

# THE PIONEERING PRESS OF POVERTY BAY: 1872-1914

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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June 2004

## Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award; the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program; and, any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Anna Margaret Rees-Jones". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'A'.

Anna Margaret Rees-Jones

Date: 28.9.04

## Summary

This thesis explores the significance of the newspaper press in a settler society, in this case Poverty Bay on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. It examines the circumstances of such a society's communications needs and problems, and its demographic structure. It also looks at the changing patterns of journalism in nineteenth-century New Zealand and elsewhere and, importantly, printing's technological progress as it affected a provincial newspaper.

Remoteness was a dominating feature of the Poverty Bay district and European settlement was slow to develop. The consequence was twofold: institutions, such as the church, the press and the school, were already well-established in New Zealand by the time this second frontier region began to attract much attention – in the case of the press this meant an interconnectedness from the outset, with ideas and staff emanating from established New Zealand circles – and communication difficulties caused by isolation.

Poverty Bay's first newspaper, the *Poverty Bay Standard*, began in 1872, more than thirty years after New Zealand's first newspaper, the *New Zealand Gazette*. The 1870s saw a clamour of activity. This was reflected in the district's press, not only within its pages, but also with considerable competition and changing of ownership. Eventually one newspaper, the *Poverty Bay Herald*, succeeded where all others failed.

The *Poverty Bay Herald* has remained in the hands of one family since experienced printer Allan Ramsay Muir became part-owner in 1884. Thus, the family and the community have been intertwined for one hundred and twenty years.

Good provincial newspapers provide a cohesive element in their society or they do not succeed. The *Poverty Bay Herald* initially survived through luck and useful friends but it became a beacon for its community in that it reflected success and modernity. Many others attempted to dislodge it or share the stage, but the *Poverty Bay Herald* played, and still plays, a significant role as the former 'out district' stabilized and advanced.

## Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisors Dr Muriel Porter and Associate Professor Judith Smart for their friendship and continual encouragement. Their care, reliability and attention to detail is greatly appreciated. Another to whom I am greatly indebted is Professor Ross Harvey of Charles Sturt University, who has acted as consultant, checking, correcting and advising on many aspects of the thesis.

This work would not have been possible without the continued cheerful support of my cousin, Michael Muir, who not only provided an office and access to the fragile newspaper archives, but also organised copies needed for work off-site and answered all long-distance queries. I would also like to record my appreciation of the friendship and interest shown by Iain Gillies, John Jones, Bridget and Jeremy Muir, Marianne Spence, and Craig Willson, members of the staff at the *Gisborne Herald*.

I am indebted to Adrienne Simpson, reference librarian at the HB Williams Memorial Library in Gisborne, for her interest, time and advice. My thanks also go to staff and friends of Gisborne's Tairawhiti Museum, Ann Milton-Tee, Dudley Meadows and Sheila Robinson.

My second cousins, Judy Whitlock and Alison Lane, and again cousin Michael and his wife, Anne, welcomed me in their homes during my research visits to Gisborne, and I thank them for their generous hospitality.

Doctors Angela and Richard Kirsner's cheerful help with formatting and assembling this thesis, and troubleshooting when needed is much appreciated. Finally, I thank my family, my husband Martin Jones, and daughters, Anna Sleath and Lucy Mayes, for their patience, understanding and moral support.



## Abbreviations used in footnotes

<i>ANHG</i>	<i>Australian Newspaper History Group [Newsletter]</i>
ASM	Allan Stanley Muir
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
BCCB	Borough Council Correspondence Book
<i>BSANZ</i>	<i>Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand [Bulletin]</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Colonial Printers' Register</i>
GDCA	Gisborne District Council Archives
<i>GH</i>	<i>Gisborne Herald</i>
<i>HB</i>	<i>Hawkes Bay Herald</i> (Common usage was Hawkes (no apostrophe); <i>First Impressions</i> (2003) gives Hawke's Bay; apostrophe omitted in this thesis in all but work from 2003).
NA	National Archives
NZ	New Zealand
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
<i>NZPO</i>	[ <i>Wise's</i> ] <i>New Zealand Post Office [Directory]</i>
PB	Poverty Bay
<i>PBH</i>	<i>Poverty Bay Herald</i>
<i>PB</i>	<i>Poverty Bay [Standard]</i> – <i>Standard</i> not abbreviated as the newspaper changed from <i>PB Standard</i> to <i>Standard</i> to <i>Gisborne Standard</i>
RM	Royal Magistrates [Court]
SCAR	Supreme Court Action Register

## Abbreviations used in text when in a title

<i>HB</i>	<i>Hawkes Bay</i>
<i>NZ</i>	<i>New Zealand</i>
<i>PB</i>	<i>Poverty Bay</i>

# Table of Contents

Summary .....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES .....	4
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT WHEN IN A TITLE .....	4
1. INTRODUCTION .....	9
PUBLISHING .....	18
PRINTING .....	25
POVERTY BAY .....	30
2. POVERTY BAY: THE EAST COAST AND ITS EARLY PRESS.....	33
POVERTY BAY – A FRONTIER.....	33
POVERTY BAY NEWSPAPERS: 1872-1884 .....	38
THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> : 1874-1884 .....	45
Ownership.....	50
Valuation.....	61
Premises.....	63
Operational Details .....	65
Circulation .....	69
Distribution .....	70
3. NEWSPAPERS OF POVERTY BAY 1884-1914: WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO STABILITY AND CONTINUITY AT THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> .....	75
BACKGROUND.....	76
From Printers’ Imp to Proprietor .....	76
The Printing Fraternity.....	82
Politics .....	84
POVERTY BAY NEWSPAPERS: 1884-1893 .....	88
Litigation During the Period 1884-1893.....	93
THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> .....	97
General.....	97
Economic Data.....	98
Premises.....	100
Summary.....	100
POVERTY BAY NEWSPAPERS: 1894-1903 .....	100
Litigation During the Period 1894-1904.....	104
THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> .....	104
Premises.....	104
Summary.....	105
POVERTY BAY NEWSPAPERS: 1904-1914 .....	106
Litigation During the Period 1903-1914.....	108

THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> .....	108
General.....	108
Premises.....	108
Delivery And Circulation.....	109
Interaction with the Community.....	110
Influence of the <i>Poverty Bay Herald</i> .....	116
4. THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> 1874-1914: BEHIND THE SCENES.....	120
THE NEWSPAPER PRESS AND ITS STORY.....	120
JOB-PRINTING.....	133
Council and Public Body Contracts.....	142
EQUIPMENT.....	145
Type.....	145
Ink.....	147
Paper.....	148
GENERAL.....	150
VALUATION OF PLANT.....	151
PRINTING STAFF.....	151
WORKING CONDITIONS.....	157
Hours.....	159
Wages.....	161
CONCLUSION.....	162
5. THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> 1874-1914: ‘JOURNALISTS ARE A QUEER TRIBE’.....	163
THE EDITOR SPEAKS.....	165
Salaries.....	184
GENERAL EDITORIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF.....	185
Sub Editors.....	185
Reporters.....	186
Administrative Staff.....	197
Number of Staff.....	197
Wages and Conditions.....	199
6. COMMUNICATION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE EAST COAST DISTRICT.....	202
NEWS-GATHERING.....	202
By Mail.....	203
By Telegraph – the Mother of all Networks.....	209
By Pigeon.....	212
By Telephone.....	214
In Person.....	215
COLLECTIVE NEWS-GATHERING.....	216
UPS AND DOWNS IN GISBORNE.....	220
THE TELEGRAPH IN GISBORNE.....	224
The Operators.....	225

Gisborne's Post & Telegraph Office .....	227
Charges .....	229
COMMUNICATION WITHIN .....	230
FEEDBACK FROM THE READERSHIP .....	232
7. THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> 1874-1914: NEWS AND ITS PRESENTATION .....	235
NEWS .....	235
News and its Treatment at the <i>Poverty Bay Herald</i> .....	236
Yesterday's News .....	237
A FLOWERING WITHIN AND WITHOUT.....	242
TECHNOLOGY'S CONTRIBUTION .....	244
STYLE .....	247
CATEGORIES OF NEWS .....	250
Local News .....	251
National News.....	255
International News .....	257
Recognition of the Māori.....	261
Miscellaneous .....	266
News in Advertising .....	268
8. THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> 1874-1914: ADVERTISING AND LAYOUT.....	270
ADVERTISING.....	270
DESIGN AND LAYOUT .....	280
The juggling act ... ..	281
Presentation.....	282
Headlines .....	284
Illustration.....	286
9. CONCLUSION.....	287
APPENDIX A: Ownership and management details .....	294
APPENDIX B: Operational details – <i>PB Herald, PB Standard, Telephone</i> .....	295
APPENDIX C: Editors .....	299
APPENDIX D: Examples from <i>Poverty Bay Herald</i> .....	300
PROFIT AND LOSS – FEBRUARY 1886.....	301
VALUATION OF THE POVERTY BAY HERALD NEWSPAPER PROPERTY – 27 JULY 1887 .....	302
MEMO FROM A.R. MUIR TO T. C. CHRISP – 27 JULY 1887.....	305
MARKED COPY (EDITORIAL) .....	306
MARKED COPIES (ADVERTISING) – 14 AUGUST 1878; 29 JANUARY 1880; 4 FEBRUARY 1880; 15 MAY 1880. ....	307
EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS – 4 JANUARY 1878 (FIRST DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENT); 7 NOVEMBER 1882 (FIRST LOCAL DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENT); 22 JANUARY 1895	

(LONGEST RUNNING ADVERTISEMENT); 23 MAY 1895; 31 MAY 1895; 28 MARCH 1900; 1 NOVEMBER 1907 (BLEEDING AROUND THE EDGES). .....	310
EXAMPLES OF FLYERS – 28 AUGUST 1882; 17 JULY 1891. ....	316
EXAMPLES OF JOB PRINTING – INCLUDES MEMORANDUM HEADING PRINTED FOR THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> BY LYON & BLAIR; ALL OTHER EXAMPLES OF WORK UNDERTAKEN BY THE <i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> . ....	318
APPENDIX E: MASTHEADS.....	323
<i>POVERTY BAY STANDARD</i> .....	324
<i>POVERTY BAY HERALD</i> .....	326
<i>MOSQUITO</i> .....	327
<i>TELEPHONE</i> .....	328
<i>POVERTY BAY INDEPENDENT</i> .....	329
<i>GISBORNE TIMES</i> .....	330
APPENDIX F: Illustrations .....	331
<i>BIBLIOGRAPHY</i> .....	339
<i>PRIMARY SOURCES</i> .....	339
1. Newspapers .....	339
2. Directories and Bibliographies .....	340
3. Archival and Manuscript Sources.....	341
4. Parliamentary and Official Sources .....	343
5. Contemporary Books, Journals, Pamphlets, Articles and Other Contemporary Writings Published Later .....	344
<i>SECONDARY SOURCES</i> .....	345
6. Monographs and collections .....	345
7. Chapters in books.....	348
8. Articles.....	349
9. Unpublished papers.....	350
10. Theses .....	351

# 1. INTRODUCTION

This study of the *PB Herald*, and other newspapers of the Poverty Bay region on the East Coast of New Zealand's North Island, examines the role and function of the press in a settler society in New Zealand. It examines how newspapers in this second frontier<sup>1</sup> region interacted with their community as it developed, how they handled the changing demands in the printing industry, how they overcame – or failed to overcome – the trials of isolation and economic difficulty, and how they served their readership.

The period under review in this thesis starts from 1872 and ends in 1914, a time frame that marks the arrival of the first press in Poverty Bay and concludes with both the death of Allan Ramsay Muir, an important figure in this story, and the critical interruption of peace and trade brought about by World War I. Not surprisingly for a district in transition from a principally self sufficient indigenous population to a tiny, but slowly growing market-oriented Pākehā<sup>2</sup> community, it was a period of uneven progress that leads to two contentions: during the first fifteen years or so of newspaper production in pioneering Poverty Bay a newspaper's success depended largely upon luck and influential friends. That there needed to be at least modest financial support is axiomatic. The second contention is that the solidarity of one family, whose roots stretch back to the production of New Zealand's first newspaper, enabled the *PB Herald* to survive and prosper in a climate where others failed.

In the nineteenth century the dissemination of printed information was considered of critical importance, both politically and socially, within the new colonies. Establishing a printing industry in the emerging communities required not only presses but also skilled personnel prepared to accept a challenge to operate them. In Australia a screw-press arrived with the first fleet in 1788, but a printer was not found until 1795. The first newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette*, printed with the government's limited facilities, appeared in 1803.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-two years on, in 1835, missionary William Colenso toiled in New

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<sup>1</sup> The pattern of European settlement in Poverty Bay is explained in chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> Māori name for Europeans.

<sup>3</sup> R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976) p.2.

Zealand with an incomplete press and irregular labour.<sup>4</sup> Five years later, on 18 April 1840, New Zealand's first newspaper, the *NZ Gazette*, was published from a small portable structure on Petone Beach, Wellington. James Muir, who was to found a low-key newspaper dynasty, pulled 'the first damp sheet from the press'.<sup>5</sup>

Muir, along with four partners, went on to establish the *Wellington Independent* in 1845. His two elder sons, William MacIntosh Muir and Allan Ramsay Muir, followed their father's footsteps from printer to proprietor. William had moved to more entrepreneurial pursuits by the 1880s and it was his interest in pastoral land and the search for oil that brought Poverty Bay and the *PB Herald* to his attention. His proprietorship of the *PB Herald* was short-lived but Allan, who arrived in Poverty Bay's capital, Gisborne, in 1884, was a participant and spectator during the district's transition from an insignificant out-station to a primary producing region of substance. James Muir's line continues almost uninterrupted, for the *PB Herald* (now the *Gisborne Herald*) is today run by a fifth generation member of the family, Michael Muir, and recently two of his children, Bridget and Jeremy, have joined in senior positions.

The Poverty Bay region was shaped by its isolation, lack of flat land and the presence of two races 'more nearly in balance than is the case in most other parts of New Zealand'.<sup>6</sup> Settlement came in instalments, as is examined in chapter 2, and the pioneering press of the district struggled to find, or in the case of the first newspaper, the *PB Standard*, to keep a foothold in the first decade or so. Grand words and earnest beginnings found themselves confronted by a harsh reality that challenged all and curtailed many a hopeful newspaper career.

This study examines Poverty Bay's first newspaper, the weekly *PB Standard*, which first appeared on 5 October 1872, and its various reincarnations as the *Standard*, the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette*, the *Telephone* and the *NZ Standard*. It also looks briefly at the other newspapers of the district during the forty-two year period. The main thrust, however, is a detailed analysis of a successful provincial newspaper, the *PB Herald*,

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<sup>4</sup> William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud, Aotearoa* (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1898) p.120.

<sup>5</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 25 November 1865.

<sup>6</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) p.4.

during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The newspaper began fourteen months after the *PB Standard*, on 5 January 1874.

Newspapers are acknowledged as major sources of information and reflections of attitudes of their period. Tantalizingly little is known, however, of the facts behind the early newspapers, those who produced the journals, how they fulfilled their tasks, the conditions they worked under and the specific technology they used. Graeme Osborne, writing about the discipline of history in Australia, complained of the lack of interest in the field of communication.

Indeed, the widespread use of the newspaper as a basic source of historical information is rarely, if ever underwritten by any use of communication research into the processes by which newspapers obtain, encode, distribute, and incorporate feedback into, the information they provide.<sup>7</sup>

This dissertation attempts to redress the situation in one historical instance by exploring not only the public face of the *PB Herald*, in particular, but also the hidden aspects of life in a slowly expanding newspaper office as Poverty Bay, and New Zealand itself, developed. In-depth studies of the press,<sup>8</sup> how it developed and how it operated within a particular society, are hampered by the fact that, in spite of the profession being one of writing and communication, members of the press have been notoriously bad at standing back and documenting the day-to-day happenings within their own organizations. This study is drawn from comprehensive reading of the early Poverty Bay newspapers, helped by access to the now fragile newspapers stored at the *Gisborne Herald*, which give a finer definition than study of microfilmed newspapers. Among the other primary sources employed are contemporary industry journals, and a small number of documents held at the *Gisborne Herald* or by the Muir family.

No extended regional studies of the country press of New Zealand, such as those undertaken in Australia by Rod Kirkpatrick (New South Wales) and Elizabeth Morrison (Victoria),<sup>9</sup> have been written. To quote Ross Harvey, writing about New Zealand:

No recent studies have been made of newspapers in particular regions or localities, yet there is considerable scope for such studies, particularly for the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

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<sup>7</sup> Graeme Osborne, 'Communication – see Transport' in G. Osborne & W.F. Mandle, *New History, Studying Australia Today* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982) p.159.

<sup>8</sup> The term "press" is used to indicate a collective newspaper presence.

<sup>9</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience: A History of the New South Wales Provincial Press, 1841-1995* (Canberra City: Infinite Harvest Publishing Pty. Ltd., 2000); Elizabeth Morrison, *The Contribution of the Country Press to the Making of Victoria, 1840-1890*, PhD thesis, Monash University, 1991.



when local and regional interests overrode national interests, and when communications channels were not fully developed.<sup>10</sup>

Partly because of its isolation, the press of Poverty Bay makes an excellent focus for such a study. The region's history is almost close enough to touch as, in spite of vast progress, such as the telegraph, the telephone, the motor car and the aeroplane, the community retains a memory that comes from its original isolation. The newspapers acted as a focal point within this community for, with the abolition of the provinces in 1875 and the subsequent scattering of administrative responsibilities to numerous local bodies, loyalties became fragmented. The press was the only organ that drew the region together and the significance of this thesis is in its detailed exploration and observation of the newspapers of this specific region, and the community's relationship with its press.

This study documents all nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers within the district, including the Māori newspapers – a not insignificant task for in many cases records are inaccurate, incomplete or fragmentary. Details such as title changes, ownership and production are given in tabular form. The time span is broken into two unequal parts: the East Coast and its early press from 1872 to 1884, the time when Allan R. Muir settled permanently in the district and, as there is an overlap in the year 1884 before Allan R. Muir bought his brother, William's, part share in the *PB Herald*, the second period is from 1884 to 1914. Production details for the *PB Herald*, the *PB Standard* and the *Telephone* from 1872-1884, a period of considerable change, are also given in tabular form. In addition, chapters 2 and 3 explore the district of Poverty Bay and its community, and examine how the various newspapers reflected and were influenced by the attitudes and restrictions of the time, both within their local area, within New Zealand and also internationally.

The succeeding chapters each explore an aspect of the *PB Herald*, with continual reference to other publications and the industry in general. Chapter 4 looks at printing, discussing the equipment, the personnel involved, the conditions they worked in, and the newspaper's less conspicuous business, the job printing arm. Chapter 5 studies the literary side of the newspaper, while chapter 6 discusses news gathering and communication. Chapters 7 and 8 explore news and its presentation, the layout of the newspaper and the role of advertising.

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<sup>10</sup> Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey & Keith Maslen eds., *Book & Print in New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997) p.132.

The English language press of New Zealand's settler society was modelled on the familiar: the press most early settlers had left behind in either Great Britain or Australia. No detailed research has yet been carried out, however, to determine the precise similarities that existed, nor to ascertain how and when the New Zealand press diverged from the British models. John Robert Godley, when writing to his father in 1850, did accuse the Wellington newspapers, which were in hot political debate amongst themselves, of scurrilous journalism. In his opinion 'they bear comparison with the worst of the Yankees',<sup>11</sup> a judgment based upon his conservative English values – the popular Sunday newspapers of the day were Radical in tone, and another matter. For their part, the British models rested upon a long tradition, with the press having expanded beyond the cities to provincial areas of Britain by the early eighteenth century. The early provincial newspapers were mostly published weekly, and it was not until the nineteenth century that daily newspapers appeared outside the main centres in Britain.<sup>12</sup>

By the nineteenth century the emigrant pressmen, the journalists (though the practice was not yet 'professionalized') and those who set up as newspaper managers who travelled to the 'new society' of New Zealand, came with skills, though for some these did not transpose easily. The paucity of population that led to limited patronage made life challenging for hopeful newspaper establishments. Geography, too, imposed restrictions, with New Zealand the farthest link in the Commonwealth, and in Poverty Bay's case the difficult terrain that hampered transport and communication. Both these factors found the early metropolitan, but more particularly the country's provincial press, frequently struggling to meet the standard most aspired to. The supply of paper, for example, could be erratic. This was tied to both capital and transport, and in 1841 Samuel Revans, publisher of the *NZ Gazette*, found himself with about one year's supply of inferior paper.<sup>13</sup> He later lent paper to Charles Elliot to help him begin the *Nelson Examiner* in March 1842 as 'his stock was on board some other vessel',<sup>14</sup> assisted the *Bay of Islands*

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<sup>11</sup> J.R. Godley, Letter, 25/6/1850, 'Canterbury papers' (typescript copy, Victoria University of Wellington Library MS) pp.535-6 in Kathleen Coleridge, 'Thriving on Impressions' in David Hamer and Roberta Nicholls, eds, *The Making of Wellington* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) pp.98-9; Harold Herd, *The March of Journalism* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1952) pp.186-7.

<sup>12</sup> Herd (1952) pp.42-3.

<sup>13</sup> S. Revans to H.S. Chapman, 4 October 1841, Letters, ATL typescript, vol.2, qMS-1688, ATL, p.168.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p.190.

*Observer* with paper, and provided Elliot with a further 10 reams.<sup>15</sup> In Poverty Bay too, the quality and supply of paper was an issue that strained production, and at one point both the *PB Herald* and the *PB Standard* had to resort to a merchant's white wrapping paper because supply was held up.<sup>16</sup> Some settlers found the challenges too great, and this contributed to an often transitory workforce in areas such as Poverty Bay. Several pressmen and journalists moved to other districts, some left their profession and others lost their health, as is discussed in detail in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Two threads interweave to help contextualize this study. The first is the history of the press and printing in New Zealand. This is expanded by reference to the provincial press in colonies such as New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland (before the federation of Australia) and, to a limited extent, Britain and the United States of America.

The second thread is contemporary urban history. While urban history may be, as David Hamer noted, 'a notably capacious umbrella',<sup>17</sup> under which so much shelters that the term has 'suffered a crisis of confidence', it remains of critical importance for the historian exploring a newspaper and its community. In his book, *New Towns in the New World*, Hamer looked at frontier communities in the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Patterns emerge from the opinions and perceptions of life in the 'new societies' as recorded by the early settlers, and Hamer traced the importance of the press and other institutions in such societies by analysis of 'the ideas that contemporaries themselves believed in and used'.<sup>18</sup>

How the settlers in the 'new society' of New Zealand established themselves and operated is explored from a fresh perspective, eschewing the conventional categories of race, gender and class, in Miles Fairburn's work, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*.<sup>19</sup> The ideal society, as imagined by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and other visionaries, did not eventuate, but the myth of an Eden persisted. It became an article of faith among New Zealanders that their decision to emigrate was sound and that theirs was a future of promise. Philosopher and writer Anthony Trollope wrote in 1873 that:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.206.

<sup>16</sup> H.J.B. [H.J. Bushnell], 'The Early Press' in *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) p.144.

<sup>17</sup> David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) p.3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p.4.

<sup>19</sup> M. Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

The New Zealander among John Bulls is the most John-Bullish. He admits supremacy of England to every place in the world, only he is more English than any Englishman at home. He tells you that he has the same climate, – only somewhat improved; that he grows the same produce, – only with somewhat heavier crops; that he has the same beautiful scenery at his doors, – only somewhat grander in its nature and more diversified in its details; that he follows the same pursuits and after the same fashion, – but with less of misery, less of want, and a more general participation in the gifts which God has given to the country.<sup>20</sup>

Trollope's observation is pertinent to a study of nineteenth-century newspaper proprietors, pressmen and journalists, for many settlers were wooed to the new country by reports in colonial journals that spoke of promise. Not surprisingly, Samuel Revans was quick to recognize the need to promote the country. 'Publicity is the great point to be aimed at', he said. 'It is alike desirable for the merchant, the newspaper, and the colony.'<sup>21</sup> Others, such as James Browne, an early editor of the *PB Herald*, wrote a number of 'Letters for Home' in 1879 in which, with gentle irony, he exhorted those at home to travel to New Zealand and raise their station in life.<sup>22</sup>

Under chapter headings such as: 'Natural Abundance', 'Labourer's Paradise', and 'The Middle-Class Paradise', Fairburn challenges the belief that hard work and probity led New Zealand's immigrants, freed from the strictures of a class hierarchy, to achieve a reliable comfort in 'God's own country', a descriptor coined by turn-of-the century premier, Richard Seddon.<sup>23</sup> Just what was the true picture? Was it 'Alsatia or Utopia?' as Herron enquired, when writing of the 1850s. 'We would do well to remember occasionally that our past history contains as many salutary lessons as it does shining examples.'<sup>24</sup> Fairburn maintains that the past was one of extreme individualism and his conclusion is that New Zealand's community from around 1850 to 1900 was atomized.<sup>25</sup>

Suffice it to say here, that the community served by the *PB Herald* was far-flung and, in many cases families, or even individuals, lived in isolation. Fairburn's words, 'the neighbourhood is not so much an association as a geographical expression',<sup>26</sup> capture the mood of this community's settlement. A newspaper could provide links for those within

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<sup>20</sup> Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, vol.II (London: 1873) pp.457-8.

<sup>21</sup> *NZ Gazette*, 16 May, 1840.

<sup>22</sup> *PBH* 18 July and 15 August 1879.

<sup>23</sup> P.J. Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion' in W.H. Oliver ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981) p.309.

<sup>24</sup> David Herron, 'Alsatia or Utopia?', *Landfall*, vol.13, no.4, 1959, pp.324-41.

<sup>25</sup> Fairburn (1989) pp.266-270.

<sup>26</sup> Miles Fairburn, 'Local Community or Atomized Society? The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, vol.16, no.2, October 1982, p.154.

that 'geographical expression' and, indeed, for many Poverty Bay residents, the newspaper provided their only regular social contact.

By world standards New Zealand has a large number of newspapers. The speculative period of newspaper enterprise had largely passed by the 1860s, and the nature of the press has not changed greatly since the introduction of the telegraph, and with it New Zealand's eventual connection to the world by submarine cable in 1876, and also the spread of the railways in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1968, thirty-eight daily newspapers still extant had been founded in the years before 1880, fifteen of them before 1870.<sup>27</sup> In the years around the turn of the twenty-first century, however, the pattern of ownership changed considerably, with some newspapers having closed, and few now remaining independent of the large media conglomerates. About 500 newspapers have appeared in New Zealand since 1840, with the greatest number appearing at any one time being 193 in 1910, a time when technology was making big advances.<sup>28</sup> The proliferation of newspapers was not missed by *Punch*, which commented in 1925 that: 'It is said that wherever two Englishmen live together they form a club; when ten thousand New Zealanders dwell they start a newspaper – for that is the rate per head of population'.<sup>29</sup>

Elizabeth Morrison, author of a fine study of the country press of Victoria, Australia, in the colonial period, includes the ratio of newspapers to population in a table of newspapers published in the Australasian colonies in 1892. The figures include weekly publications. While the difference between the seven colonies listed was not large, New Zealand and West Australia had the highest number of newspapers per head of population. A selection is given:

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<sup>27</sup> G.A. Wood, 'Mass Communications', in A.L. McLeod ed., *The Pattern of New Zealand Culture* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968) pp.257-8.

<sup>28</sup> A. McLintock ed., *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington: R.E. Owens, government printer, 1966) pp.667-8.

<sup>29</sup> David McGill ed., *The Reed Book of New Zealand Quotations* (Birkenhead, Auckland: Reed Books, 2004) p.120.

Victoria (population 1,139,840: newspapers 246) – a ratio of 1:4633  
New South Wales (population 1,123,954: newspapers 218) – a ratio of 1:5155  
New Zealand (population 668,353: newspapers 150) – a ratio of 1:4455  
South Australia (population 324,946: newspapers 34) – a ratio of 1:9280  
West Australia (population 49,782: newspapers 5) – a ratio of 1:4148.<sup>30</sup>

In New Zealand this compensated for the fact that book printing was slow to get under way.<sup>31</sup> Many newspapers carried general reading matter at times to help supplement the literary diet. The detailed study of these early newspapers, therefore, is of significance in the history of New Zealand's print culture generally.

The newspapers are defined clearly as metropolitan – those coming from the major centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin – and provincial or regional. Although the provinces were disbanded in 1876, the newspapers that are, or were, produced beyond the suburbs of the major towns in New Zealand are referred to as provincial. New Zealand, as with Australia before Rupert Murdoch's well-funded *Australian* began in 1964, has no national newspaper. In 1873 Julius Vogel, wishing to consolidate his political ambitions, formed a company that bought Thomas McKenzie's successful weekly, the *NZ Mail*, and the daily *Wellington Independent*. The latter became the *NZ Times*, which ran until 1927.

New Zealand is fortunate in that a small coterie of scholars is pursuing and publishing studies that explore aspects of the country's nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century press and printing. To discuss these works a distinction has been made between publishing and production, though there is inevitably some overlap.

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<sup>30</sup> Morrison (1991) p.3.

<sup>31</sup> Griffith, Harvey & Maslen, eds. (1997) p.128.

## Publishing

As with Hamer's 'notably capacious umbrella'<sup>32</sup> that covers the broad spectrum of urban history, publishing too has a broad reach. In the newspaper world this encompasses the act of assembling, collating and discharging information. While the publisher does not necessarily write, edit, print or sell a work – although in pioneering New Zealand newspapers this role could well be combined – the finished article is his responsibility. The task involves handling the politics within and without the organization, and the economics of such a venture.

New Zealand, unlike Australia, where press histories remain regional,<sup>33</sup> has a volume that undergirds a study of the newspaper press of the country. Inaccurate and incomplete though it is in places, Guy Scholefield's comprehensive *Newspapers in New Zealand*<sup>34</sup> is invaluable for those interested in media history. With his thirty years' experience on New Zealand newspapers, and later as parliamentary librarian, Scholefield was well placed to document and research many stories before they were lost. An example of the inaccuracy mentioned is the omission of James Muir as a part proprietor of the *Wellington Independent* – Scholefield refers to the quartet of printers who established the newspaper in 1845 by name, but it was clearly evident from the newspaper that there was a quintet of printers.<sup>35</sup> Eventually only two remained: Muir was one of them. He remained in partnership with Thomas McKenzie until 1864. Scholefield does rectify this in a footnote under the Poverty Bay newspapers, but this is inadequate for all but those who know the family's later connection to that district. In spite of this, and other inaccuracies unearthed and noted throughout this study, the book remains an indispensable resource.

Of the scholars of New Zealand's press, Ross Harvey is one of the most active. His general works, such as the update of Scholefield's *Union List of Newspapers Preserved in Libraries, Newspaper Offices, Local Authority Offices and Museums in New Zealand*, and a bibliography of nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers provide useful points of

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<sup>32</sup> Hamer (1990) p.3.

