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NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS 1840-1880: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONCERNS

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Abstract

This study is of the New Zealand newspapers over the period 1840-1880. The years indicate, respectively, the first publication of newspapers in the country, and the formation of the United Press Association, an association whereby newspapers muted their competition in favour of a national cooperative interchange of news. It is argued that newspapers began and continued as partisan advocates for a developing ruling class; that newspaper controllers were influential in New Zealand politics; and that New Zealand newspapers are to be understood as the outcome of the ambivalent relationship between the organizational and political concerns of newspaper controllers. The various newspapers began under the influence of the Crown Colony Government or of the New Zealand Company and its offshoots. Prior to the gaining of self-government in 1853, newspapers became a major expression of the political opinion of the settlers. With the introduction of self-government newspaper controllers were disproportionately successful in winning elected political positions. During the early provincial period newspapers became recognized advocates for individual politicians. With later population growth a change towards daily journalism began. Consequent on this and the development of the telegraph, the New Zealand press began a process of nationalization. There arose an ideology that newspapers were not politically partisan. Newspapers, however, did not become politically neutral. Their advocacy changed from a loyal championing of individual politicians to an allegiance to more general political groupings.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1840 the first two New Zealand newspapers began publication. They started in small settlements which were, at best, in irregular contact with one another. Yet, by 1880 the controllers of New Zealand newspapers had become a nationally organized, cohesive group. On a daily basis newspapers combined to receive and share both national and international news. However such organizational developments were not always of paramount concern to newspaper controllers. During the same years they also followed policies of partisan political activity. This was such as to make many newspaper controllers important political office-holders. It also placed newspapers on the different sides of the various political conflicts of the 1840-1880 years. Newspaper activity was largely conducted in terms of these organizational and political concerns and the ambivalent relationship between the two. Newspaper controllers differed in their power to realize their political and organizational concerns. Because of their greater circulations and partly for technical as well as organizational reasons, New Zealand newspapers came to be dominated by the dailies from the main centers.

The four decades were characterised by developments in communication technology as well as by political and demographic changes in New Zealand. Changes in communication technology notably included the connection of the New Zealand settlements by telegraph and the laying of sea cables between the North and South Islands and between New Zealand and Australia. The political organization of New Zealand changed from the status of a Crown Colony, through a period of Provincialism, to, finally, centralized Government from Wellington. The demographic changes, from the point of view of newspaper controllers, were such as to

allow a movement from the publication of political journals restricted by circulation to an elite, to the publication of daily newspapers oriented towards a mass readership.

The cohesion developed by the New Zealand newspaper controllers over the 1840-1880 period came from their shared experiences and from their acceptance of a set of self-imposed regulations. These regulations, the membership rules of the United Press Association, ensured a co-operative interchange of national news among all newspapers as well as a regular and shared flow of international news. Such a co-operation gave individual newspapers the most inexpensive news supply possible. It also offered a protection from competition which made more likely any individual newspaper's long term survival. By 1880 the New Zealand newspapers had gained a long term monopoly over news collection and dispersion. Not only would the New Zealand press continue but the particular newspaper concerns operating in 1880 would continue. The process by which these long term arrangements came into being I will refer to as the institutionalization of the New Zealand press.

There is little written material on the newspapers of New Zealand, especially those of the nineteenth century. Even basic information such as the number of newspapers that have been published is not available. To enjoy the low newspaper postage rate, newspaper, from an early date had to be registered with the Post Office.[1] But this register, along with all other General Post Office records, was lost in the fire of 1887.[2]

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1. Robinson, Chapters 5 & 6.

2. Ibid, p. 159.

From 1868 newspapers were required, under the Printers and Newspapers Registration Act 1868, to register with the Supreme Court. These records have been similarly lost. Before the loss of these records Sir Henry Brett and Sir George Fenwick had copied all registrations from the Supreme Court records.[3] But even Brett and Fenwick's copy has been lost. Scholefield had the use of their copy and the most detailed, though by no means complete, information on the number, names and ownership of New Zealand newspapers appears in his history.[4]

The proprietors and employees of the New Zealand newspapers have been largely unconcerned with the collection and preservation of their early records. O'Neill's experience, on beginning the centennial history of the Press, was one I was to repeat:

> "I asked then if I could get a file of annual reports - being little in them, he (A.R. Cant, then editor of the Press) replied; and added 'They usually try to keep as much out of them as possible.' Later I went to the manager, Sandy, (A.J. Sandom) and made a similar inquiry. 'No', he said, 'nothing of historical interest has been left on file - no documents, no reports, no old registers, or balance sheets.'"[5]

O'Neill was later to find that some relevant material could still be located:

> "In the last two years I've found the direct approach has succeeded the least - it is necessary

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3. Scholefield, (1958), p. xi.

4. (1958).

5. O'Neill manuscripts.

> to probe through and ferret out stuff when people are not looking."[6]

At least in the case of O'Neill's excellent history, one may applaud the results of such a research technique. But O'Neill was a long term employee of the Press. Such a technique is not generally available.

I have used what material is available. This includes primary sources such as the correspondence of the manager of the United Press Association and such secondary sources as Burns, Meiklejohn's, O'Neill's and Scholefield's histories. By far my major source of information, however, has been the files of copies of the newspapers themselves. While there are some tantalizing gaps in these collections, and despite the attitude towards records that O'Neill alluded to, New Zealand has in general been well served by those who have collected these newspapers. Details of what has been preserved are available in the Union Catalogue.[7]

This thesis does not pretend to be a history or an exhaustive study of the early New Zealand newspapers. It is a focused investigation of the political and organizational concerns of the controllers of the early newspapers with particular regard to the way these concerns influenced the nature of New Zealand journalism and led to the institutionalization of the New Zealand press as a cohesive and cooperative grouping. For this purpose most attention is on the major newspapers from the main centres for it was the controllers of these journals who were most influential in these processes.

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6. Ibid.

7. (1961).

The enquiry is not intended to provide statistical verification for the presence or absence of any particular phenomenon or causal attribute. Analyses of the political and organizational concerns of newspaper controllers are no basis for the provision of detailed quantification. They do, however, provide insights into the events of these peoples' lives and into the manner in which their actions defined the nature of New Zealand journalism.

The organizational concerns of newspaper controllers are examined over four decades of considerable change. Most newspapers began under the control of sole proprietors who worked with the voluntary assistance of partisan activists. By 1880 many newspapers were controlled by limited liability companies. They were profit oriented commercial concerns produced by a professional, salaried staff. The pattern of organizational change over the four decades is that of the emergence of the newspaper as a business enterprise conducted in terms of an economically defined rationality.

Parallel with their organizational concerns, newspaper controllers throughout the four decades were to value their newspapers for the political power they deemed inherent in the press. That the press is of political utility was as undoubted to the nineteenth century newspaper controllers as it is to contemporary researchers. The newspaper was valued for its role as a partisan advocate in political conflict. The newspaper was also valued for its ability to promote a particular understanding of the nature of New Zealand society and what that society should become.

These two areas of concern, organizational and political, were in an ambivalent relationship with each other. An emphasis on an economically defined rationality as an organizational principle should exclude the political benefits of newspaper control from consideration. But few proprietors espoused economic rationality so fervently that they were prepared to abandon the traditional political role of the newspaper. Nor was it generally considered possible for newspapers to be apolitical. Conversely, while proprietors wished to continue their newspapers as political advocates, they were not adverse to their newspapers becoming profitable businesses. Also, and more importantly, proprietors recognized a necessity for their newspaper concerns to be arranged on economically sound organizational principles. These desires, organizational and political, impinged on each other. Press development in New Zealand is an outcome of the implementation of these two interests and the modifications each forced on the other.

When the first newspapers began in New Zealand, they began under one of two dominating influences; that of the Crown Colony Government in the north and the New Zealand Company in the south. While relationships between the New Zealand Company and the newspapers of Wellington and Nelson were relatively amicable, the same cannot be said of the situation in the north concerning relationships between the Crown Colony Government and the newspapers of Russell and Auckland. These relationships were soon characterized by mutual mistrust and antagonism. But, even in the south, the interests of the press, or of those settlers who controlled the press, became distinct from the interests of the New Zealand Company.

The Crown Colony Government was the officially recognized political and administrative authority in New Zealand but the press, with the exception of the New Zealander in Auckland and the Spectator in Wellington which, after the arrival of Governor Grey, came to support the Crown Colony Government, became a resident landowners' advocate. It was distinct from the Government both in terms of ownership and policy. Initially there were close links between press ownership and the Crown Colony Government. These links had, by the mid 1840's, been terminated and, as ownership of the press became separated from the Crown Colony Government, so did press policy. Press policy became that of doing all possible to force the pace towards self-government and the ending of the Crown Colony Government system.

There began, during the period of Crown Colony Government, a marked political purpose to journalism. Those men who led the movement towards self-government chose journalism as the activity in which they could best publicize their endeavours. The newspapers were not the only means of advocacy for self-government. Towards the end of the Crown Colony Government period the internal agitation for self-government was led by the various constitutional associations. But in each case the association was supported and given voice by a local paper. Generally the journalists were major figures in their local constitutional association and it was their coordination which linked the associations. In the absence of elected political representation the press became the political voice of the colony and the journalists the de facto political representatives.

Reeves was to call "an oligarchy" that group which ruled New Zealand from 1853 to the advent in 1890 of the Liberal Government and he was to describe this oligarchy as "a minority who, possessing better education and on the whole more knowledge and ability - possessing, too, land, money and the control of commerce and the professions - ruled the country."[8] Whereas journalism was not always considered a proper activity for men of such rank in the England from which they had migrated, their entry into it in New Zealand had been inevitable in terms of the high value the colonists accorded to journalism.[9] The mere fact that newspapers were established so early in the history of different settlements with, in some instances, the first issues being published within weeks of the first arrival of colonist ships, attests to the importance in which they were held in the plans for the nascent communities. Particularly in the southern settlements, newspapers were an essential component of the utopian vision shared by the colonists. The newspaper's practical ability to spread news and offer advertising space was always recognized, but of first importance was what was argued to be its aid to "the development of civilization" in the new colony. An ideological dimension to the power of the newspaper press was early recognised. New Zealand in general and each settlement in particular was seen as a society in the process of becoming. Colonists saw the newspaper press as an important instrument to ensure the future would be one compatible with their values and ambitions. This is a view that sees the press as not only actively involved in the pursuits of a nation but

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8. (1898) p. 271.

9. "Colonist" is here used in the specialized sense referred to in the New Zealand Company classification. "Colonists" were the high status group as distinguished from "emigrants".

also providing direction to and leadership in those pursuits. This moral purpose given to the press is not peculiar to the first New Zealand Company settlements. The later settlements also shared it. This view, of the press as an instrument of civilization, shared in common by the New Zealand settlements, ensured, at least at the start, that men who entered into journalism were drawn from those upper echelons of society from which later would emerge the political rulers of the country. There was no social barrier inhibiting the political careers of journalists in New Zealand.

The economic history of the newspaper in New Zealand in the 1840-1880 period may conveniently be analysed as having two phases - the second being introduced with the start of the Otago Daily Times in 1861. Until then the economic and organizational nature of newspapers was such as to restrict participation in journalism largely to the wealthy. Participation here refers to involvement ranging from ownership of newspapers, to assistance in the preparation of issues, to subscription to newspapers. The initial arrangement involved both high capital investment and high running costs and combined these with a general lack of profitability. With few exceptions, the first newspapers were among the more substantial economic concerns in the new communities. When allied with job printing, the total enterprise was often profitable but newspapers alone failed to offer a return on their initial investment. Ownership of newspapers was restricted to the higher status colonists. Only among them were to be found the men who could afford the initial investment and the limited return. Participation in journalism was likewise restricted to men of independent means who were able to devote

so much of their time to an economically unrewarding activity. A paid staff to cope with the manual aspects of newspaper production was a feature, but not a universal one, of the early newspapers; their association with more general printing services tended to encourage this. But work at the journalistic and editorial level was different. It was voluntary work performed, not for a salary, but for a cause. Even subscription to newspapers was similarly restricted for their cost was prohibitive to all but the financially secure.

The early newspapers began with participation and circulation restricted to an upper class and were to voice the political divisions and aspirations of members of that class. Their emphasis on matters political was strengthened by their isolation and lack of a regular news flow from outside their local settlement. This hindered the presentation of new information. Instead they acted as political forums. Those involved in newspaper work were those upper class colonists who were politically involved and ambitious. They led and coordinated the self-government movement and, on the success of that movement, were prominent among those gaining the elected political offices.

After the gaining of self-government and following the first elections in 1853, the press became part of the provincial system of government. Journalists, having won many of the official positions in the first elections, carried their press support with them. From 1853, and especially during the early years of the Provincial political system, the normal pattern was for a newspaper to be a supporter and mouthpiece for a particular politician. The value of a paper's backing for a

political career was always recognized and newspaper ownership, or some other direct involvement, was high on the list of occupations of the country's politicians. Operated either by politicians, or in the service of politicians, the newspapers became not observers on matters political but a part of the political system and advocates for political positions within it.

Within the various provinces the political linkages of the newspapers were open and accepted as proper. The linkages were often direct as in the many instances where the same man was a newspaper proprietor and a prominent Provincial politician. Where this was not the case, the linkages were supportive in that each newspaper was a recognized mouthpiece for a politician even when not directly owned or operated by that politician. Newspaper growth in the various provinces followed political lines with a Government and an Opposition paper being the normal situation.

In both Auckland and Wellington the existing newspapers split in terms of the local political division. In the other communities second newspapers began as political opponents to the stance taken by the existing newspaper. There were few attempts to found newspapers which eschewed this active political involvement and instead offered a political neutrality. Any such attempts failed to establish long lasting newspapers.

Concurrent with the Provincial political system there were also recognized linkages between newspapers and the General Government. Many

of the political figures active provincially became active simultaneously within the General Government and, of course, took their newspaper support with them. The movement of the press into the two political systems took place simultaneously with the formation of those systems. It was, however, more important initially within the Provincial system because of the dominance of Provincialism in the governmental process.

In both systems of government neither the citizens nor the political leadership appeared concerned over the virtual absence of distinction between offices held in private and public capacities. This apparant indifference referred to the habit of newspapers acting as political mouthpieces and to the habit of politicians acting in their official capacities to further press interests. There was a general lack of appreciation of there being a distinction between a public sphere of Governmental activity and a private sphere of newspaper concern.

In the 1860's and 1870's, starting with the Otago Daily Times, the New Zealand newspapers began a circulation growth which offered a financial return hitherto unexperienced. The increase in population made it possible for the first time for newspapers to be profitable commercial concerns. This had various consequences. The New Zealand situation appears to be a specific version of a general pattern of change in newspapers that was occurring, or had already occurred, in many countries.[10] The price of newspapers fell. Eventually the penny paper became common. This accelerated a trend which, with a larger and more

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10. Cranfield, Chapters 5-8. Mayer, Chapters 1 & 2. Schudson, Chapter 1.

literate population had begun to take place, than of an extension of newspaper readership beyond the confines of an upper class. The frequency of newspaper appearance increased and daily newspapers became dominant. This enabled newspapers to become chroniclers of the events of a day and, coupled with the increased news flow, which the improving methods of transportation and, in particular, the telegraph allowed, the newspapers shifted their emphasis from that of political forum to that of newspaper. Advertising increased in importance to become the financial mainstay of a newspaper. Although its proportion, as a percentage of newspaper space, did not significantly increase, its absolute volume, because of increased newspaper size and frequency, did increase. And, because of the decrease in newspaper purchase price, the importance of advertising to a newspaper's finances became paramount.

These changes led to significant modification to the political role of the New Zealand press. This soon became apparent among those proprietors who had used their newspapers to support their own political careers. While it had previously been possible for a wealthy proprietor to carry the financial losses of his newspaper and offset them against his personal political gains, the costs in maintaining a high circulation daily newspaper became prohibitive. This practice was ended. James Macandrew's Dunedin newspaper, the Daily Telegraph, was the first to run against this financial situation and ceased publication. In the North Island the failure of two longstanding newspapers, the New Zealander in Auckland and the Spectator in Wellington, was to indicate that a similar threat applied to publicly unpopular political advocacy. The two had long followed a more pro-Maori stance than the rest of the New Zealand

press but, in the 1860's, this policy led to the demise of both newspapers.

The growth in size of newspaper enterprises in the 1860's and 1870's demanded an increase in financial investment which was normally beyond the ability of any single proprietor. This was one of the principal factors eventually leading to the formation of newspaper concerns as joint stock companies rather than as single ownership businesses. While this enabled an increase in investment it did end the original proprietor's total control of the direction of the newspaper.

This change separated some prominent politicians, notably James FitzGerald and Julius Vogel, from newspapers they had founded. In Christchurch, FitzGerald was ousted from the Press by his financial backers when their level of investment gave them effective control of the paper. In Dunedin, Vogel's co-directors of the Otago Daily Times, appointed by him so as to bring more capital into the enterprise, ousted him on the grounds that Vogel's political stance was damaging the paper's circulation. While increased capital was clearly necessary to allow newspapers to purchase the land, buildings and plant needed to produce a higher circulation daily, the corollary of this change, that of increasing the number of individuals with power over the policy of a newspaper, did make the original proprietors vulnerable. Investors in newspapers in the 1860's expected a return on their capital and their decisions in regard to a paper's policy were made in terms of financial wellbeing. Where this conflicted with the political considerations of the original proprietor, the political considerations were not accorded

primary concern. The new economic and organizational ambitions of newspaper controllers were not inherently antagonistic to the further performance of the political role of New Zealand newspapers. But they were a major new focus and do indicate that newspaper controllers desiring both political and economic gain were now in an ambivalent position in regard to these two concerns. The successful pursuit of one concern could make more difficult the achievement of the other. The actions of newspaper controllers from this point represent various strategies to resolve this ambivalence.

Newspapers in the 1860's became much larger businesses than before. They came to require the full time attention of owners which conflicted in turn with the full time attention now needed to sustain a political career. It became increasingly difficult for one man effectively to fill the two roles of politician and newspaper proprietor. William Reeves, proprietor of the Lyttelton Times, illustrates one answer to the dilemma. He gave up a promising political career to become instead the full time owner and manager of his business. Reeves was to set up two long lasting newspapers. Vogel, with his management of the Southern Cross, illustrates the difficulty of continuing as both a politician and a newspaper proprietor. He purchased the Auckland paper after leaving Otago, using it as a political mouthpiece. His political career was of great significance, but his absentee control of the Southern Cross was never effective. The combination of the positions of politician and newspaper proprietor was of long standing in New Zealand and, in the 1860's, was not considered improper. But the practical difficulty of being both an effective politician and an effective newspaper proprietor was such that, in the 1860's, the two roles began to be separated.

This separation of the two roles was accentuated by a new group of newspaper proprietors who first appeared in the 1860's. This group, well illustrated by Henry Blundell of the Evening Post, gave no consideration to their personal political advancement. They eschewed any personal political involvement and instead founded their newspapers solely to take advantage of the commercial opportunities now present.

The political role, however, was both established in tradition and accepted as appropriate. It was not to be discarded. The value of press support was clearly understood by all politicians. There were attempts to continue the old practice of having a newspaper as a political mouthpiece. This applied particularly in Wellington, the political capital, where Vogel purchased the Independent, renaming it the New Zealand Times, and where members of Grey's Ministry of 1878-1879 founded the New Zealander. These attempts, however, were shortlived. The linking of a newspaper with any single politician or even, as in the case of the Wellington New Zealander, a single Ministry, was fraught with danger for the newspaper which could not afford to have its circulation, or, as happened with the New Zealander, its survival, vary with the vicissitudes of its sponsor.

The holding of political office by individuals engaged in journalism continued, but also underwent a significant change. No longer was this dual representation carried by individuals who were simultaneously preeminent in both spheres. Instead the links devolved to be carried by individuals who were both a Member of the House of Representatives and a newspaper editor, or at least on a newspaper's editorial staff. Such

individuals were clearly linked with both a newspaper and a Government or Opposition; but they were neither in full control of their newspaper - they were salaried employees of it - nor of Ministerial rank in a Government.

This type of dual representation was not confined to any one type of newspaper. It was a feature of the oldest newspapers, whether they represented the landowners' interests, as in the case of the Independent or the Examiner, whether they regarded themselves as liberal papers, as in the case of the Lyttelton Times or the Nelson Colonist, or whether they regarded themselves as commercial newspapers without fixed political allegiance, as in the case of the New Zealand Herald or the Evening Post.

Political advocacy remained. But it was a more fluid advocacy. The M.H.R. - editor could leave a newspaper, could be removed by it, or could change his political stance. The newspaper was not irrevocably committed to a political position, a Ministry or a politician. These changes came during the 1860's and 1870's when newspapers came to be large circulation enterprises with substantial financial backing. They needed both to survive and retain their circulation. They had become too large for any one politician to command their undeviating allegiance, nor in turn, could they afford to offer any individual such support. Press interests were now sui generis and no longer classifiable solely within the orbit of political considerations.

The commercial newspapers of the 1860's and 1870's took a bureaucratic form with a legal-rational mode of operation and decision

making that Max Weber was to delineate for social science in the 1900's.[11] The appearance of the "promoter" newspaper proprietors and the expansion of the directorate of the established newspapers ensured that business goals became prominent. The difference in the values of the early newspapers and their later commercial counterparts was that profit, rather than personal political advancement, became the dominant motive for the later newspapers. Profit was a sine qua non for continued publication. Unlike the earlier newspapers the commercial dailies were concerns too large to be able to continue at a loss. But although political involvement was challenged as the major value it did not disappear. Nor was it possible for newspapers to be apolitical. The nature of press activity, which includes reporting and commenting on political matters, is such that political involvement is inevitable. Added to this was the accepted journalistic practice in New Zealand, namely, for newspapers to advocate particular political stances. This applied to the new "promoter" newspapers as much as to their elder counterparts and the new newspapers were quickly to establish definite positions on a variety of political matters. While political involvement was no longer the raison d'etre for newspapers it remained an everyday working context.

In consequence there was an important change in the nature of newspaper political involvement. The process of change was not to remove the fact of political allegiance but to transfer it from being a support for an individual to a more general political grouping. This represented

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11. Weber's Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, however, was not published until 1922, after Weber's death.

a resurgence of newspaper control for political purposes but is a resurgence which understood and had come to terms with the commercial realities. The political advocacy presented was not irrevocably committed to any individual but was for a more general orientation which the newspaper owners felt should receive a continuing support in New Zealand public life.

Political groupings during the period of the continuous ministry[12] were often defined, not ideologically, but in terms of administrative possibility. Opportunism and flexibility of allegiances typified political behaviour. The newspapers operated within this context but also conceived of political groupings in binary terms and their advocacy was offered in the same terms, as being either for or in opposition to the Government of the day. Not only did the newspapers understand and interpret the politicians as either supporters of the Government or the Opposition but they also divided themselves similarly, as organs of the Government or of the Opposition. Such action was an independent impetus leading towards the eventual consolidation of the two party system.

This process occurred within the context of developments that involved both press and Government developing new responsibilities and interests that served to separate them. The way the new technical facility of the telegraph was handled illustrates the point. The telegraph in particular involved Government and private press interests.

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12. The "continuous ministry" is generally regarded as having first come to power with the Fox-Vogel combination of 1869 and gone out with Atkinson in 1891. Despite the frequent changes of Premier and ministers, there was a stable political system. (Sinclair, p. 160).

Initially there was no challenge to the longstanding assumption of a working collaboration between press and public office. An arrangement was introduced whereby there was a Governmental preparation of telegraphic news summaries which were then made available to the press. This system began largely at the instigation of Vogel, FitzGerald and Ward, all newspaper proprietors and all Members of the House of Representatives. Such a system initially worked to the advantage of both press and Government. The newspaper proprietors were saved the trouble and much of the expense of obtaining their own overseas news summaries and the Government was able to ensure a general availability of information.

While acting to curtail the effects of unequal access to information provided by the telegraph could be construed as a proper use of Government authority, it was equally an instance of private newspaper proprietors acting in their public political capacities so as to further their private business interests. The task of collecting overseas news and making it available to the New Zealand newspapers was handled, not by the press, but by a Government organization. Furthermore, the mechanism for making available publicly advantageous information was to print it in the privately owned newspapers thus aiding the circulation of these newspapers.

The public definition of a proper demarcation between press and Government grew from the revelations, beginning in 1868 and running right through the 1870's, of Government interference in news gathering and press financing. Although the Provincial political system continued

until 1876, the General Government was the dominant political power by the late 1860's and manipulation on a national level of the press was a blatant matter arousing an opposition that had not been present in the heyday of Provincialism. Then the identification of newspapers with politicians had been seen not as manipulation but normal political advocacy.

Specific instances of Government interference with the press ranged from offering Government advertising only to politically supportive newspapers, to denying equal access to telegraph facilities to opponent newspapers, to withholding news telegrams from opponent newspapers, to censoring press association activity so that news unfavourable to the Government was not published. Each instance provoked an outraged newspaper-led discussion and made it more difficult for blatant interference to succeed in the future. At no time was there a statement from either press or Government arguing for a clear distinction between the two spheres. The years of political advocacy by the press and intermingling of personnel in press and Government were both of long standing and current utility. They were not abruptly to cease. But the political embarrassments, and often forced political policy changes in regard to the press, caused by the various newspaper and public outcries led to an acceptance of the impropriety of news manipulation and Government favouritism to supportive newspapers.

This acceptance was itself an indication of change in the nature of government in New Zealand. As newspaper development from 1860 followed a pattern of economically defined rationality so was a similar process

apparent in state development in New Zealand. The modern state, with its basis of expert officialdom and rational law, was itself in a process of becoming. This is illustrated by the General Government's response to the telegraph, the communication development of major significance to newspapers. The development and control of the use of the telegraph is a major instance of the growth of the General Government and its administrative apparatus. Telegraph construction began, inevitably, in the more populated South Island. It quickly became apparent that the various Provincial Governments were unable to coordinate their efforts so as to erect a line throughout the Island. By early 1864 - some twelve years before the end of provincialism - the General Assembly had resolved to erect a telegraph line through the entire Colony; had determined that the construction should be undertaken by the General Government, and had voted funds for the purpose. The General Government's ability to construct an interprovincial telegraph line was, in the light of the Provincial Governments' inability to do so, an early indication of the indispensability of the General Government. Its construction and management of the line represents an early acceptance of a central responsibility and an early development of an important part of an administratively capable state.

The General Government regulated the use which could be made of the telegraph. There were many aspects of this regulation which aroused no antagonism between press and Government. But press and Government began to have distinct interests by the mere fact that the press was a user of the telegraph which was a revenue producer for, and controlled by, the Government. The press was a major user of the telegraph but still only

one user. Its use at times brought it into conflict with the public and the business community and it was the Government which adjudicated such disputes. Nor were such disputes the only areas of adjudication. Cooperative news gathering required considerable decisions from the Government, culminating in the Protection of Telegrams Act 1882. While this Act was generally favourable to the established newspapers they did not gain everything asked for. The Government's regulatory powers gave it command over press interests.

Usage of the telegraph is also the area in which newspaper cooperation is most apparent. The telegraph and the greater emphasis given by newspapers to news reporting led to associations being formed among different newspapers to exchange their New Zealand news and to obtain overseas news. As well as facilitating news gathering it also made it less expensive for each individual newspaper involved. The long term trend, achieved with the United Press Association, was for there to be the single Press Association covering all the New Zealand newspapers. This process of cooperation militated against newspapers' political variances. The position arrived at with the United Press Association was for the newspapers to form a single cooperative enterprise. They muted their political antagonism to the point of non interference with their journalistic and economic cooperation. At this point the New Zealand newspapers had common interests which bound them as a cohesive entity, as the New Zealand press.

This thesis follows a generally chronological treatment of the topic. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal with the Crown Colony Government period.

It is argued that, by 1844, newspapers were acquiring a status independent of both the New Zealand Company and the Crown Colony Government. Newspaper personnel were prominent in the agitation for self-government. Press representation was a major part of the settlers' de facto political representation. Newspapers performed wide ranging roles and acted as political advocates for their communities in general. I argue, however, that they were the consistent voice of only a small section within each of the settlements. The newspapers were class newspapers linked predominantly with the group which was becoming both the major landowning and the dominant commercial class in New Zealand.

The first years of the Provincial period are considered in Chapter 5. Not only were newspaper personnel disproportionately successful in winning elected official positions but newspapers became recognized forces in the political process. A pattern of partisan political advocacy by newspapers developed with individual newspapers being recognised as the advocates for individual politicians.

Chapters 6,7 and 8 deal with the period of commercial growth of newspapers. The repercussions of daily journalism and of a new group of enterpreneur newspaper proprietors on the political role of the press is discussed. A new notion of political independence appeared in New Zealand journalism but this is not to be confused with political neutrality. The various attempts to start daily newspapers are considered as are the new attributes of journalism - the regular provision of news, the extension of the newspaper readership and the rise of professional journalism. Their relationship with the nature of

newspaper political activity is examined. While press partisan activity continued, newspaper controllers were developing an ideology which placed the press as an institution distinct from and separate to Government.

Chapters 9 and 10 are concerned with the development and use of the telegraph. Press agencies and the nature of newspaper cooperation are discussed as is the relationship between press and government. The foundation of the United Press Association is discussed and seen as the administrative expression of the New Zealand press as a distinct institution.

In brief this thesis offers a sociological analysis of the newspapers of New Zealand in the period to the formation of the United Press Association. It is proposed that during this period the New Zealand press became an institution with the United Press Association being the eventual administrative expression of this process. It is proposed that the New Zealand newspapers can best be understood as an outcome of actions inspired by the political and organizational concerns of the newspaper controllers. These concerns are seen as varying in importance during the period and involving the actors in considerable ambivalence. Newspaper political advocacy changed from a personal championing of individual politicians to become an allegiance to more general political groupings. In their understanding of the nature of such groupings the newspaper controllers were influential in New Zealand politics.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS OF 1840-1844 AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE CROWN COLONY GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY

The publishing of newspapers in New Zealand begins in 1840 with the first New Zealand printing of the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator and the commencement in Russell of the New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette. For the first four years the dominant influences on the press were to be the Crown Colony Government in the north and the New Zealand Company in Wellington.

My immediate intention is to discuss the relationships between these authorities and the New Zealand newspapers, to point to the influence held by these authorities over the press and to indicate that, by the mid 1840's, the New Zealand newspapers were acquiring, a status increasingly free from the power of either the Crown Colony Government or the New Zealand Company. My wider argument is that, during the period of Crown Colony Government, the press became a major component of the settlers' de facto political representation. In this chapter I indicate the initial stage of this development, an emerging press independence from both the Crown Colony Government and the New Zealand Company.

Press personnel, particularly in the north but also in Wellington and Nelson, were to find that both authorities were prepared, and often able, to command a press policy counter to the settlers' interests. The lessons learnt in these first four years were to be applied in a new group of newspapers which dominated New Zealand journalism for the following two decades and whose controllers were to aid in co-ordinating and leading the movement for self-government.

The Northern Press and the Crown Colony Government; 1840-1844

The New Zealand northern press was born under the influence of a government intolerant of criticism and willing to resort to harsh measures to suppress it. This is seen at its starkest in the first paper in the North, the New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette. The paper, first issued on 15 June 1840, four months after Hobson established his administration in Russell, "undoubtedly owed its existence to the need of the government for some medium in which to publish its official decrees".[1] However the paper also represented the interests of the local settlers, and its editor, the Rev. Barsillai Quaife, a Congregational minister, who was the local school teacher as well as preacher and editor, could not forever neglect discussing the major topic of concern to the settlers, the land question. To quote Hocken, "like the proverbial moth, he circled nearer and nearer to his doom, and after the issue of his twentyseventh number, on the 10 December, which contained various moderate suggestions for reform he was peremptorily directed to appear before Mr. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary".[2]

At the time New South Wales law was applicable in New Zealand and Hobson's answer to this first act of criticism was to revive a series of antipress laws instituted in 1827 by Governor Darling during the Emancipists - Exclusives debate. In Darling's conflict with the press the editors of both the Australian and the Monitor had been imprisoned and heavily fined. In New South Wales the laws lay in abeyance under the

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1. Meiklejohn, p. 13.

2. p.106.

subsequent Governors, Bourke and Gipps.[3] Their complete revival in New Zealand, under Hobson, was, however, not needed. The first of the Acts, which required a newspaper proprietor and at least two sureties to deposit £300 each with the Supreme Court, was sufficient to ensure the Advertiser ceased publication.[4]

Requiring a journal in which to print official notices, the Government soon began the New Zealand Government Gazette, the first number of which contained the following:

> "Notice is hereby given that in consequence of the Editors of the New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette having declined publishing any advertisements from Her Majesty's Government, all communications from this Government inserted in the Gazette Extraordinary are to be deemed official". (N.Z. Government Gazette, 30 December 1840)

As Scholefield states no explanation was offered as to "why a struggling little paper had the temerity to reject government advertising".[5] We may dismiss this official rationale as a convenient fiction. The first issue of the Gazette was printed on the Mission Press at Paihia but the remaining eighteen were issued at Korororeka. In mid 1841 Hobson began his permanent residence at Auckland and, on 7 July

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3. Walker. CHAPTERS 3-4.

4. Meiklejohn. This was the only time the New South Wales Acts were applied to New Zealand. In May 1841 New Zealand became a Crown Colony independent of New South Wales. However, the repealing ordinance - repealing the applicability of all New South Wales laws, ordinaces etc. to New Zealand did not come into operation until 25 April 1842. See the Auckland Standard of the same date.

5. [1958], p.70

1841, a first issue of the New Zealand Government Gazette was published there.

After moving to the Waitemata, the Crown Colony Government was to continue its stormy relationship with the press. The position was complicated in the first Auckland paper for nearly all the senior members of the Administration were shareholders in the paper and within a month of the paper's first issue, four of them were on the five member controlling board of trustees.[6] This paper was the Auckland Herald and New Zealand Gazette and is the single early New Zealand paper to have received detailed study.[7] Both Meiklejohn and Hocken allude to the trustees' lack of business acumen and, in the sudden closure of the paper that was to come, it is necessary to allow for their readiness to be done with a non-profitable concern. However, the immediate reason for the closure of the Herald was editorial conflict with the Crown Colony Government and to that we now turn.

The paper's proprietors were at pains to indicate that the Herald was not a Government paper.

> "We feel extremely anxious that no erroneous impressions should prevail in consequence of the Government Gazette being published weekly from our press. It may be consequently imagined that this journal has been established under its auspices. We beg, most unqualifiedly, to deny any such imputation, reiterating our prospectus, that this

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6. The Government member trustees were Matthew Richmond (Land Claims Commissioner), W. Mason (Superintendent of Public Works), W.C. Symonds (deputy-Surveyor-General and member of the Legislative Council) and J. Johnson (Colonial Surgeon).

7. Meiklejohn.

> journal will be conducted entirely upon independent principles".
> (Herald, 10 July 1841)

It is correct that the trustees did not have editorial control other than in a punitive sense. With Charles Terry, the first editor, the matter was never tested for he resigned almost immediately to attend to his flax business. Under William Corbett, the second editor, the paper was generally supportive of the Government but, on the all important topic of land policy, it was to speak out in opposition. The tactic of using land sales as a revenue raising device was early criticised.

> "It is very problematical whether the extraordinary high price of the late town allotments will not militate against the rapid and ultimate prosperity of this Colony. It may be that the coffers of the Colonial Treasury are deeply replenished, but it is equally true that the majority of the present population of Auckland are proportionately impoverished by such large drain and abstraction of their active capital. Let the Government receive fair, but not immoderate compensation for their right in the soil ...."
> (Herald, 31 July 1841)

However, the topic generally received scant attention in the Herald until 10 November 1841 when Corbett made a strong attack on the land policy. It would appear that trustee pressure was brought to bear on Corbett in order to quieten him. However it had the reverse effect. The next editorial was, as Meiklejohn phases it, "vibrant with defiance".[8] It also indicates an editor overestimating the strength of his paper.

> "This journal has lately operated remarkably upon public feeling. It has acted upon the public mind

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8. Ibid, p.39.

> with the certainty, the force, the energy of truth. That truth, and force, and energy have been unwelcome to some ... Our's was a young community which here had not before experienced - had had no example of that power of the Press which it has now begun to feel. The public has become conscious that a great change has taken place - one of those changes which from time to time occur in new settlements, and which mark their growth and progress - the public have come aware, as a moral certainty, that the character of this journal was such that it could not fail to stir the slumbering spirit, to arouse the inactive mind .... that it was no longer a mere vehicle of commonplaces - that it did not appear with a mask, to be changed as caprice, or selfishness, or vanity might dictate - that it did not foist upon the public a mere pretense of independence, or flippant surface essays upon unimportant subjects; but that it came forward and evaded not the discussion of any great question affecting the interests of the Colony". (Herald, 13 November 1841)

After a meeting of trustees on 17 November 1941, Corbett was dismissed.

> "Resolved, that as repeated complaints have been made to the trustees regarding the style and manner of the leading articles of the Auckland Herald, it be deemed expedient to dispense with the services of Mr Corbett at the expiration of three months from the present date, and that a notification of the decision of the trustees be forwarded to that gentleman".[9]

The Herald's criticisms of the Crown Colony Government were coincident with the start of Auckland's second newspaper, the Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist. It was first published on 8 November 1841. As Crown Colony Government personnel dominated the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company, which held the only printing

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9. Ibid, p.38.

press in Auckland, it is certain that this paper began with Government approval. In the light of subsequent support given by the Government to the Standard, it is possible the Colonist was deliberately started as a counter to the Herald's criticisms. But before the end of the year it had also run foul of the authorities, was refused use of the press, and was forced to suspend publication until November 1842. The details are unavailable for none of the 1841 issues have survived.

Corbett, the fired Herald editor must have left before his three months notice were worked through for Samuel Martin, the third and final editor, took over the paper in late January 1842. He insisted on, and gained as a condition of his appointment, full control of the paper. It is probable that shareholders, concerned at the paper's waning circulation and prestige, insisted that the trustees accept this condition. Immediately Martin took up his position, however, Shortland attempted unsuccessfully to bribe him into supporting the Government's position.[10] Martin in turn was to write on land claims but he did not confine himself to the long standing Pakeha ground of complaint,the Governmental refusal to recognise the validity of any purchase until an official inquiry had been made and a grant issued. He looked directly at Auckland and attacked the considerable irregularities and apparent official corruption in the allocation of land there. This criticism was intolerable to the Government. Martin was dismissed, the paper closed down and the plant, land and buildings purchased by the Crown Colony Government.

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10. Ibid, p. 64.

During Martin's period of strife with the Government, the Auckland Standard began publication. The dating of this paper is difficult and I am accepting Meiklejohn's argument that the first publication date for the Standard was 28 February 1842.[11]

The point in regard to the Government's techniques of press control would appear to be that, prior to using its private control to close down the Herald, it first attempted to either counter the paper or to suppress it economically, by starting an opposing paper. Economic suppression is the less likely alternative considering the various Government members' financial stake in the Herald.

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11. Copies of only six issues survive, the earliest dated 18 April 1842. Hocken in discussing the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette states: "Upon its ruins, and in a week's time was erected the Auckland Standard". (p.109) As the Herald's final issue was on 6 April 1842 this would have the Standard beginning sometime between 6-13 April 1842. McLintock also states the Herald was established in April 1842. (1958, p.139) Scholefield, however, dates this paper starting on 18 February 1842. (1958, p.74) Meiklejohn also argues for a dating prior to April.

> "The earliest existing number of the Standard is number 8, dated 18 April. As the paper was published weekly, a count back shows that the first issue would have appeared on 28 February. The important point is that the Standard was started in opposition to the Herald and was intended to surplant the earlier paper". (p.85)

He strongly supports a pre April start for the Standard by quoting the Bay of Islands Observer for 17 March 1842 which discusses the Standard.

> "A friend has sent us the second number of the Auckland Standard with which we have felt as much amused as a serious subject would permit us to be ..." (p.95.)

While the Government personnel had been able to silence press criticism they had had little success in gaining press support. This problem was overcome with the Standard, at least in its early months, by the appointment of William Swainson, the Attorney-General, as its editor. It is difficult to produce a fair assessment of the Standard for so few issues survive. What is available suggests that it championed the Government but generally kept to trivial topics. One surviving editorial, for instance, is devoted to criticising the poor attendance at a Ball held by Mrs Hobson.

> "Fear of taking cold can be no excuse, for those who stayed away are about the strongest advocates of the salubrity of this climate, and have been heard to state that the utmost amount of wet produces no inconvenience to the body in this country".
> (Standard, 25 July 1842)

It is doubtful if the Standard was successful in winning support for the Government. It was certainly regarded with disdain by the other New Zealand papers. A letter on the topic from Auckland, dated 5 April 1842 to the Gazette in Wellington was reprinted in the Nelson Examiner.

> "The Herald is defunct; but, by some sort of management, under the plea of accommodating the public, the Standard will be printed at the Government office. This paper has a nominal editor; but every publication is a patchwork, manufactured by Shortland and Co".
> (Examiner, 11 June 1842)

However, towards the end of its short existence, the Standard was also to discuss the land claimants, and in a manner far from offering unquestioning support for the Government's position.

> "... we have no hesitation in stating, that had the Land Claimants been confirmed in their titles to land on the arrival of his Excellency in the Colony, the consequences would have been the immediate introduction of several thousands of Emigrants both from England and the adjacent Colonies - the discredit thrown upon their titles has not only ruined the old settlers, but has tended much to impede the settlement itself. Another and a no less powerful cause of mischief has been the limited quantity of land put up for sale, as well as the high price at which the land was offered - higher, indeed, at this settlement by three times, than either in Port Nicholson or Nelson".
> (Auckland Standard, 4 August 1842)

I have been unable to ascertain whether Swainson edited the paper to the end. It is possible he did not for, as the above quote indicates, it was starting to adopt a more critical stance towards the Government. The paper's contract with John Moore, who operated the Government press, still had a month to run when the paper ceased publication, and it is likely that the Government officials deserted the Standard and transferred their journalistic hopes to the next paper in Auckland.

Prior to examining the final Auckland paper of this period there is another Northland paper, to consider. It began in the same month as the Standard. This newspaper, the Bay of Islands Observer, with the Rev. Quaife again editor, became a strong opponent of the Crown Colony Government and soon found itself facing the threat of defamation from the Government for the following:

> "... curious reports are abroad respecting sums deficient in the late Treasurer's accounts. Perhaps the new Treasurer may soon be able to tell us whether there is any connexion between the extreme land-jobbing speculations which have been carried on by certain individuals in high stations

> and the vast unaccounted-for sums which have been swallowed up somehow or other in the bottomless abyss"
> (Bay of Islands Observer, 12 May 1842)

The eventual collapse of the paper was seen as, due at least indirectly, to the protracted Government pressure as this led to a weakening of the resolve of many supporters of the paper. The final issue strongly complained:

> "... of the desertion of several shareholders and many subscribers, so remarkably thin-skinned that offence has been taken at the most harmless sallies, and so tenacious of their purses, that, on the first rumour of the establishment being what is called "a losing concern" buttoned up their breeches pockets and refused the necessary supplies".
> (Bay of Islands Observer, 27 October 1842)

The paper continued its opposition to the Government to its final issue. It was, for instance, publishing in serial form Samuel Martin's letter to the Secretary of State when its press was finally silenced.[12] Contemporary opinion certainly saw the Observer as stopped by the Government. The Wellington Gazette, for one, accused the Government of attacking the Observer in order

> "to stop up the only channel of free discussion within the reach of the northern part of these colonies".
> (Gazette, 2 November 1842).

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12. S.M.D. Martin, New Zealand in 1842; Or the Effects of a Bad Government on a Good Country. In a Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Martin wrote this pamphlet, described by McLintock (1958, p.452) as "the first major attack on the Crown Colony system by a forceful writer", after being fired from the editorship of the Herald.

By this time, however, the northern centre of population and journalistic activity was Auckland. The Observer was crushed as much by the lack of a supportive population as by official pressure.

In Auckland the Standard was succeeded by Henry Falwasser's Auckland Times which, first appearing the day after the Standard's final issue, received an initial Government acceptance. It was printed on the Government press, but after nine issues, Willoughby Shortland, then Acting-Governor, refused Falwasser use of it. Hocken is unsure whether "any suspicion arose as to Mr Falwasser's ability to pay for the printing or as to the doubtful odour of his articles".[13] The non-availability of the early issues precludes any definite statement on this point. Both interpretations are possible. The most recent of the pre-mangle issues still available is N.7 of 26 September 1842. It's "doubtful odour" is illustrated by an advertisement for Dr Martin's New Zealand in 1842; or the Effects of a Bad Government on a Good Country, and also by an editorial critical of Shortland and of the colony in general. This issue, however, also includes the following which casts doubt on the paper's financial viability.

> "Before commencing the publication of the Auckland Times we canvassed for subscribers, expressedly declaring that we should only publish upon realizing a certain number. After taking two, three or five or our numbers, as the case may be, we now constantly have them referred by partners who originally gave in their names - we are not conscious of any deficiency in the performance of our part of the contract, and of course must hold these gentlemen liable for the fulfilment of theirs .... we have taken care in all cases to possess competent legal proof of the obligation these kind

13. p.109.

> friends continue under - and shall enforce it in every case".
> (Auckland Times, 26 September 1842)

Falwasser was not stopped by the unavailability of a press. He gathered a variety of old types and coarse paper and carried on printing his paper by use of a mangle, producing what Hocken refers to as "the most extraordinary- looking paper ever printed".[14] He kept this up, delivering his weekly barbs gratis to his subscribers until the Southern Cross was to begin. Falwasser then considered the Auckland press in sufficiently safe hands for him to suspend his paper, thus allowing him to journey to Sydney to obtain suitable plant. The Auckland Times reappeared seven months later and continued until January 1846 when the final issue appeared a week before Falwasser's death. In all Falwasser produced 159 issues of his paper. He gained a lasting reputation for journalistic courage and imaginative endeavour especially during the period of outright opposition from the Crown Colony Government when he was denied access to a press.

After deserting Falwasser and the Times, the hopes of the Government were once again laid on the Chronicle which was brought out of suspension to resume publication. The paper was to publish for six months before going into suspension once again, due to the financial difficulties it experienced from competition with the Southern Cross when that paper began. During this second round of publication the paper was regarded as very much a tool of the Government.

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14. Ibid.

> "... if gentlemen holding public offices will club together - some with their purses, and others with whatever other influence they possess - to monopolise the press, and destroy the just channel of public intelligence - and if, with all their energy, they can do nothing better than lay such a joint-stock egg as the Chronicle, they are fair game for ridicule".
> (Auckland Times, 2 February 1843)

A similar criticism was made by the newly appeared Southern Cross on the eve of the Chronicle's second suspension.

> "For sale or hire, in about a fortnight, a defunct engine used for stifling the fire of the people; rather shaky, having lately stuck fast in the swamp of Queen Street. Has been well greased lately, it's head turning with marvellous facility in any direction. Apply at the Chronicle Office".
> (Southern Cross, 29 April 1843)

The Southern Cross began publication in Auckland in April, 1843. Despite experiencing some difficulties in its early years, this paper represents the start of a stable press in Auckland. The record to this point indicates an extreme antagonism between the press and the Crown Colony Government. Of the seven attempted newspapers the New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette had been forced out of existence by official financial demands, the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette had been closed down by Government personnel acting in their private capacities, the Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist had been similarly denied access to a press, the Auckland Times was officially refused use of the press, the failure of the Bay of Islands Observer was at least partly due to official pressure, and the demise of the Auckland Standard leaves the likely suspicion that it also succumbed to a

withdrawal of official patronage. Only the New Zealand Gazette was untouched but this publication acted as a newspaper only while based in the Bay of Islands. In Auckland it had taken on the usual role of a Government Gazette.

This early antagonism between the press and the Crown Colony Government placed them in mutual distrust. Although Governor Grey came to command the support of two newspapers, this distrust continued until the Government's replacement in 1853. Meiklejohn, in describing these "blackest pages in the early history of New Zealand", attributes major responsibility to Willoughby Shortland. In a charge echoed by McLintock he states, "He, more than any other officer of Hobson's administration, squandered the Government's greatest asset - the confidence and goodwill of the people".[15] This antagonism was not as intense after Shortland's replacement. The repudiation of Shortland by FitzRoy at first gained that Governor considerable press goodwill but his subsequent actions were to soon lose it. Press confidence in the Government was never to be gained. It is difficult to envisage the two institutions being other than antagonistic for, although Shortland and Hobson by their heavy-handedness exacerbated the problems, the two institutions were always to be divided on their approaches to basic New Zealand issues, principally on that of land. Although, as in the case of the Herald, the Chronicle and the Standard, sometimes financed by the Administration, the press was to champion the settlers. Its subscribers were to be settlers; its printers, editors and other personnel were to be settlers; and settler interests were to become press interests. Where settler interests and

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15. pp.109-110. McLintock, [1958], p.144.

Crown Colony Government policy were to differ, the press and the Crown Colony Government were to be antagonists.

The New Zealand Company Settlements and the Press; 1840-1844

The first New Zealand newspaper was issued at Wellington on 18 April 1840 when Samuel Revans, six weeks after arriving on the "Adelaide," published the first New Zealand edition of the New Zealand Gazette. The Gazette's issue of 18 April was, however, its second. The first, which gave information for emigrants and a history of the New Zealand Company, had been published in London on 21 August 1839 and, with a slightly extended 2nd edition, was reprinted on 6 September.

The Gazette had been started under the initiative of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had chosen Revans to be its founder. Revans, the major figure in the life of the paper, is referred to by Scholefield as the "ostensible owner".[16] The common assumption was that the New Zealand Company was the backer of the paper.

> "... we certainly have understood that one portion of the amount required to establish the New Zealand Gazette ... was furnished by intending colonists, of whom the editor of the Gazette was one, and that the remainder was advanced by the New Zealand Company".
> (New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser, 9 August 1842)

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16. (1958), p.25.

The situation was the same in Nelson where the "ostensible proprietor"[17] of the Nelson Examiner was Charles Elliott, a man who previously had a printing business in London. Again the common belief was that the plant and paper were really the property of the New Zealand Company. On this point as much is admitted in the first issue. It also indicates a too easy coincidence of interests with the company.

> "It only remains for us to state that with respect to the New Zealand Company, under whose direction this settlement has been planted, we are wholly independent of its influence. It is indeed satisfactory to know, that the opinions, as well as the interests of that association, are, in all matters of importance to the colony the same as those of the majority of our fellow-colonists. If, however, questions affecting the public welfare should arise, on which we cannot conscientiously support the Company, we shall call upon the public to redeem a pecuniary obligation to that body under which we are known to be, for the means of establishing this journal".
> (Examiner, 12 March 1842)

Both Revans and Elliott repaid the sums loaned by the New Zealand Company, Revans by 1844 and Elliott by 1847.[18]

The officials of the New Zealand Company had early determined on the importance of newspapers. Their initial settlement planning was to include provision for a press and ancilliary equipment, and for competent personnel to run a newspaper. This applied particularly to Wellington, which, being the principal Company settlement, was the obvious site for a

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17. Ibid, p.156.

18. H.S. Chapman Letters, 10 February 1844. Examiner, 17 June 1848.

newspaper to champion the Company's interests in New Zealand.[19] In the Nelson case, Elliott had already decided to emigrate and the Company was requested, successfully, to assist him financially when other arrangements he had made failed. The later settlements of Lyttelton and Dunedin, founded by offshoots of the New Zealand Company, were also to follow in this pattern. New Plymouth was to be the exception.[20] A press was not part of original settlement equipment there and not until 1852, when a second-hand Albion press was obtained from Auckland, taken by bullock dray to the Manakau and then shipped south, did the Taranaki Herald begin.

The New Zealand Gazette is noted for its unbending, and often strident, support for the New Zealand Company and its policies. Revans had been a thorn in the side of authority both in Canada and England. In New Zealand his barbs were directed towards the Auckland based Crown Colony Government, which, at that distance, was unable to subject him to the pressure placed on the northern press. Locally, however, he was content to remain a staunch advocate for the New Zealand Company. The newspaper was often accused of being under the control of the New Zealand Company. Burns defends the Gazette on this charge of external control and sees the paper as independent.[21] She is strictly correct but a dichotomy between a controlled and independent press is largely

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19. The New Zealand Company also had its New Zealand Journal, a London based fortnightly which published its first issue on 8 February 1840.

20. Burns, who holds that "none of the major townships was without a newspaper for any length of time", (vol.1, p.7.) is not correct in the case of New Plymouth.

21. Vol. 2, p.14.

irrelevant in regard to the relationship between the Gazette and the New Zealand Company. The Gazette was an uncoerced and willing supporter of the New Zealand Company.

As will be discussed the New Zealand Company officials saw newspapers as components of their plan of colonization. Revans had financial obligations to the New Zealand Company for the initial establishment of the paper but there is no record of this being used to pressure him to support the Company. The ties between the Gazette and the New Zealand Company, however, were such that any pressure or control was unnecessary. There was a coincidence of inclination and an interchange of personnel which linked the newspaper and the Company. Revans was the first appointee as secretary to the Council, the committee of colonists in charge of the settlement. Colonel Wakefield, being the New Zealand Company's principal agent was automatically the president.[22] Similarly two of the Gazette's editors moved on from the editorship to hold important Company posts. J.T. Wicksteed, in March or April 1842, resigned as editor to become the New Zealand Company Agent in New Plymouth. William Fox resigned as editor in September 1843 to become the New Zealand Company Agent in Nelson.

Where New Zealand Company and Wellington settler interests were one, the Gazette was to be a forceful champion. Nowhere is this more noticeable than in the criticisms of attempts to entice away settlers. The two following extracts illustrate this:

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22. New Zealand Gazette, 18 April 1840. E.J. Wakefield, Vol. 1, Chapter 7.

"An advertisement by the Government will be found in today's paper for mechanics to proceed to Auckland.[23] We are not monopolists, nor do we advocate monopoly in any shape, but we do think that it is very unfair for the Government to send here for labour imported at the expense of parties who have purchased land in this part of the Island. None would murmur at Government seeking labour here to improve Port Nicholson; but to take our labour away to improve a district as distinct from this place as Barbados is from Trinidad, we fear shows a determination to wield the powers of Government for the especial benefit of a single district, and against which monopolising proceeding it becomes our duty in the name of the settlers in this part of New Zealand to protest".
(New Zealand Gazette and Britania Spectator, 7 November 1840)

"We hear that the "Patriot" before leaving Launceston, received instructions to obtain here and take back with her a considerable number of the working class. The report was abroad that free passages were offered, that no restraint of any kind was to attend this supposed boon. Considering it our duty to make ourselves acquainted with the matter, we have found upon inquiry that the boon of a free passage is only attended with a slight disadvantage of being bound by indenture to serve for two years at wages considerably lower than the lowest rate ever yet paid in Port Nicholson, and to submit to a deduction from the first years wages of only eight pounds, as a slight acknowledgement to the kind Captain for having transferred the free man from the state of independence and self-respect, to the blessing of herding with the miserable and the wicked in the sink of the Southern seas .... How ignorant, how disgustingly besotted, or vicious, must that man be who would not shrink with horror at this moment from asking the working man and his family to become the daily companion of every crime for which transportation is the reward!"
(New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 19 December 1840)

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23. The advertisement was for four first-rate carpeters, six second-rate carpenters, six pairs of sawyers, three bricklayers and two stone-masons.

The comparatively mild language used in the first extract was an attempt by Revans to be civil to Hobson who was in the process of choosing a site for his capital. Once Auckland had been chosen the Gazette began referring to the members of the Administration as the "Thames River Functionaries" and Hobson as "Captain Crimp" for his crimping expeditions.[24] Bellicose attacks on the Crown Colony Government constituted another topic Revans could pursue without fear of offending either the New Zealand Company or the Wellington settlers.

However, there were to be areas in which Company and settler interests were to be at odds and in these areas the Gazette became a Company rather than a settlers' paper.

Revans set out to serve the interests of the Company clearly believing such a policy would also serve the interests of the settlement. He attempted to quieten discontent not always allowing criticism of the Company to be published.[25] This was in marked contrast to some settlements. For example, both in Nelson and later in Lyttelton the controllers of the first newspapers prided themselves on never refusing publication to letters.[26]

During the Gazette's four years of New Zealand publication its championing of the Company became less and less acceptable to the

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24. For example, the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator of 30 January 1841 and 6 February 1841.

