is treacle, and treacle we have been unable
to procure for money. If any of our readers have any
of this important article and will spare some of it
for love and money united, we shall be infinitely
obliged. We are not very particular as to price, but
treacle we must have, or not only "The Examiner" but
bills, cheques, and the laws of the benefit society
must remain for ever unbedevilled."
Though no acknowledgement was made in print, "The Examiner" evidently got its treacle, for the paper continued to appear.

Almost from the time of his arrival in the colony (August, 1842), Alfred Dommett was a contributor to "The Nelson Examiner." He wrote vigorously in defence of the colonists, in their plea for responsible government, and in demanding that the government should take firm measures to punish the natives and ensure that there would be no recurrence of such incidents as the Wairau Massacre (June, 1843). A few weeks after the Massacre, Dommett was appointed editor of "The Examiner," (1) and in that position he quickly became the recognised protagonist of the settlers in their demand for self-government. He was practically the sole author of the petition drawn up in November, 1845, demanding the recall of Governor Fitzroy.

Gisborne's appraisement of Dommett is searching and discriminating: "He abounded in imaginative and creative power, in tender sensibility, in fine taste, in great aims and in affluence of expression.... He was a hero-worshipper and admired splendid autocracy." (2)

Dommett's style was straightforward and fearless. No matter of interest to the settlers was left untouched in the editorials, yet everything was discussed in a framework of high principle, "with a freedom from dogmatism and a respect for the opinion of others which conferred on "The Nelson Examiner" a power and force of

(1) Richardson had several (no doubt temporary) successors before Dommett took over. Judging by internal evidence it seems probable, too, that Dommett's duties were taken over by a deputy on several occasions.

conviction which belonged to no other paper in the colony." (1)

Here is Domett in a characteristic mood, on the Government's native policy: "We have just received news of the destruction of the settlement at the Bay of Islands, by Hone Heki (sic) and his tribe. We give the particulars below as they appear in the 'Auckland Times.'

"It is idle to make any comment upon this affair. The long course of submission and pusillanimous concession pursued by the local Government towards a nation of treacherous and arrogant savages could have had no other result than that of increasing their insolence and stimulating their inclination to aggression. Over and over again this obvious consequence has been foretold and dinned into their ears from all quarters. With obdurate and conceited infatuation they have adhered to their resolution to repel the truth, to give submission to the warnings of experience, the dictates of reason and common sense. What they would not learn from the mouths of eager friends or honest foes, they have now to learn in the hard school of fact, from lessons written in blood...

"One good will come of this. All the varnishing and lacquering of a hundred societies, a cartload of time-serving officials, will never explain away or smooth over this attack on English troops by treacherous and blood-thirsty savages. The people of England cannot be deceived in this issue. Government must put the Maori (sic) in hand - immediately and in earnest." (2)

Governor Fitzroy was the favourite target for abuse:

"The 'Théâtre Comique' of New Zealand (our Legislative Council) closed on the 22nd April last, after a season as successful as the production of novelties and the happy variation of old and favourite absurdities as any we remember.

(1) Hocken: Trans. N.Z. Inst. Vol 34 p.113
(2) "Nelson Examiner" 29th March, 1845.
"The Wizard of the North, our unparalleled Thaumaturgus Fitzroy, in particular, almost surpassed himself. We cannot pretend to record more than a thousandth part of his feats, and that but imperfectly...." (1)

Fitzroy's recall was enough to excite delirium:

"Public opinion has some power over the English Colonial Office. Captain Fitzroy is recalled. The first step towards better Government has been taken. The first instalment of justice has been vouchsafed.

"Never could the removal of one individual from any situation have been hailed with greater delight. It has lifted an incubus off the community, a dead crushing weight of despair from every real British heart from end to end of these islands.

"If Captain Fitzroy could have known how much happiness he had it in his power to bestow upon thousands of his fellow creatures by simply depriving their country of his presence, we are confident that even he could not have resisted the pleasure of bestowing it by a voluntary resignation of his governorship long ago. Even his philanthropy would have been kind enough to his own countrymen for this." (2)

The Government in Auckland was so far distant and consequently so ineffective, so far as the southern settlements were concerned, that any Governor was an easy target for criticism. The same held true of his associates:

"It is a remarkable thing how small a portion of the Government officers of this colony have afforded the slightest indication of capacity for the offices they have filled - have displayed the least sign of any fitness for public businessmen. Heavy-sterned lieutenants, botanising doctors, half-pay ensigns, and miserable majors, above work and below responsibility. If fathomless dullness, if anile imbecility had been the qualifications required, the most diligent search could hardly

(1) "Nelson Examiner" 21st June, 1845
(2) "Nelson Examiner" 25th October, 1845
have procured a set of officials more competently qualified." (1)

Here is another rapier thrust:

"Our readers will remember the story of a certain king of Spain, who, catching sight from his palace window of a man sitting alone by a brook-side reading, and bursting at intervals into loud fits of laughter, exclaimed, 'That man must be either mad or reading "Don Quixote"' and how he sent a courtier to enquire and found he was right in the latter conjecture.... Well, in this country we believe any one, under similar circumstances to the king's, might as safely conclude of a man 'laughing consumedly' over his book, that he must either be mad or reading a New Zealand Ordinance." (2)

Swift, the father of the editorial, would have taken pride in this his heir, "The Nelson Examiner."

Many notable men besides Dommett were associated with "The Examiner" - Dr. (Sir) David Munro, William Fox, Edward Stafford, (Sir) Francis Dillon Bell, the Richmonds, and Dr. Greenwood. As these men went to other parts of the colony to fill more important posts - (four of them, including Dommett, to become Premier) the influence of "The Nelson Examiner" gradually dwindled. Moreover, this paper was directed by the original land-purchasers to the exclusion of working class interests. Largely on this account, "The Colonist" was founded on 23rd October, 1857, with William Nation as its first regular proprietor. "The Colonist," bi-weekly at first, became a daily in 1874. Less successful rivals of

(1) "Nelson Examiner" 8th November, 1845
(2) "Nelson Examiner" 4th January, 1845
"The Examiner" were "The Nelson Daily Times and Morning Advertiser" and "The Nelson Advertiser and Family Newspaper" (1860) both of which lived for only a few months. "The Examiner" died in 1873.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield was a constant contributor to "The Spectator" of London in the 1830's. He wrote on all kinds of topics from domestic reform to foreign affairs: but his special interest was colonial policy. It was Wakefield who first suggested that "The Spectator" might issue a separate journal devoted entirely to the interests of the colonies. From this suggestion there came, in December, 1838, the first issue of "The Colonial Gazette," a weekly publication. This journal was followed, in February, 1840, by "The New Zealand Journal," also published in London and, as the name implies, devoted exclusively to New Zealand interests. For three years the "Journal" was edited by H.S. Chapman, at that time a barrister of the Middle Temple and the man who had formerly collaborated with Revans in producing "The Monthly Advertiser" in Canada and who was afterwards appointed a judge in the Supreme Court of New Zealand.

On 17th August, 1842, the columns of "The Colonial Gazette" began an important correspondence between the Director of the New Zealand Company and a gentleman named George Rennie. Mr. Rennie proposed the foundation of a further settlement in New Zealand on entirely new lines. From such beginnings grew the
concept of an "Edinburgh of the South."

While the "Phillip Laing" and "John Wickliffe" were still at sea, bringing the first settlers to the new settlement of Otago, "The Otago Journal" began publication in Edinburgh to disseminate news of New Zealand to prospective settlers. About 10,000 copies of "The Otago Journal" were distributed. It was the organ of the Otago Association, with John McGlashan as editor. Eight numbers were issued, at twopence a number, the first in January, 1848, the last in August, 1852. The journal contained a great deal of information valuable to intending settlers and gave copious extracts from letters written by those who had already settled in the country.

The first settlers arrived in Otago in March, 1848. Captain Cargill and the Rev. Thomas Burns, leaders of the first contingent, had failed to secure a pressman to sail with the first party, but this want was supplied on the arrival of the "Blundell" in September when Mr. H.B. Graham, a printer from Carlisle, was accredited to them. Three months later, on 13th December, 1848, came the first number of "The Otago News." This was a four-page paper costing 6d and bearing the imprint: "Printed and published every alternate Wednesday afternoon at 3 o'clock, by Mr. H.B. Graham, Rattray Street, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand." After thirteen issues (9th June, 1849) the paper was enlarged to folio size and published weekly.

"The Otago News" had little to recommend it.
correspondent writing from Dunedin on 17th September, 1849, said, "I would send you a paper, but our paper is but two small leaves and there is nothing but nonsense in it." (1) A few months earlier the editor had, in fact, regretfully told his readers that the paper would have to cease publication because of the poor support he had received as well as the strenuous efforts made to suppress him (the man spoke vigorously if not well) and, he might have added, the inherent weakness of his paper. To cease publication was obviously a retrograde step and a public subscription realised £80 to allow Mr. Graham to carry on. At the time Mr. Graham was filled with contrition, confessed the error of his ways and promised amendment. But he also set forth his difficulties: he could get no literary assistance and he, a printer, was acting as sole editor, reporter, compositor and pressman. For six months he struggled on, surrounded by the old difficulties. Then came failing health and, amidst the unequal struggle, the paper ceased on 21st December, 1850.

Almost immediately the businessmen of the new settlement met to discuss the possibility of a new paper. A company of eleven shareholders was formed, each man holding a share worth £10. On 8th February, 1851, appeared the first number of "The Otago Witness," taking its name from "The Edinburgh Witness." The paper had four pages, each of four columns. There were many difficulties in the initial stages. Once the journal had to appeal to its readers for

(1) Quoted by "Otago Daily Times" 5th November, 1926
paper of any kind, otherwise it might cease to appear - as, for a short period, it did. It was not unusual for "The Otago Witness," as well as other early papers in the colony, to appear on paper of variable size, texture and colour.

The shareholders of "The Witness" had agreed to edit the paper weekly by turns but, as this did not work out in practice, Mr. Cutten was appointed sole editor at £1 a week. Then, finding that the paper did not pay dividends and that it was otherwise a constant source of trouble and anxiety, the shareholders generously presented it to the editor in October, 1852. (1)

Cutten had a staff of two printers, one of them having been specially brought out from England for a term of three years, given a free passage for himself and his wife and paid at the rate of 30/- a week. As editor, Mr. Cutten was "undoubtedly able, full of caustic humour and smart satire, qualities often valuable in his onslaughts upon the 'Little Enemy' - as "outsiders" in the Scottish settlement were called.

With all his ability, however, Mr. Cutten was "tiresomely careless and procrastinating" (2) and his faithful compositor sometimes found it necessary to guard or even lock the editor up until the all-important leader was forthcoming. The advertisements were very few in number and the circulation small: there were

(1) Hocken: "Settlement of Otago" p.123 though cf. "Otago Daily Times" 5th November, 1926, which says that Cutten was given the paper for his services. Hocken's version seems more acceptable.

(2) Hocken: "Settlement of Otago" p.123
only 120 copies issued and 60 of these went abroad. "The careful community, well knowing the value of sixpence, managed to reduce the price by joint subscription and, in this way, half a dozen people passed the paper from hand to hand." (1)

Better days came for "The Otago Witness" when Parliamentary duties took the editor to Auckland. W.H. Reynolds, acting in Cutten's stead, was a man of much greater business ability. His first difficulty was to settle a strike of the two printers, whose wages, always paid in driblets, were now three months in arrears. Mr. Reynolds canvassed for extra advertisements and more than doubled the number of subscribers, so that "The Otago Witness" was soon out of debt for the first time. "Todd, one of the printers, died; but, equal to the occasion, Mr. Reynolds secured the assistance of a friend, and the two spent the night of publication in turning the press to the tune of bread and cheese and beer...." More often than not the reporting of speeches was done by the orators themselves "as there was occasional complaint that Mr. Cutten's reports were only too literal...." (2)

* * * * *

The earliest paper in the Canterbury Settlement was planned by the Canterbury Association before the first emigrant ships set sail for the new settlement in 1850. The ships "Charlotte Jane" and "Randolph" arrived at Lyttelton on 16th December. Less than a month later appeared the first issue of "The Lyttelton Times." Edward (1) Hocken: "Settlement of Otago" p.123 (2) Hocken: "Settlement of Otago" p.124
Fitzgerald, who became first Superintendent of the Canterbury Province three years later, was the editor. Ingram Shrimpton from Oxford, was the printer. The printing-plant was operated in the open air until the proprietors erected a little wooden shack, one end covered with a canvas sail and the windows covered with calico cloth - carpenters being at a premium in those days and glass unobtainable.

"The Lyttelton Times," consisting of eight foolscap pages and issued weekly, quickly became an important part of the settlement. The policy of the paper was laid down in the first number. Though founded by the Association, said the first leading article, "The Lyttelton Times" was "wholly independent of the Canterbury Association" and recognised

"no allegiance to the Council Of Colonists. Still less can we be accused of submitting to any influence from the Government of New Zealand. Our anxious wish is that "The Lyttelton Times" should be the organ of the settlement and of the settlers, in the most extended sense, and that it may be so regarded by our fellow-colonists."

Only two other lines of general policy were laid down - the first being support for the principles on which the settlement had been founded and the second to insist upon the introduction of a constitution "in which the great principle of British law shall be recognised to the full, that no Englishman shall be taxed without his consent, signified by his representatives."

The new journal was welcomed by "The Times" of London
on 5th July, 1851, in a kindly and appreciative article that was reprinted in the "Lyttelton Times" on 22nd November, 1851. The delay gives some idea of the time occupied in the conveyance of mails in those early days. The article is too good not to quote at length:

"FATHER AND SON

"LONDON TIMES AND LYTTELTON TIMES

"NEW PAPER IN A NEW LAND

"A slice of England cut from top to bottom was dispatched to the Antipodes in the month of September last. A complete sample of civilisation, weary of the difficult fight for bread within the compass of these narrow islets, took ship at Gravesend in search of less crowded markets in New Zealand....

"Noah's Ark did not more completely treasure up specimens of the creature world, than did the ships bound for the Canterbury Settlement preserve casts from all the moulds left behind them in the Mother Country. At the head of the pilgrims stood an actual bishop; behind him were working clergy, working schoolmasters, working landlords, working labourers, workers every one! .... Between deck and keel were the elements of a college, the contents of a public library, the machinery for a bank, and the constituent parts of a constitutional government. It is superfluous to add that the enterprising voyagers took on board with them type, press, an editor, a reporter, pens, ink, paper, and a determined resolution to start a journal for the enlightened public of New Zealand at the very earliest opportunity.

".... It is difficult to glance at the first number of "The Lyttelton Times" now before us, and associate its existence with a community not a month old. So far from being ashamed at our namesake, we are positively proud of his acquaintance and envious of his power. If the editor can create so much out of nothing, what would he make of such a breeding heap as this of London?
"The settlers on board the Canterbury fleet," says a London writer, 'have taken possession of a lonely land - a country which as yet has scarcely had its natural lineaments modified by the handiwork of man.' That writer had not seen "The Lyttelton Times." 'Lonely' forsooth! 'Lineaments not modified by the handiwork of man!' Why, the settlers have not yet recovered from their sea-sickness and found sleeping holes for their children, and yet there are three whole columns of advertisements, every one smacking of the old-world flavour, and indicating the 'handiwork of a man' as busy at the other end of the sphere as it is at this minute at Cheapside. There is 'a three-year old filly, unbroken' for sale in one corner, a 'card' from 'Richard Beamish,' general commission merchant in another; here is the well-known 'undersigned' who has been 'fortunate enough to secure the co-operation of' etc.; now the notice that the price of advertisements in this paper is 3d a line for the first insertion'; now the warning that 'all persons found cutting or damaging timber or underwood on lands, etc.'

An Antipodean paper that is to reflect the journalism of the Mother-Country must of course have its columns for accidents and offences. Under the head 'accidents,' we are sorry to learn that 'on the afternoon of Sunday Last a large party consisting of ... were returning on board from attending Divine service when a squally breeze from the North east' etc., but we are happy to state that 'with the exception of some fatigue, no inconvenience has resulted to any of the party.' The police report gives us no murder, which on the whole is satisfactory, but 'Jos. Bennett' gets drunk and is accordingly fined 5/- (the very price in Bow Street). Eli Salt has stolen a door ....

"Our eye glances with natural avidity to "The Lyttelton Times" leader. Is our contemporary for Protection or Free Trade? Does he call Lord John Russell a miserable incapable, or heap vituperation on the head of Disraeli? Our ingenious brother is evidently non-plussed. He and the whole family of colonists are wrecked upon the leading article. Materials for a telling leader were unfortunately cut from under him on landing. According to the Custom-house regulations in force on the arrival of the settlers, high import duties were charged upon goods brought out for purposes of settlement. Before the pilgrims had landed, a council of colonists was held, resolutions were passed and a letter of remonstrance was addressed to the Governor of the Island. Unluckily for the writer, the Governor was within
reach, open to reason and blessed with commonsense. His Excellency was pleased to issue instructions to the Custom-house that the most favourable construction should be placed upon the Custom law of the country as regards all goods brought in by the first settlers for their own use; the chattels of the colonists were landed duty free, and the 'apple of discord,' to which our contemporary so feelingly refers, was, for the moment, dashed from his lips . . . .

"And so proceeds our grown-up son at the Antipodes, in laudable imitation of his tough but weatherbeaten old sire. Who shall say the son is not the very imagine of his father? Who ever doubted he could run alone? If we have any lingering fear that he may stumble, it is only because we cannot choose but remember the difficult paths through which the old man has beaten his way to his present greatness, and be conscious that there is no royal road to civilisation, or to any other goal that demands patient self-denial from the beginning of the journey, and gradual development of the power and resources on the way."
III. THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

The Foundation of Metropolitan Dailies

"There are three principal uses in a public newspaper. In its first and lowest capacity, it is simply a vehicle for public advertisements which, by the publication of mutual wants, affords an immense facility for every sort of commercial enterprise. Every extension of this machinery is a gain to the public. And in a community where there is no class, as in old countries, above the trader, and none below him - where capitalists and men of property, as well as labourers, buy and sell and speculate, equally with shopkeepers and merchants, the advertising power can hardly be too greatly increased.

"In its second phase, the newspaper is, as its name implies, the organ of conveying to every individual a history of what is going on in the world around him. A nobler task than the first. For it tends to raise the individual from exclusive attention to the petty interests and local events on the spot in which the accidents of birth may have placed him, and to extend his sympathies to the trials and struggles, the failure and the progress of his fellow men in all parts of the world...

"A great mission this for the journalist, but there is a higher still. There is a character in which the press has won for itself that most honourable title 'the fourth estate'..." (1)

Only one newspaper has survived from the Crown Colony period to the present day. This is "The Taranaki Herald", founded in New Plymouth on 4th August, 1852. Starting as a weekly, "The Herald" became a bi-weekly on 28th April, 1869 and then, on 14th May, 1877, a penny daily. In a career unremarkable except in the matter of longevity, there have been a few colourful incidents. During the Maori Wars, for instance, a paragraph in "The Taranaki Herald" offended an English officer, Captain Gold, who immediately led his men to the newspaper office, confiscated all copies of the paper and then forced another edition of "The Herald" to be printed - with the offensive paragraph omitted.

"The Taranaki Herald" is now almost 95 years old. The next best score goes to "The Wanganui Chronicle" (1856), closely followed by "The Hawke's Bay Herald" (1857).

Most of the newspapers at present published in New Zealand were founded in the 'sixties and early 'seventies. To the 'sixties belongs the inception of "The Press" in Christchurch, "The New Zealand Herald" in Auckland, "The Otago Daily Times" and "The Evening Star" in Dunedin, and "The Evening Post" and "The New Zealand Times" in Wellington. ("The New Zealand Times" incorporated "The Independent" and was absorbed in 1926 by "The Dominion"). Other papers founded in this period include "The Wanganui Herald", "The Thames Star", "Westport News", "Hokitika Guardian" and "Tuapeka Times".


James Edward Fitzgerald returned to Christchurch in April, 1860, after a period in London as Emigration Agent for Canterbury. While in London, Fitzgerald had found an outlet for his journalistic bent by reviving "The Canterbury Papers" in 1859, but in his official capacity as Emigration Agent he had been obliged to carry out the instructions and abide by the decisions of the Canterbury Provincial Government. On arriving back in Canterbury he was once more free to express his personal opinions.

At this time the Colony as a whole was facing a commercial crisis. The fear of bankruptcy hung over the central government, due mainly to the expense incurred through the Maori Wars and the demand made by the Colonial Office for the immediate repayment of
war loan. The Canterbury settlement was not immediately involved in these transactions, however, and the only debt incurred by the province was an immigration loan of £15,000. In such circumstances the Superintendent, Moorhouse, was proposing to float a further loan for certain public works projects, relying for security upon the sale of waste lands.

Fitzgerald immediately voiced his opposition, particularly to the scheme whereby it was proposed to build a tunnel that would link up Lyttelton and Christchurch. Such a Tunnel, he declared, was not only speculative as a practical possibility, but it might also leave the province deeply embarrassed from the financial point of view. He therefore entered the lists, with his customary Irish vigour, against the Tunnel scheme, and against William Sefton Moorhouse, who was its energetic promoter. Fitzgerald sought a seat in the Provincial Council, from which to voice his opposition and was returned as member for Akaroa a month after his return to New Zealand.