<sup>33</sup> There is one general historical chapter in Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, reprinted 1968).

<sup>34</sup> G. H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p.28; notice to subscribers and friends, *Wellington Independent* 9 August 1845 (date printed incorrectly as 2 August).

reference.<sup>36</sup> Harvey acknowledges the limitations of both works, for a comprehensive study of all journals published and their whereabouts has yet to be undertaken. Such a work may be impossible for many small newspapers barely appeared, or perhaps did not even graduate from concept to reality, and details are elusive. Examples of the ephemeral nature of some publications within the Poverty Bay district are detailed in chapters 2 and 3.

On a much larger scale is the commendably wide-ranging *Book & Print in New Zealand*.<sup>37</sup> This book is obviously not confined to the newspaper but it offers chapters on printing and production, and explores the print culture of both Māori and Pākehā. It is an exhaustive work that includes unpublished studies and theses.

The politics behind the press, from its birth in New Zealand in 1840 to the year 1880, are examined in Patrick Day's *The Making of the New Zealand Press*.<sup>38</sup> The work explores the political and organizational concerns of the controllers of the early newspapers and, as such, is principally concerned with the metropolitan press and largely outside the ambit of a second frontier settlement newspaper environment, where local politics reigned supreme.

Politics and the newspaper world had a considerable cross-over in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. A number of men moved into politics from newspaper proprietorship, either outright or through a shareholding, and yet more politicians came from the ranks of newspaper employment. The two most obvious examples are former premiers, Julius Vogel and John Ballance.<sup>39</sup> It is difficult to separate self-interest from altruism but a developing country, such as nineteenth-century New Zealand, provided an open slate for the public-spirited and the ambitious to write upon.

Turning to the press itself, and studies of specific organizations or regions, it is noted that a few newspapers in New Zealand have marked their one hundred year milestone with a

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<sup>36</sup> D.R. Harvey, *Union List of Newspapers Preserved in Libraries, Newspaper Offices, Local Authority Offices and Museums in New Zealand* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1987); 'Towards a Bibliography of New Zealand Newspapers', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.11, no.2, 1987 (issued August 1989); 'The Bibliography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers', *ANZ Journal of Serials Librarianship*, vol.2, 1991.

<sup>37</sup> Griffith, Harvey & Maslen eds, (1997).

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990).

<sup>39</sup> Ballance, premier from 1891-93, began his career in New Zealand as proprietor of the *Wanganui Herald*;



centennial publication. But the only comprehensive history is R. B. O'Neill's story of the Christchurch *Press*, a metropolitan newspaper that celebrated its centenary in 1961. At that point it was the fifth newspaper to achieve such a landmark. Newspapers that celebrated their centenary earlier were the *Taranaki Herald* (4 August 1952), the *Wanganui Chronicle* (18 September 1957), the *Taranaki Daily News* (14 May 1957), and the *Hawkes Bay Herald*, later the *Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune* (24 September 1957). The landscape has changed since with, for instance, the cessation of the *Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune* and the *Daily Telegraph* and the launch of *Hawkes Bay Today* in 1999.<sup>40</sup> O'Neill, as a member of the *Press* staff, was able to glean information from within. Serendipity can play a part 'within' for, unless required by law as a company, newspaper proprietors seldom concerned themselves with record-keeping for posterity and, in the case of this study of the *PB Herald*, chance encounters under piles of dusty papers have proved invaluable.

Writings about the provincial press include the *Nelson Mail's* celebration of 125 years of production. The volume is designed for the general public and as such is a valuable resource for Nelson and readers of the newspaper, but it does not set out to fill in technical gaps or explore the newspaper's production in any detail.<sup>41</sup>

Lishi Kwasitsu's<sup>42</sup> study of the printing history of the *Nelson Examiner* (1842-1874) examines aspects of the South Island's earliest newspaper. The chapter on Charles Elliott's income is of especial interest. Each such study of finances, while hampered by too many unknown variables, does help build a picture. In this case, Elliot, the 'ostensible proprietor'<sup>43</sup> and outstanding editor of the *Nelson Examiner*, included bookselling within his business, and thus his income was not derived just from the newspaper business and job printing.

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Julius Vogel, who came from Victoria, Australia, was an editor and part owner of two newspapers in Dunedin (one the *Otago Daily Times*) in the early 1860s, before moving to Wellington. He established the political agenda in New Zealand for twenty years from the 1870s.

<sup>40</sup> R.B. O'Neill, *The Press 1861-1961: The Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press Co. Ltd., 1963). Newspaper details from Scholefield (1958) pp.128-9, and the commemorative programme for the Centenary Dinner held by the Newspaper Publishers Association, 1998.

<sup>41</sup> *Nelson's Newspaper: The Story of the Nelson Evening Mail* (Nelson: Nelson Evening Mail, 1992).

<sup>42</sup> Lishi Kwasitsu, *Printing and the Book Trade in Early Nelson* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 1996).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p.12 – Elliott had financial guarantees and other forms of support from the New Zealand Company.

From the North Island comes Robert Johncock's small publication *Brief History of the Press: Napier and Hastings Newspapers 1857-1891*.<sup>44</sup> It is just that, brief, but gives technical information that is seldom put on record. It is useful for this study as Napier and Hastings are in Hawkes Bay, just to the south of Poverty Bay, and the *PB Herald* was begun by the proprietors of the *HB Herald*. It is probable that one of the presses mentioned by Johncock came to Poverty Bay, as is discussed in chapter 4.

The early Wellington newspapers have been well researched, with Patricia Burns' still useful 1957 thesis, 'The foundation of the New Zealand press, 1839-50',<sup>45</sup> and several works by Kathleen Coleridge. Coleridge has delved deeply into the lives of Wellington's printers during the early years. Two other areas have benefitted from her detailed research: advertising and type. Her descriptive and statistical study of advertising in the Wellington newspaper from 1840 to 1859 is a masterpiece in its detail, and a further paper, 'Newspaper advertising in a pioneer colony: twenty years in Port Nick: (Wellington, New Zealand)', also adds to knowledge of the day-to-day economics of running a newspaper business.<sup>46</sup> In an earlier collaboration, Roderick Cave and Coleridge trace New Zealand's pioneering printing from the early mission presses to the 'local trade's coming of age'<sup>47</sup> in 1887, when Robert Coupland Harding began *Typo*, a remarkably sophisticated journal for printers and proprietors.

Financial considerations in the newspaper business, whether metropolitan or provincial, daily or weekly, are difficult to elucidate. Day concludes that many newspaper proprietors during the first years of publishing in New Zealand (1840s to 1850s) ran their publications for political rather than financial reward.<sup>48</sup> By the 1860s, however, the rationale was changing and newspaper publishing became a business first and foremost. Few, if any, detailed records survive to help build a complete picture of the newspaper as a business, but among the numerous journal articles contributed by Ross Harvey, two do add to the incomplete jigsaw puzzle of newspaper publishing. They are: 'Circulation

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<sup>44</sup> Robert F. Johncock, *Brief History of the Press: Napier and Hastings Newspapers 1857-1891* (Napier: the author, 1991).

<sup>45</sup> Patricia Burns, *The Foundation of the New Zealand Press, 1839-50*, PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1957.

<sup>46</sup> Kathleen Coleridge, *Building a Paper Economy, Advertising in Wellington Newspapers 1840 to 1859* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Library, 1991); 'Newspaper Advertising in a Pioneer Colony: Twenty Years in Port Nick (Wellington, New Zealand)', *Publishing History*, vol.38, 1995, pp.23-54.

<sup>47</sup> Roderick Cave and Kathleen Coleridge, 'For Gospel and Wool Trade: Early Printing in New Zealand', *Printing History*, vol.13, 1985, p.27.

figures of some nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers' and 'Economic aspects of nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers'.<sup>49</sup> By economic Harvey means newspaper-related activities such as 'income from sales, advertising, job printing and so on'.<sup>50</sup> Expenditure, such as purchasing a newspaper or plant, the number of employees and their wages, is also considered. This thesis contributes two further documents: they are the profit and loss for 1886 and a valuation given in 1887. They are discussed in chapter 3 and, because of their rarity, included as Appendices E and F.

New Zealand is not alone in the paucity of economic data for nineteenth-century newspapers. In 'Advertising, Circulation and Profitability', Cave says much the same applies throughout the English-speaking world.<sup>51</sup> Much remains unknown therefore, such as the size of population considered essential to support a newspaper, or the circulation required to make one viable. Certainly there were periods in Poverty Bay when two, and for a short time three, newspapers were published. The outcome of such overproduction, for the population was scattered and small, was that all but the *PB Herald* struggled and failed, but as almost no data is available – advertising is by no means a reliable guide for it could be run free of charge, and payment of subscriptions was often poor – it is impossible to determine any sort of break-even point.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century the press had, as Coleridge and Cave observed, come of age in New Zealand.<sup>52</sup> News now reached them by cable (a trans-Tasman cable linked New Zealand to the rest of the world from April 1876) but the 'new journalism' of first Joseph Pulitzer then Randolph Hearst, designed to attract an audience with part sensationalism, part progressive politics, part attention-getting campaigns and part aggressive, intelligent news – though in Hearst's case news fuelled by exaggeration – was slow to percolate down to the four-page *PB Herald*. For decades, apart from gradual technological improvements, little had moved within the industry. Certainly much was happening in the newly developing areas, such as the mid-west and west of North America, and in Australia and New Zealand, where newspapers rose and fell as the

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<sup>48</sup> Day (1990) pp.164-173.

<sup>49</sup> Ross Harvey, 'Circulation Figures of some Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers', *Archifacts*, 1988/4-1989/1, pp.20-9; 'Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.17, no.2, 1993, pp.55-78.

<sup>50</sup> Harvey (1993) p.55.

<sup>51</sup> Roderick Cave, 'Advertising, Circulation and Profitability: Aspects of the Early Colonial Press', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.14, no.1 1990 (issued 1991), p.6.

<sup>52</sup> Coleridge and Cave (1985) p.27.

pioneers moved forward or rearranged themselves, but it was not until towards the end of the nineteenth century that the leaders in North America and Britain, observed by many in Australia and New Zealand, began to reassess how a newspaper was presented. Reporting, too, faced change, with Theodore Dreiser of the *Chicago Globe* being the first to construct a story from the ‘who, what, how, when and where’ pattern. The date was 1892.<sup>53</sup>

The communication tool long called a newspaper is but a part of an extensive chain of the passing of news or information. American Mitchell Stephens looks at the phenomenon of the passing of news through the ages in *A History of News*. The first newspaper to be published in English, a *Corrant out of Italy, Germany etc.*, came from Amsterdam in 1620 and from 1650, when the first daily newspaper was published, the pace of the world increased, says Stephens.<sup>54</sup> The pace speeded up in North America and Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, when the complex path of the commodity called news was spurred on by a permanent cable that stretched across the Atlantic from 1866 and the invention of the telephone in 1876.<sup>55</sup> A decade later production methods speeded up too, with the use of Ottmar Mergenthaler’s new invention, the linotype. The first line of newspaper type was cast in North America at the *New York Tribune* in 1886.<sup>56</sup>

The pioneers of Poverty Bay felt their isolation when it came to the exchange of news. For the most part information arrived by boat, and what arrived overland came by Māori and European riders. The long-hoped for railway did not eventuate until 1942, and then only connected Gisborne to the south. A single, frequently unreliable cable, linked Gisborne with Wairoa and points south from 1875. Once communication began to improve, as cable charges reduced, and the general economy picked up, the *PB Herald* struggled to cope with the volume of news and advertising until relieved by the arrival of a new press in 1907 that allowed the newspaper to expand efficiently.

The strength of the newspaper as a communicator was recognized from its early beginnings, and the British government imposed a stamp tax as early as 1712 – a halfpenny apiece if printed on a half sheet or less and a penny if on a whole sheet – in an attempt to regulate and control the industry. Advertising was also taxed. The fee

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<sup>53</sup> Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Fort Worth et al: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1997) p.xxi.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. pp.144-7.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. pp.xiii-xxiii.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. pp.220-1.

increased, but so did newspaper production, with fifty-three papers in London by 1776. The 'taxes on knowledge'<sup>57</sup> were progressively repealed from the 1830s; the advertisement duty was reduced in 1833 then abolished in 1853; stamp duty and the excise duty on paper followed a similar pattern, with the latter being abolished in 1861.<sup>58</sup> Charges varied in New Zealand, and this is examined in chapter 6.

The matter of power and influence of the press is one of ongoing debate. In 1855, Henry Reeve, formerly with *The Times* of London, published an article as editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in which he introduced the term Fourth Estate, the fourth arm of government. He traced the newspaper's rise from its humble origins to the 'mighty influence which it now exercises'.<sup>59</sup> He was supported by others in his claim that the newspaper was 'now truly an estate of the realm; more powerful than any of the other estates'.<sup>60</sup> George Boyce sees a dualism in what he describes as the myth of the Fourth Estate, 'with its head in politics and its feet in commerce',<sup>61</sup> though undoubtedly the British press did enjoy a period of particular power and prestige between 1880 and 1918.

That the newspaper was considered a powerful medium in the nineteenth century is given added impetus by the use of the phrase, 'The Power of the Press', employed by type-founders Miller & Richard in the 1870s in their specimen book (see samples of two line great primer Norman black type and two line great primer open black type).<sup>62</sup> The twentieth century has seen the debate about power and influence broaden, of course, to include other media such as radio, television and now the internet. Graeme Osborne, one of the editors of a *New History: Studying Australia Today*, suggests it is a subject surrounded by a lot of mythology:

Most academic students of the media were first attracted to the subject by the belief that the mass media constitute a powerful and important source of influence; they spend most of their working lives apparently discovering that it is not... All that is left

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<sup>57</sup> Herd (1952) pp.43-5.

<sup>58</sup> Ivon Asquith, 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1780-1855', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, eds, *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Wingate, 1978) pp.112-3.

<sup>59</sup> George Boyce 'The Fourth Estate: the Reappraisal of a Concept', in Boyce, Curran and Wingate, eds (1978) p.23.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. pp.26-7.

<sup>62</sup> Miller & Richard, *Typefounders Catalogue, 1873* (Owston Ferry [England]: Blomfield Books, 1974) reprint of 1873 edition published by Miller & Richard, Edinburgh and London, np.

is a research tradition which has proved relatively barren in its own terms and which has stunted theoretical development in the field.<sup>63</sup>

Harvey agrees with Osborne. In his paper, 'The power of the press in colonial New Zealand: more imagined than real?' he distances New Zealand from the general body of opinion about the power of the press, and concludes that its press did not mirror that of Britain and North America. Power and influence, though keenly believed to be present in New Zealand's press in the nineteenth century, was 'more noisy than effective' Harvey concludes.<sup>64</sup>

Provincial newspapers in New Zealand have always devoted their energies to serving their constituency. They foster and encourage local and community spirit, for that is their lifeblood. Local politics were spread across a number of institutions, for once Vogel abolished the provinces a plethora of councils and boards appeared to regulate certain departments. In Poverty Bay they included: the Harbor Board, the Poverty Bay District Highways Board, the Hospital Board, the Borough Council and the Cook County Council. Each newspaper in the district was 'noisy' about these bodies from time to time and lapsed from objectivity, especially when tempers frayed as they faced each other in competition. What influence they wielded is considered further in chapters 2 and 3, but the *PB Herald* did acknowledge it could look after itself when accused of bias by a politically minded local lawyer. 'Newspapers are especially well able to take care of themselves; they have never failing means of attack and defence, which, in fact, gives them a somewhat unfair superiority of position',<sup>65</sup> said the editor.

## Printing

Printing has a proud tradition, from the time when the wide dissemination of information was made possible by Johann Gutenberg's invention of moveable type in 1450. The product of the press at that stage was termed 'artificial script'.<sup>66</sup> The writer of a droll piece in 1844 entitled 'The New Art of Printing', which compared the hand-written character with the printed text, explained the difference thus:

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<sup>63</sup> 'Editors' Introduction', in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, J. Woollacott (eds) *Mass Communication and Society*, London, 1979 p.3, in Osborne & Mandle (1982) p.155.

<sup>64</sup> Ross Harvey, 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand: More Imagined than Real?' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, pp.130-145. The quote '...more noisy than effective' came from William Swainson (1852).

<sup>65</sup> *PBH* 19 April 1886.

<sup>66</sup> S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1955) p.22.

It was like travelling on the paced and rectilinear roads of France, after winding among the blooming hedgerows of England; and how dingy and graceless must have appeared the first printed copy of the Holy Bible, to those accustomed to luxuriate in emblazoned missals, amid all the pride, pomp, and vellum of glorious MS!<sup>67</sup>

To become a master printer required a long apprenticeship. Initially it was seven years, though colonial apprenticeships were considerably less vigorous than their English counterpart.<sup>68</sup> Those who graduated expected to be recognized as professional craftsmen, with lifetime employment. Changing technology during the latter part of the nineteenth century was selective in its help, for, while it eased the lot of the printer with improved presses and the introduction of mechanical typesetting aided the compositor, these facilities needed capital, different skills and, in the case of the linotype, fewer people. In New Zealand the linotype came at a time when the demand for printing was growing; therefore its introduction was not particularly painful. With the advent of each new technology, however, the printers were required to upgrade their skills. Approximately one hundred years later the pattern has repeated itself, with the new wave of technology leaving behind some operators trained in earlier methods. Linotype operators, for example, now find their trade obsolete and for some the challenge of adapting to the electronic ways of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has proved a struggle.

Organization by the printers was seen as essential to protect their interests, and it is this story that Peter Franks tells in his recent work, *Print & Politics: A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995*.<sup>69</sup> The first five chapters throw considerable light on how the printers came to terms with the fast-moving technological innovation of the late nineteenth century. Much diligent research of the archival records for the various printing unions is evident. Before the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act that enabled employers to negotiate with one body was passed in 1894, the printing unions were confined to journeymen compositors and bookbinders, to the cities, and to those firms prepared to accept the rules.<sup>70</sup> Poverty Bay's newspapers were not unionized during the period under review but the staff that joined them, certainly

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<sup>67</sup> 'The New Art of Printing' by a Designing Devil, in *Edinburgh Magazine*, William Blackwood & Sons, January 1844, vol.LV, no.CCCXXXIX, pp.45-9.

<sup>68</sup> W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.4.

<sup>69</sup> Peter Franks, *Print & Politics: A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* pp.47-62.

during the first decade or two, frequently came from other situations; therefore the ways of the city were known. The Gisborne branch, formerly the New Zealand Printing and Related Trades Union's smallest branch, and now no longer extant, donated its investment fund to support Frank's research into union history.<sup>71</sup>

Those who established newspapers in New Zealand were frequently printers and, quite often, the early proprietors were able to manage, print, and sometimes write and edit their publications. This would not be possible for daily productions, but the result was that many newspapers were very well produced. Henry Edwin Webb, proprietor of the *PB Standard*, was a printer, as were his successors, his son, Henry Edwin junior, and John Mogridge. Though the newspaper did not survive, production during their ownership was of a high order.

Industry journals began to appear in New Zealand in the 1870s. Publications such as the *New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular* (1876-79), the *Colonial Printers' Register* (1879-81), and Coupland Harding's model of fine printing, *Typo* (1887-97), gave publishers' details, modest information on technical developments and industry chat. Publications from further afield that gave assistance to printers in New Zealand included the *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer*, a masterpiece of typography – with a masthead that proclaims 'we cover the world' in elaborate graphic form – and information about the industry, and the *British Printer*. Trade journals, such as those from type-founders Miller & Richard (Edinburgh), and printing agents Cowans (Melbourne), that advised and marketed their merchandise to printers and their proprietors are also of value as windows on the trade one hundred or so years ago.

Printers themselves have also contributed to the literature about their craft. The centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand gave rise to a number of retrospective works, and the printers of the country sponsored *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940*. The work contains thirteen essays and is elegantly produced by printers. The following comment is prescient, if touched by poetic licence, for more than sixty years ago the chapter on newspapers ends thus: 'The local paper will continue to

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p.6.



flourish. Competition, absorption, amalgamation, chain-conjunctions – yes; but ever and always a better daily paper for the fortunate folk in this favoured land'.<sup>72</sup>

Printers were also responsible for a second work of note, the recently published *First Impressions*,<sup>73</sup> which documents Hawkes Bay's printing industry. Commissioned by the Hawke's Bay Master Printers Association, the book is a compendium of both the substantial number of newspapers in the spread-out district and the commercial printing houses. Illustrations of typefaces, blocks and also photographs are, as might be expected for a book produced by and for printers, informative and well chosen.

Apart from the above-mentioned work, recent scholarship on New Zealand printing has been mostly directed at the 1840s and 1850s and regional studies are few. Kathleen Coleridge has covered the field in greatest detail and, as mentioned, her work is about the early Wellington printers. Regional histories frequently include notes on the press of the district, but these are not always reliable. This is so for the two publications that appeared in Gisborne. The first, *A Brief History of Newspaper Printing in Gisborne* (no date),<sup>74</sup> is taken verbatim from Scholefield and this work too holds inaccuracies. The second, a Jaycee project for 'Gisborne's 1<sup>st</sup> Industries Fair' in June 1961 (no author), is brief, and probably a synopsis of Scholefield as the same errors occur again.

Another source of information about printing may be the newspaper supplement produced for an anniversary or to mark a special occasion. Particularly detailed information that reflects both the advances in technology and the social milieu of the time has appeared from time to time in the *PB Herald*. An eight-page supplement was produced by the *PB Herald* to celebrate the installation of the Cossar press in 1907. Printing past and present was explored again in some detail when the newspaper changed to its sixth press, a Duplex Tubular Rotary press purchased from the *Daily Mail* in Hastings in 1941, which replaced the second Cossar press.<sup>75</sup> A retrospective supplement issued by the *PB Herald* on 5 January 1924 marked the jubilee of its foundation on 5 January 1874. All editions

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<sup>72</sup> R.A. McKay ed., *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940) p.87.

<sup>73</sup> Laraine Knight, *First Impressions* (Hastings: Hawke's Bay Inc., 2003).

<sup>74</sup> Nigel Thorpe, compiler, *A Brief History of Newspaper Printing in Gisborne*, in 'Gisborne's 1<sup>st</sup> Industries Fair', a Jaycee project, June 1961.

<sup>75</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907; *GH* 18 August 1945.

were written with an eye to the future, but in the latter supplement limited information was also given about the staff.<sup>76</sup>

Both newspapers in the district, the *Gisborne Times* and the *PB Herald*, produced jubilee numbers in May 1927 to acknowledge the jubilee of the Borough of Gisborne, established 1877. Strangely though, the *PB Herald's* supplement appears a copy of that of the *Gisborne Times*, with minor modifications in layout. Such editions were frequently compiled from oral history and therefore in these cases the past is as recollected.<sup>77</sup> Also, they were compiled by members of a newspaper's literary staff, and facts were not always translated accurately but, as often the only window on the period, these historical publications are of value.<sup>78</sup>

The nineteenth century saw many changes in printing machinery. James Moran's *Printing Presses* is a comprehensive work that documents the many and varied forms of printing press.<sup>79</sup> All presses had to be imported to New Zealand and, as costs were substantial, there was considerable trade within the country. Notable among the peripatetic machines, according to Scholefield, was a press bought from Melbourne in 1863 to start the *Riverton Times*. The same press is on record as having moved around the South Island from Riverton to four more destinations: Waikouaiti, Okarito, Hokitika and Reefton. Its final resting place is not known.<sup>80</sup> The *PB Herald* has had at least three second-hand presses: the Albion it began with, the Duplex Tubular Rotary press, bought in 1941 but not used to print the newspaper until August 1945, and a five-unit double width Hoe Rotary press that was leased from the *Evening Herald* in March 1971, and used until March 1976.

All but a few newspapers in New Zealand had, and still have, a job printing arm to their business. Certainly for provincial newspapers, the income generated was important to their viability. A wider range of type was required to cater for the job printing and the

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<sup>76</sup> *PBH* 5 January 1924.

<sup>77</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.10.

<sup>78</sup> An example of inaccuracy is as follows: In *Life in Early Poverty Bay*, (1927) p.144, Bushnell recalled that on one occasion both newspapers ran out of paper and resorted to a merchant's white wrapping paper; in the *PBH* jubilee no. 5 January 1924 (p.2), he is reported as saying that it happened many times.

<sup>79</sup> James Moran, *Printing Presses* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

<sup>80</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.6-7.

home-set display advertisements, and the authority on the development of such type is still historian Nicolete Gray.<sup>81</sup>

Two works by New Zealand scholars that study typefaces are Coleridge's 'Ornamental and Display Types Used by Commercial Printers in Colonial New Zealand'<sup>82</sup> and K.I.D. Maslen's *Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin, New Zealand*.<sup>83</sup> Coleridge concentrates on the early Wellington newspapers and Maslen comments on, and lists, records from the printing firm of Matthews, Baxter & Co. of Dunedin, which have fortuitously survived. The firm began in 1870. For the printer, as Maslen rightly says, the assembly of stock was a creative act. Then followed the art of design; this was encouraged by journals such as *Typo*, and the *British Printer*, as is examined further in chapter 4.

## Poverty Bay

Poverty Bay has experienced two flushes of prosperity. The first was towards the end of the nineteenth century when refrigeration gave the pastoral district a boost and New Zealand's economy was doing well in general. This is clearly evident in the maturing *PB Herald*. The solidarity of the *PB Herald* did not, however, give a completely accurate picture of the spread-out district. W.H. Oliver qualifies the appearance of overall prosperity by suggesting the view would be 'less exhilarating' had the boundary been drawn more to the north, 'for here the frontier remained on the nearer side of the horizon'.<sup>84</sup> The second period of prosperity was as life settled down after World War II and returns were strong for the farming community, the backbone of the district's economy.

By the 1960s, however, it was clear that the rural areas were suffering from a declining population and the district in general faced considerable out-migration. In an effort to arrest the exodus and reinvigorate the community, a study of the region's development was commissioned in the early 1970s by the East Coast Development Research Association. The commissioning of Professor W.H. Oliver's work, *Challenge and*

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<sup>81</sup> Nicolete Gray, *Nineteenth Century Ornamental Typefaces* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976). This work was originally published as *XIXth century ornamented types & title pages*, 1938, reprinted 1951.

<sup>82</sup> K.A. Coleridge, 'Ornamental and Display Types used by Commercial Printers in Colonial New Zealand', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, second quarter, 1996.

<sup>83</sup> K.I.D. Maslen *Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin, New Zealand* (Melbourne: The Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Occasional Publication No.2, 1981).

<sup>84</sup> Oliver (1971) p.188.

*Response*,<sup>85</sup> illustrates the district's pride in itself at the time, but also concern for the future. The historian is indebted to Oliver for he peels back the layers of events and circumstance that helped shape the region. It is a seminal work, probably without peer as a regional history in New Zealand.

As a corollary, Geoffrey Muir, grandson of Allan Ramsay, was a director of the East Coast Development Research Association, the body that commissioned Oliver to undertake the study. He was managing director of the *Gisborne Herald* at the time.

It would not be possible to undertake a satisfactory study of the Poverty Bay region, its institutions and its inhabitants, without *Historic Poverty Bay*,<sup>86</sup> a centennial memorial written by Joseph Angus MacKay. Now difficult to obtain, this encyclopaedic reference book of 471 pages has reached its fourth impression, and is a classic among local histories in its astonishing comprehensiveness. The author is indebted to the current editor of the *Gisborne Herald*, Iain Gillies, for his 1982 edition, the fourth, signed by McKay's son, Jim, and his wife Joyce. One failing, however, is an inadequate index but this was improved somewhat by R. de Z. Hall of the Gisborne Museum & Arts Centre in 1985; unfortunately the amended version is not widely available.

These sources provide a background for this study of one group of contributors to the Poverty Bay community, the press. Because of the isolation of this easternmost part of the North Island of New Zealand, the newspapers, as mentioned, provided a thread that connected the disparate groups or individuals that made up the community. They served both the rural and the town community in a way that no other medium or institution did. They were also dependent upon support from both communities. It helped, therefore, to have a loyalty to, and understanding of, the community and in this the solidarity of one family gave an advantage that was not available to others.

The second contention of this thesis of the pioneering press of Poverty Bay is that continuity of the Muir family, owners of the *PB Herald* (now the *Gisborne Herald*) since 1883, when William Muir became a partner, has enabled the newspaper to survive and prosper. Careful husbandry meant that the *PB Herald* was able to keep up with, and at times ahead of, technological advances as detailed in chapter 4. This was extremely

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast* (Gisborne: J.A. McKay, 1949) fourth impression, published by J.G. McKay, 1982; Oliver (1971).

important as a second, well-financed newspaper, the *Gisborne Times*, was operating from 1901. That newspaper ran for thirty-seven years, ceasing in 1938. The *PB Herald* bought the goodwill.

The *PB Herald's* path has not been completely uneventful, however, as the Depression of the 1930s affected the district badly. Both newspapers struggled but the Poverty Bay Herald Company Limited continued to make a profit. In February 1999 the newspaper changed to tabloid format, the first, and still the only, provincial daily newspaper in New Zealand to do so.

The environment in which the press of Poverty Bay operated was, as Ross Harvey described: a region or locality in the nineteenth and twentieth century where 'local and regional interests overrode national interests, and when communications channels were not fully developed'.<sup>87</sup> As mentioned, no detailed studies of a provincial newspaper have been undertaken to explore how they operated in the climate of this period and this thesis, with its detailed examination of one provincial New Zealand newspaper, and taken in context with the other newspapers in the field, expands this field of knowledge.

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<sup>87</sup> Griffith, Harvey & Maslen, eds (1997) p.132.

## 2. POVERTY BAY: THE EAST COAST AND ITS EARLY PRESS

Development came slowly to New Zealand's Poverty Bay-East Coast region. Printing, a well-established trade throughout much of the country by the 1860s, was not encouraged by commercialism or idealism in the area and, as mentioned, it was 1872 before a printing press arrived in the fledgling market-town of Gisborne. The decade that followed saw the dismantling of two important barriers to European settlement: the struggle for understanding between Māori and Pākehā became calmer, though was by no means resolved, and, gradually, connection with the outside world improved. Much change took place in the developing district and in its printing industry during the twelve-year period that followed the establishment of the *PB Standard* in October 1872. This phase of development is the subject of this chapter.

### Poverty Bay – a Frontier

Poverty Bay fell into documented history dramatically. Situated a little south of the furthest eastern point in the North Island, it was here that Captain James Cook first came ashore in New Zealand on 9 October 1769. Chances of the *Endeavour* replenishing its stores were dashed by tragic confrontation between Māori and Pākehā, and, three days later, the party sailed south. Cook noted in his journal (Wharton): 'At 6 a.m. we weigh'd and stood out of the Bay, which I have named 'Poverty Bay' because it afforded us no one thing we wanted'.<sup>1</sup> Despite efforts to change this inauspicious name, the district holds it to this day,<sup>2</sup> but proudly asserts a sense of identity through Cook's first New Zealand landfall.