25. Burns, Vol. 2, p.15.

26. Nelson Examiner, 15 April 1843. Lyttelton Times, 11 January 1851.

settlers as their own and the Company's interests diverged. As in Auckland the major area of discontent was to be in regard to land. The first published rift can be seen in early 1841 when a letter of protest at the manner of conducting the land sales received short shrift from Revans who totally followed the Company line in this matter.[27]

The Gazette's factional position within Wellington led to it being countered by an opposing press. The first was the Victoria Times of which only the first issue survives and it is possible only the one issue was ever published. The paper was printed and published by Thomas Bluett, its proprietor. It planned to be a weekly and was offered on the same terms as Revans' paper. Like the Gazette it was a four page paper but unlike the Gazette, or any other early paper, it was a lithographed newspaper with the contents being handwritten rather than typeset. At least now, it is scarcely legible in parts. (Page four of the first issue was completely given over to a plan of the City of Wellington; this is the first New Zealand newspaper illustration.) Bluett was open about the fact that his paper was to counter the Gazette.

> "Some public organ is required to represent the interests of the public without the exaggeration and misrepresentation which papers got up for party purposes are so want to indulge in .... The New Zealand Gazette has hitherto been considered as infallible as the Delphic Oracle of old; it has (?) forth its thunders against the Colonial Government, and attacked the characters of private individuals with the most unrelenting and cruel spirit..."
> (Victoria Times, 15 September 1841)

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27. New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 9 January 1841.

Nothing more, however, is left of the Victoria Times and the Gazette was to be left alone for almost another year before its second opponent was to appear. This newspaper was the New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser. The Colonist was also started in deliberate opposition to the Gazette which it saw as increasingly antagonistic to the settlers' interests.

> "This is emphatically a colonists' paper. It has been established by and for the colonists. It had its origin in the growing perception of the settlers at this place, that the Gazette neither advocated the interests nor expressed the sentiments of the community. Many ... considered ... that our contemporary took a narrow and inaccurate view of the position and interests of this place, and that it was intended to advance the cause of a party in defiance alike of justice and policy ... And if there had been no alteration in its original course - no uncalled-for and unworthy suppression of truths which it was feared might prove offensive to parties whom our contemporary, on whatever account, did not choose to offend - no exaggerated or groundless accusations - no habitual postponement of the interests of this settlement to the feelings and prejudices of one, and that a very small portion of the inhabitants, this paper would never have existed".
> (New Zealand Colonist, 2 August 1842)

The Colonist was established by a group of settlers, fifty in all according to Hocken,[28] who appointed R.D. Hanson as editor.[29] The paper's financial position was always difficult and was exacerbated by the lack of support it received from the New Zealand Company. Neither

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28. p.102.

29. Richard Davies Hanson (1805-1876) was an English Barrister who had been associated with E.G. Wakefield in the South Australia scheme. He had been appointed Crown Prosecutor in Wellington in 1841 and combined this with the position of editor in 1842 and 1843. Hanson later became Chief Justice of South Australia.

advertisements nor subscriptions were to be readily available from that source. The paper ended, a year after it began, showing some anger towards its apparently numerous debtors.

> "... our own circulation, which was at first greater than we had anticipated, has continued steadily to increase. And had the amount of money received been as satisfying as the list of subscribers, we should have long continued our publication".
> New Zealand Colonist, 2 August 1843)

During its year of existence the Gazette and Colonist kept up a verbal battle with the main focus of the Gazette's attack being that the Colonist was a Crown Colony Government supporter and prejudicial to the interests of the Wellington settlers.

> "The Colonist seems determined to do its best to cause the settlers to lose confidence alike in themselves and their property. Truly Auckland is well backed now in Port Nicholson. Though the Government have been unable to maintain an organ expressing opinions in its favour at the capital, it has succeeded in securing able advocacy in this place."
> (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 24 September 1842)

While Hanson did hold the post of Crown Prosecutor as well as Colonist editor, it is an exaggeration, as Burns indicates, to see the Colonist as pro the Crown Colony Government and anti the New Zealand Company. It was Revans' simplification to see the matter in such black and white terms. The major reason for the establishment of the Colonist was, as stated, to oppose the Gazette's one-sided and exaggeratedly pro New Zealand Company understanding of affairs in Wellington. While Hanson

was, unlike Revans, not an unwavering New Zealand Company supporter, his policy was more anti the Gazette than anti the New Zealand Company. The failure of the small settlement to support a second newspaper against the established Gazette deprived Wellington of an able and largely disinterested voice.

With the demise of the Colonist the Gazette was again left alone. It was itself, however, only to last for another year. Burns, Hocken and Scholefield have Revans as proprietor of the Gazette until its demise. However, a close inspection of the paper casts some doubts on this. Revans' name disappears from the imprint on 7 August 1844 to be replaced by Edward Roe on 14 August 1844. The imprint refers to the printer and publisher, not necessarily the proprietor, but this change was followed by a statement in the issue of 4 September 1844.

> "Edward Roe begs respectfully to inform the public that, the proprietorship of this establishment having been lately changed he is instructed by the present proprietor to request that all accounts due to it may be discharged as early as possible, and to intimate that in future no further credit can be given".

The major result of this change was a difference in attitude towards the New Zealand Company, as the following, less than obsequious, editorial quotation illustrates:

> "At the present moment the settlers in the New Zealand Company's settlements are prevented from exercising the privilege of purchasing from the natives, which has been conceded to the inhabitants of other parts of the colony, because it would interfere with the monopoly of the New Zealand Company. But it is impossible to conceive that any Government can seriously contemplate persevering in

> a course so ruinous to these settlements, in order that the shareholders of the Company may not be disturbed in the enjoyment of a property which they can only retain in violation of a solemn contract entered into with their purchasers".
> (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 4 September 1844)

The reason usually given for the folding of the Gazette is that Revans' unyielding support of the New Zealand Company finally lost him all local support.[30] Probably the case was actually the opposite. Certainly the next issue of the Gazette, in a rather confused editorial, saw its end as at least partly due to opposition from Company supporters.

> "Since our last publication we have been informed of secret meetings having taken place with a view to endeavouring to establish another journal ... Another paper would diminish our present small support, which is not sufficient to pay our expenses ... We beg now in conclusion to inform our fellow settlers that the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator will be discontinued on the 1st of October next; another paper may, or may not be established immediately, but we wish it to be understood, that if it be not the merit or demerit of this settlement being henceforth without an organ of discussion, and communication, will be due to the holy alliance of the Wakefield clique, small, miserably small though it be; of the representatives of the absentee interest; of the thoughtless, and of those who think they can influence the policy of the present government, relative to the mode of dealing with natives and the land and other questions more advantageously than they consider we are able to do, though they were not able, when challenged by us, to state the mode in which they would proceed".
> (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 11 September 1844)

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30. Scholefield, (1958), pp.25-26. Hochen, p.101.

It may be that the "Wakefield clique" was influential in the ending of the Gazette. The sudden closure of the paper, finally rebellious after four years of faithful service is difficult to explain otherwise. The fear of competition from another paper was real but it was by no means certain that the Gazette, rather than the newcomer, would lose out in such a competition. Certainly it was not necessary for the Gazette to fold before the battle had begun.

The politics of the settlement had become such that no longer were the Company and settlement interests one. Absentee and resident landowner interests had long diverged and the Company's interests had also ceased to coincide with those of the settlers. In regard to local newspaper support for the New Zealand Company, the collapse, when it came, was sudden and total. The Gazette suddenly rebelled against the Company and then equally suddenly stopped publication. The new paper was never to be a New Zealand Company champion.

The new paper was the New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian and it was early to demonstrate its separation from the New Zealand Company. Its second issue, for instance, that of 19 October 1844, carries a strong editorial advancing the claims of the settlers against both the New Zealand Company and absentee interests. The Spectator represents a change in Wellington newspapers for, while not being a general voice for the community (it began in fact as an advocate for the resident landowners) it marks the end of New Zealand Company advocacy in editorial and general newspaper policy.

The other New Zealand Company settlement was Nelson and its newspaper began with similar characteristics to its Wellington counterpart. As mentioned, Charles Elliott, the printer of the Examiner, was obliged to the New Zealand Company for financial assistance in starting his paper. The paper which was first issued on 12 March 1842, two months after the settlers' arrival in Nelson, began, as in Wellington, in debt to the New Zealand Company. There was also, as in Wellington, a broad initial agreement with New Zealand Company philosophy and practice and the Examiner also began life as a champion for the interests of the New Zealand Company. According to Saunders

> "... both the land purchasers and the labourers felt that the Nelson press would offer no facilities to ventilate their grievances against the New Zealand Company."[31]

The Examiner was, however, the Nelson newspaper and Nelson, while being a New Zealand Company settlement, was not the principal settlement. The point of the distinction for the Examiner was that while it was expected to be a New Zealand Company supporter, it was the Gazette in Wellington which was the New Zealand Company mouthpiece. While Revans in Wellington was prepared to censor criticism of the New Zealand Company, Elliott was able to point to his record of never having refused publication to letters.[32] Elliott was a New Zealand Company supporter but not the slavish one implied by Saunders. The Examiner was able to show more independence than its Wellington counterpart and, unlike the

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31. Saunders Vol. 1, p.180.

32. Examiner, 15 April 1843.

Auckland papers, did not have to fear closure for expressing its opinions.

Prior to 1844 the Examiner was the New Zealand newspaper least affected by the authority of either the Crown Colony Government or the New Zealand Company. It soon became the major New Zealand newspaper with the early and mid 1840's being the period of its major status and influence. The Auckland press, locked in internecine conflict with the Crown Colony Government and the Gazette in Wellington, with its strident and unvarying defence of the New Zealand Company, presented little competition. But the Examiner would have shone in any assembly.

Press Independence:

During the early 1840's there arose differences between the concerns of the settlers and those of their leaders. A principal problem topic was land and the methods of acquiring it. Both in Auckland and the Company settlements, settlers discovered that the Crown Colony Government and the New Zealand Company approached the topic from a different orientation to themselves. But land was not the only topic of contention. Particularly in regard to relationships with the Crown Colony Government, the topic of representative government early appeared and immediately indicated large differences between the settlers' views and those of the Governor and his Administration. Equally in regard to relationships with the New Zealand Company, there were important differences as the interests of the settlers separated from those of both the absentee landowners and the New Zealand Company. During the early 1840's the settlers learnt that their leaders were not their leaders.

The major public arena in which the conflict between authorities and settlers was staged was the press. While the New Zealand Company had more success than the Crown Colony Government in keeping the settlers' views out of print, both authorities were eventually to fail to keep opposition suppressed. In Auckland the conflict involved great antagonism between the Crown Colony Government and the press. A major aspect of Crown Colony Government authority over the local newspapers was the power held by virtue of ownership of the only available printing press. The exercising in Auckland of this ability to deny access to a press has been shown. While it did not bring an end to the antagonism between press and Crown Colony Government, independence for the press in Auckland began when the controllers of the Southern Cross obtained, from Sydney, a second printing plant. Although only the Bay of Islands Observer went so far as to write a clause into its rules prohibiting any Government officer from becoming a trustee of the paper's parent company,[33] all newspapers from the mid 1840's were to be aware of the need to keep control out of the scope of local authorities.

While in Auckland a measure of independence for the Southern Cross was gained by obtaining a new printing plant, in the south the power and influence of the New Zealand Company itself was waning.[34] Press independence came as an early manifestation of the power changes in the Company settlements. In Wellington the changes were revolutionary as new newspapers rose to challenge and eventually supplant the Gazette. In Nelson the process was evolutionary as the Examiner gradually shifted its

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33. Meiklejohn, p.109.

34. Turnbull, pp.57-62.

allegiance away from the New Zealand Company. After their first few years the New Zealand newspapers began to achieve considerable independence from their local authorities. Over the next decade, those who controlled the newspapers were to take full advantage of their position and became among the most influential of the settlers' leaders in an attempt to gain self-government for the colony.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS OF 1844–1853 AND THEIR PART IN THE AGITATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

A ten year period of stability began for the New Zealand newspapers in the mid 1840's. The Nelson Examiner continued. In the other settlements new newspapers began and, after some initial difficulties, settled into an enduring period of publication. From the mid 1840's until the passage and implementation of the Constitution Act of 1852 the issue of self-government increasingly became the major concern of the New Zealand press. Newspaper personnel became of central importance in the New Zealand agitation for self-government. My immediate aim is to indicate the newspapers which operated during this period, to discuss the circumstances in which they began and continued publication and to discuss their involvement in the movement towards self-government. This is done by arranging the chapter through regional areas. My contention is that the movement towards self-government was coordinated through the New Zealand newspapers, that press personnel were among the leaders of the settlers' agitation for self-government, and that press representation was an integral part of the settlers' de facto political representation during this period. With no recognized constitutional avenue for their political aspirations settler politicians engaged in journalism as a means of gaining their political goals. As a result of their journalistic activity they, and other newspaper personnel, gained a political prominence which led to their being heavily represented among those winning official positions in the first elections. This led to close links between press and government both during the heyday of the provincial period and, decreasingly, in later years.

A major aspect of my general argument is that newspapers came to occupy partisan positions within the New Zealand political system. Their political linkages were open and were accepted as proper. The commencement of this type of journalism is to be found in the involvement of newspapers in the agitation for self-government and particularly in the subsequent success of newspaper personnel in the political elections.

Auckland

The first long lasting newspaper in Auckland, the Southern Cross, began publication in April 1843. However, an enduring Auckland press did not begin with its advent for, after two years, it ceased publication until July 1847. The founder, manager and proprietor[1] was William Brown and the editor was Samuel Martin, the final editor of the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette. Willoughby Shortland was Acting-Governor and the Southern Cross, with its motto[2] signifying continuity with the past Auckland newspapers, carried on the antagonism with the Crown Colony Government. This antagonism became somewhat muted after Shortland's replacement by Governor FitzRoy in December 1843. FitzRoy and Martin enjoyed a good personal

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1. Possibly William Brown was co-proprietor of the paper with John Logan Campbell. Brown and Campbell were partners in the merchantile firm of Brown and Campbell, and Campbell did have considerable association with the paper. However, although Scholefield states the firm of Brown and Campbell owned the paper both Main and Hocken mention only Brown. Certainly Brown was the major figure of the two in the life of the Southern Cross. (Scholefield, 1958, pp. 76-77. Main, p.2. Hocken, p.111).

2. LUCEO NON URO. "If I have been extinguished, yet there rise. A thousand beacons from the spark I bore."

relationship[3] and, importantly, the Maori policy of the Southern Cross, as advocated by the Wesleyan Martin, was closer than any other New Zealand newspaper to FitzRoy's own position. In 1844 both Brown and Martin were appointed Members of the Legislative Council (M.L.C.) by FitzRoy. However, these changes did not lead the Southern Cross towards supporting the Crown Colony Government. Although the attacks on the Governor were no longer personal the Southern Cross remained opposed to the Government. This was most apparent in regard to the matter of settler representation where both Brown and Martin were committed to the attainment of representative government. The committment was such that, for instance, in the article announcing Brown's and Martin's appointments to the Legislative Council, the paper still denounced the Council as "a mere mockery of the rights of the people."[4]

Late in 1844 both Brown and Martin went to Britain. Brown's journey was intended to be a temporary business visit. But Martin did not return. Campbell took over as manager and Charles Terry, the first editor of the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette, became Martin's successor. There were, in 1844, three papers in Auckland; the Auckland Times which had resumed publication on 7 November 1843, the Chronicle and the Southern Cross. But in 1845 "Heke's war fell like a plague upon the business world of Auckland".[5] The Chronicle folded in February and in April Campbell decided to

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3. Burns, Vol. 2, p. 192.

4. Reprinted in Nelson Examiner, 8 June 1844.

5. Scholefield, (1958), p.77.

suspend the Southern Cross. It was to remain out of action for 26 months, until after Brown's return.

The next Auckland paper, the New Zealander, took advantage of the relative lack of competition during the 1845 depression. It began on 7 June 1845. Its founder and proprietor, John Williamson, apart from seizing an opportunity to return to his trade of printing, saw his only competitor, the Auckland Times, as over preoccupied with the land claimants. As the title of his paper suggests, Williamson was an advocate of the Maori and because of this policy he was assisted by the Wesleyan mission to acquire a printing plant.

Falwasser's death at the start of 1846 meant Williamson had the newspaper field entirely to himself. By July 1847 when Brown returned to New Zealand and restarted the Southern Cross, the New Zealander was a well established bi-weekly publication.

With the resumption of the Southern Cross the Auckland newspaper pattern was set. There were to be few attempts to start newspapers until the 1860's and, of those that were attempted, none were to offer a serious challenge to the Southern Cross or New Zealander. There was to develop a conflict between these two which continued until and well beyond the granting of self-government. As the Southern Cross resumed its criticism of the Crown Colony Government, the New Zealander moved to defend the Governor and the two newspapers became mouthpieces for the two political groups in Auckland. The New Zealander spoke for the official party, composed of the Crown

Colony Government officials, the Military and their supporters, while the Southern Cross spoke for the opposition, known variously as the Radicals, the Senate or the Progress Party.[6]. In the case of the Southern Cross the newspaper was more than the mouthpiece for the opposition. In a sense it was the opposition. The focus of political opposition in Auckland had from the start been the press and this pattern continued with the Southern Cross. Brown, the leader of the progress party, used his paper as the expression of opposition, it being by far the major form of opposition available. The newspaper gave coherence and strength to opposition.

Both Auckland newspapers were in favour of self-government but the New Zealander accepted Governor Grey's timetable for its introduction. Opposing views were most apparent from September 1848 when it became clear that Governor Grey intended to oppose the introduction of Earl Grey's, the Secretary for War and Colonies, Constitution and to defer full representation. From this time agitation for self-government became for the Southern Cross, as for the southern newspapers, the dominant issue. The Auckland agitation for self-government was coordinated and given expression by the Southern Cross and its senior personnel were clearly the leaders of the political opposition to Grey.[7]

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6. Stone, (1980). pp. 18-20

7. Fox (1890) names only three Auckland figures in his listing of those who obtained representative government. They are William Brown, John Logan Campbell and Hugh Carleton. All three were associated with the Southern Cross. p.11.

As observed by numerous writers, the Auckland settlement, for its origins, owed much to Sydney.[8] Using the press to oppose the Governor as a staging point on the road to self-government was a tradition first nurtured in New South Wales which developed independently in Auckland.[9] It owed nothing to the Wakefield settlements.

Wellington

In Wellington a similar opposition of newspapers was to emerge though its manner of development was to be distinctive. The New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian was controlled on co-operative principles. It saw itself as a settlers' newspaper with its affairs being "conducted by a committee of half a dozen of the principal gentlemen in the settlement".[10] This managing committee was subject to election at half yearly meetings.

In spite of the closing of the Gazette, the Spectator was not free from Samuel Revans's influence. He was to be the catalyst which gave rise to the Independent, the Spectator's rival for twenty years. The act which set this in motion was the insertion of a somewhat scurrilous advertisement by Revans in the Spectator of 29 March 1845.[11]

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8. "A mere section of the town of Sydney transplanted to the shores of New Zealand" was Fox's unfriendly description, (1851), p.40.

9. Stone, (1980), p.16. Walker. Chapters 1-3.

10. Hocken, p.103.

11. Details are available in, as well as this issue of the Spectator, that of 5 April 1845. See also the letter from James Smith in the Independent of 12 April 1845.

A result of the ensuing scandal was that the committee in charge of the Spectator, angry at their printers for not clearing such an advertisement with them first, dispensed with their services and arranged to have the Spectator printed elsewhere. In retaliation, the printers immediately started a new paper, the Wellington Independent.[12] The Spectator's committee successfully attempted to stop their rival by secretly purchasing its premises and plant.

> "Engaged as we have been almost from the landing of the first settlers in working the press first established in New Zealand, we were by the sale of that press, at the notice of only a few hours, deprived of our accustomed means of earning a living".
>
> (Wellington Independent, 26 November 1845)[13]

However, the Independent was only suspended rather than retired. Closed down at the start of August 1845, new plant was obtained from Sydney and it resumed publication in November 1845.

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12. The printers were a quintet; Edward Roe, William Edward Vincent, James Muir, George Fellingham and Thomas McKenzie. The major figure is McKenzie. He was eighteen when the Independent began and had first been employed in Wellington as an apprentice on the Gazette. Roe's name does not appear on the imprint after the 1845 suspension. The other partners also one by one left the partnership until, in February 1865, McKenzie was sole proprietor.

13. The above is the generally accepted sequence of events in regard to the start and suspension of the Independent. See Hocken and Scholefield (1958). Burns Vol.2, pp. 157-161 questions, however, whether the printers did not in fact wish to leave the Spectator and branch out on their own. She also argues that the Spectator committee were not involved in the purchase of the Independent's premises and plant.

The two Wellington newspapers were to develop opposing viewpoints similar to those offered by the Auckland newspapers. The Spectator was to become a supporter of the Crown Colony Government while the Independent was to become the Government's leading opponent newspaper. As in Auckland the dominant concern was to be the topic of representative government.

The Spectator had begun with a pronounced anti-Government policy. Its opening editorial, for instance, is a bitter attack on FitzRoy and his Administration ending with a Revans like lamentation on Wellington's woes.

> "... as respects the interests of Cook's Straits, we have no Government at all ... We certainly have a gentleman of a noble family as a Governor, and perhaps, fifty officials, some of whom wear uniforms, and all of whom receive salaries. We have clergymen too in abundance, with a Lord Bishop at their head, but we have no one who knows our wants or concerns himself with our welfare".
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 12 October 1844)

A major facet of this anti-Government stance was the attitude towards the Maori. Again this was in decided opposition to the official policy.

> "From viewing the Maories as a civilized race ready to perform the duties, and therefore entitled to the rights of British subjects arose the calamity at the Wairau, and the present almost insuperable difficulty of acquiring and possessing land".
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 19 October 1844)

But after the Spectator had been publishing for almost two years there was a change in both the control and policy of the newspaper. For their part the Committee in charge of the Spectator tired of their involvement with it and its attendant difficulties. One of their number, Robert Stokes, had become the paper's editor. Total responsibility for and eventual ownership of the Spectator were given to him.

> "The readers of the New Zealand Spectator will perceive that, by a resolution passed at the half-yearly meeting of the subscribers, the duties of the Superintending Committee have ceased, and the responsibility of conducting this Journal will in future solely devolve on its present editor".
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 23 September 1846)

Stokes also took this opportunity to announce publicly a change in policy for the paper which had been gradually emerging; that of support for Governor Grey and his Administration.

> "The New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian was originally established by the settlers as an organ for the expression of their opinions at a period of unusual difficulty, and the responsibility of its management was entrusted by them to a Committee of five of the oldest settlers. The settlers were then contending against the bitter hostility of the Colonial Secretary, and his willing agent Captain FitzRoy. They have outlived the contest, their adversaries have been removed and we may hope this place will know them no more ... The settlers have now had sufficient experience of their new Governor to feel confident that he will strenuously exert himself to promote the real interests of the

> colony, and the permanent welfare of both races of its inhabitants".
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 23 September 1846)

This pro-Grey policy was to be the continuing hallmark of the Spectator and was to mark it from the majority of the country's press. In 1850, for instance, when Wakelin arrived in New Zealand, the Spectator and the New Zealander were the only papers in the country supporting Grey.[14]

The Independent was also generally supportive of Grey at the start of his Governorship but went against him as the introduction of self-government was delayed. As with the Auckland newspapers the turning point was in September 1848 when Grey's intention to defer full representation became obvious.[15] Again, as in Auckland, both newspapers advocated self-government but the Spectator, as with the New Zealander, accepted the Governor's timetable for its introduction. The Independent's opposition was led, not by its proprietors, but by Isaac Featherston who was the first editor of the paper and the major formulator of its policy.

It was at this point, from late 1848, that the Settlers' Constitutional Associations were formed in all settlements but Auckland, with the object of obtaining immediate action on the

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14. Wakelin, p.6.

15. Burns, Vol.2, p.173.

introduction of the "great prize of Self-Government".[16] The formation of the Settlers' Constitutional Associations was important for the political role of the New Zealand newspapers, both in the way the newspapers and the Associations were linked, but, more importantly, in the way these links forged and foreshadowed alliances between the press and political spheres after the introduction of self-government. This is so for, as well as agitating for self-government, the Associations served the purpose of both training and bringing into public prominence the future political leaders of the country. "The greatest value of these associations lay in the training they provided for public life in a colony lacking even a rudimentary form of municipal government. In a very real sense, they were the political nurseries of their day."[17] If the Settlers' Constitutional Associations were the political training grounds prior to independence, the administration and coordination of this training was carried out within those New Zealand newspapers which supported their aims.

Both the Settlers' Constitutional Associations and the New Zealand newspapers provided independently a public political forum. But the two institutions were given an interactive relationship by their common personnel and common purpose. The Settlers' Constitutional Associations "unquestionably captured the public imagination"[18] and were the expression of the political aspirations of

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16. Independent, 3 March 1849.

17. McLintock, (1958), p.298.

18. Ibid, p.301.

the settlers. But this expression was given voice through the network of supporting newspapers which gave themselves over enthusiastically to what they saw as their great task. In each settlement it was not possible to divide clearly the association from the newspaper. In each case the association was supported and given voice by a local paper. The various leader writers kept up a correspondence within the limited means of communication possible. Being of the same political persuasion they reprinted from one another and commented on each others articles.[19] Generally the journalists were major figures in their local association and it was their coordination which tied the various associations together.

In the case of Wellington, Isaac Featherston was the person who embodied the identity of purpose between the Independent and the Settlers' Constitutional Association. In no sense was the Independent an impartial observer and recorder of proceedings. All the printer-proprietors of the newspaper were members of the association.[20] But it was the editor, Featherston, who, as well as being the dominant force behind the Independent during this period, was also, for the association, the "mainspring of the movement".[21] There was a unity between the newspaper and the association from 1849 to the point where, as Burns indicates, "at least once an Independent leader and a statement of the Association showed an absolute identity."[22]

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19. Wakelin, p.92.

20. Burns, Vol.2, p.185.

21. McLintock, (1958), p.299.

22. Vol.2, p.185.

Nelson

In Nelson the Examiner was throughout the period to remain the first and only newspaper. As in the North Island settlements the introduction of representative government had always been desired and argued for. In Nelson, as elsewhere, it was to grow in importance to become the paramount issue of press concern. Charles Elliott, the Examiner's proprietor, had warmly greeted Grey's Governorship but was gradually to turn against him. As elsewhere, September 1848 was the month from which the paper settled on an anti-Grey policy with the introduction of representative government being the chief concern.[23]

While not being as prominent in the Nelson Settlers' Constitutional Association as was Featherston in the Wellington counterpart, Charles Elliott was to the fore in the Nelson agitation. He was on the committee appointed during the first Nelson public meeting which regretted the nominee system and desired representative government.[24] He was also one of the leaders of the Nelson Settlers' Constitutional Association.[25] The columns of the Examiner were open to the Association. Other Nelson leaders such as Francis Jollie, an earlier Examiner editor, and Edward Stafford were frequent contributors to the newspaper.

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23. Ibid, p.135.

24. Ibid. Examiner, 6 January 1849. The nominee system followed the suspension, under Governor Grey's urging, of the New Zealand Government Act 1846. In the nominee system the planned Provincial Legislative Councils were retained but all members of the Councils were to be nominated by the Governor. Morrell, Chapter 2.

25. Fox, (1890). p.11.

Connections with other settlements, on the issue of representative government, were maintained by the Examiner. This was particularly so in regard to Wellington where the Examiner acknowledged an alliance with the Independent and an opposition to the Spectator. The Examiner maintained a high level of understanding in Nelson of Wellington Settlers' Constitutional Association members' views by giving many Independent columns a reprinting. It was also to follow a similar policy with regard to the views of the members of the Settlers' Constitutional Associations of the later settlements of Otago and Canterbury.

Otago

The Otago settlement began with the arrival of the first settlers in March 1848. Although it will take us away from our immediate purpose - that of discussing the role of the press in the agitation for self-government - it will be instructive to review the history of the first newspaper in Otago. Not only did it determine the policy of the next, and first enduring, newspaper in Otago but it also is a further illustration of the events that had occurred in the other settlements; that of conflict between the settlement authorities and the press. In Otago, however, the newspaper was to be firmly defeated.

Otago's newspaper history was to begin with strong conflict between the newspaper and the Otago Association, the offshoot of the New Zealand Company responsible for the initial planning and colonization of the settlement. The Otago Association did not have a

newspaper as an immediate priority on arrival in Dunedin. Not until 9 months after arrival was the Otago News published. And then, rather than supporting the Association, the News was in opposition to it. Its proprietor and editor, Henry Graham, had not been among the first settlers but had arrived in Otago in September 1848. He lacked both the social status and personal connections to place himself among the community leaders and added to this a personal dislike of both the class nature of the New Zealand Company settlements and the religious exclusivism of Otago. Graham was an Anglican who opposed the Presbyterian dominance in the settlement. Graham reported the Rev. C.R. Creed's initial Church of England service in Otago.[26] In spite of the express disapproval of Captain Cargill, the Association leader in Otago, Graham continued to give publicity to Anglicanism.

Of at least equal importance, Graham also set out to champion the cause of the labouring class in Otago. In his fourth issue (24 January 1849) he published the Petition from the working men of Dunedin to William Fox, Acting Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company, in which they asked for changes in their working conditions, including a pay rise and a reduction in working hours from ten to eight per day. In the same issue he published Fox's negative reply. The editorial is on the topic and takes the labourers' side. Graham also laid the blame for the over-supply of labourers squarely with the New Zealand Company. This provoked, in issue five, two strongly critical letters - from "A Land Purchaser" and "A Land Proprietor", but Graham continued the attack and the leading article in this issue

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26. Otago News, 7 February 1849.

quarrelled with the basic plan of colonization in Otago. Graham asserted the Otago area was suitable for the grazing of cattle and sheep but not for horticulture. He contended that the New Zealand Company should cease its concentration on town development. The free passages should be given to farm labourers rather than to tradesmen and city labourers. As a corollory, the propertied men should also go out into the rural areas.

> "We have nothing in Dunedin for capitalists to speculate in with advantage; their proper sphere is the rural districts".
>
> (News, 7 February 1849)

Captain Cargill, in a letter of 6 March 1849, published with a lengthy rejoinder in issue 8 of 21 March 1849, withdrew the subscriptions of the Free Church Association for 20 copies, and the subscriptions of the New Zealand Company for 20 copies, "because of the capabilities of the Otago block and its settlers being so grievously misrepresented in the editorial articles, beginning with No. 5".

I am unable to ascertain the circulation of the News, but the loss of 40 subscriptions must have been a heavy blow.[27] The Otago Witness, the successor of the News, is, for example, reported as having 120 subscribers in its early days.[28] Graham, however, had

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27. Newsam estimates it at "about 80 copies at the most." p.18.

28. Paul, p.11.

responded to the first criticisms by promising both a larger format and weekly, rather than fortnightly, publication.[29] He was to keep to this promise but the first editorial on assuming weekly publication shows awareness of the difficulties. The original cheerfulness of the paper, shown in its Shakespearian motto "There's pippins and cheese to come" has become a more serious and combative stance.

> "We have to urge upon our friends and the public the necessity of sending their names and subscriptions for the "News" as early as possible. Considerable additional expense is incurred, and a much greater amount of labour required for the publication of our present enlarged weekly paper than our former fortnightly sheet; and we call upon every lover of "FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND TRUTH", to help us for their cause. To those who consider 6d a week too much to expend on a newspaper, we say, combine together, and in two's and three's you will easily obtain your point of cheapness, and confer an additional advantage upon the publisher. Co-operation has done much for the labouring man at home, and it is a system which may be pursued with still greater advantage here".
>
> (News, 9 June 1849)

Scholefield holds that official pressure led to the end of the News.[30] However, this is incorrect. Cargill's major blow was the withdrawal of the 40 subscriptions but on no occasion was the paper forced to suspend publication. The end of the News came with Graham's declining health. He was forced, in October 1850, to revert to

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29. News, 7 February 1849.

30. "Retaliating against Graham's destructive criticism, Cargill withdrew all official advertising, an infalliable specific for opposition, which lead to the demise of the first Otago paper on 21 December 1850". Scholefield, (1958), p. 167.

publishing every tenth day,[31] and, on 21 December 1850 to cease. The final editorial includes comment on both the financial and health aspects.

> "... Matters more personal to ourselves, and which should, in some cases, never have appeared brought us into collision very early in our career with the heads of the Church and the Company here, and our pecuniary prospects have borne a tinge of darkness in consequence; but we have been upheld by the heartfelt encomiums of others who have pressed around us with their congratulations.
>
> However, 'man cannot live upon grass alone'. So long as health lasted, the struggle was not unequal, or its results depressing; but when sickness laid its heavy finger upon us, it was time to say the word 'Adieu', and to draw our labours to a close".

Henry Graham died two months later, in February 1851. In an obstreperous career, which saw him normally at odds with at least the more influential section of the settlement, he received overwhelming support from the local community on only one issue, that of self-government. From the start he was an advocate for its introduction. He was also an opponent of Nomineeism from November 1849 when it became an issue of major importance in Otago.[32] It is significant that although Graham's News was, among the other Company settlements, allied only with the Spectator in opposition to the New Zealand

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31. "The proprietor is sorry to have to notify that, on and after this present number of the "News" the papers for the remainder of the quarter, will appear every tenth day, or every alternate Wednesday and Saturday. However unwilling the proprietor may be to make these changes, he is compelled to adopt the present method as the only likely means of finishing the quarterly copies of the subscribers, and, at the same time, giving him a chance of recovering his health". (News, 19 October 1850)

32. Burns, Vol.2, p. 235.

Company, in no way did this alliance lead Graham to accept the Spectator's support for Grey's nominated Legislative Councils. Although Fox omits him from his listing of those who obtained self-government for New Zealand, Graham was an advocate for self-government. Nor could he imagine "a 'man with soul so dead' as to refuse his aid in the great work."[33]

The successor to the News, the Otago Witness, began in the month of Graham's death. This paper eventually became the weekly stablemate of the Otago Daily Times and lasted well into the twentieth century. It was started by a group of resident land purchasers. Editorship of the paper was entrusted to Cargill's son-in-law, W.H. Cutten. As noted by Saunders, Cutten "had a good deal more of the lymphatic in his temperament, and was altogether more likely to be orthodox, than Mr. Graham".[34]

The first editorial indicated a desire to support majority religious and political feeling in Dunedin. It also promised to avoid a one man championing of contentious causes.

> "The principles of the Otago Witness are to be in harmony with the Scheme of the Otago Settlement, as propounded by its originators, and set forth in the 'Terms of Purchase' and 'Institutes'. In religion, evangelical; and in Politics, adhering to the principles of the British Constitution - maintaining the rights and privileges of Local Self Government, and of civil and religious liberty in the widest sense ...

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33. News, 7 September 1850. Quoted in Burns, Vol.2, p.236.

34. Vol.1, p. 261.

> ... (the proprietors) also hold, that where there is but one newspaper, the guardianship of these views and principles is too much to be entrusted to any one man, and it will therefore be placed in the hands of a Committee, responsible to themselves and to the public for giving fair effect to this Prospectus".
>
> (Witness, 8 February 1851)

The Witness was to keep to only one of these proposals. The intention to support the peculiar national and religious character of the foundation of the settlement was to bend to the situation in New Zealand. A more moderate course was advocated. Nor was the desire to keep control out of the hands of any one person to last. The paper paid no dividends and was generally "a source of trouble and anxiety to the other proprietors"[35] who eventually presented the property to the editor. Cutten's name appears as sole proprietor of the Witness from 23 April 1853.[36]

Only in regard to advocacy for self-government was the Witness to keep to its original principles. The Witness began rather too late in the Crown Colony Government period to be of major importance in the attainment of self-government in New Zealand. It did, however, join forces with the Southern Cross, the Independent and the Examiner and, through these alliances, both kept the Otago settlers aware of agitation for self-government in the other settlements and coordinated the Otago protest with the colony wide movement. As elsewhere, the

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35. Paul, p.10.

36. Cutten had been sole editor of the paper from the eighth issue. McLintock, (1949), p.283.

Otago Witness was closely allied with the agitation for self-government. Cutten was a foundation member of the Otago Settlers' Association - the organization which "by 1852 ... was recognized as the voice of Otago, speaking with authority on all matters concerning self-government."[37] If the Association was the voice of Otago the Witness was the province's mouth. It actively supported the agitation and gave the Association's leaders liberal access to its columns.

Canterbury

Further north, in Canterbury, a final ally for this group of newspapers was to emerge.

The Lyttelton Times began as a planned part of a planned settlement. It received the greatest pre-publication support of any of the colony's newspapers and the first issue was out within a month of the settlers' arrival. J.E. FitzGerald, who had offered to edit the paper until Ingram Shrimpton, the owner, came out to New Zealand, in a full and thoughtful first editorial considered it

> "... wiser to leave our politics to develop themselves in the course of time, devoting our whole energies to the far more important part of our task; namely that of making our weekly journal as useful as possible to the colony as a source of general information and mutual convenience. There are, however, one or two points upon which it is right we should at the outset indicate the line to which we shall in future adhere. First, we entirely believe in the soundness of the general principles upon which the Association have hitherto acted, and without pledging ourselves to uphold their future policy, or to defend every

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37. Ibid, p.286.

> individual action of the Committee, or of its agents, we shall always give our cordial support to the general principles upon which the colony has been founded.
>
> Secondly, with respect to the question of Government. Without indulging in any unjust hostility to the officers in whose hands the executive of the present Government is placed, or visiting their acts with undue censure, we shall never cease to oppose the continuance of the present form of Government in New Zealand, and to insist upon the introduction of a constitution such as that under which we and our fathers have lived, and 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".
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 11 January 1851)

The Lyttelton Times, at first content with the Canterbury Association's ideas, soon moved from them. Although a complete break did not come until 1856 when the paper changed hands, the divergence is apparent even during FitzGerald's editorship. The point is well made by FitzGerald's would-be biographer:

> "... the files on the Lyttelton Times in its first year are witness that his (FitzGerald's) gifts were real and substantial. It is further significant that although the Canterbury Association's membership was overwhelmingly Tory and High church, the Lyttelton Times was neither. In politics it was liberal; in church matters it had no perceptible party bias. Its columns show that from the first the ideas of the Canterbury colonists had little affinity with the ideas of those who had conceived and organised the settlement".[38]

As in Otago, where neither of the newspapers were able to buttress the religious and national exclusiveness of the Otago

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38. O'Neill manuscripts.

Association, so in Canterbury the Lyttelton Times found its espousal of the Canterbury Association philosophy had to be tempered with an acceptance of the circumstances in New Zealand. In regard to the topic of self-government, however, there was accord between the Canterbury settlers, the Lyttelton Times, and the Canterbury Association. All advocated its urgent introduction and the Lyttelton Times immediately become allied with those other settlement newspapers that opposed Governor Grey on this matter. As elsewhere, the Lyttelton Times maintained a liaison with allied newspapers in other settlements and coordinated the Canterbury protest with the movement. As elsewhere the newspaper personnel were to the fore of the settlement leadership in the movement for representative government. In Canterbury this applies particularly to James FitzGerald but Fox also mentions Crosbie Ward and W.C. Brittan as being among those who obtained representative government for New Zealand.[39] Both Ward and Brittan were of assistance in the establishment and early running of the Lyttelton Times. They were to have subsequent and important connections with Canterbury journalism.

In spite of its relatively late start Canterbury was an important settlement in the agitation movement. This was largely due to the powerful support the Canterbury Association could muster in England among the clergy, the aristocracy and parliamentarians.[40] In New Zealand this influence was reflected onto the Lyttelton Times which,

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39. Fox, (1890), p.11.

40. McLintock, (1958), pp.301-303.

as the voice of the Canterbury reform movement, had an importance not adequately measured by its short run of publication.

The Press and Political Representation

The settlers who were agitating for self-government considered themselves to be without political representation. They were not prepared to accept that form of representation offered. Earlier, while never accepting the offered representation as adequate, they had been prepared to avail themselves of it. But, increasingly, this practice lessened and, particularly in regard to the nominated Legislative Council, the settlers saw acceptance at best as prejudicial to honour.[41] The settlers, however, lacking neither political aspirations nor political supporters, did have a *de facto* political representation. Emissaries were a feature of this. Several prominent settlers, while on visits to England at various times, acted as representatives of such organizations as the Settlers' Constitutional Associations.[42]

The newspapers, for the settlers, were the most visible aspect of their *de facto* political representation. They were a forum for the settlers' political expression and the major means of communicating that expression both to relevant authorities and to other settlements. Holding a strategic position in the communication of information within and among settlements, the press was the obvious medium to communicate and coordinate the settlers' political

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vol2. pp. 135, 176-7, 236, 244.

41. Burns, McLintock, (1958). pp. 297, 301, 313-5.

42. McLintock, (1958). p303.

ambitions. Private letters were the main available alternative but while they were often superior to the newspapers in regard to speed, by their private nature, they never had the breadth of readership courted by the press.

Wakelin refers to the Crown Colony period newspapers as "the Colonial Press".[43] The term "the New Zealand Press" is more accurate for the activity of the newspaper was an early attempt to gain partial independence and thus begin an escape from colonial status. But the point made is that the activities of the newspapers were coordinated with one another and with the other avenues of political expression, particularly the Constitutional Associations, available to the settlers. McLintock, with particular reference to the Otago Witness, argues that there was a distinction between the activities of the newspaper and the Constitutional Association, with the Constitutional Association being the more effective political force. He sees the activities of the Witness as "scurrilous and abusive" while the Constitutional Association was the better organization to offer a "sane and concerted effort to win constitutional reform."[44] My contention is that it is not possible to so separate the political effectiveness of the newspapers and the Constitutional Associations.

The special status of the press in a colony without representative government was increasingly recognized by the Crown

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43. p.92.

44. (1949), p.285.

Colony Government. That Government, which earlier in Russell was ready to apply Darling's press laws, developed during the Governorships of FitzRoy and Grey an appreciation that a colony deprived of self-government should in its stead at least enjoy a wide freedom of the press.[45]

The elected leaders of the Settlers' Constitutional Association were another part of the de facto political representation of the settlers. These Associations were not properly constituted, representative bodies and were always subject to questioning as to the adequacy of their representation. In a typical argument, the partisan Wakelin, a supporter of Governor Grey, described the Wellington Association as "in no sense of the term a representative body; it never had the confidence of the working settlers; and its proceedings were opposed from the first by a large majority of the more influential citizens of Wellington"[46] The Associations, however, were accepted by the settlers as being an avenue by which they could express their political desires. They are generally accepted as having

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45. Probably the clearest statement of this was given by the Attorney-General during a libel hearing between the two Auckland papers. "During the period for which I have the honour to hold the office of Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Colony, in no single instance have legal proceedings been taken on the part of the Government against the Press for the publication of a libel - not, gentlemen, that gross libels have not appeared in the public prints; but because it has been thought more for the advantage of Her Majesty's subjects in these Islands that there should be occasional excesses on the part (of) the Press rather than continual restraint, and that, so long at least as the people of New Zealand had no direct voice in the government of the country, they should enjoy, without limitation or restraint that true liberty that "Free-born men, having to advise the public, might speak free"". (New Zealander, 1Ø September 1853)

46. p.12.

reflected majority opinion.[47] Only in Auckland was there no clear majority opinion. While there were instances of strong support for reform,[48] only in Auckland was there no Settlers' Constitutional Association. Nor did the Progress Party, which advocated reform, enjoy in the later years of the Crown Colony Government an outright majority support against the Officials.[49]

The liaison between the Settlers' Constitutional Associations and the settlement newspapers, with the exception of the Auckland newspapers and the Spectator in Wellington, was strong and recognized in all settlements. In each settlement the newspaper was recognized as the voice of the Association. The press action was more than a reporting of Association activity. It was itself a partisan feature of the decision making process and agitation of the Associations. In each settlement, the leaders of the newspaper were among the leaders of the Association. In each settlement just as the newspaper leaders became involved in the political agitation, so did the other political leaders become involved in journalism which they saw as an important method of promulgating and achieving their aims. The consequences of these actions were to make journalism a partisan political activity and one accepted as an essential component of that de facto political representation the settlers did experience. Those engaged in journalism received a personal political prominence because of the political nature of journalistic activity. This applied not just to

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47. McLintock, (1949), (1958), Burns.

48. McLintock, (1958), p.305.

49. Stone, (1980). pp.33-34.

those journalists, such as Featherston and Brown, whose motiviation had from the start been primarily political, but also to printers, such as Williamson and Elliott, who found that, in New Zealand, their profession made them prominent public figures. This applied in Auckland as much as in the rest of the colony. Auckland, distinguished from the rest of the colony by the experience of an Imperial rather than Wakefield scheme of colonization and by the influence of a large military-official establishment, also experienced a pattern of newspaper agitation. "(In Auckland) the real opposition in the Crown Colony period was the press."[50] In Auckland, as elsewhere, political and journalistic prominence went hand in hand.

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50. Ibid, p.18.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALISM IN THE CROWN COLONY GOVERNMENT PERIOD

During the Crown Colony Government period the New Zealand press comprised some eighteen newspapers. They were not, however, all publishing at the same time and there were major variations in their publication records. The Nelson Examiner, with regular publication through the Crown Colony Government period from the paper's start in 1842, is the most consistent newspaper, while at the other extreme the Victoria Times appeared only once. At the end of the Crown Colony Government period seven newspapers were in publication. There were two each in Auckland and Wellington and one in Nelson, Canterbury and Otago.

The idea of journalism as being concerned with political advocacy was by no means confined to New Zealand.[1] In New Zealand, in regard to the political advocacy that was so essential a part of journalistic activity, two features were unusual. Firstly, it was successful. Self-Government was gained and the Factions,[2] those organized around the Constitutional Associations and the newspapers, became the major political power in New Zealand. Press personnel were disproportionately over represented among those gaining official positions in the ensuing political institutions. This itself led to increasing links between the journalistic and political institutions and will be examined in subsequent chapters. Secondly, this politically active style of journalism was in New Zealand combined with an emphasis on news and a commercial orientation that were to have long term effects on the New Zealand press.

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1. Cranfield, Mayer, Schudson.

2. The term was the settlers' own, being used to distinguish themselves from the Nominees, those who accepted Grey's nominated Legislative Councils.

My intention in this chapter is to indicate the importance that New Zealand newspaper proprietors attached both to political advocacy and to the provision of news and advertising space. Such a combination was to have long term effects on the survival and influence of political advocacy as a journalistic activity. For when the daily newspaper, oriented around news and advertising, finally became ascendent in New Zealand, it came not as a replacement for an earlier politically active journalism but as an extension and continuation of the existing style which combined political involvement with commercial journalism.

I shall also discuss four factors which operated to make the New Zealand newspapers class newspapers - newspapers which advocated the interests of a particular section of the community rather than of the community in general. The class allegiance of the New Zealand newspapers was to an upper class in the sense used by Giddens; a class which derives its coherence from ownership of property.[3] As Toynbee makes clear, in New Zealand this is not an absolute distinction. A high proportion of the nineteenth century population owned land.[4] But one class became dominant in the control of land and commerce. The control of newspapers by this class is itself an important facet of the "structuration"[5] of class relationships. The identification of newspaper policy with the interests of an upper class is important for it was this class which won political power

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3. (1973). And see the concept "ruling class" as developed by Giddens. pp.118-124.

4. pp.74-76.

5. In Giddens' schema the less the opportunity for social mobility the more the structuration of classes is facilitated. Over the 1840-1880 period control of land, commerce and the political order became concentrated within a developing upper class and mobility into this class became increasingly restricted.

after self-government. It was because of the support for this class, developed during the Crown Colony Government period, that the newspapers were to be so closely linked with the Provincial and General Governments after 1853.

The four factors are the price of newspapers, the cost of establishing and maintaining newspapers, the voluntary nature of newspaper work, and the class nature of the settlements. These factors operated to make newspaper ownership, involvement in journalism and even newspaper subscription, the preserve of the wealthier and high status settlers. It was these settlers who, after self-government was gained, were to be politically dominant. It was their membership of this class, along with their leading involvement in the agitation for self-government, which brought so many individual journalists to political prominence in New Zealand.

The Multiple Roles of the New Zealand Newspapers

The New Zealand newspapers were, from the start, seen not only as journals facilitating a public discussion of political and other concerns but as objects of general use to the new settlements. As the Lyttelton Times phrased the matter;

> ...the position which a newspaper occupies in a new colony is somewhat different (to that in a populous and wealthy country). The importance of a newspaper to Canterbury will depend far less on the opinions expressed in its leading articles, than in the great convenience it will afford the inhabitants, and in its general utility as a medium of public intelligence in local affairs."
>
> (11 January 1851)

Even the Otago Witness, a newspaper carefully tailored to be more politically acceptable than its unruly predecessor, saw itself as firstly a medium for news and advertising.

> "The objects of the proprietors are, in the first place, to supply the settlement with the means of advertising, and with the news from home and other quarters".
>
> (8 February 1851)

Such a combination was unusual. The English experience during the same period was one where the political character of the press was usually limited by commercial considerations, with the provision of advertising acting as a strong disincentive to the expression of political views.[6] Neither did the early nineteenth century newspapers in the United States combine political expression and advertising. They were firmly attached to political parties, were purchased by subscription, and their political role was not combined with the provision of space for advertisers.[7]

The New Zealand settlements were different from the well established towns of more populous countries. With little fear of competition from alternative styles of journalism and with a clear need to be of wide use to their community, the New Zealand newspapers were to combine in their tiny settlements the roles of different types of newspapers. Burns has described the wide topic range

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6. Asquith. p.107.

7. Tuchman, p.17.

attempted by these first newspapers. Social and fashion reporting, literary columns, literary and dramatic criticism and feature articles were to be part of their makeup.[8] The major components, however, were advertising, news and public discussion. These were to be combined to form a distinctive journalism.

An Illustration

While there is no one typical issue of a typical newspaper the combination of roles can be illustrated by detailing one issue of one newspaper. The Wellington Colonist of 18 July 1843 had the usual four page format of the time with four columns per page. All of page one plus the first column of page two were filled with advertisements. Shipping Intelligence took half a column then came three columns of leading articles. The leading articles dealt with two topics. One was the British Government's New Zealand responsibilities while the other was a dispute with the other Wellington newspaper. It began thus:

> "The Gazette of Saturday has surpassed itself...in the article of Saturday there is a naked vulgarity of style, a coarse malignity of spirit, and a hardihood of mendacity in the assertions, which it would be difficult to parallel in the most unscrupulous specimens of political and personal virulence that occasionally disfigure the more violent portions of the English press."

The leading articles finished half way down the first column of page three to be followed by a half column report on a Municipal

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8. Vol. 1, Chapter 4.

Council meeting in Wellington. Two columns of English news followed. These were reprinted from the Colonial Observer, a British newspaper. A further half column was a reprinted article on the Tahiti and Sandwich Isles. Two columns, the final on page three and first on page four, were devoted to a reprint of an English article on the corn laws. Two columns extracted from the Weekly Chronicle were on European news while the final column was, as usual, given over to Wholesale Prices Current. While this issue had, unusually, no light or amusing material at all, it is generally representative of the layout and content of its contemporaries.

The Provision of News

The dissemination of news was from the start considered by the controllers of the New Zealand newspapers to be a major part of their role. It was, however, on account of the isolation of the settlements to be a difficult role to perform.

> "...we are now nearly four months without news from the seat of Government..."

lamented the Nelson Examiner on 30 July 1842. The situation was to be a feature throughout and after the Crown Colony Government period.

> "The absence of regular communication renders the conducting a newspaper a matter of extreme difficulty, and must be our apology for not presenting our readers with such a number as we could wish."
>
> (Otago Witness, 25 June 1853)

The "absence of communication" did have the consequence, as Morrell observes, that for all practical purposes New Zealand was not one community but many.[9] Identification with a regional rather than a national community was to be a long term feature of New Zealand.[10] At least when it was politically expedient to do so the dominant settler view was that they lived not in one colony but six.[11] But the settlers, or at least the newspaper writers, also took many opportunities to consider themselves part of one colony. They were interested in news from other settlements, accepting that it could have repercussions on their own lives.

> "We are this week without arrivals of any kind, and are therefore in total ignorance of what may be going forward beyond the limits of our own little world. The anxiety for news from the north is very great, for on the course which the Governor now takes will the future existence of the colony depend"[12]
>
> (Nelson Examiner, 17 April 1845)

The arrivals referred to are ship arrivals. Within the two islands land routes were often available and were used.[13] But communication was generally by sea and was irregular. Acknowledgement of a lack of news was common.

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9. p.24.

10. Sinclair, p.105.

11. Fox, (1851).

12. The Nelson settlers knew of Hone Heke's burning of Kororareka but not of subsequent events, including FitzRoy's reaction.

13. Robinson. Chapter 7.

> "We have nothing to communicate this week as we are without news either foreign or domestic"
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 7 December 1844)

The receipt of news was itself something to be written about.

> "The receipt of news since our last paper has been great and of an interesting and satisfactory nature. We have endeavoured to make the number really a newspaper.
>
> (Wellington Independent, 23 April 1845)

The isolation of the settlements was to make it impossible for the newspapers to provide a news coverage on anything other than an intermittent basis. The desire to do so was always present and, in so far as circumstances permitted, the newspaper controllers were conscientious news reporters.

Communication among settlements was at best irregular. In 1851 Canterbury had no news from Otago between April and November. In mid 1852 Nelson was three months without news from Wellington.[14] Such conditions prevailed throughout the Crown Colony Government period and, in the circumstances, newspaper controllers had little choice but to avail themselves of whatever variety of news was at hand even if the sources were less than reliable. Other newspapers were eagerly sought. As in other countries it was accepted that newspapers would copy from one another and much news reporting was by judicious use of

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14. Morrell, p.24.

scissors. The Wellington settlement, typically, was "accidently informed" of the arrival in New Zealand of Governor Grey through "a stray newspaper."[15] Such a haphazard news transmission not only gave little chance to check the authenticity of reports but also forced a reliance on sources that were often considered unreliable. Newspapers from Auckland had little trust in those from the Wakefield settlements and vice versa but both were forced to use one another's copy if they wished to print any news of the other settlements. Similarly, private letters, which along with official despatches and word of mouth were the only alternative means of communication, were used in a spirit of suspended judgement. The following inaccurate news is an example.

> "We have heard, from a quarter which we have no reason to doubt, that private letters have been received in the colony, stating that the English Government had recalled Mr Shortland from the office of Colonial Secretary. We give the above as a rumour, but we do not vouch for its authenticity."
>
> Wellington Colonist, reprinted in Nelson Examiner, 26 November 1842)

Again the situation was a long term one. Newspaper controllers became more adept at gauging the reliability of their information but the reliance on irregular channels continued.

> "We may shortly expect some additional European news, which seems already to have reached Wellington; as a private letter which crossed the

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15. Spectator, 3 January 1846. Quoted in Burns, Vol.1, pp.35-6.

> Straits to the Wairau speaks of intelligence that the Emperor of the French had been shot at during his visit to our Queen at Osborne."
>
> (Nelson Examiner, 2 December 1857)

The New Zealand newspaper controllers, in their search for news, were forced to use whatever snippets of information should come their way. Their desire to offer a news service, often had them involved in a reliance on dubious sources and the process of news dissemination was one in which an assessment of the accuracy of rumours was a major part of journalism.

Newspapers as Community Advocates

In the absence of a regular news flow to fill their pages there was little option but to open newspaper columns for discussion. But, the idea of a newspaper being both a forum for public discussion and a vehicle for political expression and political action was one the settlers brought with them to New Zealand and expected to implement. The English press at the time the settlers left for New Zealand was becoming a daily and a commercial press.[16] But the tradition the settlers brought with them was one whereby "a newspaper is usually the organ and voice of some political or other section of the community."[17] This tradition was to be continued in New Zealand with the major difference that the newspaper was argued to be the voice of the community rather than of a section of a community. The point is, for instance, implicit in Letter II in the Nelson Examiner, addressed to Governor Hobson by "An Englishman".