As an old journalist, Fitzgerald realised the need for newspaper support. During his absence abroad, however, "The Lyttelton Times" which he himself had founded in 1851, had become attached to the rival camp. In 1856 Crosbie Ward and Bowen had bought the paper: both of these men were good journalists and bad businessmen: the paper had fallen into debt and sometimes the employees had waited five or six weeks for their wages. In 1859, however, William Reeves had bought out the partnership. The atmosphere changed at once to one of business efficiency combined with even better journalistic enterprise.
Fitzgerald was therefore compelled to found a new journal which he named "The Press". He gave an account of the establishment of the paper in a letter to a friend: "..... Sitting after dinner about a month ago I saw no hope for a better state of public feeling unless a new newspaper was started, which would speak the truth without fear or favour. In five minutes it was settled. If I could take the management of it, it was to be started and £500 put down on the spot. It was soon found that there was a small press and type to be bought. For editor we have got a Mr. G. Sale, a grand fellow. The first number appeared three weeks after the conversation referred to. I have written nearly the whole of the first and second numbers. I sat from two one day till eight the next morning to get the first number out in time, but we did it, to the amaze of the town." (1)

"The Lyttelton Times" was the kind of paper that welcomed a rival, even though Christchurch at that time was a small market town with a population of only 3,000. Nine years earlier (24th April, 1852) "The Lyttelton Times" had, in fact, announced the advent of its first rival, a weekly paper entitled "The Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser", and welcomed it to the fold with the greatest of generosity: "..... Apart from the pleasure which is afforded by so unmistakeable a sign of the advancing prosperity of the settlement, the appearance of an additional voice for the expression of public opinion will relieve us from the difficult position of endeavouring to do justice to the opinion of all parties in the community." (2)

"The Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser" lasted less than a year. "The Press" was a more formidable rival. The opening remarks of the first editorial placed principle above profit: "We shall make no apology for the publication of a new newspaper. We are under the impression such a newspaper is wanted. If we shall be so fortunate as to command a remunerative circulation, the result will justify our opinion. If not, failure will sufficiently punish our presumption. But whatever the issue to the proprietors, the public will have been the gainers."

(1) Quoted by "The Press" 19th March, 1940.
(2) Wigram: "The Story of Christchurch" p.65
Moreover, "The Press" was situated nearer the expanding market ("The Lyttelton Times" did not change its site until 1863) while the enthusiasm of Fitzgerald was backed by the learning of the editor, Sale, who had been a Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, and who later became Professor of Classics at Otago University.

Fitzgerald had founded "The Lyttelton Times" on non-party lines. He had aimed to make the paper "the organ of the settlement and of the settlers, in the most extended sense." "The Times" had fought hard for representative government, it is true, but in local affairs it had maintained its original independence. Fitzgerald had anticipated, however, that sooner or later "The Times" would take sides and this it could not help but do when Fitzgerald himself founded "The Press". Fitzgerald agreed, of course, that "The Times" had always been "the best conducted journal in the colony" ("excepting perhaps "The Nelson Examiner") but "for a faithful expression of public opinion, and for a fair and impartial, but earnest and truthful criticism upon the acts of the government", "The Times" left much to be desired in Fitzgerald's opinion. "The Press" itself was founded "to act as a check on the borrowing party in provincial politics". It was, in short, conservative. From this time onward, "The Times" developed its Liberal inclinations.

Beginning as a six-page weekly on 25th May, 1861, at sixpence a copy, "The Press" became an eight-page bi-weekly in October of the following year. Then, in March, 1863, it came out, still with eight pages, as the first daily newspaper in Canterbury. The price was at this time still sixpence a copy. There was a setback in April, 1863, during the depression, when publication was made tri-weekly. In a few months, however, "The Press" once more
became a daily and the price was reduced to a penny for a paper of four pages (1st December, 1868). For several years "The Press" was the only penny daily in Canterbury.

Much of this progress was prompted by competition from "The Lyttelton Times" which transferred its office from Lyttelton to Christchurch in December, 1863, although the original title was retained until 1929. After the transfer, competition waxed keen. Both papers began a weekly journal in 1865: "The Canterbury Times" being a summary of "The Lyttelton Times" and "The Weekly Press" being the first of a number of subsidiary papers associated with "The Press". Both these weekly journals were intended mainly for country readers. As early as 1864 "The Press" showed its enterprise in vying with its competitor by illustrating the news of the day - the Maori Wars - with a full-page lithographed map of the war-zone between Auckland and Ngaruawahia. Engraved illustrations were first attempted by "The Weekly Press" in 1882 and the same paper began the regular publication of illustrations from half-tone engravings of photographs in 1894.

Both "The Press" and "The Times" published a succession of subsidiary papers in addition to their weekly journals. In June, 1874, "The Press" issued its first evening newspaper, "The Globe". In April, 1883 "The Globe" was amalgamated with "The Telegraph" and in May, 1893, replaced by "Truth". (1) "The Lyttelton Times" began an evening newspaper, called "The Star", in 1868.

The competition of its rival at length forced "The Times" to reduce the price of its paper to one penny in 1881. In the same year "The Times" was transferred to a joint-stock company. The editor, Reeves, died in 1889, and was succeeded by his son, William Pember Reeves.

(1) Not to be confused with "Truth" of Wellington.
When "The Times" ceased publication in 1935, it could recall with justifiable pride that it had "remained true to its principles, not allowing itself to be diverted, either by cajolery or by threat, from the course that it deemed to be honourable". "The Times" developed a personality unrivalled in the country since the heyday of "The Nelson Examiner". "The Press", too, was quick to build up a reputation for being one of the best-written papers in the country. Its style was bold, clear, and vigorous. Both papers were dignified in tone and principle. Together they provided what was undoubtedly the best newspaper service existing in any settlement during the era of provincial government. The old files of both papers show that men and women in Canterbury applied themselves with intense seriousness to the discussion of their problems, as well as to the work that lay immediately to their hands. Fostered by an able Press, Canterbury took its politics more seriously than any of the other early settlements. In this manner the province produced many of the national leaders and for more than half a century Canterbury opinion went far to determine the policy of the Central Government.

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The scene passes back to Dunedin. With Cutten still at the helm, "The Otago Witness" had been much enlarged following the advent of the Constitution in 1854. Two years later, as a result of a difference between Cutten and MacAndrew, there appeared a rival paper styled "The Otago Colonist and Dunedin Advertiser". "The Colonist" was a formidable opponent, ably written and conducted. It flourished for eight years and was then merged in "The Leader"
and "The Daily Telegraph".

Meanwhile, on 4th June, 1861, an elderly man had come to the office of the Superintendent in Dunedin and told the story of how, in the vicinity of Tuapeka, he had collected seven ounces of gold with a pan and a butcher's knife in ten hours. The man was a veteran Californian digger called Gabriel Read. The effect of his announcement was startling. Men deserted their claims in Australia, often selling out to the Chinese for as much as would pay a passage to New Zealand. For eighteen months on end, gold seekers and settlers arrived in Otago at the rate of 1,000 a month, doubling the population of the settlement within a year.

Among the newcomers was Julius Vogel, young, brilliant and masterful. At 27 he had been lured from London to the gold-fields of Australia. Speculative, shrewd and sanguine, Vogel had made a good deal of money, both from the diggings and from newspapers published in the young Australian settlements. Attracted to the new fields in Otago in 1861, Vogel was at once engaged by Lambert to write for "The Colonist".

Before he had been many months in the province, Vogel acquired a share in "The Otago Daily Witness" and persuaded old Mr. Cutten to publish "The Otago Daily Times" - the first daily newspaper in New Zealand (15th November, 1861). "This child of Vogel's lively imagination and sanguine temperament" (1) was the joint property of Vogel and Cutten. Farjeon, better known as a novelist, was the manager. The circulation of the paper mounted quickly and it promised to be a brilliant success. Not three weeks

had passed, however, before fire destroyed the offices of the paper (1st December, 1861). Buckets of water had to be carried a quarter of a mile to the burning building. Curiously enough, it was only the day before that "The Otago Daily Times" had published a leading article agitating for better fire-fighting facilities in Dunedin. There was a pioneer courtesy, however, in the fact that the next issue of "The Times" was printed on the press of its rival, "The Colonist".

In 1862, "The Otago Daily Times" was enlarged to four pages of six columns each, with a supplement of "Melbourne Mail" for the Australian "diggers". They were difficult days for an editor, with gold fever running high and good news apt to turn out only dangerous rumour. Gold brought inflation, too: wages rose and workers were hard to keep. The price of the paper was forced up to 6d. In 1864 there was a libel case, through which plaintiff, the New Zealand Banking Corporation, mulcted "The Otago Daily Times" of £500. Soon afterwards, old Cutten retired from the proprietary, making way for Farjeon. Early in 1866, a company took over both "The Otago Daily Times" and "The Otago Witness".

Political feeling ran high at this time and Vogel did the financial interests of the company an injury by his determined advocacy of separating the North and South Islands so as to relieve the South of any responsibility for the costly Maori wars. Early in 1868 Vogel was given notice of dismissal. He countered this with an offer to lease the paper at £1,000 a year. The shareholders rejected the proposal and Vogel withdrew. In retaliation he
started "The Sun", a daily paper which for some weeks put up a brilliant opposition to "The Otago Daily Times". The call of national politics, however, was insistent. "The Sun" closed down in the middle of 1869 and Vogel left for Auckland, where, early in 1870, he bought "The Southern Cross". Fully appreciating the power of the press, Vogel transferred "The Southern Cross" to a company, which lost £8,000 in four years before selling out to its more robust competitor, "The New Zealand Herald", in 1876. Meanwhile Vogel had secured an interest in a Wellington paper, "The New Zealand Times", which, on 1st June, 1874, incorporated the old-established "Wellington Independent."

"He was a brilliant journalist", says Scholefield, "a forceful and fluent writer." (1) During his stay of eight years in Dunedin, Vogel's journalistic interests had given him "a commanding position in provincial politics and a firm entry into the national sphere." (2) In "The Otago Daily Times" he founded a paper noted for its independence and its influence - not only in Otago but throughout New Zealand - an influence exerted in many spheres beyond the political but most notably in education and industrial welfare. Vogel would have said that in recent times the paper had become too dour, but in doing so, "The Otago Daily Times" was, no doubt, in part at least, answering the demand of its readers.

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Henry Blundell was 47 when he quit "The Dublin Evening Mail" and began his journey to the New World. It was a late age to

(2) Ibid.
be filled with the wanderlust when there was a family to consider, but that did not deter Mr. Blundell from going, first to Australia, then on to New Zealand. For a time he managed "The Lyttelton Times" and then he moved on to Dunedin and worked for "The Otago Daily Times". Then gold brought an influx of settlers to Havelock in the Nelson province. Blundell moved once more and, in partnership with D. Curle and assisted by two of his sons, he established "The Havelock Mail". The paper died with the gold-rush. Blundell and Curle took their printing-plant to Wanganui in the hope of establishing a paper there, but the Maoris were astir and labour difficult to get, so once more the trek began, this time to Wellington. The prospects here seemed little better. Three months before, it had been decided to transfer the seat of government to Wellington. This gave promise of expansion in the future, but at the moment there were already two tri-weeklies and one bi-weekly struggling for the support of the small population. Henry Blundell made a bold decision: he would establish a daily paper. There were 250 copies of the first issue which appeared on 8th February, 1865, the first daily newspaper in Wellington.

The business proved insufficient for two partners and after a few months Henry Blundell bought his partner's share of the business. With his three sons, John, Henry and Louis, and one or two juniors, Mr. Blundell tackled all the work of the paper himself. He was director, manager and editor, writing his own leading articles, gathering the news and superintending the advertising, typographical and publishing work. Henry junior was reporter
and advertising canvasser; John and Louis were both expert compositors.

Mr. Blundell was "a frank, quiet man of genial temperament and unblemished integrity" (l) who insisted on the strict independence of his newspaper enterprise.

* * * * *

The shadow of war hung heavily over Auckland at the opening of the year 1863. Heke's war in the North was still a recent memory, Taranaki was still in military occupation and trouble was brewing on the frontier, towards which General Cameron was steadily pushing forward his military road. Almost from its foundation the township of Auckland had been used to the presence of red-coats. Nevertheless, it was moving towards prosperity and the population had more than doubled within three years, to reach the 12,000 mark in 1863.

Towards the end of a troubled year a little pamphlet was circulated in the town, announcing the foundation of another newspaper. There was a strain of old-world politeness in the prospectus of the intruder. "The Proprietors are of opinion", it began, "that, in the present advanced and rapidly advancing state of the Metropolitan Province - with its great, growing and diverging interests - with a largely increasing population - and possessing a maritime, commercial and agricultural position of singular stability - (the many and trying ordeals through which so youthful a settlement has passed unscathed, considered) - that there is more than sufficient scope for a third newspaper."

This was "The New Zealand Herald". The prospectus was signed by W.C. Wilson and David Burn, the latter having been associated with Wilson on "The New Zealander," which he had left to become editor of the new journal. Wilson was a shrewd businessman, hardworking and able. He had brought his family from Tasmania to New Zealand in 1841 and four years later had joined Williamson as co-partner in the publication of "The New Zealander". The paper had prospered for eighteen years and then the partners disagreed over Williamson's philo-Maori policy. It was then that Wilson founded "The Herald", a paper which quickly superseded its rival and within three years ousted it from the field.

"The Herald" was launched on 13th November, 1863, and appeared three times a week, "but in order to render the new paper one of the best and most extensive means of advertising - to give it a daily value to commercial and other subscribers and supporters, resident in the City and Suburbs, an Advertising Sheet (of which a thousand additional copies will be printed) will be delivered gratis every TUESDAY, THURSDAY and SATURDAY morning. Besides a summary of business engagements and appointments, this sheet will chronicle the arrival and departures of shipping, together with any other matter of immediate interest that may arise...." (1)

The proprietors' profession of independence was strongly stated. They begged "to make it distinctly known" that "The Herald" came before the public "with no personal, political or party purpose to serve, but as an untramelled exponent and supporter of public opinion - as the unflinching advocate of the true and legitimate interests of New Zealand as a whole, and of those of the Province of Auckland in particular." (2)

At the same time the proprietors make it equally clear that they wished to see the war with the natives prosecuted vigorously - this being the issue over which Wilson and Burn had parted company with "The New Zealander" to found the new journal.

(1) "The New Zealand Herald", 13th November, 1863.
(2) Ibid.
Even so the proprietors, familiar as they claimed to be "with the character, condition and politics of the Colony to which their fortunes have been long and inseparably wedded" could also claim they were "yet withal so entirely free from political, personal or party bias", that they could "point to their abstinence, upon every occasion, of entering into any competition for place or office, whether in the General or Provincial Legislatures, or in any other branch of the Public Service." (1)

The length to which the proprietors went to demonstrate their independence, in contrast with the bitterness of "The Herald" towards the Liberal Administration thirty years later, testify to the speed with which that journal entrenched its financial position. David Burn retired scarcely a year after the paper was established. Although the whole responsibility for the conduct of "The Herald" then devolved on Wilson, he undertook the additional task of launching (on 7th April, 1866) "The Weekly Herald", a weekly edition of the main paper intended primarily for country readers as well as catering for friends at "Home".

After "The New Zealander" ceased publication, "The Herald" still had a keen competitor in "The Southern Cross". Both these papers published a weekly journal so that, in effect, four papers were looking for a livelihood in a province which then supported only 42,000 people, some of whom were served by other local papers.

The death of W.C. Wilson occurred on 5th July, 1876, and he was succeeded by W.S. Wilson and J.L. Wilson, his sons, who had for some time past been assisting in the management of the paper. In the same year there occurred a change of ownership in "The Southern Cross" which led only a few months later to the union of that paper

(1) "The New Zealand Herald", 13th November, 1863.
with "The Herald". In 1870 Sir Julius Vogel had purchased "The Southern Cross" after coming from Dunedin. Vogel was a brilliant journalist but Wilson had a shrewder head for business. Under the management of Vogel "The Southern Cross" lost £8,000 in four years and on 20th October, 1876, the paper was sold out to Alfred George Horton. Horton had already had fifteen years' experience in New Zealand journalism. He had founded "The Timaru Herald" (11th June, 1864), owning and editing it for eight years, and he had subsequently been a part-owner of "The Thames Advertiser". On 1st January, 1877, "The Southern Cross" was incorporated with "The Herald" and "The Auckland Weekly News" absorbed "The Weekly Herald".

"The Herald" is the only morning daily newspaper published in Auckland since the amalgamation in 1877. "The Auckland Weekly News" is now the only survivor of its kind and holds the record for a weekly magazine by an easy margin.

In 1870 William Tyrone Ferrar decided that the Auckland market offered scope for a better evening newspaper than "The Evening News" and he enlisted the interest of George McCullagh Reed, who was later associated with Fenwick on "The Otago Daily Times", and on 8th June, 1870, appeared the first issue of "The Evening Star". Neither Ferrar nor Reed were practised journalists so they invited Henry Brett, then on the staff of "The New Zealand Herald", to join them (1870). Two years later Brett entered on his brilliant literary partnership with Dr. Thompson Leys, who had served a three years' apprenticeship at the composer's case of "The Southern Cross" before joining the reporters' staff where he later became sub-editor.
The work of Kendall, Professor Lee, Colenso and other men associated with the Mission press, together with the work of other Missions, eased the impact of European civilisation on the Maori people and paved the way for several ventures in Maori journalism. The most important of these ventures appeared in the cause of independence during the Maori Wars.

Well before British government was established in 1840, the Maoris who had neighboured the pakeha settlements, had picked up the externals of European culture, adopted European methods of agriculture in their rudimentary forms and were competing with the whites in various forms of economic enterprise. Inquisitive and quick to learn, the Maoris did not seek to segregate themselves.

The first regular Maori newspaper was "The New Zealand Messenger" or "Te Karere o Niu Tireni", first printed in Auckland on New Year's Day, 1842, and appearing irregularly for many years. It was issued first in Maori and subsequently in Maori and English. The Government attached particular importance to this paper in its effort to cement the friendship of the two races.

By 1850, the process of Europeanisation was so far advanced that a Government official could report on a visit to a Maori village as follows: "They now have wise men among themselves to calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood, the area of a plot of ground, the live weight of a pig and the value at threepence a pound, sacking a fifth as offal.... Every recently arrived traveller.... is closely questioned as to the price of pork, wheat, flour and flax. The old persons may be seen in groups around the evening fire, chatting about the appearance of crops and all subjects relating to them; the women being busily employed in making baskets to carry their pigs to market." (1)

(1) Quoted by Miller: "Maori and Pakeha, 1814-1865", in "The Maori People Today" ed. Sutherland p.79.
In the year 1858 the Austrian ship "Novara" called at New Zealand and put off the geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter. Hochstetter was greatly taken with the Maori people and when he left for Austria nine months later he took two of the natives with him. In Europe, the two Maoris were everywhere feted, being presented to the Emperor of Austria and to the Queen of England on their return journey. While in Austria the natives were presented with a printing press, that was destined, however, to serve a cause with which the donors would have had little sympathy. On their return to New Zealand in 1860 the Maoris began printing the little journal "Te Hokioi, e rere atu na", in the service of Maori independence. The 'hokioi' was a mythical bird whose cry, heard only at night, was an omen of war. Cowan provides the translation "The Soaring War-Bird". The first number probably appeared in 1861 but there is no known record of any pakeha having seen this particular issue. Williams notes in his "Bibliography" that the first number of the paper he had been able to examine was dated 15th June, 1862; the next 25th August, and the last, 21st May, 1863; ten numbers in all, although there may have been more. The sheets were irregular in size, lay-out and in issue; the number of pages also varied but it was usually four. It was printed wholly in Maori by Patara Te Tuki, cousin of the Maori King Potatau. The sole aim of the journal was to further the Maori King movement. Like other early papers "The Soaring War-Bird" was not without its printing difficulties: capital 'L' had to be used upside down for a capital 'T' and 'F' masqueraded as 'E'.

Crude though it was, "Te Hokioi" served its purpose very well - so well in fact that Governor Grey felt obliged to retaliate.
He accordingly sent John E. Gorst (later Sir John) to Te Awamutu to start an opposition paper. Gorst, entering into the spirit of the little battle of the Press, called his paper "Te Pihoihoi Mōkemoke i runga i te Tuanui". Gorst translated this title as meaning "The Sparrow that sitteth upon the Housetop". (The sparrow, impudent fellow, would have been an apt symbol, but in point of fact that "pihoihoi" was the friendly little native lark or pipit.)

"The Sparrow" made its first appearance on 2nd February, 1863. There were five issues in all - three in February and one on 9th March. Then, on 24th March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a party of eighty Ngatimaniapoto natives arrived at Te Awamutu under the command of Rewi and appeared before the intruding newspaper office near the public road. A young Englishman, aided by a Maori, were in the course of printing the fifth number of "The Sparrow", Gorst being away at the time. The Maoris proceeded to pack the type in cases, took out the press and the reams of paper and loaded everything on to a bullock-dray. The chattels were then taken away and put over the border of the King Country. The scene was quite orderly, the 'war-party' even asking permission to use a pot and a kettle to cook their food, instead of helping themselves as they might easily have done. The raiders then sat down and waited for Mr. Gorst to return.

When he arrived later in the evening, Gorst was told that, unless he agreed to go, he would be shot. He bluntly refused to leave without direct instructions from Grey and, at Gorst's suggestion, Rewi wrote a letter to the Governor:
"Te Awamutu,

(Translation) 25th March, 1863.

"Friend Governor Grey.

"Greeting. This is my word to you. Mr. Gorst has suffered through me. The press has been taken by me. These are my men who took it - eighty armed with guns; the reason whereof is to turn off Mr. Gorst, in order that he may return to the town. It is on account of the darkness occasioned by his being sent here to stay and deceive us, and also on account of your word 'by digging at the sides, your King movement will fall'.

"Friend, take Mr. Gorst back to town; do not let him stay with me at Te Awamutu. Enough; if you say that he is to stay, he will die. Enough; send speedily your letter to fetch him in three weeks. It is ended.

"From your friend,

"From Rewi Maniapoto.