Sixty-two years after Cook's visit, trader John Williams Harris settled in Poverty Bay (Turanganui). European settlement inched forward slowly from there. Until the early

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<sup>1</sup> Cook landed three times. One Māori was shot by 'musquet' on the first day, three or four 'Indians' were killed the following day, and the third landing party met with suspicion. Cook sailed south then north again. *Landfall*, Gisborne Cook Bicentenary Committee in Celebration of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Landing at Gisborne, Poverty Bay, N.Z. (Gisborne: Logan Print, 1969) pp.4-13 – details from the Hakluyt Society volumes of the Journals of Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, edited by J.C. Beaglehole; J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. MacKay, 1982) p.40.

<sup>2</sup> In 1880 the editor of the *Bruce Herald* suggested the name was inappropriate. *PBH* 13 December 1880; spokespeople for the district, for example G.G. Muir (editor of the *GH* 1949-64 and md 1960-80), attempted to have the name changed to Cook's original choice, Endeavour Bay.

sixties, the region's white population was principally the trader, the whaler, and the missionary.<sup>3</sup> By 1867, about 500 Māori and 150 Europeans resided in Poverty Bay.<sup>4</sup>

Isolation, a problem in much of pioneering New Zealand, was particularly severe for the East Coast district. Ships, the main mode of transport, were advised to anchor half a mile off for nearer the ocean bed was 'very foul, changing from eight fathoms to nine feet'.<sup>5</sup> Land transport was also rigorous, and sometimes impossible, as the ring of steep papa-covered hills surrounding Poverty Bay's fertile river flats proved a barrier to social intercourse and trade until well into the twentieth century. In 1881, G. R. Johnson, when arguing in the Legislative Council for a harbour, stated that although the district of Gisborne was not an island, for all practical purposes it might just as well be so as: 'The only way of approaching and leaving the district was by water'.<sup>6</sup>

Gisborne, which stands to one side of a narrow coastal plain at the confluence of two rivers, was one of the last of the older settlements in New Zealand. It has never prospered as a stopping-off service post to any major settlement and during its birth was a particularly 'small pocket of nineteenth-century space', as David Hamer has eloquently described founding communities.<sup>7</sup>

Phillip Kenway, who settled in the district in the late 1880s, claimed that the isolation affected the region in ways other than just lack of communication and services. Because of the difficulty of access, he maintained it was fifty years behind the rest of the country in civilization. Writing such as his no doubt did little to encourage settlement, although as Oliver suggests, there was a sense of adventurousness about the settlers, both in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Kenway's damning, if rather excessive sentiments were that it was: 'the refuge of all the off-scourings of the colony, who sought

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<sup>3</sup> McKay (1982), pp 94-106 – Harris arrived 16 May 1831 as a representative of Montifiore & Co, Sydney; Colin A. MacDonald, (c.1912) – Projected History of Gisborne, ATL, qMS-1173, p.9.

<sup>4</sup> James Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History* (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974 - photoreprint of 1869 edition published by J. Wood, Napier) p.4.

<sup>5</sup> *Chapman's 1871 New Zealand Almanac, Nautical, Official, Commercial*, p.86.

<sup>6</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) pp.148-9.

<sup>7</sup> D.A. Hamer, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, vol.13, no.1, April 1979, p.6.

<sup>8</sup> Oliver (1971) p.5.

to practise there, without social restraint, every kind of irregularity and even vice...in fact a little hell on earth, and no place at all for decent people'.<sup>9</sup>

Settlers in the more geographically gentle Hawkes Bay district looked down upon their less well-endowed neighbour; though it was acknowledged the land was good enough, the titles were 'mostly bad' and the lawyers were rascals.<sup>10</sup> Certainly Gisborne did accommodate a large contingent of lawyers, some of whom acted unprofessionally.<sup>11</sup> There was a great deal of litigation. Court activity affected many, including the newspaper proprietors, for example John Baldwin, James Grindell and Allan R. Muir, as is examined further in chapter 3.<sup>12</sup> Tempers appear to have frayed easily in the pioneering conditions, law and order were difficult to enforce, particularly as many Māori rejected the British system, and land ownership in the area was particularly complex.

There was grave unrest throughout much of the North Island of New Zealand in the sixties. As the Māori wrestled with the rapidly changing circumstances, various prophet leaders emerged. The earliest of these movements, the Pai Marire doctrine (meaning good and peaceful with a new God named 'Hau'), divided the community and by November 1865 there was civil war in Poverty Bay with a protracted siege at Waerenga a Hika pā. The banishment without trial of a chiefly Māori of the Ngati Maru tribe, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Te Kooti), led him to create a new prophetic faith, Ringatu.<sup>13</sup> For seven years tension brooded over the area. During this time, Te Kooti, a remarkable guerilla leader, returned with his followers and a series of frustrations culminated in Te Kooti's fearful revenge on 16 November 1868, with the massacre of about sixty European settlers and 'loyal' Māori at Matawhero, a settlement near Gisborne.

Frenchman Charles de Thierry, writing from Hokianga to the Reverend J.D. Lang in 1838, placed great emphasis on the need for New Zealand's fledgling settlements to have a newspaper. In de Thierry's view, a steady person with press and type could overcome

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<sup>9</sup> P. Kenway, *Pioneering in Poverty Bay (New Zealand)* (London: John Murray, 1928) pp.27-8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Willoughby Brassey – see *PBH* 3 May 1886; *PBH* 29 May 1886.

<sup>12</sup> for example John Baldwin of the *PB Independent* (RM Court 23.3.87 - infringement of copyright), James Grindell about to assume the editorship of *Te Waka Maori* (RM Court 17.7.78 – 'insulting language' towards Henry Webb, proprietor of the *Standard*) and Chrisp & Muir of the *PBH* (RM Court 20.12.86 - *Leslie v. Chrisp & Muir*).

<sup>13</sup> Judith Binney, 'Ancestral Voices, Māori Prophet Leaders', in K. Sinclair, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp.153-173.



many obstacles, be cheaper than gunpowder, and 'it would suit his feelings better'. While de Thierry's unfulfilled quest for a suitable candidate was not entirely altruistic, he was convinced that much trouble arose because men, frequently living with Māori wives, felt unknown and uncared for by the world. 'A paper will put men on their guard, and will enliven their minds, in the remote abodes, with the knowledge of pressing events', he wrote.<sup>14</sup>

Ross Harvey argues that the nineteenth-century New Zealand newspaper carried little influence as its readership was likely to be small, perhaps in the order of 5 to 8 per cent of the population during the 1870s, for example. Certainly the rigours of distribution in Poverty Bay would keep that district on the lower end of the scale although, because of the isolation, it is likely the literate in outlying areas treasured contact with society, no matter how delayed.<sup>15</sup>

The founders of Poverty Bay's first newspaper, Henry Edwin Webb and probably Stephen Alexander Parker, began the morning weekly *PB Standard* on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> October 1872.<sup>16</sup> Webb was the dominant force. By this time the town was experiencing considerable growth. Relations with many of the Māori remained uneasy but the area appeared to offer affordable promise as one of the remaining frontiers in New Zealand.

The *PB Standard*, and the later local newspapers of the 1870s, fit Jeb Byrne's generalization that New Zealand newspapers through much of the nineteenth century resembled those of America's West. They served frontier societies closely involved with native peoples, had small circulations, and lacked the up-to-date technologies made possible by strong economic bases.<sup>17</sup>

The four-page *PB Standard* was produced weekly in a small tin shed near the Albion Hotel. Pride and confidence shone through in the first issue of the four-column newspaper. Signs abounded of a 'superior intelligence which is growing up amongst us',

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<sup>14</sup> C. de Thierry, (1838) in Revd J.D. Lang papers, Mitchell Library, vol. 9, CY Reel 900 ML A2229.

<sup>15</sup> Ross Harvey, 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand: More Imagined than Real', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, pp.136-8.

<sup>16</sup> G.H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. Reed & A.W. Reed, 1958) p.152 – Parker is recorded as one of the two founders; his name appears with Webb's in the first colophon but does not appear elsewhere.

Webb said, as part of the reasoning for a local newspaper.<sup>18</sup> The elaborate introductory piece appeared again, albeit in a smaller type-face, the following Saturday.

A report taken from reminiscences of printer John Mogridge and Thomas Browne, an early printer's devil at the *PB Standard*, said the equipment included a Double Demy Eagle press, a foolscap press and a good selection of type.<sup>19</sup> In his definitive work on printing presses Moran records the Eagle press as a model manufactured from 1836 by James Maxwell of New York. He goes on to say: 'It is doubtful whether many were sold'.<sup>20</sup> The printer varied in the early issues of the *PB Standard*: issue no. 1 was printed by Parker; issues 2, 3 and 8 – 117 were printed by Webb; and the printer for issues 4, 5, 6, and 7 was George Montgomery Vantreight, who was later sentenced for vagrancy.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps de Thierry's vision was reflected in Gisborne, or perhaps Webb produced few copies; whatever, the demand for the first edition was such that a second edition was rapidly run off in the afternoon. Webb printed a supplementary page from mid-November, and by December 1872 there were usually two supplementary pages. The newspaper became bi-weekly from January 1873 and by that year's end the name was changed to the *Standard and the People's Advocate*.<sup>22</sup>

Seven, possibly nine, publications were produced in Poverty Bay between 1872 and 1884, which, by the census of 1874, had a European population of 1,201. This figure included the 251 transient armed constabulary based at Ormond.<sup>23</sup> Oliver described the region at this time as a vigorous frontier, raw but with almost 'instant civilisation'. During the 1870s, services improved and a sense of community began to evolve.<sup>24</sup> Little, however, was spent on public works.

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<sup>17</sup> Jeb Byrne, 'The Comparative Development of Newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the Nineteenth Century', *American Studies International* vol. XXXVII, no.1, 1999, p.55.

<sup>18</sup> *PB Standard* 5 October 1872.

<sup>19</sup> McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, pp.20-4. Thomas Browne was the son of James – see 'Summary of ownership and management details', p.52.

<sup>20</sup> James Moran, *Printing Presses* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), p.81.

<sup>21</sup> Colophon *PB Standard* 5 October 1872 (Parker); 12-19 October & 23 November 1872 – 12 November 1879 (Webb); 26 October – 16 November 1872 (Vantreight); John Laurie, *The Poverty Bay Standard 1872-1873*, (unpublished, August 1981) Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne, LIBR 805, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> *Standard* 6 December 1873.

<sup>23</sup> McKay (1982) p.389.

<sup>24</sup> Oliver (1971) p.152.

Nationally, Julius Vogel, as treasurer in William Fox's conservative coalition government, led the 'grand go-ahead policy' designed to stimulate an economy struggling in part from the racial turmoil of the sixties. For more than twenty years government had been by a system of provinces with a 'dash of federalism' but in 1876, when the provincial governments stymied Vogel's plans to borrow heavily, he abolished the provinces and centralized government.<sup>25</sup> Poverty Bay had come under the Auckland province and though the region was declared the most important wool district within the province, from which Auckland derived a good deal of revenue, little was invested in the region as most of the income went northwards.<sup>26</sup> Under provincialism in particular, institutions in Poverty Bay and businesses such as newspapers, which required access to news and also the ability to distribute their publications, suffered from the lack of infrastructure.

### **Poverty Bay Newspapers: 1872-1884**

Newspapers, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, were to provide that check on government that no other institution could provide.<sup>27</sup> Some of the short-lived early newspapers produced in Poverty Bay, however, were established more to keep a check on each other. Apart from the two main English-language newspapers, the *PB Standard* and the *PB Herald* (1874-), the other newspapers were: the *Cook County Chronicle* (1878); the *Evening Express* (1879); a political weekly called *Facts* (1883); the *Telephone*, which lasted from 27 October 1883 to December 1884; and three Māori publications – *Takitimu* (1883), the fortnightly *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (Te Waka Maori)* (moved to Gisborne from Wellington 1878?), and *Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa* (1884). A newspaper connected to the region by ownership was the short-lived *Wairoa Free Press*, begun on 12 May 1877 by Webb of the *PB Standard*. It was purchased in May 1880 by Māori-speaking John Large, and became the forerunner of the *Wairoa Guardian*.<sup>28</sup>

Two small news-sheets were published in Gisborne: the *Good Samaritan* on 13 January 1880 and the *Mosquito* on 17 March 1881. Mention is made in the updated *Union List of*

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<sup>25</sup> Keith Sinclair, *The History of New Zealand* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) pp.135-154; W.D. Barrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia 1788-1988* (Canberra: Australian National University Service for the Demography Program, RSSS, 1994) pp.98-9.

<sup>26</sup> MacDonald (c.1912) p.23.

<sup>27</sup> F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm, *Four theories of the press* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1963) p.51.

<sup>28</sup> McKay (1982) p.384 – Wairoa is 64 miles to the south-west of Gisborne; *PBH* 3 May 1880.

*New Zealand Newspapers* of the latter.<sup>29</sup> These two do not qualify as newspapers – they were light-hearted miniature newspapers produced for two Conversazione and Gift Auctions held to raise funds for the community. Two hundred and sixty copies of the *Good Samaritan* were printed by the *PB Herald* on a press moved to McFarlane’s Hall; the funds for that evening were destined for the Hospital fund. It was ‘pictorially illustrated’, but unfortunately no copies remain. ‘A small elegant and lately patented treddle [*sic*] printing machine’ was also moved for the evening, and was used to instruct ‘ladies to set their names in type’.<sup>30</sup> The *Good Samaritan* was mentioned in the *Colonial Printer’s Register*.<sup>31</sup> One very fragile copy of the four-page three-column *Mosquito*, printed by Henry Edwin Webb at the *Gisborne Standard* office, is extant. Two hundred copies of this sixpenny ‘Lilliputan journal’<sup>32</sup> were printed. Pages 1 and 4 and part of page 3 carry normal advertising but page 2 and the remainder of page 3 entertain, for example: ‘The tide will be high just before it commences to run out’, and ‘Phases of the Moon’ advised that ‘the moon is full when it is perfectly round’.<sup>33</sup>

The following is a resumé of the Poverty Bay newspapers from 1872 to 1884:

1. The *PB Standard*: as mentioned, this worthy newspaper began on 5 October 1872. The first proprietor, Henry Edwin Webb, received financial backing and support from ‘many old settlers’,<sup>34</sup> including the district’s oldest and most successful businessman, Captain George Read. As is detailed within this chapter, the backing was not sufficient to save the pioneer newspaper. Because the *PB Standard* changed its name and production criteria frequently in an attempt to cope with the conditions and its competitor, the legacy is complicated and thus details are given in tabular form alongside those of the *PB Herald* and the *Telephone*, on pages 65 to 68.

<sup>29</sup> D.R. Harvey, *Union List of Newspapers Preserved in Libraries, Newspaper Offices, Local Authority Offices and Museums in New Zealand* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1987) col.50.

<sup>30</sup> *PBH* 6 January 1880.

<sup>31</sup> *CPR* 31 January 1880, p.77 – from database of New Zealand newspaper registrations 1869-1904 compiled by Ross Harvey, Ian Morrison, and others.

<sup>32</sup> *PBH* 18 March 1881.

<sup>33</sup> *The Mosquito* 17 March 1881 – The HB Williams Memorial Library, Gisborne, 70/115/1; *PBH* 18 March 1881; *Gisborne Standard* 19 March 1881.

<sup>34</sup> *Standard* 4 October 1876.

One of the contentions of this thesis is that luck and influential friends helped the *PB Herald* survive the vicissitudes that led to its competitors' demise. This largely relates to Webb, a competent newspaperman, whose son and right-hand man, Charles Henry, died in April 1875 at the age of seventeen. Charles Henry and his younger brother, Henry Edwin, each served a probation period of three years under Charles Williamson at the *Southern Cross*, the former beginning when he was eleven years old. Charles Henry therefore had six years' experience by the age of seventeen and, in his eulogy to his son, Henry Edwin Webb senior said his two sons alone had produced most of the early newspapers.<sup>35</sup>

A second severe blow came in November 1877 when the *PB Standard* premises were caught in Gisborne's first major fire. Webb lost his main press and much of his equipment.<sup>36</sup> Finally, Webb and Read fell out over a contra deal that left Webb owing the small amount of £3.1.4; Read sued for the debt within two days.<sup>37</sup> Read died early in 1878, but his estate held a substantial mortgage over the *Standard* at the time it first folded in late 1879.<sup>38</sup>

As a corollary to the above, the Webb family needs some explanation. Henry Edwin Webb's two elder sons were Charles Henry and Henry Edwin (referred to throughout as junior). Both Charles Henry and Charles Henry Collins Webb were born in 1858; the former died, as mentioned, and the latter, who was born in Wellington, appeared by the name of Charles Henry Webb at his marriage in Gisborne in April 1881. It would appear that Charles Henry, with Collins included sometimes, was Henry Edwin's nephew, but that is not confirmed. C.H.C. Webb reinstated the *PB Standard* in June 1883 after pressure from the banks caused Henry Edwin Webb junior and John Mogridge to cease publication in April.

The other newspapers in the district, with the exception of the *PB Herald* (discussed in a separate section) are listed below. The first two of these were ephemeral, and little is known about them.

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<sup>35</sup> *PB Standard* 28 April 1875.

<sup>36</sup> *PBH* 4 December 1877.

<sup>37</sup> *Standard* 9 September 1876.

<sup>38</sup> for mortgage see *PBH* 26 November 1879.

2. The *Evening Express*: registered in September 1878, but as no copy remains in the archives it is not known if it actually appeared. The name was quickly absorbed by the *PB Herald*. Two of the three proprietors, William Teat and Charles Ferris, were shareholders in two other newspapers at the time: the *PB Herald* and *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*.<sup>39</sup>
  
3. The *Cook County Chronicle*: a weekly proposed by Frederick Humphries in December 1878 after he left the *PB Herald*. The journal was to begin on 4 January 1879 but the announcement may have just been a gesture of defiance, for Humphries left under a cloud. Whether the weekly appeared is not known.<sup>40</sup>
  
4. *Facts*: a political weekly (July to September 1883) that was printed at the *PB Standard* offices by Charles Henry Collins Webb and John Mogridge (the *PB Herald*'s first printer, who joined the *Standard* shortly after arriving in Gisborne). It had no affiliation with the *PB Standard*. Its editor, Captain Kenneth Kerr, regretted that his 'indisposition'<sup>41</sup> debarred him publication for a few weeks and planned to continue with an enlarged edition. This did not eventuate and the newspaper failed amid a number of libel actions. Kerr died shortly afterwards. John Gardiner Henderson was an editor.<sup>42</sup>
  
5. The *Telephone*: owned by land and station agents Thomas William Porter<sup>43</sup> (earlier a director of the *PB Herald*) and Alfred William Croft, this newspaper sprang from the defunct *PB Standard* on 27 October 1883. The name change was seen as a symbol of progress. The *Telephone* struggled hard to make an impact. It had the support of the Masonic Lodge, and was published in the 'correct manner and chaste style'.

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<sup>39</sup> George Moore was the third shareholder – Registration AK 106 lodged at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act – from database of New Zealand newspaper registrations 1869-1904 compiled by Ross Harvey, Ian Morrison, and others; Memorandum of Association PB Printing & Publishing Co., NA, Auckland, 1877, BADZ Series 5181/28/166.

<sup>40</sup> *PBH* 12 December 1878; *NZPN*, 1 January 1879, p.5. Reference to *NZPN* supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>41</sup> *Facts* 25 October 1883.

<sup>42</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.154; *PB Standard* 3 July 1883; McKay papers, ATL, MS 1006-46, p.27.

<sup>43</sup> Porter came to Gisborne in 1865 as a member of the Colonial Defence Force. His varied interests included work as a land agent, local politics (mayor 1878-1880), the press and continual periods with the military. He was first Major, later Captain and by 1903, Colonel – J. Berry & S. Robinson, eds. *Gisborne Exposed* (Gisborne: Te Rau Press Ltd., 1990) p.39.

The partnership also published the *NZ Freemason* and undertook Masonic printing.<sup>44</sup> The *Telephone* began as a tri-weekly morning newspaper, and was printed and published by Mogridge from the Peel Street premises of the former *Standard*. In early 1884 the operation was moved to Gladstone Road, and details of its various changes are given in tabular form on page 68. The newspaper moved back and forth from daily to tri-weekly, morning to evening publication and in March 1884 the editorial read in part:

A daily morning is the most expensive, and at least double that of an evening paper ... few are aware that the workers on that comparatively brief sheet have labored from twilight till daylight ...<sup>45</sup>

One month later the proprietors acknowledged that demand was for 'quick intelligence'.<sup>46</sup> With cable news and telegrams coming through the day and the night furnishing almost nothing in the way of news, the *Telephone* moved to a daily evening newspaper, thus challenging the incumbent evening newspaper, the *PB Herald*.<sup>47</sup>

The pattern continued, the depressed state of the economy meant that income was slow, and Porter and Croft retired from their newspaper venture. The *Telephone* was in difficulties when Allan Muir arrived in November 1884, for he learnt that Captain Porter was cutting wages. When the men expressed concern he 'told them that they had better arrange among themselves to carry it on for the future'.<sup>48</sup> Two more very short-lived changes of ownership took place and then it was conceded that the return on the capital invested was too poor and the newspaper closed on 30 December 1884.<sup>49</sup>

For a short time the *PB Herald* was the only newspaper in the district. This changed when the *PB Independent* began on 7 March 1885, as is discussed in chapter 3.

The Māori newspapers were:

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<sup>44</sup> *Telephone* 1 January 1884; 1 February 1884.

<sup>45</sup> *Telephone* 6 March 1884.

<sup>46</sup> *Telephone* 1 April 1884.

<sup>47</sup> *Telephone* 1 April 1884.

<sup>48</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

1. *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (Te Waka Maori)*, an erratic Māori newspaper, which began in Napier in 1863. It was then called *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, and was printed by James Wood at the *HB Herald* office. The newspaper began as a weekly and later moved to fortnightly publication. It was government sponsored and pro-government in tone. In 1871 publication was moved to Wellington, and the fortnightly newspaper became *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*. The title means ‘the carrying of the news for the Māori of New Zealand’,<sup>50</sup> and the government gave a grant of £400 per annum.<sup>51</sup> From 15 October 1873 onwards the text was in both Māori and English. Complaints about the newspaper’s political bias led to an attempt to close the paper but editor James Grindell continued unabashed until 17 July 1877. The newspaper suffered from large libel actions during its last year in Wellington.

By late 1876 the *NZ Press News* recorded *Te Waka Maori* as registered in Gisborne.<sup>52</sup> There is a gap in the chronology, however. It is not known exactly when Grindell moved himself to Gisborne, but in early June 1878 the *PB Herald* announced that the plant for the ‘Maori newspaper for Gisborne will arrive in a fortnight’. It was coming from Sydney and, according to the *PB Herald*, the ‘Natives’ were taking considerable interest.<sup>53</sup> Grindell was certainly in Gisborne by early July 1878, as both Henry Webb (who charged him with abusive language) and Frederick Dufaur testified later in the Magistrates’ Court.<sup>54</sup>

When *Te Waka Maori* moved to Gisborne it became independent of the government. It was published fortnightly by a newly-formed company, the Gisborne Maori Newspaper Company, from 21 August 1878. The subscription was 13 shillings if paid in advance. Company directors were: Adolphus Frederick Hardy, John Robert Hurrey, Wi Paraone, the Reverend Mohi Turei, Hutana Taru,

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<sup>49</sup> *Telephone* 30 December 1884 [incorrect in McKay, which says March – McKay (1982), p.384; Harvey, (1987) gives March?, col,52].

<sup>50</sup> Laraine Knight, *First Impressions* (Hastings: Print Hawke’s Bay Inc., 2003) pp.83-4.

<sup>51</sup> *NZPN*, 1 November 1876, p. 6 – reference to *NZPN* supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>52</sup> Draft version of Māori bibliography compiled by Penny Griffith, ATL – the newspaper was suppressed on 1 August 1877 by order of the Native Minister as questions were asked in the House as to whether Grindell was still using government funding. One copy of vol.13, no.13, 18 Hepetema 1877 exists in a set at the ATL; *NZPN*, 1 November 1876; libel cases mentioned *NZPN*, 1 January 1877 p.5; 1 September 1877, p.5; 1 October 1877 p.5 – reference to *NZPN* supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>53</sup> *PBH* 5 June 1878; 10 June 1878.

<sup>54</sup> Grindell’s appearance in RM Court in *PBH* 17 July 1878.



Charles William Ferris and William Teat.<sup>55</sup> The company was under-capitalized. Though capital for *Te Waka Maori* was set at £1,500, and three hundred shares of £5 were issued, only thirty-eight were taken up between the seven shareholders, with payment of £1 per share on application and £1 on allotment. Among the early shareholders were chiefs of ‘acknowledged standing’<sup>56</sup> and also shareholders of the PB Printing & Publishing Company, the company that owned the *PB Herald*.<sup>57</sup>

Gisborne’s last edition of *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* was 29 May 1879. The plant was dismantled and transported to Napier, where Grindell reinstated the paper.<sup>58</sup> The shares were not paid up by the time the newspaper ceased after approximately six months in Napier. Administration was poor and finally the newspaper simply stopped, without the correct legal formalities. Napier lawyer J.W. Carlile (brother of the *PB Herald*’s first editor) wrote: ‘It is very difficult to ascertain who the directors are or to get them to call a meeting’.<sup>59</sup> An advertisement in the *PB Herald* in August 1883 stated that the Gisborne Maori Newspaper Company was in liquidation and that the accounts were available for inspection at the liquidators in Napier. The period between the known collapse of *Te Waka Maori* in Napier and the announcement was nearly four years. According to the *Colonial Printers’ Register*, the company was in liquidation by November 1879, and the plant was sold by April the following year.<sup>60</sup>

2. *Takitimu* appeared in May 1883. A fortnightly eight-page newspaper, it was entirely in the Māori language and printed by Webb junior and Mogridge, with M.J. Gannon, a registered Māori interpreter, as editor. It may have appeared only twice.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Registration AK 104 lodged 14 August 1878 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers’ Act – reference supplied by Ian Morrison; directors listed Memorandum of Association 19 November 1878, NA, Auckland, BADZ Series 5181/31/189.

<sup>56</sup> *Te Waka Maori* 21 August 1878.

<sup>57</sup> Shareholders were: C.W. Ferris, G.H. Wilson, S. Locke, W. Adair, W. Teat, S. Stevenson and J.R. Henry, Memorandum of Association 19 November 1878, NA, Auckland, BADZ Series 5181/31/189.

<sup>58</sup> *PBH* 5 June 1878; 30 May 1879; McKay (1982) p.385.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from J.W. Carlile to Thos. Collier, registrar of Joint Stock Companies, 24 January 1880, NA, Auckland, BADZ Series 5181/31/189.

<sup>60</sup> *PBH* 22 August 1883; *CPR* 6 November 1879, p. 28; 24 April 1880, p.123 – reference to *CPR* supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>61</sup> Harvey (1987), col. 51; H.W. Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1924) from reprint, 1975, p.128.

3. *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* was resuscitated as *Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa*. This short-lived weekly newspaper appeared from the offices of Porter and Croft of the *Telephone* on the first and third Friday of every month. Paratene Ngata, a young chief of the Ngati Porou, was proprietor and editor, and John Mogridge its printer. Colonel Porter, an interpreter, was married to a high-born Ngati Porou woman. The newspaper ran from 23 February 1884 to November 1884.<sup>62</sup>

Another Māori journal, *Te Wananga*, meaning ‘the learning place’,<sup>63</sup> was printed for the Eastern Māori first in Hastings and then in Napier between 1874 and 1878, and circulation included the Poverty Bay region. It was written by the proprietor, Henare Tomoana,<sup>64</sup> and printed for some time by Henry Hill. The newspaper supported the Repudiationist movement, a body attempting to regain Māori control over land transactions. The *Standard* also was active in its support for the Repudiationists and in late 1879, when that newspaper folded, the *PB Herald* offered to print a sheet for the movement at a moderate cost, as there was no vehicle in the district for alternative views.<sup>65</sup> They did not support the Repudiationist party but called for free and fair discussion between town and country.<sup>66</sup> Their offer was not taken up.

### **The Poverty Bay Herald: 1874-1884**

The *PB Herald* (title change the *Gisborne Herald* – 2 July 1939), began on 5 January 1874, five days later than a large advertisement placed in issue no. 107 of the *PB Standard* promised. In 1902, the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* opined that the *PB Herald* had been ‘published regularly without intermission ever since, and, like Tennyson’s brook, bids fair to go on for ever’.<sup>67</sup> In 2004 it celebrated its 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

As with other colonial journals, for example the *NZ Gazette*, competition meant action by the incumbent newspaper, the *PB Standard*.<sup>68</sup> Webb responded by striking an

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<sup>62</sup> McKay (1982) p.385; Robinson & Berry (1990) p.39; *The Telephone* 12 January 1884.

<sup>63</sup> Knight (2003) p.86.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> *PBH* 22 March 1880; Scholefield (1958) p.259; Oliver (1971) p.156.

<sup>66</sup> *PBH* 22 October 1879.

<sup>67</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand – Auckland Provincial District*, vol.2 (Wellington: the Cyclopedia Co. Ltd, 1902) p.977.

<sup>68</sup> Revans moved from weekly to bi-weekly publication at the *NZ Gazette & Wellington Spectator* in 1841 for two reasons: not to be outdone by Auckland and the *NZ Herald & Auckland Gazette*, and to attempt to

arrangement with the Anglo-Australian Press Agency, improving his delivery service, and producing the *Standard* tri-weekly from 10 January 1874. He considered upgrading his equipment but moved cautiously, for the expenses were 'too serious'.<sup>69</sup>

The same year, 1874, was also the year a fortnightly mail service was established to and from Auckland by the SS *Pretty Jane*. The southern mail was carried either by the SS *Rangitira* or by Māori rider overland to Wairoa.<sup>70</sup> Prior to this date there was an official postmaster but no scheduled service. All services continued to be erratic, however, much to the frustration of the newsmen and others. The *PB Standard* voiced its irritation, complaining about the 'unfrequency and uncertainty of steamers arriving'. The larger vessels, such as the SS *Rangitira*, were not able to berth and had to sit in the roadstead,<sup>71</sup> with cargo and passengers transferred by lighter. The weather or their schedule frequently meant a limited service. 'Since the above was in type, the *Rangitira* has gone again without a mail, and without landing a large quantity of goods which she keeps taking backwards and forwards to the great annoyance of everyone', growled the *PB Standard*.<sup>72</sup>

Vessels in the port on the day the *PB Herald* began give an indication of Gisborne's two-masted sailing link with the outer world at that time: *Clematis*, ketch from Napier; *Julius Vogel*, schooner from Auckland; and *Tawera*, schooner from Napier. The SS *Rangitira*, the southern life-line, was due to arrive from Napier and Wellington.<sup>73</sup>

By mid-1875 Gisborne had a tenuous one-line telegraphic link south to Wairoa and Napier, as discussed in chapter 6. It was tenuous because each time a heavy south-easterly blew the connection was liable to break.<sup>74</sup>

A small wooden building in Gladstone Road, set back from the unmade road and next to the Music Hall, housed the first *PB Herald* printing office. James McKee, grocer, later

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overwhelm the proposed opposition, the *Colonist*. Patricia Burns, *The foundation of the NZ Press, 1839-1850*, PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1957, pt. II p.9.