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16. Cranfield. Chapter 6

17. Lyttelton Times, 11 January 1851.

> "... it is not a noisy band of democrats and demagogues who call for your dismissal: a whole community, composed of all sorts and conditions of men, varying infinitely in opinion, need and character, upbraids you with one accord..."[18]

In this respect the newspapers were seen as a form of political action and were often directed not at the local community but at a different audience. While much rhetoric was aimed at the representatives of the Crown Colony Government in New Zealand, English authorities, especially the Secretary for War and Colonies, were also a common target.

> "... we had on a late occasion the disagreeable task of narrating the unhappy effects of the policy of this Government towards the natives ... We have now to narrate, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the history of a financial transaction between this Government and a Mr Boyd of Sydney; and if, in the former, we had to speak of matters which claimed the sympathy and pity of the humane towards the oppressed and deeply wronged natives, we have now to speak of matters which must astonish the man of business, and, we doubt not, very much displease the nobleman who presides over the genii who rule in colonies"
>
> (Southern Cross, reprinted in Nelson Examiner, 24 June 1843)

A major illustration of this direction towards English authorities is from the Nelson Examiner where, on taking the editorship Domett's strategy of protest was to draw up a petition to parliament questioning FitzRoy's decision not to pursue further the

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18. 16 July 1842, Quoted in McLintock, (1958), p.139.

matter of the Wairau. The petition was published in the Examiner on 15 June, 1844. It was signed by 597 male adults, a number, the paper was careful to point out, that meant the abstentions were almost entirely absentees and government employees. Couched in its careful language[19] the petition, arguably the settlers' sole form of political representation, was a factor in FitzRoy's recall.

Although not always as effective as the Examiner, this was common practice for the first papers. The first issue of the Spectator, for instance, was in too much haste to catch the mail ship to deliver the traditional opening editorial.

> "The first number of a new paper generally puts forth a sort of programme of its intended performances in the shape of a statement of its political principles. On the present occasion, however, we have neither time nor space to follow such a practice. The Bella Maria is about to sail direct for England, and it is of paramount importance that she should convey authentic and public intelligence respecting the position and prospects of the colony".
>
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian, 12 October 1844)

Newspapers as Class Papers

The newspapers were ready to consider themselves the voice of the community. Their understanding of this, however, warrants investigation for, while they often advocated measures which received

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19. "Your petitioners therefore pray that your honourable house will be pleased to take such steps as in your wisdom may seem right, in order that Her Majesty may be moved to express her disapprobation of the conduct pursued by his Excellency, the Governor.
(Examiner, 15 June 1844)

wide majority approval, they were the consistent voice of only a small section within each of the settlements. This feature links closely with their political success, for the class they supported gained political ascendancy in New Zealand. I now turn to consider those factors that operated to define and restrict the class allegiance of the New Zealand newspapers.

1. Price

Circulation was restricted by price to the more wealthy members of the settlements. The price of the New Zealand newspapers, before the advent of the penny press, was high. There were variations but they were few. The two founding newspapers, the New Zealand Gazette in Wellington and the New Zealand Advertiser in Russell, both had a subscription price of 40/- per annum payable in advance or 1/- a single issue. This pricing structure was generally followed by the other newspapers though some, such as the Auckland Standard, allowed subscriptions by the quarter at 10/- payable in advance.

Most of the variations in price came with changes in the frequency of appearance. But newspapers remained expensive. Most of the papers began with weekly publication. The Auckland Times started with twice weekly publication, and a price to match (15/- a quarter or 1/- a single issue) but kept to this only during its short period of use of the Government press. The Mangle and subsequent issues were published weekly. The Otago News began as a fortnightly but was a weekly from 9 June 1849 at the colony's lowest subscription price of 22/6 per annum or 6d. a single issue.

The Otago, Canterbury and Nelson newspapers, without competition, remained as weeklies while the Auckland and Wellington newspapers soon moved to twice weekly publication. The New Zealand Gazette in Wellington led the way, on 20 October 1841, preceeding the New Zealand Herald in Auckland by a mere four days. With this change the Gazette retained its 40/- per annum subscription rate and halved the price of a single issue to 6d. It was the first newspaper to introduce this lower price. The New Zealand Herald changed its rates from 40/- per annum subscription and 1/- per single issue to 15/- per quarter subscription and 9d per single issue.

These subscription rates represented a substantial fraction of the wages received by the majority of settlers. 1846 wages for labour were, for example, recorded as follows:

"Domestic, per annum with board and lodging, £14 to £20
Predial, per annum with board and lodging, £25 to £45
Trades, per diem, 5s to 7s."[20]

The posted wages were often substantially higher than those actually paid. In Nelson, for instance, where otherwise unemployed settlers were to have been given work by the New Zealand Company and paid £1 per week plus rations, the weekly subsistence payment was reduced to 16s. a week without rations for married men and 8s. a week without rations for single men.[21] In such circumstances price alone

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20. Grimstone, p.57.

21. Sutch, p.16.

was sufficient to prevent the majority of settlers from being newspaper subscribers.

2. The Cost of Establishing and Maintaining Newspapers

The first New Zealand newspapers were not, in comparison with contemporary English newspapers, particularly expensive businesses to found. In an age when a high circulation daily press was becoming dominant in other countries, with a general change to the technology associated with the steam press, the cost of establishing a newspaper had risen, in England, from the £2000 to £5000 needed in 1790-1820 to £30,000 to £50,000 in the 1830's and on to six figures in the 1840's.[22] In New Zealand, however, the older technology of iron framed, hand operated presses - printing one side of the paper and capable of around 250 impressions per hour - was sufficient. This technology was not expensive being readily available second-hand in Britain, Europe and the United States. After the difficult first few years it was increasingly available in New Zealand with hand operated presses being made in Australia as early as 1842.[23]

But the question of expense is relative. In New Zealand the establishment of a newspaper was considered financially onerous. The first New Zealand newspapers, with one possible exception, were not financially successful. The establishment and continuation of a newspaper was to be restricted to those who could afford the cost. These were men either of a wealthy background or beginning other businesses able to subsidise their journalistic activities.

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22. Asquith, p.109.

23. See the "Sydney Extracts" in Auckland Standard, 22 August 1842.

Auckland

The Auckland Herald and New Zealand Gazette was set up for £600, the nominal capital being £3000 made up of £10 shares. The shares were issued on £2 deposit with the balance on call. The shareholding was largely among officials of the Crown Colony Government who, among other intentions, hoped to profit by their investment. The company should have been financially secure for it immediately obtained the Government printing contract and, in its first eight months of operation, received £1298.14.0. from this source.[24] However the company experienced considerable monetary difficulties and, by the end of 1841, within six months of commencement, all the money on call had been summoned. The difficulties of the company were illustrated in a balance sheet published on 27 November 1841 which indicated there was a total of £1398 in unpaid debts owing to the company. This was to be a continuing feature of all the early newspapers. The paucity of the white population meant that circulations were tiny. The general shortage of cash throughout the colony meant that even these few subscriptions were to include a high proportion of unpaid accounts. When the Auckland Herald was closed down in April 1842 the plant, land and buildings were purchased by Hobson for his Administration for £1425;[25] a high price but one representing a considerable loss for the shareholders.

The two subsequent Auckland newspapers, the Standard and the Times, were printed, (though the Times for a short period only) on the newly purchased Administration press. Neither of them, therefore

24. Meiklejohn, p.22.

25. Ibid, p.92.

had high establishment costs, but neither had they the return from a printing business to offset their losses. Circulation rates for both were probably low. Circulation rates for the early New Zealand papers are difficult to determine as proprietors were not required to publish them and generally preferred to keep them secret. The best indication of circulation for the mid-1840's is given by an unsigned but probably authentic document from the Auckland Old Colonists' Museum.[26] This lists nine of the Colony's newspapers. Circulations given range from 100 to 300. The Times is recorded as having 100 subscribers. There is no record of the Standard's circulation, but for the six months of its existence it is likely to have had a similarly sized subscription to the Times.

The Chronicle, the newspaper that succeeded the Herald, lasted until 1845 but it had two long periods of suspension and was thus published in three distinct series. The number of subscribers to the three series, according to the Old Colonists' Museum document was 100,250 and 150. The first series, of which no issues remain, was published by G.A. Edgar, the owner of the press used earlier at Kororareka to publish the Bay of Islands Observer. Whether Edgar also began a printing business in Auckland and, if so, how long it lasted, is unknown. He had certainly disappeared by the time of the third series of the Chronicle which was printed on the Administration press. It is possible that the second series was also printed on the Administration press.[27]

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26. Reprinted in Ibid, p.49.

27. Burns, Vol 2, pp.80-81.

The next two Auckland newspapers, the Southern Cross and the New Zealander, were the first long standing newspapers in that city. Both of them were linked with printing establishments. In both cases the printing house was financially successful while the newspaper was a losing concern. The circulation rates of both papers are unknown.

The Southern Cross was owned by William Brown but the financial establishment of the newspaper owed much to the first editor, Samuel Martin, the editor dismissed from the Auckland Herald. Martin had sued the trustees of the Herald for the balance of his contract and, in spite of a counterclaim by the Attorney General for libel, had been awarded £641.13.4d.[28] This money purchased the type and press for the Southern Cross.[29] Brown, however, provided the continuing financial backing for the newspaper. He was responsible for the supply of type and printing materials sent from London in 1848.[30] He is recorded by Hocken, who had the advantage of extensive interviews with Logan Campbell, Brown's partner, as losing £10,000 on the Southern Cross during his ownership which lasted from the beginning until 1869. The General Printing Office, from which the Southern Cross was issued, despite the absence of records, appears to have been kept fairly busy with job printing.[31] This associate of the newspaper gained for Brown a financial return in keeping with the general success enjoyed by the other commercial concerns of Brown and Campbell.[32]

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28. Meiklejohn, p.101-3.

29. Scholefield, (1958), p.76.

30. Burns, Vol 2, p.199.

31. Ibid.

32. Stone, (1973). pp. 44, 153-154

The New Zealander was begun in 1845 by John Williamson, a printer who had arrived in Auckland in 1841 under engagement to the parent company of the Auckland Herald. In January 1848 he made a partner in W.C. Wilson, another printer who had also come to Auckland in 1841 to work on the Auckland Herald. These two began a general printing business and met with considerable success. The pro-Grey policy of the New Zealander won them official support and Williamson and Wilson became the Government Printers. The printing establishment quickly became large and successful. The partners constructed the first gas works in Auckland at the rear of the printing office, to supply it with gas. They introduced the first printing machine into New Zealand, a "Caxton" by Myers, of Southhampton. They also introduced the first news folding machine and imported a complete lithographic plant with which they produced mining plans, show cards and labels.[33] While Williamson and Wilson were prosperous as printers, there is nothing from the scant evidence available to suggest that the newspaper also enjoyed financial success. Almost certainly it was, like the Southern Cross, a losing concern carried by the rest of the business.

Wellington

In the case of the Wellington Gazette, sales in the first year did not exceed 110 copies per issue and this included 20 copies bought by Colonel Wakefield.[34] Revans in 1840 held the paper barely paid

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33. Ibid.

34. Burns, Vol.2, p.6. The first Wellington edition, however, that of 18 April 1840, sold all 400 copies printed plus a reprinting of a further 150 copies.

its way.[35] The document in the Old Colonists' Museum, Auckland, records the Gazette's circulation at 300 but this is unsupported by other evidence. Burns records the circulation as at best reaching 250.[36] By 1844 the newspaper "ran at an annual loss of some hundreds of pounds" but the printing establishment was "worth about £700 a year."[37] A successful printing establishment was carrying a low circulation and unremunerative newspaper. Revans also had other business concerns, being a landowner as well as establishing a wood yard, a meat company and becoming a director of the Steam Saw Mill Company.[38]

The second paper, the Colonist, was not part of any wider business establishment but was an independent company, the first established in Wellington.[39] It was expected to be self supporting and was closed down when it failed to be so. Fifty settlers contributed £5 each to establish the paper.[40] The circulation is recorded as being 250[41] but this did not cover expenses. After the paper had been publishing for five months a call of 20/- per share had to be declared.[42] In the final issue the shareholders announced their

35. Gazette, 19 September 1840.

36. Burns, Vol.2, p.6.

37. Ibid, p.7.

38. Ibid, p.5.

39. Ibid, p.32.

40. Ibid.

41. Old Colonists Museum document. Cited in Meiklejohn, p.49.

42. Scholefield, (1958), p.27.

intention of suspending the paper "for the present", citing the financial difficulties faced by the paper as the reason for closure.[43]

The other two Wellington newspapers of the Crown Colony Government years, the Spectator and the Independent, were both, after initial periods of instability, to become long lasting newspapers attached to and supported by printing businesses.

The Spectator, run by an elected committee, published reports of the bi-annual meetings of the managing committee. For the first two years there is, then, a record of the papers finances. The modesty of its monetary scale is one of the most striking features of the Spectator.[44] The paper ran at a loss with a subscription list of somewhat less than 150.[45] It was printed on the press used previously by the Gazette. Once the Independent began, this press and plant were purchased by the managing committee of the Spectator and the printing of the paper came under the control of Robert Stokes, an early settler trained as an architect who had come to Wellington originally as a surveyor for the New Zealand Company. He was active in settlement affairs, especially political concerns, and was one of those involved in the establishment of the Colonist as well as the Spectator. After the purchase of the printing press and plant he took on the business and became a full time printer.[46]

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43. Colonist, 2 August 1843.

44. Burns, Vol. 2, p.141.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid, Vol.2, p.150.

In September 1846, two years after the paper began, the Spectator committee resigned. They cited their satisfaction with Grey's Governorship and thus did not see a need to continue their vigilance. They were also happy to be done with the inconvenience and the incurring of personal odium that was associated with the management of the paper.[47]

The newspaper appears to have been given to Stokes who then became proprietor, editor and printer.[48] He may have been editor from an earlier period.[49] While at times breaking even, the paper was no success financially and Stokes's living was gained through the printing business. Here, however, he was aided by his newspaper's policy; the pro-Grey attitude of the Spectator earning him many printing contracts with the Government.

The Independent, begun by the printers of the Spectator when the Spectator committee dispensed with their services, was, at least initially, under considerable financial strain. More than once the printers who controlled the paper offered to work on a barter system.

> "The Committee of the Independent beg to announce to parties cultivating land in the bush, that they are willing to take produce of any description in payment for their journal."
>
> (Wellington Independent, 10 May 1845, reprinted 18 June 1845, 16 July 1845)

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47. Spectator, 23 September 1846.

48. Scholefield, (1958), p.28.

49. Hocken, p.103.

After being suspended from August to November 1845, new plant and a printing press were obtained from Sydney and the paper reappeared, attached to a new printing business. Rivalry between the two Wellington newspapers was understandably the most intense in the country and led to a notable decrease in advertising rates and prices for single copies of a newspaper. Both papers had begun with the same subscription and advertising rates as the Gazette. These rates, which were high, were generally comparable throughout the country. The subscription rates were 40/- per year or 1/- per single copy.

Advertising rates were:

1 to 6 lines:	3/6 for first insertion and 1/- for each subsequent insertion.
6 to 10 lines:	5/- for first insertion and 1/6 for each subsequent insertion
Over 10 lines:	5/- for first 10 lines and 4d per line for the rest, for the first insertion. 2d per line for each subsequent insertion.

By May 1846, with the Independent leading the way, both papers had increased their frequency to bi-weekly appearances with subscription rates unchanged. Single copies were down to 6d. each. All advertisements were priced at 3d per line for the first and 1d per line for subsequent insertions.

As a result the Independent, like the Spectator, was not a prosperous concern and the proprietors' financial return was gained through their printing business. The business was extended to cover

other commercial concerns. Most notably it also served as a land agency.[50]

Nelson

The document in the Old Colonists' Museum records the mid 1840's circulation of the Nelson Examiner at 200. The Elliott brothers were not reliant on the newspaper for a living. They had a printing establishment which also served as office for a variety of commercial activities. They opened a circulating library and a trading establishment and were agents for several absentee landowners as well as themselves acquiring a run in the Wairau.[51]

The Elliott brothers could afford to support an unremunerative newspaper. Whether the Examiner was or was not a financially successful newspaper is uncertain. Burns holds that the printing business and the Examiner prospered but offers no evidence in regard to the newspapers' financial return.[52] With 200 subscriptions prosperity is doubtful.

Otago

Details of finance and circulation for the first Otago newspaper are unknown. Graham, prior to departing from England appears to have received encouragement, and perhaps assistance from John McGlashan,

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50. Burns, Vol.2, p.163.

51. Ibid, Vol.2, pp.102-6.

52. Ibid, Vol.2, p.102.

Secretary of the Otago Association.[53] Any such assistance was, however, lost once Graham found himself at odds in Otago with Cargill, the leader of the settlement. Graham had a subscription list of 50 when he issued his prospectus on 24 November 1848, but his circulation could not have climbed much above that and would not have been sufficient to offer Graham a return for his work on the newspaper. Nor was financial success available to the next Otago newspaper, the Witness. It had a mere 120 subscribers in its early days[54] and by the end of 1855 it had risen to only 210.[55]

The Otago Witness was begun after the printing press used by the Otago News was purchased. The paper was not expensive to set up as the press and plant, Henry Graham's ex-News equipment, were obtained locally. But the paper was still under-capitalised:

> "The property was divided into 40 shares (being the exact cost of press and type), only 30 of which were taken up when the Witness started. The capital beyond the cost of material was not even subscribed..."
>
> (Witness, 6 November 1852)

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53. "The importance of a Printing Press I consider so great that I felt authorisd to assure him that the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses would do all in their power for him, and upon the faith of this assurance he goes out." Letter from MacGlashan to Cargill, 1 May 1848, quoted in McLintock (1949), p.274.

54. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.11.

55. Paul, p.104.

The press and type had been purchased for £200, of which £150 was paid by W.H. Valpy, one of the leading landowners, and a company of eleven shareholders was formed.[56] The lack of financial success coupled with the tempestuous nature of contemporary journalism tired the shareholders. In the newspaper's second year they presented the paper and plant to William Cutten, the editor.[57]

Cutten was not dependent on the Witness being financially successful. He had been appointed Immigration Agent for the province and received £100 per year from that source.[58] He was also an auctioneer and merchant with a growing business.[59] To this was now added a printing establishment and job printing became a further commercial activity for Cutten.

Canterbury

The details of the Lyttelton Times, the first Canterbury newspaper, are somewhat clearer. The principal financial backer was Ingram Shrimpton, an Oxford printer and member of the Canterbury Association. He was "risking something like £2000 capital in machinery, type, paper and ink sufficient for twelve months.[60]

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56. McLintock, (1949), p.283.

57. Scholefield, (1958), p.168.

58. McLintock, (1949), p.283.

59. Ibid.

60. Scholefield, (1958), pp.211-2.

O'Neill gives a somewhat higher estimate of £2500 but this was after establishment at Lyttelton.[61] The costs include equipment beyond the needs of the newspaper. Notably the plant included three presses, a Columbia for engraving, an Atlas for fancy printing and a Stanhope to print the newspaper. Shrimpton did not emigrate until 1854 but did send a foreman and a compositor as well as persuading his son and nephew to go out as cadets.

The printing business, at least, was sound and prosperous. In 1856, when Shrimpton sold out he received £5000 for the copyright to the Lyttelton Times and the lease of property and plant for twenty years.[62] The newspaper's circulation is unrecorded. It is possible, however, that the newspaper itself was also profitable, with a circulation, because of English subscriptions, considerably higher than the rest of the New Zealand newspapers. Shrimpton's nephew, George Taylor, who operated the press for the Lyttelton Times is recorded as stating Shrimpton obtained guaranteed English subscriptions before undertaking responsibility for the newspaper. Shrimpton "represented so forcibly the impossibility of undertaking the responsibility without some guarantee that, ultimately, the members of the Committee [of the Canterbury Association in London prior to the first four ships departing] and some other members of the Association agreed to become subscribers for 1000 copies of each issue of the paper during its first year, the subscription being 2ls per

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61. (1963), p.2.

62. Scholefield, (1958), pp.212-3.

annum."[63] Though there would presumably be considerable non-renewal of subscriptions, if the Lyttelton Times did begin with so large a number of subscribers, it would have been the single profitable New Zealand newspaper of the period.

One result of the tempestuous circumstances and general lack of profitability throughout New Zealand was the tendency for newspapers to be owned by single individuals, or at most partnerships rather than by joint stock companies.[64] Meiklejohn discusses this in regard to Auckland where he argues that subsequent ownership patterns in the Auckland press were influenced by the Crown Colony Government's repressive tactics in the early 1840's.

> "In the capital and at the Bay of Islands, in 1842, were all the men who were to achieve prominence as newspaper proprietors in Auckland for many years to come. John Williamson, of the New Zealander; William Brown and John Logan-Campbell, of the Southern Cross; William Chisholm Wilson, of the New Zealand Herald; and James Busby, of the Aucklander. In a period of less than two years they had seen the failure of three newspaper ventures, all founded by joint stock companies. ... The inference appeared to be that popular ownership of the press was a source, not of strength, but of weakness. The alternative was newspapers owned and controlled by single individuals or by partnerships. Not for more than a quarter of a century - long after the first steps had been taken towards the establishment of responsible government - was the public again invited to participate in the ownership of a major newspaper in the northern part of New Zealand."[65]

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63. The Christchurch Times, 29 June 1935, Souvenir Supplement.

64. Genuine joint stock companies were not possible until the passage of the Companies Act of 1860. I, and Meiklejohn, refer here to newspapers funded by shares purchased by a number of settlers.

65. p.114.

While there is some force in Meiklejohn's argument it must also be noted that after the demise of the Standard in 1842 the Auckland press, with its individual or partnership patterns, was merely coming into line with what was to be the usual practice elsewhere in New Zealand. Joint stock companies were also tried among the southern papers where the alternative to individual ownership was newspapers financed by shares held by a number of colonists and managed by an elected committee. This occurred with both the Otago Witness and the New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Straits Guardian. In both cases shareholders and committee members tired of an unprofitable and tempestuous involvement and the papers were presented to single individuals who then each continued as editor and sole proprietor. Collective ownership, where it was tried, was to be a short-lived phenomenon in all New Zealand centres until the larger scale press of the 1860's, with its larger financial requirements, made it a practical necessity concurrent with the changed circumstances of later decades.

3. The Voluntary Nature of Newspaper Work

As a consequence of the generally unprofitable nature of journalism the staff of the newspapers were also often unpaid. There was a division between the editorial and manual aspects of newspaper work with the manual work being more commonly paid employment. Editorial involvement was more commonly unpaid and this worked to restrict such involvement to those settlers who could afford to engage in unremunerated activity.

Many proprietors were competent printers but only Henry Graham of the Otago News worked entirely without a staff, doing all the editorial and printing work himself.[66] Most employed compositors and press men with both the production of the newspaper and job printing being part of the duties required. While proprietors did assist in the manual work associated with the production of their newspapers, there was from the beginning a generally accepted division of labour between the editorial and manual areas of newspaper work. The proprietors, who were themselves so often competent compositors and press men, were the major exception to this division of labour but they also gradually specialized and came to concentrate their attention on the editorial side. While there was this division of labour a professional approach to work did not necessarily follow. The following quotation is unusually frank but is representative of a general acceptance that, in New Zealand, standards set elsewhere could not always be applied.

> "We are in a young colony, and printers will at times get drunk as well as ill, and at these periods our paper cannot be turned off in that workmanlike style that we could wish"
>
> (Auckland Herald, 22 January 1842)

Although there was an initial intention to pay the editors of the first Auckland and Wellington newspapers, eventually the position came to be seen in New Zealand as a voluntary one. There is no record of a salary being paid to Charles Terry, William Corbett or Dr Samuel

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66. News, 8 June 1850.

Martin, the three men who successively edited the Auckland Herald. But as Martin, the final editor, after the paper was closed down, successfully sued for the balance of his contract, it is possible to assume he and the other two were paid editors. In Wellington, Samuel Revans, proprietor of the Gazette, edited the paper himself in 1840 and 1841. J.T. Wicksteed edited the paper at a salary of £150 per year but remained in the position only for a few months in early 1842. He was succeeded for, at most, ten months by Dr Frederick Knox who was also paid. George White, the third editor, until he was fired for his editorial on the Wairau Massacre, was presumably also paid. William Fox succeeded White, editing the paper from July to September 1843. The final editor is unknown. Nor is it known whether Fox and the final editor received a salary.[67]

These two newspapers seem to be the only two to have paid their editors. In Auckland there is no record of the editors of the Chronicle being paid. William Swainson was Attorney-General while editing the Standard and his editorship was accepted as part of his official duties. Henry Falwasser edited his own unprofitable Auckland Times. The Southern Cross was edited without pay by Samuel Martin and then Charles Terry, before Logan Campbell suspended the paper. When Brown restarted it he edited the paper himself until 1849 to be followed by the unpaid Hugh Carleton. The editorship of the New Zealander was similarly unpaid. Not all the editors are known

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67. Burns, Vol.2, pp.20-26.

but they include Thomas Forsaith, Hugh Carleton and Dr John Bennett.[68] In Wellington, R.D. Hanson was the unpaid editor of the Colonist during its year of publication. The two long-lasting Wellington papers both had longterm and unpaid editors with Robert Stokes, the eventual proprietor, editing his Spectator, and the Independent being under the editorial control of Dr Isaac Featherston.

Not all the editors of the Nelson Examiner are known. The first four were George Rycroft Richardson, Francis Jollie and Alfred Domett as well as Charles Elliott, the proprietor. Other editors and contributors included Francis Dillon Bell, Edward Stafford, and William Fox. Again contributors and the editors were unpaid. This was not always the intention. Domett, for example, was to have been paid a guinea a week but did not receive this salary.[69] In Otago, both Henry Graham and William Cutten were proprietor editors. In Canterbury, J.E. FitzGerald edited the Lyttelton Times from the beginning until 1853. Again the work was voluntary.

There was with the first newspapers in Wellington and Auckland an attempt to continue in New Zealand a pattern that had emerged in England in the early nineteenth century; ie. that of paying editors and other editorial staff who then became salaried employees. This was soon abandoned. Editorial staff in New Zealand newspapers became

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68. Burns, citing Wakelin, refers to Carleton, as "one of the two salaried N.Z. editors in 1850". The other referred to is Dr John Bennett of the New Zealander. This is, however, a misreading of Wakelin. He had not travelled to Auckland and was unsure whether the two received salaries. Burns, Vol. 2, p.205. Wakelin, p.6.

69. Allan, p.165.

men involved in journalism not for pay but because of their belief in the worth of their involvement. A similar pattern also applies to those who were contributors to newspapers. Again there was a general inability to pay contributors and there grew an acceptance that such work was of a voluntary nature.

While the proprietors retained overall control of their newspapers they are not to be seen as employers directing the activity of their employees. Rather the production of a newspaper was an activity shared, often, by many individuals who were all concerned about and who all contributed to the editorial content and general policy of the newspaper.

4. The Class Nature of the New Zealand Settlements and the Practice of Journalism within them

As important as were financial considerations, a greater influence on the class nature of the New Zealand press was the intended nature of the first settlements. A majority, all but Auckland and the settlements at the Bay of Islands, were under the influence of Wakefield and were intended to be class settlements. Wakefield's objective was to reproduce in the colony the society left behind. As H.S. Chapman, Wakefield's friend and editor of the New Zealand Journal phrased the matter, "Colonization has taken the place of mere emigration; the removal of society, that of mere masses; and men of refinement and education may now emigrate, without any material disturbance of their habits."[70] Wakefield quotes

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70. Quoted in Turnbull, p.67.

approvingly Hind's essay on colonization where the announced intention is for a colony that "would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country."[71] The intention was from the outset confused. The intended society owes more to Wakefield's understanding of a pre-industrial arcadia than to the England of the mid nineteenth century. Marx argued that the outcome was modern and was to manufacture wage-labourers in the colony and thus to reproduce the capitalist relations of the mother country.[72] Nor did the execution of the plan allow it to succeed. The plan required a high proportion of land-order buyers to move to New Zealand so as to have the desired ratio of colonists to emigrants in the settlements. However the need to sell land-orders to absentees, buyers who had no intention of emigrating, so as to fund the passage of the labouring emigrants, ensured the desired class balance would not eventuate.[73]

While Wakefield himself devotes little attention to the role of the press in colonies, both he and the intending settlers saw a settlement newspaper as a desirable, if not essential, part of settlement. New Plymouth was without a newspaper and the first Otago newspaper was begun in opposition to the Scottish and Presbyterian

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71. E.G. Wakefield, p.114.

72. Marx, Vol.1, Chapter 33.

73. Turnbull. Colonists, land-order buyers who did emigrate, received a 75% rebate on the purchase price so as to pay for their own passage. They, thus, contributed little towards the cost of transporting labourers.

nature of that settlement. But in Wellington, Nelson and Canterbury the first newspapers received assistance from the founding associations and were conceived as aids to the successful establishment of the settlements. They were intended to maintain civilization with much of this lofty notion being regarded in terms of a continuation of an existing system of stratification. The point is well made in a quote from De Tocqueville which, for many years, the Nelson Examiner published at the start of its leading articles.

> "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 civilization. De Tocqueville. Of Democracy in America. Vol V. p.230."

The first New Zealand newspapers were considered to be public leaders with their writers needing a combination of ability and integrity which made newspaper work a matter of high public service.

> " .. whilst a public press .. represents the public voice, it also acts directly and immediately as the teacher and guide of public opinion; and this action is powerful or feeble, according to the ability, beneficial or hurtful, according to the integrity and conscientiousness with which the task is performed."
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 11 January 1851)

This viewpoint is epitomised in the first editorial of the Nelson Examiner where, in the finest of the opening statements of the settlement newspapers, journalistic responsibilities take on the stature of a sacred trust.

> "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 indication of apathy respecting the common good; to appeal to the nobler sympathies of men against 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 fellow 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. We shall, to the best of our ability, endeavour to discharge them honestly".
>
> (Examiner, 12 March 1842)

Herron has noted that the English tradition where the educated, leisured classes had a duty to engage in politics was not lightly cast aside in New Zealand.[74] Such thoughts as those quoted above meant that in New Zealand journalism also came to be included among those activities which the educated considered to be not only their duty but also befitting their rank. In the utopian vision shared especially by the higher ranking settlers to the Wakefield settlements journalism was accorded a purpose and status which it was not granted in England.

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74. (1959a), p.339.

Journalistic activity was continued by such people because of its politically active nature but in New Zealand it was the understanding of a moral duty that first gave it acceptability. In the England from which they had migrated newspaper journalists had gained social respectability but little prestige;[75] in New Zealand such work came to be the preserve of the higher ranking settlers who saw journalism as a combination of public service and political activity.

The unprofitable nature of the early newspapers combined with the value accorded to journalism as a public duty served to limit involvement in journalism to the higher ranking settlers. Not only was such work considered appropriate for men of their social position but they were the only people who could afford to engage in activity which offered no financial return. The result of this was that, during a period when in other countries journalism was becoming an employee profession, New Zealand newspapers came to be controlled by a group of men who embraced journalism without regard to financial remuneration. This is not to say that they were unaware of the financial possibilities latent within journalism. FitzGerald of the Lyttelton Times, for instance, was absorbed with thoughts of the livelihood to be made from the business,[76] and William Brown, one of the more successful Auckland merchants, was certainly aware of the use he and his partner Campbell could make of the advertising columns of the Southern Cross. But FitzGerald remained impecunious and the

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75. O'Boyle. p.315.

76. O'Neill, (1963), pp.2-4.

Southern Cross, unlike Brown's trading concerns, did not return a profit. While there was a profit to be made in businesses associated with journalism, especially that of job printing, the publication of newspapers was not only unremunerative but costly. Fortunately, the settlement understanding of journalism as an activity of public service meant those involved in journalism need scarcely expect payment for the performance of such a task. Their appreciation of their role gave themselves a higher purpose.

Discussion

The Wakefield pattern of settlement was of historical rather than demographic importance in New Zealand.[77] The majority of the original settlers moved on.[78] But the Wakefield system of colonization did have lasting influence on New Zealand, especially in the political sphere. As Sinclair has noted the country was ruled for much of the nineteenth century by a handful of the 'gentry' from the original Wakefield settlements.[79] These men won political power after the gaining of self-government but it was during the period of the Crown Colony Government that they came to public prominence. Here the newspapers are of importance for journalistic involvement was for these men a major avenue by which they gained political prominence. Their links with the press were not curtailed after the gaining of self-government and the active political involvement of the press was to continue.

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77. Sinclair, pp.96-97.

78. Turnbull. pp 57-58.

79. p.108.

Newspaper allegiance changed during the Crown Colony Government period. The Wakefield settlements had been divided originally into Colonists and Emigrants. Colonists were those who had purchased land orders and were thus to be the land owners in the settlements. Emigrants were the labouring settlers. From the start the newspaper had taken a colonists's perspective. Witness, for example, the attitude to "our labour" in Revans' editorial.[80] Even Henry Graham, the champion of the working class, operated from a perspective of superiority. He saw himself not as a member of the working class but as its teacher.[81]

The shift in allegiance experienced by the newspaper was one of movement with the colonists as they became the dominant, white landowning group in New Zealand. With the exception of the two papers which came to support Grey, all were allied with the resident landowners and thus took a sectional position within New Zealand society. Nor should Auckland, the settlement which developed under an Imperial rather than Wakefield pattern of colonization, be seen as an exception to this pattern. The differences between Auckland and the southern settlements, accentuated by contemporary writers, have been increasingly downgraded by modern commentators.[82] In regard to newspaper history there was in Auckland, as elsewhere, a similar

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80. p.47 above.

81. "We have always considered it the special duty of the press, and more particularly of the newspaper press, to endeavour to raise the working class in the scale of civilization - to draw them up to a higher standard, instead of lowering their tone to pander to traits that are to a certain extent vitiated, because derived from an impure source". (Otago News, 21 July 1849)

82. Turnbull. p.63.

identity between newspaper policy and the interests of the dominant groups in the settlement.

Alliance with the resident landowners should not be seen as an opposition to any merchant and trading group in New Zealand. As the colonists became the dominant land holding group in the Wakefield settlements so also were they prominent in developing and controlling those business enterprises which were to be the commercial sector of the settlements. A similar identity of major landowners and urban business men was apparant in Auckland, the main non-Wakefield settlement. In both the North and South Islands control of commerce and the ownership of land were the preserve of the one group.[83] Meiklejohn's remark that the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company, the parent company of the Auckland Herald and New Zealand Gazette, "was one of the most considerable commercial ventures in early Auckland" is applicable to many of the early newspapers in New Zealand.[84] The commencement of the various newspapers, along with the printing and other trading establishments associated with them, was itself an important initial aspect of commercial development in New Zealand.

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83. Eldred Grigg, Stone (1973), Campbell, Fairweather.

84. p.20.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS IN THE EARLY PROVINCIAL PERIOD

New Zealand's first political elections consequent on the Constitution Act of 1852 were held in the different provinces between July and October 1853.[1] In these elections the leaders of the various Settlers' Constitutional Associations were to the fore among those winning the positions in the new system of Government. The Settlers' Constitutional Associations had, during the Crown Colony Government period, been accepted by the settlers as their advocates and this acceptance became a major influence at the first elections. Writing specifically of the Otago Settlers' Association, McLintock has argued that when "the Constitutional Act became operative, the Association's selection of candidates for the General Assembly and the Provincial Council conferred on them a semi-official status which was a just tribute to the widespread nature of its activities".[2] Such a statement is generalizable to the other settlements, all but Auckland, that had Settlers' Constitutional Associations. In each of them the political positions subject to election were won mainly by those who had been leaders in the agitation for self-government. This was of considerable consequence to the New Zealand newspapers. The Settlers' Constitutional Association leaders had also been dominant in journalism. Their gaining of the new official positions was also a process whereby those prominent in journalism now also became prominent elected office holders.

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1. Morrell, p.73.

2. (1949), pp.286-87.

My intention now is to examine the political nature of the press following the gaining of self-government. My contention is that newspapers became recognized participants and forces in the political system. While not part of the official political system as defined in the Constitution Act, newspapers were accepted as partisan supporters and each was to be recognized as the mouthpiece of a particular politician. It was this personal advocacy for a politician that was to be a major feature of the political advocacy of the newspapers in the early provincial period. Before the development of party politics either provincially or nationally, each newspaper's political linkages were usually with individual politicians. The most common pattern was for a newspaper to be the advocate for a prominent politician who was simultaneously that newspaper's proprietor. During the first years of the provincial period there developed in each province a pattern of newspaper support and opposition which corresponded to, and helped publicly define, each province's major political divisions. Some newspapers had both, but all had either patterns of ownership or day to day management and control which linked them with a particular segment of the community as defined by the developing political divisions. During these years partisan political advocacy was every newspaper's major orientation. There were few attempts to found newspapers with a different orientation and these attempts all failed to meet with long term success.

New Zealand Newspapers and the 1853 Elections

The first elections were to select representatives to the Provincial Councils and the General Assembly. As well as representatives to the Provincial Councils, each Province was also to

elect a Superintendent. A Superintendent was recognized as the head of the Provincial Government. The General Assembly consisted of the Governor, of a Legislative Council of not less than ten members nominated by the Crown for life and of a House of Representatives of not fewer that 24 nor more that 42 members. Thirty seven men, known as Members of the House of Representatives (M.H.R.) were elected to the first General Assembly. While the constitution was a unitary one with the General Assembly supreme, in practice, especially in the 1850s and early 1860s, opinion and convenience supported a federal interpretation and the Provincial Councils dealt with a wide field of legislation.[3]

A man could be a representative at both provincial and national level. The first General Assembly included two Superintendents and the most prominent members of the Provincial Councils. Superintendents, if not members of the House, were usually called to the Legislative Council.[4] They and their supporters were powerful in the House. The franchise was given to all men over the age of 21 who possessed the property qualification. A man might vote in any electoral district in which he possessed a qualification.[5] This created an electorate calculated to be 20 per cent of the total European population of 30,000.[6]

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3. Morrell.

4. Ibid, p.66.

5. Possession for six months past of a freehold of the clear value of £50 or a leasehold - the lease being one of not less than three years - of the clear annual value of £10, or who occupied a tenement of the annual value of £10 within the limits of a town or £5 elsewhere.

6. Harold Miller, p.3.

With the exception of Auckland the first elections were not marked by deep divisions. For years the dominant issue had been that of self-government. Having won self-government nothing else had yet surfaced to become a major issue. The role of the newspapers in the various provinces at the first elections was largely that of a gentlemanly refereeing of a contest among allies. In each settlement the resident landowners were the most powerful group and the elections were to choose which of them should become the settlement representatives. It was within this group that considerable success was gained by those who had been prominent in the newspaper agitation against the Crown Colony Government.

In Otago, Cutten, proprietor of the Witness, was elected both to the Provincial Council and the General Assembly, as was James Macandrew, a merchant and landowner, who had been prominent both in the Otago Settlers' Association and in his work on the Witness. The Superintendency was gained by William Cargill, the father-in-law of Cutten and leader of the settlement since its inception.

In Canterbury, Charles Bowen, John Hall and H.J. Tancred were among those elected to the Provincial Council. All had been regular contributors to the Lyttelton Times during the agitation for self-government. So also had been W.S. Moorhouse who was elected to the General Assembly. The most prominent Canterbury politician in 1853 was J.E. FitzGerald, the inaugural manager and editor of the Lyttelton Times. He was elected to the General Assembly as well as being elected Superintendent. When the General Assembly was finally called together FitzGerald became leader of the first Administration.

In Nelson, "the question was mainly a personal one - there being as yet no Provincial political parties, and no burning public questions."[7] The Nelson Supper Party, the group of original resident land purchasers, were the dominant political power. Charles Elliott, the Examiner proprietor, was from this group and was himself elected to the Provincial Council. Edward Stafford, a landowner and prominent contributor to the Examiner, had been nominated for the Superintendency by Elliott and was the successful candidate for the position.

In Wellington, Isaac Featherston, leader of the Settlers' Constitutional Association and long-time editor of the Independent, was elected unopposed as Superintendent. He was also elected to the General Assembly as was Samuel Revans, the proprietor of the first settlement newspaper. Revans also became a member of the Provincial Council.

New Plymouth was the settlement long without a newspaper. Not until 1852, eleven years after the first settlers arrived, when an Albion press was obtained from John Williamson in Auckland, transported by bullock dray to the Manakau, and shipped to New Plymouth, did the Taranaki Herald make its first appearance. The paper was owned by William Collins, a recent immigrant who had been a printer in London on the Morning Post, and Garland Woon, who in 1852 had recently finished an apprenticeship on the New Zealander.[8]

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7. Broad, p.115.

8. Scholefield, (1958), p.129.

Collins and Woon both had the aim of beginning a viable printing business but, although the Herald was not begun as a political vehicle, it is recorded as "by the time of the first provincial elections... strongly influencing public opinion."[9] The initial Superintendency election was a three way contest between resident landowners, all of whom had been contributers to the paper. They were J.T. Wicksteed, one time editor of the Wellington Gazette, Resident Agent for the New Zealand Company in New Plymouth 1842-47, and the real inaugural editor, as opposed to Woon's nominal editorship, of the Herald; William Halse a pro-Grey candidate who had been Resident Agent, 1848-52; and the successful candidate, Charles Brown.

Only Auckland experienced rancour at the first elections. Auckland, then the New Zealand capital, came to self-government with its community "divided into two major factions: a settler group led by the merchants; and a pro-official group composed of civil officers of the government, and the military, and their clients and supporters".[10] These factions had been there before self-government when the two Auckland newspapers had divided their allegiance between them; the Southern Cross championing the settler group with William Brown, the paper's proprietor, becoming the group's most prominent member, while the New Zealander gave its support to Grey and the official group. These loyalties were carried into the provincial period to be displayed at the initial Superintendency elections.

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9. Ibid, p.130.

10. Stone, (1980a), p.157.

William Brown and Lieutenant-Colonel R.H. Wynyard, who had been the Lieutenant Governor of New Ulster and was Commander of the troops in New Zealand, were the rival candidates. Wynyard, who took no personal part in the contest, had his campaign primarily run by Williamson in the columns of the latter's New Zealander. Brown naturally received the enthusiastic support of his newspaper with this support owing much to the Southern Cross' editor, Hugh Carleton. Carleton was a landowner who had been engaged in journalism since his arrival in Auckland in 1845. He was a contributer to the New Zealander and its editor for a period prior to 1848 when he commenced and edited the Anglo-Maori Warder. Williamson and Wilson were the proprietors of the Anglo-Maori Warder and stopped the paper after six months on account of Carleton's criticisms of Governor Grey's policies.[11] Carleton's allegiance from this point was given to the settler group. He became editor of the Southern Cross in 1849 and held the position through the 1850s.

The prospective merits of the candidates were strongly contested in the two newspapers. Neither side was free of invective. The intensity of feeling can be gauged from a series of attacks on Brown, published during the campaign, which became the subject of later legal action.[12] The following are representative:

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11. Burns, Vol.2, pp.227-9.

12. Williamson and Wilson were found guilty of libel, the jury however, awarding Brown only 20/- of the £1000 damages sought. See New Zealander, 10 September 1853.

> "Sale of Horses! Mr Gammon has been favoured with instructions to sell by public auction, at the "Squib Inn", the under-mentioned horses: Malice - This famous steeple-chaser by Mr Tom Paine's Infidelity, out of Egotism: has frequently been known to clear the turnpike gates of Decency, Truth and Fair Play, indeed nothing is too high for him; he has entered for the "Superintendency" steeplechase, or, rather, he has entered himself - a circumstance never recorded of any other horse, but accounted for by the usual development of his organ of self esteem".
>
> (New Zealander, 23 April 1853)

> "...And supposing he did reach it, (the Superintendency) on what book would he be sworn into office? A correspondent of the New Zealander states, 'when the census was taken, Mr Brown did not classify himself under any sect or denomination of Christians'; at least so I understand the letter signed Spectator. If this be the case what oath will bind him?"
>
> (New Zealander, 14 May 1853)

Wynyard won the election giving Governor Grey his only victory in the various provincial Superintendency elections. Those elected to the General Assembly from Auckland included William Brown and Hugh Carleton of the Southern Cross and Thomas Forsaith a regular contributor to and past editor of the New Zealander. John Williamson was elected to the Provincial Council.

Thus, in the Provincial Councils and the General Assembly those elected included a large number of men who had been active in journalism prior to self-government. Many had been involved not because of a desire to be journalists. In the absence of self-government the New Zealand newspapers had been a major aspect of the colonists' political agitation and for many participants journalism

had been a substitute and de facto political involvement. Others, whose orientation had been primarily to journalism, found that in New Zealand their occupation gave them a political prominence.

After the elections the relationship between journalism and politics was to take a new turn. The overwhelming approval won by those who had led the agitation for self-government was not to continue. In their new role as elected politicians the new officials were the participants in the political divisions that soon surfaced in the General Assembly and Provincial Councils. The divisions were also to involve the various newspapers which soon became partisan advocates within the ongoing debates of political life. The connections between individual politicians and individual newspapers that had been forged during the agitation for self-government were now to be used to further individual political careers.

Newspapers and Provincialism

Wakelin has argued that the implementation of the Constitution Act brought consequent changes to the orientation of the New Zealand newspapers. Describing the Crown Colony Government period as a time when the newspapers were "bound together by common opinions, common ties and common interests" he states

> "The division of the Colony into Provinces, and the official positions most of the writers for the press then acquired, put an end to all this, and from that date there were no longer any Colonial newspapers, all public questions, generally speaking, being viewed and discussed from a mere Provincial standpoint."[13]

13. p.92.

The provincial emphasis of self-government in New Zealand ensured, as Wakelin observed, that newspaper advocacy would be from a provincial rather than national perspective, but their partisanship went beyond this. Within each province the newspapers became involved in one or other side of the provincial political conflicts. Once those with newspaper connections gained political office the newspapers acted, and were recognized in such terms, as their partisan advocates.

Auckland

In Auckland the partisan political activity of the newspapers remained unchanged during the 1850s. There were few attempts to start newspapers in that decade and, of those that were attempted, none were to offer a serious challenge to the Southern Cross or New Zealander. The political success of the province's newspaper personnel was notable. Wynyard, the Superintendent was forced to resign the office in January 1855 after the Secretary of State found it incompatible with another he held, that of Acting-Governorship. For the next eight years the Superintendency rotated among the city's newspaper proprietors. Brown won the election in March 1855 but left the country later in the year and was succeeded by his partner, J. Logan Campbell, until he resigned in September 1856, also to leave New Zealand. Williamson, of the New Zealander, then won the election and held office until October 1862.

This journalistic prominence was also a feature at the national level. Williamson became a M.H.R. at the 1855 elections, remaining in

the General Assembly until his death in 1877. Carleton remained in the General Assembly until 1870. J. Logan Campbell, as well as succeeding his partner to the Superintendency, was also elected to succeed Brown in the General Assembly. He was there in 1855, 1856 and 1860. Thomas Forsaith, ex-editor of the New Zealander, was in the General Assembly of 1853-55 and 1858-60, and was the leader of the short-lived second Administration, that of 1854.

The New Zealander and the Southern Cross were integral to the political process in Auckland. Factions gathered around the rival newspapers and political attacks and defences were conducted through the pages of the two newspapers.[14] Political support was not restricted to those, such as proprietors and editors, who had personal connections with the newspapers. All aspects of the political divisions in Auckland were within the newspapers' ambit. Thus Frederick Whitaker, Brown's opponent in the 1855 election for Superintendent, was not personally connected with the New Zealander but John Williamson acted as his campaign manager and the New Zealander as his advocate.

Taranaki

In Taranaki two main political factions were to emerge and they were each to be supported by a newspaper. After the 1853 elections the Taranaki Herald, which during the campaign had not favoured any one of the three Superintendency candidates over the others, gave its

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14. Stone, (1980a). pp. 159, 178.

support to the winner, Charles Brown. At the second Superintendency elections in 1857, however, the support of the Herald was withdrawn from Brown and given to his opponent Cutfield who won the election. Charles Brown made plans to begin an opposition paper and the first issue of the Taranaki News, of which Brown was the principal proprietor, appeared on 14 May 1857. The editor, Richard Pheney, was the ex-editor of the Herald who had resigned in protest at the Herald's policy change prior to the 1856 elections. With the support of his News, Brown ran successfully for Superintendent at the next election, which was in 1861, and held the post to 1865.

The editorial comments of the Herald on the occasion of Pheney's resignation are of interest:

> "It has always been our desire that our paper should be the organ of public opinion: that it has not been so has been to us a matter of unfeigned regret. Finding that the Herald would soon degenerate into literally an official paper, we have resolved to seek other literary assistance to ensure an impartial and honest discussion of public affairs".[15]

The fear that the Herald was becoming "an official paper", a mouthpiece for the Superintendent and his party, is a pertinent observation. My contention is that it is a statement that can be made in general of the New Zealand papers during the 185Øs. They all, within their provinces, were advocates for one or other of the political factions. The Herald's editorial comments are somewhat

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15. Quoted in Scholefield, (1958), p.13Ø.

misleading in that rather than aiming for "an impartial... discussion of public affairs" it is more correct to see that paper as changing allegiance from one provincial faction to another. Both of the Taranaki papers were political advocates. The establishment of the Taranaki News, the second New Plymouth newspaper, is an instance of a pattern that was to occur in all the other provinces that had only one newspaper. In all of them second newspapers were started by political opponents of the politicians supported by the existing newspaper. In each province press advocacy and opposition became an integral and powerful component of the political system.

Wellington

Wellington, like Auckland, came to self-government with two established newspapers, one of which, the Spectator, supported Governor Grey while the Independent was among his most effective critics. Wellington, like Auckland, was divided into two political camps, with the opposing views having been in existence since soon after the formation of the settlement.[16] While the proprietors of the two newspapers were never themselves leading political personalities, their newspapers clearly stood as mouthpieces for the rival groups. The first elections had resulted in an "overwhelming victory"[17] for the Constitutionalists, those who had agitated for self-government. This group was led by Isaac Featherston and the Independent championed Featherston during his long tenure of the superintendency. Prior to self-government the Spectator had been the

16. Herron, (1959), p.26. John Miller.

17. Mulgan, p.161.

voice of the Wellington pro-official group which had supported the Crown Colony Government. After self-government this group formed the Wellington party under the leadership of E.J. Wakefield. The Spectator became their advocate. While Featherston was not to be ousted from the Superintendency, the Wellington party was not without success and, in the 1857 election was to win a majority on the Provincial Council. The deadlock thus created between Featherston and his Executive on the one hand and the Provincial Council on the other was not settled until 1861 when Featherston and his allies were successful in that year's election.[18].

As the political trials became closely contested so did the newspaper advocacy for the opposing camps became more strident. The two newspapers' advocacy was to show progressive disregard for either electoral niceties or the canons of taste. This first became apparant in 1856 when the election of Samuel Skey, an opponent of Featherston, to the Provincial Council in 1856 prompted the Independent to publish the names of all who voted for Skey. The Spectator in spite of branding this practice an attempt "to intimidate voters from exercising their electoral franchise according to their conscience and judgement, by the threat of publicity...", followed suit by publishing, in the form of a letter from E.J. Wakefield, the names of those who had voted for Skey's opponent.[19]

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18. Ibid, pp.172-3.

19. Spectator, 25 October 1856. Ward, pp.166-8.

The debate between the two factions, the Rowdies and the Feather-my-nest party as they each insultingly labelled the other, was bitter and unrelieved. The condemnation of them by a contemporary visitor to New Zealand is not without justification. "The local (Wellington) press, which comprises a couple of newspapers, may be pronounced the worst conducted in the colony. Indeed the press and the acrimony of the people are typical of each other, while both are as bad as anything in a civilised country can be."[20]

Nelson

Nelson, which did not experience party politics at the 1853 elections, fought subsequent elections keenly. The second Superintendency election was conducted on party lines with a coherent opposition being formed against the resident landowners' group. John Perry Robinson was their candidate for Superintendent. Dr David Munro was the landowners' candidate to succeed Stafford but, in spite of Domett, the most able of the past editors of the Examiner, being recalled to the post so as to champion Munroe, Robinson narrowly won the Superintendency.

The second Nelson newspaper, the Colonist, arose in opposition to the Examiner's identification with the views of the larger landowners. It was originally intended to start the paper in time for the 1857 provincial election where the Colonist opposed the policy of land aggregation. The paper missed this deadline but was active in

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20. Puseley, p.317.

political affairs from its inauguration where it was recognized as "the organ of the working men's Superintendent, Mr Robinson and his party."[21]

The Colonist is the first example in the southern settlements of a newspaper begun by settlers who, in the New Zealand Company classification, were emigrants rather than colonists. Robinson, referred to by his supporter Saunders as "a working mechanic and a poor man" had arrived in Nelson in 1842 and had shared in the early years of hardship experienced in that settlement including a period when "for want of more congenial employment (he had) been obliged to work on the roads for the New Zealand Company."[22] Robinson, however, was an ex-committeeman of the Birmingham Mechanics Institute and a man of considerable self education. He opened and ran a school in Nelson, then was for four years "in business in Auckland."[23] On returning to Nelson he commenced farming, became a member of the Provincial Council and was establishing a business as a sawmiller when he was persuaded by William Wilkie to stand as a candidate for Superintendent.

William Wilkie, the co-proprietor of the Colonist, was the man who found most of the money necessary for that enterprise. Described by Saunders as "a hard headed Scotchman (sic)... long known as the most independent and uncompromising Liberal, and the most consistent public economist in Nelson,"[24] he had also been in Nelson since 1842,

21. Broad, pp.122-3.

22. Saunders, Vol.1, p.332.

23. Ibid, p.331.

24. Ibid.

having arrived from New South Wales. He had begun a business as a storekeeper and had been successful. References to Wilkie and Robinson as "mechanics" are references to their social origins rather than their mid 185Øs occupations. Practically all settlers aspired to land ownership. Wilkie and Robinson were following a common pattern of upward social mobility and Robinson's political success plus the commencement of the Colonist are important stages in this mobility.

Wilkie's co-proprietor of the Colonist was William Nation, the printer of the paper. Nation, who had been then printing in Sydney, was induced by Wilkie to move with his plant to Nelson.

The group organized around the Colonist rapidly achieved political dominance in Nelson. Robinson held the office of Superintendent until his death in 1865, increasing his majority at each election. His allies who were elected to the Provincial Council included Emanuel Eban, the first editor, and Alfred Saunders who was a leader writer for the newspaper. Saunders, in 1865, succeeded Robinson as Superintendent.

The Examiner's political influence declined as that of the Colonist grew. This decline was most notable from 186Ø when the runholders, who were established in the Wairau area of Nelson province and whose interests were supported by the Examiner, separated themselves from both Nelson and the Examiner by seceding and starting the province of Marlborough.

That the management of both the Colonist and the Examiner saw themselves in ideological conflict with one another may be gauged from the Colonist's opening statement and the Examiner's reply. While much of the Colonist's rationale for existence rested on Nelson's growth, it also clearly saw itself at odds with the province's existing paper.

> "...and is it not time that an engine so mighty for good or evil as the Press, should no longer be under the entire control of any single firm, or of any single party, but be placed within the reach of all, and be made available for the exposure of every abuse and the promulgation of every salutary truth?
>
> There are few individuals in Nelson, who have not at some time regretted the absence of a publication by which they might oppose the particular tenets that may for the time being be supported by the only newspaper in the province".
>
> (Colonist, 23 October 1857)

The Examiner in a general welcome to its opposition, accepted that the two papers would be at odds.

> "We have to welcome today into the arena of our little provincial conflicts a new champion, in the shape of the first number of the Colonist newspaper.
>
> ...We have nothing to do but congratulate him and the community on the soundness of his view of the duties of an expositor of public opinion, and assure him we cordially reciprocate his intentions, and trust that whatever editorial differences of opinion may arise between us at all times be expressed in a spirit of courtesy and goodwill corresponding to his own".
>
> (Examiner, 24 October 1857)

The call for courtesy and goodwill, which was generally followed in subsequent debates between the two newspapers, reflects the ambivalent position faced by the proprietors of the Examiner. Robinson and his group had won election success even before the Colonist began. The landowners group were experiencing a political decline that led, in 1860, to their secession from Nelson and the formation of the separate province of Marlborough. Elliott and the landowners were increasingly conscious that their own political power was, at best, threatened. Their case was far from one in which confrontation could be successful.