"To Governor Grey,
Taranaki." (1)

Grey wrote to Gorst telling him to act as circumstances might guide him. As a matter of fact the raid had been carried out without the authority or even the knowledge of the Maori King. Indeed, when Potatau learnt of the expedition he ordered that the press be returned and damages paid. The Government, however, took the printing-press back to Auckland and for a time it was used in printing the official "Gazette", later passing into the service of a little North Auckland journal.

There were many other Maori journals, most of them small and short-lived. Many of them were edited or written by pakehas interested in the Maori and his welfare, so that the typography is mainly English. Most notable of these journals was the successor to "The Soaring War-Bird": for though the fires of the King movement were stamped out, the King lingered on and from 1891 till

(1) Quoted by Anderson: "The Maori Alphabet" in a "History of Printing in New Zealand" p. 44.
October, 1902, appeared "Te Paki o Matariki" - "The Fair Weather of the Matariki", the 'Matariki' being the sign of spring and the planting of crops. This journal varied in size and style even more than "The Soaring War-Bird" and Johannes Anderson found its certain collation quite impossible. (1)

The revenue of the Press, both from circulation and advertising, depends very largely upon general prosperity and in the initial stages of development, prosperity in New Zealand rested upon very uncertain foundations. Unemployment had been a feature of the Colony almost from the time of its inception. The economy rested precariously upon overseas trade with the range of exports confined mainly to wool and timber. In the 'fifties the population grew steadily but slowly, at the rate of about 2,000 a year. In the 'sixties the discovery of gold stimulated immigration and gave a new impetus to overall development. The discovery of gold, however, did not add to stability and the "rush" was followed in the late 'sixties by a depression, due partly to a fall in overseas prices. The rising price of wool after 1870, together with the inauguration of Vogel's public works policy, greatly stimulated prosperity. A vigorous immigration policy was put under way, secondary industries began to develop, over 900 miles of railway were constructed in four years (1873-1877) and roads and harbours were developed on a similar scale. The high level of immigration, combined with the high birth-rate, produced a rapid increase in population, the European population growing from 256,000 in 1871 to 490,000 in 1881. These developments, plus the introduction

(1) Quoted by Anderson: "The Maori Alphabet" in a "History of Printing in New Zealand" p.45.
of refrigerated transport in 1882 placed the economic structure of the country on a firmer footing. It was such developments as this which enabled the progressive newspapers established in the 'sixties and 'seventies, to develop.
IV. A BRANCH OF TRADE

"You found journalism a profession. We have made it a branch of trade."
Kennedy Jones to Lord Morley.

Two main features have characterised the growth of the Press in New Zealand since the abolition of the Provinces in 1876. The first is the popularisation of the Press, enlivening its contents with human interest, with illustrations, more varied lay-out, more legible type, special articles, comic strips, crosswords, competitions and other "features". The second, correlative feature is the evolution of the newspaper as a business proposition, "a branch of trade". Both these features take their roots from British development.

The first signs of change in the character of the British Press were struck by W.T. Stead in "The Pall Mall Gazette" and by George Newnes in "Tit-Bits" in the early 'eighties. Stead popularised the interview and humanised political journalism. In 1888 T.P. O'Connor founded "The Star", with human interest its daily fare and its scope as wide and diversified as life itself. At this time the daily newspaper, both in New Zealand and in Britain, was solidly filled with verbatim transcripts of public proceedings, largely Parliamentary and political, and long foreign despatches given under the most formal and most modest of label headings.

The "new journalism" arose from a realisation that, under the stimulus of the Education Act of 1870, a generation was coming which would need lighter entertainment and its information sugar-coated. The greatest figure in the "new journalism" of course was Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) whose initial efforts with
"Answer" led to more solid achievement in "The Daily Mail", "The Evening News", and "The Daily Mirror".

"I have always given the public not what I thought they would like, but what I know they will like and always have liked, though in a form they imagined to be new," said Northcliffe. He went on to justify the progress of the "new journalism":

"You could search the Victorian newspapers in vain for any reference to changing fashions, for instance. You could not find in them anything that would help you to understand the personalities of public men. We cannot get from them a clear and complete picture of the times in which they were published, as one could from 'The Daily Mail'. Before that was published journalism dealt with only a few aspects of life. What we did was to extend its purview to life as a whole. This was difficult. It involved the training of a new type of journalist. The old type was convinced that anything which could be a subject of conversation ought to be left out of the papers ........ The only thing that will sell a newspaper in large numbers is news, and news is anything out of the ordinary. You know, of course, the great American editor's definition? Dana said, 'If a dog bites a man, that's nothing, but if a man bites a dog, that's news.'" (1)

In effect, the real editor of "The Evening News" was "not Harmsworth but the people of London". (2)

At its worst the "new journalism" pandered to low tastes, as was the case with the "yellow Press" in America and, in its early stages, with the New Zealand publication "Truth"; at best the "new journalism" encouraged greater thought for human welfare and a more lively interest in local events, as was the case with "The Sun" newspapers in New Zealand.

In the normal course of events, however, the popularisation of the Press, going hand in hand with the development of mass circulation, brought financial entrenchment and a less intimate concern for affairs of great public moment.

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(1) Quoted by Mansfield: "Sub-Editing".
(2) Wilson quoted ibid.
"The Evening Post", founded in Wellington in 1865, had as its chief rival for many years "The New Zealand Times". After an unsuccessful start in the late 'sixties, "The Times" was re-established in 1874, and was published continuously until 1927. From 1894 to 1907 "The Evening Post" and "The Times" had the field to themselves. "The Times" supported the Liberal Governments and "The Evening Post" was independent, though it might have been better described as "more anti-Seddon than anti-Liberal". (1)

"The Evening Post" made Seddon its pet object of abuse:

"A favourite falsehood with the Premier is to declare from every platform he mounts that if the Opposition succeed to power they will repeal the Land for Settlements Act. There is absolutely no foundation for any such statement, but it is part of the vicious clap-trap Mr. Seddon chooses to employ, believing that by constant reiteration it will come to be believed by some, at any rate, of those whom he is content to deceive at so great a cost of decency and self-respect." (2)

"The Post" was adamant in its opposition to the personal influence of Seddon. Just before the General Election of 1896 "The Post" declared:

"By the aid of an unquestioning following the Premier has had placed on the Statute Book measure after measure dealing with varying forms of property and privilege, the disposition of which is in all cases more or less at the arbitrary disposal of a Government that is ruled by one man in the name of the people.... From the highest to the lowest, men and women of all kinds and degrees have been brought within the reach of the personal influence of Seddonism." (3)

After the death of Henry Blundell in 1894, "The Evening Post" was formed into a limited liability company, of which

(1) Mulgan: "The City of the Strait" p. 258.
(2) "Evening Post" 23rd November, 1896.
(3) Ibid 30th November, 1896.
Louis Blundell was for many years managing director. On grounds of policy Louis Blundell declined to be associated with public companies or local bodies, in order to preserve the independent status which was the cardinal principle of the founders of the paper. The paper might therefore attack Seddon, but less vigorously than other metropolitan papers of the day, and at the same time advocate Liberal measures: for instance, "The Post" was one of the very few journals to advocate the extension of the franchise to women. As a rule, however, "The Post" found itself in the Conservative camp. "Ought Drunkards to be Elected to Parliament?" "The Post" demanded in 1896.

"Everybody will say it would be a disgrace to our Parliament and the Democracy were drunkards to be chosen as members of Parliament. We are not going to refer to any candidates. Our remarks will be based on what has happened in the House of Representatives during the past three years. It is undeniable that several members have been seen in the House intoxicated...."

There followed a long editorial full of righteous indignation and although "The Post" would not specifically "refer to any candidates", it could not resist the temptation to conclude the leader by remarking:

"We may just add that, unfortunately, almost all, if not all, those who did misconduct themselves were called Liberals and the shield of the Ministry was thrown over them. That, however, should not avail them now before the electors." (1)

Under a succession of editors, of whom the best-known were E.T. Gillon and Gresley Lukin, "The Post" steadily strengthened its position. During the long term of Liberal administration, however, the attitude of the two newspapers was rather curious (and incidentally

(1) "Evening Post" 24th November, 1896.
the reverse of the set-up after 1935), for "The Times supported the Government and "The Post", though critical of Seddon, was not entirely antipathetic to Liberal policy. The Opposition, therefore, had no whole-hearted champion at the seat of Government. So it was that in the early years of the present century a number of Opposition supporters, representing the landed interest in particular, resolved to establish in the capital a newspaper that would definitely oppose the Liberal régime. The result was the foundation of "The Dominion" in 1907, under the editorship of C.W. Earle.

The first leading article of the new journal was characteristic of modern trends in New Zealand journalism. Instead of the altruistic motives of which earlier papers had spoken on their inception, "The Dominion" began by referring to the function of "the newspaper-maker". This is not surprising when it is remembered that "The Dominion" was the first metropolitan daily to be founded for over 20 years and that a heavy investment of capital in addition to "months of labour of many brains and hands"; a vastly different proposition to that which faced Blundell in the 'sixties when he and his family launched "The Evening Post" after only a few days of preparation and with very little capital.

"The Dominion" began its first editorial by referring to the statement of an American editor who had declared that

"the true policy for the newspaper-maker, as indeed for any other manufacturer, is to produce a good and attractive article by honest, open methods, to harness brains, incessant energy, human sympathy, art, trained judgment, knowledge, patience to his honest purpose, and he may then safely await the issue in public confidence and support."

This was viewing the Press as a commercial enterprise, indeed. The editorial may be contrasted with the opening remarks
of "The Nelson Examiner" in 1842, when that paper declared "the office of a journal" to be that of binding together "by the ties of a common interest the various elements of a society". Any such motives of community service were of secondary consideration with "The Dominion", and it was only in its closing remarks that the new journal concluded that the journalist "should beware of all entangling alliances - political, social, commercial - which may limit or embarrass such service. The independent newspaper may be and should be the most vital and effective instrument that democratic society can produce for its own advancement and protection."

This claim of independence was rather odd in view of the manner in which "The Dominion" came into being and it was not long before the paper lined itself up dogmatically with the conservative party. The competition of "The Times", however, forced "The Dominion" to be enterprising and to cater for many tastes; and in the early days its pages were full of special features designed to attract subscribers.

The new paper had a substantial effect on the General Elections of 1908 and 1911. It was after the latter contest that Sir Joseph Ward resigned and a few months later Massey began his long period of administration.

It can be said that the strongest competitor of "The New Zealand Times" was "The Times" itself. "The Times" was served by able men but it was common knowledge among journalists that there was too much interference by directors and politicians and not enough strong and steady guidance. (1). Probably no paper had such a romantic existence as "The Times" - with the natural exception of

(1) Mulgan: "The City of the Strait". p. 258.
"The Harlequin of the New Zealand Press" (1) - Falwasser's "Times". "The New Zealand Times" led a life of extremes: "Brilliantly managed, woefully mismanaged, a trumpet-voice of progress, an anxious voice crying against terrible odds. So it lived its chequered career for close on half a century." (2)

The editorial of "The Times" in its hey-day were no doubt more vital than those of any New Zealand newspaper have been since the turn of the century. "The Times" was the first paper in New Zealand to place its news on the front page, the first to employ a cartoonist (Fred Hiscock), the first to embark on a big circulation competition (an innovation of Northcliffe's), the first to go in extensively for illustrations, the first to embark fearlessly on musical and dramatic criticism. ("Was not Frank Morton ordered out of the Grand Opera House following on a first night critique of a visiting musical star?" (3).)

There is a story told, a legend rather, of enterprise on "The Times". Tremendous interest was aroused by Seddon's Budgets and when one of these was due to appear, a compositor from "The Times" was commissioned to pay a visit to the Government Printer's Office, equipped with a new pair of moleskin pants. He managed to get alongside the forme containing the set matter of the Budget from which a "pull" had just been taken, so that the ink was still set. While the visitor talked, he sat down idly, but gently, on the metal. An hour later two reporters were eagerly at work in "The Times" office; one dictated from the seat of the compositor's pants and the other

(2) Lawlor: Confessions of a Journalist", p.60.
(3) Ibid.
transcribed .... The modern journalist would destroy the legend by observing that "The Times" and Seddon were both of Liberal interest.

The butcher-baker-candlestick-maker method of running a newspaper, however, is apt to be dangerous. In the 'twenties "The Times" found itself getting into difficulties. The appointment of Charles Marris from "The Sun" in Christchurch was the last big effort to pull "The Times" together. Marris had a deep interest in literature: he had brought "The Sun" in Christchurch a Dominion-wide reputation and had helped to entrench that paper in a position of sound prosperity after facing an initial opposition of four other dailies. Marris worked hard to save "The Times" and it was no fault of his that the paper went under, to be bought out cheaply and suddenly by "The Dominion" in 1927. It was a melancholy closure. The journalists, says Lawlor "stuck to their posts to the end and produced a final issue as normal as any preceding it.

"Even when the first intimation came through they did not lay down pencils and discuss it by the hour, there was too much copy coming through that night.

"Jim Shand was on holiday at the time, and, unaware of the tragic news, rang up Earle McKenzie, who was acting for him, just to know how things were.

"'How's the paper going, Mac?' he enquired.

"'It's gone,' replied Mac, and hung up the receiver, for old Bick was waiting for copy." (1)

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George Fenwick emigrated from England with his parents in

Six years later, at the age of twelve, Fenwick was apprenticed to "The Otago Witness" office, where he stayed for five years. In 1864 he transferred to "The Otago Daily Times" under Julius Vogel. At 21, Fenwick joined an old office colleague in the proprietorship of "The Tuapeka Press" in the gold country, not far from where Gabriel Read had made the first discovery. After eighteen months Fenwick and his partner found that the opposition of "The Tuapeka Times" was too strong and they sold out to their rival. In the meantime the two young proprietors had found a better prospect in Cromwell. In order to forestall opposition that was brewing at Cromwell, however, the first number of the new paper was printed at Lawrence after the last sheets of "The Tuapeka Press" had been run off: it was, in fact, a reprint of the last issue of "The Tuapeka Press" under a new heading - "The Cromwell Argus". At six o'clock on Saturday night Fenwick started off on horseback on the ride of more than 90 miles to Cromwell, with 500 copies of "The Cromwell Argus" strapped at the front of his saddle. After a few hour's rest at Miller's Flat, he resumed his ride on the Sunday morning and reached Cromwell at nine o'clock that night. Before breakfast on the following day he had distributed the paper throughout the township and over parts of the district. The threatened opposition duly materialised but, against such enterprise as Fenwick's, it was doomed to failure.

Not satisfied with his prospects at Cromwell, however, Fenwick later handed over his share of the business to his brother William and returned to Dunedin, where he joined John McKay in a general printing business. Later, when "The Otago Guardian" and (1) Scholefield: Dict. N. Z. Biog. Vol. I. p. 225 through of Berry: "A History of Printing in N. Z." p. 226 where he implies Fenwick was apprenticed on arrival in N.Z. - presumably at some later date.
its weekly "The Southern Mercury" were put up to auction, Fenwick, in partnership with G.M. Reed, acquired both papers, in face of the opposition of "The Otago Daily Times".

The partners were quick to discover that the existence of opposition newspapers in the same small town was uneconomic and they made up their minds to acquire both "The Otago Daily Times" and its weekly "Witness". This they achieved through the mediation of Reynolds. When the papers were amalgamated Fenwick tried to pick his mechanical staff from among the employees of both "Times" and "Guardian". The "Times" hands refused to accept work under the new proprietors unless they were all engaged; Fenwick would not accede to this condition. So, in May, 1877, the men of "The Times" started a paper of their own - "The Morning Herald", charging one penny a copy as against threepence a copy for "The Times". This complication and the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, with its repercussions in Otago, forced Fenwick and his partner to float a limited liability company to take over their two papers. After eighteen months' strong competition the directors at length agreed to Fenwick's suggestion and reduced the price of "The Otago Daily Times" to a penny. From that time forward its success was assured. "The Herald" became an evening paper in 1884 and was absorbed by "The Globe" in 1890.

Reed had been the first editor when "The Times" and "Guardian" amalgamated; he was succeeded in 1883 by R.E.N. Twopeny. After 1890 Fenwick played the dual role of managing director and editor until 1909, when the editorship was entrusted to (Sir) James Hutchison.

The depression of the late 1880's brought cuts in salaries
throughout the staff of the newspaper Press in New Zealand and in Dunedin this retrenchment led to a strike by the Otago Typographical Association, which started a rival morning paper, "The Daily News". Fenwick's paper was well entrenched, however, and the newcomer was ousted in less than two months' time.

Towards the end of 1888, before the clouds of depression had lifted, Fenwick published in "The Otago Daily Times" a sermon on cheapness preached by Dr. Rutherford Maddell. This was followed up early in the following year with a series of articles which disclosed the existence of sweating in Dunedin factories and home workshops. Appearing as they did in perhaps the best-written and certainly one of the most conservative papers in the colony, a journal distinguished for caution, restraint and respectability, the articles caused a sensation that was not confined to Dunedin or the province around it. Other newspapers followed the lead of "The Otago Daily Times" exposing industrial abuses, touching the public conscience and paving the way for the foundation of a tailoresses' union and for general improvements in factory employment. By February, 1890, "The Otago Daily Times" could declare: "The battle of the Trade Unions has been fought and won. The man who deplores or ignores Trade Unions may not be past praying for, but he is certainly past arguing with."

Its association with the exposure of sweating abuses secured for "The Otago Daily Times" a colonial reputation and a powerful influence in local affairs. Meanwhile the weekly "Witness" had built up a reputation as a good farming journal besides being a nursery of New Zealand literature. Fenwick continued as managing
director till his death in 1929, though for the last ten years he was assisted by V. Easton as manager. "The Times" gave strong support to cultural movements in Dunedin, notably in raising £10,000 for the endowment of Otago University; in raising money for a new wing to the museum to house the collection presented by Fenwick's friend Dr. T.M. Hocken, and many other public projects. As we shall see later, Fenwick played a leading role in the unification of the Press in New Zealand, but, though his interests were wide, he abstained, on principle, from taking much part in public life.

Perhaps no chapter in the history of the Press in this country appeals more to the working journalist than the rise of "The Sun" newspapers: for these journals incorporated a bold reaction against the overwhelming struggle for profits and even though "The Sun" papers themselves were drawn into the fray, pushing other papers from the field and finally being brushed aside themselves, they imbued New Zealand journalism with a vitality it has never lost. Practically every important development in the presentation of news over the past thirty years was introduced by "The Sun". Even in its own time, "The Sun's" example was followed and often fully imitated. Its daily signed articles on the leader pages, from New Zealand and overseas writers, provided one of the few direct links between journalism and public life that have appeared since the days of the Crown Colony period when journalist and politician were so often interchangeable terms. Moreover "The Sun" in Christchurch, during the twenty years of its existence,
discovered and helped almost every New Zealand writer who rose to eminence during that period and in the subsequent decade. It inaugurated literary competitions, unheard of in the daily Press today, that cost hundreds of pounds yearly. The Christmas supplement was "by far the most brilliant thing that any New Zealand daily has ever contrived". (1) "The Sun" papers, in fact, were the only daily papers of their time to pay any serious attention to literary work: A.R.D. Fairbairn, R.A.K. Mason, C.R. Allen, Monte Holcroft, Ngaio Marsh, Robin Hyde - all came to light in the days of "The Sun" supplement.

Everything connected with the launching of "The Sun" in Christchurch on 6th February, 1914, was of the best and the pivot of its enterprise, the literary staff, with Charles Harris at its head, has never been equalled in the history of journalism in this country. The staff policy of "The Sun" was sufficient to imbue any newspaper with vigour: to catch reporters young and pay them well. The editor, J.H. Hall, was the youngest New Zealander to have the control of a metropolitan daily in his hands.

"The Sun" was launched in a city where four other daily papers were already operating. So was its courage manifest from the start. Before the year was out, war was declared in Europe, depleting the newspaper of staff and adding to technical problems. Against such odds "The Sun" won its way and entrenched its popularity. "Its success revealed something that nine out of ten New Zealand dailies blandly ignore - the fact that you can't have good journals without good journalists." (2)

This is not to give the impression that "The Sun" was a

(1) Hyde : "Journalese" p.129
(2) Ibid p.188

-99-
dilettante. It was proceeded by a full year of preparatory publicity and it began on a very practical as well as a very forceful note:

"The Sun" has been established because the proprietors felt convinced that a modern and thoroughly up-to-date newspaper was required in this city."

In the same leading article "The Sun" declared: "The first business of a good newspaper is to get all the news." This maxim distinguished "The Sun" from all other papers; no metropolitan daily had mentioned such a principle in its first statement of policy. There were usually claims of "independence" but nothing approaching the policy of Northcliffe - "get all the news". "The Sun" went on to justify its attitude:

"Superficial observers frequently make the mistake of gauging the work of a newspaper by the opinions they read in its leading columns. That is by no means a sufficient test. They should study the news columns as well. Papers that report the news of the day with scrupulous accuracy and impartiality are much more likely to reflect those qualities in their leading articles than papers that pay scant attention to the verification of facts before printing them. Further, the suppression or distortion of facts that the public ought to know is a far greater hindrance to the formation of a sound public opinion than a biased and highly prejudiced leading article."