<sup>69</sup> *PB Standard* 17 September 1873 – the first agency report from the Anglo-Australian Press Agency appeared. Regular agency news appeared from 7 January 1874; 8 October 1873; Laurie (1981) pp.1 & 7; McKay (1982) p.384.

<sup>70</sup> McKay (1982) p.333.

<sup>71</sup> Roadstead is a nautical term that describes a sheltered anchorage offshore that is less safe than a harbour.

<sup>72</sup> *PB Standard* 5 October 1872.

<sup>73</sup> *PBH* 5 January 1874 .

built in front of the original printing office, probably absorbing the site as well. The jubilee edition of the newspaper said: 'in those days this was about the extent of the town in that direction'.<sup>75</sup> Within the first week of business the post office had moved next door, to Messrs Boylan Bros stores.<sup>76</sup>

Planning for the *PB Herald* had begun more than three months before, as is testified by a brief mention in the *PB Standard*, 7 October 1873. The affidavit for Carlile & Company was registered on 13 December 1873.<sup>77</sup> Carlile, editor of the *HB Herald* at the time, became the *PB Herald*'s first editor. He severed his connection with Messrs Dinwiddie and Morrison in June 1878, selling his interest in the Napier newspaper for £4,250. The circulation of the Napier newspaper was between 1,325 (1877) and 1,400 (1879).<sup>78</sup> Carlile planned to begin a morning newspaper at an unspecified location, but he abandoned the project. He later went farming.<sup>79</sup>

The large advertisement in the *PB Standard* announcing the new paper went on to explain that it would be of similar size to the *HB Herald*. It also stressed 'the journalistic experience behind the new enterprise, the great prospects ahead for Poverty Bay, which the paper will assiduously promote, and the fact that, being from Hawkes Bay, they are not really foreigners'.<sup>80</sup>

The colophon on the first *PB Herald* said: 'printed and published for the proprietors by Frederick Dufaur'. Two years later Dufaur bought the business.<sup>81</sup>

Was the advent of a second newspaper in the small settlement that was Gisborne in early 1874 a giant gamble, or were the proprietors well backed with either powerful allies or a deep purse? Once again isolation was an imperative in the equation, for not only the

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<sup>74</sup> A.C. Wilson, *Wire & Wireless* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1994) p.47.

<sup>75</sup> *PBH* 5 January 1924 p.2 col.4; the site became no 85 Gladstone Road [numbering since changed]. McKee, a grocer, probably occupied the building. By 1892 he had erected a handsome building in front of his first shop - *PBH* general advertisements 1892-1896.

<sup>76</sup> *PBH* 8 January 1874.

<sup>77</sup> Registration AK 57 lodged at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, document no. 2803 - reference supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>78</sup> *PBH* 5 June 1878; R. Harvey, 'Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.17, no.2, 1993, p.61.

<sup>79</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.142; *PBH* 28 June 1878.

<sup>80</sup> *PB Standard* 22 November 1873.

<sup>81</sup> *PBH* 23 November 1875.

obvious factors of access to news and supplies but also scattered settlement and the lack of reliable transport meant the subscriber base was small, seemingly too small for two newspapers. Certainly the *Auckland Evening Star* expressed surprise at the opening of a second newspaper. Their conclusion, reprinted by the *PB Standard*, was:

it is generally believed that the object in establishing the Herald is scarcely so much to supply wants of the district as to meet the views of certain persons, who have taken umbrage at the independence displayed by the spirited paper already publishing at Poverty Bay.<sup>82</sup>

The *Auckland Star*, a solid, well-run newspaper, urged Auckland advertisers to support the *Standard*, which they did.

With the transfer of ownership from Dufaur to the new owners, the PB Printing & Publishing Company (the Company) in September 1877, a claim that the newspaper was bound to a 'land ring' was once more refuted.<sup>83</sup> The alleged claim was heard over the years from the *Auckland Star*, the *PB Standard*, whose leader writer (probably Webb senior) declared that there existed 'a ring which is gradually encircling this community with the grasp of an octopus', and the *Telephone*.<sup>84</sup> The clique was a group of citizens from both Napier and Gisborne, who, it appears, sought to profit from the opening up of a new district. Shareholders of the *PB Herald's* new owner, the Company, such as Samuel Locke, were using their influence and resources to acquire land, but the politics of land acquisition is not the focus of this thesis.

The *PB Herald* certainly had influential friends. This is validated by the behaviour of James Poynter, chairman of the PB District Highways Board and the first president of the PB Agricultural & Pastoral Association. Poynter overrode the tender process for the Board's advertising in favour of Carlile when he gave Carlile the right of reply after accepting the *Standard's* tender for six months' advertising. In a litigious society Webb was not sued for libel when he complained in print, so no doubt the charge was correct. Carlile apparently seized his second chance with an offer to publish advertisements free of charge. Poynter replied:

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<sup>82</sup> *Standard* 29 January 1874.

<sup>83</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2, col.6.

<sup>84</sup> *PB Standard* 10 March 1883; *Telephone* 27 October 1883.

I have to inform you that all notices and advertisements will be handed to you: those required to be published in your paper will be marked, and you will of course charge for them; the others, if in your opinion advisable, will be inserted by you.<sup>85</sup>

Around that time Webb inferred that the *PB Herald* was inclined to show bias in its selection of political news from Wellington. The *PB Herald* counterclaimed: they alone had a correspondent in Wellington – the *Standard* received its political news from an intermediary in Napier. Furthermore, said the *PB Herald*, it did not slant its columns in favour of relatives and employers, as alleged by the *Standard*.<sup>86</sup>

The answer is that both newspapers were influenced by various personalities. For its part, the *Standard* began with ‘guaranteed or partly-guaranteed capital subscribed by many old settlers’, according to a letter in the *Standard*.<sup>87</sup> As mentioned, Captain George Read, the ‘uncrowned king of Poverty Bay’,<sup>88</sup> was a major backer and it was he who advanced the money for the plant. Webb attempted to retain his independence but his fall out with Read in 1876 led to antagonism. Read died in 1879 and Webb owed his estate £330; a further £350 was owed to Alan McDonald at the time of Webb’s bankruptcy in 1879.<sup>89</sup>

Shortly after its inception, the bi-weekly *PB Herald* claimed its circulation was far greater than any other newspaper in the eastern district of the Auckland province. Perhaps, but what exactly was the newspaper comparing itself with? Tauranga, in the Bay of Plenty to the north, was gaining settlers and, though the bi-weekly *Bay of Plenty Times* felt it was premature to publish tri-weekly for ‘there is not enough news to be gathered here for a paper every other day’,<sup>90</sup> it was consolidating. Small Opotiki’s first newspaper appeared in 1883, Whakatane was merely a township and its first newspaper, the *Whakatane Times and Opouriao Advocate* began in 1899. In this instance, therefore, the *PB Herald*’s trumpeting was no doubt aimed at the *Standard*.<sup>91</sup>

It is probable that the *PB Herald*’s early income was subdued, in spite of the odd boast. Napier advertisements, which no doubt appeared free of charge as fillers, dropped off

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<sup>85</sup> *Standard* 3 February 1874.

<sup>86</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1877.

<sup>87</sup> *Standard* 4 October 1876.

<sup>88</sup> McKay (1982) pp.186-95.

<sup>89</sup> *PBH* 26 November 1879.

<sup>90</sup> *Standard* 29 January 1874.

after a few weeks, to be replaced by local contracts. By the second quarter, the *PB Herald* implied it was finding acceptance. Two statements that projected a feeling of confidence were:

- a) The newspaper held over a good deal of interesting matter 'owing to the extraordinary pressure of new advertisements', and
- b) A rapid increase in advertisements and the number of subscribers was 'convincing proof that we are appreciated'.<sup>92</sup>

Not so, said the *Standard*: 'The Herald should take out the old advertisements, which are not being paid for, and those that are put in on the cheap for show, and not sprawl others over a lot of space to deceive outsiders'.<sup>93</sup>

In March 1874 Carlile, Dinwiddie, Morrison and Dufaur registered a name change; the new title, the *PB Herald and the East Coast Newsletter*, first appeared on 2 April.<sup>94</sup> The small communities of the East Coast region were particularly isolated and the name change was probably to ensure their allegiance would come south, rather than perhaps to the Bay of Plenty to the north. The masthead reverted to the *PB Herald* in October 1883.

With the birth of the *PB Herald*, literate Gisborne was served by a library, a bookshop (Thomas Adams) and two newspapers. Attendance at the Gisborne school at the end of 1874 was forty-four boys and thirty-two girls, with ten pupils enrolled for night school, where attendance was marginal, with an average of five. The total number of newspapers in New Zealand at this date was seventy-eight; this included a monthly, the first illustrated press, produced for dispatch to England and called the *Illustrated Press*, and the fortnightly *Te Waka Maori*.<sup>95</sup>

## OWNERSHIP

Tough conditions and frequently a lack of specialist knowledge led to an erratic first decade for the *PB Herald*. Many infant journals in the colony faced similar problems with small readership and, critically, inadequate funding. Added to this, in a number of

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<sup>91</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.106-10 [interestingly, the main settlements within the region, with the exception of Gisborne, all carry Māori names].

<sup>92</sup> *PBH* 2 February 1874; 2 April 1874.

<sup>93</sup> *Standard* 3 February 1874.

<sup>94</sup> Registration AK 73 lodged at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, document no. 2803, NA, BBAE 5529/1; *PBH* 2 April 1874.

instances, idealism or ambition ran ahead of skill. Two examples of poor coordination in Gisborne were the short-lived *Evening Express* and, for a period in 1878 and 1880, the *PB Herald*.

Ownership of the *PB Herald* changed frequently during the first decade. This is not documented accurately in Guy Scholefield's *Newspapers in New Zealand* or J.A. McKay's *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast*.<sup>96</sup> The following table, which is reprinted for easy reference as Appendix A, details the owners and selected personnel of the period:

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<sup>95</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3, col.4; school figures from return by W. Lysnar, headmaster; *Wise's Guide for 1875-6* part IV, H. Wise & Co., Dunedin, p.22; Scholefield (1958) pp.220-1.

<sup>96</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.152-3; McKay (1982) pp.384-5.



*Summary of ownership and management details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Manager</i>
5.1.1874	Messrs Dinwiddie, Morrison, Carlile & Grigg	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	A.C. Pratt
19.11.1875	Frederick Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur
14.9.1877	Poverty Bay Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur
15.1.1878	“ “		William Ratcliffe	W. Ratcliffe (co. secretary)
9.5.1878	“ “		Frederick Humphries	F. Humphries
11.12.1878	“ “		James Browne	J. Browne
19.7.1879	(thanks recorded to personnel at shareholders' meeting this date)	Herbert J. Bushnell (overseer)	J. Browne	J. Browne Henry McKay (co. secretary)
25.2.1880	By mortgage to seven shareholders		J. Browne	J. Browne H.McKay
2.4.1880	“ “		A. Beveridge (also agent for distribution)	
11.1.1881	Samuel Pullman Craig		S. Craig	S. Craig
20.5.1882	Frederick Dufaur & Thomas Chrisp*	H. McKay	H. McKay	
11.9.1882	“ “	H.J. Bushnell	H.J. Bushnell	H.J. Bushnell
20.2.1884	Thomas Chrisp & William M. Muir	“ “	Chrisp & Muir	

\*Colophon said published by H. McKay for the Proprietor, Frederick Dufaur. Deed of Assignment and the accompanying Affidavit, 20 May 1882, both gave the transfer as Craig to Chrisp & Dufaur (documents held at GH office).

The above table is a summary of the information given in detail, with references, in the following segment.

Frederick ‘Percy’ Dufaur, printer and publisher for nearly two years, became sole proprietor and editor of the *PB Herald*, when he purchased the plant, premises and goodwill from Carlile & Co. in November 1875. His change of ownership was acknowledged in the press on Tuesday, 23 November.<sup>97</sup>

Like Webb at the *Standard*, Dufaur was a typical frontier man with various interests. Both men supplemented their income as land agents, and Dufaur sold farm goods, such as

puriri fence posts, while Webb also acted as an insurance broker. Patrick Day argues that pioneering journalism was unprofitable and therefore those undertaking such ventures were serving a public duty and were likely to be higher-ranking settlers. This was not so in pioneering Gisborne, where all the early proprietors or editors/leader writers of the fledgling weekly or bi-weekly newspapers, with perhaps three exceptions – Carlile, Samuel Locke (a shareholder in the PB Printing & Publishing Company) and Read, a self-made man and the main stakeholder in the *Standard* – did not appear to come from a moneyed background.<sup>98</sup> Admittedly the early newspapers were not published daily, but by Dufaur's second tenure as proprietor in the early 1880s of the by now daily *PB Herald*, he continued to advertise, albeit not so frequently, as a land agent.<sup>99</sup>

The *Standard*, which began as a weekly newspaper, changed its frequency often in an effort to stay viable, as is documented on pages 66-7. Records are missing for the years from 1877 to 1880, and January to March 1876, but for most of the early period the newspaper was a bi-weekly, appearing on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The *Standard* did attempt tri-weekly production around the time of the *PB Herald*'s entry and it was again tri-weekly at least by May 1878, for the *PB Herald* announced it was folly to attempt daily production due to the lack of readers and that they would, therefore be 'content to provide a broadsheet six times a week, by working in unison with our contemporary'.<sup>100</sup> The latter newspaper changed to Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Tension between the newspapers increased. While Webb was struggling to compete with the *PB Herald*'s newsgathering, Dufaur was negotiating a further change of ownership.

A purpose-built company, the Poverty Bay Printing and Publishing Company (the Company), purchased the *PB Herald* from Dufaur, legalities being finalized on 14 September 1877.<sup>101</sup> The practice of forming a joint stock company to bring out a country newspaper was not uncommon. These 'collective arrangements', as Elizabeth Morrison calls them, were prevalent in nineteenth-century regional Australia.<sup>102</sup> In Gisborne those who subscribed to the Company were local businessmen, professionals and two military

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<sup>97</sup> Registration AK 86 & 87 signed 19 November 1875 and lodged 19 November 1875 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, BBAE 5529/1, NA..

<sup>98</sup> Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.79.

<sup>99</sup> *PBH* 29 July 1882.

<sup>100</sup> *PBH* 6 May 1878.

<sup>101</sup> Registration AK 102 lodged at Supreme Court offices 30 August 1878 under 1868 Printers' Act, BBAE 5529/1, NA..

men. One other collective arrangement emerged in the district some time later, with the establishment of the *Gisborne Times* early in the twentieth century.

Samuel Locke, who was an ex-Native Department officer, and perhaps one of the few with some means, as mentioned above, appears to have been the driving force in the Company. By August 1879 he owned half the 230 shares issued, perhaps buying when others were forced to sell and then reselling, as his holding was reduced by the following year to sixty-nine shares. Shareholders included William Teat and Captain Charles Ferris (partners in the *Evening Express* registered only three months before) and Captain Thomas Porter, an ex-Native Department officer, who later participated in the *Telephone* (1883-84). The shareholding fluctuated from twenty-four to twenty-two. Quite how many were involved is a matter of conjecture that the shareholding does not answer, for the announcement went on to say: 'The paper has been published by forty or fifty of the prominent settlers and businessmen of the district'.<sup>103</sup>

Day's premise that pioneering journalism was unprofitable and therefore those undertaking such ventures were serving a public duty and were likely to be higher-ranking settlers probably sits comfortably with this change of ownership, for with such a number of shareholders it is doubtful if any individual considered the newspaper as a personal money-making venture. The shareholders, for their part, vowed their purpose was to ensure a more extended précis of the news than was currently forthcoming, though the status of many within the community suggests they saw value in boosting the district, as an inflow of confidence and capital would benefit both the district and themselves. The correlation between a town's growth and its press has not yet been studied in New Zealand. Harvey suggests the promotion of a settlement was only one of a number of reasons for the establishment or, in this case, early purchase of a newspaper.<sup>104</sup>

Encouraging a conservative political message was also part of the motive, and included in the group who bought the *PB Herald* at this time were some with personal ambition, for example Samuel Locke and Thomas Porter, both conservative candidates for the House of

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<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth Morrison (1991) p.14.

<sup>103</sup> Taken from three Summaries of Capital and Shares for the PB Publishing & Printing Co. (17 February, 1879; 2 August 1879; 2 August 1880) NA, Auckland BADZ Series 5181/28/166; Affidavit AK 102 lodged 11 September 1877 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, NA, Wellington BBAE 5529/1; *PBH* 14 September 1877.

Representatives in 1879, and Alan McDonald, who won the seat. He was the first local resident to be elected and also Gisborne's second mayor. McDonald had a stake in both newspapers, with a mortgage of £350 in the *Standard*.<sup>105</sup>

If the Company's claims are to be believed, business had prospered under Dufaur. The newspaper reported that 'after making all due allowance for ordinary business risks, the monthly returns have hitherto contrasted so favorably with the outlay, that large profits may be confidently looked for, even from the outset of the undertaking'.<sup>106</sup>

Well-intentioned though the directors and shareholders were, none had practical knowledge of running a newspaper. Dufaur remained for a short time after he sold the business and his successor as manager and publisher, Frederick Humphries, a journalist of considerable experience,<sup>107</sup> proved an inept manager. Trade in the district in general was dull, and the shareholders' vision of a competent newspaper that added value to the district foundered.

Conditions were tough in New Zealand during much of the Company's period of ownership. By late 1878 the Company was heavily indebted to a bank. Webb at the *Standard* was also in trouble, with accounts outstanding to the value of more than £1,000.<sup>108</sup> The *PB Herald* chose to put further pressure on Webb by publishing an evening daily from 14 October 1878. Their first Saturday edition appeared on 19 October. The *Standard* continued to be published on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Complaints about the slow payment of newspaper accounts were voiced in New Zealand on numerous occasions over the decades. In Wellington in the 1840s, the committee of the *Wellington Independent* acknowledged finances were tight when they announced that they were willing to take 'produce of any description for their journal'.<sup>109</sup> Twenty years on Julius Vogel, parliamentarian and newspaper proprietor, highlighted the problem in an address to parliament in 1866. 'It was well known that people had a strange objection to

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<sup>104</sup> Harvey, (1996) p.134.

<sup>105</sup> Oliver (1971) pp.120 & 160; McDonald's mortgage detailed in *PBH* 26 November 1879.

<sup>106</sup> *PBH* 14 September 1877.

<sup>107</sup> *PBH* 14 December 1877 – the inference was that Gisborne had captured a man of experience as Humphries had been with the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Oamaru Mail*, the *Tuapeka Times*, the *Thames Guardian*, the *Wellington Argus* and 'several influential Australian journals'.

<sup>108</sup> *Standard* 7 January 1879; 6 February 1879.

paying their subscriptions to newspapers, and often allowed them to stand over for two or three years', he said.<sup>110</sup> In 1879 the *Colonial Printers' Register* noted that:

The *PB Herald* laments about doing its best and why do customers refuse to square their accounts with us? People will advertise, and won't pay their accounts; will read our papers, but won't pay their subscriptions; and we can't stand it any longer.<sup>111</sup>

An attempt by both newspapers to boost revenue backfired. Pamphlet work was advertised at very greatly reduced prices because:

management has learnt that in consequence of high rates for job printing that many of our business firms have considered it necessary to send work to Auckland and Wellington, which could have been done equally as well in Gisborne. The large reduction will keep the money in the district.<sup>112</sup>

James Browne, for a short time editor of the *Standard* and a well-seasoned journalist at the end of his career, took over as editor and manager of the *PB Herald* on 11 December 1878.<sup>113</sup> Calls in the *PB Herald* to the shareholders around the time indicate considerable anxiety. In December 1878 the Company put the book debts, plant and effects out to tender.<sup>114</sup>

With a mortgage in place, the directors set about finalizing plans for the site of a new office. Weekly expenses were cut by £21.7.6 and £612.15.8 paid off the Company's indebtedness. A further investment of £100 was made in the job-printing department, where good revenue was now being generated.<sup>115</sup>

The year 1879 was critical, not just for Gisborne, where excessive credit had been extended, but within its wider trading environment. New Zealand's population had doubled in the latter part of the decade, wool prices were low, Britain's economy was depressed and Europe experienced an almost total failure of its crops. The uncertain sources of overseas funds borrowed to fuel New Zealand's expansion failed. Gisborne was particularly affected by its severe winter, and the collapse of the City of Glasgow

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<sup>109</sup> *Wellington Independent* 10 May 1845.

<sup>110</sup> cited in Harvey, 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand' (1996) [footnote] p.131.

<sup>111</sup> *CPR*, vol.1, no.3, 5 December 1879, p.59.

<sup>112</sup> *PBH* 12 December 1878.

<sup>113</sup> *NZPN*, 1 March 1877, p.6; 1 January 1878, p. 6; 1 May 1878, pp.6-7 gave Browne editor of *Standard* and 1 January 1879, p.4, gave him as editor of the *PBH*. *NZPN* references supplied by Ian Morrison; *PBH* 31 March 1879 mentioned that it is the end of the first quarter under 'present editorial control'.

<sup>114</sup> Calls were made upon the shareholders at roughly quarterly intervals (8.11.77, 6.2.78, 6.5.78, 10.12.78); *PBH* 26 October 1878; 3 December 1878; 10 December 1878.

<sup>115</sup> *PBH* 16 May 1879; 19 July 1879.

Bank.<sup>116</sup> Webb lost his battle both with the conditions and the *PB Herald*, which for much of 1879 had squeezed further by publishing twice daily, in the morning and the evening. In November, his estate was placed in the hands of creditors and the *Standard* in liquidation.<sup>117</sup> The plant was auctioned and bought by Mr J.S. Macfarlane of Auckland who ‘contemplates using it in the *Free Lance* office’.<sup>118</sup> In summing up part of Webb’s predicament, the *PB Herald* said: ‘In Gisborne after five or six o’clock there is seldom any new matter to publish, consequently the *Standard* could only give what had already appeared in the *Herald*’.<sup>119</sup>

The *Standard* newspaper had a number of reincarnations over the next few years. Webb, with the help of Gisborne residents, brought back his plant from Auckland and the *Gisborne Standard*, a six-page double-demy weekly, appeared on 26 April 1880. A further threat arose and in June 1881 it was announced that thanks to Messrs Tabuteau and Ward, the printing plant was not sold.<sup>120</sup> It was perhaps Edward ff. Ward, a Gisborne lawyer, and Joseph Moliere Tabuteau, collector of customs from Napier who stepped in. In October Webb’s second son, Henry Edwin junior, and John Mogridge assumed control.<sup>121</sup> They were financed largely by capital from Mogridge’s father in Napier. The newspaper was suspended from 21 April 1883, and a creditors’ meeting in August showed Charles Mogridge was owed £300, and Alan McDonald, who had supported Henry Edwin Webb senior with £350, was owed £30.<sup>122</sup> The newspaper appeared once more from 7 June to 25 October 1883.<sup>123</sup> It was reinvented as the *Telephone* in October 1883.

In the tough economic conditions discussed, with once prosperous families having trouble finding food, Browne, writing in the *PB Herald*, tried humour in the face of adversity. It was ‘no mean feat to get an interview when a man wants to see his bank manager’. Would he honour the company’s cheque? The manager said: ‘That if he did not honor

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<sup>116</sup> The *GH* centenary edition 5 January 1974, p.2, col.1; *PBH* 30 March 1880; Sinclair (1961) pp.143-4.

<sup>117</sup> *PBH* 29 October 1879; 26 November 1879.

<sup>118</sup> *CPR*, vol. 1 no. 2, Thursday 6 November 1879, p.44.

<sup>119</sup> *PBH* 13 November 1879.

<sup>120</sup> *Standard* 11 June 1881.

<sup>121</sup> McKay (1982) pp.384-5; Scholefield (1958) pp.152-3.

<sup>122</sup> *PBH* 9 August 1883.

<sup>123</sup> *PB Standard* 21 April 1883; 7 June 1883; 25 October 1883.

our cheque, it would be all the same to the *Herald* proprietary a hundred years hence'. His advice was to 'make people pay'.<sup>124</sup>

*Te Waka Maori* folded in Napier at the end of 1879. Credit again was critical for, although orders came from Māori throughout the country, few paid. European support was good but it was not strong enough.<sup>125</sup>

Early in 1880, with unemployment now high in Gisborne and the surrounding area, the Company passed by mortgage to seven of the shareholders. By the middle of that year it was announced that trade had improved, book debts reduced, interest of £140 paid, and by careful management the overdraft reduced by £210.<sup>126</sup>

The Company was wound up by resolution in January 1881, with a debt of £1,148.11.4. The mortgagors, Porter (as managing director) et al, sold the business to journalist Samuel Pullman Craig, who took immediate possession.<sup>127</sup> With European ownership of land expanding in the district, Craig no doubt hoped to preside over a growing business.<sup>128</sup>

At this time Gisborne was still a frontier post limited by facilities. The town and district were, for all practical purposes, confined to daylight hours. Issues of the *PB Herald* show candlewax; in addition, 'foreign' kerosene lamps and uneconomic paraffin lighting were used, with gas still in an experimental stage. Mr E.K. Brown of Childers Road lit the only street-light at his own expense. Night landings at the wharf, across by punt from the township, were 'only illuminated by the ship's light and the carriage lamps on the few carriages waiting there for fares'. An editorial at the end of the year complained that: 'a dark town after sundown has always a look as if the people living in it lacked enterprise or the means of making a respectable show of their possessions and advancing

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<sup>124</sup> *PBH* 22 November 1879.

<sup>125</sup> *PBH* 5 November 1879.

<sup>126</sup> *PBH* 22 July 1880.

<sup>127</sup> Bill of Sale 25 February 1880; Memorandum of Agreement 11 January 1881; Absolute Bill of Sale, 17 January 1881, documents held at the *GH* office.

<sup>128</sup> *PBH* 15 March 1881 – resolution passed 28 January 1881.

prosperity'.<sup>129</sup> The Gisborne Gas Company began in 1883 and businesses along Gladstone Road, such as the *PB Herald*, benefitted by 1884.<sup>130</sup>

In spite of complaints about infrastructure in general, the district was anticipating a brighter future. The reason was oil. Small quantities were first found in 1866 within a band running from Mahia to East Cape. For nearly forty years a number of consortia drilled within the district but, after considerable prospecting, the terrain proved too unstable and the quantities recovered uneconomic.<sup>131</sup> Land sales helped bring hope to the district, however, and official figures confirmed that trade and commerce were picking up in both the north and south islands of New Zealand.<sup>132</sup>

Craig, the new owner of the *PB Herald*, was not successful. Lauded by Browne as 'one who could either run a newspaper himself, or direct others how it should be done', he remained only sixteen months. During Craig's ownership, as trade picked up throughout New Zealand and advertisements in the newspaper grew, the general tenor of the publication slowly declined, with the editorials of mixed standard.<sup>133</sup> Three possible reasons for this are: a shortage of funds to employ sufficient staff; a gradual decrease in interest; or simply that Craig did not possess the skills to both produce and edit a newspaper. Craig, who lost heavily, left to 'enter pursuits more congenial to his taste'. Like William Vincent, partner in the *Wellington Independent* about thirty years before, Craig elected to become a publican.<sup>134</sup>

In the fifth, or sixth (if the transfer from the PB Printing & Publishing Company to Porter et al is considered) change of ownership, in less than a decade, Thomas Chrisp and Frederick Dufaur acquired the business in May 1882. Chrisp may have not paid immediately, or he may have wished to remain a silent partner initially, for though the

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<sup>129</sup> *PBH* 21 June 1879 and other editions show wax; *PBH* 25 May 1881, Brown's light; *PBH* 29 August 1881, wharf lighting; *PBH* 21 December 1881, editorial; McKay (1982) p.417..

<sup>130</sup> I. Gillies, *Baskets Away* (Gisborne: published by the joint Centenary Celebrations Committee of the Gisborne City Council & Cook County Council, 1976) p.77.

<sup>131</sup> McKay (1982), pp.337-8 plus considerable media coverage in the *PBH*, e.g. 9 February 1880; 23 February 1880; 21 February 1882.

<sup>132</sup> *PBH* 13 April 1881.

<sup>133</sup> The editorials were sometimes in note form, e.g. a short editorial about trivial gossip taken from the *Waikato Times*, *PBH* 5 March 1881.

<sup>134</sup> Melva Vincent, *The Vincent Printers* (Campbelltown, NSW: Ruse Publishing, 1980) p.16; *PBH* 12 January 1881; 23 May 1882; 25 July 1882.



Deed of Assignment listed him, the Affidavit signed 20 May 1882 and filed at the Supreme Court the following day gave Dufaur as sole proprietor.<sup>135</sup>

Herbert Bushnell, already employed as foreman at the *PB Herald*, took over as publisher of the newspaper in September 1882, with the ownership now acknowledged by Affidavit to include Chrisp alongside Dufaur.<sup>136</sup> Initials over some file copies in May show Browne, who had stepped out with Craig's arrival, was still contributing; other writers included McKay, Bushnell and Dufaur.<sup>137</sup> An example of the marks is given in Appendix D.

Both proprietors had a supplementary income. Dufaur continued as a land agent, his office being in the *PB Herald* building, while Chrisp, a qualified master mariner, was harbour-master (1875-1886), alongside other civic responsibilities.<sup>138</sup> Chrisp had no background in journalism, but that he was an active partner and writer at the *PB Herald* was confirmed by John Coleman's remarks in his valuation of 27 July 1887. He wrote: 'A saving of expense will be made by Mr Muir combining Captain Chrisp's duties with his own, but extra expense will be incurred in the employment of a writer'.<sup>139</sup>

Chrisp's narrow win in the Borough Council elections of March 1883 led the losing candidate, S.G.D. Hepburn, and others to challenge the *PB Herald's* independence as contractor to the council. The petition was dismissed. To avoid conflict of interest, Dufaur & Co. had assigned the Borough Council printing contract to James Browne, as is discussed in chapter 4.<sup>140</sup>

The *PB Herald* narrowly missed being destroyed by fire early in February 1883, with arson suspected, for the shared key left by the machinist after five o'clock was found in a different position. Early discovery of the evening fire, and a bucket brigade, saved the

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<sup>135</sup> Deed of Assignment of plant book debts etc of 'Herald' newspaper, Craig to Dufaur and Chrisp 20 May 1882, document held at the *GH* office; Affidavit AK 145 lodged 23 May 1882 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, NA, Wellington, BBAE 5529/1.