Otago

In Dunedin, the Otago Witness was the only paper in publication when provincialism began. Cutten, the proprietor and editor, gave his support to his father-in-law, William Cargill, the leader of the settlement who became the first Superintendent. As with the other provinces, the paper's political advocacy aroused opposition and when, in 1856, another paper was started the Witness found itself described in less than flattering terms.

> "No publication of the Otago Witness has for a considerable time appeared without being sullied by the grossest misrepresentations the frequency of which proves them to have been made wilfully and deliberately".
>
> (Colonist, 26 December 1856)

The role of the Witness as an ongoing participant in Otago affairs was one followed by its opposition, the Otago Colonist and Invercargill Advertiser. The Colonist was printed and published

by William Lambert but the major backer was James Macandrew for whom the Colonist acted as a political support. William Lambert, an English non-conformist, had worked as a printer on the Chronicle and the Morning Post in London and on the Sydney Morning Herald before coming to New Zealand. Lambert represented the Eastern District in the Otago Provincial Council from 1857 to 1859 and in 1859 he was a member of the Provincial Executive. James Macandrew was an Otago merchant who arrived from Britain in his own schooner in 1851. He had been prominent in the agitation for self-government and had been a frequent contributor to the Witness. Politically he was a major figure being a member of the Otago Provincial Council from 1853 to 1859 and Superintendent of Otago from 1859 to 1861 and 1867 to 1876. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1853 to 1860 and again from 1865 to his death in 1887. He was in Grey's ministry in 1877 to 1878 as Secretary for Lands and Minister of Immigration and Public Works.

The Witness was quick to point out that, while it was perhaps less than impartial, no more could be said of the Colonist.

> "... we did hope, as we have been 'the one-sided press!' there would have been less of the t'other-sided press in our contemporary. Two papers will be of great advantage to the public if they can be supported; but if one is to fail, we doubt much if the public would be better represented by the Colonist than they have been by the Witness".
>
> (Witness, 27 December 1856)

The politics of the two Otago papers were, however, more complicated than a respective backing of two factions, one headed by Cargill, the other by Macandrew. Until late 1854, Cargill and Macandrew were allies. At this time, Cutten began to oppose Macandrew and fell out of favour with both of the dominant Otago politicians.[25] According to Lambert both Cargill and Macandrew had in 1856 requested him to begin a newspaper "as the only one then in existence had opposed itself to the best interests of the Province."[26] Unlike Macandrew, Cargill did not sign an agreement with Lambert, stating "it would appear ungracious in him to sign a document having for its express acknowledged object decided opposition to his daughter's husband."[27] Not until June 1857 were Cutten and Cargill reconciled and in opposition to Macandrew. Only at this point did the Colonist become Macandrew's support vehicle and the Witness Cargill's.

Canterbury

In Canterbury a distinguishing feature of the Lyttelton Times was the strength of FitzGerald's early efforts to remain open to differing opinions. He promised and to his credit maintained the position, that the Lyttelton Times would not be a partisan press while it remained the sole newspaper in the settlement.

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25. McLintock, (1949), pp.360-370. The disagreement was over the Provincial Executive's policy for the appropriation of the revenue for 1855. It was exacerbated both by personal antagonism between Cutten and Macandrew and by the opposition of Cutten, an Englishman and an Anglican, to the Provincial Executive's wish to maintain the Scottish and Presbyterian biased immigration policy.

26. From a supplement to the Otago Colonist printed to defend the newspaper in the form of a letter from the editor. 26 August 1857.

27. Ibid.

> "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".
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 11 January 1851)

FitzGerald was not attempting to develop an identity for the press independent of political divisions in Canterbury. While maintaining a newspaper open to all opinions he saw this as a temporary measure forced by the fact that the Lyttelton Times was the only newspaper in the settlement. He saw his stand as unusual and was to reverse it as soon as possible.

The settlement's second newspaper was the Canterbury Advertiser, a paper launched by Charles J. Rea in time for the first elections. Rae was little known in Canterbury but, later, in Dunedin in the 188Øs, achieved some prominence as a free thinker.[28] The paper had little influence and was unsuccessful, lasting three months before ceasing with only 2Ø of its promised 2ØØ subscriptions being paid.[29]

FitzGerald welcomed the new paper declaring he would now be able to express openly his own convictions.[3Ø] He also took the occasion to signal a policy change for the Lyttelton Times.

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28. Scholefield, (1958), p.217.

29. Ibid, pp.217-8.

3Ø. Lyttelton Times, 24 April 1852.

> "We have received a long letter from Mr Brittan which we will publish, if possible, next week. There being, however, another organ of public opinion in the settlement, we take this opportunity of saying that we no longer consider ourselves bound to place our columns at the disposal of those who may wish to criticise our remarks. We faithfully kept the pledge we gave so long as we stood alone; but now we stand in the position of any journal in England, or elsewhere, and shall adopt the usual role."
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 25 June 1852)

The Mr Brittan referred to is Joseph Brittan, later the proprietor and editor of the third Canterbury Newspaper, the Canterbury Standard, which first appeared on 3 June 1854 and ran for 12 years, to 23 April 1866, when it was purchased and closed by the Press.[31] The differences with Brittan were also to be discussed by FitzGerald in a letter to Henry Selfe, administrator of the Canterbury Association. "We have lately had our first political division here. Brittan has come out a snob after all. He has managed to disgust all classes. The gentlemen by a cocky snobbish manner which is inevitable to men of low birth who have been elevated, and the rest of the community by his having showed strong symptoms of changing his political creed and going over to the Government".[32]

Brittan's low birth was of consequence to FitzGerald, the grandson of a baronet and appears to have coloured his understanding of Brittan's allegiance to the settlers. There is no other evidence to suggest Brittan was a supporter of the Crown Colony Government.

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31. O'Neill, (1963), p.24.

32. FitzGerald to Selfe, 6 August 1852.

Fox lists him, along with FitzGerald, as one of the leaders in the agitation for self-government.[33]

During the agitation Brittan had been a frequent and welcome contributor to the FitzGerald controlled Lyttelton Times. Nor were his subsequent politics substantially at odds with those of FitzGerald. At the 1857 Superintendency election when he was the unsuccessful candidate in opposition to W.S. Moorhouse, Brittan was regarded as a "FitzGerald man."[34] Although unsuccessful in his bid to become Superintendent, Brittan did achieve some political success and the Standard acted as a political vehicle for him. Brittan was in the Provincial Council from 1855-57 and 1861-62. He was the leader of the Executive in 1855 and was Provincial Secretary under Tancred in 1855-57.

With both papers advocating a conservative, pro-runholder position, there was more consensus than conflict between the Standard and the Lyttelton Times for the first two years of the Standard's life. But in 1856 the Lyttelton Times changed hands. Ingram Shrimpton, the paper's original owner, had arrived in Canterbury in 1854 when he began managing the paper. However, after the death of his son in 1856 he sold the control of the paper to Charles Bowen and

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33. (1890), p.11.

34. O'Neill, (1963), p.5.

Crosbie Ward. This partnership continued for three years when Bowen was bought out in 1859 by William Reeves.[35] There were two other minor partners.

Bowen and Ward were Moorehouse associates and supporters and, thus, from 1856 the "cheap land party" held the paper. Political support was transferred to Moorhouse who won the 1857 Superintendency elections and held the post to 1863. Moorhouse, although he is not in the Lyttelton Times list of its editors[36] did edit the paper in 1856-57 relinquishing the post prior to his election,[37] Crosbie Ward then became editor until his death in 1867. Both Bowen and Ward were politically prominent. Ward was the Akaroa member of the Provincial Council from 1855 to 1857. He was MHR for Lyttelton from 1858 to 1866 when he was elected MHR for Avon. He was Postmaster-General and Secretary for Lands from 1861 to 1863.

Bowen was a member of the Provincial Council from 1853 to 1865, Provincial Treasurer in 1854, Speaker of the Provincial Council from 1855 to 1865 and Deputy Superintendent from 1857 to 1860.

The Press, the final Canterbury paper of this period was launched in 1861 as a political journal and as a counter to the Lyttelton Times. The major early personality, as with the Lyttelton Times, was again J.E. FitzGerald who, after sailing to

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35. Scholefield, (1958), p.213.

36. See the Christchurch Times Souvenir Supplement, 29 June 1935.

37. See the letter from Moorhouse in the Press, 31 August 1861.

England in 1857, returned to the colony in 1861. It would appear that FitzGerald was financed into the Press by the Canterbury runholders in order to oppose Superintendent Moorhouse's programme of public expenditure, to keep the conservative voice alive, and to give FitzGerald a political platform. FitzGerald wrote of the inauguration of the paper in the following terms:

> "Sitting after dinner in Ilam about a month ago I said I saw no hope for a better state of public policy here unless there was a new newspaper started which could tell the truth without fear or favour. In five minutes the thing was settled. If I would undertake the management of it it was to be started and £500 was put down on the spot. It was soon found that there was a little press and some types to be bought... The first number appeared nearly three weeks after the conversation referred to".[38]

It is not known how many were at the dinner at Ilam referred to but, by Ilam, FitzGerald means the home of John Charles Watts Russell, then a leading Canterbury pastoralist.

A five member syndicate was formed to publish the Press with J.E. FitzGerald as manager. As well as Russell, the syndicate comprised

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38. O'Neill (1963), p.22.

H.P. Lance,[39] H.R. Tancred,[40] R.J.S. Harman [41] and the Rev. J. Raven.[42] Accepting FitzGerald's account that the Ilam meeting took place prior to the date of the first issue of the Press, it would

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39. Henry Porcher Lance (1830-1886). He and his brother had interests in several Canterbury properties. Lance represented Sefton in the Canterbury Provincial Council, 1862-65, but his main pre-occupations appear to have been horse breeding and racing.

40. Henry John Tancred (1816-1884) was the youngest son of Sir Thomas Tancred, sixth Baronet. He was a candidate for the Superintendency in 1853. From 1853-1857 he was a member of the Provincial Council for Christchurch County, from 1853-1854 he led the Provincial Executive and was again on the Executive from 1855-57 and 1857-1858. From 1858-1861 he was in Stafford's cabinet as an Executive member, as the Secretary for Lands and finally as Postmaster-General. From 1862-1863 he was a member of Domett's cabinet. From 1863-1869 he was MHR for Ashley. From 1864-1874 he was in the Provincial Council, first for Wainui and then for Lincoln. From 1871 until his death in 1884 he was the first Chancellor of the University of New Zealand.

41. Richard James Strachan Harman (1826-1902) started in business in 1851 as a land and estate agent. From 1853 to the end of the 1870s he is recorded as having several thousand acres freehold. From 1857-1860 he was the Provincial Council representative for Heathcote and was a member of the Executive, 1856-1858. In 1859 he led the Executive. From 1860-1862 he was the Provincial Council Representative for Akaroa and in 1871 he was elected Deputy Superintendent.
When considering Harman it is important to also take into account his partner. E.C.J. Stevens. The Press came under their control during the 1860s.
Edward Cephas John Stevens (1837-1915) joined with Harman as a land agent. The two were New Zealand agents for a number of absentee landowners. From 1863-1866 Stevens was a member of the Provincial Executive. From 1866-1870 he was MHR for Selwyn. From 1875-1882 he was MHR for Christchurch City. From 1882-1915 he was a member of the Legislative Council and from 1887-1891 he was a member of Atkinson's cabinet.

42. The Reverend Raven was a major addition to the syndicate. Although a wealthy man and, by his presence in the syndicate, one of the paper's financial backers, his major aid was practical rather than financial. He performed the organisational tasks, such as finding premises, for the Press. Most importantly he persuaded George Watson, owner of the only available press, to sell it to them and work as the paper's printer.

appear that the impetus prompting both the Ilam meeting and the formation of the syndicate was FitzGerald's long letter in the Lyttelton Times of April 20 1861 castigating the policies of Moorhouse and their support by the Lyttelton Times. The Press, then, as with other New Zealand papers of the period, became an active part of its local political arena. It put into words, for readers, the values pertinent to alternative policies. With its backing FitzGerald resumed the political career he had interrupted in 1857.

Alternative Newspapers

The emphasis the New Zealand newspapers placed on partisan political activity remained unchanged during the 1850s. There were attempts in that decade, in Auckland and Wellington, to bring a new focus to journalism, particularly to political journalism, and it is instructive to review these attempts.

The main attempt at innovation in Auckland was the Auckland Examiner which began publication in December 1856. The Examiner's management quarrelled both with newspaper political allegiance and the emphasis on provincialism. Its inaugural issue, challenged the existing newspapers on these issues.

> "A newspaper devoted exclusively to the interests, material and moral, of this colony, has long been called for by every class of Auckland politician. What they demand, and what we aim at establishing is an organ untramelled by party ties, while thoroughly imbued with the sentiment that our Colony is ripe for a radical change in the administration of its affairs".
>
> (Auckland Examiner, 11 December 1856)

The newspaper requirements of Auckland had, however, been read incorrectly and, although the Examiner lasted for four years, it was due more to the perserverance of its proprietor than to any significant public support.[43] The successful new newspapers of this period are those which began, not as independent entities, but as the voice of political opponents to the faction supported by the existing paper.

In Auckland two further attempts to start newspapers were made, both in 1859. They were the Telegraph in September and the Independent in October. They survived five and three months respectively. A full run of the Independent is in existence but no copies of the Telegraph remain. Judging from the welcome extended to the Telegraph by the Examiner[44], the two were allied publications.

The Independent was owned and printed by John Moore. Moore had been a figure in Auckland journalism first in 1841 when he was the printer for the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company. He had thus been the printer for the first five newspapers in Auckland. The Independent was published bi-weekly and, like the Examiner, aimed to be independent of political affiliation. Accused, mainly by the Examiner, of being started to advance Roman Catholicism, this was always denied by the Independent.

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43. Charles Southwell, the proprietor, was no stranger to negative reactons to his journalistic endeavours, having been imprisoned in England for a blasphemy he published there. Southwell died in August 1860. His paper lived for five more months.

44. 1 October 1859, 15 October 1859.

> "The principle that we advocated at our advent has been scrupulously adhered to. Neither party in politics or sect in religion has been endorsed by our advocacy".
>
> (Auckland Independent, 29 December 1859)

The paper came to a sudden close on January 2, 1860. No hint was given to its ending, in fact a statement in the final issue indicates the paper was a living concern.

> "We have been guilty of the presumption of quaking twice a week, for 14 weeks, and yet we still survive the growls of our neighbours who kindly advised us to be quiet, that there was no room for an "Independent". We have made room, and we have no reason to be dissatisfied with our accommodation from the public."
>
> (Auckland Independent, 2 January 1860)

One suspects that the sudden end of the Independent would have much to do with articles published that accused Moore of being the J.J. Moore who had the previous year decamped from Melbourne with some six or seven hundred pounds worth of stolen type.[45]

None of the attempts in Auckland to begin new newspapers were successful. The two that lasted through the decade, the New Zealander and the Southern Cross, were those that had been closely linked with political factions in Auckland and which did not pretend to any political independence.

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45. Auckland Examiner, 28 and 31 December 1859, 4 January 1860. Auckland Independent, 2 January 1860.

In Wellington no competitors challenged the Spectator and Independent from 1845 to 1859. In that year began "a precocious experiment in free distribution based on prospective revenue from advertising."[46] This paper was the New Zealand Advertiser, whose proprietors were Joseph and Edward Bull and Charles and Edward Roe. Joseph Bull, the printer, had arrived from Dublin, where he had practised his trade. Edward Roe, who was editor, was the man who had worked on the Gazette, eventually becoming its printer, and who had been the first printer and a co-proprietor of the Independent. No price was to be charged. It was to be published bi-weekly with a guaranteed circulation of 2000 per week.[47] Presumably 1000 copies of each issue were printed. The advertising rates were 3d per line for the first, and 1d per line for subsequent insertions. The paper promised to be largely an advertising sheet with no intention of tackling the weightier arena inhabited by the Spectator and Independent.

The Advertiser represents the first appearance in New Zealand journalism of the ethos of commerce for its own sake. While others had been hopeful of profit the Bull and Roe brothers are the first to advance it as the raison d'être for a newspaper. However their sincerity can be doubted for their newspaper was soon to lose its revolutionary approach.

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46. Scholefield, (1958), p.29.

47. Not 5000 as stated by Scholefield. 1810.

Within the first month of publication they had begun editorializing.

> "It is not our metier to take part in the politics of this place, we therefore trust that the following observations will be attributed to our regard for the prosperity of Wellington, and not to any desire of imputing blame to the powers that be or those who differ from them.... Can nothing be done to establish a Banking Company for New Zealand, which, shall be entirely independent of Australian speculation?"
>
> (New Zealand Advertiser, 23 April 1859)

After 58 issues they dropped their byline guaranteeing a 2000 circulation and began charging 3d per issue or 20/- per year subscription. The advertising rates remained unchanged. The paper changed to assume the usual format for New Zealand journals of the time. It began as a 4 page, often a 6 page, advertising sheet with a little light reading thrown in on page 3. But this format was so short-lived it is probable the Bull and Roe brothers were using the gratis distribution format as a means of building circulation and gaining wide public attention. Certainly the amount of advertising in the early issues is such as to count against economic arguments for changing format.

The paper rapidly developed a political policy which made it, like the other newspapers, a partisan advocate within Wellington. It concentrated on local affairs and gave its support to the Council, thus working against Superintendent Featherston.

> "The Superintendent and his Executive are responsible for the present distress of the labouring classes - because the Council will not submit to be deprived of their right, as the people's representatives, to enquire into and sanction the expenditure of the public money. This is the true posture of political affairs here, and the real reason of the complaints of the Government party. The Council is acting on behalf of the People. The Superintendent is striving for the aggrandisement of himself and his friends".
>
> (New Zealand Advertiser, 16 November 1859)

The Advertiser, then, came out in clear opposition to the Independent though, operating from the other end of the social scale to the Spectator, it was not generally allied with that paper. The Bull and Roe brothers continued the Advertiser until 1867. It was in financial difficulty when they sold the property and the paper ceased publication on 31 May 1868.

The Provincial Press and Political Advocacy

Partisan political advocacy was a matter the management of the various newspapers considered normal and proper. The practice had developed in New Zealand prior to self-government. The last years, especially, of that period had been a time of intense political agitation, coordinated through the colony's newspapers, in pursuit of self-government. But in the provincial period, this political agitation in pursuit of the common goal of self-government became partisan political advocacy on behalf of particular politicians. Such political advocacy was seldom conducted according to standards of decorum or fair play. Their political conduct was a trait of the New Zealand newspapers which was commented on, usually negatively, by contemporary observers. Puseley's "unfavourable opinion of colonial

periodicals" included the view that "the New Zealand newspapers represent all those petty jealousies and political animosities with which so many of the inhabitants are infected. ... Whatever is said or done by one party, or the leaders of a party, is sure to be disapproved or condemned by another".[48]

Such a pattern of newspaper belligerency was not, however, peculiar to the press. In his well known condemnation, E.G. Wakefield was to indicate that it was a general characteristic of colonial politics. "Colonial party-politics... are remarkable for the factiousness and violence of politicians, the prevalence of demogoguism, the roughness and even brutality of the newspapers, the practice in carrying on public differences of making war to the knife, and always striking at the heart".[49]

While not all would have so negative a view the point to be taken is that the New Zealand newspapers were primarily political advocates. Each population centre had two newspapers which were linked, respectively, with that province's major political groups. Newspaper ownership and journalistic involvement were common among leading politicians and newspapers were publicly recognised, not as impartial observers, but as impassioned participants in the political process.

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48. pp.245-6.

49. (1914), p.185.

While the fact of partisan political advocacy was common for the nineteenth century press, its nature in New Zealand was intensified by the peculiarities of the New Zealand situation. Prior to self-government the conduct of political activity through the colony's newspapers had given political experience to journalists and journalistic experience to would-be politicians. Thus a majority of the major elected officials had close connections with New Zealand newspapers. Their connections varied from actual ownership to a period of intermittent contributions to a newspaper. But in all cases there were personal connections between politicians and newspapers. Press political advocacy was not usually advocacy for a political party - these were as yet generally undeveloped - but personal advocacy for a particular politician. In the majority of cases the pattern was one of advocacy on behalf of the newspaper's proprietor, who was also a prominent politician. In Auckland this applies to both of the newspapers. Brown and then Logan Campbell were successfully supported by the Southern Cross until the routing of their group in 1856.[50] Williamson's period of political supremacy, which followed, was championed by his New Zealander. In Taranaki, the second newspaper, the News, was owned by, and offered support for, Charles Brown. In Canterbury, Brittan's newspaper, the Standard, supported his political ambitions and the Lyttelton Times, which for its first few years had a non-resident proprietor, supported after its sale, the political ambitions of its new proprietors, Ward, Bowen and Reeves. In Otago the two newspapers were also seen as political advocates for their principal proprietors, Cutten and Macandrew.

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50. Stone, (1980a). p. 174.

In those cases in which the newspaper proprietor was not politically prominent the newspapers were still linked into the pattern of partisan political advocacy. In Taranaki the first newspaper, the Herald, changed its favoured Superintendency candidate before the second elections but the fact of political advocacy was continuous. In Wellington the Independent was always the advocate for Featherston. Stokes of the Spectator did have a minor political career but the paper's major advocacy was for E.J. Wakefield and his associates. In Nelson, Elliott had some personal political success but the two newspapers' political advocacy was oriented, respectively, towards the two major political groupings in the province.

Whether or not a newspaper's proprietor was personally involved in political life, the political connections were inherent in the press. Politically partisan journalism was the only journalism in New Zealand. Judging from the lack of success of the few alternative newspapers, the public understanding was such as to consider political partisanship a proper and necessary aspect of journalism. So also did politicians consider press advocacy to be necessary for the public acceptance and electoral success of themselves and their policies. It was possible, as Robinson demonstrated in the 1857 Superintendency elections in Nelson, to win an election without a supporting newspaper. But in practice, as the subsequent foundation of the Nelson Colonist indicates, few cared to fight elections without the backing of a newspaper. The press was considered vital for the extension to the public of a general political orientation or of any particular interpretation of political events. As a consequence newspapers were supported not only by those who were standing at

elections but also by those who stood to benefit from their success. Thus prominent Canterbury pastoralists established the Press not merely to support J.E. FitzGerald but so that their conservative political orientation would receive a public presentation. In the years in which a new political order was being established in New Zealand newspaper backing was considered necessary for any individual's success in a political career. But also it was seen as the sine qua non for the public presentation and consequent electoral success of any interpretation of the political nature and proper direction of New Zealand society.

The predominance of politically partisan journalism in New Zealand was aided by the conditions which prevailed in the colony. Regular and fast communication between settlements and from other countries was not possible until the advent in the 1860's of the telegraph and of regular mail ships. The isolation which had, during the Crown Colony Government period, given newspapers little choice but to be political discussion forums continued and press concentration remained on local politics. The European population also remained small. While the European population had increased five-fold from 1842 to 1858 it still totalled less than 60000.[51] The twelve newspapers in the six major settlements were still operating with a population base insufficient for proprietors to gain a financial return from their newspapers. In the circumstances the newspapers, throughout these years were not operated for financial profit. With

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51. New Zealand Gazette, 27 June 1862. p.229.

no possibility of successfully pursuing financial profits from newspaper publication, they were published for other reasons. It was the motive of political rather than financial gain that lay behind the New Zealand newspapers during these years.

The same motivation was felt by those who were journalists in the 1850's. As will be discussed, there was during this period the first appearance of professional journalism. But, while the manual staff were as before paid for their activity, editorial involvement was still largely restricted to those whose efforts were rewarded politically rather than financially. This applies to those who had been active in journalism prior to self-government and who carried on the tradition of un-remunerated journalistic activity for the political gains to be made both for their allies and personally. Thus, Hugh Carleton, engaged in Auckland journalism since the mid 1840s and, after self-government, a long term member of both the General Assembly and the Auckland Provincial Council was the long term editor of the Southern Cross. Journalistic involvement for political rather than financial gain also became the practice among the new newspapers. Thus, Emanuel Eban, Robinson's ally and himself a member of the Nelson Provincial Council, became editor of the Nelson Colonist.

The general unavailability of economic success for journalistic ventures meant that political considerations had been the dominant force behind the New Zealand press. During the early provincial period newspaper growth in the various provinces had followed and also helped define the local political divisions. It was in the 1860's

that financial success first became a realistic possibility, and thus a new motivation, for newspaper proprietors. I now turn to the newspapers of the 1860's and to the interplay of newspaper proprietors' political and financial concerns.

CHAPTER SIX

THE START OF THE DAILY PRESS IN NEW ZEALAND

In the week in May 1861 when FitzGerald first published the Press, further south, in inland Otago, Gabriel Read was prospecting in the Tuapeka and discovered gold shining "like the stars in Orion on a dark frosty night."[1] The discovery of gold was followed by a population increase and business growth that, among other matters, transformed the press.

My intention in this chapter is to discuss the changes in the press, especially in its political activity, that came in the 1860's with the commercial growth of the New Zealand newspapers. There developed new operating conditions whereby existing owners were obliged to accept an end to their dual positions as prominent politicians and newspaper proprietors. The changing conditions were also seen as new commercial opportunities which led to the entry of a new group of newspaper proprietors whose orientation was primarily one of business entrepreneur rather than the established one of political activist. A new ideology of newspaper political independence did not, however, include political neutrality as concomitant newspaper policy.

Julius Vogel and the Daily Press in Otago

After the Tuapeka gold strike, Otago was rapidly to become the most heavily populated of the New Zealand provinces. The possibility of a commercially profitable newspaper had suddenly appeared in Otago and was to be quickly exploited. New Zealand's first daily, the

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1. Gabriel Read's Narrative, p.127-8. Quoted in McLintock, (1949), p.451.

Otago Daily Times, soon began publication. The paper started, and continued, as an allied publication of the Witness, one of Otago's two existing weekly newspapers.

The major impetus for the Otago Daily Times was Julius Vogel.[2] Vogel, a 26 year old journalist resident in Victoria when Gabriel Read made his gold strike in May 1861, was also a gold assayer. He must have realized there were opportunities awaiting in Otago and rushed to the scene for he arrived there in the spring of 1861. He immediately found employment on the staff of the Colonist, James Macandrew's newspaper. His stay there, however, was to be measured in weeks for he was to find with Cutten of the Witness not just employment but a business partner. The start of their partnership is sketched by Gillon:

> "Mr Cutten, the proprietor and editor of the Witness, although a brilliant and witty writer, had a constitutional distaste for the work, and between his official duties, his duties in the Council, and his editing, his hands were more than full. It was soon noticed that he was becoming intimate with Mr Vogel, and one day I learned that

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2. Julius Vogel (1835-99) had newspaper interests in three New Zealand cities. In Dunedin he was associated with the Witness and Otago Daily Times (1861-67) and the New Zealand Sun (1868), in Auckland the Southern Cross and Weekly News (1869-76) and in Wellington, the New Zealand Times (1874-). He was on the Otago Provincial Council from 1863-1870 being the head of the Government there, 1867-69. His national political career also began in 1863 when he was first elected MHR. He remained MHR until he went to London in 1877 as Agent General. He was MHR again, 1884-89. He served a term as Premier and for much of his career controlled the posts of Colonial Treasurer, Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Customs.

> Mr Vogel had joined Mr Cutten in partnership and that there were going to be some changes in the paper...soon it became known that the Otago Daily Times was to appear, with Messrs Cutten and Vogel as proprietors, Mr Vogel as editor, and Mr B.L. Farjeon as manager. Most people thought the venture a mad one, and predicted an early collapse; but Mr Vogel was full of enterprise and energy, and laughed at these dismal prognostications. The prospectus was issued and preparations pushed vigorously forward".[3]

15 November 1861 saw the start of New Zealand's first daily. The Otago Daily Times was the first newspaper to indicate the circulation possible in the 1860s. It was also the first to use the industrial age printing technology. When the paper was started the printing press used for the Witness was replaced by a hand-worked cylinder printing machine brought over from Melbourne.[4] At this point the circulation of the Otago Daily Times was 2750.[5] This was an enormous increase on previous rates; the Witness in late 1855, for example, being recorded as having 210 subscriptions.[6] A steam driven two-cylinder machine was imported from Britain and was in service in August 1862.[7] At the time of introduction of this technology the paper's circulation topped 7000.[8] While the Otago Daily Times remained during this period the paper with the highest circulation, this type of growth did become a general feature of the press.

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3. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.12.
4. Ibid, p.17.
5. Ibid, p.13.
6. Otago Witness, 22 December 1855.
7. Scholefield, (1958), p.173.
8. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.16.

Vogel's entry into New Zealand journalism and the commencement of the Otago Daily Times represents the turning point in a process of commercialization for the New Zealand press. A desire for commercial profit had long been present among the country's newspaper proprietors. "If I cannot get on to a sheep station, I should like to take the newspaper or a piece of property and work it", FitzGerald had earlier written, in regard to the Lyttelton Times, to his friend and backer, Selfe.[9] But not until the advent of the Otago Daily Times was commercial profit a realistic expectation for newspaper concerns. The Otago Daily Times was immediately a profitable newspaper. It began with a price of 3d but doubled that in August 1862, the same time as the new steam driven printing machinery enabled them to double the size of the paper.[10] The return they received enabled Cutten and Vogel to meet the management demands of a daily paper. These were quite different to those of a more leisurely weekly. The staff engaged in the manual work of newspaper production had to be increased and their wages had to be high, double that of their Melbourne confreres, so as to keep them away from the gold diggings.[11] B.L. Farjeon was employed as business manager and Daniel Campbell, the printer of the Witness, managed the mechanical side of the enterprise.[12] A salaried reporting and editorial staff had to be found. No longer were the efforts of an editor/proprietor sufficient.

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9. FitzGerald to Selfe, 18 February 1852. Quoted in O'Neill, (1963), p.4.

10. Otago Daily Times, (1924), pp.16-17.

11. Ibid, p.16. On one occasion though, all but one of the composing staff had "fled to the fields."

12. Paul, p.105.

The original literary staff of the Otago Daily Times was Vogel, E.T. Gillon, and W.H. Harrison.[13] Gillon and Harrison were both to have distinguished careers in New Zealand journalism.[14] This staff was soon increased by a sub-editor and another reporter. Vogel was himself editor of both the Witness and the Otago Daily Times and also functioned as the entrepreneur of the new commercial enterprise.

Vogel, in his opening editorial, pointed to a new journalistic path for his paper.

> "From this day we aspire to be the historical mirror of all that occurs in Otago - of all that in anyway affects its history....
>
> The Times is designed to supply the want now generally felt of a daily journal, containing an account of all passing news of interest, and full commercial intelligence. We do not desire to reflect on or come into collision with the two weekly papers already existing. Our sphere and theirs will be widely different".
>
> (Otago Daily Times, 15 November 1861)

The existing weeklies, however, were greatly affected by the advent of the daily press. The Witness, also jointly owned by Vogel and Cutten, rapidly became the minor and less influential of the allied publications. The Witness remained as the partnership's

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13. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.13.

14. Gillon's major appointments were, in 1878 editor of the New Zealander, in 1880 inaugural manager of the United Press Association and in 1884 editor of the Evening Post. Harrison was editor of both the Wellington Independent and the Grey River Argus.

weekly publication and gradually became a weekly digest containing both original material as well as reprints from issues of the Otago Daily Times of the previous week. It became oriented not towards Dunedin city readers but towards country subscribers who were unable to receive newspapers daily. This combination of daily and weekly was to be the normal organisational structure for the major newspapers until twentieth century transport increased the reach of the dailies, making the weeklies obsolete.

The other publication, the Colonist, was at least equally affected by the Otago Daily Times. Once the Otago Daily Times was established Macandrew and Lambert, the Colonist proprietors, attempted to keep pace with their rival. The frequency of the Colonist was increased to daily publication in July 1862. At the start of the next year Macandrew and Lambert, reorganized their holdings by beginning the Daily Telegraph, which incorporated the Colonist, and by starting the Weekly Colonist as the weekly associate of the Telegraph. As with the Witness and the Otago Daily Times, the Weekly Colonist had a lesser status than the Daily Telegraph. Dunedin was thus the first city both to have a daily paper and to have opposing dailies.

Vogel held that the Otago Daily Times was to be "the historical mirror of all that occurs in Otago." This notion was not specified any more clearly but can be read as a desire not only to report the events of the province but to do so in a neutral manner. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the stated desire not to "come into collision with the two weekly papers already existing", both of which

were recognized as partisan advocates within the community. Even if such was Vogel's intention it does not describe his subsequent actions. Vogel's intention to report "all that in anyway affects (Otago's) history" did not exclude his making that history. He brought to Otago journalism a sense of growth and destiny that both could and should be monitored daily. The more leisurely pace of the weeklies was no longer sufficient. But he did not propose or implement any change to the established press policy of partisan advocacy. Vogel edited both the Otago Daily Times and the Witness. The political policy of the two publications was naturally identical and, importantly, the partisan advocacy was present in both publications.

Vogel, as was the standard practice, used his papers to found and support a personal political career. He likely had political as well as journalistic ambitions from his arrival in Otago. His years in Victoria had combined the two. Certainly his New Zealand political career began quickly. The Otago Provincial Council in December 1862 passed the Otago Representation Ordinance which divided the province into eighteen electoral districts and increased the number of members from twenty-one to thirty-five.[15] Vogel was one of the aspirants brought forward by the wider representation. He was elected the member for Waikouaiti in June 1863. In September of the same year he was elected, if only fortuitously, to the General Assembly. The manner of his election indicates how difficult it was to attract able

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15. McLintock, (1949), p.488.

candidates for general elections and also offers a reason new arrivals, such as Vogel, could so rapidly achieve political prominence. It was during the performance of his journalistic duties that Vogel took the opportunity to join the, then less than sought after, House of Representatives.

> "In his role of journalist, Vogel was present on the spot where the nomination was to take place, but on arriving, he found that a people intent on the search for gold to the exclusion of all else, had declined to send a single representative to attend the ceremony. There was no candidate, no proposer, no public - only himself and the returning officer. Seeing his opportunity, Vogel, at once went out and got two men to propose and second him. When he returned with them two or three more people had arrived on the scene. Their motive appears to have been curiosity rather than deep political conviction, for they stood by, passively assenting, while the newly-found candidate was being proposed, seconded, and declared elected." [16]

The Otago Daily Times became, and was seen to be, as much a partisan press as any of its predecessors. In this regard the opening comments of its rival, the Daily Telegraph, even allowing for inaugural hyperbole, are instructive. The Daily Telegraph called the Otago Daily Times:

> "...the thick-and-thin advocate of the land monopolist and speculator, whose schemes are death to the working classes. ...The welfare of the Province is not safe in his (ODT editor's) keeping. It is absolutely imperative to the progress of society that there should be a second daily paper, whose aim and object shall be not

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16. Burdon, p.23.

> only to encourage and circulate truth, but to dispell error - not only to counsel wisely, but to keep in check and destroy the evil tendency of the Daily Times".
>
> (Daily Telegraph, 3 January 1863)

The Daily Press and the Political Role of the Press in Otago

Later in the 1860's the demands of daily journalism were to modify the nature of the press's political participation. But, at least initially, the newspaper proprietors did not see the daily press as demanding any major change to the political advocacy performed by the earlier newspapers. The daily press took over and continued the roles of political supporter and mouthpiece for leading politicians. Change, however, was to come and was to take place despite the wishes of the existing proprietors.

The financial and managerial needs of the daily newspapers were to conflict with the desire of newspaper proprietors for political advocacy and support. This showed first in Dunedin with the collapse of Macandrew's and Lambert's papers. The early 1860's, the years in which Macandrew and Lambert began the Daily Telegraph and the Weekly Colonist, was also a period when Lambert's short political career had just ended and Macandrew's was in tatters. Lambert's political career consisted of only one session, 1857-1859, on the Otago Provincial Council with November 1859 to January 1860 being spent on the Provincial Executive Council. He had originally entered the Council to oppose Cutten and, after defeat in 1859, did not repeat the experience. More importantly Macandrew had been dismissed from the Superintendency in March 1861 and did not regain the post for six

years. He had also left the House of Representatives with the dissolution of the Second Parliament in November 1860 and was not re-elected until July 1865. This was his only absence from the House from 1853 to his death in 1887.

With their newspapers beginning during Macandrew's period of political obscurity, Macandrew and Lambert experienced considerable difficulty in increasing circulation rates for the Daily Telegraph and Weekly Colonist. Soon both papers raised their prices and this exacerbated their circulation difficulties. The Weekly Colonist raised its price to 6d a copy while the Daily Telegraph, which started at 1 1/2d, doubled that to 3d the same as the Otago Daily Times, which had come down from 6d when the Daily Telegraph began. Eventually both the Daily Telegraph and Weekly Colonist could not be continued and, in April 1864, were purchased by their rival and closed down.

Lambert and Macandrew kept a daily paper going for almost two years but were not able to establish it successfully. It is noteworthy that the unsuccessful attempt coincided with Macandrew's period of political misfortune. His political unpopularity contributed to their papers' lack of success but, most importantly, it was now becoming apparent that the financial demands of the press were too great to allow any single politician to continue an uneconomic paper so as to maintain that paper's political support. This was the case in the 1850s and Macandrew had himself been one of the practitioners of the art. A wealthy proprietor/politician could maintain an uneconomic weekly newspaper with a circulation in the

hundreds. Such uneconomic newspapers could be supported by profitable allied enterprises, such as a printing establishment. But the daily press required a larger and a paid staff and a more elaborate and expensive technology. It also began in Otago in a time of rising costs generally. With the appearance of a daily press the level of finance needed to maintain a newspaper was such that the continuation of an unprofitable newspaper was generally well beyond the means of any single individual. The situation was to be exacerbated in the following years as the sale price of copies of daily newspapers was lowered. Additionally this also put a greater reliance on advertising, the continuation of which was itself dependent on circulation levels remaining high.

Business and political considerations were also to clash on the Otago Daily Times where economic demands were generated that precluded Vogel, or anyone else, from using the paper in a manner that ran counter to them. To follow this it is necessary to outline first the changes in the early ownership structure of the Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers. Cutten was the first to go. He appears to have disliked the business,[17] and took, as an opportune time to leave, a £500 damages verdict awarded against the paper in an 1864 libel case brought by the N.Z. Banking Corporation. The paper then came under the

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17. Mr Cutten was of an easy-going disposition, and constitutionally disinclined to shoulder the worries and anxieties of daily journalism. It did not require a great deal of persuasion, therefore, to induce him to part with his share in the paper". Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.18.

control of J. Vogel and Co., Vogel taking B.L. Farjeon,[18] the paper's business manager, into the partnership. As with nearly all the New Zealand papers, the early records of the Otago Daily Times have been destroyed but it is apparent that the need for investment capital to finance his expanding business forced Vogel to include others as controllers of the enterprise. "The firm of Vogel and Co., however, found themselves scarcely strong enough financially to carry on an ever-extending business, and early in 1866 they transferred the property to Mr John Bathgate (afterwards Judge Bathgate), Mr F.C. Simmons (Rector of the Otago Boys' High School), and Mr James Rattray (merchant), as agents for a company which was about to be formed".[19] The company, formed under the provisions of the 1860 Companies Act, was a limited liability company entitled the Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper Co. Ltd. Vogel remained as a director and editor. The expansion of the Otago Daily Times was financed by the issue of £6000 worth of debentures at 10% interest.[20] Presumably Bathgate, Simons and Rattray were major debenture holders or agents for such holders.

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18. Farjeon was not to remain long in journalism. Receiving kindly criticism of his first novel from no less a person than Charles Dickens, he severed his business connections and moved, in 1867, to England to pursue a literary career.

19. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.18.

20. This is surmised from Vogel's 1868 offer to lease the company for £1000 per year. The offer included the following sentences. "By accepting this offer the company will be in a position to pay off a considerable portion of the debentures, thus leaving the £1000 rent, less interest on the remaining debenture, to be divided among the shareholders. Suppose that £3500 of the debentures are paid off, the remaining £2500 having many years to run, would only entail a charge of £250 a year, leaving £750 for division among the shareholders", Ibid, p.19.

In 1868 matters came to a crisis. The rapid Otago growth of the early 1860s, which had provided the Otago Daily Times prosperity, was at an end. The goldrush had moved to the West Coast and 1867-68 were years of commercial depression in Dunedin. The depression was keenly felt by the paper's management.

In March 1868 the company had three directors - Vogel, Rattray and Mr W.D. Murison.[21] Vogel's co-directors, faced with the need at least to gain sufficient return from the newspaper to pay the interest on the debentures, argued that Vogel's editorship was exacerbating the paper's financial difficulties and, in April, moved to fire him.[22] It can be questioned whether financial reasoning was solely responsible for the co-directors' antagonism to Vogel. It is the only reason offered by the Otago Daily Times' own review.[23] McLintock also concurs with the commercial reasoning.[24] However one can reasonably suspect there were additional reasons. Vogel's major political platform then was a championing of the separation of the North and Middle (now South) Islands, and the weight of the Otago Daily Times was thrown behind this. In 1868 the high point of the support for

21. William Dick Murison (1837-1877) became the third editor of the paper in 1871. He edited the paper until George Fenwick gained control of the Company in 1877. Murison, a runholder, was a member of the Otago Provincial Council (1863-65) and MHR for Waikouaiti (1866-68).

22. "Mr Vogel's editorial advocacy of the political beliefs personally entertained by him, tended to increase the financial embarrassments of the Otago Daily Times, and finally compelled a severance which at the time was regarded as mutually regrettable". Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.20.

23. Ibid.

24. (1949), p.578.

separation was passed.[25] The telegraph, by this time, had placed the two islands in constant communication thus removing some of the logic of isolation from the separation argument. Also, as Herron has indicated, attitudes within provinces became more centralised as a province's financial status worsened.[26] It is not unreasonable during a time of depression in Otago to expect a growing opposition to Vogel's separation proposals. Both Murison, one of the co-directors, and Bathgate, in 1868 the company secretary, were political representatives. It is possible that political differences with his co-directors at least added to Vogel's problems. Vogel attempted to counter his co-directors by offering to lease the property of the Company. At a July general meeting this move was soundly defeated by the shareholders in a 96 to nil vote and Vogel was ousted from the paper he had founded. Vogel then started, on 16 November 1868, another morning daily, the New Zealand Sun, in opposition to the Otago Daily Times. This paper, however, folded within a few months[27] and Vogel's day-to-day connections with Otago journalism ceased.

His need for additional capital for business expansion had led Vogel to include those who brought such capital, or at least their representatives, as directors of the Otago Daily Times. While the additional capital did allow the expansion of the business, the addition of further directors made vulnerable Vogel's domination of the Otago Daily Times and eventually cost him his newspaper.

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25. Morrell, Chapters 7 & 8.

26. (1959).

27. The latest copy remaining is dated 12 March 1869.

Additional directors ensured control of Vogel both as a businessman and as an editor. The immediate reason for Vogel's ousting was the unpopularity, as perceived by his co-directors, of his political advocacy but it was the financial needs of his daily newspaper which had led him, in the first place, to accept co-directors.

In Otago both Vogel and Macandrew were politicians who owned and operated newspapers which they used in the service of their respective political ideas and careers. But they also saw their newspapers as more than their political servants. For both of them their newspapers were business enterprises which, in the burgeoning early 186Ø's, they viewed as potentially profitable. In both cases, however, there was to be conflict between their commercial and political aspirations. With the high running costs associated with daily newspapers it was no longer possible for out of favour politicians to continue their unpopular newspapers for the sake of their newspapers' political advocacy. Macandrew lost his Daily Telegraph when, during his period of political disfavour, the paper was unable to attract a circulation high enough to cover expenses. Vogel faced another problem but one which, while it did not mean the end of the Otago Daily Times, did also lead to his loss of the newspaper. The sound commercial reasoning leading to the reorganization of the Otago Daily Times as a limited liability company made problematic Vogel's personal control of the newspaper. When Vogel's political advocacy was perceived as in conflict with the commercial strength of the company, the commercial needs were regarded by the other directors and shareholders as the more important and Vogel was removed.

Commercial Growth and the Political Role of the Canterbury Press

In Canterbury the commercial possibilities of the press in the 1860's were soon apparent.

During its first year FitzGerald became, rather mysteriously, sole proprietor of the Press. The original partnership was dissolved and at the end of June 1862, the paper was handed over to him. This should not be seen as a non-profitable and troublesome concern being gladly given away, as was the case, for example, when Cutten acquired the Witness in Dunedin in 1853. The possibility of a profitable business was early apparent. In February 1862, a carefully drawn deed of association of a company to be known as "The Proprietors of The Press" was prepared. It provided for capital of £2100 in 14 shares of £150 each and named ten Canterbury settlers as Proprietors, although two were subsequently deleted.[28] The five syndicate members[29] were all included and, as with the original syndicate, FitzGerald was again not mentioned. However, the deed was never executed and instead the paper passed to FitzGerald. He became the sole proprietor of the Press. The only surviving reference to the transaction is in a letter from FitzGerald.

> "...(the paper) is the only thing I see out of which to make a living. I cannot speak in sufficient terms of the proprietors whose liberality has enabled me to take it up. I intend to make it the best paper in the Southern Hemisphere."[30]

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28. O'Neill, (1963), pp.29-31.

29. pp.155-156, above.

30. FitzGerald to Selfe. Quoted in O'Neill, (1963), p.39.

Through the 1860's, due to FitzGerald's efforts and his increasing level of borrowed capital, the Press became a more and more substantial newspaper organisation. In 1862 he began the Commercial Advertiser, a weekly eight page publication which sold for 3d. The Press had been from the start a six page paper selling for 6d. The Commercial Advertiser consisted of advertising only. It ran for 21 issues which would have taken it to February 1863. It may have received insufficient support but also FitzGerald may have closed it so as to reserve advertising the Press for, on St. Patricks Day 1863, he began issuing the Press daily. The paper now had four pages and sold for 3d. At this stage it had a weekly circulation of 5000.[31]

Then a bi-weekly, the Lyttelton Times, although being gradually overtaken by its rival, declined to take the risk and meet the challenge.

> "The Times has no present intention of coming out daily. In the opinion of the Proprietors, the time has not arrived for taking such an extreme step. Neither the amount nor character of the population warrant them in thinking that the Province can support a daily paper. From close observation and experience they are satisfied that the public are fully supplied with the means of advertising, and that any further extension of those means would be unnecessary. They think that the foreign mail services are not sufficiently frequent to afford news for a daily journal, and if they were, that the inland postal communication would not enable them to distribute it. For these and other reasons they are not prepared to increase the number of their issues. To be ready for emergencies they have prepared the plant and premises requisite for a daily paper. Should a payable gold-field be discovered in the Province they are ready to take the field at once. If no

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31. O'Neill, (1963), p.274.

> such sudden stimulus should arise, it will require considerable increase in population to induce them to enter upon such an enterprise".
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 20 March 1863)

The Lyttelton Times undoubtedly had a correct understanding of the contemporary commercial situation in the province. It was, however, a short-sighted view. FitzGerald was, on more than this occasion, able to score unchallenged against the Lyttelton Times. He took the Press to equality with its rival and, in the long term it was the Press that survived.

FitzGerald's innovativeness was further shown on 5 September 1863, when a lithographed map of the Waikato was issued as a supplement to illustrate reports of the land wars. With the exception of Wellington's single issue Victoria Times in 1841, this was New Zealand's first news illustration.

On February 5, 1864, FitzGerald attempted the introduction of a daily evening paper. Theatre was a 1d sheet which contained the night's play-bill at the Princess Theatre as well as advertisements and any important news that had come in since the morning edition of the Press. It was discontinued within the month in favour of another daily, the Evening Post. The evening daily was considered of lesser importance than its morning stablemate.

> "It is with great pleasure that we place before the public our first issue of this little paper. We do not pretend any great things, but shall endeavour to give every evening the local news of the day, telegraph of shipping arrived in port,

> and such commercial intelligence as may be of importance. Politics we shall entirely leave in the hands of our more important contemporaries as more suitable to them. We trust to be deserving of that support from the public of Christchurch which our small enterprise shall require".
>
> (Evening Post, 27 February 1864)[32]

A year later, on 18 February 1865, FitzGerald started a further publication, the Weekly Press, a 16 page collection of material which, in the main, had first appeared in the parent daily. It sold for 6d and was a success, especially in the back-country areas, where, due to the infrequent mail deliveries, it competed well against the Lyttelton Times' three issues per week.

By this stage the combined circulations of FitzGerald's papers were close to that of his rival. The competition between the two concerns become even more intense in July 1865 with new moves being made by both sides. On 1 July 1865, the Lyttelton Times followed FitzGerald's lead and brought out its weekly, the Canterbury Times. Later in the same month FitzGerald introduced the Monthly Summary, an extract from the previous four weeks issues of the Press, of its leading articles, news stories, political reports and correspondence. The Monthly Summary sold for 1/- and was published the day before the scheduled departures of the mail ships for England. Copies of the

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32. Some doubt shrouds the existence of this paper. Scholefield, (1958), who is unsure whether the paper was the Evening Post or Evening Mail, holds it "was heralded in 1864 but did not materialise" (p.22). O'Neill, (1963) p.45, offers the above quote but fails to state where the paper can be sighted.

Lyttelton Times had been sent regularly to England since 1851. With one effort FitzGerald took his English circulation above that of the Lyttelton Times.[33]

In the same month, however, the Lyttelton Times had also begun daily publication, thus finally removing FitzGerald's advantage. To counter this, he, in the following month, increased the sheet size of the Press, making the two Christchurch morning dailies equal in format.

The variety of publications begun by FitzGerald from 1862 to 1865 were not political advocates but are instances of a new sense of commercialism. FitzGerald had continued to operate the Press as a political newspaper in support of his own political ideas and career. But with the other publications he was trying out new saleable commodities and was researching and aiming to meet a new market. He was successful in building a substantial business enterprise but the very success was eventually to cost him his ownership of the enterprise. To follow this it is necessary to outline his relationship with the firm of Harman and Stevens, a partnership which specialised in managing the affairs of absentee landowners. As individuals Harman and FitzGerald had been among the opposition to Moorhouse, and Harman was a member of the original syndicate which formed the Press. FitzGerald's business activity meant an increased staff at both the manual and editorial levels as well as an increase in printing and ancillary machinery plus larger buildings in which to

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33. O'Neill, (1963), p.59.

house the enterprise. Such a newspaper concern required considerable capital, both for expansion and for running expenses. FitzGerald stated it as follows:

> "I have paid my way, including wages now never less that £100 every Monday morning. I have bought large quantities of plant, have built largely, and have now £4000 of debts on the books.[34]

FitzGerald's debts were in the main to Harman and Stevens to whom, in October 1863, FitzGerald had given the power of attorney to manage the business.[35] This authority was an acknowledgement, initially, of FitzGerald's practical rather than financial indebtedness to Harman and Stevens. FitzGerald, who had resigned from the House of Representatives in 1857, was reelected to it in June 1862. His political involvement, especially his absences from Canterbury, often precluded him from having day to day control of the Press, and Stevens had begun to act for him as the business manager of the enterprise. The practical demands of political position and of newspaper proprietorship were in conflict for FitzGerald in the 1860's in a way that had not occurred in the 1850's. In the 1860's the business concerns of the increasingly commercial press required a day to day administration and control that had not been needed a decade earlier. It became progressively more difficult for the one individual effectively to be both an elected political

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34. FitzGerald to Selfe, 22 May 1864. Quoted in Ibid, p.57.

35. Ibid, p.75.

representative and a newspaper controller. An increased division of labour was needed and Harman and Stevens's control of the Press began as agents for an owner absent because of political duties.

FitzGerald, after giving the power of attorney to Harman and Stevens, began borrowing heavily from them so as to finance the expansion of his newspaper concerns. A year later, in October 1864, he is recorded as in debt to them for £3987.[36] Late in 1866 the debt had increased to £8836 and it was at this stage that Harman and Stevens began to oust FitzGerald from the business.[37] When, in March 1867, FitzGerald was appointed Comptroller-General of the Colony and moved to Wellington, his home until his death, the Press was under the total control of its two principal creditors.

The end for FitzGerald probably came in 1865 when the Lyttelton Times had finally removed his advantage by itself coming out daily. It was not a year of business growth in Canterbury and, rather than holding still or beginning to repay his debt, FitzGerald continued the attack and, increasing his debt, purchased new plant so as to equal the format of the older paper. FitzGerald, however, displayed considerable business acumen in developing the paper and the money he put into it was always wisely spent. Although at the cost of his personal control of the Press, he did put it on a sure footing at the level of scale necessary to take advantage of the population increase of the 1860s and 1870s. It was due to his initial daring and

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36. Ibid, p.77.

37. Ibid, pp.81-83.

skill that the Press became a viable concern alongside its established rival and Christchurch was for so long able to enjoy that rarity in New Zealand cities: competing morning dailies.

As a final point in regard to FitzGerald's removal from the Press, one can only agree with O'Neill's conclusion that the firm of Harman and Stevens, while interested in keeping the Press profitable, did not have FitzGerald's own interests at heart.

> "... it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Harman and Stevens viewed with equanimity, even if they did not actively hasten the train of events that lead to their taking over the Press. Harman's interest in the proprietorship had been made clear many years earlier; and it is certainly improbable that he and his partner, who were among the shrewdest financial brains in Christchurch in their day, would have allowed the Press to run away with so much of their capital if they had not contemplated the possibility - indeed almost the certainty - of taking over the business themselves."[38]

Sometime in the late 1860's the business was formed into a company and the paper's ownership widened. O'Neill, speaking of the 1870 shareholders states, "Little remains .... to represent the formerly dominant interest of the "Church Party", the landed gentry, the settlement leaders. It is mainly a group of business-men, perhaps more interested in steady dividends than in literary prestige or even political influence."[39] This change was exemplified during the 1870's by the dominance of Charles Alexander Pritchard in The Press Company.

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38. Ibid, p.86.

39. Ibid, p.92.

Pritchard, resident in Dunedin since 1863, had conducted a timber and shipping business until a combination of competition from Tasmanian timber exports, the increasing age and declining utility of his sailing ships, and his insufficient capital to purchase steamers, forced him to look for a new business. He began buying shares in The Press Company in 1871. It is difficult to determine when he took overall control of the company. In 1879 when the total capital was £30,000 he had shares with a face value of £16,800.[40] But he was managing director from 1872.

The combination of direct political involvement and journalistic endeavour ceased for FitzGerald, as it had for Vogel, when the need for additional capital made vulnerable his control of his papers. In Vogel's case loss of control had come with incorporation, while for FitzGerald his personal indebtedness had given Harman and Stevens control of the Press. In both cases the investment needs of an increasingly commercial newspaper concern had led to changed circumstances and the removal of proprietors who were also political representatives from the newspapers that had acted as their political advocates. While it was in no sense a removal of political advocacy from New Zealand newspapers, both cases are instances of a change to the previously majority pattern, that of newspaper advocacy on behalf of the newspaper's proprietor who was also a prominent politician.

Even when the possibility of takeover was not present, the growing economic needs of the New Zealand press in the 1860's was to

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40. Ibid, p.95.

put pressure on those who combined newspaper ownership with a political career. This is most noticeable in the decisions made by William Reeves of the Lyttelton Times in the years from 1867. The Lyttelton Times had had a political and business division of labour apportioned between Reeves and Crosbie Ward, the two major owners, but in 1867 Ward died at the age of 35 whereupon Reeves contested and won his deceased partner's seat. Reeves, however, was to resign the seat in the following year. Newspaper management was not the part-time occupation of previous decades and, with his partner dead, Reeves found himself forced to devote full attention to his business. The specific reason for his return as full-time business manager of the paper was an act of retrenchment on Harman and Stevens's part. They controlled Reeves's rival, the Press. Faced with a continuing depression they, from April 1868, ceased daily publication and the Press became a tri-weekly. Reeves seized the opportunity to gain overall control of the Canterbury newspaper field and moved to bring out another daily paper. Accordingly he resigned his seat in Parliament on 2 May 1868 and on 14 May 1868 the Lyttelton Times brought out an evening daily, the Star, which is now, along with the Press, one of the two surviving Christchurch papers.