It followed from this that "The Sun" would have a much wider conception of news value than its contemporaries and while "The Star" in Auckland and "The Times" in Wellington had been outstanding for their enterprise in collecting news, it was in "The Sun" that the influence of the "new journalism" was felt most keenly. "The Sun", appearing as an evening newspaper, concentrated on local news. "All 'Sun' reporters" said Robin Hyde, "were 'bushrangers' -

"wandering hither and thither to pick up local incident, tint with local colour, and present in 'snappy' style. There was no such thing as stereotyped and formal reporting. Everything printed in the paper was original - with the exception, of course, of its cable services - and the consequence was a success hardly looked for in its first days." (1)

(1) Hyde "Journalese" p.189.
This lively interest in local events might have been sufficient to saturate "The Sun" with parochialism: for instance, one might view Robin Hyde's further statement a little dubiously: "Where the rest of the world screamed Hitler or Mussolini, the Christchurch 'Sun' would raise Hell in large headlines concerning a bridge, harbour or art gallery site, the question of which was smouldering in the Canterbury bosom." Hitler and Mussolini, of course, were not neglected and "The Sun" was following the English practice when it conceived the function of an evening newspaper to be of less serious purport than that of a morning journal. Moreover, this concentration on local events was a useful antidote to the overweaning interest in Europe - and Great Britain in particular - which had always marked New Zealand newspapers, and to the focussing of domestic interest in politics on the seat of Government in Wellington.

As to social and political questions, "The Sun" declared in its opening editorial that it would be "independent" - a foregone conclusion - and "broadminded".

"Extreme partisanship," said "The Sun", "is the bane of journalism in this country as it is nearly everywhere else, and the perpetual bickering of party newspapers soon becomes tiresome to a degree, and a weariness to the flesh. It can be explained, if not excused, by the fact that most newspaper writers find it easier to criticise and impute motives than advance constructive proposals and ideals. The former method invariably generates the maximum amount of friction and ill-feeling, and contributes nothing towards the formation of a sound public opinion. 'The Sun' hopes to be more useful to the community than that. It is quite likely that it will differ very sharply from some of our politicians and public men on matters of national interest and importance, but when it does so, it will be because 'The Sun' thinks it can suggest a better method of reaching the goal that we are all striving for, viz., the common good."
It was not long before "The Sun" had pushed one of its two evening rivals from the field. This was "The Evening News" the evening paper of the Christchurch Press Company - which came to the conclusion that it would be better to concentrate on its morning edition, "The Press" and meet solidly the competition of its old rival "The Times". "The Evening News" fell in 1917, since when no evening paper has been published by the Christchurch Press Company.

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Having succeeded in Christchurch against an opposition of four, the prospects of "The Sun" gaining a foothold in Auckland, a larger city, with only two papers in opposition, seemed bright. It was a boom period, too, and there was no difficulty in swelling the capital of the company. The "Canterbury Publishing Company" changed its name to "Sun Newspapers Limited" and on 23rd March, 1927, the first issue of "The Sun" appeared in Auckland. Percy Crisp was the editor, supported by an able team of journalists.

In Auckland "The New Zealand Herald" and "The Auckland Star" had established themselves firmly.

"The Star" which Reed and Brett had founded in 1870, with a circulation of 400 copies daily, had increased the circulation within three years to 3,300 and nine years later the daily sales were 6,000. Initially the time of publication was 4 p.m., two pages going to press soon after mid-day, to be backed up by the later formes about 3.30. "The Star" continued to be four pages of demy size royal for about nine years. From 1879 to 1887 it was enlarged to four pages of royal, then reverted to the demy size with the number of pages gradually increasing from eight to a maximum of 64, including, in the two decades before World War II, many daily issues of 32 pages.
and a continuous series of Saturday issues of 40 pages or more.

To the early era of "The Auckland Star" belonged the issue of subsidiary papers such as "The Family Friend", a ladies' journal, and "Titbits", an illustrated "Comic". For a population of about 25,000 these publications were ambitious projects. "The Family Friend" was later absorbed by "The New Zealand Graphic" a pioneer illustrated journal first published in 1891 and continuing until 1913.

When Reed retired from "The Star" in 1876, Thompson Wilson Leys became editor. This inaugurated a brilliant partnership with Henry Brett (by this time sole proprietor) that lasted for the best part of 50 years. At the turn of the century "The Auckland Star" was the most enterprising journal in the colony, outstanding for its subsidiary journals and other publications (1) and leading the way in technological development. It was "The Star" that introduced the linotype to New Zealand, installing a battery of five machines in 1897.

Leys held the position of editor for 49 years. Always strongly Liberal in politics he supported Grey and later Ballance and Seddon. He declined a seat in the Legislative Council in the conviction that a journalist should not accept such a restriction on his freedom to criticise. Henry Brett had been a very enterprising reporter in his day. He had emigrated from Sussex in September, 1862 and joined the staff of "The Southern Cross". He became an expert bootman, meeting the English ships as they arrived far down the channel and gaining many "scoops" in advance of his competitors.

The liberal outlook of "The Star" was in marked contrast with the conservatism of "The New Zealand Herald" which had held a monopoly as a morning newspaper since the beginning of 1877. The partnership of the Wilson brothers and A.G. Horton, forged in 1876, remained unbroken for 26 years. The first link was snapped on 28th June, 1902, when the death of W.S. Wilson occurred. Only seven weeks later J.L. Wilson died, and A.G. Horton passed away on 11th March, 1903. Thus within nine months of the first break the death had occurred of all three partners. The enterprise passed to other members of the Wilson and Horton families, in whose hands the paper has remained ever since. The business was converted into a limited liability company at the beginning of 1925, at which time the circulation was reaching the 60,000 mark - the largest circulation of any daily paper in the Dominion.

"The Herald" stoutly opposed the rise of Liberalism in the 1890's. When Seddon's Government went to the country for the General Election of 1896, "The Herald" warned the people that:

"Under the present administration the country is drifting towards unmeasurable dangers..... With increasing burdens, reckless finance and disturbing and harassing legislation, we can hardly tell what is coming next." (1)

Old Age Pensions were condemned out of hand: "The Ministerial scheme is simply to create paupers and loafers." (2)

By the time of the next General Election in 1899 (by which time the Government had been in office for nine years), "The New Zealand Herald" was becoming irritable:

"The present Ministry .... has not hesitated to resort to the most unscrupulous devices to retain office and strengthen its position. No promise is too extravagant, no experiment is too hazardous,

(1) "New Zealand Herald" 30th November, 1896
(2) Ibid 1st December, 1896.
"no right is too sacred, no scandal is too shameless to keep it in power." (1)

By 1902 the phrases were becoming stereotyped: "extravagance and waste", (2) "reckless extravagance", (3) "Ministerial despotism", "iniquities", (4) "trickery and injustice", "disgraceful breach of faith", (5) "administrative extravagance runs riot", "a dangerous debt is accumulating", (6) "a wild experiment in finance". (7)

In 1905 the prophecies of doom continued: "administrative abuses", "gross evils", (8) "evasive pleas and misleading utterances of the Premier". (9) "Indeed", said "The Herald" at last, just prior to election day,

"The colony ... has reached a point where it cannot go further without risking disaster.... We cannot go on as we are going much longer; that is utterly and absurdly impossible ... piling up taxation ... cost of living has risen as fast as wages ... so that for all our prosperity there is general complaint ... staggering under terrific debt and excessive taxation ... utterly impossible for Seddonism to continue much longer ... drift to industrial stagnation and commercial collapse ...." (10)

The Government was returned with a record majority.

In a little pamphlet entitled "Who Said Red Ruin?" published anonymously in Auckland in 1938, the author makes an outspoken attack on "The New Zealand Herald". This was the most scathing comment: "In small matters the "Herald" is usually pretty accurate. For instance, it almost invariably gets the date right." (11)

The writer then pressed his point by quoting a series of editorial

(1) "N.Z. Herald 6th November, 1899 (6) Ibid 5th November, 1902
(2) Ibid 20th November, 1902 (7) Ibid 24th November, 1902
(3) Ibid 13th November, 1902 (8) Ibid 20th November, 1905
(4) Ibid 11th November, 1902 (9) Ibid 22nd November, 1905
(5) Ibid 10th November, 1902 (10) Ibid 6th December, 1905
(11) Anon: "Who Said Red Ruin?"
pronouncements from "The Herald". The first of these appeared on 1st August, 1914, and read as follows:

"For the Germans as a people the British as a people have the most profound goodwill. We accept them and recognise them as in every way co-partners in a civilisation common to both ... German music, German literature, German painting and German philosophy and German science are appreciated by the British as fully as British arts and sciences are by the Germans. In religion, in national aspirations, in social tendencies and in ethical conceptions, Britain and Germany are one and the same."

To this opinion, of course, "The Herald" was quite entitled. Before the month was out, however, "The Herald" pontificated:

"Nobody can assume that Germany will lead Western civilisation to better things, for Germany is generations behind the rest of the world in all that asks for peace, freedom and progress." (1)

A few days later "The Herald" condemned those "well-meaning people who foolishly imagined that Germany had the same code as other civilised states." By Christmas Eve "The Herald" was quite set in its opinions: "For forty years and more the Prussian has been tricking us and cheating us, has been sharpening the knife for our throats and coaxing us to his slaughter house."

* * * * *

Into such atmosphere "The Sun" penetrated on 23rd March, 1927. The spirit of the enterprise was lavish: an able journalistic staff had been recruited, a new building with almost two acres of floor space erected and every modern technical device, down to a laboratory for testing alloys, introduced. The first editorial was blithely confident to the point of impudence:

"'The Sun' is in no way an intruder. It is living response to a firm demand for a metropolitan daily...

(1) "N.Z. Herald" 26th August, 1914.
"newspaper to serve in luminous honesty the vital interests of all the people of this city and province of Auckland.

"It is not necessary to peep around corners in order to discover ample reasons for the launching of a modern evening newspaper. For over a decade at least, in open dissatisfaction with commercial use and abuse of a rich monopoly, has desired and called for a new daily newspaper, for a public journal politically unfettered, free from prejudice, and not affected with the drowsiness of easy prosperity."

Criticism such as this had not found its way into newspaper print since the days of the Crown Colony. The editorial continued with a boyish confidence in the new paper's destiny:

"Industrialism on the one side and the forces of Capital on the other need the influence of an independent medium for the exercise of criticism. Without it, as everyone knows, public opinion cannot escape compulsion to find expression within narrow partisan boundaries. It must, as Noah had to do in the Ark, crowd a great deal of matter into a very little compass.

"Thus a great deal of vital opinion is crowded out. Trade and commerce, indeed the whole range of business, have been eager and ready for keener journalistic services; on every page of this new journal there is surely impressive proof of that fact. Finally, the public, always appreciative of alert and competent enterprise, wants a vigorous community newspaper and here, at last, with no exercise of trespass in its advent, is the long-looked for new evening newspaper, vivid, justifiably confident and beaming with youthful vitality."

It will be remembered that when Wilson and Burns had founded "The New Zealand Herald" they had stated in the prospectus for their new enterprise that the paper appeared "with no personal, political, or party purpose but as an untramelled exponent and supporter of public opinion". "Measures (in politics), not men" was to be their criterion. They claimed a sturdy independence, as, too, had "The Star" on its inception in 1870. This, however, was before these
papers had been overtaken by what "The Sun" termed the "drowsiness of easy prosperity". Paradoxically enough the policy which "The Sun" announced was almost identical with the initial policy of its two contemporaries. "What is to be 'The Sun's' policy?" queried the first editorial.

"About that there need be no doubt or misunderstanding. Its aim is the consistent practice of complete independence without fear or favour; no docile purring for the incorrigible Tories in politics; no bleating with the lost sheep in the Liberal wilderness; and no blowing hot and cold for and against Labour. If any one of these parties do a thing that is good it will be the duty and delight of this journal to applaud it. Otherwise there will be no hesitation in assailing their defects and stupidities. The good that is in Labour's policy will be acknowledged, without prejudice, of course, to an independent journal's right to attempt the dissipation of streaks of Socialistic nonsense and disruptive experiments."

In conclusion "The Sun" sounded a firm note of practical business enterprise:

"It would merely be silly to pretend that the purpose of 'The Sun' is purely altruistic. The day for that sort of humbug is past. It has to live and hopes to get a good living. But we mean to earn it by virtue of quick and dependable news, fair comment, faithful service and the vitalising influence of honest purpose."

"The Star" had prepared for the fray by hastily brushing up its pages. "The Sun" proved equal to the occasion. The first issue was of 24 pages. The next day there was a special "souvenir" supplement of 16 pages. The following Saturday saw the production of another 24 page-issue. For the first time Auckland had a truly modern newspaper, with a front-page presentation of news and splash headings. "The Sun" in Auckland followed the example of its predecessor in the south by attaching special importance to local news - written in a racy style and presented in a typographically attractive manner - and a wide variety of "feature" columns.
"The Star", however, was no mean rival. The competition which the intruder provided served to revive some of "The Star's" old enterprise. Moreover, as a business proposition, "The Star" was firmly entrenched and in a position to look a little patronisingly at the lavish scale on which its rival appeared. The capital outlay of "The Sun" was indeed very heavy, and appearing as "The Sun" did on the crest of the boom, this capital outlay was sufficient to drag the paper into the depression very quickly and suddenly. Three years, in fact, after its foundation, "The Sun" published its final number. The paper died quietly, on 20th September, 1930. The last editorial made a brief review of the transaction - "satisfactory" from the business viewpoint, "The Sun" assured its readers - whereby the journal had been merged in "The Star". There was little else to say: the farewell editorial was very short and sought to avoid the issue: there was a hope that some good had been done by "The Sun's" appearance - it was hope expressed perfunctorily and in melancholy contrast with the bold confidence of the opening numbers. Nevertheless, "The Sun" died hard, flaunting 30 pages in the final issue.

Meanwhile the Auckland Star Company had retaliated by entering the field in Christchurch through the purchase of the rather anaemic "Star" in that centre. So it was that when Sun Newspapers sadly retired to the southern stronghold, it was to find a revivified evening newspaper facing them.

The principal protagonists in the drama that ensued were (Sir) Cecil Leys and Edward Chalmers Huie. Both men were seasoned journalists, but Leys no doubt the more practical of the two. Thirty-five years previously M.C. Huie had entered journalism in
Dunedin as a reporter on "The Evening Star", passing in due course to a harder school of journalism in "The Otago Daily Times". In 1906 he became editor of "The Evening News", the afternoon by-product of the Christchurch "Press", which he left in 1914 to start "The Sun" newspapers. He was a man of sanguine temperament, frugal in speech, unpretentious, shy, with a quick, orderly mind. It was he who made "The Sun" a Mecca for working journalists (not because he made their life easy - no doubt they worked much harder though more willingly because they were given freer rein and better reward) and for all those with the urge to write.

Huie was a born fighter. Undeterred by the northern reverse, he turned his attention to consolidating his original post. His dream of establishing a series of "Sun" newspapers in the four main centres had been rebuffed and in Christchurch he was now facing a millionaire company - New Zealand Newspapers Ltd. controlling "The Star" in Auckland, "The Star" in Christchurch and other enterprises.

Leys threw down the gauntlet. As if to display his confidence in the ultimate result of the battle he purchased "The New Zealand Women's Weekly" which had been launched some time before by another concern and was about to go the way of most New Zealand magazines. Sir Cecil spent several thousand pounds popularising and improving the new weekly. By means of a wide circulation of free copies and an expensive outlay in canvassing for subscriptions the journal was at length set on its feet.

Nothing succeeds like success. Leys now pointed the pistol at the head of E.C. Huie by reducing the price of "The Star" from twopence to one penny, after Huie had refused to sell out. So began
the biggest newspaper war in New Zealand's history. Leys' action in cutting the cost of the paper forced down the price of dailies in Christchurch, and then in adjacent areas, spreading at length through the whole of the South Island. All the dailies lost heavily and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association was deeply concerned lest the penny paper idea might spread to the North Island.

Various efforts were made to effect a settlement. New Zealand Newspapers Limited made a more tempting offer to "The Sun". Huie, the fighter, refused to give in. The battle dragged on. "It is, in my opinion," said Robin Hyde, "a test of strength between good money and good journalism." (1) Finally, New Zealand Newspapers made a further offer to "The Sun". Huie once more refused, but his directors and shareholders, who had been starving for a dividend for years, swallowed the golden bait and "The Sun" came to an abrupt end (29th June, 1935). Only a few weeks before, "The Sun" had celebrated its majority with a proud 48-page issue - one of the finest anniversary numbers ever published in New Zealand.

The quality of the two "Sun" newspapers may be measured by the fact that although both journals went under in the years of the Depression, the entire literary staff found other employment in the profession - many, perhaps most of them finding better jobs - from which vantage point the influence of "The Sun" spread like a leaven as far afield as "Sun" men were to be found. "The Press" and "The Star" in Christchurch were chief beneficiaries: "The Press" took over "The Sun" literary chief, J.H.D. Schroeder (now associate editor) as well as the children's page en bloc and other features; and "The Star" made some atonement for ousted its rival by hybridising its own name to the rather fatuous "Star-Sun" as it is now called, and by developing

(1) Hyde: "Journailese" p.190.
"The Sun" policy (infused by old "Sun" reporters on its staff) of being exceptionally alert in reporting local news - with such success that few would now contest "The Star-Sun's" claim to be "New Zealand's Brightest Daily". In the North, it was Allan Mulgan who infused some of the old "Sun" policy into "The Auckland Star".

Concurrent with the surrender of "The Sun", "The Christchurch Times" (at that time New Zealand's oldest newspaper) ceased publication, bringing about the greatest newspaper closure in the history of the Dominion. "The maintenance of four newspapers in a city with a population of 130,000 was not economically sound", pleaded the last editorial of "The Times". "Sacrifices had to be made, and the proprietors agreed to cease the publication of 'The Times' only when it was apparent that no other solution of the difficult problem was possible."

"The Times" looked back wistfully at its record:

"It began as a journal of no party, but its very first pronouncements revealed its essential Liberalism, and ever since then it has led and guided the forces fighting for freedom and national progress. It was the sole daily newspaper in New Zealand that had the courage and the wisdom to support Mr. Ballance when he created the Liberal Party. The financial resources of the colony were organised in defence of vested privilege, and not for the first time, or the last, the proprietors were given to understand that championship of the cause of the poor and the landless carried its penalties. We all claim to be Socialists nowadays, but Socialism can be as tyrannous as any despotism, and if the people of New Zealand are wise, they will stand firm in their support of the journals that uphold Liberal principles."

Staunch in its faith right to the end, "The Times" could also be generous to its old rival:

"These are strange times and freedom is a priceless jewel, not to be left unguarded. Happily in Canterbury "The Times"
"is able to hand over the trust to its own offspring, its comrade in many a strenuous fight, a vigorous youngster of sixty-seven, tried and trustworthy and now the heir to its total estate. The banner will be in good hands. If it were not for that assurance 'The Times' would necessarily have carried on. This is the consideration that takes the sting out of the passing."

"A grand old daily passes this week to the Valhalla of all newspapers," wrote Jessie McKay in a valedictory message.

"The new, unassimilated title drops away; it is the "Lyttelton Times" that Canterbury mourns today. The baby paper and the baby province were born together and grew together. The Pilgrim romance, fresh and young, was breathed into the bantling; it was Canterbury's own long after the Pilgrim ideal had sobered into the bigger, bluff reality of 'a slice of Britain' browned to perfection in a colonial oven." (1)

In the last issue of "The Times", reminiscences were the order of the day. Seddon had been a frequent visitor to the office during his long term of administration and on one occasion he refused to give a reporter an interview but he subsequently repented, thinking the reporter might be blamed. It was just on three in the morning, however, before he got free from "friends and supporters", made his way to "The Times" office and dictated a "story". In those days the paper did not go to press until about 5 a.m. Even so, one of Seddon's famous Budgets was so long that the telegraphing of it was not finished in time for the morning issue and it had to be "continued in our next".

A good many other periodicals died during the Depression: "The Christchurch Weekly Press", "The Otago Daily Witness" ("where for so long old Paul (2) dug his toes into the trenches and put up a stout fight after leaving the Labour cause"(3)), "Triad",(founded

(1) "Christchurch Times" 29th June, 1935.
(2) J.T. Paul 1874 - 19-
(3) Hyde: "Journalese" p.11
in Dunedin in 1893 and devoted to cultural interests) and "Aussie", an offshoot of an Australian magazine appearing under the same title. The New Zealand edition of "Aussie" had paid higher lineage rates than any other periodical in the country for contributed matter. "Aussie" succumbed to the first blast of the Depression, even though the circulation had averaged about 21,000 a month and reached the 36,000 mark on one occasion.

* * *

New Zealand has no national daily newspaper - no daily, that is, with a Dominion-wide circulation. "The Auckland Weekly News" might lay claim to some such title as "national": initiated in 1866 as the weekly edition of "The New Zealand Herald", "The Weekly News" has developed from a digest of news intended for country readers into a magazine type of journal, still finding a place for the news highlights of the week, but devoting more attention to commentary, signed articles, short stories, cartoons, photographic illustrations (in which it excels) and many other "features".

The first approach to a news-vending journal with a New Zealand-wide circulation was therefore "Truth", an offshoot of the Australian paper issued under the same title and founded in Sydney by Triall. The paper was modelled on the lines of the American "yellow press". It was an immediate success and branches were quickly established in Melbourne, Brisbane, and Perth. Early in the present century a New Zealand edition of the paper began in Wellington. New Zealand newspapers had always been notoriously circumspect, following the best Victorian traditions in matters
relating to morality and incidentally looking after their circulations by setting out to be "family" papers. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, however, and "Truth" found ample copy in subjects that were taboo in the daily press but still quite legitimate news matter. For the first twenty years the sales of the paper were built up almost entirely on what the daily press regarded as the garbage of the Magistrate's Courts. Even though "Truth" found its weekly fare in scandals and sensations, however, there was certainly a demand for such fare, as the paper's prosperity testified. After 1920, with Robert Hoog and Pat Lawlor at the helm, the policy of "Truth" was widened to include, besides the cheaper type of sensationalism on which the paper had been founded, an extensive sports section and a more serious disclosure of political, mercantile, civic and social abuses. This broader policy led to a good many journalistic "scoops" and earned the paper a much wider respect. The circulation grew from 17,000 weekly in 1910 to 90,000 in 1932, at which time the record figure was over the 100,000 mark. (The proprietors have declined to make recent figures of circulation available to the writer.) "Truth" now has a special correspondent in London, and one in each of the main centres throughout New Zealand. When the owner of the journal, John Norton, died in Sydney, "Truth" continued for a period as part of Norton's Estate but in 1928 the local offshoot was taken over by a New Zealand Company, legally separating "New Zealand Truth" from the parent paper in Australia.