<sup>136</sup> Affidavit AK 148 lodged 1 September 1882 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, NA, Wellington, BBAE 5529/1 – publisher noted as Robert I. Bushnell, which appears an error; colophon changed *PBH* 11 September 1882.

<sup>137</sup> *PBH* 26 May 1882; 27 May 1882; 29 May 1882; 30 May 1882.

<sup>138</sup> *PBH* 18 August 1882; McKay (1982) p.385.

<sup>139</sup> Valuation documents, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>140</sup> *PBH* 1 March 1883 – discusses contract and petition brought by Messrs Hepburn, Dolman & Quinlan.

wooden newspaper office and the surrounding block. The proprietors offered a reward of £300.<sup>141</sup>

One year later yet another change of ownership took place at the *PB Herald* when Wellington-based William Muir bought Dufaur's share. A newspaperman by background, though by now pretty much an entrepreneur, Muir was a regular visitor to Gisborne and shipped his buggy from Wellington in August 1881.<sup>142</sup> In 1882 he and three others bought approximately 36,000 acres called the Waipaoa Block from Paora Huapu and ninety-three others for £3,500. The transaction took twelve months – a speedy deal by local standards – and illustrates the complexity of land ownership in the district, which impacted severely on the Pākehā settler.<sup>143</sup> William McIntosh Muir's interest in the district proved the catalyst for the family's 120-year involvement with the *PB Herald*.

Muir's ownership was announced by the colophon on 29 February 1884, which read: 'printed and published by the proprietors Thomas Chrisp & William M. Muir at their registered offices'. It was Volume XI, No 3023 of the *PB Herald*.

At this time, according to the *PB Herald*, 165 newspapers and periodical publications were produced in New Zealand.<sup>144</sup> Printing establishments numbered 106 in 1881 and 135 in 1885.<sup>145</sup>

## VALUATION

The first figures extant are contained in the Poverty Bay Printing & Publishing Company returns. Capital in September 1877 was decreed at £1,500, with three hundred shares of £1 each. Parts of the Memorandum of Association are indecipherable because of rodent damage. Seven directors were listed in 1877, followed by a marginally different list of seven subscribers.<sup>146</sup> The Summaries of Capital for the years 1879 and 1880 show

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<sup>141</sup> *PBH* 7 February 1883.

<sup>142</sup> *PBH* 8 August 1881.

<sup>143</sup> *PBH* 21 February 1882, purchase mentioned; *PBH* 22 April 1882, Trust Certificate registered at Court. 'The East Coast had the supreme but unavoidable misfortune to be settled under conditions laid down in a multitude of enactments supposed to deal with the problems of land held by Maoris in a customary manner.' Oliver (1971) p.99.

<sup>144</sup> *PBH* 31 January 1884.

<sup>145</sup> *Typo*, 26 February 1887, vol.1, no.2 p.10.

<sup>146</sup> Directors: W. Adair, C. Ferris, Curry?, C.D. Pitt, Carlaw Smith, J.R. Henry and W. Teat. Subscribers listed: 1.Charles Ferris, 2.?, 3.William Teat, 4.J.H. Stubbs, 5.William Adair, 6.Carlaw Smith, 7. J.G.

considerable movement in the shareholding, with many shareholders selling during the first two years. The figures appear to belie this movement. Details were as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Nominal capital</i>	<i>Share value</i>	<i>Shares available</i>	<i>No. of shareholders</i>	<i>Shares taken up</i>	<i>Calls received</i>	<i>Calls unpaid</i>
17.2.1879	£1,200	£4	300	24	230	£786	£134
2 .8.1879	£1,500	£5	300	22	230	£1,145	£5
2.8.1880	£1,500	£5	300	22	230	£1,145	£5

The Company passed eventually through a mortgage to seven of the shareholders. They secured the business for £1,400 with interest at 10 per cent per annum, payable on demand. In the event of default, the Company was to pass to them. The Company managed to pay very little and by year's end the mortgagors were owed £1,148.11.4.<sup>147</sup>

When Samuel Craig purchased the business from the mortgagors in January 1881, the price was £1,500, payable by £500 cash on signing and the balance by two promissory notes at six and twelve months, bearing interest according to the current bank rate. The book debts taken over amounted to £962.11.4.<sup>148</sup>

The next transfer saw a substantial drop, although it is not known how much Craig took out of the business. Chrisp and Dufaur paid Craig £600 in May 1882, an apparent loss of £900. Book debts were assigned to the new owners and were not enumerated. Craig was bound to pay damages of £1,000 should he carry out a similar business within fifty miles of Gisborne without written permission from the new owners.<sup>149</sup>

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Rogan, Memorandum of Association, PB Printing & Publishing Co., 1877, NA, Auckland, BADZ Series 5181/28/166.

<sup>147</sup> Andrew Graham, merchant, Christopher David Berry, contractor, Thomas William Porter, captain of the militia, Daniel Page, hotel proprietor, Edward Francis Ward jnr, solicitor, and William Adair, merchant, all from Gisborne, and Samuel Locke, by now of Napier, underwrote the business. Bill of Sale 25 February 1880 quoted in Absolute Bill of Sale Graham to Craig, 17 January 1881, document held at the *GH* office.

<sup>148</sup> Memorandum of Agreement, 11 January 1881, document held at the *GH* office.

<sup>149</sup> Deed of Assignment of plant book debts etc of 'Herald' newspaper, Craig to Dufaur and Chrisp 20 May 1882, document held at the *GH* office; Affidavit AK 145 filed 23 May 1882 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, NA, Wellington BBAE 5529/1.

The partner's low entry point no doubt helped them thrive for the profit for the thirteen months, until Dufaur sold to Muir, was £800 per annum.<sup>150</sup> This is considerably higher than any other profit figure available, as is detailed in chapter 3. Dufaur also made a capital profit, for when William Muir bought his share in February 1884, he paid £1,050. As the Payne Wharfedale press may have been added during Dufaur's partnership with Chrisp, it is not possible to make a direct comparison. Thus the business was valued at £2,100.0.0 in 1884. John Coleman in his valuation said the profit of £373 for the year 1884 was 'probably for part of a year only'. The money was reinvested in the business.<sup>151</sup>

### PREMISES

There was little exactitude in early Gisborne. Gladstone Road, the main thoroughfare, meandered rather than travelled in a straight line, and the early premises were frequently back from the now straightened road. The *PB Herald* began at the edge of town, as noted above, on part of a site purchased by Captain Porter for £19 in the first sale of township sections.<sup>152</sup> After the business moved, the office, a simple wooden structure, stood empty for many months before being renovated in January 1881. All that remained was a pair of broken scissors and an empty paste pot said an editorial, with delicious irony for the habit of cut and paste journalism. They had been, 'so to speak, worn to the bone from long and much exhaustion'.<sup>153</sup>

Dufaur moved the business to a more central position on the corner of Gladstone Road and Grey Street, alongside the Argyll Hotel. The building was known as Greene's market and the whole property had recently changed hands for the significant figure of £900. An unregistered deed dated 2 March 1876 documented the *PB Herald's* lease from 7 December 1875; rent was 30/- per week, payable quarterly for the first two years, with an increase to 35/- for the remaining two years. The initial annual rental was £78, which appears high as Dufaur was also responsible for rates, land tax and maintenance, in particular painting, which was scheduled for regular application. Dufaur reassigned the

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<sup>150</sup> Valuation documents, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> By Crown Grant 18 February 1873 registered no. 9469, section no. 119, on plan no. SO4590, Land Information, Gisborne; price given in *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 187 (Porter given as Colonel, although at the purchase date his rank was Captain).

<sup>153</sup> *PBH* 31 January 1881.

lease to the PB Printing & Publishing Company on 8 November 1877 for an amount of £40.<sup>154</sup>

The Company later planned to erect a new building but, with the demise of the *Standard* in 1879, it took over the *Standard's* premises.<sup>155</sup> Though there has been substantial expansion, the *Gisborne Herald* remains on the site to this day, on the south-west side of Gladstone Road between Lowe and Peel Streets.

The *Standard* had three previous homes: the first being a small tin shed in a lane behind the Albion Hotel (Gladstone Road), then in a shed on part of Section 54 in Gladstone Road. That building was severely damaged by Gisborne's first major fire in November 1877 and the ensuing chaos left Webb with virtually no equipment. He reinstated his business in a room nearby, first using a small hand press, with which the *Standard* was printed one page at a time.<sup>156</sup> He later sublet premises from auctioneers Peter Bourke and Carlaw Smith, with a lease that had fifteen years to run when the *Standard* first folded.<sup>157</sup>

Considerable subleasing took place in early Gisborne. Bourke and Smith's lease was redrawn and assigned to the Company from January 1880. For an area of 1,607 square feet, occupied by first the *Standard* and then the *PB Herald*, the charge was £65 per annum, paid monthly in instalments.<sup>158</sup> The property occupied one-third of Section 53, in the township of Gisborne, a piece of land awarded to Mokena Kohere, a 'loyal' Māori chief, in February 1873. Kohere, and later his trustees, then leased the land for twenty-four years, the first lessees being Carlaw and Montague H. Smith.<sup>159</sup>

Amendments to the Agreement were made on 21 December 1882, with the change of ownership to Dufaur and Chrisp. The four remaining years of the lease were re-assigned

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<sup>154</sup> Four year lease of portion of section no. 32, township of Gisborne, from Alexander Blair, document held at the *GH* office – Section no. 32 was given and a cottage built thereon by the government for Major Ropata; he sold the property to Blair in April 1875 for £900 – McKay (1982) p.387.

<sup>155</sup> *PBH* 16 May 1879; 16 December 1879.

<sup>156</sup> *PBH* 4 December 1877.

<sup>157</sup> McKay papers, ATL Library, MS 1006-46, pp.24 & 25; *PBH* 26 November 1879 – mentioned under Webb's Estate.

<sup>158</sup> Memorandum of Agreement, 1 January 1880 (lease backdated to 21 December 1879) document held at the *GH* office.

<sup>159</sup> By Crown Grant 18 February 1873 registered no. 9469, section no. 53, on plan no. SO4590, Land Information Office, Gisborne.

by Bourke, Smith and Montague Henry Smith, of the business now called Carlaw Smith & Co.<sup>160</sup>

### OPERATIONAL DETAILS

The following tables summarize the days of publication and the cost of the *PB Herald*, its early rival, the *PB Standard* and the latter's successor, the *Telephone*. Amendments to title are also included, as are the various changes of ownership for the *Standard*.

#### ***POVERTY BAY HERALD***

##### ***Price and production details***

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of Publication</i>
5.1.1874	3d 6/- per quarter	Bi-weekly: Monday and Thursday mornings (masthead – open version of black-letter type)
2.4.1874		Name change: <b><i>Poverty Bay Herald and East Coast Newsletter</i></b>
1.1.1875		Bi-weekly: Tuesday and Friday
3.5.1878	3d 7/6 per quarter	Tri-weekly: Monday, Wednesday and Friday
9.9.1878	1d 8/6 per quarter	Daily: Saturday excepted
19.10.1878		Daily: Evening publication, including Saturday
2.12.1878	Town delivery: 6/6 prepaid; 7/6 booked Country: 7/6 prepaid; 8/6 booked	
21.1.1879		Twice daily: Newspaper appeared morning and evening until at least 17.10.79 Running head became the <i>Evening Herald</i> , and presumably <i>Morning Herald</i> (the file copies are from the second edition)
16.12.1879		Daily: When the <i>PBH</i> reverted to once daily is unknown – running head remains the <i>Evening Herald</i>
31.3.1880	Town subscribers requested to pay weekly – 6d for six deliveries	
28.10. 1883		Name reverted to: <b><i>Poverty Bay Herald</i></b>

<sup>160</sup> Amendments to Memorandum of Agreement 1 January 1880 (in pencil on original copy held), documents held at the *GH* office.

**POVERTY BAY STANDARD**

*Price, production and ownership details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of publication</i>
5.10.1872	6d 21/- p.a. (7/- p.a. postage)	Weekly: Saturday morning (masthead – simple with serif)
1.1.1873	3d or 3 for 6d (mentioned once and not repeated for sometime) 6/- per quarter 7/6 with postage 21/- p.a. 26/- with postage	Bi-weekly: Wednesday and Saturday (masthead – curved, in an open version of black-letter type)
6.12.1873	3d.	(masthead – straight, open version of black-letter type)
10.1.1874	3 for 6d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday
23.4.1874		Incorporated the <i>People's Advocate Standard</i> and <i>People's Advocate</i>
30.4.1874	3d	Bi-weekly: Wednesday and Saturday
2 5.1874	5/- per quarter (payable in advance)	Format enlarged and price reduced
1.7.1874	Reduced advertising rates and subscriptions	
		No microfilm records for 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880. Almost no records available for this period.
By at least 6.5.1878	3d	<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday (masthead on one edition available 1.3.1879 – closed black-letter type with version of a British flag in the centre)
12.11.1879		Publication ceased after meeting of creditors
April 1880		<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Proprietor: Henry Edwin Webb
January 1881	3d	<b><i>Standard</i></b> Bi-weekly (8 pages): Wednesday and Saturday (masthead – simple woodblock prepared in house) Proprietor: Henry Edwin Webb
6.4.1881	3d	<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Bi-weekly (4 pages + 2 supplementary) Wednesday and Saturday (new masthead – again prepared in-house; the masthead is compressed with words 'The Poverty Bay' are above 'Standard' – advertising runs either side)

25.10.1881	2d 6/- per quarter 7/- if booked	<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly (4 + 1 pages – 7 columns): Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Proprietors: Henry Edwin Webb (jnr) and John Mogridge (new masthead – again, simple woodblock)
1.11.1881	2d.	<b><i>Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly (4 pages): Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday (masthead – remains simple woodblock assembled in-house with the P.B. taken out)
15.11.1881		<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> (new masthead – open version of black letter type)
24.7.1882	1d	Daily evening publication
13.3.1883	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
21.4.1883		Ceased publication (Webb & Mogridge continued jobbing section)
19.4.1883		Business suspended
7.6.1883		Reinstated as the <b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Proprietor: Charles Henry Collins Webb (masthead – closed black-letter type)
25.10.1883		Ceased as the <b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b>



## *THE TELEPHONE*

### *Price, production and ownership details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of publication</i>
27.10.1883	2d	A name change from the <i>Poverty Bay Standard</i> to the <i>Telephone</i> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings Proprietors: Capt. Thomas Porter and Alfred William Croft Publisher: John Mogridge (masthead – simple sans serif)
1.1.84	1d	Daily – morning (elaborate masthead made by Wilsons & Horton – the ‘s’ in Wilson is correct)
6.3.84	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
1.4.84	1d	Daily - evening
28.7.84		Proprietor: John Mogridge
15.10.84		Proprietor: John Fisher
15.12.84	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
30.12.84		Ceased publication

\* Tables are reprinted as Appendix B.

As noted in the first table, for part of the 1879 recession the *PB Herald* appeared morning and evening. This was no doubt to emphasize to advertisers, subscribers and Webb, as proprietor of the rival establishment, the more heavy-weight Company’s dominant position within the tight market. Residents received the newspaper at a regular hour every morning and afternoon: ‘in time for the tea-table... In the morning the HERALD is (with few exceptions, where our subscribers live at a great distance) delivered in time to be laid on the breakfast-table’.<sup>161</sup>

The primacy of the *PB Herald* was thus linked to important family rituals. By December 1879, and after the demise of the *Standard*, printing was taking place at five o’clock every evening only. As a general rule nothing of importance happened in Gisborne after that

<sup>161</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

hour; should news break, however, the *PB Herald* undertook to prepare a supplementary sheet the following morning.<sup>162</sup> There is no evidence of this occurring.

By March 1880 credit had been reduced. Town subscribers were asked to pay weekly, a charge of sixpence for six deliveries. The newspaper was a penny daily when William Macintosh Muir became a part-owner in February 1884.

### CIRCULATION

As with economic data, circulation is difficult to gauge. The only guide initially is the limitation imposed by a hand-operated press and the probable distribution area – wide and frequently inaccessible in the *PB Herald*'s case. Two years after its establishment the newspaper announced increased circulation and the next four years saw considerable growth, which necessitated the purchase of new plant.<sup>163</sup> In April 1880 the paper announced 'a much larger impression than hitherto will be passed through the press, so that there shall be no complaints on the part of the public not being able to obtain copies of the *Herald*'.<sup>164</sup>

The census of May 1878 showed the Borough of Gisborne had 679 males and 551 'of the weaker sex. This number includes 24 'half caste' and five Maori wives'. The wider district had 1,230, which included 95 'half castes' and 21 Māori wives. Further afield, 688 lived in the county of Wairoa, and 2,955 in the electoral district of the East Coast, which included Tauranga.<sup>165</sup> By this time the *Bay of Plenty Times* (begun 4 September 1872 as a bi-weekly) served Tauranga and its district and to the south, and Wairoa, which gained a newspaper in 1881, had greater ease of access and connection to the larger settlement of Napier.

The local free list grew to more than thirty copies each evening by August 1879.<sup>166</sup>

Agents throughout New Zealand indicate modest circulation elsewhere: Christchurch,

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<sup>162</sup> *PBH* 22 December 1879.

<sup>163</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2 col.7 & p.3 col.4; 8 January 1878.

<sup>164</sup> *PBH* 2 April 1880.

<sup>165</sup> *PBH* 26 March 1878.

<sup>166</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1879.

Dunedin, Auckland and Patea (north-west of Wanganui) were listed. There was no mention of Wellington, which presumably implies that there was no demand there.<sup>167</sup>

Bushnell recalled that an expert printer could turn out two hundred copies of a small paper per hour on an Albion. While his recollections are helpful, this figure seems generous as in order to produce two hundred copies of the paper the formes needed to be changed and four hundred prints pulled, two hundred on each side. There is also a time discrepancy, for he stated that with the advent of the rotary 'Lily' hand-press around 1878 the newspaper took three hours to print; this is problematic as circulation was unlikely to have been six hundred in 1878. With the 'Lily' producing more efficiently than the Albion, Bushnell's reckoning suggests substantially more than six hundred copies were printed in the late seventies. This seems high for the period and more believable is the figure quoted by Allan R. Muir in 1908, when he moved from sole proprietor to managing director of his recently established private company. Muir quoted the circulation figure as six hundred in late 1884, the date he arrived at the *PB Herald*.<sup>168</sup>

#### **DISTRIBUTION**

Details of early newspaper delivery, which contribute to social history rather than economic data, give an insight into part of the routine of life as Gisborne evolved through the decade. This facet of the *PB Herald* is limited here to information gleaned from the newspaper files. Store-keepers, for example, who, along with the occasional publican, acted as newspaper agents in both town and country districts, bear further investigation as a news and general resource.<sup>169</sup>

A challenge facing newspaper proprietors with a remote catchment area was how to provide a viable rural service. The *PB Herald* initially employed only one messenger. Newspapers for those living beyond the ferry were left at Donoghue's Ferry Hotel as 'our messenger does not cross the ferry'. No mention was made of country delivery.

The *Standard* highlighted the problems of delivery to scattered subscribers by initially requesting that 'anyone going inland on Saturdays will confer a great favour by lending

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<sup>167</sup> *PBH* 31 January 1882.

<sup>168</sup> *PBH* 9 May 1908.

<sup>169</sup> Hamer (1979) p.7.

his aid in this behalf'; and second, in response to complaints about delivery from coast subscribers, the newspaper said: 'Once a fortnight they should come to hand, at least, as the mailman takes them'.<sup>170</sup> The postal service was inefficient, however. The mailmen were poorly remunerated and outlying postmasters received no salary whatsoever.<sup>171</sup> Theft was another problem. Letters reached their destination because it was a criminal offence to tamper with them, but no such punishment hung over the heads of those who purloined newspapers.<sup>172</sup>

Hazardous coach connections, which gave some sort of regularity, began north-east to Tokomaru Bay and south to Wairoa in 1877.<sup>173</sup> Satellite areas of Gisborne, such as Matawhero, Makaraka, Waerenga a Hika, Patutahi and Ormond, were considered of sufficient importance for the *PB Herald* to have a daily country runner by 1879. The agents at those depots were store-keepers or publicans. Country subscribers with direct delivery were requested to attach a receiving box to their gate or outside their fence. Changing settlement patterns and economic conditions saw the country service reworked from time to time.<sup>174</sup>

The messenger required one or two saddle horses. He was also presumed to be literate, for an advertisement calling for a runner asked for a written response. For many years, delivery of the paper to country subscribers was a matter of extreme difficulty. It often arrived late.<sup>175</sup> During several months of the winter season the principal roads were veritable quagmires, as another isolating factor within the district was the lack of local road metal. Winter travel often meant mud up to the horses' girths, and Bushnell recalled: 'It became quite a common practice to walk inside the boundary fences, leading the horse outside. The runner had to keep two or three horses to complete his round'.<sup>176</sup>

Another recollection was that of J.A. Lucas, recorded in note form by McKay:

In winter time it was quite impossible to drive even a bullock dray past Makaraka and one became so thoroughly bogged, just past the hall, that it remained in the mud until

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<sup>170</sup> *Standard* 12 October 1872; 14 September 1872.

<sup>171</sup> *Standard* 4 June 1876.

<sup>172</sup> *Standard* 2 August 1876.

<sup>173</sup> Oliver (1971) pp.154-5.

<sup>174</sup> *PBH* 5 April 1879 [runner T. McMahan]; 1 October 1879; 30 June 1879; 12 March 1880; 13 September 1882.

<sup>175</sup> *PBH* 17 October 1879; 31 March 1879; 5 April 1879; 1 October 1879; 30 June 1879; 11 October 1879.

<sup>176</sup> *Life in Early Poverty Bay* (1927), p.144.

the following summer. The first man to travel to Makaraka after that winter was a horseman engaged in delivering the *Standard*, the morning newspaper of those days. He too, became bogged in the treacherous thoroughfare, and Mr Lucas was one of the party which went to his assistance and dug him out of the morass.<sup>177</sup>

Town delivery could also be frustrated by weather, lack of lighting or troubled animals. A. Beveridge, who held the town delivery contract for two years, made the mistake of taking off his horse's blinkers. The horse galloped away, but all was saved when a wheel came off the cart.<sup>178</sup>

The use of boys as runners began in December 1878, before the post office was offering home delivery, when a respectable lad was required to deliver subscribers' papers and work in the office.<sup>179</sup> The applicant was probably young Philip Lange, who came to Gisborne from Nelson. One of his first undertakings was a contract to deliver the *PB Herald* for a set amount for each copy. As circulation of the newspaper increased faster than was anticipated, Lange's commission became a burden to the management, which paid a lump sum to him to cancel the contract.<sup>180</sup>

A year later yet more help was required, for the *PB Herald* advertised for a 'steady man, with two or three sons, to run the Evening Herald in town after 5 o'clock'. Post office home delivery also began in that year. For those who did not have the newspaper delivered, copies were available after that hour from various agents.<sup>181</sup> As was common for the time, no copies were available at the *PB Herald* office. Casual copies were 'cried through the streets'.<sup>182</sup>

The 'steady man' was no doubt Beveridge, who was also authorized to make arrangements with subscribers. It appears town debt was easier to manage than rural debt, for town subscribers were asked to pay weekly by 2 March 1880, rather than run an account for the usual quarter. Beveridge passed the contract to F. Parker on 30 December 1881.

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<sup>177</sup> McKay papers, ATL Library, MS-1006-46.

<sup>178</sup> *PBH* 10 September 1880; contract changed from Beveridge to F. Porter 30 December 1881.

<sup>179</sup> *PBH* 9 February 1874; 28 December 1878; post office delivery began in 1879, Oliver (1971) p.154.

<sup>180</sup> From newspaper clippings held at the Tairāwhiti Museum under *Reminiscences of Charles Edwin Major*.

<sup>181</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879 and 2 April 1880 – agents: Mr M. Jennings, storekeeper, next to Mr Stubb's Chemist, Gladstone Road; Mr T. Adams, Stationery, Gladstone Road; Mrs Jones, Fruiterer, near Mr Sigley's tinsmith, Gladstone Road; Mr J. East, Grocer, Upper Gladstone Road.

<sup>182</sup> *PBH* 2 April 1880.

Modest changes took place in delivery the following year. By January 1882 the newspaper listed fourteen agents, from Gisborne to as far afield as Christchurch, Dunedin, Auckland and Patea. Daily country delivery became wider. Store-keepers or specific businesses, such as Messrs Hatton & Score, butchers of Patutahi, who received the newspaper on the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and Mr D. Dinan of the 'Dew Drop Inn' at Kaiteratahi, were agents.

During Browne's incumbency as manager, it is known that the *PB Herald* sent copies of the paper to the United Kingdom, postage paid, for 2d.<sup>183</sup> For most settlers in Gisborne, as with those in the rest of the colony, Britain was 'home', and the exchange of newspapers was a widespread custom, thus distribution went well beyond the district. Successive governments found it difficult to charge an economic rate for postage; rates fluctuated both up and down, and by 1873 inland postage on newspapers was reduced from 1d to ½d per copy and the overseas rate, by Suez (1d in 1867) or by Panama or Marseilles (3d in 1867), was fixed at 1d per copy.<sup>184</sup> Post Office records were not broken down, but an estimate of letters, post-cards, books and newspapers handled in the Gisborne district showed: 1875 - (no figure); 1885 - 115,089 items delivered and 71,682 posted; 1888 - 133,185 delivered and 71,526 posted.<sup>185</sup>

Little evidence is available as to the commission paid to agents at that time. In 1881 the *Auckland Free Lance*, which cost 1d, was 'supplied to agents and runners at 6d per dozen. Club parcels (of not less than twelve copies) supplied at the same rate'. In 1891 the *Tribune*, again an Auckland newspaper, was in difficulties and pleaded with subscribers to pay in advance as they paid 30 per cent to the runners.<sup>186</sup> Edward Knowles Cameron recalled in an interview in 1972 that his paper round in 1906 paid 17/6 per week. Knowles collected the newspapers from the Makaraka railway station and delivered them to Makaraka, Matawhero and Waerenga a Hika on horseback. His home was three miles from the station and his paper round was twelve miles.<sup>187</sup> The wage appears good when compared with other costs mentioned by Knowles. By 1908 he also had an office job in

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<sup>183</sup> *PBH* 18 June 1879.

<sup>184</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.8-9.

<sup>185</sup> *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (NZ) vol.II (1890) Post & Telegraph Department Report for the year 1889, p. ii.

<sup>186</sup> Harvey, (1993) p.78.

Gisborne, for which he received 5/- per week. The three horses that he used alternately cost him 15/- each.

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The years from 1872 to 1884 saw the switch thrown, literally and metaphorically, in Poverty Bay. Businesses in the central district were supplied with gas in August 1884, telegraph contact with the south arrived early in the period, critical debate about the port facilities resulted in control of the harbour being vested in a board, and a ships' lightering service was about to be established (1885). Vast areas had changed from bush to grazing land, and in January 1885 a cheese factory was opened. Wool was being exported successfully but the greatest stimulus to the district came a short time later, with the advent of improved refrigeration.<sup>188</sup> Politically, the dissolution of the provinces in 1876 saw Gisborne gain some autonomy, for it had languished under the Auckland Provincial Council. Two councils were formed: the Gisborne Borough Council and the Cook County Council. The district was looking forward with optimism.

After a tumultuous decade the *PB Herald* could also look forward. It had survived. There was an element of luck in this, as discussed. By the end of the *PB Herald's* first decade it still had a competitor: the *Telephone*. In some ways the district's isolation was an asset for the newspapers for, although their commercial printing was subject to competition, the journals themselves were not threatened by outside competitors. Solid publications from outside the district did arrive later, as is examined in the following chapter, but by then the *PB Herald* had strengthened its position within the community.

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<sup>187</sup> *PBH* 25 November 1972.

<sup>188</sup> McKay (1982) pp.417-8 (gas), pp.408-10 (harbour), p.325 (early experiments in refrigeration were undertaken from February 1884 – the Nelson Brothers Freezing Works, Taruhera, Gisborne, opened November 1889), pp.327-8 (dairy industry); Oliver (1971) p.154 (transport and telegraph), pp.137-9 (pastoral).

### 3. NEWSPAPERS OF POVERTY BAY 1884-1914: WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO STABILITY AND CONTINUITY AT THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD*

Life gradually became smoother in the mid 1880s for the growing band of European settlers in the east coast district of Poverty Bay. Wool remained the main export for the district and while the number of large station owners within the district increased slightly from 1889 to 1894, the growth of the small flock owner from 1879 to 1894 was particularly significant.<sup>1</sup> Refrigeration aided the industry enormously and most of the money flowed back into the district, as there were few absentee landlords. Before a freezing works was established in Gisborne in 1889, livestock was sent away from the district to be frozen before being exported to London. Around the cusp of refrigeration's introduction, the figures of 1885 included 51 mutton carcasses valued at £31, 36 tons of beef valued at £672, and 256 cattle worth £1,792. By the end of the following year Gear Meat alone planned to ship six thousand frozen carcasses by the *Kaikoura* during November and a further two to three thousand a short while later on the *Doric*.<sup>2</sup> The company, owned at least partly by William Muir and his syndicate from Wellington, was obviously successful for by June 1887 it paid a dividend of £2,300 to each of its shareholders.<sup>3</sup> By 1901 Gisborne was the sixth largest port in the colony.

The newspapers of the district diverged during the period under discussion in this chapter. The *PB Herald* grew in stature and enjoyed a stability of ownership not experienced by the other journals, which again saw a number of transformations. Ownership, management details and litigation are reviewed, with particular emphasis placed on the *PB Herald* and members of the Muir family, its owners from 1884.

Almost all the newspaper proprietors of Poverty Bay faced considerable litigation during the thirty year period from 1884 to 1914. In this they were not alone, with boundaries sometimes crossed or, at the very least severely tested, in the rapidly expanding newspaper industry. In early 1888 the *British Printer* strongly recommended a book that

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<sup>1</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response*, (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) p.139.

<sup>2</sup> *PBH* 23 July 1886; 5 November 1886.

<sup>3</sup> *PBH* 17 June 1887.



dealt with such matters, for: 'most printers have at some time or other found themselves within the influence of the laws regulating' or bearing upon their business. Many newspaper proprietors get more law than they care about'.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter is prefaced by necessary preliminary discussion of three areas: an introduction to James William Muir and his two eldest sons, William and Allan; a brief look at the place of the printer in New Zealand during the late nineteenth century; and the politics of the period, especially as they impinged upon the Poverty Bay newspapers. After this introduction, the chapter is divided into time blocks, each of one decade. Within each segment is first a brief examination of the district's newspapers, excluding the *PB Herald*. This is followed by an overall view of the litigation experienced by all newspapers during the decade. The focus then narrows to the *PB Herald*, with detailed discussion of aspects such as its ownership, valuation and accommodation.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of the *PB Herald*'s role within the community it served. Two questions are pursued: how did the newspaper, its proprietor and his sons interact with the community, and can its influence be assessed?