Reeves intended his sacrifice of a political career to be temporary and he stood for election in 1871 becoming M.H.R. for Selwyn until Parliament's dissolution in December 1875. Higher office was possible for him as Vogel twice offered him a portfolio. On both occasions, however, Reeves decided his newspaper commitments prevented him from accepting. "Somewhat later he was offered the Chairmanship of Committees in the House of Representatives, but refused that also,

as he had decided to devote his life to the direction of his newspaper".[41]

Reeves political sacrifice did pay dividends for his business as he gained the initiative in his competition with the Press. His major success was the establishment of his evening paper, the Star. He was unsuccessful in what would have been another aim - that of killing off his rival while it was in a weakened state. Harman and Stevens's decision to revert to tri-weekly publication had been a mistake. Sales and revenue continued to decline. In December 1868, under FitzGerald's persuasion, (he still held 80 shares of £ 25 each)[42] they returned to daily publication and also lowered the price to 1d.[43] This saved the paper but the eight months of tri-weekly publication had given the Star the time necessary to build up a circulation. Not until six years later, in 1874, did The Press Company retaliate against the Star by sponsoring another evening daily, the Globe. At this point the two newspaper concerns returned to parity and the situation was to remain largely unchanged for sixty years, until the great newspaper war of the 1930's.

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41. Christchurch Times Souvenir Supplement, 29 June 1935.

42. Harman and Stevens reformed the ownership structure of the Press on 1 December 1868 as The Press Company Ltd. It had capital of £4000 in £ 25 shares. FitzGerald was allotted half the shares but they were secured to Harman and Stevens.

43. The Press was not, as O'Neill states, New Zealand's first penny daily. Blundell's Evening Post began as a penny daily on 8 February 1865. The Nelson Evening Mail also preceded the Press. It did so by two years and ten months.

Newspaper Proprietors as Entrepreneurs

The commercial potential of newspapers became clear in the 1860's. It led, not only to the replacement or to changes in the behaviour of the existing proprietors but became the impetus for the launching of a number of new newspapers by new proprietors. These new proprietors were differentiated from the old by their lack of concern with personal political involvement and their concentration on managing their new newspapers as sound and profitable businesses. Both the Cook Strait settlements were to host newspapers of this type and, in both cases, the newspapers were to become established and successful.

In Nelson the new paper, the Evening Mail, was begun on 5 March 1866 by Robert Lucas, a Somerset printer, who had arrived in the city in 1859 or 1860 and started a printing establishment. After two unsuccessful attempts to establish a newspaper in his first year in Nelson, he waited until 1866, judging that conditions were finally favourable.[44]

The Evening Mail was unlike the other two Nelson papers in that business rather than political involvement was the primary reason it was started. In describing Lucas, whom he refers to as the paper's "promoter", Scholefield states "sects and parties did not interest him".[45] By the time of the Evening Mail Nelson's population was over

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44. The Nelson Advertiser and Family Newspaper lasted for a few months. The other, the Nelson Intelligence and Day of the Golden Isle had a shorter life. No copies of either paper survive.

45. (1958), p.159.

10,000 strong. It was 2560 in 1842 when the Examiner began.[46] The greater population meant that a paper as a profit making enterprise was possible and the Evening Mail was begun to exploit this opportunity. The first editorial immediately disavowed the role of political advocate as had been followed by the Examiner, and the Colonist.

> "We desire expressly to state that this journal has not been started in opposition to those at present existing; nor at the desire of any particular sect or party; but mainly to supply an evident requirement of the whole community. We think that this city has arrived at such a stage of prosperity and importance, that only a daily paper can properly express its varied requirements".
>
> (Evening Mail 5 March 1866)

This new orientation received a fuller treatment on the front page, the paper's first advertising page.

> "No expense will be spared by the Proprietors in obtaining for this Journal the most complete and reliable merchantile intelligence from the chief commercial centres of New Zealand, Australia, etc. Authentic accounts from the various goldfields of the West Coast and other parts of the Colony; the earliest intelligence of all matters of local interest, of the progress of events in the North Island; the English and colonial news, on the arrival of each mail steamer; and of all matters likely to be of interest to the inhabitants of this City .... in fact no pains will be spared to render the Evening Mail a first class Merchantile Journal".

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46. General Report NZ Census 1921, (1925).

Lucas' term "Merchantile Journal" refers to a new type of daily press in New Zealand. The term "Merchantile Journal" does not refer to a specialized publication for the business community. On the contrary the low price of the new paper, the Evening Mail being Nelson's first penny paper, was calculated to give the paper a wide circulation. The links with the business community can be seen in this fact for a penny paper, by virtue of its low price, both gains a wider circulation, thus making itself more attractive to advertisers, and becomes dependent on advertising to make up the deficit caused by its lower selling price. Apart from its price, the novel item offered by the Evening Mail was news, as is clear in the above quotation. The increased frequency of publication of a daily meant the news could be printed as soon as it was available. The other vital link in the news chain was the telegraph, a device which gave a flow of news sufficient to feed a daily publication. From the Evening Mail's first edition it can be seen that the paper's inauguration was timed, albeit unsuccessfully, to coincide with the arrival of the telegraph.

> "We are sorry to be unable to announce that the telegraph line is opened in time for our first publication. The contract for fixing the posts and wires was to have been completed on Saturday last ..."

Although the Evening Mail did not appear at the behest of "any particular sect or party", it was not the province of a newspaper to divorce itself from political matters, a fact the Colonist was quick to point out.

> "The Mail announces that it does 'not pretend to be in any respect a political paper', yet, in only its second and third issues, as if to prove the impossibility of creating a non-political colonial journal, it touches on political topics, refers to the increased taxation of this colony, and warns us to remove its causes".
>
> (Colonist 9 March 1866)

The point made by the Colonist, however, was gained only by means of an incomplete and misleading quotation from the Evening Mail. The complete relevant paragraph is:

> "The Evening Mail will not pretend to be in any respect a Political Paper; yet as occasion may offer, when it will be necessary to express an opinion upon such matters, the proprietors desire to state that it will be a thoroughly independent Journal, attached to no party, devoted to no faction, seeking only to advance the interests of this Provice, and the property of the entire Colony".

The Evening Mail recognized the necessity to report and discuss political matters. It aimed to do so, however, without losing its independence, without itself becoming embroiled in political affairs. Such a desire was a departure from the established political role of the various New Zealand newspapers; that of recognized linkages with and support for a particular political group. This new orientation, as represented by the Evening Mail, was both a new understanding of the political process in New Zealand and a statement that the press was sui generis and not classifiable within the orbit of political allegiance.

A further specification of the nature of newspaper political independence was to be given in the North Island. In both the major

centres, the social and political changes that accompanied the land wars were to become the occasion for a change of newspapers.

In Wellington, the original strong rivalry between the Spectator and the Independent had become muted over the years and, by the late 1850's, the pair had settled into a stable sharing of the market. The advent of the New Zealand Advertiser with its early adoption of the normal newspaper format and pricing structure disturbed the Wellington press equilibrium. Of the two established Wellington newspapers, the Spectator was the more hurt by the advent of the Advertiser and, from this time on, the Spectator experienced a decline that culminated, ironically, in its closure by means of its purchase and incorporation into its undesired offspring, the Independent. In Scholefield's words, "sheer inanition lead to its death on 5 August 1865'"[47]. However the process of decline was somewhat more complex than this. Rather than mere emptiness it was the fact of new competition, coupled with its own increasingly unacceptable editorial policy, that lead to the Spectator's downfall. The "aristocratic" Spectator, as Hocken terms it,[48] began and continued as a support and discussion medium for the higher status members of the Wellington community. Its alliance with this group and, especially, its eventual support of the British Colonial office and of Grey and his policies had meant that the paper had adopted, among other measures, a peaceful policy towards the Maori. It was this policy, coupled with its opposition to land confiscation which, in the bellicose 1860's, exacerbated the Spectator's difficulties.

47. (1958), p.28.

48. p.104.

The final blow for the Spectator was the presence in Wellington of yet another newspaper, the Evening Post, which, early in 1865, meant there were four newspapers operating in the city. The Evening Post, the only Wellington paper of this period which still continues, is, like the Nelson Evening Mail, an example of a commercial rather than a political paper. It was a penny paper published daily and was begun to take advantage of the incipient economic opportunities present in journalism. Though it was to have political views and allegiances it was not begun to promote any specific political group or policy. There were no recognized political figures among its proprietors or backers and, like the Nelson Evening Mail, it was to quarrel with the established doctrine that newspapers were political advocates attached to recognized political groups.

The first issue of the Evening Post was on 8 February 1865. It was begun by Henry Blundell and David Curle. The partners soon realized there was not a living for both of them in the venture and the notice of dissolution of the partnership is in the Evening Post of 8 July 1865. Blundell continued the paper as sole proprietor.

Blundell and Curle were both professional newspapermen, Blundell especially being of long standing, who wished to gain a viable journalistic concern and were prepared to reside wherever necessary to further this aim. Blundell was a printer who had worked for 27 years in Dublin on the Evening Mail ending as manager of the paper. Emigrating to Melbourne in 1860 he was in New Zealand for a period in 1861 before settling permanently in 1863. He worked for the

Lyttelton Times and the Otago Daily Times before, in 1864, moving to Marlborough and starting the Havelock Mail to serve the Wakamarina diggings. Curle was in association with Blundell by this stage. Noting the Marlborough goldfields were already failing, they considered a North Island site for their paper. Rejecting Wanganui because of its proximity to the fighting, they decided to take the opportunity, three years after a daily had been established in New Zealand, of starting the first daily in Wellington.

The paper opened with an unpretentious statement which attempted to place it on a different level to that of the existing journals.

> "From the success attending the issue of family Evening Papers in the other Provinces of New Zealand and in the sister colonies the proprietors of the Evening Post are lead to hope that the inhabitants of Wellington will hail with pleasure the appearance of a journal devoted to their interests.
>
> (Evening Post, 8 February 1865)

But in the next few weeks it was obvious that the paper was not without opinions many of which were political in content. On the major question of the war it was to state its case early and was to be firmly on the side of majority opinion.

> "... we are convinced it is owing in a great measure to the philo-anglo-mania that this war (if it can be called war) has been so protracted and unsuccessful, and it is high time we put aside all ultra-philanthropic doctrines, allow of no ecclesiastical interference, and exert every measure to strike terror into the hearts of the cowardly murderers of our fellow-countrymen".
>
> (Evening Post, 15 February 1865)

Blundell, like Lucas in Nelson, recognized that his paper would, by virtue of being a newspaper, both report on political matters and state political opinions. Like Lucas, however, he de-emphasized the role of the press as a political forum as hitherto practised. Blundell's policy was always to decline to be associated with political partners or to stand for any public office for fear of compromising his paper's independence. It was this policy which distinguished him from previous proprietors and it was this policy which was advanced as a mark of newspaper independence and objectivity.

Major changes occurred among the Auckland newspapers, as in those of the rest of the colony, in the 1860's. As in Wellington and Nelson, Auckland was to have, with the New Zealand Herald, a newspaper founded primarily for financial, rather than political, profit. But, before it appeared, both of the existing newspapers were to follow the lead of the Otago Daily Times and change to daily publication.

The first to change was the Southern Cross which became a daily on 20 May 1862. The Auckland population had grown from 2795 in 1842 to 24420 in 1861. This was not much less than Otago's mining swollen 1861 population of 27163 and the Auckland increase had been, by far, the more steady. The 1858 figures, for example, had been 18177 in Auckland, while that for Otago and Southland combined was 6944.[49] It would not be long before Vogel's lead was followed in Auckland and New Zealand's second daily started.

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49. NZ Gazette, 27 June 1862. General Report NZ Census 1921, (1925).

The major figure in the Southern Cross in the 1860's was Robert Creighton. William Brown, the proprietor, had left Auckland for Scotland in 1855 never to return. He retained, however, his business interests and, in 1861, had employed Creighton in England to go to Auckland and take over the Southern Cross. Creighton became manager and editor on the day the paper started as a daily.[50] The price was reduced from 6d to 3d, the same price as Vogel's Otago Daily Times. Creighton is recorded as being the proprietor but it is probable this was a convenient fiction. Although Main holds Creighton, along with two others, acquired the newspaper, Scholefield states Creighton "was ostensibly the sole proprietor" and Hocken, who had the advantage of interviews with Logal Campbell, Brown's partner, records Brown as retaining ownership until Vogel bought the paper in 1869.[51]

In 1863 the New Zealander, owned by William Wilson and John Williamson, followed its rival into daily publication. However the

50. Creighton, was later to advance some rather tortuous logic in pursuit of a claim that his was New Zealand's first daily.

> "...six years ago, in the present month, we published the first daily newspaper printed in the North Island, - we had almost said in the Colony, because the Otago Daily Times preceded us by a few weeks only, and it ought to be remembered that that paper was the first political fruit of the newly discovered goldfields, which have worked such a marvellous transformation on the Middle Island. The influx of the mining population and trades of Victoria revolutionized Otago, politically as well as socially; and the Daily Times was really, at the start, a Victorian, and not a New Zealand paper. Therefore, we hold, that the first purely New Zealand newspaper which appeared daily was published in Auckland". Auckland Free Press, 11 May 1868.

51. Main, p.2.
Scholefield, (1958), p.78.
Hocken, p.112.

New Zealander had outrun its period of influence and was in a time of decline that ran to its closure in 1866. The New Zealander had long been one of the few papers in the country with a pronounced sympathy for the Maori. This attitude, which dated back beyond the paper's long support for Grey and his policies to its original linkage with the Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand, cost it public support in the 1860's. Late in 1863 Williamson and Wilson were to dissolve their partnership. Main, who then became printer and publisher of the paper, describes the termination of the partnership as "owing to a difference of opinion over the policy to be advocated by the paper in the Taranaki and Waikato wars - (Williamson) being for the philo-Maori party, and (Wilson) in favour of what was then known as "the vigorous prosecution" policy, and compelling the natives to submit to the supremacy of the law and of the Queen".[52] While there is no questioning the sincerity of either man's beliefs, one cannot but suspect that Wilson, who had been the practical manager of the New Zealander, was applying a pragmatic newspaperman's appreciation to the political realities of the day. Wilson had long been happy to concur with Williamson's philosophy but in the more jingoistic atmosphere of the 1860s pro-Maori sentiment met with little white support.

With Wilson gone, Williamson became sole proprietor of a declining paper. The financial difficulties of the paper grew and, when in May 1866 the New Zealander's office burnt down, the paper was not revived.

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52. p.2.

On leaving the New Zealander Wilson immediately made plans to begin another newspaper and printing business and, on 13 November 1863 the New Zealand Herald was first issued. Wilson's partner on this venture was David Burns from the staff of the New Zealander, who became the first Herald editor. Burns left the partnership within the first year of operation leaving Wilson sole proprietor.

The New Zealand Herald began with decided views on the two major political questions of the day - the future relationship of the North and South Islands, and the New Zealand wars. For the first it wanted continual union and, for the second, a strong military approach.

> " ... The native rebellion, though the most prominent and not the least important, is not the only question that agitates New Zealand... There is another and vital question... which the government are seeking to set at rest, dealing with it in the most considerate and concilatory spirit. That question is the better government of the Middle Island, on which an animated and adjoined debate in the House of Representatives has already taken place. In the course of the arguments employed, allusions to the removal of the seat of government from Auckland, of possible separation of the Northern and Southern Islands, were made... thoughtful discrimination will be necessary to constitute a form of legislature such as, without injustice to Auckland, shall prove satisfactory to the Middle Island... even with such distracting questions as the seat of Government, and possible separation, there is an evident and an honourable anxiety on the part of representatives, both of North and South, to inculcate the old and wholesome precept, 'Union is strength'.
> ... But how are the rebels to be called to account? Their best friends are free to confess that a crushing defeat would be the truest mercy to them ... The rebels should be energetically dealt with. The war has been one of their own compelling. They commenced it with cold-blooded, deliberate assassinations. They are following it up with stealthy murders of defenceless women and

> children. The fruits of a life of industry are the sacrifices of their vengence. Agriculture perishes. Commerce languishes. Enterprise stands still. And a great and glorious country runs to ruinous waste until the murderer and marauder shall be imperatively taught that life and property must be preserved and Law and Order maintained inviolate."
>
> (New Zealand Herald, 13 November 1863)

The Herald, thus, supported the Government on the constitutional question of representation for the two islands. In regard to race relations the Herald, in Main's words, "advocated a 'vigorous prosecution' policy",[53] but it is also pertinent to quote Scholefield's assessment. He sees Wilson as starting "a paper which would be more in sympathy with public opinion" and cites the Herald as "a striking example of a newspaper founded as a business rather than as a political organ".[54] This is not to say that the New Zealand Herald was, or is, an apolitical journal. The paper's opening statement and its subsequent actions have shown this is far from the case. More to the point it is to say that, as with the later Evening Post, Nelson Evening Mail and other similar papers, the Herald was not founded as, and did not become, a springboard for a personal political career for its owners. It was this point that, the proprietors argued, gave them political independence. As their prospectus, republished in the first issue, put it:

> "(The proprietors are) so entirely free from political personal or party bias that they can point to their abstinence upon every occasion of entering into any competition for place or office, whether in the General or Provincial Legislatures,

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53. Ibid, p.3.

54. (1958), p.83.

> or in any other branch of the public services. This, they believe, may be regarded as one material guarantee for political independence".
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> (New Zealand Herald, 13 November 1863)

Political Advocacy and Political Independence

The new commercial journalism led to a significant change in the political role of the press. Prior to self-government, newspapers had acted as political discussion forums with participation in these forums being largely confined to the higher-status settlers in the various settlements. After self-government, this practice continued but was contained within a framework of partisan advocacy within each separate province. In the economically unattractive climate that existed for newspapers prior to the 1860's, such a political role became the major orientation in New Zealand journalism. With the new commercial journalism, however, the role of political advocate as hitherto practised had to take account of and become compatible with the new role of the newspaper as a profit oriented business enterprise. There was also the appearance of new proprietors who eschewed the role of personal political involvement. In practice the role of political advocacy did not end but declined in importance against the advertising and news giving functions. There was, however, a specification of the political views that could be advocated. This became apparant with Vogel's dismissal from the Otago Daily Times. It was not that an editor or owner could no longer use a paper to advocate political beliefs. Both the New Zealand Herald and the Evening Post, two major examples of the new commercial journalism, had by this time strongly advocated decided political views. Political advocacy per se was not the problem. When

political advocacy and commercial activity could both be successfully conducted then all went well. But when the political advocacy entailed commercial failure, or unacceptable commercial risk as perceived by a proprietor's monetary allies, then the political advocacy had to give way. The new state was that financial survival with its demand for profit took precedence over other requirements. The point was politely, but firmly made to FitzGerald of the Press by Harman his creditor.

> Your position here as a leading politician has sometimes, I think, acted to your prejudice as a newspaper proprietor. With all deference to your judgment and knowledge of the business, which I admit to be far greater than that professed by our firm in such matters, I believe it would be better for you that we should conduct any negotiations which may be thought desirable with the Lyttelton Times or any other office. Papers are in the habit of hitting each other pretty hard at times; and in the small circle of provincial politics it is impossible to prevent the idea which will inevitably rise in the heat of party conflicts that AB (of The Press), who is perfectly well known, has been using rather strong language against CD (of the Lyttelton Times) whose individuality is equally well ascertained; and thus, feelings of hostility arise, which are not conducive to friendly knowledge of facts when I say that such is the case: and I propose that, for the future, we should be the exponents of your proposals, or even that you will allow us, as the commercial agents of the paper, to make proposals which would not be entertained from yourself.[55]

An editor or owner could still use a paper as a political platform and it was also to become apparent that the new business orientation was itself a political statement. However, any political advocacy now had to command sufficient support so as not to endanger

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55. Harman to FitzGerald. Quoted in O'Neill, pp.80-81.

the paper financially. Especially in times which were less than financially buoyant, the advocacy of unpopular political beliefs was not permitted. The business imperatives were now paramount.

The shareholding system that became the method of control of such newspapers as the Otago Daily Times and the Press ended the personal dominance of a single proprietor. As a result the practice whereby a newspaper was the political mouthpiece for its proprietor, who was also a prominent politician, became less common. As the experience of Reeves of the Lyttelton Times indicated, even when newspapers remained under the control of a single proprietor, the demands of a daily newspaper forced a proprietor to choose between a political career and continuing day to day control of his newspaper. Newspaper proprietors were less able to have a prominent personal involvement in Provincial Councils or in the General Assembly. This change received support from the new newspapers where there was a new ideology whereby personal political involvement was seen as inappropriate for proprietors. This was a major change and, as was argued by the proprietors of the New Zealand Herald, this change was seen as an indication of the political independence of newspapers.

However, the assertion of political independence must be seen as distinct from political neutrality. While personal political advocacy became less common and, at least for the new newspapers, began to be seen as improper, the espousal of decided political views remained. While many newspapers no longer had an irrevocable commitment to the political views and careers of their proprietors, newspapers remained

as political advocates. As before, there was within each province, and increasingly over the whole country, a pattern of newspaper support and opposition which articulated and helped define the major political divisions. As before, newspaper managements considered it their professional right and duty actively to support and promote politicians of their choice. Only too often the ending of personal political involvement by newspaper proprietors served as a justifying and obfuscating argument for the political neutrality of the New Zealand press whereas the fact of political allegiance remained.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATTEMPTS TO FOUND

MAIN CENTRE DAILY NEWSPAPERS

1860-1879

In the two decades from 1860-1879 the rate of foundation for newspapers in New Zealand was higher than at any other time, before or after, in the country's history. A country which in 1859 supported 15 newspapers saw a further 181 founded in the following twenty years. In these twenty years these foundations were offset by 87 cessations.[1] Thus there were 109 newspapers publishing in New Zealand in 1879.

This rate of foundation reflected considerable optimism among would-be newspaper proprietors. Nor was this optimism without justification. The gold discoveries and the population growth of the 1860's and 1870's, the success of the Otago Daily Times and other early daily newspapers, and the economic growth attendant on the borrowing policy of the 1870's all made founding a newspaper appear a worthwhile business risk. For some decades a large number of the newspapers in the country were to receive both public support and financial success. 1910 was the year in which the number of newspapers reached its height. There were, in that year, 193 newspapers publishing of which 67 were dailies.[2]

After 1910 improvements in road and rail transportation increased the reach of the larger dailies and there began a decline in the number of newspapers. Not only did smaller center publications fold under the competition from their city counterparts but also the larger newspaper concerns gradually ceased publishing weekly stablemates to their dailies.

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1. Scholefield, (1958), p.6.

2. Ibid. p.19.

This process of decline in the number of newspapers emphasizes the importance of the 1860's and 1870's in the long term newspaper history of New Zealand. Of the newspapers in daily publication at the time of writing (1985) all but one were founded by the end of the 1870's. The one exception to this pattern of newspaper foundation is the Wellington morning daily, the Dominion, which was started in 1907.

In the smaller centres many of the newspapers started during the 1860's and 1870's were not founded against established competition. This was not the case in the cities where the existing newspapers represented a severe threat to the newcomers' chances of survival. My immediate intention is to examine the attempts to found daily newspapers in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin. Christchurch will not be discussed here. The two main newspaper concerns there, the Press and the Lyttelton Times. also began and controlled the other important newspaper ventures in that city. These have already been examined. In the three cities to be discussed the political and economic concerns of newspaper controllers are both seen as important. Economic success was aimed for and was accompagnied by a decline in the previous pattern of newspapers acting as personal political advocates. But this did not entail the end of partisan political advocacy. This remained as normal newspaper policy. Newspapers, as is indicated in this chapter principally by the Otago Daily Times, were to develop an ownership structure which gave emphasis to both economic and political goals.

Auckland:

After the foundation of the New Zealand Herald at least eight separate attempts were made in the 1860's and 1870's to start further daily papers in Auckland. What was to become known as the Auckland Star, which is still publishing, gained supremacy in the evening field. There were to be no serious challenges to the New Zealand Herald's and Southern Cross's hold over the market for a morning paper.

The first competitor was the Auckland Evening Post which was started on 28 November 1864 by two otherwise unknown would-be proprietors, Michael Wood and J. Donchaise. Only the one copy of one issue, the first, survives. How long the paper continued is unknown. Main records it as running "for a short time" but he, erroneously, also states it began in 1866.[3] The paper's opening statement is representative of all but one of the attempted dailies over this period. The political role of the earlier papers, the desire to be an advocate and participant in local and national affairs, was pushed into the background, and the self-image of an independent information giver reigned supreme.

> "Respecting politics we have at present no opinions to express, we enter upon our course independent of all party feeling ....
>
> The principal topic to which we shall render our most earnest attention will be that of the commercial interest. A complete resume of the day's shipping in connexion with the state of the markets, auction sales, etc, etc, will be found in our columns. All other matters of local interest appertaining both to town and country will be duly sought after, such as Police news, town and country improvements, amusement, and other subjects of a like character, not of course forgetting the most

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3. p.4.

> important of all, viz: to furnish our readers with every scrap of intelligence that may come to hand respecting the all important question of public interest at this present time - Is it to be peace or war?"
>
> (Auckland Evening Post, 28 November 1864)

The Auckland Evening Post failed to become established. Its difficulties and its failure were those of most would-be daily newspapers of those or subsequent years. It had, as did all intending dailies, the need to attract a high circulation so as to offset the high costs of daily publication. It also, again along with all intending dailies, faced the problem of attracting a mass rather than a specific readership. Previous New Zealand newspapers had usually been oriented towards politically defined specific audiences. At least in theory this should give room for as many newspapers as there are political groupings. It also follows that newspapers would not attempt to attract readers by changing the newspapers' policy. Political newspapers attracted new readers by educating and converting readers of other political persuasions, not by changing the newspaper policy to give it a wider appeal. The new daily newspapers, however, were oriented to a mass rather than a specific audience. While this gave them the widest possible potential readership it left them in a position of considerable vulnerability in regards to any established daily newspaper. The existing newspaper also was oriented to the same mass audience. Would-be challengers did not have a specific untapped readership to attract. Nor, being forced to have a general appeal, could they offer much that was different to the presentations of the existing dailies. Would-be challengers could offer little that was novel.

The major variation that could be offered by daily newspapers was time of publication. In practice, the pattern that emerged was one where two time-slots, morning and evening, were distributed among the competing dailies. The process of competition was one where, eventually, in the main centers, two dailies remained, one in each time slot. In the case of Christchurch this point was not reached until the 1930's. It does not represent an end point. Dunedin has in recent years lost its evening newspaper. Further closures are conceivable.

The Auckland Evening Post was the first attempt in that city to fill the vacant evening time slot. It was unsuccessful. Not until 1870 when the Star was established was the evening position won. While the dailies of the 1860's were appealing to a mass audience they were also in a process of anticipating the arrival of such an audience. It was some years before either the readership or the newspapers were established. The early years were, for many newspapers, years of anticipating a readership and survival was precarious. The position was more difficult for the evening than the morning newspapers. The morning dailies also needed and sought a mass readership. But, in their quest for a growing circulation they began with an established, albeit small, readership. The evening dailies sought from the start the newly literate.

The Post was followed, on 9 July 1867, by another attempt at an evening paper, the Evening News. It was started by James Allen, junior, who had worked for the Southern Cross. The paper ran until 7 December 1871 but suffered declining fortunes from 1870 after the death of Allen. His father, James Allen, senior, took over the paper and lost much

support because of his opposition to Vogel and his policies. The Evening News, like the other commercial newspapers, stated that it was politically independent. Like them it meant by this that its management were not personally seeking political office. But it did have political allegiances. As with the other contemporary newspapers the Evening News followed a policy of political advocacy. But the opposition to Vogel, at the time of Vogel's national political ascendency, was incompatible with public acceptance of the newspaper. A morning edition, the Morning News, was attempted in 1870 but at the end of 1871 the whole concern was purchased by the Star for £430 and closed down.[4]

In 1868 there began the Auckland Free Press, a penny daily. With the end of the war, its editor foresaw a period of prosperity for Auckland, and so there was to be, but not immediately and not for the Free Press. There was first a time of depression occasioned by the withdrawal of the troops. It was not an opportune time to oppose the Herald and Southern Cross and the Free Press was to survive only six weeks.

A political daily followed in 1869. This was a political newspaper in the old style; one established not for commercial gain but begun deliberately to promote the political career of a favoured individual. The candidates for the Superintendency election of that year were John Williamson and Judge Gillies. It was Gillies's supporters who began a paper in his interest. It was the Auckland Daily News and ran from 4 November to 9 December, which was one week after announcement of Gillies's election.

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4. Scholefield, (1958), p.93.

The paper started with the usual affirmations of independence.

> "The projectors of "The Auckland Daily News" have been for some time impressed with the necessity that was growing up in this province for a thoroughly efficient and independent journal, whose chief aim shall be to lead and expound public opinion uninfluenced by party ties".
>
> (Auckland Daily News, 4 November 1869)

But its colours were immediately obvious.

> "The question is not, as assumed, one of Centralism against Provincialism, but of reform against abuse and chronic misrule: honesty and economy against jobbery and extravagence: a straightforward and impartial administration of the affairs of the province against a corrupt system of petty patronage, the most odious and intolerable, and which not only is wasting the substance of the people but demoralising them at the same time. Even in years gone by a bad pre-eminence in this respect almost invariably attachs to Mr Williamson's rule".
>
> (Auckland Daily News, 4 November 1869)

During the campaign few chances were missed to attack Williamson. An example is the following:

> "The charge of "violent assault" against Patrick Bonfield - a notorious partizan of the ex-Superintendent, was heard before the bench at
> (Auckland Daily News, 16 November 1869)

The management of the newspaper succeeded in their political aims. Their candidate did win office. But it was not possible to keep the newspaper going so as to continue support for Gillies. The Daily News was a newspaper that was part of Gillies's electoral campaign. It was against the trend of change which was seeing the demise of newspapers as

personal political advocates. The short life of the Daily News was an indication of the temporary nature of any attempt to revive the older journalism.

1869 was also the year in which a change of ownership took place with the Southern Cross. The Southern Cross continued through the 1860's and well into the 1870's, but in spite of the fact that it had the advantage of precedence over the New Zealand Herald, it was financially the less flourishing of the two major Auckland dailies. Its disadvantage was the absence of guiding leadership. Nor was it again to receive strong management. In 1862 when the Southern Cross began daily publication, Robert Creighton had been appointed by William Brown to edit and manage the newspaper. Creighton stayed with the paper until 1865 when he was elected to parliament and resigned as editor. For much of this time he had been in the field as a war correspondent and thus was out of day to day contact with his charge. The paper continued with various editors until 1869 when Julius Vogel acquired control. After being ousted from the Otago Daily Times, and running the short-lived New Zealand Sun, Vogel went north to Auckland in 1869 presumably in search of a new political power base.

The contradictions between the political and commercial desires of newspaper proprietors are most clearly seen with Julius Vogel. Vogel, in being the principal figure in the early years of the Otago Daily Times, is the individual most singly responsible for indicating New Zealand newspapers could achieve commercial success. His removal from that newspaper also made him, with his Otago based political career, an early

casualty of the commercial demands of the daily press. Yet he remained desirous of having a newspaper which was both a commercially successful daily and a political advocate for him personally. He formed a company which took over the Southern Cross property for £12,000. Vogel acquired a controlling interest with a personal investment of £4,600.[5] Vogel edited the paper and Charles Williamson was manager. However almost immediately on completion of these changes, Stafford's government fell, Fox became Premier, and Vogel was summoned to Wellington as Colonial Treasurer. The paper was thus again under the control of an absentee owner and continued as a losing concern. Vogel, at some time in the early 1870's sold his interest in the Southern Cross. This was possibly in 1873 for in that year he acquired the New Zealand Mail, the Wellington weekly which was the stablemate of the daily, the Wellington Independent. The new owners failed to revive the Southern Cross. It was to be closed down in 1876.

The next two papers were the Auckland and Thames Leader which started on 4 December 1869 and may have lasted into 1870. It was followed, on 4 January 1870, by the Morning Advertiser. Main states it lasted "about a twelvemonth"[6] though for Scholefield it "continued into the middle of 1870".[7] Both papers were run by J. Harnett and Co. who, in the first issue of the Morning Advertiser (copies of only the first two issues survive) list their newspaper experience. It is an instructive

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5. Scholefield, (1958), p.79.

6. p.5.

7. (1958), p.94.

chronicle of the nomadic character of the times. In their sixteen years of experience they had been Proprietors, Printers and Publishers of:

> "Victoria. 1. "The Age" 2. "The Weekly Age" 3. "The Leader" 4. "Der Kosmopolit" 5. "My Note Book" 6. "The Wesleyan Chronicle" New South Wales 7. "The Twofold Bay Times" New Zealand. Southland 8. "The Southland Times" 9. "The Weekly Despatch" Marlborough 10. "The Marlborough Times" West Coast 11. "The Evening News" 12. "The West Coast Times" 13. "The Evening Despatch" 14. "The Leader". 15. "The Ross Guardian" 16. "The Waimea Chronicle" The Thames District 17. "The Times" 18. "The Evening Star" 19. "The Auckland and Thames Leader" Auckland 20. "The Morning Advertiser".

The Auckland Star, which continues as Auckland's sole evening daily, began as the Evening Star on 8 January 1870.[8] The initial impetus for the paper came from William Tyrone Ferrar.[9] Ferrar presumably saw, with the death of Allen of the Evening News, a chance for another evening paper and he enlisted as a partner George McCullogh Reed, newly arrived from Victoria, who became editor of the paper. The paper was first printed by the Southern Cross but, in March 1870, Henry Brett, a printer with the New Zealand Herald, bought a third interest in the paper and the printing was transferred to the Herald's office. Henry Brett (1842 - 1927) learnt the printing trade in Sussex and came to New Zealand in 1862. He was a reporter for the Southern Cross to 1865 then moved to the New Zealand Herald. Brett's entry into the Star was partly because of Ferrar and

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8. It was titled the Evening Star to 8 March 1879 when it became the Auckland Evening Star. Its third and present title was first used on 13 April 1887.

9. Little information is available as to Ferrar. Scholefield describes him as "a young man on the commercial staff of another paper in Auckland".(1958), p.87.

Reed's realisation that they needed both experienced collaboration and more capital. It was also to forestall Brett's negotiations to purchase their rival, the Evening News. In 1871 Ferrar sold out to his partners and left for New South Wales. By the end of 1871 the Evening News had been purchased and incorporated in the Star, and Brett and Reed had begun issuing their paper from their own press. The Star had a circulation of 2700 in 1872 and 4700 in 1875.[10]

The Auckland Star developed a strong political advocacy in opposition to that of its main morning rival, the New Zealand Herald. The Star was later to become an advocate for the Liberal party and, in the years prior to the rise of that party, was a major supporter of the developing liberal perspective. Reed, who had been a member of the Australian Parliament in 1866 and 1867, did have some personal political ambitions for he was a member of the Auckland Provincial Council from November 1873 to October 1876. But, in keeping with the changed political strategy of newspaper proprietors he was more important as a political supporter than as a public politician. Particularly, he was influential in aiding Sir George Grey in 1875, to enter the House of Representatives.[11] Reed left the Star early in 1876. He sold his interest in the business to Brett for £4000 and left for Dunedin where he purchased the Otago Guardian. Brett was now sole proprietor of the Star. He appointed as editor Thomson Wilson Leys, who had earlier joined the staff after serving an apprenticeship on the Southern Cross. Leys was to

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10. Scholefield, (1958), pp.88-89.

11. Ibid p.87.

be a long serving editor and in 1889 was to become Brett's partner in the business.

With the successful establishment of the Star there were two dominant newspapers in Auckland, the New Zealand Herald, the morning daily, and the Auckland Star, the evening counterpart. They were not the only newspapers. The Southern Cross was the longest lasting newspaper in Auckland but was in decline and was soon to be closed. All the other papers were short lived and never achieved commercial success. There were also to be future challenges but a similar lack of fortune awaited them.

The main competitor to the Star in the 1870's was the Echo. Its fate was to be typical of challenges to established daily newspapers. The Echo began publication on 9 November 1874. It gave the usual promises of concentration on news and non-partisanship in politics and also saw a second evening daily as necessary for Auckland.

> "We propose, then, to supply a want which is felt by many and should have been long since felt by all the want of another evening paper in this city".
>
> (Echo, 9 November 1874)

However, this want was not considered to exist by the public and, after a year of operation during which it lost £3000, the Echo was purchased by the Star and closed down.

A major change in the Auckland newspapers in the 1870's was to be to the ownership of the New Zealand Herald when Alfred George Horton became a partner. Horton (1842-1903) came to New Zealand in 1861 from Hull where he had gained his first experience of journalism. He worked on the Press, then founded the Timaru Herald in 1864 and stayed with it to 1871. From 1872 to 1876 he was co-proprietor of the Thames Advertiser and Miners News. Horton purchased the ailing Southern Cross in 1876. Because of new roading plans in Auckland, the directors of the Southern Cross were forced to erect new premises. They opted instead to sell and found a purchaser in Horton. Horton immediately entered into negotiations with Wilson's two sons, who had taken over the Herald on the death of their father, and at the end of 1876 the two properties were amalgamated. The Southern Cross's final issue was on 28 December 1876. The weeklies were also amalgamated with the Southern Cross's weekly, the Weekly News, being the title that prevailed.

The two main Auckland newspapers long remained under the control of their founders or their decendants. The Star did not become a public company until 1920, the New Zealand Herald not until 1925. Even then the original control remained. Brett and Leys incorporated their partnership in 1920 with a public issue of £100,000 in shares. they themselves retained £150,000 of the total £250,000 capital. The New Zealand Herald still remains under the control of the Wilson and Horton families. In 1925 when made into a company the business had a capital of £650,000. All directors were members of the two families.

The daily newspaper press of Auckland, by the middle of the 1870's, was dominated by two papers, one in the morning and one in the evening. There were to be further attempts to begin daily newspapers but none were to meet with any success. One of the more determined attempts was the Evening Bell, which published from 12 May 1885 to 12 May 1888. It is recorded as never exceeding a circulation of 500 and losing its promoters some £10,000.[12] The only major challenge to the two Auckland newspapers since the 1870's has been the challenge to the Star by the Sun from 1927 to 1930.

The nature of the daily press, with its attempt to appeal to a general rather than a specific audience, meant would-be dailies had to compete directly with the established newspapers. Yet the high circulation and established advertising revenue of the existing newspapers gave them a security of tenure which foiled all attempts to oust them. Thus the 1860's and 1870's, which saw the start of the daily press, also saw two concerns obtain unassailable positions.

The nature of the political advocacy of the Herald and Star was not to be followed by all New Zealand newspapers but did typify the usual behaviour. The management of both newspapers accepted that political advocacy and partisan political support were normal and proper for the press. They did not, however, feel that they themselves should follow political careers nor did they consider they should irrevocably offer their support to any politician or political group. There was no understanding that the two newspapers would always support opposing sides

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12. Ibid, p.92.

and thus maintain a political opposition to one another. The two newspapers were politically united notably during Grey's Ministry from 1877-1879 when both papers supported the Government, and in the twentieth century after the decline of the Liberal party when both papers opposed the rising Labour party. But generally, until the decline of liberalism, the two newspapers were in opposition, with the Star being the liberal advocate and the Herald being a voice first for the established continuous ministry and then for the conservative opposition to the Liberal party.

Dunedin:

Having had only three newspapers prior to 1860, Dunedin was to have a great variety of them in the following 2 decades. With the Otago Daily Times showing that financial success was possible in the now populous Otago, competition soon arose. Otago was the most populated province and Dunedin became the city in which journalistic enterprise was highest. The following listing gives an indication of the range of publications started in Dunedin in that decade. Initial and final publication dates, where known, are shown.[13]

Otago Police Gazette	28 October 1861 - ?
Otago Daily Times	15 November 1861 -
Dunedin Advertiser and Business Directory	19 April 1862 - ?
Evening News	20 November 1862 - ?
Daily Telegraph	3 January 1863-April 9, 1864.
Evening Star	1 May 1863 - 1979.

13. This listing is adapted from Paul and from Scholefield (1958).

Dunedin Leader	17 October 1863-1867.
Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Philosophy, Science and Art	20 February 1864-3 June 1871.
The Monthly Review by Mr J.G.S. Grant and the Saturday Review	16 April 1864 - ?
Otago Christian Reformer	July 1864 - ?
Otago Daily Mail	2 July 1864 - ?
Dunedin Punch	27 May 1865 - ?
Otago Newsletter	1866 ? - ?
Illustrated New Zealander	November 1866 - ?
Illustrated New Zealand Herald	March 1868-August 1883.
New Zealand Sun	16 November 1868-1869.
The Guiding Star	16 November 1868 - ?
Evening Independent	22 January 1869-June 1869
Otago and Southland Mining Journal and Goldfields Advertiser	8 November 1869 - ?
Observer	1869-1869.
Echo	27 November 1869-17 November 1883. Suspended: 8 March 1873-28 February 1880.
Daily Advertiser and Southern League	3 July-10 November 1871.
Morning Star	1 December 1872-22 July 1873.
New Zealand Tablet	3 May 1873 -
Otago Guardian	23 July 1873-6 October 1877.

Otago Christian Record	20 September 1873 - ?
Southern Mercury	3 January 1874-6 October 1877.
Saturday Advertiser, Time Table and New Zealand Public Opinion	17 July 1875-19 September 1893.
New Zealand Magazine	January 1876-October 1877.
New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular	1 March 1876-c.1879.
Liberator	11 March 1876 - ?
Licensed Victuallers' Gazette	22 March 1876 - ?
Sandfly	25 August 1876 - ?
Independent Review	9 December 1876 - ?
New Zealand Christian Record	1877 - ?
Morning Herald	3 December 1877-2 September 1890
Dunedin Evening Tribune	1878-December 1879.
Temperance Herald and Good Templar Record	9 March 1878-1881.
New Zealand Presbyterian	1 July 1879-1893.
Evening Omnibus and Tramway	23 July 1879 - ?
Penny Post and General Advertiser	September? 1879 - ?
Sunshine	5 December 1879-9 January 1880.
New Zealand Freemason	6 January 1880 - ?
North-East Valley Weekly Advertiser	15 November 1880-31 October 1881.

Apart from the sheer increase in the number of publications after 1860 they are notable for the appearance of specialized publications and for the general lack of long term success.

The 44 publications listed are close to evenly divided between would-be general newspapers and specialized publications. It is not possible to be exact on this point for some are both of nebulous title and have no surviving copies. But it appears that as the daily newspaper press with its intended general appeal began, so also began another range of publications oriented towards specifically defined groups.

Most of the publications met with little success. Most of the publications of unknown duration, judging from the dates of copies still available, ceased within a few months at most. Seven of the listed publications published continuously for more than five years. Only three were to continue into the twentieth century. These are the Otago Daily Times, the Evening Star and the New Zealand Tablet.

Little is known about many of the listed publications apart from their titles. Newspapers with which Vogel had an association, the Witness, the Otago Daily Times and the New Zealand Sun, have already been discussed, as also have James Macandrew's newspapers, the Daily Telegraph and the (Weekly) Colonist.

Within two weeks of the Daily Telegraph being closed another morning daily, the Otago Daily Mail, took its place as the rival of the Otago Daily Times. The closing date of the Otago Daily Mail is uncertain but it does not appear to have completed well against the Otago Daily Times. No issues beyond April 1865 survive. Its proprietor, at least to that date, was Frederick Joseph Moss (1829-1904), a local politician. He was a member of the Otago Provincial Council from 1863-1867 and was later

M.H.R. for Parnell from 1878-1890. Whether he saw his newspaper as purely a commercial venture or as also a political platform is uncertain.

Evening dailies, not so directly in competition with the Otago Daily Times, also appeared early in the 1860's. The first, the Evening News, further removed itself from competition by adopting a less prestigious role than the morning paper. The paper aimed at presenting commercial news, press telegrams which had arrived too late for the morning papers, plus

> "interesting local events, and paragraphs of such light reading that may be generally palatable in the half hours during relaxation of business, or in those devoted to amusement. ....our unpretentious Journal will not have leading articles to dispose of, and most of our stock will be second-hand commodities, which we purpose selecting with our most judicious discrimination".
>
> (The Evening News, 20 November 1862)

The Evening News began without leading articles but, in Dunedin as elsewhere, they were to become a normal feature of the evening newspapers. Copies of the Evening News only to January 1863 survive. How long the paper continued is unknown. That there was an Evening News[14] in existence in 1868 is known from records of a libel case. But by a countback from the Issue number, the Evening News of 1868 had begun only in 1867.

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14. "Whether it was an offshoot of the first evening daily, a weekly continuation or whether it merely adopted that name cannot be ascertained. Its birth is uncertain and its earlier career unknown". Paul, p.105.

Issue 187 of 28 March 1868 attacked two Dunedin citizens for their action in appealing for funds to assist the wives and families of Irish prisoners. The paper had no sympathy with the appeal and included the following.

> "..As the Fenian bride makes her bed so on it she must lie - those who lie down with dogs must not expect to be free from fleas ... The men who formed a procession on St Patricks Day were either silly fools, or else Fenian knaves. If the former, they should be conveyed to either the Benevolent or Lunatic Asylum, and if the latter, Dunedin gaol would be their proper place"[15]

At least in 1868 the Evening News had leading articles, even if of dubious quality.

A measure of stability came when George Bell entered the evening paper arena. Bell had arrived in Otago, from Hull via Victoria, in 1863 and became an Otago Daily Times reporter, and later editor of the Witness.

He started the Evening Independent but, on the bankruptcy of the Evening Star's owners, bought that paper for £675 and incorporated his Independent in it. The paper lasted for 117 years. The Evening Star Co (Ltd) was incorporated in 1895 but the paper was always controlled by Bell and his descendents. Bell had no personal political career but was a political liberal. The paper supported this view. As well as being proprietor of the Evening Star Bell was also its editor. He held the

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15. Quoted in Paul, p.106, who also records the proprietor of the Evening News as being acquited.

post from his acquisition of the paper in 1869 to his own retirement in 1895.[16]

The newspapers that began in Dunedin in the 1870's faced the difficulty of beginning against established competition. As in other centres the position of strength enjoyed by an established newspaper was generally such as to make each newcomer a temporary problem rather than a serious threat.

Bell's evening daily, the Evening Star, after the passing of the Evening News, was without competition for six years. In 1876 another Evening News was started. It lasted for two years before folding to be followed a few months later by the Evening Age, subsequently called the Evening Tribune, which lasted a little over a year. The Evening Tribune, when offered for sale in 1879 was passed in at £400,[17] an indication of the minor status of the enterprise.

The most important of the dailies begun in Dunedin in the 1870's was the Otago Guardian. Its proprietors eventually purchased the Otago Daily Times and amalgamated the two properties. The manner in which this took place was also a process whereby a major change in the political advocacy of the Otago Daily Times occured.

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16. Paul, p.106.

17. Scholefield, (1958), p.182.

A morning daily, the Otago Guardian, the major competitor of the Otago Daily Times appeared in 1873, edited and managed by R.J. Creighton.[18] It was owned by shareholders rather than any single individual.

> "As a guarantee to the public that the Guardian will not be governed by a clique, we have simply to refer to the fact that its proprietory is larger than that of any other newspaper in New Zealand, and that it includes men of all ranks and of every shade of opinion in this community".
>
> (Guardian, 23 July 1873)

The Guardian Printing Company (Limited) from 19 June 1874, took over the Southern Mercury which then became its weekly associate. In 1875 George Fenwick,[19] who from this point until his death in 1929 was the dominant figure in Otago journalism, became manager of the Guardian. The Guardian sold for 2d and the competition hurt the Otago Daily Times which increased its size and reduced its price to 3d. Fenwick realised the Guardian could not continue against the Otago Daily Times and advised the directors to sell or close down. This advice was followed and in April 1876 G.M. Reed[20] "paid £3,000 for the two papers upon which various owners had lost £10,000 since the beginning of 1873".[21] Fenwick, however, failed to heed his own advice and remained with the Guardian,

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18. Creighton had previously been, in Auckland, editor and manager of the Southern Cross and editor of the New Zealand Herald.

19. George Fenwick (1847-1929) is discussed below, pp.272-273.

20. George Mccullagh Reed (1832-98) was previously co-proprietor of the Auckland Star. He left Otago in 1878 and went to Ireland to act as the immigration agent.

21. Scholefield, (1958), p.177.

first continuing as manager but very soon as co-proprietor with Reed. A mutually ruinous competition between the two morning papers remained until October 1877 when Fenwick and Reed pulled off a major coup by purchasing the Witness and the Otago Daily Times. The price paid was "somewhere near £30,000".[22]

The negotiator on behalf of Fenwick and Reed in the transaction was William Hunter Reynolds who is referred to by the Otago Daily Times as a "confidental intermediary".[23] In view of Fenwick and Reed's need to borrow most of the capital required, and of Reynolds subsequent position in the Otago Daily Times, it is likely that Reynolds also had a personal interest in the purchase. Reynolds was an old Dunedin identity who had arrived in Otago in 1851 as a member of James Macandrew's party of migrants on board Macandrew's schooner. Macandrew was married to Reynold's sister. Reynolds was a close associate of Macandrew until the early 1870's when Reynolds renounced provincial, particularly Otago, separatism, and joined with Vogel.

Reynolds in the 1850's had edited the Witness when Cutten was called to Auckland on parliamentary duties.[24] He had a major political career being a member of the Otago Provincial Council for the entire provincial period as well as being a M.H.R. from 1863 to 1878. He was a minister between 1872 and 1876 in the successive Waterhouse, Fox, Vogel and Pollen Ministries. He was subsequently also to be a minister in the 1884 to

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22. Paul, p.24.

23. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.25.

24. Ibid, p.11.

1887 Stout-Vogel Ministry. In the 1875 election to the House of Representatives Reynolds was heavily defeated by Macandrew, Larnarch, and Stout who won the three seats for Dunedin City. Reynolds then turned to the vacant seat of Port Chalmers and won narrowly.

At the time of the negotiations to purchase the Otago Daily Times Reynolds was not a minister but was still a member of the House. He was in his last session before his transferral in 1878 to the Legislative Council.

The two properties were merged in October 1877 with Fenwick and Reed becoming co-proprietors. The financial dictates that prevented a continuation of press competition, however desirable, were ably presented in the Guardian's final editorial.

> "... For upwards of four years the trial has been made as to whether it was possible to sustain in Otago two papers of the class of the 'Times' and 'Guardian', resulting in the conviction that it is not possible. A large amount of capital, amounting in the aggregate to some fifteen thousand pounds, has been sunk in the effort to maintain a position in opposition to a long established journal ....
> ... We are aware that many people are inclined to say that there should be two morning papers in every centre of population, so as to have what is called a representation of the two sides of every question. If those who desire such luxury had proved their estimate of its importace during the past four or five years, it is not improbable that such desire might have continued to be realised in the case of the metropolis of Otago."
>
> (Guardian, 6 October 1877)

This, however, was not to be the end of competition. Nor was the co-proprietorship of Fenwick and Reed to be long lasting. The Otago Daily Times staff displaced in the merger retaliated by starting the Morning Herald. They also received the support of the old Otago Daily Times directorate. The Herald, which started on 3 December 1877, was a penny daily and the Otago Daily Times circulation fell as a result of the new paper's appeal. The price of the Otago Daily Times remained at 3d. Reed and Fenwick took the prudent course and protected themselves by turning their business into a limited liability company. The capital was £40,000 in 4,000 shares of £10 each, of which £7.10/- per share was called up.[25] The prospectus was issued in April 1878 and directors elected at a first meeting of shareholders on 10 June 1878. The directors included W.H. Reynolds who was appointed Chairman of the Board and George Fenwick who became Managing Director.

G.M. Reed was not among the directors. He had been editor of the Guardian and, on the amalgamation of the two properties, had become editor of the Otago Daily Times. He was not to remain with the paper. Whether he was ousted or removed himself willingly is unknown but by the end of 1878 he had left Dunedin and New Zealand.

Fenwick wished to meet the competition of the Herald by also reducing the Otago Daily Times price to 1d. He first suggested this to the Board of Directors in November 1878 but was not successful until February 1881, by which time a further £2 per share had been called on. After the price reduction the paper's circulation, according to the Otago

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25. Ibid, p.26.

Daily Times, doubled in a fortnight and trebled within six weeks.[26] The consequent increased advertising revenue removed the Otago Daily Times's financial problems and it was now the Herald's turn to falter. In May 1884 it removed itself from competition with the Otago Daily Times by becoming the Evening Herald and struggled through the decade. In 1890 it was merged into the Globe, a liberal paper launched under the impetus of the maritime strike. The Globe ceased in 1893.

The political stance of the Otago Daily Times changed with the change of ownership. It had been, after the ousting of Vogel, an antagonist of his policies and had thus been an anti-government paper from 1869 to 1876. Nor had it been an advocate for Sir George Grey, whose 1877 to 1879 Ministry began in the month the Otago Daily Times changed hands. But the change of ownership led to a political advocacy on behalf of Grey's Ministry. W.H. Reynolds, the Chairman of the Board, was an ally of Vogel and later an ally of Grey. He had resigned from the House of Representatives in March 1878 and the following month, the month Fenwick and Reed turned their partnership into a limited liability company, had been made a member of the Legislative Council.

After the ending of Provincial Government in 1876 there was a realigning of political allegiances among those who had previously been divided on the issues of provincialism and centralism. Reynolds was reconciled with James Macandrew and Robert Stout and all three became allied with Sir George Grey. Macandrew was a member of Grey's Ministry

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26. Ibid, p.28.

throughout Grey's two year term as Premier. Stout was also a minister being appointed Attorney-General by Grey in March 1878.[27]

The political advocacy of the Otago Daily Times thus turned to be one of support for Grey. With this change a further development in the nature of newspaper political advocacy took place. Here again a substantial measure of control over a newspaper was exerted by political figures. The new situation was not a return to personal advocacy for the newspaper's proprietors. George Fenwick as Managing-Director and later as editor had no personal political career. William Reynolds, the Chairman of Directors, had finished the major part of his political career and was now merely a member of the Legislative Council. The advocacy was not for him personally. But the advocacy was for Grey's Ministry and had become so because of the change of ownership of the paper.

The stance of the Otago Daily Times was to change again in the 1880's, but the type of control arrived at in 1878 was to remain and was to occur in other newspapers. It was a company control with a directorship which included men of partisan political loyalty and influence. This control saw the political stance of the newspaper of as much importance as its economic profitability. The new proprietors of the 1860's had placed profitability paramount and had ended the practice of personal political advocacy. But newspapers had remained as powerful political advocates. The dominant shareholders of the Otago Daily Times

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27. Stout was also a shareholder in the Otago Daily Times and, although not eventually elected a director, was named among the provisional directors in the prospectus issued in April 1878.

of 1878 had no quarrel with profitability and realized the need for financial success if the paper were to continue. But equally they secured the newspaper to ensure that its political advocacy was for the people and policies they supported. It was not a return to ownership by and advocacy for prominent politicans. It was a manifestation of a more general political division in which shareholders accepted their wellbeing was linked with the success of a political group and oriented their newspaper so as to further a political view.

Wellington:

In Wellington there were, after the establishment of the Evening Post and the closure of the Spectator, three newspapers in publication. The Independent, then in its third decade, was the only financially secure concern. The Evening Post's first few years were financially difficult. David Curle, Henry Blundell's original partner, withdrew from the newspaper because of the inability of the concern to provide a living for them both. Blundell, unable to afford staff, ran the newspaper as a family concern. He and his three sons did all the reporting, editing and printing of the newspaper. It was some years before Blundell was able to engage salaried staff. But by 1874 he was able to afford a visit back to Dublin. It was either here, or four years later at his death, that the paper began to employ an editor.

The contrasting careers of Henry Blundell and David Curle illustrate the advantages enjoyed by those who were able to found a newspaper in the 1860's and survive the difficult first years. By the end of the 1860's the Blundells were prospering and had developed a newspaper concern that

has been prominent in New Zealand journalism ever since. Curle retained his newspaper ambitions and appeared as proprietor or co-proprietor of various publications but was never to found a lasting or successful concern. In 1868 he founded the Hokitika Daily News. The paper ended some time in 1869. At some time in the early 1870's, Curle bought the Ross Guardian, a weekly. It lasted until 1879 but he had sold it before then for he was in Fielding in 1878 where he was cofounder of the Fielding Guardian. He soon left the paper for he had ambitions in the capital. In Wellington in May 1878 he became co-proprietor of the Evening Chronicle. a daily which lasted until 1880. In 1880 he returned to Hokitika where he managed the Evening Star and in 1881 began the Hokitika Guardian. In 1884 he purchased the Evening Star and combined the two papers as the Hokitika Guardian and Star. It became a daily in 1888 but the once vibrant mining town now had too small a population for newspaper success. In 1893 Curle sold out and moved to Dannevirke where he bought the Dannevirke Advocate. He ran the paper for eight years before selling it in 1901. He does not feature in newspaper records again and presumably, at this point, at the age of 64, retired. He died in 1917.