The only other newspaper which may claim a national circulation is "The Standard", official organ of the Labour Party and a paper that first began in 1910 as "The Maoriland Worker", but the story of this journal may best be dealt with in a separate chapter.
V. **ELEMENTS OF UNITY**

In the days when European settlement was in its infancy in New Zealand, isolation was the keynote of life. All links with the outside world were feeble and irregular. All news travelled by sea — from the Mother-country by the clipper-built ships of the old Black Ball line and, from other parts of New Zealand, by trading ships and schooners. On 23rd May, 1840, "The New Zealand Gazette" celebrated the purchase of the schooner "Jewess", the first ship to ply regular trade between Wellington and other parts of the Colony.

The mountains divided the country so much that the various settlements heard more regularly from England than from one another. During his first term of office Governor Grey remarked that, in a period of twelve months, six vessels arrived at Auckland direct from England and forty from Sydney, but in the same period only six ships reached the port of Auckland from other parts of the Colony. Communication between Wellington and Auckland often travelled via Sydney. In the early days of the Wellington settlement it often happened that nothing was heard of the Government in Auckland for three or four months at a time — a factor hardly calculated to encourage efficient administration or to foster amicable relations between the two settlements. Small settlements, such as Nelson, New Plymouth and Napier were in an even worse position. For instance, such important news as that of Governor Hobson's death in Auckland on 10th September, 1845, took nearly six weeks to get to Nelson.

At the beginning of the Waikato War in 1863 the battle of Rangiriri Pa was fought within what is now little more than an
hour's motor run from Auckland. The actual day of battle was 20th November. The full story of it was published in the Auckland papers on 25th November and even at this date one journal had the following apology to make: "Our correspondent having unaccountably omitted to append the list of killed and wounded to the foregoing graphic and interesting narrative, we have been indebted to our contemporary for the subjoined ......." (1)

In the first issue of "The Southland News and Foveaux Straits Herald" (later absorbed by "The Southland News") dated 16th February, 1861, a note read: "The Riverton races took place on January 20, but as yet we have received no report" - and the next issue of the paper did not appear until 2nd March.

Even when "The Press" was established in Christchurch in 1861, England was three or four months away, Auckland mail took a fortnight to reach Christchurch, and Dunedin and Wellington were three or four days distant. As late as May, 1875, "The Poverty Bay Herald" was complaining that the mail took a month to travel from Auckland to Gisborne.

In the 'forties and 'fifties it was no doubt common for the "Sole Editor and Proprietor" to suddenly drop all the work he had in hand to run down to the beach and row out to a ship newly arrived from England, in quest of precious newspaper files. This was particularly important when rival newspapers were out to get in first with the news. In the 'sixties (Sir) Henry Brett earned a name for himself as a reporter by his enterprise in meeting the English ships as they arrived far down the Channel, thus gaining many scoops in advance of his Auckland competitors.

In 1850 regular overland communication was established between Auckland and Wellington by means of native messengers who made the journey of over 400 miles once every fortnight, taking about a month to complete the mission and being rewarded for their efforts with £2 a trip.

The first telegraph was installed in England in 1838 but not till 1861 was the first telegraphic communication made in New Zealand, over a privately-owned wire connecting Dunedin and Port Chalmers. The first official telegraphic lines were constructed by the Provincial authorities, the Canterbury Provincial Government opening a line between Christchurch and Lyttelton at the beginning of 1863. In the following year a line was constructed between Invercargill and Bluff. The central Government later acquired all these lines and in 1865 erected lines between Dunedin and Invercargill, to be followed in the same year by a connection between Dunedin and Christchurch. The Maori Wars delayed progress in the North Island although a military line connecting Auckland and Papakura, afterwards extended to Cambridge and then Hamilton, was erected in 1863, and purchased by the central Government three years later.

This slender array of telegraph lines between the chief settlements formed the channel by which the otherwise leisurely-moving news was jolted to its destination in the 'sixties and 'seventies. The sailing ships were still surrounded by piratical newspapermen eager to be first, and it was a case of each newspaper for itself and the Devil take the hindmost until 1869 when the central Government first undertook to supply the principal newspapers with a telegraphic summary of the news brought by English and
Australian mails. This was compiled in Melbourne by an agent appointed by the New Zealand Telegraph Commission and, on arrival in New Zealand, it was telegraphed to the principal newspapers. This system was introduced by Julius Vogel, at that time Commissioner of Telegraphs, Postmaster-General, and Colonial Treasurer.

The system was dropped following a change of Government and "The Otago Daily Times" then tried to formulate a system of its own, quite independent of Government patronage. Once more the Government was changed, however, and once again the Vogel system of disseminating overseas news was introduced. Then the Government decided that it would be more profitable to the Treasury coffers if each newspaper sent its own garnering of news over the Government-owned telegraph wires.

The completion of the cable line between England and Australia in 1872 accelerated world news on its journey to New Zealand, but, by raising the cost of overseas news, it also stressed the need for some co-ordination of news-getting resources. When the State-operated system of distributing overseas news was abandoned, therefore, Fenwick, the enterprising editor of "The Otago Daily Times" once again took the lead in making arrangements for some co-ordinated service. Fenwick called a meeting of representatives from the leading newspapers in the Colony to discuss the formation of an association (along the lines of agencies already operating in Great Britain and the United States) in order to secure a cheaper and more efficient flow of overseas news as well as to eliminate uneconomic competition in the collection of New Zealand news. The direction of the Association was vested in a committee of three and cable messages were obtained in
Australia through Reuters' and supplied over a special telegraphic wire leased from the Government in New Zealand at a reduction of 25% on the current telegraphic charge of one penny per word.

E. T. Gillon, later appointed editor of "The Evening Post" and at that time editor of "The New Zealander," (1) was appointed manager of the Association for the time being. He canvassed newspaper proprietors in the North Island while Fenwick visited those in the South.

One clause in the articles of association prevented complete success: the service was to be provided to only one evening and one morning newspaper in any town. The purpose of this clause was partly political in origin and partly an attempt to prune out uneconomic competition.


No Auckland papers were included in the syndicate, nor was "The Press" in Christchurch, "The Independent" in Wellington, "The Evening Star" in Dunedin or any of the Invercargill papers. These papers accordingly formed a separate Agency of their own.

Reuters' supplied both the Agency and the Association with a world

(1) A Wellington paper distinct from its Auckland namesake.
news service while each combine had a separate Australian news service.

The Press Agency was a fierce rival of the Association. Fenwick himself accused the Agency of "bribery and corruption". (1) Charges against both combines were raised in the House by Members of Parliament and the issue was a subject of heated controversy at election time. The chief bone of contention was the special telegraph wire which the Government had leased to the Association soon after its inception and from which the Agency was naturally excluded. Moreover the principal newspapers in the Association were strong supporters of the Government and it was not without justification that the Agency levelled charges of favouritism at the Government. The cleavage between the two sets of newspapers was only carried a stage further when the Agency was also granted a special wire of its own.

In 1876 the cable between Australia and New Zealand was completed and for two more years the fierce rivalry of the Press Association and the Agency continued. The inauguration of this cable service made collective action all the more imperative since no newspaper could afford to pay for an adequate supply of overseas news when the rate of the cable service was 11s 10d a word direct from London (up to 1886) or 8s a word from Australia (up to 1881).

The increased cost of overseas news served to stress the uneconomic nature of two Press services in one small country. Fenwick himself had always retained a large measure of independence in politics and to him the waste of time, energy, and money involved in running two Press services was a consideration that should have over-ridden differences in political opinion. He accordingly arranged for a meeting of the Association about the middle of 1879. The Association

(1) Fenwick: "Press Pamphlets".
reconsidered its exclusive policy and an offer of amalgamation was made to the Press Agency.

On 19th December, 1879, representatives of forty-eight newspapers met and joined forces in the United Press Association. Those present at this meeting included Fenwick (in the chair), Horton, Brett, Blundell, Reeves, A.G. Fraser ("The Morning Herald", Dunedin), J.W. Jago ("The Evening Star" Dunedin) and H. Belfield ("The Timaru Herald").

Reuters' continued to supply the New Zealand Press with its overseas news although Australian news was collected separately. Domestic news was supplied by the local papers, each giving that of its own district. Reuters' service proved very inelastic, however, and proved even more unsatisfactory when concessions in price were eliminated at the onset of the Depression in the late 1880's. In 1887, Wynne of "The Daily Telegraph" in Sydney, came to New Zealand with an offer from an Australian syndicate for a news service on more favourable terms and better designed to suit Australasian needs. The United Press Association accepted the offer and the New Zealand Press benefited greatly from what at that time was the cheapest cable service in the world.

There is no record of the volume of cable news handled until 1891 (a year after the trans-Tasman cable was duplicated), in which year the satellites of the United Press Association were supplied with 155,000 words from overseas. By 1910 the annual volume had increased to 521,000 words; by 1920 it had grown to 732,000, by 1930 to 960,000; by 1936 to 1,350,000 and by 1940 the figure was in the vicinity of 1,500,000.

Another milestone in the progress of communications was the
opening of the Pacific cable to Vancouver in 1902, with a connection to Australia. Subsequent developments were the laying of a further cable to Australia in 1912; the duplication of the Pacific cable in 1926; and, in 1929, following a merger of British cable and wireless companies and the amalgamation of overseas cable services under the control of one authority, one of the trans-Tasman cables was lifted and the route of a second one was altered.

From the outset the directors of the United Press Association adopted the policy of making the most complete service of news available to its members. Today the Press Association has access to the leading news services in Great Britain, the United States, Australia and other countries. In Great Britain the Association has access to "The Times", "The Daily Telegraph", "The Daily News", "The News Chronicle", "The Daily Herald", and "The Manchester Guardian" as well as Reuters', the Press Association, the Associated Press of Great Britain, the Exchange Telegraph Company, British United Press, Lloyd's Shipping Office and British Official Wireless. This is certainly a formidable list and, what is more important, it is a widely representative list, ranging from the Toryism of "The Daily Telegraph", through the off-centre impartiality of "The Times" to the Liberalism of "The News Chronicle", although the Communistic "Daily Worker" is conspicuous by its absence.

In the United States the New Zealand Press Association has liaison with "The New York Times", the Associated Press of America, the United Press Association, and the North American Newspaper Alliance. In Australia there is contact with the Australian Associated Press. In addition, the Association has agents in Honolulu,
Suva, Rarotonga, Samoa, Capetown, Peiping, Shanghai, Calcutta, Colombo, Tokio, Singapore, Koepong, Batavia, and Vancouver.

The United Press Association is non-partisan in character. If the newspaper Press of New Zealand is guilty of selecting news to suit partisan purposes, the United Press Association can scarcely be accused of complicity, except insofar as the sources which the Association taps are inclined to pay allegiance more to the Right than to the Left.

Shortly after its inception the United Press Association was transformed into a limited liability company run by a Board of Directors. The directors are elected by the shareholders who must be proprietors or representatives of newspapers. Morning and evening newspapers are equally represented on the Board. The first Board consisted of Fenwick (Chairman), Reeves, Horton, Brett, and Blundell. The number of directors was later enlarged to six and then to eight. Successive managers include Gillon, Humphries, W. H. Atack, A. R. Lane, and T. M. Hinkley, the most notable of whom was Atack - who held the position for 44 years, from 1886 until the time of his retirement in 1930.

Pigeons survived in the service of the Press until about the time of World War I. Prior to that time it was quite common for local country messages to appear under some such title as "Per pigeon carrier express". Pigeons were used extensively to supplement the rudimentary system of telegraphic communication and the birds proved very useful in supplying news of race-meetings and other sports events that took place some distance from urban centres. In the early days "The Evening Star" in Auckland even sent pigeons on
the mailboat to Sydney and as the vessel neared New Zealand on the
return trip the pigeons were released with their burdens of Home and
Australian news, enabling "The Star" to steal many marches on rival
papers.

Recent advances in communication have further shortened
the delay in the publication of news. The aeroplane has provided
a useful means of supplementing the cable service in the transmission
of overseas news and has proved a valuable adjunct to local reporting,
being used extensively in securing photographic illustrations and,
less often, in "covering" important events. An early instance
occurred when the Isabella de Fraine was wrecked on the Hokianga Bar
with the loss of all eight hands in July, 1928; it was a plane that
brought back the news and photographs of the event to "The New Zealand
Herald" in Auckland. Again, on the occasion of the Hawke's Bay
earthquake in February, 1931, planes were engaged to enable pictures
taken amid the ruins of Napier one afternoon to appear in next
morning's "Herald". Perhaps an even more striking example of the
early use to which the aeroplane was put concerned the arrival of
Kingsford Smith at New Plymouth in January, 1933, after his second
west-to-east conquest of the Tasman. Kingsford Smith touched down
at seven o'clock in the evening. Twenty minutes later an aeroplane
was heading north with a camera record of the event. Guided for
the greater part of his journey by the moonlit line of breakers on
the West Coast and landing at Mangere aerodrome by the aid of
illumination shed by motor-car head-lights, the pilot enabled
"The Herald" to publish photographs of Kingsford Smith's arrival
24 hours ahead of any other journal.
The radio has annihilated space. News now is only so old as differences of time dictate and the Press can give a day by day commentary on what the world is doing. At the same time the radio has introduced an element of competition for it possesses the power of bringing, simultaneously into millions of homes, statements of fact, interpretative comment, and arguments for and against any interpretation, in such a way as to appeal to the emotions as well as to the minds of listeners. It has a range of appeal far wider than that of the Press, for a broadcaster may speak to the illiterate. Even in literate communities the spoken word is apt to find a readier response, partly because of its greater emotive power. In practice, however, the development of radio, in New Zealand at least, seems to have stimulated rather than prejudiced the sale of newspapers. Broadcasting may get its blow in first but newspapers can strengthen and deepen the impression. At the same time the radio has stolen some of the advertising revenue away from the Press, prompting both media to look to their laurels.
"There is a character in which the press has won for itself that most honourable title 'the fourth estate'. Something beyond King, and lords, and commons, without which a constitution is incomplete; a title expressing what in all free countries has become a great fact, that the press constitutes a powerful and important part of the government of a Country. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, as on the one hand no real freedom can exist in any country without a free press, so, on the other, where the press is faithful to its task, and people are worthy and capable of freedom, for the public press, in its tone and character, its taste and its ability is but a test and pulse of the condition of a people, intellectually, morally, and socially.

"In this capacity as a censor of public morals, as a critic of public men, as an expression of the opinion of political parties, or as discussing the acts of the government of the day, the press must be at once the teacher and the exponent, the guide and the follower, of public opinion. The teacher and guide it must ever be, if it is worthy of its mission, and if it expresses, as in England and elsewhere, the mind of the leading statesmen and politicians of the country. The follower, too, it must be in the long run, because a paper continually expressing an unpopular policy and unable to obtain sufficient support, must at length retire from the field. Thus the public and the press mutually act and re-act on one another, and thus the press whilst it leads at the same time expresses the public mind."


"The freedom of the Press" has no existence in common law. Legally, there is no such thing and the Press has no rights beyond those of private citizens. The freedom of the Press in Great Britain came about by the failure of Parliament to renew the Licensing Act in 1795; by the failure of the judiciary to proceed with the prosecution of Woodfall in 1770, (establishing a precedent that was confirmed by Fox's Libel Act of 1792) and by the abortive prosecution of Wilkes in 1771, after which reports of the proceedings of Parliament were tacitly admitted.
Legally, the Press has no right to report the affairs of Parliament: it does so only under cover of a privilege established by custom. The privilege was not granted as a favour to the Press: it was wrested from Parliament because the Press had become the organ of a body of public opinion which had become so clamant that Parliament could no longer ignore it. The press therefore derived its freedom from the people. It followed that the Press owed its allegiance to the people and not to Parliament. It might also seem to follow that the privileges of the Press were conditional upon actual representation of public opinion. In practice, this does not appear to be the case. At the present time, for instance, there are 44 daily newspapers in New Zealand and only two of them support the Government which derives its power from public opinion as expressed through a secret ballot.

How, then, are the two powers of representation to be reconciled? A classical definition of the difference between the duties of a free Press and the duties of a Government was given in two leading articles written for "The Times" as far back as 1852. "The Times" was at this stage rising to the plenitude of its power. In 1841 Thomas Barnes had died and Delane had assumed the position of editor at the age of 23. In December, 1851, Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, carried out the coup d'état which was to make him Emperor of France. Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in Lord John Russell's Administration, expressed on behalf of Great Britain his approval of the accomplished fact - without consulting his colleagues or informing the Queen. "The Times" thundered against him and Louis Napoleon. Palmerston's high-
handed action brought about his dismissal and two months later the whole Russell Administration fell. Meanwhile Lord Derby, who succeeded Russell, took occasion to lecture "The Times" for its outspoken language and to claim that "as in these days the English Press aspires to share the influence of statesmen, so also must it share the responsibilities of statesmen." (1)

Derby's proposition was immediately challenged by "The Times". Delane instructed Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke) to refute the doctrine which Derby had expounded and on 6th February, 1852, "The Times" remarked as follows: ".... We, of all men, are the least disposed to lower the proper functions or to deny the responsibilities and the power we may derive from the confidence of the public. But, be that power more or less, we cannot admit that its purpose is to share the labours of statesmanship, or that it is bound by the same limitations, the same duties, the same liabilities as that of the Ministers of the Crown. The purposes and duties of the two powers are constantly separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically opposite." (2)

"The Times" then went on to analyse the functions of Press and Parliament: "The first duty of the Press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly, by disclosing them, to make them the common property of the nation. The statesman collects his information secretly and by secret means; he keeps back even the current intelligence of the day with ludicrous precautions, until diplomacy is beaten in the race with publicity. The Press lives by disclosures; whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and the history of our times; it is daily and forever appealing to the enlightened force of public opinion - anticipating if possible the march of events - standing upon the breach between the present and the future, and extending its survey to the horizon of the world. The statesman's duty is precisely the reverse. He cautiously guards from the public eye the information by which his actions and opinions are regulated; he reserves his judgment of

(1) Quoted by Steed: "The Press" p.75
(2) Quoted ibid.
passing events till the latest moment, and then he records it in obscure or conventional language; he strictly confines himself, if he is wise, to the practical interests of his own country, or to those turning immediately upon it; he hazards no rash surmises as to the future; and he concentrates in his own transactions all that power which the Press seeks to diffuse over the world. The duty of the one is to speak; of the other to be silent. The one explains itself in discussion; the other tends to action. The one deals mainly with rights and interests; the other with opinions and sentiments; the former is necessarily reserved, the latter essentially free." (1)

It followed from this that the responsibilities of Press and Parliament were "as much at variance as their duties." "For us, with whom publicity and truth are the air and light of existence, there can be no greater disgrace than to recoil from the frank and accurate disclosure of facts as they are." The responsibility of the journalist was therefore "more nearly akin to that of the economist or the lawyer whose province is not to frame a system of convenient application to the exigencies of the day but to investigate truth and to apply it on fixed principles to the affairs of the world." (2)

This last argument is loose, however, and we may readily imagine that Robert Lowe slept on the idea before writing a further editorial which appeared in "The Times" on the following day (7th February, 1852). Lowe's specific purpose on this occasion was to apply the principles which he had enunciated, to the particular case of Louis Napoleon, but in doing so he also clinched his arguments as to the relation between Press and Government. "The ends which a really patriotic and enlightened journal should have in view", he said, "are, we conceive, absolutely identical with the ends of

(1) Quoted by Steed: "The Press" p. 76
(2) Quoted ibid p.77
an enlightened and patriotic Minister, but the means by which the journal and the Minister work out these ends, and the conditions under which they work, are essentially and widely different. The statesman in opposition must speak as one prepared to take office; the statesman in office must speak as one prepared to act. A pledge or a despatch with them is something more than an argument or an essay - it is a measure. Undertaking not so much the investigation of political affairs, they are necessarily not so much seekers after truth as expediency. The Press, on the other hand, has no practical function; it works out the ends it has in view by argument and discussion alone, and being perfectly unconnected with administrative or executive duties, may and must roam at free will over topics which men of political action dare not touch.... The duty of the journalist is the same as that of the historian - to seek out truth, above all things, and to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it.... To require, then, the journalist and the statesman to conform to the same rules is to mix up things essentially different." (1)

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The doctrine which Robert Lowe enunciated in "The Times" at the beginning of 1852 had actually been established in practice before that time and it was on such a doctrine as this that the infant Press in New Zealand depended. In the era of the Crown Colony, however, the New Zealand Press served a much broader purpose than that which Lowe had outlined. In the first decade of development the people of the Colony had practically no voice in the government of their country. For the first few months after the cession of New Zealand to the British Crown, in February, 1840, the Colony was governed as a dependency of New South Wales. In November, 1840, New Zealand was granted its charter as a separate Colony, supplemented by a set of royal instructions providing for a separate Governor, an executive council, and a legislative

(1) Quoted by Steed: "The Press" p.78.
council consisting of the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, and the persons holding the first three places in the commission of the peace.

Almost immediately a brisk agitation for more liberal institutions was set in progress. The systematic settlement of New Zealand followed by less than a decade the great period of political reforms which gave to English political institutions their definite form. Moreover, the colonisation of New Zealand began less than a year after the publication of the Durham Report, the basic assumption of which was that the parliamentary system of representative and responsible government could, and should, be transplanted to the colonies.