## **Background**

### **FROM PRINTERS' IMP TO PROPRIETOR**

New Zealand's first newspaper, the *NZ Gazette*, was published in London on 21 August 1839. The British government was preparing to regulate the affairs of New Zealand but, after protracted negotiations stalled, the men who formed first the New Zealand Association and later the New Zealand Company took matters into their own hands. Organized colonization began prematurely for the British government, with an exploratory sortie to Port Nicholson (Wellington) in 1839. A Columbian printing press arrived early the following year with Samuel Revans, later called the 'father of the New Zealand press', who arrived on 7 March 1840. Young Thomas Wilmore McKenzie, who Revans took on as an apprentice, arrived on the same vessel.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Supplement to the *British Printer*, January-February 1888, vol.1, no.1, p.10 – the book reviewed was: Arthur Powell, *The Laws Affecting Printers, Publishers, and Newspaper Proprietors* (London: Steven & Sons, 119, Chancery-lane, London).

<sup>5</sup> A.H.Carman, *The Birth of a City* (Wellington: the author, 1970) p.115; G. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958) p.1; Kathleen Coleridge 'Thriving on Impressions:

Revans, a man experienced in the pioneering way of life for he had first settled in Montreal, could only get one young compositor, Francis Yates, who later drowned, to accompany him. Yates proved 'good and faithful...he is however [a] thro'bred English workman, unable to make a hand-saw out of a hatchet and stopped by trifles'.<sup>6</sup> Revans picked up two 'shaved and clean' men, about whom he wrote in his letter to Henry Chapman that 'all that is good cannot have gone with such proper habits', to help erect a Manning prefabricated wooden house for the press on Petone Beach.<sup>7</sup> One of the wanderers was James William Muir, a printer from Edinburgh, and the progenitor of what may now be termed a low-key newspaper dynasty. Revans gave a tantalizing account of Muir's exploits since leaving Scotland and said he 'was inclined to return to his trade'. A practical man, James Muir made new rollers for the press to replace those melted on the journey 'etc.etc.etc.', and he is 'now pressman and compositor' at 30 shillings per week.<sup>8</sup>

The second edition of the *NZ Gazette* appeared from the small 'portable house' on Petone Beach on 18 April 1840. Muir remained with what became the *NZ Gazette and Wellington Spectator* until the newspaper ceased amidst acrimony with issue no. 363, on 25 September 1844. Revans had lost interest earlier and the printers, George Fellingham, Thomas McKenzie, James Muir, Edward Roe and William Vincent, certainly with help from some in the community, established another newspaper, the *Wellington Independent*. Gradually three of the printers moved on and McKenzie and Muir continued in a very successful partnership as printers and newspaper proprietors until Muir left in 1864, a year before his death. He retained a £2,000 mortgage in the business.<sup>9</sup>

James Muir probably arrived in New Zealand in 1839.<sup>10</sup> Before his long adventures at sea he had completed his apprenticeship at fine printers, James Ballantyne & Company in Edinburgh. Ballantyne, a solicitor with a 'fine taste for the effect of types', who was well

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the pioneer years of Wellington printing' in D. Hamer & R. Nicholls eds., *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.89.

<sup>6</sup> S. Revans to H.S. Chapman, Port Nicholson, 15 May 1840, ATL vol.1, qMS-1687, pp.6 & 7 typescript copy.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Coleridge in Hamer & Nicholls eds. (1990) pp. 89-101; the *NZ Gazette and Wellington Spectator* 11 September 1844; James Muir's will, NA, Wellington, AAOM 6029 1865/223.

<sup>10</sup> Muir family papers (B).

satisfied 'if the page looked handsome', was not a businessman.<sup>11</sup> As an environment in which to train, however, his printing shop was no doubt excellent. It was a vibrant establishment, with eighteen or maybe twenty printing presses in 1820 – the discrepancy perhaps accounted for by two of the presses being 'the latest steam-powered type'.<sup>12</sup> Six years later the business suffered badly when Sir Walter Scott's publishers, Constable & Company, went bankrupt, but the creditors chose that James Ballantyne continue. Scott, novelist and poet, and secret author of the Waverley novels, supported and was supported by Constable and Ballantyne.<sup>13</sup> Over the years he had received superlative service with proof-reading.

Sir Walter's hurried method of composition rendered it absolutely necessary that whatever he wrote should be subjected to far more than the usual amount of inspection required at the hands of a printer.<sup>14</sup>

One of James Muir's fondest memories, recalled in his obituary written a world away in New Zealand upon his death in November 1865, was of taking the proofs to Sir Walter Scott.<sup>15</sup>

Muir probably left Ballantyne & Co. in the mid 1820s, whether of his own accord or whether he was press-ganged into the navy is not clear. There are no official records as to his arrival in New Zealand, but a family paper almost certainly written by his grandson, Charles William Muir, said he arrived on a New Bedford whaler, made his way from Bluff and crossed Cook Strait by Māori canoe. He was either thirty-two or thirty-six years of age – there is a discrepancy in age between cemetery record, obituary, mourning announcement and his tombstone.<sup>16</sup>

James and his wife, Janet Coutie (née Ramsay), had five children. The elder two sons, William Macintosh (born 1843) and Allan Ramsay (born 1845) both followed their

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<sup>11</sup> *Narrative of the Life of Sir Walter Scott Bart*, begun by himself and continued by J.G. Lockhart, (London: J.M. Dent & Co. and New York: E.P. Dutton) reprinted 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, August 1906, by Richard Clay & Sons Ltd., p. 492 – Lockhart was Scott's son-in-law.

<sup>12</sup> Nan Jaboor & B.J. McMullin, *James Ballantyne and Press Figures* (Melbourne: Ancora Press, 1994) p.6.

<sup>13</sup> *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, no. 52, Saturday 26 January 1833, p.9 – Scott had advances and stood engaged to banks on behalf of Constable & Company; he set about writing to raise the £60,000 he undertook to repay.

<sup>14</sup> Lockhart (1906) p.492.

<sup>15</sup> *Wellington Independent* 25 November 1865.

<sup>16</sup> Cemetery record, NA, Wellington, AAOM 6029 1865/223 and obituary in the *Wellington Independent* 25 November 1865, both gave 58 years; the family mourning card and his tombstone gave 62 years. His birth certificate has not been discovered.

father's profession. Members of the next four generations have followed suit and thus the Muir family may claim what is almost certainly an unequalled record of longevity within New Zealand's newspaper world – from 1840 to the present day, with a brief pause from 1880 to 1883. William Muir became overseer at the daily *Wellington Independent*, and by 1870 Allan held the same role at McKenzie's newly formed weekly journal, the *NZ Mail*.

In 1873 Julius Vogel, adventurer, newspaper proprietor and politician, bought the *NZ Mail* from Thomas McKenzie, who was by this stage the 'grandfather' of New Zealand journalism at only forty-six years of age. Vogel's political horizon included a national newspaper and he quickly followed this purchase with the acquisition of its parent, the successful *Wellington Independent*, which continued under its old masthead until 30 May 1874, when it emerged as the *NZ Times*. A second change came a few years later when Vogel's political ambitions led him to surrender ownership to John Chantry Harris in 1879.<sup>17</sup> The Muir brothers were no doubt affected by these changes as they chose to withdraw. Allan resigned on 19 December 1879, and William, along with their father's former partner, Thomas McKenzie, had resigned by 4 April 1880.<sup>18</sup>

Both William and Allan left the printing industry momentarily. Approximately three years later William Muir picked up the printing thread again, albeit briefly, and Allan resumed his newspaper career in 1884. They had assumed the leadership role within their family when James died in 1865. William became the patriarch at age twenty-two, and his energy and acumen ensured that the family eventually prospered. They were in their thirties when Vogel sold to Chantry Harris, and both decided wider horizons beckoned. William's entrepreneurial instincts led him in many directions: primary production when his syndicate purchased what became Waipaoa Station in Poverty Bay in the early 1880s, local government as a Wellington City councillor in 1888, and a company directorship in Wellington's *Dominion* newspaper (5 September 1907 to 9 May 1911).<sup>19</sup> Allan followed a well-trodden colonial path onto the land after leaving the *NZ Mail*.

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<sup>17</sup> *NZ Times* 1 June 1874; Scholefield (1958) pp.33-5 – J.C. Harris had previously been part proprietor of the *Southland Times* – Scholefield (1958) p.205.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR*, 9 January 1880, p.63; 4 April 1880, p.20.

<sup>19</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand - Wellington Provincial District*, vol. 1 (Christchurch: Cyclopedia Co., 1897) p. 302; letter from D.W. Gendall, secretary of the *Dominion* to Percy Muir 22 September 1972.

William who, as mentioned in chapter 2, bought a partnership in the *PB Herald* in 1884, was drawn to Poverty Bay by the lure of land and the prospect of discovering oil in viable quantities rather than a provincial newspaper. As the lead negotiator in the purchase of Waipaoa Station he travelled to the district frequently, but at no stage did he plan to settle in Poverty Bay permanently, though the mild weather and the fertile soil appealed to him.<sup>20</sup> His purchase of Dufaur's share of the *PB Herald* on 20 February 1884 was, therefore, presumably just a business investment rather than a means of livelihood for him.

The few remaining letters of the period show that William was aware of his brother's struggles with farming, and that Allan was concerned for his sons' future as 'there is no prospect in the future for them here'.<sup>21</sup> When William purchased the *PB Herald*, however, Allan had not committed himself to settling in Gisborne, although he had shown interest:

When I saw in your letter written before you left for Gisborne that you thought of making an offer for the paper there I determined on telegraphing to you that I would join you willingly, but knowing how loath you would be to leave Wellington I thought it might be the cause of your doing that which you might regret. What are the terms for that paper and is there a dwelling connected with it. Does the price include the freehold of the office site? Would you think of joining me in purchasing and working the concern.<sup>22</sup>

William's answer has not survived but the sale price of £1,050 was for the business alone. The business premises were rented, as is touched upon later in this chapter, and there was no house provided.

Both William and Allan Muir travelled to Gisborne on a number of occasions during 1884. Allan most likely visited first in April.<sup>23</sup> Not surprisingly Chrisp, William's partner, found the relationship with two brothers of long newspaper experience, but fleeting tenancy, unsettling. When he finally took up residence in November 1884, Allan wrote to his brother thus: 'Chrisp appears anxious to know what we intend to do.

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<sup>20</sup> W.M. Muir letter to his wife, Louisa, Gisborne, 20 May 188? (year missing, probably 1882) ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>21</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Richmond, 17 December 1883, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> *PBH* 21 & 28 April 1884 gave Muir as arriving, one by SS *Wairapapa* and the other by the *Manapouri*.

[George] Adams tells me he has been trying to find out from him, he asked me and I told him the matter stood just as it did before'.<sup>24</sup>

Allan, his wife and five sons brought few goods with them to Gisborne. Their four-year agricultural venture in Richmond, Waimea County, had drained Allan's resources financially, physically and mentally, as is testified by the three extant letters from Richmond. For example:

I shall have to draw a cheque for £15 or £20. I looked forward at first that at the end of the fourth year the place would be self-supporting and have done my best to make it so and failed.<sup>25</sup>

The family began in Gisborne with a rented house in poor condition, which cost £52.0.0 per annum.<sup>26</sup> In fact the improvement in Allan Muir's domestic situation may be seen as analogous to his later career. His first residence, when probably beholden to his brother for capital, had rotten white pine roof shingles, a verandah where 'the roof is caving in and the posts have sunk through the floor', and a crumbling fence.<sup>27</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century Allan embarked upon considerable expansion both professionally and domestically. His commodious house, first named Lincoln House and built on a large section bordered by Clifford and Fitzherbert Streets, was completed in 1901.<sup>28</sup>

William remained in partnership with Captain Chrisp after Allan's arrival. Chrisp attempted to withdraw from the business without success. Valuer John Coleman stated that on 25 February 1885: 'Mr Wm Muir declined to exercise his right to purchase Captain Chrisp's half share at £1200'.<sup>29</sup> There was no mention in the newspaper when the ownership changed from William to Allan Muir, but Allan most likely reimbursed his brother in July 1885 as the colophon read: 'Printed and published by the proprietors Thomas Chrisp and Allan Ramsay Muir'. For the perceptive, the colophon changed again two weeks later to read 'Printed and Published by the Proprietors, Thomas Chrisp and

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<sup>24</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1 – for details about Adams see chapter 5.

<sup>25</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Richmond, 28 February 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>26</sup> The "Pines" Estate in account with Common Shelton (agents) 12 October 1885, document found in William Muir's papers and held by the Muir family – advertising the property for rent cost £1.1.0.

<sup>27</sup> The family's arrival was recorded in the *PBH* 24 November 1884; A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>28</sup> A second storey was begun in 1914 and the house has seen a number of changes both in name and function e.g. a private school (St Winifred's), a boarding house (Armadale), a restaurant and a private home.

<sup>29</sup> Valuation documents, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

Allan Ramsay Muir, Publisher and Printer, respectively'.<sup>30</sup> William was definitely not financially involved by February 1886, as he was omitted from the Profit & Loss statement found among his papers.<sup>31</sup>

Allan had a modest portfolio in 1882, which included the fifteen-acre property near Nelson, valued at £900, and two properties in Wellington, one of which was shared with William. The latter was worth £1,175 and the former £1,080. William, on the other hand, owned substantially more. That places Allan's assets at around £2,567 mid-way through his farming venture.<sup>32</sup> In spite of his struggle with farming these figures indicate that Allan, and certainly William, were comfortable at a time when much of the country was facing an economic blow-out, for the banks had permitted a 'frenzy of private borrowing',<sup>33</sup> and debt had soared alongside the qualified optimism created by Vogel's heavy investment.

Both William and Allan Muir certainly had a reputation within the printing fraternity, for they grew up within the industry; few others, if any, could claim a lifetime of involvement with the press in New Zealand by 1884. Indeed, the Muir brothers may well have begun their days above the 'shop', for James Muir and family most likely lived in the 'low-roofed dormer windowed lath-and-plaster corner building in Manners Street',<sup>34</sup> that was home to the *NZ Gazette*. The Burgesses [*sic*] roll of 1842 and the Burgess roll of 1843 gave the printers Edward Roe and James Muir as at 'Manners'-street'.<sup>35</sup>

#### THE PRINTING FRATERNITY

There was considerable movement of printers and journalists in New Zealand for half a century, from roughly 1870-1920.<sup>36</sup> Mobility was by no means confined to the printing fraternity, as has been argued in detail by Miles Fairburn, who contends that colonial New Zealand was more an 'atomized' society than a collection of comfortable units. This

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<sup>30</sup> *PBH* 24 July 1885, first change noted; 14 August 1885, colophon changed to specify roles.

<sup>31</sup> ATL, MS-6219-3.

<sup>32</sup> William owned property valued at £1,275 independently; £1,725 was shared between two partners and further partnerships he was involved with amounted to £10,895 – Microfiche, Landholders 1882, NA, Auckland.

<sup>33</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Oxford University Press: London, 1961) pp.132-145.

<sup>34</sup> *Typo*, November 1892, vol.6, no.71, p.84.

<sup>35</sup> Carman (1970) pp.128 & 173.

<sup>36</sup> e.g. the *PBH*'s passing parade of editors from 1874-1896, as listed in chapter 5.

transience, combined with transport difficulties, led to social isolation and loneliness.<sup>37</sup> Historian David Hamer has identified high levels of transience as a characteristic of all new towns in his study of early Australia, the United States, Canada and New Zealand. Men were more committed to themselves and their families than their community, he suggests.<sup>38</sup> In Poverty Bay's case the district's isolation may have helped some, at least those with a financial investment, to engage more fully in the community as they endeavoured to build a cohesive society.

Mobility remained a considerable factor for the press in Poverty Bay well into the 1890s, a decade or so after transience within the colony in general had receded. A sense of belonging within the industry was encouraged, however, by local institutions such as the Gisborne Shorthand Society, the Phonographic Society and an annual football match, with the Press fielding a side against Turanganui.<sup>39</sup>

The printers, in particular, came from a tradition of brotherhood in the British guild system, where bonding was encouraged at least until the early twentieth century by the waygoose (or wayzgoose), an annual event given by a master printer for his journeymen and apprentices.<sup>40</sup> The waygoose could include an annual outing or dinner for members of the printing works. In the new world of Australia and New Zealand, the waygoose transmogrified into the picnic and/or the football match. Another tradition was that members of the printing fraternity helped protect the disadvantaged, and in particular those who tramped the roads in search of work.

It is possible to deduce from the threads left behind that there was an unofficial brotherhood of workers in New Zealand; mostly this was beneficial and ensured a recognition, and often a sense of camaraderie, but not always. Allan Muir, for example, was helped when living frugally in Richmond: 'McCarthy has put me on the free list of the Grey River Argus'.<sup>41</sup> Conversely, after William Muir bought a share of the *PB Herald* his confreres at the *Taranaki Herald*, on the other side of the North Island,

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<sup>37</sup> Miles Fairburn, 'Local Community or Atomized Society?' *The NZJH*, vol.16, no.2, pp. 146-165; Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), isolation pp.191-203; receding atomization p.253.

<sup>38</sup> David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p.10.

<sup>39</sup> *PBH* 26 November 1888; 8 June 1891; *PBH* 15 July 1892. The mobility is further discussed below.

<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey A. Glaister, *Glaister's Glossary of the Book* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), p.509.

<sup>41</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Richmond, 24 May 1881, ATL, MS-6219-1.



published a short, scathing note: The Messrs Muir had bought a Gisborne newspaper 'got up in the interest of the New Zealand Company, of which so much was heard during last session of Parliament. More jobbery we are afraid'.<sup>42</sup>

## POLITICS

The title 'New Zealand Company' is most frequently used to refer to an association formed in Britain in the late 1830s to propagate systematic colonization in New Zealand. It had limited success. Settlement in Wellington and Nelson, for example, began as part of the scheme, but not settlement in Poverty Bay. During the late seventies and the eighties, Poverty Bay was home to a company that was eventually called the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company (Land Company). Finally, a third contender was a proposed New Zealand Company, intended to be a second vehicle for oil exploration. William Muir was connected to the latter in that he and his partners signed a lease to a Christchurch syndicate, the New Zealand Company, to drill for oil on the Waipaoa Block.<sup>43</sup> The *Taranaki Herald*, however, meant the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company.

Promoter-politician and lawyer William Rees, who came to Poverty Bay in 1878, grasped the opportunity to act for the Māori landholders in their disputes with Pākehā land acquirers. What began with trust arrangements organized by Rees and Wi Pere escalated and by 1880 became a company, first called the East Coast Native Land Settlement Company, with capital chiefly subscribed from European settlers. After a tumultuous period, during which the extensive and heated debate to which the *Taranaki Herald* referred took place in Parliament, the Land Company unravelled, leaving the reputations of its promoters, especially Rees, de Lautour and Pere, tarnished. Cecil de Lautour was the principal spokesperson in Parliament and Alan McDonald was also an advocate for a time. The ill-repute of the land company rubbed off on the whole region, which was seen as 'the happy hunting ground of the land-shark, the corrupt official, the sharp lawyer, and as the scene of deliberately contrived exploitation of both Māori and small settler by capitalist and land aggregator'.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cutting in William Muir's papers (nd), ATL, MS-6219.

<sup>43</sup> *PBH* 11 March 1884.

<sup>44</sup> Oliver (1971) p.97 and pp.123-136.

As mentioned in chapter 2, both the *Standard* and the *PB Herald* were aligned with local networks at times, and shareholders of the PB Printing & Publishing Company (the Company) were entangled with the Land Company, although whether their interest was concurrent is not known. For the most part, however, the *Standard* and the *PB Herald* attempted to maintain their independence. Nationally, the *PB Herald* spoke with a conservative voice, critical of Vogel's intense borrowing, which gave almost no benefit to the district, and later concerned about a possible return to the more liberal viewpoint of 'Greyism'.<sup>45</sup> This is examined further in chapter 7.

Politics brushed the newspapers in Poverty Bay in that, as in so many other areas of New Zealand, journalism was a springboard for the local or national stage. For the most part, however, as Morrison found in her study of the country newspapers of Victoria, this occurred less frequently with provincial newspapers.<sup>46</sup> The connection faded as New Zealand matured and the holding of political office and the control of a newspaper both became more specialized occupations.<sup>47</sup> Five of the politicians who held the East Coast seat had a financial connection with the press of the district, often severed by the time they became Members of Parliament. Captain George Read, who supported Webb at the outset of the *Standard*, barely touched the seat (January to August 1876). Alan McDonald (1879 to 1884) had been a mortgagor of the *Standard* and a considerable shareholder of the Company. McDonald, a one-time supporter of the Land Company, caused consternation by leaving the country unexpectedly early in 1884. Samuel Locke, a substantial landholder and the major shareholder in the former Company, took his place. He was a shareholder in the Land Company, but claimed he took shares so that he could comment upon its dealings.<sup>48</sup> Andrew Graham, a shareholder and mortgagor of the former Company, became the local member from 1887 to 1889.<sup>49</sup>

The Muir brothers played no direct part in politics, apart from William's short time as a Wellington councillor, but there is no doubt William knew the political players of the East Coast and Wellington well and, as would be expected, Allan's path crossed on many occasions with the long-serving parliamentarian, James Carroll. William's business

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<sup>45</sup> *PBH* 19 May 1884; 13 March 1886.

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, *The contribution of the country press to the making of Victoria*, PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1991, p.176.

<sup>47</sup> Day (1990) pp. 107-10, pp.134-6, pp.176-81 & pp.234-43.

<sup>48</sup> Oliver (1971) p.160.

interests were with Wellington partners and he was their main connection with Poverty Bay, for he visited Gisborne frequently from around 1881. Some of his dealings were with Robert Cooper, a private land purchase agent at odds with Rees. Cooper offered Muir £250 for getting parties with money 'to enable him to keep faith with the natives and give him a chance of getting back a portion of the money that he [Cooper] had advanced on the block'.<sup>50</sup> Muir did not accept the money. His negotiations for Waipaoa were with Paora Huapu and others, not the Land Company.

Allan Muir was included under his brother's umbrella, for the *Taranaki Herald's* snide shot across the middle of the North Island, so to speak, was aimed at William. The last word on the subject must go to William. There was a rumour circulating, said the *PB Herald*, that the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company 'have purchased the *Herald*; correct, they do so every day for 1d'.<sup>51</sup> With that, William Muir and his partners departed from Gisborne on the SS *Waihora*.<sup>52</sup>

Allan, who arrived in Gisborne with the intention of taking up at least part ownership of the dominant newspaper, was thirty-nine years old at the time. In this he followed his father, James William, who became a part proprietor of the *Wellington Independent* at much the same age.

Robert Coupland Harding, writing in *Typo* in the late eighties, said that being a newspaper proprietor 'must be acknowledged to be one of the leading industries of the colony'. He was not advocating a rush to take up the baton, however. 'No pursuit involves more incessant toil, or taken as a whole, shows a more inadequate return for capital invested', said Coupland Harding.<sup>53</sup> Also, competition was fierce. The Gisborne newspapers experienced on-going competition until finally the *PB Herald* bought the goodwill for its last rival, the *Gisborne Times*, as it closed its doors in 1938. The smaller newspapers in particular found technological advancement a continual challenge. By the 1880s, if a newspaper was published daily, which meant the purchase of a suitable press

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<sup>49</sup> McKay (1982) pp.354-55.

<sup>50</sup> W.M. Muir letter to his wife, Louisa, Gisborne, 20 May 1882?, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>51</sup> *PB Herald* 13 November 1883 – it is my assumption that William was the author of the retort.

<sup>52</sup> *PBH* 16 November 1883 – travel by sea no doubt helped with networking, and among the passengers on that trip were Sir George Grey, Captain Porter, Cecil de Lautour M.H.R. for Mt Ida (South Island, and later Mayor of Gisborne) and James Carroll, (later Sir James), who held the Eastern Māori seat (1887-1893), then the Waiapu Seat (1893-1908). He was half Māori.

and a subscription to a comprehensive news service, it was difficult for an under-capitalized newspaper to compete. Poverty Bay was a good example of this, where the *PB Herald's* rivals tried to compete against the daily with bi- or tri-weekly publication, and folded one by one. Its longest standing rival, the *Gisborne Times*, will be discussed briefly later in this chapter. An apt contemporary description of the fragility of many country newspapers appeared in the *Traralgon Record* in the Australian state of Victoria. This suggested that experiments in journalism in new districts be seen as 'on the Darwinian theory, as a sort of development of species, on the principal [*sic*] of natural selection'.<sup>54</sup>

New Zealand had a large number of newspapers per capita. By April 1887 there were 143 newspapers in the colony. Of these 47 were daily; 15 tri-weekly; 19 bi-weekly and the remainder were weekly journals. The census of 1886 gave the country's European population at nearly 580,000,<sup>55</sup> which, if averaged out, does give an adequate population figure of 12,340 per daily newspaper. When the daily, bi and tri-weekly newspapers are taken together, however, the figure is 7,160 per newspaper. Obviously the average is an inadequate figure, and for some the readership was no doubt below either of these figures. Comparisons fluctuate widely for in England, for example, it was considered necessary to have a population of 20,000 to support one daily newspaper. But in the United States that figure was halved, as 10,000 was considered viable for a daily.<sup>56</sup> By 1889 the number of newspapers registered at New Zealand's General Post Office had increased to 205. Twenty-one new publications were registered during that year as newspapers for transmission by post and four publications had ceased.<sup>57</sup> Names in late nineteenth-century New Zealand were far from original, with fourteen 'Heralds', twenty 'Times' and fifteen called 'Star', for instance.<sup>58</sup>

As explained in the introduction, discussion of all the district's newspapers during the thirty-year period that encompassed Allan Muir's span at the helm of the *PB Herald*

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<sup>53</sup> *Typo*, 26 February 1887, vol.1, no.2, p.10.

<sup>54</sup> *Traralgon Record*, 14 December 1885, in Morrison (1991), p.230.

<sup>55</sup> Newspaper data – *Typo*, 26 April 1887, vol.1, no.4, p.35; Census data – *The NZ Official Year-Book 1906*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1906) p.462.

<sup>56</sup> R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976), p.180.

<sup>57</sup> *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (NZ), vol.II, (1890), Post & Telegraph Department Report for the Year 1889, p. viii.

<sup>58</sup> *Typo*, 26 April 1887, vol.1, no.4, p.35.

(1884 to 1914) will be broken into three decades. These segments are not uniform because the litigation of the eighties, together with the political in-fighting over land and the district's harbour facilities, in particular, made the first decade especially eventful. As the century came to a close, matters calmed down, New Zealand began to prosper and the East Coast region shared in the general improvement.

### **Poverty Bay Newspapers: 1884-1893**

Gisborne's European population grew strongly, but not explosively, during the decade. In 1886 the European population of Gisborne was 2,194. During the ensuing years the town and suburbs were amalgamated, and by 1896 the census showed the expanded area to have a population of 3,826. This underscores modest confidence in the town, but the figures do not include the wider district nor the Māori population.<sup>59</sup> As outlined above, this was a small number to support a daily newspaper and though the *PB Herald* was the longest serving newspaper in the district, it was by no means alone during the decade. Brief details of the other newspapers are given below:

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<sup>59</sup> J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. McKay, 1982) p.387; *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) p.191.

<i>Name of newspaper</i>	<i>Date commenced</i>	<i>Details of operation</i>	<i>Date ceased</i>	<i>Proprietor/s</i>
① <i>PB Independent</i>	7 March 1885	Weekly: Saturday Price 2d Tri-weekly: Tues., Thurs., & Sat. 7 July 1885 - Price 1d From 18 July 1885 2d on Saturdays. Probably reverted to weekly before it closed	14 or 22 August 1888	Colophon: Baldwin and Fisher 30 May 1885 – Fisher out 3 July 1886 – Flora Baldwin (John Baldwin in difficulties)
② <i>Gisborne Standard &amp; Cook County Gazette</i>	9 June 1887	Tri-weekly: morning	Late 1891 or 1892 (unconfirmed)	i) George Adams ii) Public Trustees iii) End 1887 – bought by a company iv) George South v) mid 1888 – John A. Laing vi) 19 Feb 1889 – Gisborne Standard Newspaper Co., vii) December 1889 – W.E. Akroyd
③ <i>New Zealand Standard</i>	April 1892		? Before 10 December 1892	Edward Smyrk

The continual inclusion of the word *Standard*, in various formats, clouds the fact that the newspaper was a chameleon during its twenty-year history, changing its colours and ownership with regularity, as is detailed in the previous chapter in particular.

Unfortunately holdings of the long defunct newspapers are incomplete; therefore missing pieces remain in the jigsaw of who, how and when.

1. John Baldwin and John Fisher, previously printer and short-term owner of the *Telephone*, first issued the *PB Independent* from Porter's Hall, Customhouse Street. Fisher was a nominal proprietor and by May he was bankrupt and left the partnership. Baldwin ran into difficulties with one of the *Telephone*'s proprietors, Captain Porter, in whose premises the plant rested after the *Telephone* ceased. Two months elapsed

between the *Telephone*'s closure and the birth of the *PB Independent*. During this time Porter claimed Webb and Fisher used the plant for job printing, whereas Baldwin testified in court that it was lying idle. Whatever, Baldwin's negotiations to buy the equipment, with two amounts mentioned – £500 and £452, depending upon the terms – failed, and Porter sold to Edmund P. Joyce. According to Porter two other offers were forthcoming, one from Alfred Croft (his former partner in the *Telephone*) for £400, and one for £450 from Napier.<sup>60</sup>

The *PB Independent* was a small newspaper with six pages of three columns initially. It moved to four pages of five columns on 18 April 1885, and changed its masthead. With a further revamp on 2 May, the newspaper announced that regular subscribers would receive an illustrated literary supplement with each issue. It is not known how many supplements were provided. The masthead became more professional on 4 July 1885, with the conservative, open version of black letter type.

Baldwin was the sole proprietor by 30 May 1885. He moved premises around 17 December 1885, to the former *Telephone* offices, Gladstone Road. He announced his plant was now capable of turning out three large newspapers; besides he had a 'jobbing plant seldom equalled even in a large town'.<sup>61</sup> The plant did produce two newspapers for a short time: the *PB Independent* and the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette*. Sadly for Baldwin, his promise of a bright, independent, well-equipped newspaper faltered and he probably struggled with his repayments to Joyce, for the plant was sold in 1886 to representatives of George Adams who, as an editor of the *PB Herald*, is mentioned in detail in chapter 5. Baldwin was certainly under pressure by May 1886, when a report in the *PB Herald* stated he had ceased to pay rent for his house on 10 May.<sup>62</sup>

It appears Joyce stepped in as proprietor of the *PB Independent* towards the end. Baldwin continued as editor and publisher, with composing assistance from his wife, Flora. Her name appeared on the colophon from 3 July 1886. The newspaper may have reverted to a weekly before it folded in 1888. Coupland Harding suggested that it

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<sup>60</sup> *PB Independent* 3 July 1886.