The third Wellington newspaper, the New Zealand Advertiser, was in the worst position of the three. Two years after the start of the Evening Post it was in such financial difficulties as to necessitate the sale of the enterprise. The name was changed to the New Zealand Times and the proprietory was at pains to indicate it was an entirely new journal.

> ".... the New Zealand Times is a new journal. It has ... a new name, never before adopted by a newspaper in the country and we fear of a somewhat ambitious sound. It has a new proprietory, to some extent a new staff, and is printed and published in new premises, and that every morning instead of only three days in the week. The only condition wanting to effect the decease of the one journal and to launch the other into an absolutely new life was supplied by the non-issue of the Advertiser on its usual day of publication. Thus a break occurred, which completely serves any continuous thread that might still have connected the two journals, and our announcement is justified by the facts as they actually exist".
>
> (New Zealand Times, 16 September, 1867)

The first issue contains the notice of dissolution of Joseph and Edward Bulls' partnership and business. They, along with the Roe brothers had begun the Advertiser. The Roe brothers had left some time previously. The new proprietor was named as Richard Pearson. However Pearson, a stamp department clerk, was a nominal owner[28] obscuring the identity of the real proprietor, John Martin.[29]

Apart from his eventual membership of the Legislative Council Martin never had a personal political career. But his intentions for the New Zealand Times were not primarily commercial. The newspaper had a short life but began with a strong support for the Government rather than with protestations as to the newspaper's political independence.

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28. Scholefield, (1958), pp.29-30.

29. John Martin (1822-92) was a clergyman's son from County Down. Arriving in New Zealand in 1841 his early employment was with pick and shovel and as a carter. Starting a business as a merchant, he prospered and eventually branched into shipping and farming. In subsequent years he was, in 1878, to be called to the Legislative Council by the Grey Government. In 1879 he purchased the Waihenga property of 34000 acres for £85000, subdividing a portion of it for the town of Martinborough.

> "... We believe no other Government to be possible at the present time, not only because the extraordinary state of parties at present entirely forbids the chance of the compact organisation of a powerful opposition prepared to take the reins of State, but because the complete disintegration of parties and the absolute confusion which has fallen on the Assembly, makes it a necessity to the country that the personnel of the present Administration should not be altered, as containing the only men, willing to act together, who are capable of shaping into such form as will give a tolerably consistent result to the legislation of the Houses of Assembly as they are at this moment composed".
>
> (New Zealand Times, 16 September, 1867)

By offering its support to Stafford's ministry, the New Zealand Times was in opposition to the Wellington Independent. This opposition also took place in Wellington provincial politics where the New Zealand Times opposed Featherston, who was championed by the Independent.

The paper was due for a quick collapse. It started as a 2d daily and was the first of the Wellington morning papers to try daily appearance. Five weeks later the following appeared in its columns.

> "From this date the New Zealand Times will appear as a tri-weekly journal, and in making this change it is with a conviction, on practical grounds, that this Province is not yet prepared to support the enterprise of a daily newspaper. At some not distant period possibly the want may become sufficiently great to warrant its establishment but without the concurrence of business men, to whom a newspaper is as much a necessity as their support is to its success we cannot pretend to supply it".
>
> (New Zealand Times, 21 October 1867)

The paper just saw out the month as a tri-weekly and the final issue was on 1 November 1867.

Martin's attempt and failure is a further indication of the financial difficulties to be experienced, from the 1860's on, by anyone who wished to begin a newspaper. The self-made Martin was a man of sufficient means to have carried a newspaper of the type present before the 1860's. But a daily newspaper was beyond him. The political advocacy of the New Zealand Times was not unpopular. Nor was it an advocacy already followed by an existing Wellington newspaper. But the paper gained neither sufficient circulation nor advertising for Martin to be able to carry on.

The year 1868 saw three papers started in Wellington. None were to have a long life. Edward Bull attempted to revive the New Zealand Advertiser. In this appearance it ran from 31 May 1868 to, probably, some time in early 1869. The last issue available is that of 10 February 1869 and this may have been the final issue. Henry Blundell regarded a paper run by the Bull's as a serious threat and moved to discourage it by publishing a further paper himself. This was a morning edition of the Evening Post.

The third paper for 1868 was Richard Wakelin's Wellington Journal. This was a tri-weekly morning newspaper selling for ld per issue. Richard Wakelin (1816-81) was from Warwickshire, and travelled in North America before becoming a journalist in his native England. A chartist and temperance advocate, he edited papers for both causes.

Arriving in New Zealand in 1850 he became, as will be discussed, arguably the first professional journalist in the country. Wakelin

founded his own newspaper, the Wairarapa Journal, on 1 January 1868 but was unable, to obtain the necessary extra printing work to make his business pay. So he moved to Wellington in March 1868 and started his Wellington Journal. Wakelin was aiming for more than a profitable newspaper. He had no personal political career but had strong liberal political leanings and used his newspaper assiduously to advocate his political preferences. The following editorial extract illustrates his policies and his style.

> "... in this country at least there is no class, family, or party, which has the slightest claim, and what is more important, the slightest power to have its interests considered in preference to those of the people as a whole. We are essentially a democratic community, not only in reference to direct political power, but still more so with regard to our social state, and that as a consequence those liberal principles most characteristic of democracies are sure to prevail ..."
>
> (Wellington Journal, 8 May 1868)

Wakelin's newspaper was not to become established successfully. The last copy available is that of 22 July 1868 but the paper may have lasted longer for the plant, including an Albion double demy press, was not sold until 25 November 1868. It was purchased by the proprietors of the Wairarapa Mercury for £200.[30]

Wakelin, before and later, was to use his influence in support of Grey who he saw as the best representative of liberalism in New Zealand.

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30. Scholefield, (1958), p.61.

He also followed an anti-provincial policy and, thus, tended to oppose Featherston and Fox. This did not, however, stop him from working for political opponents at times. He had edited the pro-Featherston Independent from 1852-59 and was to be the opening editor of its weekly when McKenzie began the New Zealand Mail in 1870.

In 1870 there was a further attempt to revive the Advertiser. This time its title was the Daily Advertiser and Wellington Register. Its proprietors were Joseph Bull and William Mahony. They returned to the initial format of the New Zealand Advertiser and published the Daily Advertiser as a gratis sheet. It had four pages of which at least three were advertising. This appearance of the Advertiser was to last almost two years. It ended on 7 November 1871.

Throughout these years and in spite of the various challenges to its position, the Independent remained as the leading morning newspaper in Wellington. Its political advocacy was consistent. Always a partisan supporter in local politics of Featherston it was, in national politics, linked always with William Fox and, on his ascendency, with Fox's ally, Julius Vogel. The political advocacy of the Independent had never been a personal one for the proprietors. As the Independent gained commercial stature, its political advocacy remained largely unchanged. It included a partisan reporting and an initial raising of issues. Newspapers and their management, as in the 1850's, remained as important actors within the political process. A striking illustration of this is the 1865 aid shown to Fox in publishing his letter discussing the causes leading to the resignation of his Ministry. Unable to discuss the matter in the

House, Fox's strong Opposition view of the peace settlement and land confiscation was published in full and given the following accompaniment.

> "Mr. Fox occupies so prominent a position in the political world that his letter, which we publish today, is not likely to pass unnoticed .... Mr Fox has given so complete a history of all that took place during his term of office, that it is quite needless to supplement it by any comments of our own. A bold outline by the hand of a master gives a better idea of the object, than a more elaborate picture by an inferior artist, or one less acquainted with the subject. We can, however, testify to its correctness".
>
> (Independent, 7 January 1865)

A long expected change in Wellington journalism was the increase in publication rate by the Independent to daily frequency. The Evening Post began in 1865 as a daily, the year in which Thomas McKenzie became sole proprietor of the Independent. In spite of the example of the Evening Post and other shorter lived rivals, McKenzie was slow to move to a daily format. Only in 1871 did he feel a change was warranted.

> "Today is the first issue of the Independent as a "daily" ... The recent extension of telegraphic communication, the progress of settlement in the interior of the province, and the exigencies of the commercial community, have rendered a "tri-weekly" no longer adequate to the needs of our readers and subscribers"
>
> (Independent, 14 January 1871)

The change was accompanied by a decrease in size (from six to four pages) and price (from 3d to 2d). At the same time he announced a new weekly newspaper, the New Zealand Mail, to complement the Independent.

> "On Saturday we intend publishing a "weekly", containing all the news of the week and a great amount of matter, original and selected, specially interesting to country settlers. Our first weekly will appear next Saturday."[31]
>
> (Independent, 14 January 1871)

The Mail was a 20 page paper. It was soon enlarged to 24 pages, and sold for a 5/- per quarter subscription or for 6d per issue.

1872 saw the first evening newspaper rival to the Post. This was the Evening Telegraph. It was short lived and no copies of it remain.

The next Wellington evening paper which started on 25 February 1874, was William Hutchinson's[32] Tribune. Hutchinson had pursued a combined journalistic and local body political career in Wanganui, and was now moving his operations to Wellington where he wished to combine newspaper ownership with personal political advocacy. He had attempted to do so in Wanganui where his political ambitions are recorded as having militated

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31. There is some confusion as to the starting date of the New Zealand Mail. From this quotation, publication was intended to begin on 21 January 1871. The paper is recorded by Scholefield, (1958) p.33, as beginning in 1870 but this would appear to be an error. Remarkably few copies of the early issues of the Mail remain, the earliest being the issue of 25 February 1871 in the Hocken library. This is No.5. so a countback indicates the paper started on 28 January 1871.

32. William Hutchinson (1820-1905) was born in Banffshire, became a journalist and, in 1866, came to Auckland under engagement to the Southern Cross. Some months later he became editor and co-proprietor of the Wanganui Chronicle and controlled it for seven years. After selling the Tribune he was for a short time editor of the Nelson Colonist. In 1884 he moved to Otago and became much involved with trade unionism. He was Mayor of Wanganui (1873-74) and represented Wanganui in the Wellington Provincial Council (1867-76). He was five times elected Mayor of Wellington between (1876 and 1881). He was MHR for Wellington City (1879-81) and the Wellington South (1881-84). In 1890 he was elected MHR as a Labour representative for Dunedin City.

against the prosperity of his newspaper.[33] In Wellington he was to gain some political recognition but was to meet with a similar lack of journalistic success.

The Tribune, A Daily Chronicle and Advertiser of Colonial Commerce, Agriculture and Politics was a ld daily and was accompanied by a Weekly Tribune, published every Thursday. Hutchinson ran a paper with a clear programme of advocacy for the Government and agitation for the abolition of provinces, which was imminent.

> "The programme of Public Works and Immigration has been accepted by the country, and whatever differences of opinion may have existed or may still exist on the subject, there can properly be no standing still midway .... The native policy of the present Government has been an eminent success ... Provincialism, as involving double government and, still more and worse, diverse legislation, leads to weakness and circumlocution. It should be set aside ..."
>
> (Tribune, 25 February 1874)

> "One of the good effects of Mr Vogel's policy - one of the best, indeed, although the least noted - is its effect upon the people. In finding abundant work and good wages for the working classes, incentive and temptation to crime have been largely removed".
>
> (Tribune, 9 April 1874)

The Tribune was to be the longest lasting of the evening newspapers set up against the Post, but even so it was to last only six years and

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33. Scholefield, (1958), p.47.

only under a variety of proprietors and titles. The first major change came late in 1875 when the following was published.

> "Certain commercial changes in connection with the Tribune lead to a change in the editorial department as well, and the gentleman who has had charge of the latter, since the commencement, ceases his connection with it today".
>
> (Tribune, 4 December 1875)

The Tribune had not achieved financial stability in its first two years and Hutchinson had been forced to sell the paper. It was purchased by a group of three headed by E.T. Gillon. Gillon had been editor of the Evening Post but had resigned shortly before in order to contest, unsuccessfully, a seat in Parliament. The name was changed to the Evening Argus and Tribune but, apart from support offered to Gillon's electoral campaign, little else differed. The paper continued as a liberal publication with a strong emphasis on abolition of the provinces. Even Hutchinson remained for he served as editor for a time during the Argus's life.

Financial success was equally unobtainable for the Argus and, at the end of March 1878, it ended. But again it was a continuation under another guise for the paper had been purchased by Thomas Gardiner[34] who, from the same office, the next day, published the Evening Chronicle with the next serial number. The paper continued as a liberal publication

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34. Little is known of Thomas Gardiner. Scholefield, who seems sceptical about the matter, records him as having spent 24 years in journalism and as having owned a Sacremento newspaper.(1958), p.37.

and, again, failed to prosper. David Curle, Blundell's original partner, came in as co-proprietor on 16 May 1878. Gardiner left the paper, and the country, within the year in order to evade a libel suit brought by the Evening Post. Curle continued and took in Alan Anderson as co-proprietor. The paper was kept as a four page penny daily and, by late 1880, the proprietors were attempting to sell it. They were unsuccessful and the final issue was announced by the following.

> "No satisfactory tender having been received for the purchase of the Plant, Stock and Goodwill of the Evening Chronicle the trustees have decided to stop the publication of the paper from this date".
>
> (Evening Chronicle, 16 December 1880)

During the Tribune's various lives, two major and two minor changes occurred in Wellington journalism. The minor two were the beginning of the Daily Telegraph in 1875 and the Weekly Mercury in 1879. The major changes were the starting of the New Zealand Times in 1874 and the New Zealander in 1878.

The Daily Telegraph was a further attempt to begin a morning paper. The proprietor, William Mahoney, was from the family who had been co-proprietors of the Daily Advertiser, the last of the papers attempted by the Bull's. It began on 7 December 1875 and only one copy of one issue, the first, survives. It is not clear how long the paper survived but it must have been only for a short period.

The other minor Wellington paper for this period is the Wellington Weekly Mercury. Only one copy of one issue, the first, survives. And, from that copy, the imprint is torn! Probably there was only the one issue. It offered something for which there was, as yet, no market; an avoidance of political matters and a concentration on entertainment.

> "On ordinary political questions we do not intend to express any opinions ... We believe that under either party the Colony cannot suffer much and that the difference between the administration of "Tweedledum" and "Tweedledee" is a very slight thing indeed. Avoiding controversy it will be our aim to lead our readers into the shady houses for Art, Literature and Science, where they may enjoy at their leisure the song of the poet, the wisdom of the sage, and the fancy of the novelist".
>
> (Wellington Weekly Mercury, 31 October 1879)

The changes to the Wellington newspapers in the 1860's and early 1870's left partisan political advocacy as a normal and proper function of newspaper activity but also brought the control of newspapers, or at least those ones that continued, under the sway of men who were primarily oriented towards the financial success of their newspapers. In the mid and late 1870's there were to be two significant challenges to this orientation. In both cases, the change of ownership of the Independent and the commencement of the New Zealander, the newspaper management was to be closely connected with the governing Ministry. Discussion of these two newspapers will be considered below within the context of the relationship between the press and the government which grew with the development and use of the telegraph.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW ZEALAND JOURNALISM

AND

THE DAILY PRESS

The advent of the daily press was accompagnied by far reaching changes in the nature of journalism. The readership of newspapers increased beyond the class biased confines of earlier years. Journalism gradually changed to become an area of employment, a professional activity as opposed to the voluntary activity it had been. The telegraph, a technological innovation that began in New Zealand in the same decade as the daily press, allowed newspapers to offer a regular provision of news and this became their new priority. At the same time a new ideology for journalism saw the press as the guardian of the general welfare and aloof from political party allegiance. My intention is to discuss these matters and to present them in the context of ongoing political allegiances and involvement by newspaper controllers.

Diversity and Similarity:

The growth in the number of newspapers was accompanied by a decrease in their similarity and by a lack of unity among them. Prior to 1853 the New Zealand press was a few newspapers which were mainly advocates for the resident landowners and through which was coordinated the agitation for self-government. It was a colonial press united by its attempt to replace the Crown Colony Government with local government.

From 1853 to the start of the commercial press, which can be dated as beginning with the Otago Daily Times in 1861, the New Zealand press remained a small number of newspapers. They shared a dominant concern with being partisan political discussion forums within each province. No longer with the shared task of winning self-government to unite them, the management of the various newspapers did not maintain the contact of pre-

independence days. But a similarity of size of circulation, of upper class biased readership, and of concentration on provincial political affairs remained. It is correct, as Wakelin has stated, that the focus of the newspapers was provincial but it did not lead, as he argued, to a dissimilarity among newspapers.[1] The provincial focus was one shared by all newspapers.

The provincial focus of newspapers was not total. All newspapers were also interested in the national political arena. Many provincial debates were conducted on the national stage. All newspapers had orientations towards the status and policies of the General Government which were largely dictated by provincial considerations. The various newspapers' various positions in regard to national politics were by no means the same but all newspapers, although taking different debating positions, were at the debate. They showed a similarity of concern and interest, if not of policy.

In the 1860's this similarity lessened. The sheer increase in the number of publications made dissimilarity more likely. But the increase was also accompanied by an increase in the types of publication. Many of the new publications were not general newspapers but were journals oriented to specific audiences. Religious and temperance publications were the first of this type but they were followed by others. Even the newspaper press became a diverse group. Many of the new newspapers were small circulation weekly publications printed on the iron framed fixed presses of the type used in the 1840's and 1850's. The main centre

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1. p.92.

newspapers, at the other extreme, were rapidly becoming large scale businesses. Differences of circulation, technology, capital investment, staff and revenue quickly grew.

Against the trend towards diversity in the New Zealand newspapers was one factor which bound them together and eventually was to unite them as never before. This was the use of the telegraph in pursuit of the now realizable goal; the regular provision of news. The telegraph had considerable impact on the press as, by making possible rapid reporting from many places, it made possibly the idea that a daily newspaper should encompass the events of a "day", a new conceptual and cognitive category in journalism.[2] Not until 1876 when the Tasman cable was laid, putting New Zealand in communication with Australia and the rest of the world, was this chronicalling of the events of the day possible for New Zealand on other than a national basis. But from the outset the telegraph was seen as an answer to isolation and used by newspapers to change their long regretted inability to bring news from afar.

Telegraphed news was costly and from the start a staccato presentation, concentrating on what was perceived as factual information, was adopted. The newspaper page became a mosaic of snippets of information connected by the coincidence of their occurrence in the immediate past. An early and good example is the Press's first use of the telegraph. It is a telegraphed summary of news from a mail ship, the steamer Hero, which arrived in port on the day the Bluff - Christchurch line opened.

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2. Smith. p. 167.

LATEST NEWS PER ANGLO-INDIAN TELEGRAPH

GALLE, April 22
LONDON, April 5.

President Davis' message to Congress declares that Richmond was never in greater peril.
Sheridan continues his destructive raid with the greatest activity in the face of Lee's great army.
An attack on Mobile is imminent.
Greater efforts are being made at Richmond to organise a Negro force.
The Confederate Congress have passed this measure recommended by President Davis. He proposes if necessary to fire Richmond and to retreat.
Federal Government have withdrawn their notices of the abrogation of the Lake Treaty of 1817.
The Seward passport system ceases immediately.
Sherman was advancing on Goldsborough and Hardee had reached Whitehouse. He was continuing his destruction of railways with great activity.
It is reported that all cotton taken will be immediately shipped to England.
The Canadian Parliament has adjourned the Confederation.
New York papers of the 17th March state that the Federal General Scholfield had occupied Kingstown, Bragg retreating to Woodsford.
Sherman was within 21 miles of Richmond.
Gold has declined to 166.
Monte Video has given way in the struggle with Brazil, and peace has been restored.
A London telegram of April 3d announces the death of Richard Cobden.
The plague is depopulating whole towns in Russia, and is travelling rapidly towards Prussia.
Mrs Theresa Yelverton has failed in her final appeal to the law.
The Fort of Ferrol fired upon the Federal steamers Niagara and Sacramento for attempting to leave that fort, in pursuit of the Confederate Ram Stonewall, within 24 hours after the latter had been ordered to sea by the authorities of Lisbon.
An engagement between the Federal vessels and the Ram off the Portugese coast was expected.

LONDON, April 6.

Business bad.
The Confederates under Johnston have been victorious over Sherman.

The following day's telegraphed news is a further typical example; this time of a day with no mail ship arrivals.

> "Invercargill, Monday 2 PM. The Airedaile will leave the Bluff in an hour.
> Wind west, with rain.
> No news."
>
> (Press, 22 May 1865)

This type of presentation became common to all newspapers which received telegraphed news. There were publications which opted out from use of the telegraph but they were few and, by that decision, ceased to be newspapers, instead joining the growing variety of periodicals.

The new telegraphic presentation was quickly adapted to New Zealand political news and a shorter sentence structure and concentration on objective material soon developed.[3] The telegraph, the harbinger of the electronic media, was the device that allowed a day to day presentation of national as opposed to local political occurrences. As well as facilitating a change in concentration to the national political arena, the use of the telegraph was also accompagnied by a change in the style of political reporting. That it was a new construction of political reality was not always recognized.[4] The following extract from the Nelson Evening Mail on the occasion of the debate leading to the fall of the Stafford Ministry is an illustration. While perhaps verbose to modern

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3. For a discussion of the concept of objectivity as applied in journalism see Smith.

4. For a theoretical discussion of this position see Berger and Luchman. A contemporary application to journalism is given by Tuchman.

ears it is taciturn in comparison to earlier practice. More importantly, rather than a discussion of the substantive issues of the debate and advocacy for one side in it, there is a reporting of the holding of the debate and an estimate of its future course. It is a story as opposed to a discussion and is one that supporters of either side of the debate could use. Significantly it was shared by the Nelson Colonist and the Nelson Evening Mail.

> "(From the Colonist)
> Telegraph Intelligence. Wellington. Thursday 7.22PM.
>
> Mr Fox opened the debate on the motion of want of confidence on Tuesday evening. His speech lasted two hours and was very spirited and effectively given.
>
> Mr Stafford followed at once and defended his government dexterously and brilliantly. The debate continued last night in a rather desultory manner. It is expected to drag on for five or six nights. The Opposition confidently expect a majority of at least six. Mr Stafford has intimated that if the no confidence motion is carried he will not resign but will dissolve Parliament".
>
> (Nelson Evening Mail, 18 June 1869)

The ability given by the telegraph to send news rapidly was a major factor in changing the nature of the newspaper. The preeminence of local political discussion was gradually displaced as the priority task of a newspaper. It was the provision of news which newspapers, not only in New Zealand but around the world, increasingly perceived as their major service for the public. The major factor that acted against the New Zealand newspapers becoming an increasingly diverse group was their shared interest in the provision of news and their increasingly cooperative efforts to provide it.

Newspaper Readership

As the circulation of newspapers moved from the hundreds into the thousands so was the readership enlarged. And with this enlargement came a change in the nature of the readership. It lost a class bias it had possessed since 1840. This class bias was the same as that which described the minority who ruled the country after the gaining of self-government. Speaking of this minority who ruled from 1853 to Ballance's Ministry in 1891, Reeves described them as "possessing better education and on the whole more knowledge and ability - possessing too, land, money and the control of commerce and the professions.... As they often belonged by origin to the classes which in those days controlled English politics they regarded it as natural, as soon as self government was granted, that they and their friends should direct it."[5] While there were major additions - with Vogel and Whitaker being perhaps the most important - this minority was largely drawn, in Sinclair's words from "the gentry from the original Wakefield settlements."[6] This does perhaps overstate the importance of the Wakefield settlements. Auckland politicians, with no Wakefield settlement background, were also influential in national government. But it does indicate the nineteenth century settlers' acceptance of the importance of social class. The ruling minority were drawn from those settlers who, in the original Wakefield classification, were "colonists". Not only the ruling minority but also, pertinent to this discussion, the newspaper readership was largely restricted to this class. Class biased literacy rates, high

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5. p.271.

6. p.108.

subscription costs and an identification of newspapers with the interests of an upper class, combined to restrict newspaper readership.

The growth of newspaper circulations in the 1860's and 1870's meant not only that the newspaper readership was enlarged but that it was no longer restricted to an upper class. This enlargement of readership came with two changes in newspaper publication; the increase in frequency to daily publication and the decrease in price to 1d. With some newspapers, the Evening Post and the Nelson Evening Mail being examples, these changes come together. But for most newspapers the penny press came some years after the introduction of daily publication. Both of these changes were marked by increases in circulation, with the new readership being drawn from a population less restricted by class than before. The first change, that to daily publication, was not necessarily causal of an increased readership. More often an increase to daily publication was undertaken to take advantage of an already increasing circulation. The second change, the drop in price to 1d, was, however, often accompanied by a rapid increase in circulation and was designed to promote such an increase.

The pattern of migration in the 1860's and 1870's brought a predominantly working class population to New Zealand.[7] But they were a working class who, unlike their emigrant predecessors in the Wakefield settlements, were increasingly literate.[8] It was the newly literate

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7. See the discussion in Arnold, especially Chapter 15.

8. Ibid.

working class who were not only the bulk of immigrants to New Zealand but also began to form the bulk of the newspaper readership.

The new patterns of newspaper readership were made possible by the combined technologies of the steam engine and cylindrical printing press. Only with this technology was it possible to print enough copies of daily newspapers to reach and maintain the higher circulations. Many argued that the new technology was causal of the increased readership. "The steam press has made the present a reading age", wrote Wakelin.[9] More modestly and correctly the steam press was the technology that allowed the daily newspaper to become part of the reading material of the large numbers of the newly literate.

Political Emancipation:

An important feature of the change was that it did not accompany any political emancipation. The advent of the daily press in New Zealand with its increased readership differed from that of many other countries by the fact that it preceded rather than accompanied a political emancipation. Referring to the United States experience Schudson argued that "Modern journalism, which is customarily and appropriately traced to the penny papers, had its origins in the emergence of a democratic market society." By "democratic" he refers to "the replacement of a political culture of gentry rule by the ideal and the institutional fact of mass democracy."[10] The extension of the franchise to all males in New Zealand was a feature of the 1880's with its effects being first felt in the 1890

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9. p.77.

10. p.57.

election. The change of newspapers from a class based subscription press to a mass penny press predated this and was a feature of the 1860's and 1870's.

Nor was it in New Zealand, as in England and the United States, a case of penny papers beginning in competition with the established six-penny papers and gradually supplanting them. There were new penny newspapers but in New Zealand the process was more one of conversion. The six-penny newspapers themselves were embarked on the same road; that of a lower unit price in quest of a high circulation with the whole concern financially supported by advertising revenue. From a six penny political discussion forum for gentlemen the newspapers became penny journals designed to attract a mass readership which could then be sold to advertisers. But during this transition the political franchise remained unchanged and the political discussion and advocacy of the newspapers remained directed at the level of the electorate. It was an inconsistent orientation but one which was not peculiar to New Zealand. It was in keeping with the then recently enunciated english doctrine of the press as the Fourth Estate.[11] The press vented and dissipated discontent and "if by accident journalism were to become suddenly extinct, such a Parliamentary Reform as the wildest of us have never dreamed of, would become an instant and paramount necessity."[12] This tradition saw public opinion as the expression of a relatively small,

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11. Henry Reeve's classic statement of the Fourth Estate theory was first published in October 1855 in the Edinburgh Review.

12. "The Newspaper Press". Edinburgh Review Cii, October 1855. pp.470-498.

elitist group with the time and the education to reach a considered judgement on political affairs.[13]

Journalism as a Profession:

The status of journalism was high in New Zealand. This was by no means usual. In the England whose newspapers New Zealand editors recognized as home journals, journalists of the working class press were vilified by established public opinion and those of the middle class were not considered in a profession "a man would willingly enter when a competence is open to him."[14] There was doubt if journalism was a profession. With little remuneration or tenure of position and no practice of monopoly privilege it had few of the generally accepted hallmarks of a profession. John Stuart Mill, writing in 1829, was in no doubt of the status of English journalists.

> "You know in how low a state the newspaper press of this country is. In France the best thinkers and writers of the nation, write in the journals and direct public opinion; but our daily and weekly writers are the lowest hacks of literature, which when it is a trade, is the vilest and most degrading of all trades, because more of affectation and hypocrisy, and more subservience to the baser feelings of others, are necessary for carrying it on, than for any other trade, from that of a brothelkeeper upwards...."[15]

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13. Boyce, pp.19-40.

14. H.B. Thompson The Choice of a Profession (1857) p.339, quoted in Lee, p.107.

15. Mineka, p.38-39.

Even Thomas Barnes, while editor of The Times, was refused membership of the Athenaeum.[16]

In New Zealand it was different. While the occupation of journalism eventually was to be of similar standing in both countries, in New Zealand it descended from a loftier regard. Journalism in New Zealand began as a voluntary service for their community and their class performed largely by well educated, capable and generally well regarded male members of the colony's elite; the small group of aristocratic and upper middle class migrants who became the New Zealand ruling class. Journalists in the successful struggle for self-government and in the subsequent legislatures gained publicly recognised political influence and power. Particular newspapers and the press generally were frequently criticized. But with a record of power, influence, and association with the gentry, journalism in New Zealand was a respected profession.

The status of journalism as a profession was not a problem in New Zealand. In England the nature of a profession itself was under change and much of the odium that fell on journalism, a profession unrecognized by the state, was symptomatic of a wider disdain and directed at one of its more visible illustrations. The wider change was to the entire organization of work and was taking a form, in Weber's terms, both bureaucratic and rational.[17]

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16. Lee, p.106.

17. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (1947).

While accepted as a profession in New Zealand, journalism, as in England, was to become one of the lower professions. With no educational qualifications or formal entry requirements it was to differ from other professions. It was also hampered by the practice of anonymity. Anonymity made it impossible for an individual journalist to gain any public recognition as superior in his occupation. It thus denied him much bargaining power against an employer. Anonymity meant depressing the price journalists could get for their work as much as stifling their individuality.

The New Zealand press began as and largely remained an anonymous press. Prior to the 1860's, when communities and newspaper circulations were small enough for newspaper managements to have a face to face relationship with their subscribers, anonymity was formal rather than actual. Also various writers at times wrote under pen names which soon became well enough known to acknowledge rather than conceal their identity. But there was no argument with the understanding that journalism should be anonymous and, from the 1860's, there was an actual anonymity to the great majority of newspaper writing.

The rationale for journalistic anonymity was presented by the Press on the occasion of a lapse by the Lyttelton Times.

> "A statement appeared a week ago in The Lyttelton Times to the effect that The Press was under the management of Mr. FitzGerald. No one knows better than the Editor of the Lyttleton Times that there is an impropriety and discourtesy in invading the privacy in which time and well-established custom has concealed the names of those connected with the anonymous press .... The sole value and object of an anonymous press is, that the opinions it

> promulgates may go before the public solely for what they are worth; entirely free either from the influence on the one hand, or the unpopularity on the other, which may attach to their author. This is the great safeguard of a perfectly free press, and by this principle we abide."
>
> (Press, 1 June 1861)

The Lyttelton Times accepted the scolding.

> "We desire to offer an ample apology for a mistake committed by us last Wednesday week with reference to the Press, a mistake which that paper has very properly pointed out."
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 5 June 1861)

Journalistic anonymity was, of course, the English practice. This fact itself gave it acceptability in New Zealand. But the English, and New Zealand, pattern was by no means universal. Especially in France little attention was paid to anonymity and from 1861 the situation there was one which required signatures for all political articles.[18] The French situation is relevant to New Zealand for there were marked similarities between the practice of journalism, particularly political journalism, in the two countries. In both countries the practice of journalism, unlike in England, received status and respect. In both countries there was close association between journalism and politics. Newspapers were identified with political groups and acted as partisan advocates. Writing for newspapers was regarded as a political act and a

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18. Lee, p.256.

normal step in a political career. To be a journalist was an accepted method of attempting to gain political office.[19]

The requirement in France for signatures on political articles ensured that the avenue from journalistic recognition to electoral success remained open. It was an avenue that was to close in New Zealand but not completely until the extension of the franchise. While the franchise remained select, journalists could maintain a face to face relationship with a significant portion of the electorate and continue to gain public recognition.

Early New Zealand Professional Journalists:

It was during the 1860's that professional journalism come to be a major aspect of newspaper life in New Zealand. Professional journalism refers to the employment of people to contribute to or edit newspapers, who were to receive a salary for their services, who were to regard journalism as their major source of income, and who were appointed for their journalistic competence rather than for their political loyalty and prominence. This was an application in journalism of the new bureaucratic organization of work.[20] It appeared in England and the United States early in the nineteenth century. The press throughout the eighteenth century was at pains to provide a variety of versions of unproven material for the benefit of ideological factions.[21] The same

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19. O'Boyle. p.300.

20. Weber.

21. Smith, p.159.

concerns occupied the New Zealand newspapers at least into the 1860's. Running an early newspaper was an intensely personal matter. Often the one man was owner, editor, reporter, printer and business manager.[22] Commonly in New Zealand assistance was given voluntarily to a newspaper proprietor by men who saw their efforts as a form of public and political service.

In England it was not until 1802 that the term "editor" was used to describe the person in charge of a periodical publication. As the paper became a medium sized business the role of editor separated out as the supreme functionary short of its owner. When the two roles of professional editor and professional reporter were separated out and added to an emphasis on news, the newspaper became a new means of structuring reality.[23]

Professional journalism had been present in New Zealand before the 1860's but had not been dominant. The first notable instance is that of Richard Wakelin, who arrived in Wellington in 1850. Well experienced as a contributor and editor in England, he was initially unable to gain employment with either of the Wellington newspapers. The Independent did later publish a series of unsolicited letters from him on education. Impressed with his ability, it was at the end of the Crown Colony Government period that McKenzie, the proprietor, first engaged him, temporarily in 1851, to report the proceedings of the General Legislative

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22. Schudson, Chapter 1.

23. Tuchman.

Council, then about to sit in Wellington.[24] Shortly after this he was appointed permanently to the Independent "as general and shipping reporter, sub-editor, etc."[25] and later, on Featherston's retirement, replaced him as editor. Unlike Featherston, he was a salaried editor. Wakelin, as editor, championed Featherston but received no personal political reward for doing so. His own political views were, in fact, quite different from Featherston's and when, in later years, he was proprietor of his own newspaper, Wakelin was regarded as one of the more able advocates for a liberal position. His editorship of the Independent, however, is the initial instance in New Zealand of a journalist engaged for his professional expertise and expected to advocate his employing newspaper's political stance regardless of his own personal views.

This type of professional appointment was, however, a rarity in New Zealand in the 1850s. The newspapers were partisan political advocates and, generally, the most important trait for journalists was a personal political commitment that made them not only political advocates but also active politicians in their own right. Where appointments were made for reasons of professional competence rather than political belief, the nature of the appointment was such as not to interfere with the dominant political role of the newspaper. This is well illustrated by the case of G.S. Sale who was appointed as founding editor of the Press in Christchurch. Although editor, Sale accepted that his position was not

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24. Wakelin, pp.5-6.

25. Ibid., p.19.

that of controlling functionary of the newspaper. The political role of the newspaper was all important, and its political controller the dominant personality. As Sale expressed it,

> "I saw at once that I had no right whatever to pronounce an opinion on the burning question of the day,[26] and I recognised that I had been appointed editor mainly because of my supposed literary qualifications... I therefore decided to confine myself to the duty of 'getting up' the paper and to writing on general subjects or on European events... The life and soul of the paper was always Mr FitzGerald. He was the main author of its existence and its politics were his politics".[27]

The Press was founded in 1861 but prior to the announcement of the Otago gold discoveries and prior to the commencement of the daily press. It was with the start of a daily press that a professional staff became a normal feature of New Zealand journalism. Not only did the higher frequency of appearance place the work required beyond the tolerance level of the previously voluntary labour, but the profit seeking and achieving nature of the daily press rendered voluntary labour inapplicable. Not all newspapers immediately changed to a full time salaried staff, nor did all new newspapers immediately begin with such a staff. As is indicated by Blundell's Evening Post, many were unable initially to afford a staff and began as family concerns. But the rapid trend was for newspapers to employ full-time staff. During the 1860's the occupation of journalism and its constituent divisions from reporter to editor appeared as facets of the country's employment structure.

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26. Moorhouse's Lyttelton railway and tunnel scheme and the attendent borrowing policy.

27. Quoted in O'Neill, (1963), pp. 20-1.

Professional employment in journalism became a stepping stone for some who went on to become newspaper proprietors in their own right. The Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper Company in Dunedin was the first concern to produce a daily newspaper and the first to be a substantial employer of a full time salaried staff. It attracted many men to its staff who had ambitions and saw the opportunities to begin their own newspapers. The three who were the most successful eventually were George Bell, Henry Blundell and George Fenwick.

Bell, who arrived in New Zealand in 1863, both reported for the Otago Daily Times and, from 1863 to 1869, edited the Otago Witness. In 1869 he began his own Evening Independent but soon purchased the long lasting Evening Star.

Blundell, the founder of the Wellington Evening Post, settled in New Zealand in 1863 and began working for Vogel in the Otago Daily Times. He left the following year to begin his first New Zealand newspaper, the Havelock Mail.

George Fenwick was perhaps the most successful of the three eventually acquiring the Otago Daily Times itself. In 1859, at the age of twelve, he was apprenticed to the Otago Witness. He finished his apprenticeship six years later. His apprenticeship thus coincided with the foundation and first years of the Otago Daily Times and covered the years of most rapid change in New Zealand journalism. In 1867 and 1868 Fenwick was co-proprietor of the Tuapeka Press and Goldfields Gazette. In 1869 he co-founded the Cromwell Argus. He sold in 1875 and returned

to Dunedin where in 1876 he was proprietor of the short-lived Evening News. As has been discussed he was in 1875 manager and later co-proprietor of the Otago Guardian, a morning competitor to the Otago Daily Times. In 1877 he, with his co-proprietor, purchased the Otago Daily Times and Otago Witness and amalgamated the Guardian with the Witness. In a long and distinguished career Fenwick became the first president of the Newspaper Proprietors Association and was eventually knighted for his services to journalism.

Professional Journalism and Political Involvement:

One of the more interesting features of the change to professional journalism was the manner in which it combined with the political activism that had always been a feature of New Zealand journalism. Even though many proprietors considered their own personal involvement in political life would prejudice their papers' independence, as will be shown below they did not require their staff to also refrain from personal political involvement. Nor did the public's understanding that political activism was a proper feature of the New Zealand press suddenly disappear in the 1860's with the arrival of the daily newspapers. Thus numbers of professional journalists stood for election to the House of Representatives.

David Mitchell Luckie is one example of a professional journalist of this type. An emigrant from Scotland, he had considerable journalistic experience there before he emigrated to New Zealand in 1863 and settled in Nelson. He immediately found employment with the Colonist and soon became its editor and then co-proprietor. He remained as editor and co-

proprietor until he left Nelson in 1873. This was his only period of newspaper ownership. Luckie represented Nelson City in the Provincial Council from 1869 to 1872, and first stood for the House of Representatives in 1866. He argued during the campaign that his occupation made him especially fitted to be a public representative.

> "Inclination and early training, together with the peculiar nature of my business, make my interests and the public interests one."
>
> (Colonist, 12 January 1866.)

The willingness of Luckie, and other New Zealand journalists, when political candidates, to acknowledge their occupation is a further indication of the higher status journalism enjoyed in New Zealand as compared with England. English journalists were reluctant so to identify themselves because of the strong feeling against their occupation. As an instance, in 1868 the editor of the Birmingham Daily Post was vilified at an election contest in East Staffordshire on the grounds that he was a newspaperman.[28]

Luckie was unsuccessful in a rugged campaign.[29] He was eventually successful and was M.H.R. for Nelson from 1872 to 1875. Once he became a

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28. Lee, p.106.

29. The campaign included accusations in the Colonist that the firm of Curtis Bros (Oswald Curtis being Luckie's electoral rival) were conniving at and encouraging smuggling by their employees and were persecuting the Nelson acting Collector of Customs. See the letter from Honesty in Colonist of 20 February 1866 and the reports of the inconclusive libel action in Colonist of 30 November 1866 and 4 December 1866.

parliamentary representative he left the Colonist and Nelson and became, in Auckland, editor of the Southern Cross. This was the paper which had been acquired in 1869 by Julius Vogel. It should not be seen, however, as Vogel offering employment to a parliamentary ally in the still unremunerated House of Representatives. Vogel had probably sold his interest in the Southern Cross by the time Luckie became editor. If not he sold it soon after. Luckie's appointment seems to have been because of his professional rather than political competence. When in 1876 the Southern Cross was purchased by A.G. Horton and closed down, Luckie became leader writer for the Auckland morning rival of the Southern Cross, the New Zealand Herald. He was there to 1878. In 1879 he became Commissioner of the Government Insurance Department.

Robert James Creighton is another instance of a professional journalist with parliamentary ambitions. Like Luckie an experienced Scottish journalist he was appointed in 1861 to move to Auckland and take control of the Southern Cross. He first entered the House of Representatives in April 1865 at a by-election. His first term was only for nine months but he was later a M.H.R. from 1869 to 1875 first for Newton and then for Eden. On first entering the House he ceased editing but continued as manager of the Southern Cross. In 1868 he made a brief attempt to become a newspaper proprietor. He started the Auckland Free Press which, beginning during a business depression, lasted only six weeks. Sometime after this he became editor of the New Zealand Herald. How long he held the post is uncertain but in 1873 he was the inaugural editor and manager in Dunedin of the Otago Guardian. He left that position in 1874 or 1875 to edit in Wellington the successor to the

Independent, Vogel's New Zealand Times. In early 1876 he left New Zealand for San Francisco and his parliamentary and New Zealand journalistic career ended.

The Southern Cross, the Otago Guardian, the New Zealand Times and the New Zealand Herald were similar newspapers in that the editorial policy of all four was in support of the landed interests who were the political power in the country. Creighton was not being asked, by working for these different newspapers, to make large changes to his own political beliefs. Luckie, however, was so required. The Nelson Colonist was one of the earliest newspapers in New Zealand to regard itself as liberal and to advocate policies consistently at odds with those followed in New Zealand.[30] Luckie was elected to Parliament while co-proprietor and editor of the Colonist. But he served most of his term in the House while editor of the Southern Cross with an editorial policy far removed from that of the .Colonist.

Payment for parliamentarians was not introduced until 1884.[31] There was nothing unusual in members of the House being in paid employment whilst also being representatives. Creighton began his parliamentary career while working for the Southern Cross. Luckie was editor of the Southern Cross for most of his term in Parliament. As we have seen the combination of political and journalistic activity was not unusual in Auckland or elsewhere in New Zealand.

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30. It followed the Lyttelton Times which was the first to call itself a liberal advocate.

31. Hight and Bamford, p.343.

There was, however, a major difference between the combination of political representation and journalistic activity as practised by such as Creighton and Luckie and as it was practised in earlier years by such men as, for example, William Brown when he was in control of the Southern Cross or by another notable Aucklander, John Williamson, when he was in control of the New Zealander. Brown and Williamson ran unprofitable newspapers that had a major aim of furthering their political goals and careers. Creighton and Luckie were probably aided politically by their journalistic prominence, though Luckie's ambivalent position makes even this doubtful. But they were employed because of their usefulness to their employing newspapers, not because of the newspapers' usefulness to them. Having members of the House as senior staff members increased the political acumen of the newspapers. But the furtherance of their staff's political careers was not of importance to the proprietors of newspapers.

Timaru Herald:

The changing relationship between politicians and the press is well illustrated by the history of the Timaru Herald. The paper began as a weekly on 11 June 1864 and became a bi-weekly in 1865 when the telegraph line reached Timaru. Founded and originally edited by Alfred George Horton, a major motive in establishing the paper was to obtain separation for the Timaru area from Canterbury Province. While this was not to be achieved Horton is credited with helping to promote the Bill in Parliament which established the Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works.[32] This was an acceptable half measure. Ingram Shrimpton, the ex-proprietor of the Lyttelton Times, became a partner in 1864 as did Herbert Belfield

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32. Scholefield, (1958), p.233.

in 1867. Both Belfield and Horton began a personal political involvement being members of the Canterbury Provincial Council in from 1867 - 1868 and 1869-1870, respectively. But both quickly retired from politics. Horton, who was later, in Auckland, to become co-proprietor of the New Zealand Herald, accepted the established New Zealand Herald policy that proprietors should not have personal political careers.

In 1871 Horton sold out to Belfield and left for the North Island. Belfield then became editor until 1875 when he appointed as editor Edward Wakefield, who in the same year was elected to Parliament for the Geraldine seat. Until 1884 Wakefield was both M.H.R. and newspaper editor. He was not a co-proprietor but was a salaried employee. Wakefield's political advocacy for the district was thus carried on both in the newspaper he edited and in the House of Representatives. His political views were compatible with those of Belfield, the proprietor, and of course with the editorial policy of the Timaru Herald. His editorship did his political career no harm. But the paper was not a personal political advocate for Wakefield. He was acceptable to his employer only as long as he could be an effective editor. Political advancement would rule this out. When, in 1884 he was appointed Colonial Secretary in the Atkinson Ministry he resigned as editor and his association with the Timaru Herald ended.

Newspapers and Political Advocacy:

The political orientation of newspapers in the 1860's and 1870's was not of the order of the two previous decades. New perspectives arose and there were significant differences between newspapers and between types

of newspapers. The rising business orientation led to change. O'Boyle has argued that European journalism in the first half of the nineteenth century was rescued from political patronage and its variety of corruption largely by the demands of commerce.[33] Lee has extended the argument to include the United States.[34] The argument is continued and holds that the commercial men became equally demanding patrons. What liberated one generation fettered the next.

The argument is only partially applicable to New Zealand in the 1860's and 1870's. There was an appearance of commercial demands. They often become imperatives and they bought a new perspective and definition of purpose to the New Zealand newspapers. But it was not a matter of commercial goals replacing political goals. Political goals were neither replaced nor substantially diminished. Political figures continued attempts, both successful and unsuccessful, to control different newspapers. While the propriety of such attempts were challenged, the active and partisan role of the newspaper in political life was not questioned.

Some newspapers continued the older pattern of the 1850's of backing a personal, political career for the proprietor. This occured mainly among those smaller newspapers which were of the type present prior to the 1860's. With such newspapers the older situation, of a small circulation with losses small enough to be absorbed and offset against political gains, remained. But Julius Vogel is the major example in the

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33. O'Boyle's references are to France, Germany and England. pp.290-317.

34. pp.104-5.

1860's and 1870's of a politician using his newspapers to support his political career, and his actions indicate that this behaviour had not entirely faded from the main centers.

The opposite view, that newspapers should be unconcerned with political matters, was voiced by some would-be proprietors but never received public support. No newspapers with such an orientation were successfully established.

More common was the view that newspaper ownership should not be linked with a personal political career. As we have noted the Evening Post and New Zealand Herald were foremost among newspapers espousing such a view. This was not, however, considered to be incompatible with political partisan advocacy. Both the Evening Post and New Zealand Herald were able to abhor the notion of personal political advocacy for a proprietor while consistently supporting particular politicians and particular policies.

There was not in New Zealand a simple movement from a political press to a business press. While business demands become significant and even became imperatives they were amalgamated with a tradition of political allegiance.

Political Advocacy and Party Allegiance:

Even the new commercial newspapers that considered themselves to be free of political allegiance, in the sense of party allegiance, were ready to advocate measures that were at the heart of the political

divisions of the time. This is most notable in regard to attitudes towards provincialism. An illustration is the following statement from the Morning Advertiser which both eschews party allegiance and advocates an extreme position on the provincialism/centralism debate.

> "Politics, of course, are by a large number of newspaper readers looked upon as the real measure by which their support or opposition is to be determined. It would be difficult indeed to recognize much difference in real politics in this Province. There may arise at times certain differences of opinion between leading men as to minor points of Government, or as to the merits of particular individuals, but beyond this there is but little distinction in the views of all our representative men. The maintenance of the proper position of Auckland as the leading Province of New Zealand, and strong efforts to obtain insular separation, so that the North Island governing itself, may not be hampered and trammelled in its prosperity by the prejudices and unfair antipathies of the South, are the standpoints around which all our politicians rally. In politics then it will be simply sufficient to say that The Advertiser shall be completely independent of the many, and in some cases powerful local or partisan influences which check all independence in journalism, and prevent a free expression of public opinion otherwise than by the platform or the Hustings. For all that can maintain the interests of Auckland, for all that can prevent them from being injured, The Morning Advertiser will be a consistent and earnest advocate, but with politics, as meaning the rivalry of local cliques, or the combination of a few to do injustice to the many, The Morning Advertiser will have nothing to do."
>
> (Morning Advertiser 4 January 1870)

The repudiation of party allegiance and the denial of the importance of party distinctions were part and parcel of the change in newspapers to a mass press attempting to attract readers of all classes and political persuasions. The fervent espousal of provincial allegiances, even though

this was a topic of considerable political debate, was not inconsistent with this change. For newspapers, though trying to attract a general readership, were not geographically general. They were firmly based within a particular region and, therefore felt obliged, as well as safe, to pursue extravagently the claims of that region. Thus, the Auckland Free Press, starting three years after the removal of the site of Government to Wellington, had as a major part of its political platform Auckland's reinstatement as the capital.

> "Touching general politics, it is sufficient to say, that the aim of the Free Press will be to preserve the integrity of the Province until the political balance has been readjusted, and Auckland resumes its legitimate position as the Seat of Government".
>
> (Auckland Free Press, 11 May 1868)

The repudiation of party allegiance made by many of the new commercial newspapers was not a retreat from political involvement. On the contrary it was an attempt to forge for the mass press a political identity and political involvement as wide as its growing readership. Its concern, it was argued, was not for a party but for the public at large and for the general welfare of the entire community. The concept of "public opinion" was used. As in the above quotation from the Morning Advertiser, part of a newspaper's political duty was to allow the "free expression of public opinion". As initially argued in England by Bentham and Mill, and later adopted by the New Zealand press, the newspaper press was the link between public opinion and the government. For Bentham the newspaper press was "not only an appropriate organ of the public opinion

tribunal, but the only regularly and constantly acting one."[35] Mill extended the argument to maintain that the freedom of the press must be "regarded as an indispensable security, and the greatest safeguard of the interests of mankind."[36] It was from this body of thought that Reeves developed his 1855 statement of the press as the Fourth Estate.

New Zealand newspapers in the 1860's and 1870's were to use this intellectual tradition to argue that they were concerned with general rather than particular welfare. Creighton, in his opening editorial for the Free Press, phrased it as follows.

> "The Auckland Free Press will not be bound to a Party, nor will it be subject to undue influence or pressure of any kind. Depending entirely upon the people for its support, its aim will be to advocate measures calculated to promote the public good."
>
> (Auckland Free Press, 11 May 1868)

It was argued, as in the following statement from the Dunedin weekly, the Southern Mercury, that this independence and generality was of more worth to the society.

> "Subservient to no Party, and untrammelled by personal influences, it will be our aim to promote the general welfare, ever remembering that nothing can be really beneficial which tends unduly to advance the interests of a class at the expense of

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35. Quoted in Boyce, p.21.

36. James Mill's article on the "Liberty of the Press" was first published in the supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica between 1816 and 1823. Quoted in Ibid. p.22.

> a community, and to the detriment of the Commonwealth..."
>
> (Southern Mercury, 3 January 1874)

In this argument, the newspaper press was seen as somehow above a Government. It was the instrument by which a Government could be kept honest. The thought was well expressed in the opening statement of the Waikato Times.

> "..it is not our intention to give unqualified support to any political coterie, being of the opinion that it is the duty of the people, and consequently that of the Press, to support those who hold the reins of power only so long as they administer the affairs of the colony in a manner that will tend to promote its well being. It will, of course, be our special duty to jealously watch over the interests of the Waikato settlers, and to point out the public works or legislation required either to develop the resources of the district, or to remove any obstructions on the road to prosperity along which it is travelling with such rapid strides.
>
> We shall reserve a column for the promulgation of public opinion on all questions of importance. Space in this column will never be refused to any writer who expresses his opinions in courteous language. The facility a newspaper affords for the interchange of ideas is its most useful, and should be its principal feature. By the concentration of thought upon any subject, and the consequent unanimity of action and opinion, all great social and political reforms have been brought about. To this fact is owing the great power the Press exercises throughout the world. A well-conducted journal cannot fail to confer great benefit upon the people of its district in which it circulates. It exposes all social and political abuses; by the former it improves the tone of society, and by the latter acts as a wholesome check on those who undertake the government of the country".
>
> (Waikato Times, 2 May 1872)

Boyce has argued that, in England, the view of the press as an expositor of public opinion and a check on Government was a successful attempt to find for newspapers a middle ground political role, between revolution on the one hand and subservience on the other. In New Zealand the rhetoric was adopted and the argument that the press had a wider concern than party politics was also used. This argument had, as in England, a particular cogency in the years during which the franchise was restricted and the electorate was not as wide as the newspaper readership. But in New Zealand the press, even during the pre-1853 agitation for self-government, had never been revolutionary. New Zealand had no equivalent to the English working class press. Nor had the New Zealand newspapers been subservient. Newspaper managements, as we have seen, far from being lackeys of politicians, were drawn from the same social groupings as were politicians. Often the newspaper management and the politicians were the same figures. The links between politicians and newspapers since self-government had been of mutual benefit and newspapers had become integral, rather than subservient, aspects of the New Zealand political life.

The political doctrine that newspapers were guardians of the general welfare was a new ideology of non-partisan leadership that gave the press a political role distinct from that of political parties. The new ideology, however, made little difference to the actual practice of political allegiance. While the majority of newspaper managements made much of their independence the practice of partisan political allegiance remained. New Zealand newspapers did continue as recognized supporters or opponents of the successive Ministries. Newspapers remained powerful

political advocates. Politicians continued to consider newspaper support necessary both for their own electoral success and for the public and parliamentary acceptance of their policies.

The New Zealand newspapers were in an ambivalent position. They were partisan political advocates involved in one or other side of the political debates of the day. But also they were developing practices and an ideology distinct from those of politicians. These were, no matter what a newspaper's political advocacy, often to set them at odds with the Government of the day. The change is most noticeable in the use both newspapers and Governments made of the telegraph and to a study of this we now turn.

CHAPTER NINE

PRESS AND GOVERNMENT USE OF THE TELEGRAPH TO 1870

The telegraph first gained public prominence on 24 May 1844 when Morse sent a four word question, "What hath God wrought?" between Washington D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland. This first telegraph message, the herald of the electronic age, announced a new communication device, the rapid diffusion rates of which attest to the general eagerness with which it was taken up throughout the world.[1] The telegraph is one of those technological systems traceable to various discoveries rather than to one individual invention. In 1837 Samuel Morse produced his first system of telegraph and Cooke and Wheatstone patented their five needle system with five line wires, whereby pointers were deflected to indicate various letters of the alphabet. Both systems were to be introduced to New Zealand though, as elsewhere, Morse's less complicated one was finally to prevail.

The telegraph was to be of enormous significance to New Zealand as it facilitated the unification of the country in a manner previously impossible. In a country previously argued as not one but six colonies,[2] the telegraph made possible matters as diverse as the standardizaton of time, the commencement of the weather reporting system, the standardization of merchandise pricing, and the apprehension of criminals at a distance.[3] It can be argued that the new amenities were an important factor, although a neglected one, in the political ascendency of centralism over provincialism.[4]

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1. De Fleur.
2. Fox, (1851).
3. Helm.
4. Ibid and see Morrell. pp 214, 281.

New Zealand Telegraph Construction

Telegraphic links were made among the South Island settlements in the mid 1860s and a cable was laid across Cook Strait in 1866. Links further north were to be delayed by the New Zealand Wars until the early 1870s, and that decade was also to see, in 1876, a cable laid across the Tasman, thus connecting New Zealand with Australia and the rest of the world.