The New Zealand Press therefore set itself up as the trustee of public opinion in demanding more liberal institutions of government. During the period of the Crown Colony the New Zealand Press bore a close resemblance to the Press in Great Britain during the reign of George III and up to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. At this stage the Press precoursed the powers that were to be invested in popular institutions.

Until the recommendations of the Durham Report were implemented in New Zealand, the atmosphere was filled with vigorous and even strident political activity. The New Zealand colonists were quite as dubious of the wisdom, and as impatient of the conservatism, of the Colonial Office as similar groups of British colonists in other parts of the world. This impatience was expressed in newspapers that followed the tradition of Barnes and Cobbett in their plain-spoken representation of public opinion. The outspoken
character of early editorials in New Zealand is proved by the number of papers which were forcibly closed down at the command of the Government. Fitzroy, whose recall was brought about largely through the exertions of Domett, might well have said of the editor of "The Nelson Examiner":

"He speaks plain cannon-fire and smoke, and bounce; He gives the bastinado with his tongue; Our ears are cudgel'd... Zounds! I was never so bethumped with words, Since I first called my brother's father, dad." (1)

In the absence of representative institutions the Press set itself up as the mouthpiece of public opinion. The opening remarks of "The Lyttelton Times" on 11th January, 1851, were as follows: "As long as there is but one public journal in a colony, we hold it to be the duty of the editor to avoid, above all things, making it exclusively the organ of any particular party. He ought so far to consult the public good as to make his journal a means for enabling parties or individuals to lay their views before their fellow-countrymen, and his columns ought to be equally and liberally open to all. Indeed a far deeper responsibility lies upon us to give this means of expression to our fellow colonists, so that our journal may fairly and faithfully represent the mind of the whole community, from the consideration that we are living at present under a government which affords the colonists no legitimate and constitutional mode of stating their opinions upon questions of public interest such as they would possess under a representative government, and such as they themselves enjoyed up to the moment they left their native shores."

At this time the Colony of New Zealand consisted of isolated communities of settlers, the most important of which were the New Zealand Company's settlements in Wellington, Taranaki and Nelson, and the Church-sponsored settlements in Canterbury and Otago. In the case of the South Island, differences of origin accentuated differences due to geography. Canterbury was English
and Church of England, Otago Scottish and Presbyterian. This partly explains why all the earlier projects for a system of representative institutions provided for decentralisation of political power. The constitution finally adopted, and embodied in the Constitution Act of 1852, divided New Zealand into six provinces - Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago - each with an elected superintendent and an elected provincial council of not less than nine members. Outside certain specified exceptions, including justice, customs, currency, weights and measures, postal services and Crown lands, the provincial councils had full legislative powers. The provisions of the Constitution Act for the establishment of a General Assembly were remarkable for their liberality and for their incorporation of all the main features of the British parliamentary system. The lower chamber, the Legislative Assembly, was wholly elective on a property franchise, the effect of which was to give the vote to every well-conducted man who had been a few years in the Colony. The session of 1856 saw the establishment of full responsible government qualified only by the British Government's retention of the right to deal with native affairs and certain other matters. The federal system of Government in New Zealand lasted from 1854 to 1876.

The century which saw the development of representative government in England saw also the development of a network of elective local authorities, both rural and urban, exercising extensive powers under general supervision from the centre. The New Zealanders followed naturally in the same path. The provincial governments had themselves encouraged the development of municipal
councils and of road boards in their areas. When provincial
governments were abolished, the central Government immediately
set about the creation of a uniform national system of local
government which was to inherit all functions not of direct national
importance. This intention was incorporated in the Municipal
Corporations Act of 1876 and the Counties Act of the same year.

With the abolition of the provinces and the establishment
of a national system of local authorities, the constructional period
in New Zealand's political development came to an end. The comple-
tion of this structure divested the Press of much of its former
power. After 1854 the Press could no longer lay claim to represent
public opinion to the same full extent as it had for the first
fourteen years of organised settlement in New Zealand. The power
of the "fourth estate" was further whittled away by the effective
establishment of responsible government in 1856 and by the admini-
strative progress of the year 1876. In the meantime, the men who
had demanded representative institutions through the medium of the
Press, continued their connections with the Press to forward their
political programmes. At least till the turn of the century,
therefore, Press and politics continued to be closely associated.
During this period successive Ministries were in almost all cases
led by men who had either been editors of Colonial journals or who
had been regular contributors to these journals. Sewell, Fox,
Stafford, Domett, Vogel, and Ballance are all names to be associated
as much with the Press as with politics. It was during the same
period, from 1856 onwards, that the Press assumed the character of
the British Press after 1832. At the same time the functions of
the Press were being channelled into the moulds which "The Times" had described in 1852.

* * * * *

On 13th August, 1877, "The Oamaru Mail" published a trenchant attack on Whitaker, the Attorney-General, because of his action in initiating the Native Land Courts Bill. It was alleged that the Bill was designed to validate the purchase by Whitaker and others of an area of 200,000 acres of land in the Waikato, and the whole transaction was condemned in no uncertain terms. The editor, Jones, was ordered to appear before the bar of the House, which he did on 23rd August. In March of the following year Jones appeared as plaintiff in a libel action but the jury had no hesitation in returning a verdict of not guilty. In the meantime the Native Land Courts Bill had been withdrawn and the Administration had fallen.

The case of Whitaker v. Jones provides perhaps the best New Zealand example of the manner in which the Press prided itself as acting during the course of the nineteenth century. As editor of a fairly small country journal, with limited financial backing, Jones had everything to lose, financially, by making his trenchant attack on the Attorney-General. Jones was motivated not by sense of personal gain, however, but by sense of mission and his expression of opinion was accordingly fearless. It was in this respect that the Press could claim "that most honourable title, 'the fourth estate'. Something beyond King, and lords, and commons, without which a constitution is incomplete; a title expressing what in all free countries has become a great fact, that the Press constitutes
a powerful and important part of the government of a country." (1)

The attitude of "The Oamaru Mail" was by no means peculiar to that paper. Many other journals at that time were equally as fearless in their conception of the Press as performing a function of public service. After the 1879 election, for instance, Samuel Johnson, editor of "The Marlborough Express" in Blenheim, was threatened with no less than five libel actions. Here too, the editor had everything to lose, financially, by being outspoken, for his paper had only been established for three years and it was issued in the same small town as two other newspapers - a town which at the present time supports only one journal.

Nor was this attitude confined to the smaller journals. In his memoirs, O.T.J. Alpers recalled his days on "The Press" in Christchurch in the 'nineties. He joined the staff as leader-writer in 1891 when "The Press" had "just come under new management and had embarked upon an energetic fighting policy in defence of the many vested interests, chiefly pastoral, that were supposed to be threatened by the party now come into power with its avowed policy of 'busting up' the large estates of the squatters and wealthy runholders by means of a graduated land-tax. For the purposes of this fight the paper was well provided with capital and courage, and its chief contributors were given a wide discretion.

"In one article I remember I fiercely attacked a flagrant piece of political jobbery - the appointment to a high and dignified post in the public service of a man of notoriously disreputable character. The editor - who, dear man, was as timid as a hare - sent my article to the Company's solicitors for their advice upon it. 'Libel in every line', said the lawyers; 'it might cost the paper anything from one to three thousand pounds.' I had small respect for lawyers in those days I fear, and rather less for editors. I took the article and the legal opinion upon it to my friend, the Chairman of Directors, determined to appeal to Caesar. 'Can you justify the libels?' he asked. 'Every line and every word of it' I assured him. Then

(1) "The Press", Christchurch, 25th May, 1861.
tell the editor with my compliments that I regard the legal opinion upon it as the best possible reason for publishing it.' And published it was next morning, with the result that it created no little stir in the country and in Parliament. But if the victim of my attack ever contemplated a libel action, he thought better of it. An honest newspaper has nothing to fear from the British libel laws; but it is not every newspaper that has the courage to act upon that conviction...."

Rudyard Kipling clinched the function of the fourth estate when he wrote:

"The Pope may launch his Interdict,
The Union its decree,
But the bubble is blown and the bubble is pricked
By Us and such as We.
Remember the battle and stand aside
While Thrones and Powers confess
That King over all the children of pride
Is the Press - the Press - the Press."

* * * * *

The lines of Kipling do not ring quite true at the present time. It is difficult to reconcile a fourth estate being almost unanimously in opposition to a Parliament elected on the basis of manhood suffrage through a secret ballot. How did this situation develop?

As far back as 1890, the claims of Press and Parliament to represent the opinion of the people had come into conflict. Just before the election in 1893, "The New Zealand Herald" in Auckland published an editorial that contained these remarks: "Mr. Seddon complained (in his address at Feilding) that the Government did not get fair play at the hands of the Press. We are growing a trifle tired of hearing the wails of the Ministry against their treatment by the Press. In order to secure the support of the

Press of the Colony, the Government must frame their policy in accordance with the principles of prudence and justice and the views held by a large section of the people of New Zealand." (1)

Although most of the daily newspapers were in opposition to the Administrations of Ballance, Seddon, and Ward, the Liberal Party had a strong Press following in three of the four main centres while "The Evening Post" in Wellington was "more anti-Seddon than anti-Liberal." (2) The conflicting claims of Press and Parliament to represent public opinion became more apparent as the Labour Party began to take shape. As early as 1896 "The Guardian" in Wellington began publishing a weekly supplement entitled "The Pioneer of Social Reform", devoted to Trade Union and political Labour interests. This broadsheet of four pages continued until 1900. Another such venture was "The Democrat", later entitled "The Sketch", which appeared from 1896 to 1898.

In September, 1910, there appeared in Christchurch "a paper devoted to the promotion of industrial unionism, socialism and progressive politics". This was "The Maoriland Worker". Over 10,000 sample copies of the first issue were distributed free, with the invitation to "Send Subscriptions of one Shilling and upwards". The paper was edited by a woman, Miss E.A. Rout, and printed by "The Lyttelton Times" Company. The paper was the organ of the New Zealand Shearers' Union and was published monthly and sold at threepence a copy. T.E. Taylor, at that time Member of Parliament for Lyttelton, wrote a special article for the first issue. "Nothing", he declared, "is more necessary in connection with New Zealand politics at the present time than dignified and forceful

(1) "The New Zealand Herald" 16th October, 1893.
(2) Mulgan: "The City of the Strait", p.258.
newspaper, the policy of which will have regard for Men rather than for Money. The present condition of politics in New Zealand calls loudly for the advent of a strong, honest Labour journal."

In March of the following year "The Maoriland Worker" was taken over by the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the offices were transferred to Wellington. Robert Samuel Ross, who had had a wide experience of journalism in Australian trade unions, was brought from Melbourne to act as the new editor. The tone of the paper changed immediately it was taken over by the Federation of Labour. On 5th May, 1911, (the anniversary of Karl Marx's birth) "The Maoriland Worker" became a weekly. By this time Ross had taken over the editorship and he showed himself as a crisp and forceful writer: "As for 'The Maoriland Worker', it is for working-class emancipation. It is for the working-class alone, for in a strange and wonderful way through the working-class humanity shall alone be freed. We need say no more. We shall let the workers know the truth. Our tongue shall guard the Fundamental." (1)

Ross might well have modelled his style on that of Lenin's: "You have a grand work to do, 'Worker', owner and reader. It is to make your paper a power - loved and feared - and making it a power, win to the Social Revolution. Which is Emancipation. Which is the Millenium. This is to be gotten into our blood like strong wine. I am here to urge and to demonstrate the practicability, the inevitableness, of the Millenium-in-our-time. It is practicable - here and now. Then why wait - is not the Square Deal your right as well as Posterity's?" (2)

The tone of the paper became more fanatical as time passed. It was vigorously opposed to War:

(1) "The Maoriland Worker" 5th May, 1911.
(2) Ibid.
"The true line of working class action is 'Insurrection rather than war.' At present.

"Prepare for insurrection. Educate, agitate, organise for it.

"International solidarity of the working class! - that is the aim, the real defence, almost the consummation.

"The Red International! - there alone lie security, safety, defence.

"It will 'stop the war' in every nation. It will bring the workers to supremacy. It will fling conscription to Hell." (1)

At the time of George V's Coronation "The Maoriland Worker" declared: "Monarchy is a superstition, and Kingship a fetish. Progress has spewed them out, evolution has proved them useless. They linger as a crass anomaly. They are ornamental merely, and exist by the grace of Plutocracy. Cunning Money Power." (2)

By 18th August, 1911, the "guaranteed circulation" of "The Maoriland Worker" was 50,000. (3) In October the paper was enlarged and re-dedicated "to the liberating plan and purpose of Karl Marx, greatest of the great working-class liberators. Emancipation our goal - and as our 'next step'. In the Marxian manner and by the Marxian method. Nothing less or else will suffice or avail. Brothers, the truth at all costs." (4)

"The Maoriland Worker" followed the fortunes of the Socialist movement fairly closely. Many of the leading Socialists wrote for it, and most of them were forceful in utterance. In 1913, H.E. Holland, who later became first Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, and who at that time was editor of the journal, declared: "Gentlemen of the bourgeois, have you not learned that

(1) "The Maoriland Worker" 26th May, 1911.
(2) Ibid, 16th June, 1911.
(3) The figure seems excessive. The present circulation of "The Standard" is only 33,000.
(4) "The Maoriland Worker" 6th October, 1911.
you cannot kill ideas, that you cannot imprison thought...
That a handful of exploiters - useless drones in society - should be permitted to defy the working people of the nation is unthinkable in a civilised community."(1)

In the meantime the daily Press had done its best to ignore or divide the Labour movement. Writing of her experience on the staff of "The Dominion" in the 'twenties, Robin Hyde recalled that although the Labour Party "provided at least ninety

per cent of the speeches and almost all the dramatic incidents of the long night watches, one wasn't, in writing flippancies about the House, supposed to mention them, no matter how unkindly. They were to be ignored. I was finally requested, point-blank, to omit all mention of the Labour Party from my daily column. Replied that one might as well ask for a snappy scenario about Adam and Eve leaving out any reference to the Serpent." (2)

In 1935 the Labour Party was returned to power for the first time. It had won its way against the opposition of 54 daily newspapers. Only one daily newspaper - "The Grey River Argus" (founded at Greymouth in 1865, as a tri-weekly) - supported it. The result was a serious blow to the Press in its claim to guide and represent public opinion. "There has been no comparable turnover in the history of New Zealand", declared "The Dominion" in Wellington, "and it is not easy to account for. It is difficult to believe that the electorate has given a considered judgment against the present policy of the Government and in favour of the programme to which the Labour Party has committed itself." (3)

The electorate confirmed its judgment in the election of 1938. Once more "The Press" was virtually unanimous in opposing the Labour Party. By this time "The Maoriland Worker" had

(2) Hyde: "Journalese" p. 38.
(3) Quoted by Paul: "Humanism in Politics" p. 96.
been re-organised as "The Standard" and shed much of its original militancy in favour of the humanitarianism which had now become the distinguishing feature of the Labour Movement. The advocacy of "The Standard", however, "The Grey River Argus" and "The People's Voice" was little enough to match against the opposition of 52 well-established daily newspapers, many of them with much larger circulations than all the Labour papers together could boast.

On the eve of the poll, the Leader of the Labour Party (the Rt. Hon. Mr. M.J. Savage) complained of the partiality of the Press and made the following emphatic statement: "We are not going to have another election fought the same way as this, and I am going to start next Monday to establish a chain of newspapers.... We will make a success of this and give the daily newspapers and vested interests something to think about." (1)

In less than a year New Zealand was at war and Mr. Savage's vision of a chain of Labour newspapers was suspended for a further six years. Then, on 1st March, 1945, there appeared in Wellington the first issue of the Labour Party daily, "The Southern Cross". It is early yet to pass judgment on this journal. In many respects it has been a disappointment to Labour men. Far more partisan in tone than "The Evening Post", it is smaller in size, with by no means as full a coverage of local news as its rival, "The Dominion" or "The Post". The circulation has mounted steadily and the weaknesses of the paper may perhaps be traced in large part to technological difficulties.

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The growth of the Labour Press has therefore been of very limited importance to the success of the Labour movement in New Zealand. This suggests, of course, that the general Press had not failed to give publicity to the achievements of the Labour Government - and this is perfectly true insofar as "straight" reporting is concerned. At the same time it is obvious that, in commenting upon these achievements, the general Press has to a very large extent lost touch with public opinion.

How has this situation developed? We have seen part of the answer already in the fact that the representative institutions established during the period 1854-1876 divested the Press of much of its former power to voice public opinion. Then, in the 'nineties, New Zealand politics underwent a complete transformation. For forty years political power had been in the hands of men whose ways of thought were the product of an English rather than a colonial environment, and who, moreover, belonged for the most part to what Burke called the "natural aristocracy". The election of 1891, which brought the Liberals into office, saw the beginning of the process whereby political power was transferred to those who had grown up in the colonial environment. During this period, too, the franchise was extended to all adult women and the property qualification was abolished. In 1894 a regular payment of £300 a year for members of Parliament was introduced. Members of Parliament with only a primary education thereafter became the rule rather than the exception. These developments combined to make the New Zealand Parliament more truly representative than ever before and they served also to further whittle away the claims of the Press
The tendency for the authority of the Press to be superseded by representative institutions was accentuated by factors operating within the confines of newspaper offices. In 1897 the linotype was introduced in New Zealand. This was the first of many important technological innovations which were to transform the production of a newspaper from a handicraft undertaking to an industrial enterprise. The "sole editor and proprietor" was replaced by the limited liability company. From 1897 onwards the cost of introducing a newspaper in a main centre increased to such an extent as to be almost prohibitive. In Great Britain the production of a newspaper which had formerly been a business venture involving £25,000 to £50,000, soon became a proposition requiring anything from one to five million pounds of capital. Fast new processes were developed, the monotype replaced the linotype, photo-engraving was developed and thousands of pounds were spent on the development of news-gathering resources of the Reuter type. To maintain this increased expenditure a greater volume of advertising was necessary and the newspaper showed signs of being caught in the cogs of its mechanical efficiency.

The fact that the "sole editor and proprietor" was replaced by the entrepreneur was sufficient to bring profound changes in the attitude of the Press. Descanting upon the ethics of twentieth-century newspaper production, Humbert Wolfe has remarked:

"And then consider, John, if we determine to take this line, at the end of our careers we might assume hereditary ermine and hide our heads among a crowd of peers, saying:"
Commercialisation involved a degree of depersonalisation inherent in the industrialisation of all handicraft undertakings. The effect of this depersonalisation has been summed up by Bernard Shaw as follows: "Note also, as to daily papers, that their offices are prisons in which the cleverest editor will soon lose touch with the world, being cut off as he is from political meetings, scientific lectures, concerts and even dinners by the hours during which he has to work.... At present the papers are twenty years behind the times because the editors are recluses." (2)

This time-lag would seem fairly exact so far as many New Zealand newspapers are concerned, but it is obvious that Shaw's contention is not strictly applicable to New Zealand conditions, since industrialisation has not proceeded to the same degree as in European countries or the United States. At the same time it is interesting to observe that in 1893 almost 40% of the daily newspapers in New Zealand were morning journals. By 1945 this group comprised only 27%. This reflects the trend of the newspaper business during the present century, for the evening journal has always been considered of less serious purport than the morning paper. This consideration is due to the fact that the events which decide the destinies of men take place for the most part at night. Morning papers therefore get their blow in first and evening journals are forced to concentrate on sporting activities and entertaining "Features".

(1) Quoted by Steed: "The Press" pp. 36-7.
(2) Quoted ibid. pp. 42-3.
Writing in the first number of "The Maoriland Workers" in September, 1910, H.E. Holland declared: "The widespread belief that the newspaper Press of the Dominion represents a higher standard of excellence when compared with the Press of other countries is probably well-founded. As a collector of news from the standpoint of commercial enterprise, and from the manner in which the contents are displayed for the public, very little adverse criticism can be directed against the average New Zealand newspaper. But it is equally true that the newspaper Press of New Zealand, and indeed of almost every other country, is a purely financial venture. The final policy of all newspapers, except such as are established in the interests of a growing reform, is: which pays best? In a haphazard way, desirable reforms receive some encouragement at the hands of the commercial daily newspaper. Political reforms are given more or less commendation until the interests behind the Press feel themselves threatened, and then no degree of cunning or misrepresentation is too great for the editorial columns."

Even by 1910, news had become one of the commodities of industry; it was sold primarily as a business and secondarily as a public service. On the other hand, industrialisation conferred many undoubted benefits on the Press: it cheapened the price of newspapers, enlarged the contents and widened the circulation. Moreover, the depersonalisation inherent in industrialisation paved the way for a more objective viewpoint in commentary. Journalism devolved to a large extent upon a professional class with a University background and a more impersonal point of view. The pity is that this class of journalist should have been subordinated to so great an extent to managerial authority. At the same time it is not easy to devise a practical means for restoring editorial powers. As it is, the Press in New Zealand is by no means impotent. Monte Holcroft, editor of "The Southland Daily Times", gives a good account of how the fourth estate operates at the present
"The function of criticism," says Holcroft, "is not to supply alternative proposals: it is to examine those that have already been made, to loosen their roots in the phraseology which sometimes covers a poverty of conception, to discover the weaknesses and to relate them to the possibilities of failure or success where theory passes into practice. It is a work of great importance. Graceless though it may seem to a partisan, it is the soundest guarantee against hasty and ill- devised legislation. Bad government and weak criticism go inevitably together.