<sup>61</sup> *PB Independent* 10 December 1885.

<sup>62</sup> *PBH* 2 July 1887.

may 'be too soon to speak of it as dead. We would not be surprised to see this irrepressible paper in the field again at an early date'.<sup>63</sup> The pressures were too much, however, and the result of a criminal libel case in 1888, for which Joyce provided surety of £100, was that Baldwin was sentenced to eighteen months gaol in Napier, where he died on Christmas Day.<sup>64</sup>

2. Events surrounding the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* are somewhat hazy, although it is known that it changed hands frequently. George Adams, or his agents, began the tri-weekly *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* with Baldwin's plant newly acquired from Joyce presumably. Baldwin continued producing the *PB Independent* for a further year. After Adam's death in December 1887 the paper was placed in the hands of the Public Trustee and later sold to a company, which included John Townley, Captain W.H. Tucker, J.H. Stubbs, George South and John Coleman, together with Hamilton T. Jones, who became editor and manager.<sup>65</sup> Coleman, as a valuer, had precise details about their competitor, the *PB Herald*, and Jones also had considerable knowledge, for he joined the *PB Herald* as a journalist in 1879.<sup>66</sup> He continued as editor of the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* probably until he left for Australia around 12 November 1891.<sup>67</sup>

Next George South took control of the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* and by approximately mid 1888 Mr (afterwards Dr) John Laing became the proprietor, with Jones as publisher.<sup>68</sup> W.E. Akroyd, who was secretary during all or part of the company's ownership, purchased the property around December 1889.<sup>69</sup>

The depression years of 1888 and 1889 strengthened the Liberal cause in New Zealand and the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* was one of a number of small, ailing newspapers that supported John Ballance's Liberal government that came to power in 1890. So many of these small publications sought financial support that Ballance, who wore two hats – that of former newspaper proprietor (the Wanganui

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<sup>63</sup> *Typo*, 29 September 1888, vol.2, no.21, p.84.

<sup>64</sup> Muir family papers (A); *PBH* 24 August 1888; 25 August 1888; 29 December 1888.

<sup>65</sup> Muir family papers (A); Scholefield (1958) p.154.

<sup>66</sup> Valuation, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>67</sup> *PBH* 8 June 1891; 12 November 1891.

<sup>68</sup> Muir family papers (A); McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006, p.20.

<sup>69</sup> Muir family papers (A); *Typo*, 28 January 1890, vol.4, no.37, p.12.



*Evening Herald*) and politician – felt it necessary to refuse them all.<sup>70</sup> There are no records for the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* beyond 31 October 1891.

3. Scholefield gives Edward Smyrk as the probable founder of the *Lyall Times and Central Buller Gazette* in 1880. He understood from W.D. Lusty that Smyrk started ‘a *New Zealand Standard* in Gisborne about 1892’.<sup>71</sup> Smyrk arrived in Gisborne early in 1892 and purchased the *Standard* on 1 April, paying £450 in half-yearly instalments, with interest at 7½ per cent. If payments were made regularly, there was to be a rebate of £50. Smyrk brought £100 with him, which included £75 from friends in Westport.<sup>72</sup>

Smyrk’s *NZ Standard* was aligned with the Liberal Party, and when the working expenses proved heavier than anticipated he sought their assistance to float a company. As mentioned, Ballance made the decision that the government could not help all those who sought aid and, by 10 December, Smyrk filed for bankruptcy. Besides Smyrk, as no doubt editor and manager, others employed were: C.H. Petherick, journalist; J. Christie, parliamentary reporter in Wellington; W. Masterson, compositor; T.G. Austin, machinist; D.E.C. Brown, book-keeper; and correspondents in Auckland and Wellington.<sup>73</sup>

Smyrk’s creditors were paid 4/- in the £1, with the exception of Petherick, who had first wished to become a partner. He received 10/- in the £1 as he had collected book debts and paid off some of the creditors. The *PB Herald* report stated the plant had ‘gone back to Mr W.E. Akroyd’.<sup>74</sup> Whether Akroyd continued publishing for a time is not known, but it is doubtful.

Government advertising figures give some indication of the life of the two *Standards*. During the period 1891-92 the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* was paid £31.18.3. The list does not differentiate between the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* and the *NZ Standard*, but dramatically reduced figures for the following two years suggest that

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<sup>70</sup> T. McIvor, *The Rainmaker* (Auckland: Heinemann Reid, 1989) p.196.

<sup>71</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.256 & 154.

<sup>72</sup> *PBH* 14 December 1892 – details of Smyrk’s arrival, his financial transactions and his bankruptcy.

<sup>73</sup> *PBH* 10 December 1892.

<sup>74</sup> *PBH* 14 December 1892.

both newspapers operated for part of a year; the 1891-92 figure of 6/3d was most likely for advertising at the end of the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette*'s life. Advertising for 1892-93 amounted to £3.15.0; this perhaps went to Smryk's *NZ Standard*. There were no figures given for 1893-94 and 1894-95; this suggests the various forms of *Standard* ended during 1892.<sup>75</sup>

### LITIGATION DURING THE PERIOD 1884-1893

Civil litigation was widespread in colonial New Zealand, a contributing factor being the paucity of social interaction and thus little in the way of an 'escape valve', or the lack of possibilities for mediation.<sup>76</sup> It has already been noted that Poverty Bay was a particularly litigious district. Law was a leading industry, but not all the courts sat in Gisborne. This meant litigants, witnesses and lawyers for the more serious cases were required to travel either to Napier or to Wellington. Much time, money and emotional energy must have been expended by many.

During the decade under discussion, two newspapers were particularly affected: the *PB Independent* and the *PB Herald*. The *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette*, which appeared in June 1887, managed to avoid any major court appearances. Chrisp & Muir, and later Allan Muir, sued for small amounts and, during the heavy bankruptcies of the eighties, they also found themselves creditors in bankrupt estates fairly regularly.<sup>77</sup> The amounts were always containable. By late 1886 and for much of 1887, however, their legal involvement escalated dramatically as they faced several libel actions. Some of their confrontations were with Baldwin at the *PB Independent*, and their battles in 1887 were of sufficient interest for the industry journal to report that Gisborne had 'a good crop of libel actions' and was living up to its reputation for 'quarrels and litigation'.<sup>78</sup>

Details are given below of the litigation that affected the *PB Herald*. These are in chronological order, with full names used once only:

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<sup>75</sup> *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (NZ), H.-32A (1895), p 2.

<sup>76</sup> This is discussed in Fairburn (1989) pp. 109 & 225-229 and extended by Clyde Griffen's review 'From a Vantage Point of North American Studies', *The NZJH*, vol.25, no.2, October 1991, pp.104-109.

<sup>77</sup> for example *PBH* 20 May 1887 – Chrisp & Muir unsecured creditors of Ferris, £10.

<sup>78</sup> *Typo*, 30 July 1887, vol.1, no.7, p.55.

1. Thomas Chrisp and Allan Ramsay Muir v. Edward John Beresford of Makaraka, hotel keeper – a civil case heard in the Supreme Court

Writ No.243, 12 July 1886: Beresford's debt to Chrisp & Muir was £34.17.0 – by comparison, this was more than two and a half months' salary for their editor at the time.<sup>79</sup> By June 1888 Beresford was bankrupt, owing Muir £18.0.0; it was considered a fair bankruptcy, as opposed to those in the district who avoided their liabilities by claiming bankruptcy.<sup>80</sup>

2. Baldwin v. Chrisp and Muir – criminal libel

Writ No. 273, 27 November 1886:<sup>81</sup> This charge grew out of a disagreement between factions at the Harbor Board, and an alleged agent, John Baldwin, proprietor of the rival newspaper. The *PB Independent* and the *PB Herald* clashed, with the latter abusing Baldwin mercilessly. For example, the paper said Baldwin was 'used as a catspaw'... 'and like a frog blown out with his importance, got up and croaked to the full extent of his lung power...'<sup>82</sup> His character was further slated when the *PB Herald* claimed he performed in a somewhat similar manner at Borough Council meetings, and what was more, he 'was under the influence of liquor'.<sup>83</sup>

Baldwin and his solicitor, W.L. Rees, who was no friend of the *PB Herald*, challenged and pursued the case through many courts. A writ of £500 was issued for criminal libel and, after negotiation between lawyers, the matter went before a grand jury at the Supreme Court in Wellington, which found 'No bill'.<sup>84</sup> A special jury of four later heard a civil claim in Gisborne. The jury found for the defendants. A notice of motion was filed for a new hearing at Gisborne on 9 July 1887.<sup>85</sup> The case eventually disappeared.

Baldwin appears to be an example of a personality who could not cope with the challenges of trying to make a living in what was still a frontier society. He was not

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<sup>79</sup> SCAR, p.134, NA, Auckland, BAJI 5824/3a. See chapter 6 for details of editor's salary.

<sup>80</sup> *PBH* 9 June 1888.

<sup>81</sup> SCAR p.152.

<sup>82</sup> *PBH* 24 November 1886.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *PBH* 27 June 1887.

<sup>85</sup> SCAR p.152.

psychologically strong enough to take opposing sides against the established *PB Herald*. Liquor sometimes got the better of him but, worse, he had entered a public house with a revolver ‘loaded in all six chambers’. He was pushed out before any harm was done.<sup>86</sup>

3. Walter Leslie v. Chrisp and Muir – at the Resident Magistrates’ (RM) Court

Claim No. L43 was heard at the RM Court on 20 December 1886. The case of inadequate compensation for former editor, Leslie, is discussed in chapter 5. Chrisp & Muir were charged to pay the plaintiff £45.<sup>87</sup>

4. Chrisp and Muir v. Baldwin – at the RMs’ Court, Gisborne

Early 1887 was particularly active; this time it was Chrisp & Muir preferring a charge against Baldwin for breach of the ‘Electric Lines Act, 1884’. An extract from an overseas telegram received from Reuters and published in the *PB Herald* on 28 February 1887 appeared in the *PB Independent* before the protected period of eighteen hours elapsed. The case was overturned, with Baldwin’s defence being that he obtained his news from his agent Mr Hardcastle in Napier, through the regular telegraph channels.<sup>88</sup>

On more than one occasion the Press Association also took action for piracy of messages against Baldwin but ‘always came off second-best’.<sup>89</sup>

4. Willoughby Brassey of Gisborne, solicitor, v. Chrisp and Muir – libel case heard in the Supreme Court, Wellington

Writ No. 317, 28 May 1887 and later, Writ No. 468, 8 October 1889 against Muir as sole proprietor.<sup>90</sup> This was the most time-consuming and testing case with high stakes, for Brassey sued the defendants for £5,000. Brassey, one of many solicitors working in Poverty Bay, was dismissed as the County Solicitor before May 1886. This case, concerning the mismanagement of a trust cheque for £155.1.8, was extensively reported. After filibustering by Brassey and delay by the County Council, the matter

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<sup>86</sup> *PBH* 14 January 1887; 27 January 1887.

<sup>87</sup> *PBH* 20 December 1886; 14 January 1887.

<sup>88</sup> *PBH* 23 March 1887; 26 March 1887.

<sup>89</sup> *Typo*, 26 April 1890, vol.4, no.40, p.47.

<sup>90</sup> SCAR pp.178 & 272.

was referred by the latter to the Law Society, Wellington.<sup>91</sup> Part of the case hinged on this for Brassey claimed the power of the press, in this case the *PB Herald*, influenced the Council's decision. The plaintiff also alleged that the *PB Herald* had published a defamatory piece upon receipt of a telegram from Wellington.<sup>92</sup> The trial on 7 July 1887 in Wellington was before a special jury of twelve. Judgment was found for the defendants on 30 July 1887, with costs of £197.14.4.<sup>93</sup>

Brassey remained as a solicitor in Gisborne but by 1888 he was declared bankrupt. There was no room for sensitivities in the small town and the newspaper reported on the public querying of the accuracy of his accounts. Both Chrisp and Muir attended the creditors' meetings: Muir was owed £150 and Chrisp £8.<sup>94</sup> Nearly two years later Brassey attempted to reopen his earlier case. By this time Muir alone was the defendant in the amount of £5,000. His solicitor filed his defence on 15 October 1889.<sup>95</sup> The matter went no further.

5. Edward Francis Ward, solicitor, Gisborne, v. Muir

Writ No. 332, 18 September 1887: Ward, a former chairman of the PB Printing & Publishing Company, filed the Writ for £300. A statement to defend was filed on 29 September but presumably the matter was settled as nothing further was recorded.<sup>96</sup>

6. Muir v. Michael Joseph Gannon

Writ No. 384, 31 May 1888: Gannon, a licensed interpreter, was publisher of *Te Waka Maori* for a time and editor of the short-lived *Takitimu*. Muir entered a charge against Gannon for £58.13.6, with costs of £2.6.6. The case was transferred from the Supreme Court to the RMs' Court in Gisborne, whose decision saw the case head back to the Supreme Court.<sup>97</sup> The register does not record the outcome.

Baldwin's health suffered seriously during the litigious period. Though Chrisp & Muir won the larger court cases, bad debts and tension must have drained the *PB Herald's* resources, especially towards the end of the decade.

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<sup>91</sup> Discussions of the Brassey case began in May 1886 (*PBH* 3 May 1886; 14 May 1886) and occupied the press for months. The case was reported from 2 July 1887.

<sup>92</sup> *PBH* 2 July 1887; 4 July 1887.

<sup>93</sup> SCAR p.178.

<sup>94</sup> *PBH* 15 February 1888; 29 February 1888.

<sup>95</sup> SCAR p.272.

<sup>96</sup> SCAR p.192.

## The *Poverty Bay Herald*

### GENERAL

Although this chapter is summarized as stability and continuity over a thirty-year period, the description is somewhat erroneous for the first decade at the *PB Herald*, as is illustrated above. With hindsight, however, it may be asserted that the arrival of Allan Ramsay Muir and his five sons, Allan Leonard (Lennie), Frederick Percy (Fred)<sup>98</sup>, Charles William, Stanley and Bruce, led to valuable continuity for the *PB Herald*. The same may be said for the Chrisp family. Though Captain Chrisp moved on in 1887, his son, Walter H. Chrisp, joined in 1885 and became secretary in 1908. He served the *PB Herald* for sixty years.<sup>99</sup>

Thomas Chrisp tried to sell his partnership in 1884; William was not interested and Allan was probably not able to buy the business outright. Chrisp appears to have distanced himself somewhat, for during the Brassey court case he testified that he had not been a writer for some time. Also, he was in Auckland during the early part of 1885.<sup>100</sup> The dissolution of his partnership with Muir was announced on the same day as judgment was heard in the Brassey case.<sup>101</sup> Allowance of £150 was made from Chrisp to Muir on account of the libel actions.<sup>102</sup> Thus, Allan Muir became the sole proprietor of the *PB Herald* from 30 July 1887. The memo of transfer dated 27 July 1887 exists. In it A.R. Muir [agrees to] 'paying the sum named and relieving the said T. Chrisp of all liabilities present or future in connection with the paper'. A no doubt relieved Chrisp was paid £1,300.<sup>103</sup>

Unfortunately there are no letters to give flesh to Muir's experiences in the early days as a newspaper proprietor beyond that of 27 November 1884. The newspaper did not suddenly spring into life with an experienced printer at the helm. In fact the management team probably experienced difficulty working together, for the newspaper remained

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<sup>97</sup> SCAR p.228.

<sup>98</sup> Allan Leonard was commonly known as Lennie and Frederick Percy as Fred – from here on these abbreviations are adopted within the thesis.

<sup>99</sup> McKay (1982) p.385.

<sup>100</sup> *PBH* 22 May 1885, Captain Chrisp arrived on the *Wairapapa* – had a good run of 24½ hours from Auckland.

<sup>101</sup> *PBH* 30 July 1887.

<sup>102</sup> Valuation 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>103</sup> Memo from Chrisp & Muir 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

somewhat flat. The newspaper began to pick up about the time Allan R. Muir's name appeared on the colophon in July 1885, with wider editorial coverage.

Management was tightened, and by October 1885 credit was not available for the smaller advertiser. Anything less than 3/- was to be paid in cash or was charged at the higher amount.<sup>104</sup>

## ECONOMIC DATA

### *Profit and loss*

Economic data for nineteenth-century newspapers is rare, as mentioned in chapter 1. Three relevant documents remain for the *PB Herald*: the Statement of Assets and Liabilities for the year ending February 1886, a comprehensive valuation given by John Coleman on 27 July 1887, and a memorandum signed by 'Thos. Chrisp and A.R. Muir', in which they agreed to abide by the award of Mr W. Coleman, in the amount of £1300. Coleman's three-page document gave considerable detail and it is thus possible to record movement in the business from 1883. These documents are a valuable historical record for, in New Zealand, as in Australia, newspaper offices seem to have destroyed their old financial records.<sup>105</sup> Copies of these documents are attached as Appendices E, F and G.

The profit and loss for the years 1883 to 1886 was as follows:

<u>June 1883</u>	-- for a thirteen month period but given as 'at the rate of' £800 p.a.
1884	-- 'probably part of the year... appear to have been made and sunk in the business'
	£373
<u>1885</u>	£500 p.a.
<u>1886</u>	£500 p.a. <sup>106</sup>

### *Assets and liabilities*

February 1886	Assets	£3,183
	Liabilities	£32
	Partner's capital	£1,600
	made up as follows:	
	Allan Ramsay Muir (interest 1 year)	£1,100
	Amounts withdrawn (plus 10% thereon)	300      £800
	Thomas Chrisp (interest 1 year)	£1,100
	Amounts withdrawn (plus 10% thereon)	300      £800
		£1,600 <sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *PBH* 6 October 1885.

<sup>105</sup> Walker (1976), p.180.

<sup>106</sup> Valuation 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

### *Valuation*

20 February 1884 (when W. Muir bought his partnership)			<b>£2,100.0.0</b>
20 February 1885 (when W. Muir declined to buy Chrisp's share at £1,200)			
arrived at as follows:			
Fresh plant	£200		
Liabilities paid off	<u>£173</u>		
			<b>£2,473.0.0</b>
27 July 1887			
Depreciation of plant (February 1884-July 1887)			
@ 25% in £1,000.0.0.		£250.0.0	
Estimated liability – libel actions		<u>£150.0.0</u>	<b>£2,073.0.0</b>
Book debts (Feb. 1884-July 1887)	£1,551.15.6		
(June 1883)	<u>£1,166.16.9</u>		
Increase	£384.18.9		
Less 20% off balance	<u>£69.15.9</u>		£315.3.0
Liabilities (June 1883)	£175.0.0		
(July 1887)	<u>£31.15.0</u>		£143.5.0
		Total value	<b><u>£2,531.8.0</u></b>
Machinery and plant			£823.2.10
Book debts as above, less 15% (£232.15.3)			£1,319.0.3
Contents of offices (estimate)			<u>£75.0.0</u>
			<b>£2,217.3.1</b>
Less liabilities	£31.15.0		
Less liability for law suits	<u>£150.0.0</u>		£181.15.0
The value, exclusive of goodwill was			<b>£2,035.8.1</b>

Coleman's conclusion was that an equal half share of the property was £1,300, making the overall valuation as at 27 July 1887

**£2,600.0.0**<sup>108</sup>

When arriving at this figure, Coleman took into account that the

paper is more firmly established as the leading journal in the district than in former years; but considering all the circumstances and especially the establishment of other newspapers, the existing depression, and the reduced value of property of all descriptions in the colony, I am of the opinion that the goodwill at the present time is not of much more value than when in February 1885 Mr William Muir declined to purchase a half share at £1,200.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> ATL MS-6219-3.

<sup>108</sup> Valuation 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.



Of the scant figures available with which to compare, the *Evening Herald* in Wanganui, a newspaper established in 1867, is perhaps marginally comparable. In 1882 its capital when it became a company, combined with the *Yeoman* (a weekly), was set at £7,500, with shares at £10. Profit for the *Evening Herald* was £600 in 1889 and £480 in 1891.<sup>110</sup>

#### **PREMISES**

Chrisp and Muir extended the lease on part of Section 53 for a further five years from 31 December 1886. The leases from Mokena Kohere changed hands frequently, and Muir and others sub-let until Muir bought Lot no. 2 in 1897.<sup>111</sup>

#### **SUMMARY**

The long talked of reduction in the cable tariff came about in July 1886 and this brought about a small increase in cable news within the newspaper. Editorial coverage, from which the standard of a newspaper may be assessed, fluctuated markedly. This could happen from month to month; for instance a selection of strong editorials appeared in January 1886, but the following month was particularly erratic. Much the same happened around February and March 1887. The format of the *PB Herald* grew more consistent over the period from 1884 to 1894. A healthy number of advertisements were run, with moderate white space within the display which lightened the general appearance. By 1894, with volume XXI, no. 6866, the newspaper was still four pages, each of seven columns, and the cost remained at 1d.

#### **Poverty Bay Newspapers: 1894-1903**

As with the previous decade, the *PB Herald* was not alone during this period. The other newspapers were as follows:

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<sup>110</sup> R. Harvey, 'Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.17, no.2, 1993, pp.74-5.

<sup>111</sup> Leasehold document and Application no. 1167 for Certificate of Title for Section 53, Township of Gisborne, Land Information Office, Gisborne.

<i>Name of newspaper</i>	<i>Date commenced</i>	<i>Details of operation</i>	<i>Date ceased</i>	<i>Proprietor/s</i>
① <i>Gisborne Star</i>	?1892 or 1894	Weekly	?1892 or 1894	J. Walter Bull
② <i>Telephone</i>	6 July 1895	Weekly: Saturday Bi-weekly from 1899	29 December 1900 Incorporated into the <i>Gisborne Times</i>	i) E.J. Wilkinson & H.T. Jones ii) H.T. Jones, E.A. Slack & W.J. Gaudin
③ <i>Gisborne Times</i>	2 January 1901	Daily – morning		March 1903: Proprietors: H.T. Jones & W.J. Gaudin; Publisher: H.T. Jones
④ <i>Te Pīwhararua He Kupu Whakamarama</i>	March 1898 (Nelson) November 1899 (Gisborne)		July 1913	First printed in Nelson; moved to Gisborne – printed by H. Williams, Te Rau Press

1. The weekly *Gisborne Star* was another ephemeral journal. Walter Bull bought the former *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette's* plant after the paper ceased.<sup>112</sup> It is not certain if the *Gisborne Star* appeared before or after Smryk's *NZ Standard*. The plant went back to Akroyd when the *Gisborne Star* ceased after a few months.<sup>113</sup> No copies remain.
2. The precise partnership arrangements of the second *Telephone* are difficult to assess, thus the table illustrates a close approximation only. The mobility mentioned earlier affected almost all the men involved as they moved in and out of the district. Edward John Wilkinson lived in Gisborne during 1891 at least, but his residency was not continuous; for ten years later his marriage registration gave his time in Gisborne as one and three-quarter years.<sup>114</sup> The second *Telephone* was tabloid size, with twelve pages. The only issue held at the Alexander Turnbull Library is not numbered, but a notice giving production details suggests it was an early issue, if not the first. Its outer pages are pink. The *Telephone* cost one shilling per month in town, and four

<sup>112</sup> Muir family papers (A); Scholefield (1958) p.154.

<sup>113</sup> Muir family papers (A).

shillings per quarter in the country. The proprietors were Wilkinson and Hamilton T. Jones, with Wilkinson as printer.<sup>115</sup>

By 1899 ownership of the *Telephone* had passed to Jones, Slack and probably Gaudin.<sup>116</sup> Jones who, as mentioned, worked with both the *PB Herald* and the *Gisborne Standard*,<sup>117</sup> worked in the Manning River & Parkes Districts of New South Wales from 1891 until at least 1895. He returned to Gisborne as a visitor in March 1895 and took up residency again somewhat later.<sup>118</sup> After his time as part proprietor of the *Gisborne Times*, he rejoined the *PB Herald* in or before 1915. He was still there in 1924, as sub-editor, when the Jubilee issue recorded him as having joined the firm forty-five years before.<sup>119</sup> Journalist Walter Gaudin arrived in Gisborne in 1899. He withdrew from the *Gisborne Times* in 1903.<sup>120</sup> E. Slack, a machinist, was the most consistent resident. He moved from the first *Telephone* to the *PB Herald* shortly after Allan Muir's arrival in 1884, and was employed there probably until 1899.

Scholefield gives the later *Telephone* as bi-weekly; it was most likely tri-weekly, however, as stated by the *NZ Mail*.<sup>121</sup> One copy exists in Gisborne, that of 31 October 1899, at which stage the newspaper was bi-weekly.<sup>122</sup>

3. By 1901 the proprietors of the *Telephone* considered Gisborne could support two daily newspapers. As touched upon, a momentous change had taken place in New Zealand's politics in December 1890 when the Liberals, led by John Ballance, displaced the conservative government. It took nearly ten more years before they had control of the Upper House as well, however, by which stage Richard Seddon was leader as Ballance had died.<sup>123</sup> Though the earlier two Liberal newspapers did not

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<sup>114</sup> Member of the Phonographic Society 1891, *PBH* 8 June 1891; Marriage Certificate no. 1235, 28 October 1901, (aged 30), NA, Auckland.

<sup>115</sup> *Telephone* held at the ATL.

<sup>116</sup> Scholefield (1958), p.154.

<sup>117</sup> *Stubb's* (1886).; *PBH* 26 January 1886; publisher during Laing's proprietorship (1888) – McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, p.26.

<sup>118</sup> *PBH* 21 March 1895.

<sup>119</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924.

<sup>120</sup> Marriage Certificate no. 1548, 17 March 1905, (aged 32), NA, Auckland; Scholefield (1958) p.155.

<sup>121</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.154; *NZ Mail* 17 January 1901, p.20b.

<sup>122</sup> 28 October 1899, held by the H.B. Williams Memorial Library, Gisborne.

<sup>123</sup> Sinclair (1961) pp.146-163.

succeed in Gisborne, many in the Poverty Bay district felt they needed a Liberal voice in contrast to the conservative *PB Herald* and, with some courage, for the census of 1906 gave the combined Waiapu and Cook Counties and Gisborne Borough as only 13,695 Europeans,<sup>124</sup> they upgraded their publication to a four-page morning newspaper under the title, the *Gisborne Times*. The *NZ Mail* saluted its birth. The district was showing 'remarkable advance' and the new four-page newspaper was 'of most respectable dimensions and well printed'. The proprietors may have had some financial backing, but that is unknown. The *NZ Mail* said:

The political tone of the newspaper is one of dignified independence, and the number and variety of advertisements is a striking proof of the favour with which the new venture has been received by the business people of the district.<sup>125</sup>

The venture was a success, as is discussed in the segment dealing with 1904 to 1914 below.

4. The Māori newspaper of the time began as *He Kupu Whakamarama*, and became *Te Pipiwharauoa He Kupu Whakamarama* in December 1898. Its editor in Gisborne was the Rev. R.T. Kohere. Publication was in the Māori language. It was considered a 'creditable production'.<sup>126</sup>

As communication improved the *PB Herald* began to face competition from outside the district. It was bare competition, however, as, with no rail link north or south, delivery was by sea. By July 1900 newspapers advertised were: the *Auckland Weekly News*, the *New Zealand Graphic*, the *Christchurch Press*, the *Canterbury Times* 'etc'.<sup>127</sup> Three were weeklies designed to reach more isolated areas, and as such appropriate to the East Coast district. The only daily, the *Press*, was in a completely different league from the weeklies and the resident Gisborne newspapers. Begun in 1861, the *Press* was a heavy-weight with a high literary standard. The marginally younger south island weekly, the *Canterbury Times*, regularly featured half-tone illustrations by 1894. Of the two Auckland weeklies, the *Auckland Weekly News* and the *New Zealand Graphic*, the former was the older. It was the successor of two weekly newspapers begun in 1863, and by 1877 its current owners, the *New Zealand Herald*, named their publication the *Auckland*

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<sup>124</sup> *The NZ Official Year-Book 1906*, p.464.

<sup>125</sup> *NZ Mail* 17 January 1901, p.20b.

<sup>126</sup> Muir family papers (A).

<sup>127</sup> *PBH* 17 July 1900.

*Weekly News*. Illustrations were introduced in 1898. The other Auckland weekly newspaper to come to Poverty Bay, the *Auckland Star's New Zealand Graphic*, was founded in 1890. It carried more news and was illustrated from the outset. It was incorporated in the *Auckland Weekly* in 1913.<sup>128</sup>

As the market increased so did the services. Crawford Brothers Book Arcade advertisement in 1898 offered the latest editions of colonial newspapers at published prices.<sup>129</sup> By now, however, the *PB Herald* was well established and not threatened by competition.

#### **LITIGATION DURING THE PERIOD 1894-1904**

The pattern of press litigation changed dramatically over the thirty-year period. In this decade Allan Muir alone faced two more writs:

1. Daniel Fogerty et al, hotelkeepers, vs. Muir

Writ No. 629, 16 March 1894: The plaintiffs sued Muir for £1,500 for libel. Settlement out of court saw the case discontinued by 21 March 1894.<sup>130</sup>

2. Hugh Charles Thomson, journalist, vs. Muir

Writ No.643, 4 July 1894: The two cases were connected in that Thomson's editorial decision to publish matter considered unacceptable by the publicans resulted in his summary dismissal by Muir. The case is discussed in chapter 5.<sup>131</sup>

### **The Poverty Bay Herald**

#### **PREMISES**

The lease was renewed once more. A further five and a half years passed, from 17 October 1891 to 24 August 1897, before Muir purchased his premises, Lot 2 of Section 53, from George Matthewson. Matthewson and Alan McDonald had bought the lease for twenty-one years from Kohere in 1873<sup>6</sup> for £750. In 1897 Section 53 was valued at £2,550. For his portion of twenty-four perches Muir paid £1,800. The buildings consisted of a shop facing Gladstone Road and the printing office to the rear. A right of

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<sup>128</sup> Scholefield (1958), pp.86-90, 216-220.

<sup>129</sup> *PBH* 30 July 1898.

<sup>130</sup> SCAR p. 395.