The first references to New Zealand telegraphic use are to be found in the columns of the Lyttelton Times, the proprietors of which were ardent advocates for the invention. By 1858 they were writing in favour of the telegraph,[5] and they published the first schema for telegraph development. This was a reprint of a report by the General Telegraph Superintendent for Victoria and proposed the connection of Australia and New Zealand by cable.[6] This grand notion - appearing in the same year telegraph communication was established between Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide - had to await a corresponding development within New Zealand. This development began in Canterbury.

Support for the use of the telegraph by Crosbie Ward and William Reeves, the Lyttelton Times proprietors, was joined by the other major Canterbury newspaper figure of the period, J.E. FitzGerald, who had been in the United Kingdom since 1857 as Canterbury Agent. In 1859 he

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5. The first reference is the editorial of 11 August 1858.

6. Lyttelton Times, 25 September 1858.

had sent out sufficient material to erect a line between Lyttelton and Christchurch. The line was completed on 18 June 1862.[7]

Otago followed closely behind Canterbury with a line from Port Chalmers to Dunedin being opened two months later on 18 August 1862. A Bill to allow for the erection of the line had twice in 1860 been unsuccessfully placed before the Provincial Council. Supported by Macandrew of the Colonist, the opposition to the proposal was led by Cutten of the Witness who initially saw the Bill as allowing excessive interference with private property and, with a Port Chalmers population of only 127, also saw it as unnecessary.[8] He was converted only after the Tuapeka gold strike. At the third attempt, the Provincial Executive decided to go ahead with the proposal.

Christchurch and Dunedin are both cities situated some distance from their harbours. Their early adoption of the telegraph is understandable in contrast to its later development in the richer Company settlements at Nelson and Wellington. The Christchurch and Dunedin newspapers, trading in information, were among the major beneficiaries of a telegraph system. This was particularly true for the Lyttelton Times. Its office was not moved to Christchurch until 1863 and it gained much of its news as well as most of its circulation over the Port Hills on the plains.

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7. At a cost of £1800 according to Helm and £1405 according to Robinson who counts only the money paid to the contractor.

8. Otago Witness, 14 April, 21 April, 28 April, and 5 May 1860.

The next telegraph line to be erected in New Zealand was the first in the North Island. It was the line south from Auckland to the Waikato and was erected by British army engineers. The line which was "commenced during the war of 1863"[9] was to aid communication for the imperial troops. By October 1864 the line had reached its southern extremities, Cambridge and Te Awamutu. Due to hostilities, however, this line was to remain separate. Not until 1872 was Auckland connected with the rest of New Zealand and, again due to the hostilities in the Waikato, it was then to be via a line through Thames, Tauranga and Napier.

While the British army engineers were working in the north, telegraph construction was gaining pace in the south. Bluff and Invercargill, again a situation of a town being at a distance from its harbour, were connected in February 1864 and work was underway on a line along the length of the South Island.

The line along the length of the South Island was the first device to allow sustained and regular communication among settlements. On completion of the line newspapers of the settlements involved began a process of cooperation. Eventually this process was to lead to the uniting of most New Zealand newspapers within the United Press Association (U.P.A.). The new technology of the telegraph was felt first, however, not by the press but in the political arena. The construction of the South Island line was an early manifestation of

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9. Green, (1934), p.11.

the General Government's eventual domination of the various Provincial Governments.

The South Island line began in the provinces of Otago and Canterbury but was taken over and completed under the authority of the General Government. By September 1862 both the Canterbury and Otago Provincial Governments had decided to proceed with a Dunedin-Christchurch line but first awaited a General Government response to this proposal. Crosbie Ward, Lyttelton Times editor and co-proprietor, as well as General Government Postmaster-General, had already determined the practicality of erecting an Invercargill-Christchurch line.[10]

The initial General Government response, which was accepted by the Provincial Governments of Southland, Otago and Canterbury was essentially:

> "1) The Provinces having the means and machinery at their disposal should each within its own border provide for and superintend the erection of the line.
>
> 2) The General Government should take the control of the line when erected working it in conjunction with the Post Office."[11]

A further section alludes to the General Government's relative financial inability to fund the project; "The General Government, when in possession of funds, shall on the completion of the through line from border to border, or any part of such through line, repay to

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10. Helm, p.102.

11. Quoted in Ibid, pp.103-4.

the Province one half of the cost constructed or estimated for as above stated".[12]

The Canterbury and Otago Provincial Governments were able to agree on the route for the telegraph. The Otago and Southland Provincial Government's were unable to do so. Eventually the route was determined by Alfred Sheath, the General Government appointee to superintend the telegraph.[13]

On 31 January 1864 the Colonial Secretary announced that at its last session the General Assembly had resolved that the main trunk telegraph through the Colony should be constructed by the General Government, and funds had been voted for that purpose.[14] This change of plan implied that the General Government was prepared, and able, to take full financial responsibility for the project. It was also an expression of a desire to construct a line the length of the South Island in spite of indifference from the Provincial Governments of Marlborough and Nelson. There had been criticism of their lack of action.[15] Helm holds "It is doubtful whether the two northern

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12. Ibid.

13. The dispute between Otago and Southland was over the matter of communication with the gold diggings. The Otago view of the disagreement was given by the Otago Daily Times.
"Southland, it appears has been throwing dust in the eyes of the Otago authorities. It has refused to cooperate with any other line than that carried along the sea coast. If the proposal were adopted by Otago it wants no prophet to forsee that Southland would very soon and at very small expense carry a line to the Lake Gold-fields, and enjoy the advantage of direct communication." (2 April 1863)

14. Helm. p.112.

15. See, for example, the editorial in the Nelson Examiner of 17 January 1863.

provinces would have taken any action to advance the proposal for a main trunk line".[16]

From early 1864 the General Government gradually began to take over the existing telegraph lines and, with two notable exceptions discussed below, also assumed responsibility for subsequent telegraph erection. The Invercargill-Bluff line was taken over in November 1864. This was on the occasion of the virtual bankruptcy of the Southland Provincial Government but, from the start, the Southland Provincial Government had "kept in view the ultimate object of handing the line over to the General Government"[17]. It had earlier, on 10 February 1864, agreed to sell the material for constructing the Invercargill-Mataura line to the General Government. The Christchurch-Lyttelton line was taken over in May 1865 following agreement some months earlier.[18] The Dunedin-Port Chalmers line, erected and run by a private company, under permission from the Otago Provincial Government, become public under General Government control, in 1867.[19]

The development of the telegraph system was to be a major factor in the unification of the provinces. The General Government's leadership in its erection was to be an indication of that Government's growing dominance, an early acceptance by it of its

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16. p.112.

17. Lafrentz, p.41.

18. See the report of the Canterbury Superintendent's address Lyttelton Times, 13 August 1864.

19. Helm, p.39.

administrative responsibility to the country, an early development of its administrative capabilities, and a factor in the growing dominance of centralist politics over provincial.

In a prodigious burst of activity in the mid 1860's the telegraph was to reach most of the South Island settlements and cross Cook Strait to Wellington. Work was underway on the Invercargill to Dunedin line at the same time as the Dunedin to Christchurch line. The two were opened within days of each other in May 1865.[20]

The Provincial Governments of Otago and Canterbury did not accept the General Government's priorities which were to concentrate on connecting the two islands and then to go north to Auckland. While the General Government was implementing the General Assembly's resolution and voting of funds they went ahead with their own priorities. The Provincial Governments of Otago and Canterbury erected lines, respectively, to Queenstown and the West Coast, so as to link their capital towns with the gold fields.[21] The General Government erected line, north from Christchurch, reached Picton in December 1865 and Nelson in March 1866. In August 1866 the Cook Strait cable was laid and Wellington was linked with the South Island settlements. The telegraph was ready for extension over the North Island but was now to be delayed by the hostilities of the New Zealand Wars. The line north from Wellington reached Napier by 1869, while in the west the line

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20. Helm. Not in April as reported by Maginnity.

21. The West Coast line was taken over by the General Government in 1868, the Queenstown line in 1870.

stretched from Wellington to Patea in 1870 and to Opunake in 1872. Due to Maori opposition this line reached New Plymouth only in 1880. New Plymouth, however, did join the telegraph network in 1876 via a line around the inland side of Mt. Egmont to Hawera. In July 1870 the Auckland-Thames line was opened, while the Wellington-Napier line was extended to Tauranga in December. The Tauranga to Katikati line was opened in January 1872 and, on 12 April 1872, the line from Katikati to Grahamstown was completed. This joined the Auckland-Thames line and thus linked Auckland with Wellington and the South Island.

The New Zealand General Telegraph Agency

The completion in May 1865 of the telegraph line from Bluff to Christchurch also saw the start of New Zealand's first press agency. This was the New Zealand General Telegraph Agency. Its first messages appeared in the Press on 21 May 1865. This shortlived agency prefaced the nature of the press cooperation that was later to emerge.

The New Zealand General Telegraph Agency was controlled by Gerald FitzGerald and was situated at Campbelltown, as Bluff was then known. It was begun under the impetus of Gerald's brother, J. E. FitzGerald. J.E. FitzGerald was proprietor of the Christchurch newspaper, the Press. He saw the establishment of a press agency as a method of preventing a circulation loss he suffered to the more southern papers. The mail steamers from Australia and Europe generally arrived first at Bluff, working north from there. By the time they set out for Lyttelton the newspapers in Southland and Otago had printed accounts of the news and their bundles of papers, travelling on the same

steamers, gave the information a day before the local papers could print it. A telegraphed message from Bluff to Christchurch, however, was a minimum of three days in advance of the steamers, giving ample time for the Press to beat its approaching southern competition. Such a system, of course, also gave the Press an advantage of several days over its local competition.

This success of FitzGerald's over both southern and local competition was, however, not to last for the cost of telegraphed news outweighed the economic advantages offered by its speed. FitzGerald soon found that the Press "could not support the whole cost of the telegraph service without serious risk to its own hopes of further development."[22] In order to retain his advantage over his southern rivals, he was forced to share this advantage with the other Christchurch papers. He successfully invited the Lyttelton Times and the Canterbury Standard to join in a partnership with the Press to obtain telegraphed news reports.

The cooperation between the Press and the other Christchurch newspapers is an instance of the economic concerns of a newspaper conflicting with and dominating the political desires of a proprietor. FitzGerald had no wish to cooperate with the other newspapers, particularly the Lyttleton Times, but had this matter taken out of his hands by his major creditors, Harman and Stevens.

Gerald FitzGerald left the Agency in 1867. That was the year James FitzGerald left the Press to reside in Wellington. It is

22. O'Neill, (1963), p.66.

unlikely that the agency continued after the departure of the FitzGeralds though little is definite concerning the ending of the New Zealand General Telegraph Agency.

Two points are noteworthy about this first Agency. It was begun in order to enable one paper, the Press, to have a competitive edge over its rivals, both local and southern. Secondly, it only partly succeeded in achieving this goal. The competition from the southern papers was beaten but at the cost of forcing local cooperation among the Canterbury papers.

While the FitzGerald brothers' press agency has historical importance, being the first in New Zealand, it was short-lived and had little lasting influence. Nor was J.E. FitzGerald, after his ousting from the Press again to be a significant figure in New Zealand journalism. Further south in Dunedin a more important figure was to be found in Julius Vogel. I now turn to Vogel's strategy with regard to newspaper use of the telegraph.

Vogel and Government Sponsored Press Agencies

Considerable uncertainty clouds the use made by the press of the telegraph for some years after the above events. Much of the uncertainty concerns Julius Vogel's actions in regard to the telegraph. My immediate purpose is to present the various interpretations that have been offered and then to unravel the complicated chain of events that followed the construction of the South Island telegraph line.

The next association mentioned by authorities is a Government run system credited as started in 1869 by Vogel.

> "There followed a period in 1869 and 1870 when the Government supplied the main newspapers in the link with a telegraphic summary of international news compiled in Melbourne by an agent appointed by the New Zealand Telegraphic Commission and brought to New Zealand by the calling mail ships. The system had been introduced by the Postmaster-General, Mr (later Sir Julius) Vogel, had been abolished by the succeeding Government and reintroduced when Mr Vogel was returned to power".[23]

The first Ministry of which Vogel was a member was Fox's third Ministry which ran, with Vogel as Postmaster-General and Electric Telegraph Commissioner, from 28 June 1869 to 10 September 1872. This Ministry was succeeded by Stafford's third Ministry which lasted for thirty days. Vogel's return to power was on 11 October 1872 as a member of the Waterhouse Ministry. However, Sanders inconsistently dates the Government run system as ending in 1870 when he sees it as halted for financial reasons

> "... by this time the hitherto magnanimous Postmaster-General had realized that receipts from press telegraphs were not to be despised.... To the Otago Daily Times must go the credit for... providing an alternative system. In 1870 it made arrangements to supply a number of newspapers throughout the colony with services of interprovincial and foreign news..."[24]

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23. Sanders, pp.1-2.

24. Ibid, p.2.

Scholefield in his Newspapers in New Zealand,[25] and O'Neill, both in his history of the Press[26] and in his entry for the Press Association in the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,[27] mention the FitzGerald agency and see it as followed by a Vogel introduced, Government run, system. In his history of the Press, O'Neill dates the Government run system as introduced during Vogel's first term in the Ministry (June 1869 - September 1872), dropped by Stafford when he held power for a month in September-October 1872, then reintroduced by Vogel when in office in the Waterhouse Ministry.

The accounts are traceable to Fenwick's history of the United Press Association, though Scholefield is the first to introduce an account of the initial FitzGerald agency. Fenwick, a major figure in the eventual creation of the U.P.A., writes:

> "I think I am correct in saying that to the Government of the colony in the years 1869 and 1870 must be given the credit of having first supplied the principal newspapers with a telegraphic summary of news brought by the English and Australian mails. These summaries were compiled in Melbourne by an agency appointed by the New Zealand Telegraph Commissioner, as the head of the department was then called, and telegraphed on the arrival of the steamers to all the newspapers in the colony. The system was established at the instance of Mr (afterwards Sir Julius) Vogel, who occupied the position of Commissioner of Telegraphs, Postmaster-General, and Colonial Treasurer in the Government of that period. It was abandoned by the succeeding Government, and it stands to the credit of the Otago Daily Times that that paper then endeavoured to establish another and more satisfactory system similar to that which had proved successful in the

25. (1958), p.11

26. (1963), pp.69-70.

27. McLintock, (1966), p.865.

> United States. Mr Vogel again came into power, and before the Daily Times had time to complete its arrangements his system was re-established. It is recorded, however, that the necessities of the treasury brought Mr Vogel to the conclusions that the receipts from press telegrams were not to be despised, and the general manager of the Telegraph Department was accordingly instructed to inform the newspapers that after a certain date the Government would cease to supply the mail telegrams.
>
> The Otago Daily Times again stepped into the breach, and in 1870 made arrangements to supply a number of the newspapers throughout the colony with services of foreign and interprovincial news".[28]

Fenwick's account is itself traceable to an Otago Daily Times editorial of 3 October 1870. This deals with a matter of the day [alleged political interference with press telegrams] but includes a summary of New Zealand press telegraph history.

> "... Till the 31st July last, telegraphic summaries of the English and Australian mails were supplied by the General Government. This system was originally established at the instance of Mr Vogel, the present Commissioner of Telegraphs, Postmaster-General and Colonial Treasurer. It was abandoned, however, by the late Government. We then endeavoured to establish another and more satisfactory system... but the present Government soon after came into power, and Mr Vogel's system was re-established. Summaries of the English and Australian mails were compiled in Melbourne by an agent appointed by the Telegraphic Commissioner, and telegraphed on the arrival of the steamers to all the newspapers in the colony. The necessities of the Treasury, however, brought Mr Vogel to the conclusion that even such small pickings as the receipts from 'Press telegrams' were not to be despised; and the General Manager of the Telegraph Department was accordingly instructed to inform the newspapers that, after the 31st of July, the Government would cease to supply the

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28. p.4.

> usual mail telegrams. Thereupon we made arrangements for supplying the foreign mail and interprovincial telegraphs to the Daily Times, and to the principal newspapers in the other provinces...".

This Otago Daily Times summary, uncritically accepted by most authorities, is very much a partisan record of events. It is inadequate on several counts. No mention is made of the FitzGerald led rival, the New Zealand General Telegraphic Agency. There is a possibility of confusion, as has been amply shown by subsequent authorities, as to just when Vogel's service was introduced. Vogel's cancelling of the service is seen as done for financial, even petty financial, reasons. Nor is due credit given to Vogel, then two years after his ousting from the Otago Daily Times, for his earlier actions in regard to the telegraph.

Missing from all these accounts is a discussion of any arrangements made by Vogel when editor and co-proprietor of the Otago Daily Times, the largest circulation paper in the country, to take advantage of the telegraph at the time of its introduction. It is known that J.E. FitzGerald was aware of the success of news agencies in the United States and Europe and in the other colonies[29] His brother's agency was an outcome of this knowledge and of a desire to adapt it to New Zealand. It is highly likely that Vogel had similar knowledge and plans. In fact the Otago Daily Times history, in its Jubilee Issue - which inexplicably Fenwick and other authorities appear to have missed - indicates that this is the case:

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29. O'Neill, (1963), pp.64-65.

> "As soon as telegraphic communication was opened between Dunedin and the Bluff the Otago Daily Times entered into an arrangement with a member of the staff of the Melbourne Argus to compile a budget of Home and Australian news for dispatch by telegrams from Bluff immediately upon the steamer reaching that port. A similar arrangement obtained also in respect of the arrival of Australian mails at Hokitika... when the two islands were linked up by the Cook Strait cable, some of the papers in the North Island participated in the services which the Otago Daily Times had created".[30]

Thus Vogel had news summaries, prepared in Melbourne, available for the Otago Daily Times from May 1865 when the Bluff-Dunedin line was completed. From August 1866 when Wellington received the telegraph these Otago Daily Times news summaries were also available for other newspapers.

Vogel's own business arrangements were contemporary with FitzGerald's agency. Unlike FitzGerald, Vogel appears not to have included his local competition, but, once the telegraph reached Wellington and it was thereby possible to include other non-local newspapers, he took the opportunity to widen his service and, in effect, to make it a press agency.

This early agency of Vogel's is not the only addition that needs to be made to the record of early press agencies. The next major omission in the record concerns the Government entry into the field. Although Vogel did arrange for a news service when he took office in

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30. Otago Daily Times, (1924), p.22.

the 1869 Fox Ministry; this was not the first Government sponsored system. Two editorials and a letter in the Otago Daily Times in October 1868 give clues to the sequence of events.

> "The General Government virtually compels the leading newspapers of the colony to accept such telegrams as it may please to send them, in return for a certain annual subscription. In doing so, it inflicts a wrong upon the public as well as upon the journalists. It undertakes a duty which it is not competent to perform, which it is not asked to perform, and which it has no moral right to perform".
>
> (Otago Daily Times, 23 October 1868)
>
> "Your charge against the Government is utterly unfounded. The Postmaster-General consented to furnish the telegrams at the urgent request of the late Mr Crosbie Ward, representing the Lyttelton Times; Mr FitzGerald representing the Press; and myself, as Director and Editor representing the Daily Times.
>
> I will explain to you our reasons. The New Zealand papers could not afford... to keep raceboats and bloodhorses for the purpose of costly competition as to which should first gain the wires... They had to rely on a common source of telegraphic news, unless they were prepared for the rivalries I have alluded to. A private agency was started to which most of the papers subscribed. After a time a very serious complaint arose. Information as to the suspension of the Commercial Bank at Home was not furnished to the newspapers, whilst private telegrams gave the intelligence. For a whole day the Bank was kept open, a run occurred from which a few benefitted, whilst the body of creditors suffered. It then became evident... that, to allow a monopoly of the wires on the arrival of the mail might prove highly injurious, and that the best course, from a public point of view, was for the Government to furnish without delay a telegram of the leading public news".
>
> (Letter from Julius Vogel in Otago Daily Times, 24 October 1868)

> "It appears that, some years ago, the Government consented to supply telegrams to the Press at the instance of three leading journals - two in Canterbury and one in Otago. This agreement appears to have included all the newspapers of the colony, payment being made by each of a certain annual subscription. ...We object to the existing arrangement because it virtually compels every leading journal to take what telegrams it may please the Government to send it".
>
> (Otago Daily Times, 24 October 1868)

With both the Otago Daily Times editor and Vogel, not three months ousted from the paper, agreeing on the facts, one can be reasonably confident that such a system was in fact in operation. Such a request to the Postmaster-General must have been made in late 1866 or early 1867. It could not have been later for in 1867 Ward died and FitzGerald was ousted from the Press. It could not have been earlier for, as indicated above, the Otago Daily Times telegraph service was taken by some North Island papers after August 1866 when the Cook Strait cable was laid and this service must have stopped when the Government service began.

The Postmaster-General who "consented to furnish the telegrams" would have been John Hall who held office from June 1866 to February 1869. He was appointed Electric Telegraph Commissioner, the first appearance of such a portfolio, in October 1866. Hall, one of the original promoters of the Press and regarded by Canterbury journalists as the doyen of their craft,[31] would certainly have been likely to continue and extend the, by then, traditional, favourable Government

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31. O'Neill, (1963), pp.29-31.

treatment of newspapers. Hall was replaced as Postmaster-General and Electric Telegraph Commissioner in February, 1869, with Stafford himself taking the portfolio until his Ministry ended in June 1869. It was presumably at this time, not during Stafford's one month Ministry in 1872, that efforts were made to end the Government run system.

Ward, FitzGerald and Vogel were well placed to make such a request of the Postmaster-General in 1866/67. Ward had served as Postmaster-General himself from 1861 to 1863 in the Fox and Domett Ministries. Depending on the exact date the request was made, he was, perhaps, still a Member of the House of Representatives. He resigned his seat for Lyttelton on 28 January 1867. FitzGerald was in a similar position, resigning his seat for the City of Christchurch on 3 January 1867. Vogel was also in the House, representing the Goldfields, at this period.

The 1866/67 entry by the Government into the day-to-day business of the press, the compilation and provision of its telegraphed news, was done according to Vogel's letter above, to provide proper use of a technology that in regard to the collapse of the Commercial Bank, had enabled a few to benefit "whilst the body of creditors suffered". While this is a proper role for a Government to play in a private enterprise system, the actions of the Government were also open to the charge that they indicated a noticeable and improper lack of distinction between public and private spheres. The complaints from the Otago Daily Times were of this nature. Additionally the actions of Vogel, Ward and FitzGerald, all private entrepreneurs likely to

benefit from a Government provided news service and also all members of the Parliament that moved to provide the service, were open to questions of propriety.

However, the Otago Daily Times's complaints, first made in October 1868, although they are couched in principled phrases, only appear after the ousting of Vogel from that newspaper. There was an initial coincidence of interest of press and Government and the complaints are made only after the Otago Daily Times was placed outside the coincidence of interests. Charges of confusion between public and private spheres and of conflict of interests for Vogel, Ward and FitzGerald were made within a political system where the validity of such complaints was not recognized. The legal-rational pattern of administration that in the 1860's represented a new and emerging ideology among newspaper proprietors and other private entrepreneurs had not yet surfaced at the public level. The experience of administration of the telegraph was to be one of the factors leading to a public awareness of the need for a new method of administration.

Julius Vogel, one of the three South Island M.H.R. newspaper proprietors who initially requested a Government provided telegraphed news service, was the man, who as Electric Telegraph Commissioner, ended the service as from 31 July 1870. At the time Vogel also held the portfolios of Colonial Treasurer, Commissioner of Stamp Duties, Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Customs. He was as well still a newspaper proprietor, though in 1870 of the Auckland paper, the

Southern Cross, rather than the Otago Daily Times.

No official explanation for the ending of the Government service was published. The situation was that Vogel had no desire to end the Government's role in news collection and dissemination. The managements of at least most newspapers, however, were to refuse to continue their purchase of the news summaries. Vogel was left with no choice but to close down the operation.

The news summaries were from Melbourne. An agent prepared summaries of Australian news and of news brought by the English mail ships. These were sent to New Zealand by ship and telegraphed to newspapers from the initial port of call. Vogel's Southern Cross received little benefit from the summaries. Being an Auckland newspaper it did not until 1872 have access to the telegraph.

The news summaries were frequently criticized by Vogel's opponent journals after the first complaints appeared in the Otago Daily Times. But by 1870 dissatisfaction with the Government service had become general among newspapers. Many complaints were in regard to the quality of journalism evident in the telegraphic reporting. Even Vogel's supporters complained, the following being an example:

> "We had hoped that the repeated complaints made by almost all the papers in the colony would have led to some improvement in the compilation of the telegrams of English news which the Government practically compels the newspapers to take and pay for. We have, however, been disappointed, for the telegrams received on Sunday last, and published in our last issue are even worse than usual".
>
> (Wellington Independent, 31 March 1870)

Dr C. Lemon, the General Manager under Vogel of the New Zealand Telegraph Department, wrote to the various newspaper proprietors offering to continue the telegraph summaries at a cost to each newspaper of £36 per year for both the English and Australian mail summaries.[32] The £36 per year charge offered by Lemon is, as is clear in his letters, a reduction on the previous charges, though the exact level of the previous charges is not given.[33]

The Otago Daily Times in its 3 October 1870 editorial argued that the Government service ceased when Vogel came "to the conclusion that even such small pickings as the receipts from 'Press telegrams' were not to be despised".[34] There is an implication here that the Government news summaries had been provided without charge.[35] But the Otago Daily Times statement is merely an aspersion on Vogel made by his major opponent newspaper. Lemon's letters are clear on the matter of previous and continuing charges for the news summaries. The Otago Daily Times itself in the 24 October 1868 editorial quoted above refers to "a certain annual subscription".

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32. See Lemon's letters of 23 March 1870 and 26 May 1870 printed in the Wellington Independent of 13 October 1870.

33. This reduction was offered as part of a 1 April 1870 overall reduction in prices. General telegraph charges were also substantially reduced: From 1/6 per first ten words and 6d per each extra ten words to 6d per first ten words and 6d per extra fifteen words.

34. This Otago Daily Times version of events has been accepted uncritically by most commentators. It was repeated by Fenwick in his history (p.4) and then echoed by Scholefield (1958), p.11, O'Neill (1963), p.70, and Sanders, p.2.

35. O'Neill refers to the service as a "free news-wire system". (1963), p.69.

Whether Lemon received any newspaper acceptances for a continuation of the service is unknown. But at least a majority of newspapers were against continuation. Vogel received the political support of many newspapers but their allegiance did not extend to allowing him to continue a news service they had found wanting. It was their denial of the service that led to its demise. It was to be replaced by two press agencies.

Competitive Press Agencies

The Otago Daily Times had in 1866 under Vogel's stewardship established its own news service. In 1870 the Otago Daily Times management reestablished and expanded this service. The paper's own version of events after 31 July 1870 is as follows:

> "We made arrangements for supplying the foreign mail and interprovincial telegrams to the Daily Times, and to the principal newspapers in the other provinces. Agents were appointed in Melbourne and San Francisco to compile telegraphic summaries of the mail news; and agents were also appointed in every town and port of importance in New Zealand. The leading newspapers in the other provinces cordially approved of this system, and agreed to take their telegrams from our agents. The agreement was, in every instance but one, accompanied with a condition that we should not supply telegrams to any rival newspaper in the same town. These arrangements were purely a matter of business. Political considerations had nothing whatever to do with them. Ministerial as well as Opposition newspapers agreed to join. The Lyttelton Times, the Press, the Evening Post, the Hawke's Bay Herald, the Nelson Colonist and Examiner, the Wanganui Chronicle, the Wairarapa Mercury, the Grey River Argus, the Marlborough Express, the Westport Times, the Timaru Herald and the Oamaru Times are supplied with our telegrams".
>
> (Otago Daily Times, 3 October 1870)

Whether the Press does correctly appear in this listing is open to doubt. It does not appear in Fenwick's listing of member newspapers of the agency,[36] though his listing is itself explicitly taken from the Otago Daily Times one above and presumably merely reflects on inadvertant omission on Fenwick's part. However, the statement that, "The agreement was, in every instance but one, accompanied with a condition that we should not supply telegrams to any rival newspaper in the same town" runs at odds with the fact that two Nelson papers as well as the Lyttelton Times and the Press, two Christchurch papers, are in the listing. If the Press was in the Otago Daily Times group it was only for a short period for it soon became part of a competing agency.

The Otago Daily Times agency was a restricted one usually not open to rival newspapers in the same town. The telegraph credit line of the Otago Daily Times service appeared in newspapers in the weeks after the closing of the Government news service. Concurrently with the start of the Otago Daily Times service "a well known telegraphic agency of world wide notoriety" offered a news service.[37] The telegraph credit line "Greville's Telegram Company, Reuters Agents"

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36. p.5.

37. The phrase is Thomas McKenzie's, the proprietor of the Wellington Independent. See his letter in the Independent of 16 August 1870. McKenzie had made temporary arrangements for news summaries from Melbourne. The Greville credit line first appears in the Independent on 15 October 1870.

began appearing in newspapers that were not receiving the Otago Daily Times summaries.[38]

38. Most commentators exhibit considerable confusion on the situation after the ending of the Government provided news service. Fenwick, while of course aware of the post 1870 Otago Daily Times organized agency, considers "there was probably some kind of service established by newspapers who were not participants in its service" but was unable to find any information concerning it. "Nor," he continues, "do there appear to be any records in existence showing how long the Otago Daily Times' Associated Service existed. It probably ceased when Captain Holt and Mr Florence McCarthy, the latter a well-known journalist in Wellington, entered into partnership with the object of establishing a service of interprovincial news which should be available for all New Zealand newspapers that cared to subscribe to it. I cannot ascertain the year in which Holt and McCarthy's service came into being, but it was probably in the early 'seventies". pp.6-7.

Sanders, however, considers the Holt and McCarthy agency to be the one set up in competition with the Otago Daily Times service after the ending of the Governmental news service.

> "In the early 1870s a Captain Holt entered into partnership with Mr Florence McCarthy, a notable Wellington journalist, and established a service for providing interprovincial news to all news-papers that cared to subscribe to it. Obviously, the objectives of the organisers were to gather around them a nucleus of papers which had been spurned participation in the Otago Daily Times' Associated Service. Holt and McCarthy called their group the New Zealand Press Agency and it seems to have served its members for a few years, its list of subscribers being obscure. It probably achieved, in part at least, its aim to win members from its rival for little is recorded of the movements of the Otago Daily Times Associated Service after the Press Agency was formed". p.3.

The Holt and McCarthy agency was in fact one which in 1872 succeeded both the Greville and Otago Daily Times services. It will be discussed below.

Scholefield, after stating that the Otago Daily Times organized a Press Association when Vogel "terminated the unrenumerative service of state news" offers the sentence, "The Press Association and the Press agency each continued to pay the Government £2,000 a year for the lease of a private wire".(1958) p.11. The payment for lease of a

(continued over)

Greville's Telegram Company began as part of Reuter's developing international news carrier service. Reuter, who had moved to London weeks before the opening in 1851 of the first international submarine cable, linking Dover and Calais, had followed a policy of establishing agents in "his" [39] parts of the world as the telegraph network expanded.[40] Sometimes, as in the New Zealand case, for the Australia - New Zealand cable was not laid until 1876, he anticipated the network. Greville obtained the agency for Reuters and also

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(F/N 38 continued)

private wire occured during Grey's Ministry and will be discussed below. Scholefield gives no information as to the identity or composition of the Press Agency.

A further variation is given in Brett's Reminiscences, which deal with the pre-1876 situation, prior to the laying of the Australia-New Zealand cable, and includes the sentence, "There was no United Press Association in those days, the rival news agencies being the Greville Telegram Company (which represented Reuters) and Holt and McCarthy." p.3 This source is the first to mention Greville but he omits the Otago Daily Times service. The Reminiscences were not compiled or published until after Sir Henry's death. The possibility of error is present. Also the Reminiscences deal with the Auckland press. The Auckland-Wellington telegraph link was not established until April 1872 and, as we shall see, the 1870 press agencies had changed by then.

A more correct sequence of events is given by O'Neill though he repeats the Otago Daily Times version of the endings of both the Government news service and the later Holt and McCarthy agency (1963), p.70.

39. Under a cartel agreement with Havas of France and Wolff of Germany, the two other leading agencies of the time, Reuter was given Britain and all of its Empire, Holland and its dependencies, the East Indies and most of the Far East. The agencies agreed not to poach on one another's territories, and to exchange their respective news services. Boyd-Barrett, (1978), pp. 196-197.

40. Palmer, pp. 206-207.

obtained his international news via that source. Greville was an Australian journalist and his was primarily an Australian press agency serving newspapers in that country.[41] His New Zealand agency was a branch of a larger press agency based in Australia. Greville appointed C.O. Montrose as the manager of his New Zealand central office which was in Wellington. His was the agency for those newspapers not members of the Otago Daily Times service. The dominant trio were the Dunedin Star, the Press, and the Wellington Independent.

No Auckland papers appear on the listings for either of the agencies. Although Fenwick is unable to explain this omission,[42] it is on account of the telegraph, at that time, not having reached Auckland. Auckland newspapers, however, did have an affiliation with the agencies. While the Auckland newspapers could continue to gain their non-local news in the time honoured manner of reprinting it from other papers, the agencies did need access to Auckland news and did need Auckland agents to hasten southwards the despatches from those mail ships that first called at Auckland. Thus the Auckland Star's proprietor Henry Brett became the Greville's agent, while W. J. Wilson, proprietor of the New Zealand Herald filled the corresponding position with the Otago Daily Times grouping. Once Wellington and Auckland were connected by telegraph in 1872 the Auckland newspapers, of course, were in the same position as their southern counterparts.

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41. In Australia the agency was known as Greville and Bird. It was based in Sydney and was probably the first press agency there. Reuters cabled news summaries to Alexandria. The summaries travelled by ship to Albany where Greville and Bird's agent boarded the vessel and prepared a summary to be telegraphed from Glenelg. Walker, p.202.

42. p.5.

The Otago Daily Times contention (above p.310) that business rather than political considerations determined the composition of the two groups does appear to be the case. The two Nelson papers in the Otago Daily Times group were in political opposition to one another. The Evening Post was an opposition paper while the Hawke's Bay Herald supported the Government. Most notably the Lyttelton Times was a staunch supporter of Vogel while the Otago Daily Times was his most fervent opponent. The Wellington Independent was with the Greville group, and, while it was a Vogel supporter and thus at odds with the Otago Daily Times, both it and the Otago Daily Times held that their presence in opposing press agencies was on account, not of political differences, but of an inability to agree on a price for the supply of telegrams.[43]

Government and Press

The telegraph is an invention that was eagerly sought in New Zealand where it was seen as an instrument of cohesion for the small and widely scattered settlements. Reader Wood, the acting Postmaster General, phrased the generally accepted view in the 1863 Annual Report;

> "It is a matter of the utmost importance, politically and commercially, to the Colony, possibly even involving its integrity, that steps be taken without delay to connect the settlements of the two islands with each other by wires on land in the Middle Island and by cables in the North."[44]

43. Otago Daily Times, 3 October 1870. Wellington Independent, 16 August 1870.

44. Fourth Report of the Postal Service of New Zealand. A.J.H.R. 1863. The reference to cables in the North is in line with Wood's suggestion that Auckland be connected with the southern settlements via a sea cable from the Manukau to D'Urville Island.

Most of the prominent newspaper proprietors, in their roles as political representatives, accepted the colony's urgent need for the telegraph. This view coincided neatly with their desire to receive a regular and current supply of news and thereby to solve a problem which had bedevilled the New Zealand press since its inception.

At least initially, press personnel saw little distinction between their business roles as newspaper proprietors and their political roles as elected representatives. This is most evident in their lack of appreciation of a problem in regard to the private use of public facilities. O'Neill comments on the lack of complaints about the attempts of the FitzGerald's, with their New Zealand General Telegraphic Agency, to solicit public telegrams.

> Nobody, apparently, saw any objection to the agency being allowed to compete with the similar Government service on the same state-owned and state-operated wire.[45]

The major instance of a lack of appreciation of their being a distinction between the public and private domains is the years of Governmental provision, from 1866/67, of a summary of telegraphed news for the New Zealand newspapers. There had always been no clear distinction between press and Government in New Zealand. I have previously argued that prior to self-government, press personnel became the settlers' de facto political representatives, and that from 1853 newspapers became an integral part of the various provincial

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45. (1963), p.66.

political systems. The years which politically saw Centralism dominate over Provincialism also saw the press, with the additional impetus of the telegraph, move to a national focus. The lack of distinction between the roles of the press and the General Government in the early history of the telegraph is a continuation into the national level of the tradition that had developed with the provincial system.

Complaints were soon made by newspapers over the Government's control of the telegraph. It was argued that an improper favouritism was shown to political supporters and conversely that difficulties were placed in the way of opponent newspapers.

> "An instance of the tricks which might be played by any Government having complete control over the telegraph wires, is afforded by a late Wellington Independent: - It appears that a gentleman connected with the leading Auckland journal was anxious to telegraph the Ministerial statement to his paper (via Napier, to catch the S.S. Phoebe) and proceeded to the telegraph office for the purpose of sending his message. When he presented his form to the young gentleman in charge of the office he was asked, "Is this a Press telegram?" The reply was in the affirmative. "Then," was the rejoinder, "I cannot take it here; this office is for the use of members". There was, of course, no answering this; but it happened that the members of the House to whom the gentleman mentioned the circumstances informed him that they had seen the correspondents of two newspapers in the interest of the Government only that day telegraphing from that office. The New Zealand Herald, the journal referred to by the Independent, states that at the same time telegrams conveying the Government view of the matter were allowed to be despatched to the Nelson papers".
>
> (Otago Daily Times, 24 October 1868)

The incident is perhaps trivial. But the fact that the Otago Daily Times is here echoing a Wellington Independent story is of some moment. That the two politically opposed newspapers are in agreement here indicates that both newspapers recognized not only that newspapers had common interests but that these common interests were, at least in this case, at odds with the political interests of the Government.

Until the complaints in the Otago Daily Times no dissatisfaction was expressed with the Government service. By 1870, when dissatisfaction was widespread, the singleness of purpose between Government and press, evident when men such as Vogel, FitzGerald and Ward occupied dominant positions in both spheres, was ending. This is attested to by the above quote from the Wellington Independent[46] where even that stalwart Fox-Vogel supporter is prepared to criticize the Government. Notably the criticism is on a journalistic matter, the quality of its overseas news telegrams, and it indicates that in such areas the newspaper's professional needs have priority over its political loyalties. Newspapers, which previously had given priority to political goals, in the 1860's began to view journalistic needs as paramount.

Press use of the telegraph and the commercial growth of newspapers at times gave newspaper concerns professional needs that were in conflict with their political loyalties. A notable instance

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46. See p.308 above.

of this conflict between political loyalty and professional business demands is to be found in an extract from a letter from A.W. Follet-Halcombe, editor of the Wellington Independent, and also related by marriage to the Premier, William Fox, to G.B. Barton, editor of the Otago Daily Times. The letter is dated 1 December 1869, though it came to public attention only during the 1871 trial for criminal libel of Barton, and concerns an attempt to extend a within-New Zealand telegraphic news network.

> "We have special advantages in undertaking the communication with Auckland via Napier, which renders it desirable that that part of the work should be done by us, as by a private arrangement with the General Government we are enabled to send and receive messages for Auckland via Napier without charge for telegraph, the Government requiring in return a copy of our summary of Auckland news. This proposed arrangement is, however, quite private, and I should be obliged by your not mentioning it outside the circle of those interested in these arrangements."[47]

Follet-Halcombe's desire for secrecy is understandable for his letter is evidence of what opponents to the Fox-Vogel Ministry would have regarded as an improper collusion between the Government and the management of the Wellington Independent. It also indicates that the interests of the press were now sui generis and in particular could no longer be subsumed under any Government-press linkage. Follet-Halcombe's desire for secrecy was not only a concern to keep the information from the public in general and the Fox-Vogel Ministry's opponent newspapers in particular. He also would have had no desire

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47. The Telegraph Libel Case, p.42.

for Fox and Vogel to learn that he was proposing to use the private arrangement between the Government and the Wellington Independent as part of a wider telegraph news network involving the Otago Daily Times, the Government's main opponent newspaper.

Press Cooperation

Follet-Halcombe's letter is evidence that as early as 1869 New Zealand newspapers, or at least the Wellington-Independent and the Otago Daily Times were making arrangements for the sharing of New Zealand news. Not only was their cooperation for the reception of telegraphed news summaries from Australia and England but there was also cooperation for news transmission within New Zealand. Newspapers were to forward news from their province and in return were to receive a similar service from other provinces. The various patterns of news networking that came with the telegraph acted as commercial imperatives often at odds with the political alliances of the day. Follet-Halcombe's letter is one example of the quest for the most inexpensive possible use of the telegraph leading to a business alliance of newspapers that publicly were implacable political opponents.

The cooperation between newspapers was such that political rivals muted their antagonism in the interest of a cooperative, and cheaper, use of the telegraph. It was this interest that was an ever present impetus towards collaboration among the New Zealand newspapers. Political rivalry was not allowed to interfere with commercial cooperation. But commercial cooperation was not among all newspapers. It was very much a selective cooperation. Business

rivalry continued. The original commercial wisdom was as stated by the Otago Daily Times.

> "So far as the leading journals in different Provinces are concerned, there can be no objection to an association among them for procuring telegraphic or other intelligence...But journalists who understand their business would hesitate before they entered into any association with their local competition."
>
> (24 October 1868)

It was this understanding, allowing both cooperation and competition, which led to the formation in 1870 of two press agencies. The next decade, however, was to bring considerable modification to this selective cooperation and competition. The commercial wisdom as expressed by the Otago Daily Times had already been upset three years earlier in Christchurch during the months of FitzGerald's New Zealand General Telegraphic Agency. There FitzGerald, or more likely Harman and Stevens, had considered the cost of the telegraph such that, so as to defray expenses, the Press had shared its advantage with the other local newspapers. The 1870's were to bring not only considerations of cost but also political experiences that further increased press cooperation. To these we now turn.

CHAPTER TEN

NEWSPAPERS, GOVERNMENT AND THE TELEGRAPH IN THE 1870S

The two press associations, the Otago Daily Times administered service and the Reuter agency controlled in New Zealand by Greville, ran as opposing agencies for two years. They began in mid 1870 and continued to the second half of 1872. There had been a potential for monopolistic control in July 1870 when the Otago Daily Times agency began; but it did not occur because of the appearance in New Zealand of Reuter's news service via its Australian connection. The Otago Daily Times remained a strong opponent to the Fox-Vogel Ministry and its revival of its press agency was at least partly an attempt to escape from what it saw as Vogel's political control of the compilation and dissemination of news summaries. But both the Otago Daily Times association and Greville's association were primarily business rather than political organizations. Newspapers with opposing political outlooks were present in both agencies. This meant that marked political bias in agency despatches would always be unsatisfactory to some member newspapers. This itself led the agencies to attempt a political neutrality in their telegrams. Press agency interest became distinct from the involved interest of politicians. Also the international news summaries were inevitably and of themselves separating the press off from the New Zealand Government. The Government and matters New Zealand began to be classified as only one facet of newspaper interest. In a new classificatory division, international news and discussion became another continuing and distinct regular focus of attention. An appreciation of press interests as being distinct from the political interests of a Government or its opposition was aided by the normal working patterns of the two press associations. But apart from this there were two major reasons for a perceived separation of Government

and press interests at this time. One, which will be discussed shortly, centered around the heavy usage of the telegraph system.

The other was a series of incidents whereby the Goverment was accused of holding back telegrams from opponent newspapers, thus favouring its supporters, and even of taking copies of telegrams from one agency, holding back the contents from the intended recipients while providing them to friendly papers of the opposing agency. These incidents cut across agency loyalties, became increasingly well publicised scandals and finally forced an accceptance as improper of such collusion between Government and newspapers. Government leaders continued to use, or attempted to use the press in the same idiom as before but the new press leaders could no longer accommodate them.

The Telegraph Libel Case:

The most serious incident involving improper use of the telegraph occurred in 1870 during Vogel's control of the Telegraph Department. It was an incident which escalated eventually to become the cause celebre known as The Telegraph Libel Case.[1] It was during the Franco-Prussian War and had to do with the news of the victory of Prussia, the surrender of Napolean III at Sedan and the declaration of France as a republic. The S.S. Gothenberg was about to leave for Bluff when the news began arriving at Melbourne. The ship waited until a telegraphic summary for the Otago Daily Times group was prepared and thus sailed with the Otago Daily Times agency news summary aboard but not that of the rival agency. And yet this news

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1. (1871).

was carried in the Wellington Independent before it appeared in either the Otago Daily Times or the Evening Post, the Wellington member of the Otago Daily Times agency.

The Otago Daily Times at first accused the Government of holding back its telegrams until opposition news summaries appeared.

> "By Electric Telegraph. Wellington September 30. The English mail telegrams this morning were kept back until a message containing a summary of the news had been sent to the Government. The contents of this message were communicated by the Government to the Independent which thus issued an Extra before a single line of the Press telegrams was received. The Evening Post denounces this conduct as grossly unfair and dishonest".
>
> (1 October 1870)

It editorialized on the same day.

> "A greater degree of excitement has never been witnessed in Dunedin on any similar occasion than that which seized all classes of the community yesterday, when the nature of the English mail news was made known. A crowd of two or three hundred literally beseiged our doors... We regret the delay which took place in the publication but the delay was not owing to any neglect on our part... We assert that the Telegraph Office, acting of course under instructions from the General Government unnecessarily delayed our telegrams in order to serve a political purpose. The object of this delay is sufficiently explained in the Wellington telegram which appears in another column".

Two days later, after comparison of its own news columns with those of its rivals, the Otago Daily Times made a more serious charge.

> "The telegram in this morning's issue of the Independent differ materially from their Extra, and are simply a reproduction of ours, a few unimportant items which were in our message - but which we did not print as being unimportant or anticipated - being given word for word. It is perfectly evident that the Government's first telegram was compiled from ours... The bitterest opponent of the present Government would hesitate to believe that a transaction of this nature, which cannot appear in any other light than that of an infamous breach of trust, could take place under its administration. We believe that we have legal evidence, however, to prove the astounding fact that the Government not only suppressed the news for several hours throughout the colony, but that it appropriated to its own use the telegrams to which it had no more right than it has to the pocket handkerchiefs or the watches of private individuals".

In earlier years, beginning with the rush in New Zealand on the Commercial Bank after its collapse in England, there had developed an understanding and acceptance that a Government had a duty and a moral right to learn of overseas news as soon as possible. Prior to 31 July 1870 this had been accomplished by giving Government agents responsibility for the collation and despatch of press telegrams. After the formation of the two press associations and the cessation of the Government service, the Government's need to acquire information remained. In practise it meant Government officials regularly perused the press associations' telegrams.[2] The charges by the Otago Daily Times, and other newspapers, were both against the practice and against its abuse. One charge was that members of the Government, through press telegrams, had appraised themselves of the nature of the diplomatic emergency. At least in the first months of the new press associations there was not a general acceptance of a Government's

2. Perusal of press associations' material remains normal activity for most Governments. See Boyd-Barrett, (1980), p.22.

continuing moral right to keep itself informed of overseas events. This was a charge the Fox-Vogel Ministry would have had little difficulty defending. But a further charge was that members of the Government had then interfered with the delivery of the press telegrams so as to give their supporting newspapers a first publication of the eagerly awaited news.

The Government had little option but to defend itself and chose to do so by trying G.B. Barton, the editor of the Otago Daily Times, on a charge of criminal libel. This did little to placate public opinion as G.B. Barton's solicitor was able to portray such a choice, rather than the more obvious one of libel proceedings against the proprietors of the newspaper, as indicative of Vogel's personal animosity against the man who had succeeded him as editor. The lack of any proceedings being taken against the Evening Post, which had been at least equally outspoken, added to such an impression. Furthermore, the charge itself came to naught, being abandoned after it reached the Supreme Court where it had foundered on the questionable constitutionality of a free pardon offered to a sub-editor of the Otago Daily Times so as to force him to attest to G.B. Barton's authorship of the articles in question.

The abandoning of proceedings was generally regarded as a victory for the Otago Daily Times and a vindication of its stand. It also pointed to an increasing separation of press and Government interests. The earlier general identity of interests between press and Government began to crumble once some of the major papers ceased to enjoy high level access to the Government. The Otago Daily Times, then the

largest paper in the country, was not the first no longer to enjoy having its officials also holding high Government office. But it was the first to find itself the object of Government antagonism and vigorously and successfully to defend itself by defining the Government action as improper. Previous collusion between press and Government, such as that between the proprietors of the major papers and Hall, the Electric Telegraph Commissioner, in 1866-67, had been successful when it was acceptable to all parties. Now, with the identity of interests no longer present, Government and press began to be not only publicly defined as distinct domains but also acceptable limits to their cooperative endeavours began to be acknowledged.

Press Associations Use of the Telegraph Service:

A further reason for a growing appreciation of press and Government interests as distinct was a practical one. It had to do with the everyday use of the telegraph then still very much a limited facility. The Government, as custodian of the resource, found telegraph use by the two competing press agencies made difficult the commercial and public use of the system. Complaints from the commercial and public sectors placed the Government at odds with the press. The problem was well stated by Vogel in his 1873 report as Commissioner of Telegraphs:

> "...the arrangements made by two competing Press Associations for supplying intelligence to newspapers were among the chief causes of public dissatisfaction. On the arrival of a steamer from Australia, the Associations endeavoured to excell each other in supplying to their customers English and Australian news; consequently there was a substantial repetition of a very long message to

> each of the principal stations; and it was precisely when the Department was temporarily overweighted by those long repetitions, that the commercial public sent in most messages and was most sensitive if the delivery of any of them was at all delayed. Again, for reasons inseparable from the Telegraph system in New Zealand, long press telegrams transmitted from the Bluff have a greater tendency to monopolize the wires than have equal messages transmitted from Hokitika or from Auckland: and it was at the Bluff that the longest messages were received for transmission during the period of constant pressure and of complaint.[3]

The submarine cable between Australia and New Zealand was laid in 1876. Until that time each mail ship brought a backload of news that had accumulated for up to eight days. The heavy press usage of the telegraph that occurred with the arrival of each mail ship was exacerbated not only by the presence of two press associations but by the actions of each of them to gain advantage over the other. Speed to and from the mail ships was all important and various strategies were employed to be first with the news.[4] Some of the strategies employed, however, were scarcely calculated to foster harmonious relations between the press and other telegraph users.

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3. 9th Report N.Z. Telegraph Department, A.J.H.R., 1873.

4. For example "Mr Brett (of the Auckland Star) conceived the plan of having a fast horseman on one of the points down Orakei way. As soon as he got his papers from the mail boat he pulled smartly for the point, handed his letters and files to horseman, who succeeded in beating the waterman's boat back to town....On one occasion, Saturday afternoon, a rowing club racing whaleboat, pulling three oars, was paddling innocently in the vicinity of the mail steamer when she dropped anchor, .. Mr Brett went down to the North Head as usual in his ordinary waterman's boat .. but as soon as he got his files from the mail boat he pulled alongside the whaleboat, jumped in, and took an oar, the crew opened their backs, and the surprised opposition was left lamenting".
A.R. Brett, p.4.

> ...Mr Brett went up to Emily Place... to see how the boats were getting along when returning from the mail steamer. He was dismayed to see his man hopelessly out of the race to the wharf... so he rushed down to the Star Office to put into execution a plan that flashed through his mind. Unearthing the remains of the European Mail and Home News, two English publications which gave the month's news and catered for colonial readers, he wrote out the first sheet of his telegraphic message from these journals. These papers had really been gutted a month before, as they reached Auckland by the previous steamer. "I had to do something," said Mr Brett, "as the first man to get the wires in those days held them until he was through with his message.
>
> Going down to the Telegraphic Office, I made out the first sheet of my message with items of no interest, ready to hand to the operator as soon as my rival appeared. Mr W. Berry came dashing along, firmly convinced that he had beaten us this time. As soon as I saw him I handed in my message to Mr H. Hemus, .. who was then operator and clerk,"...
>
> "Mr Brett hasn't got the wires first this time," called out Mr Berry, but as far as Mr Hemus knew the message he had just received was quite genuine, so he refused to interfere.
>
> "I will go and see Mr Wilson" (of the Herald) was the protest of Mr Berry, and off he went to his employer.
>
> "This was just what I wanted," said Mr Brett, and before Mr Berry could get back from the Herald Office, Mr Geddis had arrived with the real message.[5]

Brett reports that it was this particular incident which led to a change in the telegraph regulations whereby, wherever other messages were awaiting transmission, long telegraph messages could only have a total of 200 words transmitted before having to vacate the line for

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5. Ibid., pp.5-6.

other users. This administrative checking of abuse by regulation is an indication of the separate and, in this case, opposed interests of the Government and the press associations. The regulation effectively reduced the press agencies to alternate 200 word bursts and took much of the perceived need for speed out of their competition.

The Holt and McCarthy Agency:

Beginning in July 1872 there began major changes to the New Zealand press agencies which led, by November 1872 to their amalgamation into the one agency known as the Holt and McCarthy agency. The credit for the inauguration of a single nationwide press agency open to and accepted by all newspapers has always been given to the United Press Association (U.P.A.), begun in January 1880.[6] While the U.P.A. did replace two competing press agencies, which existed from June 1878 to the end of 1879, it is the Holt and McCarthy agency, in operation from mid 1872 to mid 1878, which is New Zealand's first non-competitive agency accepted by all papers.

The only public acknowledgement of the amalgamation of the two agencies appears to be a passing reference by Vogel in his 1873 Report. After discussing the problems faced by the Telegraph Department from two competing press agencies, he writes: ".. the special pressure before mentioned has ceased because one of the Press Associations has ceased to exist."[7]

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6. Sanders, Chapter One. O'Neill, (1963), Chapter 7. Scholefield, (1958), p.11. Fenwick.

7. 9th Report, N.Z. Telegraph Department, A.J.H.R., 1873

Neither of the principals of the Holt and McCarthy agency appear in the standard bibliographies and Holt, in particular, has dropped into the recesses of the past. He is referred to as Captain Holt and had a maritime career. During this period and prior to the 1876 laying of the Australia-New Zealand cable especially, his type of expertise was necessary for a successful press agency. McCarthy is the better known of the two. Florence Romuald McCarthy (1834-1914) had worked as a compositor in New York. He arrived in Otago in 1861 as part of the great influx of gold-seekers. He later obtained work in Otago as a printer. The final 35 years of his life, from 1880-1914, were spent as editor of the Grey River Argus. During the lifetime of the Holt and McCarthy agency, McCarthy's journalistic connections were with the Wellington Independent. When the agency began the Independent was still owned by Thomas McKenzie, but McCarthy is named as one of the quartet who controlled the paper.[8] The Holt and McCarthy agency was thus run from Wellington with the locus of control and coordination being the Wellington Independent.

The major impetus behind the formation of the Holt and McCarthy agency, however, was Julius Vogel, a politician always supported by the Wellington Independent. Vogel, in 1872 at the time the Holt and McCarthy agency began, was Colonial Treasurer, Telegraph Commissioner and Postmaster General as well as proprietor of the Southern Cross.[9]

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8. Scholefield, (1958), p.29.

9. Vogel lost his Ministerial portfolios on 10 September 1872 when the Stafford Ministry came to power but regained them on 11 October 1872 when the Waterhouse Ministry replaced that of Stafford.

In spite of the debate at the time of the Telegraph Libel Case he, with the formation of the Holt and McCarthy agency, was again to provoke large scale discussion on the propriety of the close connections between his press and political interests. He was not only to replace the two press associations with a single organization but was to have that organization under his personal control for the next four years, until he resigned as Premier and left for London.

In April 1872 a mail steamer service between San Francisco, New Zealand and Melbourne was finalized with a subsidy from the Victorian Government of £32,500 per year and the New Zealand Government of £27,500 per year. From July 1872 Australia was in telegraph communication with England.[10] It was the build-up to these events that led to the changes in the New Zealand press agencies. Vogel was in Melbourne in early 1872 negotiating with the Victorian Government in regard to the mail steamer service. While there he concluded an agreement with Hugh George, manager of the Melbourne Argus and the Australian Associated Press, for the Reuter agency for New Zealand.[11] The agreement was open as to whether Vogel acted as a Government Minister or a newspaper proprietor.