"There is, of course, a type of criticism which is as harmful in its long-term effects as the most stubborn political bigotry: indeed the two things are frequently found in close alliance. If the editor of a newspaper feels that his day is wasted when he finds no topic which can launch him into a stinging attack on the Government, he will win neither the confidence nor the respect of intelligent readers. It may be true that he is opposed to a Government's policy, and that it is therefore easy to find in every new measure, even in every ministerial statement, a further step towards the completion of a hated programme. But when a party becomes the Government it is exposed to the restraints and pressures of national life. The boldest policy, while democracy survives, can be taken only so far as the people are ready to approve its economic and social ramifications. The public does not always understand the theory behind the legislation; but it responds to the effects of theory when they are felt in the lives of classes and individuals. A critic who understands the human element in politics will not base his attitude on an implacable dogma. He will see that, as a Government is forced back, by the gradual pressure of public opinion, to a more central position, it is compelled to serve interests far wider than those which may be closest to the hearts of its leaders. The fundamental policy may still be there, and is made operative wherever possible; but it is also being modified, and in part diluted, by the growth of sectional influences." (1)

This views the fourth estate from the angle of the working journalist. The other side of the picture may be seen in the operations of the Press Clipping Service of the Department of Internal Affairs. This Service dates well back into the history of representative government in New Zealand but until recent years the Service

was limited to a few daily newspapers and operated only for the benefit of Ministers of the Crown. During the Labour Government's tenure of office, the activities of the Press Clipping Service have expanded many times over: all New Zealand newspapers now come within its purview and clippings are available to all Government Departments as well as Ministers. Far from ignoring the newspapers which oppose it, therefore, the Labour Government gives more formal attention to the Press than did any previous Government. The reason for such an attitude lies in the aim to adjust policy to conform to the fullest possible extent with public opinion - even though public opinion is now discernible more in the news-columns of the Press than in editorial comment.
VII. RETROSPECT.

You cannot hope
to bribe or twist,
thank God! the
British journalist.

But seeing what
the man will do
unbribed, there's
no occasion to.

Humbert Wolfe.

In the early days of settlement in New Zealand, long periods often elapsed between the arrival of ships that brought news of the Old World. In the interval the Colonial papers had to fill their columns with news of local events. This was not easy to do, however, when the financial resources of these papers were severely restricted, when the speed of communication was determined by the speed of horses over ill-formed roads and when the sources of political conflict were only in their embryonic stage. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the early papers infused with a parochial outlook, especially when the settlements were as isolated from one another as from the rest of the world.

Moreover, when news is scarce, it is apt to be trivial and the early papers could rely on the steady co-operation of men and women anxious to see their names in print. The personal column assumed an importance which the "new journalism" of the twentieth century was to justify and perpetuate by declaring that the greatest interest of people is people. Pat Lawlor recalls that, as recently as World War I, when he was acting as agent for "The Evening Post" at Petone, it was not uncommon for the local paper to announce that
"Mr. J.W. McEwan, Mayor of Petone, left for Wellington today" — a journey of some eight miles. (1)

This interest in the unimportant doings of personalities who are almost unknown outside their own locality has persisted to the present day and supplies much of the life-blood for little country papers which pit local knowledge against the more extensive journalistic resources of those metropolitan dailies which have intruded beyond urban areas.

The personal character of early New Zealand journalism was no doubt fostered by the pioneer sense of loneliness and by the ties of friendship that grew from hardships suffered in common in isolated settlements. The same interest in personalities, however, was put to more invidious purpose when political argument began to take shape. The first source of conflict was between the Government in Auckland and the various settlements scattered over the country. The administration of the central Government was frequently uncertain, often misunderstood and manipulated in any case by an unelected form of Government. Against this administration the Press set itself up as the guardian of the people's interest — as indeed it was, in the absence of any representative institutions. Moreover, while the Government retained the personal character inherent in the organisation of a Crown Colony, it was natural for criticism to take a personal view. Even in the 'seventies, "The New Zealand Observer" referred to "the maniacal behaviour" and the "dyspeptic" (2) nature of the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson. (3)

(2) Quoted by Hyde: "Journalese" p.222.
(3) Administrator from 27th March, 1879; Governor from 17th April, 1879, to 8th September, 1880.
By and large the early newspapers followed the philosophy of Thomas Barnes, editor of the London "Times". Barnes found his countrymen "sluggish" and apt to "doze composedly" over their prejudices. Such men, said Barnes, needed to have "ten-pounders" fired at their "closely compacted intellect before you can make it apprehend your meaning or care one farthing for your efforts". (1)

In the Crown Colony period the critical attitude of the Press permeated almost every column of the newspaper. Even the social promenade, written up as it was in a wealth of detail and garbed in the most florid of Victorian prose, was yet not immune from censure. It was possible to remark that "the dinner was one of the worst ever set on table, with wine to match" (2) or to conclude the detailed description of a lady-of-fashion's outfit by remarking: "It was not all becoming to her". (3)

"Now that," as the editor in Mark Twain's "Journalism in Tennessee" would remark, "that is the way to write - peppery and to the point. Mush and milk journalism gives me the fantods." (4) It became an impossible way to write, however, when an element of competition was introduced and when rival papers were vying for the subscription of as wide a circle of readers as possible.

Always circumspect in matters of morality, the New Zealand Press has now become circumspect in all avenues of criticism. In political affairs this may be regarded as the adoption of a more rational point of view (as mentioned in the previous chapter) though this is not to overlook the looser ties that exist between journalism and politics at the present time as compared with the

(1) Quoted by Hudson: "British Journalists and Newspapers" pp.31-2.
(2) "The New Zealand Gazette" Vol.1 No.2.
(3) Quoted by Hyde: "Journalese" p.222.
(4) Quoted by Mulgan: "The City of The Strait" p.201.
very close ties that existed during the first half-century of development.

* * * * *

Having withdrawn from the heat of the fray in the political arena, however, it would seem that the Press of more recent times has been apt to push its much-vaulted "independence" to a point where it can often be described as disinterested.

With few exceptions, for instance, the newspapers of New Zealand devote no serious attention to literature, art, music, the theatre or the cinema. Such an attitude has not arisen through lack of competent critics. As far back as the 'seventies and 'eighties, dramatic criticism was not only energetic but it was also the work of experts - not in a few papers only, but at least in nearly all the metropolitan dailies. Well before the Great War, "The Press" in Christchurch was publishing an annual review of the amateur and professional theatre in New Zealand and its critics hit hard and shrewdly, dealing equally with dramatist and player.

All this has gone. The daily Press now rates dramatic criticism no higher than a variation on "straight" news reporting. Very few theatrical performances in New Zealand gain any further mention than a routine review of the plot and an eye cast perfunctorily over the players to see if the performance in each case was "brilliant", "very good" and so on down the scale to "disappointing" and even - "adequate". There is little or no place for any consideration of the purpose of the play, whether the aim of the playwright be a good or a bad one, or whether the play bears any
relationship to New Zealand conditions. This applies not only to
country newspapers, where lack of expert critics might possibly be
advanced as the extenuating circumstance, but also to most of the
metropolitan dailies.

"There are leading papers in New Zealand," says Ngaio
Marsh, "whose theatrical reviews are either flaccid or colourless,
or so capricious that little can be gained from them.
Of the first kind, the (repetory) societies can expect
nothing but the routine assurance that a good time was
had by all with an occasional faint protest at inaudibility. Of the second kind, the players are suspicious
and resentful, since they find work, which they know to
have been honest and sound, ignored, and good technique
passed over, while a pretty face can conjure out of a
commonplace performance the most flattering notice." (1)

This attitude towards amateur productions is in marked
contrast with the treatment of overseas companies. A visit from a
musical comedy or a vaudeville company, says Ngaio Marsh, will
bring forth phrases "so blandly eulogistic, so utterly uncritical"
that the reader might be forgiven if he formed the opinion "that
the whole job had been supplied by the business management of the
organisation concerned." (2)

*  *  *  *  *

This uncritical attitude of the Press is even more apparent
in relation to the cinema. "We New Zealanders", says Gordon Mirams,
foremost authority on the cinema in New Zealand, "are a nation of
film fans." (3) On an average of total population, New Zealanders
go to the pictures once a fortnight. The film, then, plays an
important part in the sociological set-up of the country, but no

(2) Ibid p.40.
(3) Mirams: "Speaking Candidly" p.5.
daily newspaper paid any serious attention to this medium of entertainment until very recent years. "By the average newspaper or periodical," says Mirams, "film entertainment is regarded merely as a commercial proposition, to be exploited to the limit for advertising revenue but not for news value or reader interest, while any conception of the social importance of the cinema is simply not there at all.... It is not the amount of space allotted that gives ground for complaint, but the use to which it is put. For, generally speaking, the newspapers appear to regard this space mainly as a kind of discount for the money spent by the film people on advertising.... The movies are not even considered by the newspapers as worthy of being given the same treatment as football or horse-racing, both of which are subjects for expert comment in the average journal. Yet there are certainly more persons, particularly women, who take an interest in screen entertainment than in racing or football." (1)

"This attitude", Mirams goes on to explain, "belongs to the period of 25 to 30 years ago, when "going to the pitchers" was put in more or less the same low category as reading Penny Dreadfuls. The practice could not be ignored entirely but it was not to be encouraged. But such an attitude ignores the fact that the films have improved considerably since those days and are now as deserving of intelligent and critical appraisal as books, or concerts, or stage-shows - or race-horses and football players." (2)

This attitude was encouraged by the low valuation which the film industry itself placed upon the role of the cinema. "One may understand," says Mirams, "one may even make some allowances for, the film industry's attitude, since it is based so naively on commercialism and self-interest, on ignorance, and on the tradition of ballyhoo. But what can one say for the newspapers which have so meekly surrendered to the film interests, allowing them not only to invade the news columns and demand right, that they be given free advertisements there, in the form of write-ups, in return for the space purchased in the ordinary advertising columns - not only to do this but also to insist that nothing unfavourable, or even constructively critical, shall be written about their products?" (3)

(2) Ibid pp.164-5.
(3) Ibid p.168.
As it now stands, film reviewing in the Press of New Zealand amounts to little more than saying something nice about everybody. This attitude may be traced to the tradition of small provincial newspapers in reporting amateur shows - where it was obligatory, for the sake of circulation, to mention, in eulogistic terms, every member of the cast from the vicar's wife down to the constable's three-year-old daughter who presented the bouquets.

"True criticism demands, at the least, some estimate of a film's relationship to contemporary standards of entertainment, and if possible some discussion of its aesthetic qualities and social or philosophical implications (if any)." (1)

It is an interesting fact that "The New Zealand Listener" was the first journal to devote any serious attention to the cinema - an interesting fact because "The Listener" is State-owned and operated, although the journal itself receives no State subsidy and has to compete on the open market with other magazines and depends for a good deal of its revenue on advertising - including a good deal of cinema advertising. No journal has made it clearer, however, that the right to buy advertising space does not entail the right to buy any control over the comment of a journal. Because it was the only one of its kind "The Listener's" film page won a national reputation that was no doubt out of proportion to its real merit.

"The Listener" itself absorbed "The Radio Record" which had made a beginning with independent film criticism. For a short period "The Dominion" in Wellington made a stand and towards the end of 1944 "The New Zealand Herald" in Auckland announced its

intention to give more serious attention to the cinema. Again, when "The Southern Cross" was established in Wellington in March, 1945, Anton Vogt was engaged to write candid reviews. Otherwise the Press is unanimous in rating the cinema as a commercial proposition. Even "The Sun" newspaper noted for their enterprise and their independence, did not overcome the traditional valuation. In fact the Christchurch "Sun" gained a monopoly of film advertising in the daily press in that centre, and for over two years "The Sun" Supplement devoted two full pages every week to reading matter supplied for the most part by the film companies.

*   *   *   *   *

The attitude of the Press towards literature is little better. Monte Holcroft has declared that for the most part literary reviews in this country aim no further than to give "a synopsis or brief précis and thereafter to say merely that the book is 'good', 'brilliant' or 'indifferent'." "Holcroft goes on to ask for "a new vitality and a new scrupulousness in the vocation of criticism". "We should," he says, "make an end of polite receptions, of meaningless compliments and a timid reliance on the safe clichés of admiration." (1)

These "safe clichés of admiration" have been perpetrated by all but a very few papers. The current exceptions include "The Press" in Christchurch (where Schroeder took over the literary section when "The Sun" closed down in 1935), "The Southland Daily Times" (where Monte Holcroft is now editor), "The Otago Daily Times" and "The Southern Cross". This represents a very small handful of

(1) Holcroft: "The Deepening Stream" p. 60.
newspapers in a country that supports more than forty daily papers. Moreover, when Holcroft asks for a "new vitality and a new scrupulousness", it is well to remember that a hundred years ago "The Nelson Examiner" and other early papers were reviewing the works of Dickens, Thackeray, and others in a manner that was thoroughly "scrupulous" and "vital".

* * * * *

The make-up of the Press in New Zealand may be examined more closely by reducing generalisation so far as possible into the form of statistical terms.

The statistical table given on the following page shows how space is allocated in the ten leading daily papers of New Zealand. The figures are based on a sample survey covering six successive issues of each paper. The week under review covered the period from 10th to 16th March, 1947 - a period devoid of any events which might have altered the allocation of space fortuitously. At the same time account should be taken of the fact that supplies of newsprint were still severely restricted, following on the abnormal conditions that arose from the recent War. (1)

These figures may be summarised to show the average percentage allocation of space in the ten leading daily papers in the country:-

(1) See p.178 below.
### Percentage Allocation of Space in the Ten Leading Newspapers in New Zealand

**Period Covered:** 10th-16th March, 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Auckland</th>
<th>Wellington</th>
<th>Christchurch</th>
<th>Dunedin</th>
<th>Invercargill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leading articles</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to editor</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film reviews</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book, etc., reviews</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cables</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racing</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's news</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special features:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General local news</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding Saturday "Sports Extra".
The most striking feature of these statistics is the fact that the Press devotes over half its space to advertisements. The amount allocated by individual newspapers varied from 57% in "The Dominion" down to 42.5% in "The Southern Cross" suggesting that the political opinions of "The Southern Cross" were by no means popular with advertisers. Most of the other papers were near the average mark, apart from "The Evening Star" (Dunedin) which showed 48.6% and "The Southland Daily Times" with 53.3%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Percentage of space allocated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leading articles</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to editor</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film reviews</td>
<td>.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book, etc., reviews</td>
<td>.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cables</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racing</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's news</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special features:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General local news</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To notice that the average New Zealand newspaper devotes more than half its space to advertising should not be to overlook the news-value inherent in a good deal of advertising, especially in the kind of advertisement usually reserved for the front page of daily papers in New Zealand.

The next feature worthy of note is the small amount of space (a little over one per cent) devoted to editorial comment as compared with the amount of space allocated to leading articles a hundred years ago. In the heyday of "The Nelson Examiner" it was not uncommon for that journal to devote 20% and more of its space to editorial comment and other journals of the 'forties and 'fifties were much the same. The length of these early leaders may be attributed to the dearth of other material, to the narrow view of the scope of journalism and to the fact that journals were often the mouth-pieces of leading colonists. Except when the Provincial Councils were sitting, newspapers found little to report even in the 'sixties and 'seventies, although there were many important issues to contend - the inefficiency of the central government and the aspiration for representative institutions in the first place and then the abolition of provincial government. When these issues were not in the limelight, however, a plan to construct a road or a bridge was sufficient to bring forth exponents of different means of doing it - or, in the case of the Lyttelton Tunnel, of not doing it.

The leading article has, therefore, become shorter, if more concise, as well as less personal and less intimately concerned with events. It would be almost inconceivable for any of the
metropolitan dailies at the present time to start a campaign such
as "The Otago Daily Times" launched by publishing the sermon on
cheapness as preached by Dr. Rutherford Waddell in 1888. There
are, in fact, certain spheres in which the Press rarely, if ever,
tries to enter at all. It is natural in a young country that
economic issues should be the predominant ones. At the same time
(and largely because of the concentration on economic issues) New
Zealand has been noted as a social laboratory. Even this experiment,
however, has been mainly occupied with material things - with forms
of ownership, the relief of unemployment and the elimination of
poverty, rather than with less tangible things such as forms of
government or mental hospital and prison reform. Nor has the
Press taken any leading part in any attempt to solve these problems
of society which the Government may have diplomatically neglected
and which cannot be measured in economic terms.

Let us return to the statistics. The figures show that
the one per cent of space devoted to editorial comment is supplemen-
ted by a further one per cent of space given to the opinion of
readers. It is interesting to recall that the importance of the
Press grew largely from the importance attached to such letters
and that the correspondence column was current well before the
editorial in its modern form had taken definite shape. It was
in the correspondence column of the London newspapers that Wakefield
developed his theories on colonisation and "letters to the editor"
played an important part in the inception of almost every planned
settlement in New Zealand. The early Colonial papers carried
over the tradition and controversies which raged in the correspondence columns not only dealt with important events, but also had a definite influence upon the development of these events. That is not the case today. The correspondence column has lost status to such an extent that the newspaper with the largest circulation, "The New Zealand Herald", does not devote more than .7% of its space to it. "The Evening Post", which has the largest circulation in Wellington, the seat of Government, thinks the correspondence column worth only .5% of its space, even though the atmosphere of Wellington has always been highly charged with politics. Nor can it be said that newspapers in smaller centres, where the spirit of democracy might be expected to function more readily, give greater attention to reader opinion, for "The Southland Daily Times" in Invercargill gives only .5% of space to this feature. The largest allocation is in "The Press" in Christchurch and "The Southern Cross" in Wellington so that it would seem that the importance to be attached to the correspondence column is a policy issue which it is in the hands of the newspaper to control as it thinks fit.

It is extremely doubtful, of course, whether there has been any deliberate policy of discouraging controversy in this form but there is no denying that the correspondence column has gradually degenerated to such an extent that it is now thought of more as a breeding-ground for the plans and abstruse arguments of eccentrics rather than of any serious moment in the functioning of a democracy. It has become a common practice for officials to ignore questions asked through the correspondence columns of the Press, overlooking the fact that a nom-de-plume does not necessarily detract from the importance or sincerity of a question.
Previous remarks about the manner in which cultural interests are treated by the daily Press are borne out by the statistics. The ten leading papers devote .7% of their space to literature, art, music, the theatre and the cinema. More than half (.4) of this .7% is occupied by film reviews which are no more than a modified form of advertisement. With Monte Holcroft as editor it is not surprising to find "The Southland Daily Times" allocate the largest proportion of space to literary and other kindred interests. "The Press" in Christchurch and "The Auckland Star" were well above average with .5% although the difference in the quality of reviewing is most marked. "The Evening Post" and "The Star Sun" gave no attention to any cultural interest outside the cinema during the week under review. So far as film reviews are concerned, the case of the Dunedin papers provides an interesting paradox since that centre has a reputation for staidness which is usually reflected in the daily papers but breaks down when it comes to film reviewing. Both Dunedin papers devote by far the largest proportion of space to the cinema, "The Otago Daily Times" giving .9% and "The Evening Star" 1.1% and most of this material is supplied by advertising agencies.

All newspapers devote a large amount of space to sporting news - 10.5% in the survey which the present writer conducted. This allocation is no doubt based firmly on reader-interest, for New Zealanders are a nation of sports-loving people. It is interesting to compare this 10.5%, however, with the 1.3% devoted to editorial comment, the 1.1% devoted to the opinion of readers
and the .7% given to cultural interests. Almost 5% (4.9) of the space in the ten leading dailies was devoted to racing news and it is interesting to see that "The Southern Cross", the ardent protagonist of working-class interests, gives by far the largest allocation of space to "the sport of kings" - 7.7%, in fact, as compared with the next highest figure of 5.8% in "The Southern Cross's" rival, "The Dominion". In contrast with the importance which "The Southern Cross" attaches to racing, "The New Zealand Herald", which vies with "The Dominion" to rank as the most conservative paper in the country, gives only 3.1% of its space to racing - by far the smallest allocation of any of the papers under review. Here again, therefore, the actual allocation is apparently a matter of policy rather than the result of any accurate assessment of reader-interest.

Newspapers show a wide variation in the amount of space allocated to news of special interest to women. Oddly enough "The Southern Cross" also takes the lead in this department, showing 3.5% against an average of 2.1% for the ten leading dailies.

There are also widely divergent views as to the importance which should be attached to special articles. The following figures sum up the position:

"The New Zealand Herald" 4.2%
"The Auckland Star" 8.6%
"The Dominion" 2.2%
"The Southern Cross" 6.1%
"The Evening Post" 8.5%
"The Press" 1.7%
"The Star-Sun" 8.1%  
"The Otago Daily Times" 1.6%  
"The Evening Star" 2.5%  
"The Southland Daily Times" 2.3%  
Average 4.6%  

It is worthy of note that the three dailies which give the greatest share of space to special features - "The Auckland Star", "The Evening Post" and "The Star-Sun" - are all published in the evening - following on the British tradition that evening journals are of less serious purport than morning papers. This tradition arises mainly from the fact that meetings which decide the affairs of men take place at night, so that morning newspapers get their blow in first. On the other hand one might expect evening papers to devote more attention to such things as sporting events, which take place by day. The evening journals in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin conform with this expectation but both "The Southern Cross" and The Dominion" allocate more space to sport than does "The Evening Post". This, however, does not take account of the supplementary "Sports Post" issued every Saturday evening after results are through, although the practice of issuing a sports edition is also followed by the evening journals in the other main centres.

All papers devote a large amount of space to cable news, but the allocation is smaller than that in the papers of the nineteenth century, when the attention of colonials was focussed on affairs at "Home". Two World Wars and the Depression of the early 'thirties gave an impetus to national consciousness and prompted
fuller reporting of domestic issues; at the same time the influence of the "new journalism" was operating in the same direction.