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10. The Java to Darwin cable was opened on 20 November 1871. The Overland Telegraph from Darwin to Adelaide (with a gap of 200 miles covered by horse express) was opened on 24 June 1872. Communication was frequently disrupted, often for long periods. Walker, p. 203.

11. The management of the Sydney Morning Herald and the Melbourne Argus in June 1872 formed the Australian Associated Press and for £4000 per annum gained from Reuters an agreement that Reuters would in Australia supply its news only to the A.A.P. (Walker, p.205.)

> "For the sum of five hundred pounds (£500) per annum this office is prepared to sell to your Government, to yourself, or to any agent appointed by you, for the use of the newspapers published in New Zealand, the exclusive right of treating with those newspapers for the publication of Reuters messages in New Zealand".[12]

The agreement was final rather than an initial proposal and included completed practical arrangements.

> "I have today written to our London agent, instructing him to see Reuter, and to request that the price of New Zealand securities, New Zealand bank stock, New Zealand hemp, as well as any item of special New Zealand interest be included in the direct telegraphic reports from London."[13]

Montrose, the New Zealand manager of Greville's Telegram Company, saw the agreement as calculated to end his agency.

> "The object of the Associated Press is to drive the (Greville Telegram) Company out of the field. ...With the same object it would, of course, be glad to contract with Mr Vogel on such terms as would drive the New Zealand branch of Greville's Telegraph Company out of the field".[14]

And so it was to prove, with the Greville telegraph credit line last appearing in New Zealand newspapers in November 1872. Montrose further argued there was a connection between the mail steamer negotiations with the Victorian Government and the press agency agreement with the Australian Associated Press.

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12. George to Vogel, printed in Wellington Independent, 18 June 1872.

13. Ibid.

14. Letter from Montrose to editor of Wellington Independent printed per favour of editor of Evening Post, 10 April 1872.

> "... in entering into this contract Mr Vogel has been making a bid for the support of the Melbourne Argus and Sydney Morning Herald in his negotiations with the Australian Governments".[15]

The Argus, which had initially opposed subsidizing the mail steamer service, did change its position and came to support a Victorian subsidy for the enterprise. Subsequent debate, however, centered not on this point but on Vogel's improper use of his official position.

In signing the agreement with Hugh George, Vogel had acted on his own initiative without a mandate from his politics colleagues. Montrose's statement that "...(Vogel) acted on his own personal responsibility without in any way consulting his colleagues who were ignorant of what he had done until I myself actually informed them"[16] was not challenged.

As eventually stated by Vogel's ally, the Wellington Independent, Vogel's aim was to return to a Governmental provision of a news service.

> "Mr Vogel's idea was that it would be a good thing for the colony if the Government were to purchase these telegrams, with the view of supplying them to the papers in New Zealand free of cost except wire charges, the Government trusting to more extended use of the wires to recoup it for the outlay; but in the arrangements with Mr George he

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15. From a circular by Montrose quoted by Wellington Independent, 10 April 1872.

16. Letter from Montrose, Wellington Independent, 20 April 1872.

> did not in the slightest degree commit the Government and ultimately the sale was made to Mr Vogel himself, or any association to which he might transfer it".
>
> (Wellington Independent, 15 June 1872)

The implication is that Vogel did not receive sufficient support from his Ministerial colleagues for a return to a Governmental provision of news telegrams. As a result Vogel began a private agency managed by Holt and McCarthy but under his own control.[17] The events had been viewed more harshly by Vogel's opponents.

> "Mr Vogel's agreement with the Australian Associated Press, in regard to the English telegrams, was of the double blooded character we predicted. He made it in his capacity as a member of the Government, and used his influence as such to induce Mr George to come to terms with him, but, knowing he had no authority to enter into such a contract officially, he added a proviso, that in the event of the Government refusing to ratify it, he would in his other capacity, as proprietor of the Southern Cross, carry it out himself."
>
> (Evening Post, 29 April 1872)

The opposition was heated with continued reference to such matters as

> "the unscrupulous use Mr Vogel has made of his official position as Treasurer of New Zealand to further his own individual interests in the matter of Press telegraphy".
>
> (Evening Post, 13 June 1872)

17. The Managing Committee of the Holt and McCarthy agency was Vogel, of the Southern Cross, Reeves, of the Lyttelton Times, and Harrison of the Wellington Independent. (Evening Post, 19 and 20 June 1872.) Vogel and Reeves were proprietors. Harrison was an employee of the Independent. He had been a foundation staff member of Vogel's Otago Daily Times.

The Holt and McCarthy agency was to have a commanding position in the collection of news. Reuters cartel agreements had been concluded by 1872 and Reuters was the only international news agency to collect and distribute news in, among other places, Australia and New Zealand. The managements of various Australian newspapers at times organized their own news supplies.[18] Various New Zealand newspaper managements did the same via Australia with Henry Brett of the Auckland Star being the most persistent. But his exclusive purchase of the Reuters agency was to give Vogel domination in New Zealand over overseas news despatches.

Initially, however, the Holt and McCarthy agency was not conceived as monopolistic. The original intention was to restrict membership to morning newspapers. In spite of the political nature of the debate concerning the foundation of the agency, its membership was considered only on commercial grounds. Morning newspapers included both allies and foes of Vogel. The rationale for this arrangement was presented by the Lyttelton Times.

> "There is an exceedingly good reason why evening papers should be excluded (from Mr Vogel's proposed new Press Telegraphic Association). If they were admitted the morning papers would simply be contributing a considerable sum annually to assist in the extremely delightful process of cutting their own throats. Thus, when the Anglo-Australian telegraph is completed, which it will be presently, the most important telegraphic messages will come from Australia by the weekly, or thereabouts, steamers. In a majority of instances these arrive either at Hokitika or the Bluff at such an hour as would allow the summaries

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18. For instance, Bennett of the Empire, Walker, p.205.

> to be transmitted in time for publication in the evening papers. It follows, therefore, that ordinary prudence compels the proprietors of morning papers to exclude evening journals from the Association".
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 8 June 1872)

This rationale was somewhat exaggerated by the Lyttelton Times. While arriving mail boats naturally choose to enter harbour if possible during daylight hours, their arrivals were conditioned by the tides and did, of course, occur during all daylight hours. Morning arrivals were to the advantage of the evening papers but from early afternoon any arrivals were too late for the evening papers to be able to print the news that day. It is possible that the restriction to morning papers was an application in New Zealand of an Australian Associated Press requirement. In Australia the services of that association were at first available only to the morning papers. Entry there to evening newspapers was offered only after New South Wales morning papers failed to get a legal monopoly for their cable service.[19]

However, the restriction, in New Zealand, to morning papers was short-lived. The rationale for restricting the agency to morning papers, as outlined by the Lyttelton Times, became irrelevant from 1876 when the Australia-New Zealand sea cable was completed. But well before this, by the end of 1872, the Greville credit line had disappeared from the New Zealand press and Holt and McCarthy was the only press agency operating.

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19. Mayer, p.28.

Not only was the Holt and McCarthy agency to become the only one in New Zealand handling overseas news. It was to be the only New Zealand agency. It gained a monopoly control over internal news dissemination within New Zealand. The Holt and McCarthy agency rules of association do not survive. It is not known if it followed the common pattern of not allowing subscriber newspapers to also receive competitive services. However the Otago Daily Times service ceased. It need not have been forced out of existence by the Holt and McCarthy agency. Expense was an everpresent impetus towards amalgamation. The logic of sending costly, and usually similar, long press telegrams to separate press associations had often been questioned.

The Holt and McCarthy agency not only acted as the coordinator for the reception and dissemination of overseas telegraph news, thus doing away with the duplication that had previously existed. It also established "a service of interprovincial news... available for all New Zealand newspapers that cared to subscribe to it".[20] It is doubtful if this was the first agency handling New Zealand news. As we have seen, in 1869 the Otago Daily Times and Wellington Independent had been involved in negotiations for such a service. But for the first time the communication difficulties for newspapers within New Zealand were met by establishing a system of cooperative mutual exchange of news among all newspapers.

The Holt and McCarthy agency was soon to be accused of political bias. Vogel was the dominant New Zealand politician of the time and

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20. Fenwick, p.7.

the Holt and McCarthy agency was at times accused of being more interested in supporting him and the Waterhouse Ministry than in its ostensible role of news reporting.

> "It is important to notice that the telegrams of the New Zealand Press Association omit to mention the destruction by the natives of the Wanganui Bridge.[21] We have noticed other omissions. The defeats of the Ministry during the last few days of session were passed over in silence. ...The frequency and character of these omissions show that the telegrams are supervised with paternal care in high quarters, nothing coming out through their instrumentality which could impair the trust and filial piety of a loving party".
>
> (Nelson Examiner, 13 November 1872)

Similar accusations were made throughout the six years the Holt and McCarthy agency was the sole New Zealand press agency. Vogel was, furthermore, to exacerbate the concern felt by his opponents by the successful moves he made to control the Wellington Independent.

The New Zealand Times

Vogel had purchased the Southern Cross in Auckland after being ousted from Otago journalism. But this purchase came immediately prior to his move to Wellington, when he took national political office, and proved to be too distant from his seat of operations. Although the Southern Cross was not sold until 1876, Vogel had earlier disposed of his interest in it, and had found a Wellington base for his journalism. McKenzie's Independent was the obvious paper for him

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21. The Holt and McCarthy Agency was also known as the New Zealand Press Association. Both titles were used in telegraph credit lines.

to look toward. It was a prestigious paper, being the only morning daily and the oldest paper in the city as well as the administrative centre of the Holt and McCarthy agency. Moreover, it was his political supporter. Vogel formed the New Zealand Times Co. in 1873 with a capital of £10,000.[22] The New Zealand Mail was taken over in 1873 and, at the end of January, 1874 the Independent was also purchased. The Independent continued until the end of May when it was renamed the New Zealand Times, though it continued the serial numbers of the Independent.

McKenzie, who, with the Independent, the Mail and his printing business, was by now head of a large and successful concern, was under no financial need to join with Vogel. Nor, although he had been running the Independent since 1845, was he an old man. To quote Scholefield, "McKenzie was only 46 years of age, vigorous in mind and body and under no necessity to think of retirement, but he succumbed to the blandishments of Vogel and merely retained a sizeable interest in the new company".[23] McKenzie may have fallen to Vogel's eloquence, but, equally, he may have shared much of Vogel's vision for New Zealand and joined with him in that cause. His public reason for the change was published in a letter to the Independent.

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22. Vogel's personal investment is not known but he did have a controlling interest in the company. The Board of Directors included Walter Woods Johnston, M.H.R, who from 1881 to 1884 held portfolios in the successive Hall, Whitaker and Atkinson Ministries. He was Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Telegraphs in 1881 and 1882, a period which included the passage of the Protection of Telegrams Act, the Act which copyrighted United Press Association telegrams and consolidated that association's position. See below p. 362

23. (1958), p.33.

> "I have disposed of the sole proprietorship ... but shall retain a considerable interest in the concern ... A general desire was expressed that a colonial paper should be established, one that could embrace the interests of the Colony as a whole; and Wellington, from its central position, was considered the most fitting place for its publication. With this view a company was formed, including a majority of leading citizens of Wellington. Being equally anxious to advance the interests of the Colony, there was no difference of opinion in this respect between the projectors and myself."
>
> (Independent, 30 January 1874)

Vogel aimed to make the New Zealand Times a national, rather than merely a Wellington newspaper. This is clear from both his manifesto for the paper and McKenzie's letter. This highly impracticable dream was one shared by McKenzie. He had, for example, started his New Zealand Mail with a similar intention.

> "We shall be well content, at starting, to make the Mail the best patronised journal in the province; but we hope to secure for it eventually a colonial circulation; and to obtain this object we shall spare neither trouble nor expense. The publication of several editions of the paper, each specially adopted for the districts in which it will circulate, will rather facilitate than retard this object; it will combine the advantages of a metropolitan with those of a local newspaper; and there is no place in the colony which offers such facilities for these purposes as Wellington".
>
> (New Zealand Mail, 25 February 1871)

It may have been that both Vogel and McKenzie wished to try to start a national paper and both considered that only together could they attempt such a task. This, from the available material, is a possible explanation and the only likely one for McKenzie voluntarily relinquishing control.

Vogel's motives were considered to be political as well as commercial. He "aimed at consolidating his political position through the medium of a national newspaper."[24] However the New Zealand Times did not become a national newspaper. Although several weekly publications have achieved a national circulation, there is still no national daily newspaper. In the 1870's a variety of difficulties prevented any serious pursuit of the matter. With the 1872 arrival of the telegraph in Auckland, the four main centers were finally linked and it may have been possible to attempt separate regional printings of four, or more, daily editions of a New Zealand Times. However, the large scale financial gamble involved in any attempt to, in effect, start four large daily papers, each in its own competitive market, all with records of failure for late-comers, was apparenty too much, even for Vogel. The New Zealand Times remained a Wellington newspaper.

With his dominance of the New Zealand Times and the Holt and McCarthy agency, Vogel was in a position to exercise considerable control over the collection and dissemination of news in New Zealand. But his political duties, he was Premier at the time he purchased the Wellington Independent, precluded him from assuming day to day control. More importantly, his long absences from New Zealand during this period kept him from exercising effective command of the paper. Vogel left New Zealand in September 1874 on political duties. The addition of health problems delayed his return until February 1876.

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24. Scholefield, (1958), p.33.

He was back in New Zealand for a period of mere months. Resigning the Premiership in September 1876 after appointing himself Agent-General in London, he moved to London taking up residence there early in 1877.

However, at least until September 1874, Vogel was able to exercise control. In spite of the later constraints on his personal usage of his newspapers and the Holt and McCarthy agency, his position gave concern to other newspaper proprietors.

His actions also indicated a return to the earlier situation whereby prominent politicians were also prominent newspaper proprietors. Vogel, in his ousting from the Otago Daily Times, had been a victim of the new commercial ideology. His return to newspaper prominence in Wellington represents a resurgence of the orientation by which newspapers were used as political supports by prominent politicians. It also indicates that this orientation was compatible and capable of parity with the commercial ideology.

The control of the New Zealand Times by Vogel was to signal a return to direct political control of newspapers, which was to be a feature of the capital city until well into the twentieth century. Vogel's example was soon to be followed during Grey's Ministry.

The New Zealander

Grey became Premier in October 1877 and his Ministry endured for two years, until October 1879. With the New Zealand Times now being an opposition journal, members of Grey's Ministry looked for a supporting newspaper in the capital and established the New Zealander.

The newspaper made its politics clear from the start.

> "No apology is needed to account for our appearance as a candidate for public support. Wellington has long been at a disadvantage as compared with the other chief towns of the Colony in the matter of a morning journal ... In politics we shall give no uncertain sound. To the advocacy of a Liberal policy we shall devote our earnest attention. The principles which have been placed before the country by the present Administration are broad and progressive. They are calculated to promote the prosperity of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants. While the members of the present Government continue to act on these principles we will accord them our warmest support".
>
> (New Zealander, 29 April 1878)

The allusion to the defects of the other morning paper, the New Zealand Times, was made clearer in subsequent issues, nowhere more so than in the final issue of that year.

> "Our morning contemporary ... is not a people's journal and it has no sympathy with the people's interests. Its aims and objects are to perpetuate the political anachronisms we have inherited. It objects in a new land, to concede to the people the constitutional rights they have obtained by entail".
>
> (New Zealander, 30 December 1878)

The New Zealander was a political organ following in the path laid by the New Zealand Times in that it was a daily paper owned by and offering support for the members of the Government. The ownership of the New Zealander was discussed by Fox. Fox, speaking in the House, held that among the proprietors of the New Zealander were the following:

> "First of all was the Hon. the Native Minister, who was not called so on the register, but Mr Sheehan. Then there was the Hon. Colonel Whitmore. Each of them held 50 shares. Mr Larnach, who was lately a member of the Government and who is now an officer of the Government, and the Attorney-General, each held 50 shares. The Postmaster-General - he did not know why they had put the honorable gentleman off with so small an interest in a profitable concern - had 20. The Minister for Public Works had not got any, and that seemed hardly faire. Then there was the honorable gentleman who interrupted him just now whose name was on the list of shareholders: Mr Seymour Thorne George was down for 150 shares".[25]

Edited for most of its two years by E.T. Gillon, the New Zealander kept up a fulsome praise for its political owners. The election of Grey's nephew was greeted with the following:

> "We rejoice in... the return of Mr Seymour Thorne George as a member for Hokitika. It is a great triumph for the liberal cause".
>
> (New Zealander, 28 June 1878)

There was no hint given in the article that Mr George was also Chairman and Managing Director of the paper.

The Return to Competitive Press Agencies

Grey's Ministry is also notable for the formation of a further press agency, the New Zealand Press Association. This agency, like that of Holt and McCarthy, was formed "for the mutual exchange among its members of telegraphic intelligence, and the procuring of cable news from overseas."[26] But, unlike Holt and McCarthy, it was an

25. N.Z.P.D. V.28, 14 August 1878.

26. From the articles of association, quoted in Fenwick, p.8.

exclusive agency and "should include only one morning and one evening newspaper in each of the towns or cities of the colony."[27] While Sanders holds that the Otago Daily Times management was the major force behind the formation of the new association, arguing that it "was not prepared to sit back and let Holt and McCarthy rule the roost" and "had already set the wheels turning by making arrangements with the Government for the leasing of a special wire for the dispatch of press telegraphic news",[28] it is not immediately understandable why one member of the cooperative should so wish to challenge the existing arrangements.

The return of competitive agencies was not a manifestation of any Otago Daily Times desire to assert its pre-eminence. My evidence suggests it was rather a concomitant of the resurgence of political favouritism offered to some of the New Zealand newspapers. It was not until Grey's Ministry was in its second year that the New Zealand Press Association was formed. It was some months in the planning. A resolution to enter into discussions with other newspapers for the establishment of an association appears in the minute book of the Otago Daily Times and Witness Company dated 18 June 1878[29] but this is clearly not the first mention of the matter. The Government, in October 1878, gave the Association use of a special wire for transmission of its telegrams.[3Ø] The first General Meeting of the

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27. Ibid.

28. p. 4.

29. Fenwick, p.7.

3Ø. Ibid, p.9. Sanders, p.6.

Association was held on 17 December 1878 though the draft basis of association had been submitted and adopted at a preliminary meeting a month earlier. There were 30 foundation member newspapers in the Association[31]. The dominant ones were four, the Otago Daily Times, the Lyttelton Times, the New Zealand Herald and the New Zealander. The common bond among the papers, apart from the Association, was their support of Grey. The manager of the Association was E.T. Gillon, the editor of the New Zealander, the new Wellington daily begun to support Grey.

Grey's Ministry was widely accused of political favouritism to friendly newspapers. This had first occurred in the matter of the placement of Government advertisements. These appeared mainly in the columns of those newspapers that were members of the New Zealand Press Association. In the main centers they were placed exclusively in the columns of the New Zealand Herald, the New Zealander, the Lyttelton Times and the Otago Daily Times, all supporters of Grey. It was argued that the New Zealander would not have been able to survive without the financial support given by copious Government

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31. Not 27 as reported by Fenwick. He omits the Hawke's Bay Herald, Wairarapa Daily, and Bay of Plenty Times. The others are, "Southland Times, Otago Daily Times, North Otago Times, Timaru Herald, Lyttelton Times, New Zealander, H.B.H., New Zealand Herald, W.D., Grey River Argus, Southland News, Dunedin Age, Oamaru Mail, Timaru Telegraph, Christchurch Star, Wellington Chronicle, Wanganui Herald, Taranaki Herald, Echo Ashburton, Ashburton Mail, Nelson Colonist, Poverty Bay Standard, (and, in another paragraph) BoPT, Manawatu Times, Tuapeka Times, Clutha Times, Bruce Herald, Western Star, Mataura Ensign, Western Star (sic), Mount Ida Chronicle", United Press Association Manuscripts.

advertisements, many of which were regarded as irrelevant to the Wellington region.[32]

In Christchurch the directors of the Press reprinted the Government advertisements, accompanying them with an attack on Grey's Ministry.

> "... The Directors of the Press Company, perceiving that the absence of the Government notices in the Press will place the subscribers to that journal at a disadvantage, have determined to publish without charge all Government notices appearing in the Lyttelton Times, but withheld from the Press... In making this pecuniary sacrifice the Directors of the Press Company feel that they will have public sympathy, and that public opinion will justify their present action in resisting any attempt on the part of the Government to use Government advertising as a means of securing political support."[33]

Charges of political favouritism were also made throughout the country in regard to the New Zealand Press Association. These charges were applied particularly to the special wire arrangement. The New Zealand Times, among others, pointed out the financial subsidy inherent in the special wire arrangement.

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32. Evening Post 17 February 188Ø.

33. In, for example, the Press of 18 December 1878. The statement appeared regularly during late 1878 and in 1879. The Lyttelton Times argued that it received the Government advertising purely because of its higher circulation. See the Lyttelton Times of 13 March and 15 March 1879.

> "The actual cost to the Colony of a special wire was shown by the General Manager of Telegraphs to be over £4000 a year, and it was shown that its earnings at ordinary rates would be over £5000 a year. Nevertheless the Premier (Sir George Grey) agreed, privately always, to grant the use of a special wire to these three papers, (the reference is to the New Zealand Herald, the Lyttelton Times and the Otago Daily Times) all out-and-out supporters of his Government, for the sum of £2000, that is for £2000 a year less than the estimated actual cost of the service to the people, and for £3000 a year less than the earnings of the wire in the ordinary work of the department."
>
> (22 February 1879)[34]

Charge and counter charge echoed through the country's newspapers. The debate also figured prominently in the House of Representatives during the final months of 1878,[35] the Government being accused of attempting to start a press monopoly while its defence was that, on the contrary, it was attempting to break down the existing Holt and McCarthy monopoly. That the favouritism to the New Zealand Press Association was a means of coping with the political opposition coming from the Holt and McCarthy agency was, of course, not conceded by Grey's opponents.

The Grey Ministry's eventual answer to the charge of political favouritism was to grant the lease of a second telegraph wire to the other group of newspapers, those which had remained with Holt and McCarthy.

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34. The General Manager of the Telegraph Department priced it differently. While it does not remove the fact of financial subsidy he calculated "the price for the special wire at £3160 per annum". From a memorandum to the Minister, quoted in the House of Representatives by W. Rolleston. N.Z.P.D V.30, P.1046.

35. N.Z.P.D., V.30.

From 1 January 1879 both agencies were leased, during certain hours,[36] the use of two special wires, each for a cost of £2000 per year.

This was a fair and proper arrangement, given that there were to be two press agencies. The principle of public morality embodied in such a decision was, however, not one willingly embraced by Grey. It was forced on him by the intense and prolonged debate on the propriety of his political favouritism.

Pressures Towards Amalgamation

Thus the New Zealand newspapers returned to competitive press agencies. The system was to last for less than a year before again, and this time finally, amalgamation took place. Fenwick argues that cost was the reason for amalgamation. "The efforts of each group to provide a service superior to that of its opponents were conducted with lavish expenditure in many directions ... It was, however, soon felt on all sides that the cost of two rival services was far too wasteful, and that combination was imperative."[37]

While cost was clearly a major reason for amalgamation it was equally clearly not the only reason. The provision of two special wires placed considerable pressure on the Telegraph Department's resources. While no public statement was made by Dr Lemon, the General Manager of the Department, he had expressed himself clearly on

36. ..."from 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. for five days in the week, from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. on Saturdays; and from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. on Sundays". N.Z. Telegraph Department Annual Report, A.J.H.R., 1879.

37. pp.10-11.

the point at the time the Grey Ministry sought the special wire arrange ment. " .. it must be perfectly understood that the wire resources of the department would not admit of two special wires at one time, nor would the department be justified in erecting a special wire to meet this particular class of business ..."[38] While Grey had overuled his Departmental Head there must have been Departmental pressure, and, after the fall of the Grey Ministry, perhaps Governmental pressure, to amalgamate the special wire services.

A further reason for amalgamation of the two services was concern at the quality of journalism resulting from the competitive system. The two agency arrangement was, inevitably, a more expensive method of news gathering and newspapers at times moved to the outer reaches of verisimilitude in attempts to reduce their costs. Some of these attempts had an amusing aspect, as in the following reprint.

> "'Special' Telegraphic News - we hear a good deal now-a-days about "special" wires, and so forth, opened for the exclusive benefit of this and that newspaper. But seeing that every newspaper in the Colony, if it so chooses, can sport a "special wire" heading, there does not seem to be very much exclusiveness in the matter. It is amusing sometimes to learn the tricks resorted to by enterprising journals to outwit their fellows and the Free Lance, an Auckland paper, gives an expose of how the Auckland Star, a leading evening paper, was able to publish six columns of a "special" telegraphic report of the opening of the Sydney Exhibition. According to the Lance, the report was sent by mail, held over to the opening day, when a short and inexpensive telegram regarding the opening was sent from Sydney. The telegram

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38. From a memorandum by Lemon to his Minister, quoted in the House of Representatives by W. Rolleston. N.Z.P.D., V.30, p.1046.

> announced the opening, and the mailed report was made to duty, with its detailed descriptions and a telegraphic despatch. Unfortunately, the Lance says, a procession of military and naval men - that never took place - was dilated upon, and distinguished individuals were spoken of as being present, who had not then reached Sydney. The letter was remarkably well got up, but the knowledge that it was written beforehand, somewhat took the gilt off the gingerbread."
>
> (Nelson Colonist, 30 September 1879)

Attempts to defray expenses were not the only reason for inaccurate reporting during 1879. There were more serious attempts deliberately to plant false information within rival agencies. The following is an example of this.

> "(Special) London. April 19. It is understood that Sir J. Vogel returns from the Agency for the purpose of joining a commercial firm. Mr G.M. Reed, who has recently arrived as Irish Immigration Agent, will administer the affairs of the London Office until a permanent appointment is made by the New Zealand Government"
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 23 April 1879)

As is clear from the editorial of the same day, newspaper proprietors had learned to become suspicious of the accuracy of their telegraphed news.

> "The announcement of the probably retirement of Sir Julius Vogel from the Agent-Generalship ought to take no one by surprise. Whether the report is correct or not - and the Government we observe by our Wellington telegram knows nothing of the matter - retirement is undoubtedly an alternative which Sir Julius Vogel ought to face. ... There is one reason why the rumours respecting the Agent-Generalship in its present shape must be regarded as untrue. It is, we imagine, most unlikely that

> anyone would place Mr Reed in the position left vacant by the retirement of Sir Julius Vogel"
>
> (Lyttelton Times, 23 April 1879)

The New Zealand Herald was to place this incident in the context of a history of similar frauds.

> "It will be remembered that the celebrated "fall of Plerna" telegram, and the more recent one by which Lord Napier of Magdala was appointed to the command of the forces at the Cape, were from the same source - almost enough, indeed, to justify the impression that more than the Julius Vogel telegrams own as their birthplace a certain sanctum sanctorum on this side of the line"[39]
>
> (New Zealand Herald, 24 April 1879)

As a final point in regard to this incident we can note, as was discussed by the New Zealand Herald, that such frauds tended to take in more than the intended victims.

> "We may point out that the trick was a failure. Its prime object was to show the superior morality of the Press Agency to the new Press Association, but no sooner was the cablegram published in Wellington as an extra by the Chronicle, one of the subscribers to the Association, than the rival Agency took possession of it and transmitted it to its subscribers throughout the Colony, thus doing what was stated to be the very object of the telegram - to detect and expose the morning papers"
>
> (New Zealand Herald 30 April 1879)

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39. Henry Brett, of the Auckland Star was alleged to be responsible.

There were thus various reasons for dissatisfaction with the system of dual press agencies. After the fall of the Grey Ministry it was not surprising to see a change in the existing arrangements.

The Closing of the New Zealander

The New Zealand Press Association was managed by E.T. Gillon who was also editor of the New Zealander. As well as sharing political ties with the Grey Ministry, the newspaper and the agency were linked administratively. The fall of the Grey Ministry, as well as leading to changes in the press agencies also signalled the demise of the New Zealander. The paper slipped in popular support as support for Grey ebbed away. Even at its height, there was doubt on the paper's financial viability without the extensive advertising support given it by the Government. The New Zealander survived the fall of Grey's Ministry by four months before the copyright was purchased by the New Zealand Times and the paper closed down. The proprietors acknowledged that they had "had the conviction forced upon them that on the support of a political principle they have expended quite enough."[40]

Opposing papers left no doubt as to their view of the fate of the New Zealander. The strongest statement came from the Evening Post. In an expression of a new awareness of the role of the press, it saw as improper what had been, after the gaining of self-government, normal journalism. The political connections of the New Zealander, although in a similar mould to that of the New Zealand Times, were,

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40. The statement was by R.C. Reid M.H.R. Quoted by Scholefield, (1958), p.35-36.

however, a reversal of a general change that had been occurring among the New Zealand newspapers since the 1860's. The Evening Post no longer saw the old order as acceptable.

> "... Sooner or later Nemesis must overtake the journal which is content to debase the Press into a servile organ of the political party in power. Such a state of things is essentially rotten and corrupt ... We cannot deplore the death of a hireling organ which in its very existence represented a principle of journalism which cannot be too stenuously condemned, one which must strike at the root of a journal's highest function - that of promoting, leading and even forming a healthy public opinion upon political matters".
>
> (Evening Post, 17 February 1880)

In contrast to this is the New Zealander's own view of its demise. Using the simile of the mercenary, the editor appears to assume support for a political party is inevitable and that the main ethical question for a journalist is consistency.

> "... and so the end has come. It would have been a breach of the canons of honest journalism to have shown a sudden change of front, to have veered round in weather cock fashion with the first symptoms of wavering public opinion. A journalist, if he be true to his work, no matter what his private opinions, fights for the flag he is under. Like a soldier of fortune he may be impelled by turns to range on either side but he must in honour end one campaign on the side he enters ere he enrolls himself under another leader. So also with the journal itself. It would have tarnished its fair fame and character

> for consistency had the New Zealander gone over unreservedly to the side holding present political power".[41]
>
> (New Zealander, 17 February 1880)

The Evening Post's criticism, mentioned above, represents an important variation in understanding of the role of the press. In the 1860's it had been found that it was commercially irresponsible for a newspaper to offer open and unwavering support for any one politician or Ministry. If such loyalty were given a newspaper was likely to decline as its political champion declined. The experience of the New Zealander indicated that such was still the case. Since the 1860's most newspapers had given consistent support to one or other of the political groupings in New Zealand. But they had also been prepared and able to transfer their allegiance when public support for that political grouping dimmed irretrievably. Thus Reeves, and his Lyttelton Times, was able to support Vogel during his years in office and then to offer a similar advocacy for Grey. The Evening Post, however, is doing more than shifting allegiance. The Lyttelton Times accepted that political leaders were political leaders. The duty of a newspaper was either to oppose, or to follow, their lead. The Evening Post's above editorial, however, represents a full

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41. Richard Sherrin, who succeeded Gillon as editor, when Gillon refused to accept the dictation of the directors that the paper was "no longer an unmeasured supporter of the Grey Government", [Scholefield, 1958, p.36] and who presumably wrote this editorial, seems himself to be as much an example of a developing political awareness as of a mercenary. Employed in 1878 by the liberal Richard Wakelin on the Wairarapa Standard, after Wakelin's son-in-law partner had left, Sherrin, after editing the New Zealander, is next recorded in Auckland in 1884 editing a weekly called Labour, the earliest labour publication with surviving copies.

flowering of the press as a Fourth Estate. The function of a newspaper is "that of promoting, leading and even forming a healthy public opinion upon political matters". In this view there is a separation of the press from politicians. The press sits above and separate from politicians and leads the public in its judgement of the actions of politicians.

The United Press Association

The amalgamation of the Press Agency and the New Zealand Press Association, when it did come, took place rapidly. At a committee meeting of the New Zealand Press Association on 3 December 1879 at which the dominant trio were George Fenwick of the Otago Daily Times, William Reeves of the Lyttelton Times and A.G. Horton of the New Zealand Herald, a resolution was passed that it was desirable that all members of the New Zealand press be admitted to the New Zealand Press Association. This was probably not the first mention of the topic for the Press quickly became the first newspaper from the other agency to join and, on 19 December 1879, there was a conference in Timaru at which the two agencies were combined. Those attending included the above trio as well as Henry Brett of the Star, Auckland, W. Jago of the Star, Dunedin, and H. Blundell of the Evening Post, Wellington.[42] Both existing agency titles were discarded and United Press

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42. Minutes of Conference of Representatives of the New Zealand Press held for the purpose of forming a United Association for the conducting of the Telegraphic business of the Press of the Colony. United Press Association manuscripts.

Association was adopted as the new name.[43] The new association began operations on 1 January 1880 with E.T. Gillon, the New Zealand Press Association manager and ex editor of the now defunct New Zealander, being first manager.

One of the first actions of the new association was to apply for the lease of a special wire as had been granted to the two previous press agencies. A.G. Horton, on behalf of the United Press Association, applied for a lease and, surprisingly, in view of the experience of the previous two years, was told the Government had no power to grant such a request.[44] John Hall, the new Premier and Commissioner of Telegraphs moved to correct the position. He introduced the Electric Telegraph bill, passed by the House in 1880, the object of which was to give the Government the legal authority to grant use of a special wire.

The granting of a special wire was accompanied by a condition that was a partial recognition of a monopolistic pattern inherent in the composition of the United Press Association. As Hall, the Premier, stated the matter, "The association, by the concession of a special wire, was placed at so great an advantage that no morning newspaper could be started except under serious disadvantages, if it

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43. The title remained until 1942 when the association was renamed the New Zealand Press Association so as to distinguish it from the American United Press Association.

44. See the letter of 16 March 1880 from A.T. Maginnity, Secretary to the Commissioner of Telegraphs. A.J.H.R., 1880. The implication was that the Grey Ministry had acted beyond its legal power.

was refused admission to the benefits of the association and of the special wire."[45] The condition on which the special wire was granted was that any new morning newspaper should also be admitted to the United Press Association. As the special wire provisions applied particularly to morning papers it was felt that such a condition could not be extended to include evening papers.

Such a condition had little point for it was the United Press Association itself, rather than the special wire, that gave member newspapers protection from competition. By joining the Association, newspaper proprietors saw themselves as having common business interests which could best be treated by cooperative endeavour. Under the umbrella of the United Press Association each newspaper's local news was made available to the United Press Association, thus forming a pool of national news from which the other New Zealand newspapers could draw. International news, along with the pool of national news, was supplied by the United Press Association. The New Zealand press did not join in a full cooperative for, at the local level, newspapers retained their separate staffs, reporting and commenting on local affairs in their own fashions. It was, however, a much muted competition with each newspaper's national and international news being taken from the single supplier, the United Press Association.

The outcome was that the Association became, as long as the major dailies stood firm, the only possible press agency in the country. In practice all newspapers desiring press agency services had to join it.

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45. N.Z.P.D., V.37, 1880. p.545.

Nor could there be a strong enough alternative grouping of newspapers to begin another agency. Already the United Press Association had passed a resolution effectively denying competition. "... no member of the Associaton should join any other agency for procuring Telegraphic news or in any way compete with the Press Association in procuring news from outside the colony".[46] While this did not stop non-United Press Association members from forming another press agency, in practise all competition was removed. For, as long as the major metropolitan dailies remained with the United Press Association, no group of non-United Press Association members would have a high enough circulation base to support another agency.

As the New Zealand newspapers combined eventually to form the United Press Association, members of the Government saw the press as a cohesive entity and began to worry about the power available to such a group. Concern was particularly felt about the major dailies. Gillon, the United Press Associaton manager, commented on this in his letters to his Chairman during the 1880 hearing by the Press Telegrams Committee of the House of Representatives to allocate a special wire to the United Press Association.

> "The Committee seem to fear that the larger morning papers want to obtain a monopoly to prevent any other papers starting and to give them entire control over the supply of telegraph news and the Press generally."[47]

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46. Minutes of Conference of Representatives of the New Zealand Press held for the purpose of forming a United Association for the conducting of the Telegraphic business of the Press of the Colony, 17 December 1879. United Press Association Manuscripts.

47. Gillon to Reeves, 8 July 1880. Outward correspondence, United Press Association Manuscripts.

A further protection for members of the United Press Association was obtained by actions following an April 1882 meeting of the Association. A resolution was passed to seek the passage of a Copyright Bill giving a 36 hour copyright to Association telegrams. E.T. Gillon the manager, was instructed to draft such a bill,[48] and it was introduced into the House. The eventual form of the bill was the Protection of Telegrams Act, which received its final assent in September 1882. Although less than the original request of the United Press Association, it copyrighted overseas telegrams for 18 hours from first publication and effectively stopped non-United Press Association members from reprinting the overseas news published in association members' newspapers. From this point on, and especially after the first conviction under the Act (of the Wellington Evening News in the following year) newspapers had little choice but to join the United Press Association.

The concern over monopoly continued and featured again during the 1882 hearing on the Press Telegrams Bill. The large entrance fee proposed for any future newspapers wishing to join the United Press Association was often queried, though not changed.

> "The entrance fee is the great bugbear and the 500 was a powerful weapon against us. ...Altogether this Bill has been the most strongly opposed one before the House this session."[49]

48. Gillon drafted the Bill after perusing the South Australian and Victorian Acts on the subject. Gillon to Reeves 25 April 1882. United Press Association manuscripts. For this and his lobbying in support of the bill he was to receive a bonus of £50. Sanders (1979). p. 16.

49. Gillon to Reeves, 5 July 1882. United Press Association manuscripts.

Gillon exaggerates the opposition to the measure. The Bill was shepherded through the House easily enough. On the contrary more pertinent is the remark, made during the debate on the Protection of Telegrams Bill, that the House was "showing an affectionate regard for the proprietors of newspapers and Baron Reuter."[50] However the inauguration of the United Press Association and the passage of the legislation connected with it does represent a stage in the growth of the New Zealand press in which it could no longer be subsumed under political allegiances. It was a distinct organization with its own interests.

The organizational expression of the commercial cooperation that become a feature of the New Zealand press was the United Press Association and it was this association that gave the newspapers commercial security. The major features of the association, that it was open to all newspapers, that news was available to all members and that member newspapers were not permitted to take other sources of news, long remained substantially unchanged. Not until 1926 with the first appearance of the special correspondent, supplying news and articles slanted specifically towards the needs of the hiring newspaper,[51] was there a dent in the U.P.A. monopoly and only in the 1960's, with the appearance of television and its own news service, was the association's monopoly challenged. While the U.P.A. service was also available to any intending newspapers, in practice the

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50. N.Z.P.D. V.41, p.453.

51. Sanders, p.57.

association served to protect the existing members from competition. Financially unable to begin a new press agency and thus obliged to join the U.P.A., intending newspapers both had to share their news and had to report U.P.A. news in the same words as other members. The adherance to the dominant pattern thus forced on newcomers meant none could offer any novelty of approach to offset the disadvantage of appearing against established competition. With the exception of the Dominion, for over a century there have been no successfully established competitors to the existing dailies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

The issues this study addresses were identified at the conclusion of the introductory chapter as the institutionalization of the New Zealand press, the ambivalent relationship between the newspaper controllers' organizational and political concerns and the influence newspaper controllers had in New Zealand politics.

Changes in the New Zealand newspapers between 1840 and 1880 have been seen as consequences of the organizational and political concerns of newspaper controllers. These concerns have been seen as varying in importance during the period and as in an ambivalent relationship to each other. Until the 1860's financial profit was seldom possible for newspapers and they were oriented principally in terms of the political ambitions of their controllers. The role of the press as a form of de facto political representation during the Crown Colony Government period led, from 1853, to opportunities for political office being available to press personnel. Newspapers acted as political advocates for individual politicians. This arrangement was challenged in the 1860's. Economic success became possible but the attendant organizational concerns of newspaper controllers conflicted with their personal political choices. Specifically, newspaper controllers' preferred political use of their newspapers - that being a personal political advocate for a particular politician - jeopardized their newspapers continued public acceptance and economic profitability. The challenge was such as to modify rather than remove the political role of the press. Individual newspaper advocacy for individual politicians became a revocable allegiance given by a number of newspapers to a more general political grouping.

At the same time the economic and organizational concerns of newspaper controllers were modified by their continuing political involvement. Profitability became and remained a sine qua non for newspaper concerns. While this stipulation conflicted with an unswerving loyalty to any single politician it still allowed considerable political involvement. There is no newspaper conducted purely in terms of an economically defined rationality. Weber's ideal type, by definition, does not exist. The major counter to it in New Zealand was the continued use of newspapers for political purposes.

It is in an analysis of the advocacy given by newspaper controllers to a more general political grouping rather than to an individual politician that their long term influence on the course of New Zealand politics is most apparent. The pattern of general political advocacy began in the early years of the continuous ministry - the conservative coalition which governed New Zealand until the Liberal ministry took office in January 1891.[1] The continuous ministry is regarded as holding power from 1869-1891 but it was not a group that suddenly seized power in 1869. What was new about the continuous ministry was not its personnel but that it was a national ministry as opposed to a coalition of politicians each with paramount loyalties to their home provinces. The provincial system was not formally ended until 1876. But from 1869 there began a stable series of national ministries with wider allegiance than the provincial origins of the individual ministers who formed them.

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1. Sinclair, pp. 160-161.

The continuous ministry resembled, at the national level, the political order of the group that had ruled since the gaining of self-government. This group has been termed oligarchical.[2] While it is an instance of government by the few this group should be seen rather as representatives of a New Zealand ruling class. European settlers came to New Zealand with a privileged group already present among them. This group became the major land and business owners in the new colony. There was not only an identity of interests but often an identity of personnel between these land and business owners, the political figures who emerged after self-government, and the controllers of the various early newspapers. This identity continued until the 1860's when, as argued here, newspaper control and management became a full-time specialty. A similar change took place in regard to political office. The holding of political office also became a full-time specialized occupation. The continuing connections between newspaper personnel and political figures is evident. The connections between land and business ownership and press and political prominence also remained. Land and business ownership, political office holding and newspaper control are to be seen, not as the preserves of distinct groups but as different and developing specialities within a ruling class.

Newspaper controllers interpreted the behaviour of politicians as being in support of or in opposition to the Government of the day. There were political divisions within the ruling class and newspaper advocacy was offered in terms of these divisions. Newspapers were similarly divided. While the political divisions were real they were the internal

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2. Reeves, pp. 270-280.

divisions of a ruling class. They were presented by the press as the main political divisions of the New Zealand colony in general.

The New Zealand newspapers are to be seen as expressing the perspective of a New Zealand ruling class. The support offered by newspaper controllers was such as to allow a ruling class view to be the first of any class perspective to receive a cohesive presentation on a national basis. The cooperation of newspaper controllers that led to the formation of the United Press Association was of major significance to the development of this cohesive presentation.

What was referred to as the institutionalization of the press concerned the co-ordination of newspapers into a cohesive grouping that could appropriately be called the New Zealand press. The United Press Association became the administrative expression of the New Zealand press. Within this association each newspaper's individual reporting responsibilities were restricted to local events and their communication to the association. The rest of a newspaper's material was press releases from the United Press Association. While each newspaper retained its editorial power to select or reject copy, the fact that United Press Association members were not allowed to belong to any other news organization and, thus, their individual choices had to be made from the single supply of United Press Association copy, ensured a profound similarity among all the newspapers of New Zealand.

Not only did this arrangement give the individual newspapers the most inexpensive news supply possible, it also offered a protection from

competition which made more likely any individual newspapers' long term survival. I have argued that during the years studied the existing newspapers operated from an established position that gave them an ability to withstand the competition from any subsequently attempted newspapers. This ability to withstand competition was entrenched by the United Press Association. Any would-be new newspaper, comparable to the established newspapers, would have to become a member of the United Press Association, it being the only press agency available. But by becoming a member of the United Press Association and being bound by its rules, a new newspaper would be unable to offer an alternative perspective or any novelty of approach that would enable it to gain a circulation against the established competition. There has been only the one newspaper, the Dominion, successfully established against competition since 1880.

The New Zealand press by the early 1880's had become a cohesive national organization which offered considerable protection to member newspapers and which presented a uniform news service to all New Zealand newspaper readers. While each individual newspaper was able to direct most of its attention to its own local region, the sharing of national and international news gave them both a national focus and a distinctive national character. And yet this process of nationalisation took place well before analogous processes occurred in other aspects of New Zealand life. Sinclair argues that the beginnings of a consciousness of nationality in New Zealand are to be detected in the 1880's and 1890's.[3] Until late in the nineteenth century most settlers thought of themselves as belonging to their particular settlement, not to the colony of New

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3. (1959), p.226.

Zealand.[4] Oliver refers to "the nationalisation of regional life" being a period of transformation taking place between 1880 and 1930.[5] This dating is generally accepted and while I do not quarrel with it, the point I wish to make is that the press is in the vanguard of this process of nationalisation. Before other New Zealand organizations underwent a process of nationalisation and homogeneity the press had moved from a provincial diversity to a national uniformity.

The use made of the telegraph is basic to this process of nationalization and homogeneity for it was the telegraph which enabled the day-to-day coordination and news sharing among the various newspapers.

Innis has suggested that technological discoveries that have historical importance are first applied to the process of communication.[6] The major technological innovation for the New Zealand press in the period studied was the introduction of the telegraph, the precursor of the age of electronics. Innis has further argued that the bias of such technologies is such as to foster centralization and uniformity.[7] This is in contrast to McLuhan's argument that the telegraph fostered regional diversity.[8] This study offers strong support for Innis's understanding of the implications of use of the telegraph.

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4. Ibid. p.105.

5. p.181.

6. (1950) (1951).

7. Ibid. And see the extension of his argument in Carey.

8. Chapter 25.

Innis's argument that the bias of the telegraph is such as to favour centralization is applied to the nature of government as much as to newspaper control. This study offers equal support to this understanding. Control of the telegraph represents an early acceptance by the General Government of a central responsibility and an early development of an administratively capable state apparatus.[9]

A differentiation of the concerns of the state from those of the press first appears with the use of the telegraph. The initial setting up of the Governmental provision of telegraphed news, plus the ending of this system, plus Vogel's later efforts to reintroduce it were undertaken for a combination of journalistic, commercial and short-term political reasons. That these actions represented an amalgamation of state and press appears not to have been a topic for consideration.

The separation of interests of press and state first appeared publicly in 1868 with the Otago Daily Times argument against the arrangements for the supply of telegraphed news. After ousting Vogel as editor the Otago Daily Times no longer experienced the same identification between press and Government. Only then did it discuss the

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9. In a twist of Innis' argument that historically important breakthroughs in technology are first applied to the process of communication, we can here suggest that historically important changes in organization are first applied to communication concerns. In this instance the new pattern of organization is on a national rather than provincial basis. The Department of Telegraph is an organizational recognition of the inadequacy of the provincial system of government, and is a movement towards central control. In this regard it is noteworthy that in the Constitution Act of 1852 the Post Office, then the main organization for the administration of communication, was one of the areas specifically excluded from provincial control.

propriety of the telegraph arrangements. From this time the spheres of press and Government began to diverge. This divergence occurred both in terms of a growing public demand for a demarcation between the responsibilities of press and Government and in terms of a growing objective distinction, and often conflict, between the interests of press and Government.

The separation of interests of press and Government applies particularly to the use of the telegraph - a device of which newspapers were major users while the state was its owner and regulator. Such a separation does not imply that press and Government were to remain with no interests in common. Nor does growing newspaper cooperation imply that newspapers were to be allies in all areas. Cooperation between newspapers was with particular regard to news sharing. At least when it was not in conflict with their interests as members of the New Zealand press, newspapers continued their political rivalry. The newspaper practise of partisan political support did not cease. They continued as allies of either the Government or its opposition.

This was in accord with the role of the press as stated editorially in the early years of the Provincial system of Government. But it was at variance with the role of the press as stated in other years.

This role of the press is one we can entitle nonpartisan leadership.[10] As Murdoch has indicated, with this definition of the situation the press is presented as an autonomous force independent of both state and

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10. cf p.285 above.

political groups.[11] In New Zealand the ideological nature of this definition is apparent when the relationship between newspapers and both state and political groups is considered. The links that both Vogel and Grey had with various newspapers while they were Premier indicates that ownership and direct control of newspapers by senior state officials did occur. And this was not peculiar to the 1870's but a continuation of a pattern existing since self-government. Furthermore the links between press and state in regard to telegraph use are examples of the interdependence of the two institutions. The continuing relationships between newspapers and political groups are also obvious. The commercial growth of the press has been shown to have disturbed the pattern of newspaper political control and allegiance. But this pattern has been shown to have been modified rather than stopped. Newspapers retained close links with political groups and retained their partisan political interests.

The notion of the press providing a nonpartisan leadership in the interests of the community as a whole is ideological. It disguises the links newspapers had with the state and political groups and in particular with the class represented by the state and these political groups. Newspapers began as class journals. The development of political linkages was a continuation of this bias. In the 1840's this class bias was justified ideologically in terms of the high moral value of journalism, in particular its ability to promote "civilization" in the new colony. From the 1860's this view was augmented by the ideology of

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11. p.39.

nonpartisan leadership. But throughout the period the press continued as a partisan advocate within New Zealand society.

The New Zealand experience is such as to limit the worth of any radical distinction between press and state[12] even though the New Zealand newspapers, on criteria such as those developed by Murdoch, are privately owned and controlled. In an argument in support of such a distinction, Murdoch holds that the distinction between public and private institutions is supported in Britain by two features of the British press. Firstly, no major newspapers are owned or directly controlled by the state. Secondly, none of the major British newspapers is financed by the main political parties.[13] Both points are applicable to the New Zealand newspapers. The state did not own or control one or more newspapers in the sense it was later to own and control radio stations. Politician proprietors owned their newspapers as private individuals rather than as state officials. Nor were newspapers financed by political parties. It is a truism that prior to the development of such parties they could not be so financed. But, more importantly, the rise

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12. The point interests Marxist scholarship in its concern with the distinction between state and class power where Miliband disputes Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). For Althusser the distinction between public and private institutions is a juridical smokescreen obscuring the profound identity of these two arms of ruling class power. Miliband, however, argues that there is an important distinction between such ISA's as the education system, which is clearly in the public sphere and thus within a conventional definition of the state, and ideological agencies such as the press which remain firmly in the private sector. While accepting that "the state is in all respects the ultimate sanctioning agency of class power," Miliband argues that "the class power of the dominant class is not exercised, in some important respects, by state action but by class action." and that it is important not to blur a distinction between class power and state power. (pp. 54-5)

13. pp. 39-40.

in the 1860's of the newspaper as a commercial enterprise rendered irrelevant the matter of external financing by political constrollers. From that decade each newspaper had to be financially self-supporting.

In New Zealand, at least, the concepts press and state denote the results of distinct processes of institutionalization. Both are early instances of a growing centralist focus in New Zealand. Yet both developed virtually exclusively within the context of a developing ruling class.

A distinction between press and state is implicit in the understanding of the role of the press advanced in the commercial newspapers that rose to dominance in the 1860's. The earlier newspapers - epitomized by the opening statement of the Nelson Examiner - saw themselves as having not only wide ranging civilizing and nation building duties, but also the ability to carry out these duties. The later commercial newspapers offered a more prosaic understanding of their role. Their orientation was primarily towards their commercial profitability and survival. To achieve this end they concentrated less on moral leadership than on news, commercial information and the means of advertising. As did the earlier newspapers they saw themselves as providing a service. Concurrently they saw themselves as able to comment upon but stand apart from the debates of their country. Some, particularly the evening newspapers, aimed to neglect these weightier arenas, substituting instead a light, family entertainment. Most, however, chose to see themselves as disinterested rather than uninterested. The argument of the Nelson Evening Mail is typical. It

was "attached to no party, devoted to no faction, seeking only to advance the interests of this Province and the Property of the entire Colony."

At first sight this indicates a considerable change in press values from an espousal of partisan advocacy to an acceptance of the role of disinterested but concerned reporter. Yet the role of a neutral supplier of information was not foreign to the first New Zealand newspaper proprietors; even though, for at least the first two decades, the newspapers were unable to offer a regular or comprehensive news coverage. But the newspaper proprietors of these years saw this as one of their tasks and valued it highly. They published news they received as rapidly as they could. Likewise they were generally open in regard to the authenticity of their news, developing eventually a many layered gradation in regard to the reliability of their sources. They, like the later newspapers, were keen to obtain and publish news. The major distinction between them and the later newspapers was one of technology rather than values. The later newspapers had both the telegraph and more reliable mail services which enabled them to publish the news on a regular schedule quite denied the earlier newspapers.

Similarly the early newspapers failed to achieve any significant commercial success, not because they did not value such success, but because it was simply unavailable for newspapers at that time.

Conversely, the later newspapers did not undervalue their role as their readers guides and leaders. This is most apparent in regard to the area of political discussion. Political discussion was among the major

values shared by the newspapers of the 1860's and 1870's with those of the earlier decades. And this discussion was seen as a leadership of the newspaper's readers. The Evening Post, for instance, called "a journals highest function that of promoting, leading and even forming a healthy public opinion upon political matters". It is difficult to distinguish this from a positive valuation for a political advocacy by newspapers, yet the quotation is from an editorial critical of the New Zealander, the newspaper established by members and allies of the Grey Ministry for the support of that Ministry. This, the Evening Post sees as "a servile organ of the political party in power....(and) essentially rotten and corrupt." It brands the New Zealander as a "hireling journal." Such a hireling journal was the normal type of newspaper in New Zealand prior to the appearance of the commercial press. It is a nice distinction whereby a newspaper can both value the role of political leadership and also deride those newspapers explicitly formed for a particular political advocacy and leadership.

The distinction obfuscates the fact that newspapers were still active as supporters or opponents of the Government in power. They maintained and, on occasions, exercised the right to independent expression. However the clearest instances of their independence concerned the defence of journalism itself. When newspaper controllers considered the efficient conducting of their newspapers was obstructed by political considerations they spoke out in disagreement.[14] But, generally, newspaper controllers were content to follow the lead given by

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14. That such remains the case can be seen from the discussion in Cleveland.

their political allies. Neutrality was not practiced. The ideology of non-partisan leadership did not describe their actual political behaviour. As normal practice newspapers remained partisan political advocates.

Epilogue

As a final point mention must be made of the significance of the events discussed in this thesis to the later New Zealand political parties. Their press support was set predominatly in the years up to 1880.

The various newspapers that formed the Liberal Government's press backing during and beyond the 1890's were already present in the 1870's. And, at that time, some of them, such as the Lyttelton Times and the Nelson Colonist, had been in existence and calling themselves liberal for more than a decade. These newspapers advocated and helped define a liberal position. Prior to the rise of the Liberal party and its domination of New Zealand political life, a substantial number of the New Zealand newspapers prefigured the appearance of the party by advocating a liberal political philosophy. It was never possible to have more than a small number of high circulation newspapers and, by holding so many of the existing newspaper positions, they were able to present the eventual party with a ready phalanx of press supporters.

It has been argued that during the decades covered by this study political advocacy was possible only as long as it did not impinge on the economic prerequisites the newspapers had as business organizations.

This situation allowed advocacy for both the conservative ministry and the nascent Liberal party. Both were compatible with this business orientation. Both served the class interests of their joint origins. The next body of political thought; that of the labour movement was quite a different matter. This political movement, which eventually achieved a period of political dominance, did so in the face of concerted opposition from the New Zealand press. Support for the labour movement was not considered compatible with the business orientation of the press. With all the major newspapers united in opposition to labour the cooperation evident in the United Press Association was to be extended to include areas of editorial conduct.[15]

The labour philosophy was inimical to the values of the existing newspapers and the labour movement was to be denied newspaper backing.[16] New newspapers were unable to rise against the entrenched press.[17] Even when, in the early twentieth century, the Liberal party declined, support was still denied the labour position. The liberal newspapers rallied around the, for them, only viable alternative and the conservative voice was the only political expression to receive newspaper advocacy.

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15. In 1919, for instance, "with a general election not far distant, (UPA) agents were to be warned of political leaders who might spread the creeds of Bolshevism and the International Workers of the World movement,. They were to be strictly enjoined on no account to report anarchist utterances." Sanders, p.55.

16. A notable exception is the Greymouth newspaper, the Grey River Argus.

17. The most notable attempted labour newspaper was the Wellington based Southern Cross. Its failure is recorded in Blake.

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Abbreviations

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