General local news occupies 18.7% of space in the ten leading dailies. The allocation varies from 15% in "The Evening Post" up to 23% in "The New Zealand Herald", although "The Post" gives twice as much space to special features as does "The Herald". The allocation varies a good deal and does not seem to bear any strict relation to financial resources. Local events are covered much more completely than in the Press of last century. As already indicated, this fuller coverage of domestic issues is due in part to the growth of a national consciousness and the influence of the "new journalism"; it is also attributable in part to greater financial resources behind individual newspapers, to the mutual exchange of domestic news through the United Press Association, and, of course, to the more complex character of a maturing society.

These statistics confirm the impression that, during the present century, journalism in New Zealand has tended to concentrate on "straight reporting" and uncontentious "features", at the same time withdrawing from any intimate connection with controversial issues. This thesis may be examined more closely by looking into the statistics which describe the growth of the newspaper as an industry.

* * * * *

There is no country which dominates New Zealand as Paris holds command in France or London in England. Partly on account of the mountains which divide the country into separate districts,
each with its other particular interests and occupations, and partly on account of the provincial nature of the original settlement, New Zealand has no great metropolis. This division is reflected in a decentralised Press. Numerically, New Zealand has always been well-provided with newspapers and in 1945 the Dominion still ranked ahead of Great Britain for production of newspapers per head of population. The figures (1) for 1945 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of newspapers</th>
<th>Mean population</th>
<th>Newspapers per 10,000 of mean population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom and Eire</td>
<td>5,686</td>
<td>48,000,000</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1,664,585</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following figures compare the types of newspapers produced in the two countries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of newspaper</th>
<th>United Kingdom and Eire</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily newspapers</td>
<td>136 7%</td>
<td>44 19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday newspapers</td>
<td>17 0.3%</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other newspapers</td>
<td>1,286 22.6%</td>
<td>60 26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals, magazines, etc.</td>
<td>4,247 74.7%</td>
<td>121 53.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,686 100.0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>225 100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Statistics for United Kingdom from "Willing's Press Guide, 1946".
The following figures show the number of newspapers registered at the New Zealand General Post Office at five-yearly time-points since 1895:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Mean population</th>
<th>Newspapers per 10,000 of mean population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>602,499</td>
<td>2.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>658,491</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>725,104</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>792,501</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>895,108</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1,025,638</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1,145,027</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>1,207,660</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>1,359,995</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>1,478,027</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>1,554,297</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1,663,447</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1,664,585</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures suggest that the number of newspapers was originally too large to be economic and that the growth of communications has done much to rationalise the industry. During the first half-century of development, newspapers sprang into being on the slightest provocation and died as easily. Up to 1877 no fewer than 190 papers had gone into circulation and by 1940 the total was at least 562. (1) Some 40 odd newspapers sprang up on the

goldfields of Central Otago during the days of the Gold Rush. (1)

In those days it was very easy to begin a new journal. Capital was small and all the work might readily be done by the "Sole Editor and Proprietor". In a word, it was a handicraft undertaking. The equipment for the first newspaper, "The New Zealand Gazette" was housed in a little raupo hut. The pioneer paper in Canterbury, "The Lyttelton Times", was printed in the open air before being installed in a shack with calico windows and a canvas awning. As late as 1880, "The Hawera Star" began in a little converted cottage. (2) In the 'sixties Henry Blundell could journey about the country with all his mechanical equipment and then establish "The Evening Post" after only a few days of preparation.

All the early papers, and the country journals in particular, had a very small circulation. For instance, "The Aratupu Gazette", started by John Stallworthy in 1884, was limited to 80 copies. (3) In the case of journals such as this it was often difficult to tell when the next issue would appear - or if it would appear at all. Country papers were often produced by schoolmasters as a hobby while "The Wairarapa Mercury" (1867) was brought out by a man who combined with his newspaper duties the work of a Court Sessions Clerk and a farmer. (4)

Though steam-power had been applied to the London "Times" as early as 1814, it was not till 1853 that this innovation found its way to Sydney, and it was some years later before steam was applied to the printing industry in New Zealand. In the meantime,

(2) Roberts: "Hawera" p.180.
(3) Stallworthy: "Early Northern Wairoa" p.151.
improvisation was frequently called for. In 1842, Falwasser could print a newspaper quite successfully on a mangle. Even in the late 1880's, a Taranaki newspaper was produced by an iron contrivance after the style of ship's capstan. This was erected in the back-yard of the newspaper office and connected by an iron rod to a large Wharfedale machine which printed the paper. Attached to the capstan was a wooden shaft and to this a draught-horse was yoked, the horse going round and round to work the machine. (1)

Those were the days of hand-setting, when it was not uncommon for the editor to set up his leading article straight from the case of type, without troubling to write the copy.

Methods of distribution were on much the same scale. Copies of "The Wairarapa Daily", which began in 1878, were delivered by the "courier" system. Each day, when the paper was published, a boy would leave Masterton on horseback laden with newspapers. He would ride to Carterton, distribute some of his papers and the rest would be taken on by another horseman to Greytown, with yet another courier going on to Featherston and another to Martinborough(2)

* * * * *

It is not often realised that the effects of the Industrial Revolution were not felt in New Zealand until almost a century after England had become industrialised. In the printing industry, for example, the turning-point in New Zealand was provided by the introduction of the linotype in 1897. The first linotypes, a battery of five, were installed by "The Auckland Star" in 1897 while "The New Zealand Herald" and "The Press" in Christchurch

(1) Carle: "Wairarapa" p.43.
(2) Harrop: "My New Zealand" p.275.
were not long in following suit. From that time onwards the production of a newspaper began to assume the characteristics of an industry and to shed the forms of a handicraft undertaking. The newspaper became dominated by the attempt to gain time, to overcome the slowness of hand-printing, and to place before an ever-widening public of newspaper readers the latest news printed on the largest number of copies with the least possible delay.

The industrialisation of the newspaper during the present century may be gauged by the increase in the number of type-setting machines used in the printing industry and by the amount of motive-power employed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Motive-Power</th>
<th>Total type-setting machines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electric engines</td>
<td>Total engines in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-6</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-6</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>1,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-6</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>1,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1</td>
<td>1,459</td>
<td>1,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-6</td>
<td>1,599</td>
<td>1,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-8</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>1,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>2,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-2</td>
<td>2,059</td>
<td>2,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-3</td>
<td>2,146</td>
<td>2,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-4</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>2,290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The process of industrialisation was facilitated by the simultaneous development of transport and communication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Miles of railway open to traffic</th>
<th>Miles of electric telegraph line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>3,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,171</td>
<td>3,758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>4,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,869</td>
<td>5,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2,018</td>
<td>6,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>7,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>2,458</td>
<td>8,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>11,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>13,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,996</td>
<td>13,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>3,085</td>
<td>13,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>12,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>3,320</td>
<td>12,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>3,390</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The linotype was introduced at a propitious moment, on the crest of a boom period, and the immediate effect was to flood the country with printed matter. Newspapers increased in size, periodicals became numerous and job-printing cheaper. The rapid growth of secondary industries in the 1890's added to the work of job-printers and, with freshly-cast slugs for every setting, the whole printing trade took on a neater, fresher appearance.

The long-term effect of mechanisation coupled with improvements in communication was to extend the distribution of metropolitan newspapers and gradually destroy the little country journals. In this manner there are fewer daily newspapers in New Zealand today than there were in 1885. The original decentralisation of the Press has therefore been largely destroyed. This tendency is borne out by the following figures which show the geographical distribution of newspapers in 1895 and 1945:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Urban areas</th>
<th>Other districts</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding Lower Hutt.

The trend is shown even more clearly by expressing this distribution on a percentage basis:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Urban areas</th>
<th>Other districts</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Wellington*</td>
<td>Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding Lower Hutt.

The process of industrialisation, coupled with improvements in communication, therefore destroyed some of the original decentralisation of the Press, implying also some degree of rationalisation. This latter tendency has been accelerated by the periodic impact of economic depression. The printing industry depends very largely upon general prosperity but it has nevertheless not proved as sensitive to fluctuations in the trade cycle as might be thought from a prima facie view. The following index numbers show the trend of employment in the printing industry as compared with the trend in general factory employment during the years of the Great Depression:
Index numbers of employment (1927-8 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General factories</th>
<th>Printing and publishing*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927-8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-9</td>
<td>102.5</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-0</td>
<td>105.4</td>
<td>102.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>101.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-2</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-3</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-4</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>96.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-5</td>
<td>100.9</td>
<td>100.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-6</td>
<td>110.1</td>
<td>95.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-7</td>
<td>122.6</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>130.2</td>
<td>101.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Appendix for absolute figures.

These figures indicate that retrenchment set in earlier in printing than in general factories - but not to any marked extent. Recovery in printing, however, was not nearly as rapid as in general factory employment.

The printing industry depends almost entirely on supplies of newsprint from abroad. The industry has therefore suffered more severely from the effects of war than through the impact of economic depression. The following figures show the trend of employment after the outbreak of World War II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General factories</th>
<th>Printing and publishing*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>130.2</td>
<td>101.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-9</td>
<td>130.4</td>
<td>103.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-0</td>
<td>138.3</td>
<td>100.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1</td>
<td>145.0</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
<td>149.1</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-3</td>
<td>145.8</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>149.9</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Appendix for absolute figures.

The war-time reduction in employment reflected mainly the curtailment in supplies of newsprint. The following figures show the amount of paper used in the printing and publishing industry over recent years:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Paper used (lb)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>Job-printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1</td>
<td>12,280,789</td>
<td>2,331,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-6</td>
<td>23,615,551</td>
<td>4,411,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-9</td>
<td>23,400,070</td>
<td>6,727,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-0</td>
<td>25,026,712</td>
<td>8,568,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1</td>
<td>26,177,656</td>
<td>11,214,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-2</td>
<td>25,786,594</td>
<td>7,993,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-3</td>
<td>30,245,304</td>
<td>10,773,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-4</td>
<td>33,819,008</td>
<td>13,871,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-5</td>
<td>39,194,797</td>
<td>17,598,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-6</td>
<td>43,752,756</td>
<td>17,315,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-7</td>
<td>48,235,533</td>
<td>18,410,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-8</td>
<td>52,763,397</td>
<td>19,364,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-9</td>
<td>52,719,286</td>
<td>18,466,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-0</td>
<td>55,463,534</td>
<td>23,196,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1</td>
<td>55,469,914</td>
<td>21,109,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-2</td>
<td>48,160,144</td>
<td>17,495,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-3</td>
<td>44,215,203</td>
<td>16,903,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-4</td>
<td>45,541,663</td>
<td>17,318,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-5</td>
<td>49,679,425</td>
<td>19,384,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-6</td>
<td>56,750,596</td>
<td>21,317,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-7</td>
<td>57,777,887</td>
<td>25,766,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>67,495,449</td>
<td>28,043,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-9</td>
<td>71,966,205</td>
<td>27,752,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-0</td>
<td>62,864,025</td>
<td>26,248,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1</td>
<td>51,769,082</td>
<td>25,011,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
<td>44,937,203</td>
<td>21,166,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-3</td>
<td>27,245,586</td>
<td>19,489,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>32,040,777</td>
<td>21,274,090</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that the consumption of paper for printing mounted fairly steadily year by year up to the outbreak of War in 1939. Even during the Depression the consumption of newsprint only fell by 11,255,000 pounds — from the pre-Slump record of 55,470,000 in 1930-1 to 44,215,000 in the slough of 1932-3. The outbreak of War was sufficient to reduce the consumption of newsprint by an almost equal amount within half the time. By 1942-3, the amount of newsprint consumed showed a 62% reduction over the pre-War figure.
The following figures show the sources from which printing-paper is obtained, and the trend of imports since 1930. Figures are shown in monetary pounds, New Zealand currency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>U.K.</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Finland</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Norway</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>273,830</td>
<td>317,438</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>7,378</td>
<td>3,661</td>
<td>5,516</td>
<td>26,554</td>
<td>5,129</td>
<td>641,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>221,714</td>
<td>250,373</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>8,069</td>
<td>2,094</td>
<td>6,618</td>
<td>20,336</td>
<td>8,544</td>
<td>518,348</td>
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The overall effect of industrialisation and subsequent rationalisation of the printing and publishing industry in New Zealand has been to increase the size of individual establishments. The following figures show that the consumption of paper per unit more than trebled in the thirty years from 1911 to 1941. The value of capital assets increased five-fold during the period 1881-1941, machines increased four-fold and horse-power twenty-four-fold. The upward trend in all these figures has no doubt been steadied by the infiltration of small job-printing firms:-
The cost of establishing a new metropolitan daily has become almost prohibitive. Since the introduction of the linotype in 1897, only four new daily papers have ventured into urban areas. Two of these were established by "Sun" Newspapers Limited, the Christchurch paper lasting for 21 years (1914-1935) and the Auckland satellite for three years (1927-1930). Both the other papers were backed by powerful political organisations. The first was "The Dominion", established in Wellington in 1907 by a group representing the landed interest in particular, to oppose the Liberal Administration of that time. The second paper, "The
Southern Cross", was also established in Wellington, beginning operations in March, 1945, in the service of the Labour Party.

The increasing cost of producing a newspaper has been partly borne by increased advertising rates and partly by the dual composition of most newspaper offices, which take in job-printing as a side-line to the principal venture. This practice dates from the time when the newspaper office held the only printing-press in the settlement. Perhaps the first example of job-printing would be Colenso's work for Governor Hobson in 1840.

The increasing cost of newspaper production partly explains the more complacent attitude which the New Zealand Press has adopted over the past half-century of development. When there is more to risk by incurring disapproval, the tendency is to withdraw from controversial issues. Although all the daily newspapers in the country (apart from "The Grey River Argus") opposed the Labour Party from the time it was returned to power in 1935, the tone of opposition has been one of querulous despair rather than of anger. Moreover, the amount of space devoted to editorial comment has been reduced from as much as 20 to 25% in the papers of the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties of last century, to a little over one per cent at the present time. This withdrawal, of course, was made possible in part by the setting-up of representative institutions of government, both at the national and local level.

* * *

In Great Britain, the United States and (to a lesser extent) Australia, the development of the newspaper industry over
the past few decades has been characterised by the growth of great Press combines. The Great War and the Depression in the early 'thirties facilitated the rise of these Press syndicates. By 1939 almost half the daily morning papers published outside London (leaving Irish papers out of account) were controlled by four groups of owners. Lord Kemsley controlled eight papers out of a total of 29. The London morning dailies were divided between seven groups, although these combines represented all shades of opinion. As to the evening Press, taking London and the provinces together, the large combines controlled almost a third. In 1928 there were 200 fewer newspapers (excluding magazines) in the United Kingdom than there were in 1908. The tendency has been, as in New Zealand, to squeeze out the local journal as well as the newspaper run as a luxury or for a mission.

In New Zealand, the factors which determined the original decentralised character of the Press have proved too strong to allow concentration of ownership to reach the national stage. Only one company controls more than one daily newspaper. This is New Zealand Newspapers Ltd., which operates "The Auckland Star" and "The Christchurch Star-Sun", as well as several subsidiary journals. Some of the repercussions of combination, however, have been reached even more effectively in New Zealand by the establishment of local monopolies in the production of newspapers.

Except for Invercargill, this monopoly was complete in every town from the time "The Sun" and "The Lyttelton Times" ceased publication in Christchurch in 1935, until "The Southern Cross" was established in Wellington at the beginning of March,
1945. The monopoly was made all the more complete by the absence of any national daily newspaper or even of a daily paper with a circulation extending much beyond a single province.

Local monopoly has paved the way for self-satisfaction and accelerated the tendency to withdraw from controversial issues. "The New Zealand Herald" (without a rival for the past 70 years) which enjoys a daily circulation of over 75,000 copies - the largest in the country - is, says Dr. A.J. Harrop, "national in name, provincial in circulation and parochial in outlook". (1) "An editor", says Harrop, "could proceed from Aberdeen to Auckland and not notice the difference, the principal requirement being to make one threepenny-bit do what two did before. The meanness which distinguishes "The Herald" is doubtless a survival of the early days when rigorous economy was necessary." (2).

While many notable essays and accounts of travel as well as a good deal of poetry were published in the early newspapers in New Zealand (often, no doubt, to fill up space), nearly all this matter was printed without thought of copyright. Local contributors, who might demand payment, were few in number. On 2nd January, 1874, "The Timaru Herald" remarked: "We have lately received a lot of poetry, but we must say that our ordinary space is too valuable for glowing lines. If our poetical correspondents desire advertisement room, then of course we can oblige them." (3) It was not only poetry that suffered in this respect: for it was not uncommon for a paper to announce, apparently without shame, that owing to

(1) Harrop: "My New Zealand" p.275.
(2) Harrop: "My New Zealand" p.276.
(3) Quoted by Anderson: "Jubilee History of South Canterbury" p.511.
press of advertisements, news matter and even editorials had been unavoidably held over.

This tradition has persisted. In "The New Zealand Herald", says Harrop, "serial matter at five shillings a column faces advertising at £10 a column and cheap syndicated matter which now floods the paper determines the remuneration of any local writer hardy enough to compete with it. I had the pleasure of exposing in the columns of 'The New Zealand News', London, an offer of "The Herald" of £15 for 80,000 words." (1)

This economy is by no means peculiar to "The Herald" and it is made possible by the almost complete absence of local competition - the factor which also goes far to explain the withdrawal of the New Zealand Press from the realm of controversy.

* * * * *

Economists and publicists are constantly discussing the relative merits of monopoly and competition in economic life - often making out a case for the greater efficiency of the monopolised industry. The production of a newspaper, however, is something more than an economic enterprise and a monopoly in this case would seem to deprive the Press of those humanistic elements which distinguish it from other industries. Monopoly in the Press, even a local monopoly, tends also to establish a monopoly over ideas, whereas, to go back to the theory of Milton, the well-being of society rests fundamentally upon the free expression of opinion.

A competitive Press, on the other hand, does not mean simply having a great many newspapers, as New Zealand has. It

(1) Harrop: "My New Zealand" p.277.
means offering a choice of newspapers to the customer. The small
circulation and limited range of nearly all New Zealand newspapers
make it impossible for Press Lords to manipulate public opinion as
they may possibly do in Great Britain; but it also means that the
customer in New Zealand has practically no choice in his selection
of a daily newspaper. The choice between papers of different
political affiliations is even more restricted.

Moreover, it is easy to exaggerate the importance of the
small-scale Press by representing the local paper as the mainstay
and champion of public opinion. In Great Britain it has been
found that, in many cases, association with a "chain" has improved
provincial papers, owing to the vastly greater journalistic
resources on which these local papers may draw, without noticeably
damaging them as organs of opinion. A nationally-owned local
paper may, indeed, be more truly independent as an organ of local
opinion since it can more readily defy the pressure of local
interests and advertisers.

The existence of syndicates is chiefly objectionable for
the power which it confers on a few men to extend their personal
influence. While the public has an immense capacity for not
listening (as shown by the return of the New Zealand Labour Party
at four successive elections — against the advice of almost the
entire Press), personalism in the Press is wrong in principle.
Even the limited personalism of a local monopoly runs counter to
the trend of the age towards the ideal of trusteeship. This
ideal presents an immense practical problem, for it is not easy to find a means of implementing such an ideal without ossifying the Press in its present structure. So far, it is a problem that has defied ingenuity. The answer would seem to lie in some legal restriction designed to ensure that shareholders were sufficiently numerous to prevent irresponsible personalism. Directorates of ex officio members such as that set up for "The Times" in London would add further to this ideal of trusteeship.

It is along some such lines as these that the New Zealand Press would seem best to develop, if, as seemly likely, the process of economic rationalisation is to continue and if the effects of local monopoly are to be overcome.
EPILOGUE

"What is truth?"

Pontius Pilate.

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty."

Keats.

"But O, the truth, the truth! The many eyes
That look on it! The diverse things they see!"

Meredith.

"After all, what is a lie? 'Tis but
The truth in masquerade."

Byron.

"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to
play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do
injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt
her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple, who
ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open
encounter."

Milton.
APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF CIRCULATION*

1947

Dailies

"The New Zealand Herald", Auckland..  75,000
"The Southern Cross", Wellington..  38,000
"The Press", Christchurch..  41,000
"The Otago Daily Times", Dunedin ..  28,000
"The Southland Times", Invercargill  12,800

Weekly

"The Standard" (Official Newspaper of the
New Zealand Labour Party) ..  33,000

* Most newspapers are reluctant to furnish figures of circulation - a practice adopted when rival papers were in the field.
**ANALYSIS OF NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE**

**Period: 1893-1945.**

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+ Including one newspaper issued every ten days.

* Including one newspaper issued every three weeks.

Continued overleaf.
## Analysis of New Zealand Newspapers Registered at the General Post Office (Cont’d.)

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<th>Twice a week</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Fortnightly</th>
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## PERSONS ENGAGED AND WAGES PAID IN PRINTING ESTABLISHMENTS

### Period: 1880-1944

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of establishments</th>
<th>Persons engaged</th>
<th>Salaries and wages paid</th>
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## OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS OF PERSONS ENGAGED

### IN PRINTING ESTABLISHMENTS

**Period: 1925-1944**

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Proprietors actively engaged</th>
<th>Managers, overseers, etc.</th>
<th>Accountants, clerks, etc.</th>
<th>Literary staff</th>
<th>Wage-earners</th>
<th>Distributing staff</th>
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* Included with 'Wage-earners' and 'accountants, clerks, etc.'

* Full-time distributing staff only.
## Analysis of Materials Used in Printing Establishments

**Period:** 1918-1944

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<th>Paper for job-printing</th>
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<td>Cost (£)</td>
<td>Quantity (lb)</td>
<td>Cost (£)</td>
<td>Quantity (lb)</td>
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### VALUE OF PRODUCTS FROM PRINTING

**ESTABLISHMENTS**

**Period:** 1885-1944

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<th>Job-printing</th>
<th>Other products</th>
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