<sup>131</sup> SCAR p. 410.

way between the *PB Herald* and Mrs Browne's Repository led to a back yard complete with shed, poplar tree and bounded by an iron fence.<sup>132</sup>

Limited renovations were undertaken in 1900 to accommodate the two linotype machines. The newspaper announced publication would take place at noon to enable 'certain alterations to be done in the office'.<sup>133</sup>

#### SUMMARY

As the *PB Herald* prospered, along with its local community and New Zealand in general, attempts were made at the *PB Herald* to give greater coverage without actually moving from four to eight pages. This is examined in chapter 7. Poverty Bay's difficult internal communication led the newspaper to issue two editions from 1901. The earlier edition went to country subscribers. The *Waikato Times* was one of the first newspapers to publish two editions according to Scholefield, who does not give a precise time. Both newspapers appear to have made the forward step about the same time.<sup>134</sup>

The price of the *PB Herald* remained at 1d.

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<sup>132</sup> Application no. 1167 for Certificate of Title for Section 53, Township of Gisborne and Plan of subdivisions 1 & 2, DP 1110, no. 494, June 1898, Land Information Office, Gisborne.

<sup>133</sup> *PBH* 26 October 1900.

<sup>134</sup> Scholefield (1958), p.119.

## Poverty Bay Newspapers: 1904-1914

<i>Name of newspaper</i>	<i>Date commenced</i>	<i>Details of operation</i>	<i>Date ceased</i>	<i>Proprietor/s</i>
① <i>Gisborne Times</i>	2 January 1901	Daily – mornings	1938	H.T. Jones & W.J.P. Gaudin Publisher: H.T. Jones Became a company in July 1906 Gisborne Times Co. Publisher: i) H.T. Jones ii) James Attridge Connell (14.8.06); iii) Eric Alfred Muis (15.5.07); iv) T. Clarkson (13.8.07); v) Joseph A. Mackay (3.1.11)
<i>Te Pipiwharauoa</i>	November 1899 (Gisborne)		July 1913	printed by H. Williams, Te Rau Press
② <i>Waiapu Advocate</i>	13 August 1902		?	Rev. J. Paterson & Rev. B.F. Rothwell
③ <i>New Era</i>	1911	Weekly	?	Printed by the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd.

- Ownership changed three times at the *Gisborne Times* during the early years. It first moved from a partnership to an incorporated company, the Gisborne Times Company. Capital was declared as £10,000, with the purchase price being given as £3,500, of which £1000 was to be paid to Jones and Slack in cash and £2,500 in fully-paid shares. Goodwill was assessed as £1,750. The vendors received an advance of £100.<sup>135</sup> Jones and Slack remained as directors of the company. The Gisborne Publishing Company Limited was established in mid-1910. Three thousand shares were offered and among the eight shareholders were major landholders of the district, such as H.B. Williams (839 shares), A.B. Williams (617 shares), T.S. Williams (484 shares) and T. Holden (311 shares). Joseph Angus McKay, author of the comprehensive *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast District*, was editor and

<sup>135</sup> *Gisborne Times* 27 June 1906.

manager from 1911 until 1937. A slight readjustment to the shareholding in February 1913 saw McKay become a shareholder, with 202 shares.

Robert Kerridge purchased the struggling company in 1937 and attempted to save the newspaper by changing its name to the *Times* and appointing a London journalist to take control. The 1938 annual return for the Gisborne Publishing Company showed the nominal share capital at £15,000. The total sum given for calls received amounted to £11,620.0.0. The amount of indebtedness in respect of mortgages and charges was £14,772.0.0.<sup>136</sup> Eventually, the *PB Herald* purchased the goodwill in 1938.

Jones remained as editor until 1906. He was followed by James A. Connell, who lasted six months and was removed from office because of an unacceptable editorial about the local hospital. His position was taken by Charles Kelly, who was followed by Thomas Clarkson, formerly with the *Canterbury Times*, who was managing editor from July 1907 to August 1910. C.W. Exall was editor for a few months before McKay took over in 1912.<sup>137</sup>

The following two smaller journals were no doubt established to present a very specific message, with both begun by members of the clergy. They were not initiated as threats to the morning and evening newspapers.

2. Nothing is known about the *Waiapu Advocate*, except that the two ministers had it published in Gisborne. F. Stafford was editor.<sup>138</sup>
3. Similarly, little is known about the ephemeral *New Era*. A weekly printed by the Gisborne Publishing Company Limited, it was initiated to spread the message of prohibition. The Rev. J.A. Lochore was editor.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Certificate of Incorporation (20 June 1910) and Form of Annual Return of a Company Having a Share Capital (8 July 1938), BADZ 5181/1112/8264, NA, Auckland; Scholefield (1958) p.155.

<sup>137</sup> McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, p.26; *NZPO* (Dunedin: H.Wise & Co., 1910) p.399.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, p.27.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*.



## LITIGATION DURING THE PERIOD 1903-1914

Muir was spared litigation during this decade. The morning newspaper, the *Gisborne Times*, however, suffered much as he had previously. Among other cases, they were sued by a linotype operator and a journalist for breach of contract: the former case was dismissed and the latter was awarded to the defendants, The Gisborne Times Company Limited.<sup>140</sup>

## The Poverty Bay Herald

### GENERAL

After more than fifty years within the newspaper industry, Allan R. Muir relinquished day-to-day control of the *PB Herald* in 1908. He remained as chairman of the private company set up in May of that year under the Companies Act, with his son, Allan Leonard, as managing director, Frederick Percy, as printer and publisher, and the three younger sons, Charles William, Stanley and Bruce, as directors. In this Allan Muir avoided 'corporathanasia', a term coined by Léon Danco in his study of family businesses within America. Danco concluded that the threat to many family businesses lay within rather than without, where one generation hung on too long, and failed to provide for a viable organization with clear continuity during his or her lifetime.<sup>141</sup>

### PREMISES

The *PB Herald* suffered from a serious fire one Saturday evening in September 1904. The business was insured with Manchester Assurance Company & Northern British, and the loss was estimated at £2,000 worth of property. Fortunately the newspaper's archives were almost entirely saved.<sup>142</sup> Fire was a regular problem in young towns, with the use of naked flames, such as in candles and the coppers used for washing, wooden structures – early Gisborne buildings had wooden shingles as well as wooden cladding – and cumbersome water facilities. As Hamer also points out, fires were often very good for business because of the sums spent on rebuilding, added to which, the outcome helped raise the tone of the environment.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> SCAR, Writ No.885 (26 July 1907) and Writ No.902 (24 June 1908 and 30 April 1909).

<sup>141</sup> Léon Danco quoted in Rod Kirkpatrick 'Dynamism or Dullness?' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.23, no.4, 1999, p.274.

<sup>142</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1904.

<sup>143</sup> Hamer (1990), pp.170-171.

In the rebuilding of the *PB Herald* Muir did not support local trades-people, however. His vision obviously went beyond the district, for he sought skills from the metropolitan centres; a Wellington firm was engaged to prepare drawings and specifications, and an Auckland firm built the 'fine building'. The new premises, with a Gladstone Road frontage of 1220 metres and more than double that in depth, were solid with large girders of the 'best English steel'. Strength was important in three ways: the building needed to withstand earthquakes; it added to the sense of power and success that the newspaper as a progressive business wanted to portray; and last, it was designed so that it could carry an additional two storeys if necessary.<sup>144</sup>

The interior face the public saw was equally impressive. The circular counter was of 'mottled kauri and rimu, with brass nosing and foot-rest'. The office staff were beyond a panel of figured glass. On the western side was the well-fitted stationery shop run by Charles Muir, the only son not to work in the business directly.<sup>145</sup>

The enlarged premises enabled Muir to incorporate a bookbinding department. Mr Gardiner, a bookbinder with 'American, English and colonial experience', was engaged and new machinery secured. Previously books or journals were sent away for binding.<sup>146</sup>

#### **DELIVERY AND CIRCULATION**

With the opening of the minimal but exciting railway line to Ormond in 1902, the *PB Herald* was published 'punctually' at 3 pm to enable the newspapers to catch the train. Thus delivery was vastly improved from around 7 pm to 4.15 pm.<sup>147</sup> Later, when the line was extended to Te Karaka in 1905 the newspaper reached there by 5.15 pm, not such an improvement, as for the previous three years the newspapers were collected by a special service from the railhead at Ormond and delivered to Te Karaka by 5.30 pm.

Newspapers were delivered from the train, presumably thrown, to those who lived sufficiently near the line to make it viable. Theft was a particular problem in the country areas. So many newspapers were stolen from country boxes between Ormond and Gisborne that the newspaper offered a reward on conviction.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1905.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1905.

<sup>147</sup> *PBH* 26 June 1902.

<sup>148</sup> *PBH* 13 April 1905; 3 September 1892.

Joseph Ivess, known for the remarkable number of newspapers he began in New Zealand in the nineteenth century, when asked about circulation of a newspaper over which he had recently given a lease, replied: 'That is a delicate question, and I hope your Honour won't press it'. His Honour smiled and added he supposed Ivess knew a good deal about country newspapers. 'I suppose I do', said Ivess, 'considering that it was I who started almost everyone of them'.<sup>149</sup> Muir was not so coy. In 1908 he gave the *PB Herald's* circulation as 3,000.<sup>150</sup>

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### INTERACTION WITH THE COMMUNITY

The newspaper and its community were, and still are, obviously interdependent. This was particularly relevant for country newspapers, as Morrison found in her study of the early country press of Victoria. The successful newspapers were those produced by people who lived locally and had an in-depth understanding of that community.<sup>151</sup> This is borne out in the *PB Herald* in that Samuel Craig, an earlier proprietor of the *PB Herald* who hailed from outside the district, was unsuccessful. He also took over as printer and editor, thus the newspaper had limited local input during his reign. The use of the term 'foreigners', considered pejorative today, forcefully described the outsiders. In Gisborne, for instance, Carlile & Company first described themselves as neighbours; therefore 'they were not really foreigners' and an 1886 court case concerned 'A man named Simmonds, a foreigner...'<sup>152</sup>

Beyond the two threads of a balance between news and advertising appropriate to the readership, which will be examined in chapter 7, the question remains: how involved or effective were the proprietors, Thomas Chrisp and Allan R. Muir, within the Poverty Bay district? And, in what sort of regard were they and their newspaper held within and without the district?

Chrisp held a much more prominent role within the local community than did Muir or his successors within this time span. This is not surprising for Chrisp settled in Gisborne in

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<sup>149</sup> *PBH* 29 April 1901.

<sup>150</sup> *PBH* 9 May 1908.

<sup>151</sup> Morrison (1991) p.235.

<sup>152</sup> *PB Standard* 22 November 1873; *PBH* 10 February 1886.

1875, when roles were less defined. As a sea captain he was harbourmaster from his arrival until 1886, and he then became district agent for the Public Trustee. He was a member of the Borough Council in 1883 and chairman of the Gisborne Gas Company for fifteen years.<sup>153</sup> Chrisp was committed to the district, unlike the 'floating class',<sup>154</sup> referred to earlier. He, along with others, participated in the on-going process to improve facilities within the district. For example he supported the sending of a deputation to Wellington to plead for more funds, and during a Harbor Board meeting he promoted the cleaning up of the local beach.<sup>155</sup>

The promoters of Poverty Bay long hoped that 'poverty' would turn into riches through the discovery of viable supplies of oil. The exploration for oil therefore kept the community expectant and both Chrisp and Allan Muir were very much in the forefront as *PB Herald* representatives. They accompanied small parties into the hills from time to time, and the newspaper carried the stories in detail.<sup>156</sup> This significant activity was probably reported beyond the shores of New Zealand as consultants from Australia and America visited.

Muir was of course a 'foreigner', but he slid in alongside Chrisp. He too promoted Gisborne's environment as a committee member of the Gisborne Beautifying Association from the group's instigation. Here he certainly had a public voice. On one occasion the mayor, the president and vice president of the Beautifying Association, and Mr Muir 'waited on Mr Carroll'.<sup>157</sup> This was one of two activities he was engaged in that were perhaps marginally connected with local politics. The Beautifying Association was an especially safe environment, as all were in agreement. Local education was a more fractious issue.

Both Allan and Lennie Muir, editor for nearly forty years, showed their Scottish ancestry in their interests and a year or so after Allan settled in the district a great debate erupted over education. He entered the fray as a candidate for the school committee: his second touch with local politics. Six out of the seven elected had previously served on the

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<sup>153</sup> McKay (1982) p.385.

<sup>154</sup> Hamer (1990), p.89.

<sup>155</sup> *PBH* 19 November 1884; 26 November 1884.

<sup>156</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1887; 8 March 1896; 23 October 1896

<sup>157</sup> *PBH* 13 December 1900.

committee, and Muir was unsuccessful.<sup>158</sup> He stood again a few years later but was still unsuccessful.<sup>159</sup>

Allan Muir supported various charitable causes generously but, apart from the Beautifying Association, his later community involvement was purely with hobbies. He was a vice president of the Gisborne Amateur Athletic Club, the Gisborne Poultry Fanciers' Club and the Poverty Bay Cycling Club, and a committee member for the Gisborne Bowling Club.<sup>160</sup>

Lennie Muir maintained an even-handed, supportive, but low-key role in the community. A practising Presbyterian, he was a committee member of their Literary Society, alongside the *PB Herald's* long-serving printer, Herbert Bushnell. He was also a trustee of the Turanganui Library.<sup>161</sup> During the period outside this review, Lennie was the first president of the Gisborne Rotary Club and he played a significant part in national newspaper affairs. At his death tributes flowed from 'practically every newspaper in the Dominion'. The Rt. Hon. G.W. Forbes, Prime Minister, also sent a personal telegram.<sup>162</sup> In the Rotarian's tribute at his death it was stated:

He was a man of great ability and wide vision, though not prominent in the public eye, and by virtue of his ability, his character and his position, he exercised a great influence for all that was best in the community.<sup>163</sup>

Fairburn, in his chapter examining whether New Zealand was a society of cohesive local communities, estimates that very few people were involved in sport.<sup>164</sup> Here both the Chrisp and Muir families contributed. Chrisp and Allan Muir were keen bowlers, and Muir in particular, played both locally and represented Gisborne elsewhere.<sup>165</sup> Lennie also played bowls. Fred Muir was a competitive swimmer, secretary of the Gisborne Rowing Club from 1896 to 1898, and, outside sport, a foundation member of the Gisborne Club. Both Fred and Charles, the third brother, began rowing at a young age,

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<sup>158</sup> *PBH* 28 April 1886.

<sup>159</sup> *PBH* 28 April 1891.

<sup>160</sup> *PBH* 29 April 1896; 10 May 1895; 3 December 1900; 15 May 1896.

<sup>161</sup> *PBH* 15 June 1887; 25 January 1893; 13 August 1907.

<sup>162</sup> *PBH* 3 October 1935.

<sup>163</sup> *PBH* 8 October 1935.

<sup>164</sup> Fairburn (1989) pp.179-181.

<sup>165</sup> *PBH* 4 February 1891 – Capt Chrisp, E.J. Chrisp and Allan R. Muir went to Napier to represent the Gisborne Bowling Club; 7 April 1892 – Allan R. Muir represented Gisborne in Wellington; 9 January 1893 – Allan and William playing against each other in Wellington.

Charles as a coxswain in 1877. Charles became a life member of the Gisborne Rowing Club, serving as president for twenty-two years.<sup>166</sup>

As a newspaper proprietor Allan Muir was not excused jury duty; neither were his sons. The requirement for them to attend did not abate with time, as the community grew and the newspaper matured. Allan served on the Grand Jury of the Supreme Court regularly, in spite of his libel cases in the early days. On one occasion Allan and Lennie were summonsed to the Grand Jury together.<sup>167</sup> Jury duty was a time-consuming exercise in a community such as Poverty Bay, with its prodigious legal activity. When Allan was once more part of a Grand Jury the judge apologized to all for the time taken from their businesses, and assured the jurors this time the cases were few and simple.<sup>168</sup> At the annual meeting of the New Zealand Institute of Journalists in 1892, exemption for pressmen was on the agenda, but there it remained.<sup>169</sup> Aside from time, however, it seems strange the Muirs were exposed in the judicial system so much because they, like Henry Blundell at the Wellington *Evening Post*, protected the newspaper's independence by taking a low-key role in public life.<sup>170</sup>

The *PB Herald* interacted with the community as a sponsor for various local events. Sponsorship was no doubt part of what marketing strategy they had, and one example was Chrisp & Muir's presentation of a year's newspaper subscription to the winner of the 'Best pen of five Lincoln Hogget Ewes' at the all-important annual Agricultural & Pastoral Show.<sup>171</sup> After the partnership dissolved Muir continued the tradition and, for example, the 'Herald Cup' was awarded at the shooting club.<sup>172</sup> Under Muir's leadership the newspaper also supported events further afield in that it organized the collection of funds for charity on numerous occasions. Big news indeed was the Boer War in 1900. The *PB Herald* ran a 'Patriotic Fund' called 'The Herald's Shilling List'.<sup>173</sup> A week later a second shilling list opened for war relief, and in April the same year the newspaper

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<sup>166</sup> *PBH* n.d. but 1936 – from C.W. Muir's scrap<sup>3</sup>book – when in his 22<sup>nd</sup> year he was presented with a silver cigarette case.

<sup>167</sup> Allan: *PBH* 21 June 1886; 3 September 1888; 24 February 1894; 11 February 1898; 11 August 1898; Allan and Lennie: 3 August 1896; Lennie: 9 April 1900; Fred: 8 February 1900 – this is not a comprehensive list.

<sup>168</sup> *PBH* 8 February 1900.

<sup>169</sup> *PBH* 9 August 1892.

<sup>170</sup> *PBH* 24 February 1894; 9 October 1900; Scholefield (1958), p.31.

<sup>171</sup> *PBH* 28 October 1885.

<sup>172</sup> *PBH* 24 October 1887.

<sup>173</sup> *PBH* 13 February 1900.

began a relief fund for the Indian famine.<sup>174</sup> Such support was not unusual, for there was an intimate connection between the press and social welfare, according to Lucy Salmon.<sup>175</sup> Morrison maintains it was 'an almost ingrained part of country town activity, with its obligations and rituals'.<sup>176</sup> She calls it 'collective voluntarism', as found, for example, in Geelong where Wilkinson and Osborne, early proprietors of the *Geelong Advertiser*, promoted both the community and the community's social conscience.<sup>177</sup>

A letter to the editor congratulated the newspaper on its support for famine relief. In another example of a testimonial, a solicitor acting for the chairman of the Licensing Bench, which alleged the *PB Herald* had published a libellous report, commented on the newspaper's usual sense of 'fair play and justice'.<sup>178</sup> These sentiments add credence to the premise that the community perceived Allan and his sons ran a responsible newspaper.

The *PB Herald* office seems to have been a focal point, perhaps not just for the town but for the far-flung district. On one occasion when an unusual fish was caught in the bay, Messrs Rogers and Lowndes left the 'specimen' at the newspaper office for interested parties to inspect.<sup>179</sup>

Elections were a bonus for the newspaper, giving rise to increased advertising and news content. The *PB Herald* moved somewhat towards the modern approach of a black-out before elections, as in fairness to all it closed its correspondence columns three days before a forthcoming national election in 1893, the first in which women were eligible to vote. During the same election campaign, the newspaper included 'copies of the form of claim for enrolment' as an insert, probably free of charge, to help induce electors to register for the forthcoming national election. Clear instructions were given. The service they provided ensured registration forms would reach, according to the newspaper, almost every home in the district.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> *PBH* 25 April 1900.

<sup>175</sup> L.M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), p.98.

<sup>176</sup> Morrison (1991) p.267.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.* p.37.

<sup>178</sup> *PBH* 10 June 1892.

<sup>179</sup> *PBH* 25 September 1895.

<sup>180</sup> *PBH* 27 September 1893.

At times when the news was too great to wait for the next edition, the newspaper shared its knowledge generously. It arranged for the results of the election discussed above, and others, to be posted on a screen on the Masonic Hotel balcony. When the *PB Herald* rebuilding was completed in 1905 it included a balcony, since dismantled, for news announcements.

Similarly, when the relief of Mafeking came in June 1900, 'we lost no time telling the mayor, who went and rang the fire bell himself – slowly at first so as not to cause alarm'. The excitement was palpable and makes wonderful reading now. 'Our telephone bell was also set merrily ringing, many enquiries to be answered and we took care to tell the country stations.'<sup>181</sup> The *PB Herald* may thus be seen to value its community involvement and in return Allan, and those who followed, offered a service beyond the normal commercial interests.

It is not a given that father and sons or daughters will work well together. One of the reasons for failures within a family company is often tension or outright conflict between the parties. In Australia, for example, a newspaper family of long standing, the Mott family, suffered great internal tension from 1949 after Hamilton Mott made over his shares in the *Border Mail* (Albury) equally to his children in exchange for an annuity. All eventually settled down after years of difference.<sup>182</sup> It appears Allan Muir, his sons and the next generation worked well together, although on one occasion a public statement was made exonerating Lennie from responsibility for a published letter that caused the demise of Thomson as editor. Perhaps occasional friction existed without the team of Muir, as it were<sup>183</sup> – see chapter 5.

The *PB Herald* certainly had its local and vocal critics. Two in particular were politician-promoter William Rees and Councillor E.P. Joyce, who owned the press used by the *PB Independent*, as noted. Rees called a special meeting ostensibly to promote his scheme for immigration but in reality to denounce the *PB Herald*, which, he claimed, damaged the district by its criticisms in that it did not support his scheme.<sup>184</sup> Joyce also disagreed loudly with the newspaper on several occasions. The *PB Herald* responded to a

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<sup>181</sup> *PBH* 1 June 1900.

<sup>182</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience* (Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing, 2000), pp.250-1.

<sup>183</sup> *PBH* 20 March 1894.

<sup>184</sup> *PBH* 19 April 1886.



confrontation in 1886 in a personal and excessive manner. The community needed its comics, said the long editorial: 'The Joyce of the community is the whale and the local paper is the swordfish, and the journalist that can resist the continual object so temptingly open to be prodded has considerable self-control'.<sup>185</sup>

Gratifyingly the frontier element of personality journalism declined as life within the community and within the *PB Herald* stabilized. During his thirty years of ownership Allan Muir, as a hands-on proprietor, was instrumental in raising the profile of his newspaper both locally and nationally. Unlike Ives and his creations, the *PB Herald* was now firmly entrenched in the upper end of the second tier of New Zealand's newspapers. Financial success outside the metropolitan centres was often elusive according to Ives, who said there were not two country newspapers in the colony that paid in the 'proper sense of the word'.<sup>186</sup> Muir was certainly helped by improving economic and social conditions, but overall his experience, his good financial management and the ethos he instilled in his sons meant that he bequeathed a very sound business to his successors. From the time Allan Muir became sole proprietor, said Scholefield: 'The family thereafter devoted themselves to developing the *Herald* which became one of the soundest papers in New Zealand'.<sup>187</sup>

#### **INFLUENCE OF THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD***

Harvey concludes that the influence of the nineteenth-century press in New Zealand was limited largely because the newspapers served only their immediate locality.<sup>188</sup> For Gisborne the locality was far-flung but the *PB Herald's* influence would not have been felt evenly for in some areas, such as the coastal region to the north and to a lesser extent in the south towards Wairoa, as the population was predominately Māori. Certainly Pākehā settlement had filtered into these areas, but it was scattered. The small *Wairoa Guardian*, whose editor and proprietor, John Large, was a registered Māori interpreter, circulated in the Nuhaka area to the south of Gisborne because it gave better coverage of the Wairoa County Council, and also, no doubt, because of the more immeasurable Māori factor. This could be a disadvantage for the Nuhaka settlers, as it proved in 1898, when

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<sup>185</sup> *PBH* 11 February 1886.

<sup>186</sup> *PBH* 29 April 1901.

<sup>187</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.153.

<sup>188</sup> R. Harvey 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand: More Imagined than Real?' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, p.130.

they complained before the Licensing Commission that an advertisement had not been run. The chairman's response was that they did not look in the right place, and 'were very much behind the times' because they did not receive the *PB Herald*.<sup>189</sup>

It is not possible to compare census data before 1906, as the native census was initially taken on a tribal basis, but by 1906 Māoris outnumbered Europeans to the north by more than three to one. The Cook County figures, however, which included the urban area, showed 7,173 Europeans and 1,500 (approximately) Māoris.<sup>190</sup> The Māori were generally a rural people and Sir Apirana Ngata, a Māori leader from the district who was born in 1874, explained that they preferred their oral tradition.

The printed matter indeed achieved a limited popularity, but for everyone who owned a copy of the Scriptures and Church Liturgy or Rawiri, there were in my boyhood days still fifty or more content to listen to and memorise the words.<sup>191</sup>

Certainly the Māori were, for the most part, a literate people and, according to Shef Rogers in his study of the early book translations, they accepted the 'colonial vision of print as a powerful force'.<sup>192</sup> It is probable, however, that the Māori readership of an English language newspaper was limited and thus they were little influenced by the newspapers. After all, unless they were interested in the affairs of state from a European perspective, or local European concerns, there was little of relevance for them. This is discussed in chapter 7.

In an earlier generation, McKenzie and Muir published a good deal in Māori and probably both were comfortable with the people and the language.<sup>193</sup> James Muir's sons appear to have adopted attitudes that were common during their time. In William's letter to his wife, Louisa, he commented that now the Māori had left town things were dull. 'Whilst the natives were there [*sic*] was some little excitement going on if it was only to watch their drunken squabbles.'<sup>194</sup> His brother is more forthright. 'If it turns out as you

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<sup>189</sup> *PBH* 4 June 1898.

<sup>190</sup> McKay (1982) pp.398-401.

<sup>191</sup> R. McKay, *History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940) pp.48-9.

<sup>192</sup> Shef Rogers, 'Crusoe Among the Maori Translation and Colonial Acculturation in Victorian New Zealand', *Book History*, vol.1, no.1, 1998, pp. 182-195.

<sup>193</sup> Draft version of Māori bibliography compiled by Penny Griffith, ATL.

<sup>194</sup> W.M. Muir letter to his wife, Louisa, Gisborne, 20 May 1882?, ATL, MS-6219-1.

anticipate it will be worth all the trouble it has cost, and the smell of the Maories [*sic*] will wear out in time.<sup>195</sup>

Because of Poverty Bay's difficult land access the lack of harbour facilities was perhaps the over-riding local issue. Valuable foreshore land was endowed for lease by the government and large sums of money were at stake as, it was perceived, was the future of the district, so understandably power entered into the negotiations. Loan moneys were raised on the London market.<sup>196</sup> After an early Harbor Board meeting two claims were made: one that the *PB Herald* was paid to advocate for a certain decision and the second that the newspaper's intervention had prevented a contract from being signed. In reply, the newspaper said:

That is giving us more influence than we claim to possess [*sic*], and is giving the members of the Harbor Board credit for less ability to use their own judgment than we think they are entitled to.<sup>197</sup>

Rees and others favoured an outer harbour but the *PB Herald* supported the campaign to build a breakwater. The latter scheme was adopted. In such a debate the *PB Herald's* approach may have influenced some of the readership but it is doubtful that it had any bearing whatsoever on the decision-makers.

As discussed earlier, much time and expense was incurred by those required to attend court sessions outside the district. In 1884 the *PB Herald*, along with the *HB Telegraph* and the *Wairoa Guardian*, conducted a campaign to have the situation amended. In this instance it was on behalf of the Wairoa district, and the campaign was successful as a Native Land Court was set up in Wairoa. The 'natives can return home' and need not attend court at Hastings, said the *PB Herald*.<sup>198</sup>

Lennie Muir was an ardent advocate for, and a great believer in, the district. In his role as editor he maintained his firm belief in Poverty Bay's future and did his best to help promote that future.

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<sup>195</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Richmond, 24 May 1881, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>196</sup> McKay (1982) p.409.

<sup>197</sup> *PBH* 19 April 1886.

<sup>198</sup> *PBH* 9 July 1884.

On a light note, the *PB Herald*'s influence extended beyond its district – to New Guinea in fact, though in a manner quite unexpected. A resident of the Mambare River area wrote in appreciative terms of the newspaper's contents and 'after he has read it it is in great demand by the natives, who use it for cigarette paper. They pay as high as 15 lbs of sweet potatoes for a single copy'.<sup>199</sup>

The *PB Herald* therefore, has to be pronounced a success both near and far.

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<sup>199</sup> *PBH* 3 April, 1902.

#### 4. THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* 1874-1914: BEHIND THE SCENES

The public face of a newspaper is for all to see. What lies behind the pages is an amalgam of people and politics, skill and technology, and services. The following three chapters delve behind the scenes of the *PB Herald* to examine the inner workings of this provincial newspaper in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

##### The Newspaper Press and its Story

As the country settled up and the frontier pushed ever farther west, there were always printers in the van with more ambition than money, and they made a market for old-style machines which were discarded by printers in settled sections where competition was a serious factor. Many of these presses still exist somewhere; some of them look very queer now.<sup>1</sup>

The *PB Herald's* first press, a Double Demy Albion, was largely superseded as a newspaper press by the time it arrived in Gisborne in 1874. The Albion came by sea from Napier and was probably the unit James Wood had brought to Port Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay) in August 1857 and upon which he produced the *Hawkes Bay Herald and Ahuriri Advocate*.<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt about the provenance of the *PB Herald's* first Albion, however, for Wood's early press may have been taken to Pakowhai Pa in Hastings for the publication of Henare Tomoana's *Te Wananga*.<sup>3</sup> However, what looked 'very queer' to Baker in 1918 today reminds the viewer of the vast progress made in newspaper production, as the upright iron workhorse, machine no. 3697, manufactured by Hopkinson & Cope, Finsbury, London, rests in the foyer of the *Gisborne Herald*.

With the Albion came another small lever hand press; the machines were accompanied by journeyman-printer John Mogridge, who assembled them. The Albion was relegated to the job-printing department fairly quickly. Long-serving printing foreman, Herbert Bushnell, who joined the staff in 1878, recollected that using the Albion was 'a very

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert Baker, *Cylinder Printing Machines: being a study of the mechanism and operation of the principal types of cylinder printing machines* (Chicago: Committee of Education, United Typothetae of America, 1918) preface.

<sup>2</sup> Robert F. Johncock, *Brief History of the Press: Napier and Hastings Newspapers 1857-1891* (Napier: the author, 1991); *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3 col.4.

<sup>3</sup> Laraine Knight (Hastings: Print Hawke's Bay Inc, 2003) p.86.

laborious procedure'.<sup>4</sup> It required nine distinct processes to print one side of a sheet of paper.<sup>5</sup> No documentation has been found to confirm that machine no. 3697, which was reclaimed from the Gisborne Freezing Works (where it was used for branding sacks) was the *PB Herald's* first press, but oral history suggests it was.<sup>6</sup>

Invented around 1820 by R.W. Cope, the Albion was one of the two most widely used presses of the period. It was faster than the Columbian, the other press in general use, but required more exertion.<sup>7</sup> Modifications were made from time to time and after Cope's death around 1828 a foreman in the works, John Hopkinson, ensured the Albion became a classic by introducing further improvement. The name Hopkinson & Cope appeared by at least 1847, and remained in use after Hopkinson's death in 1864. In 1871 the firm joined forces with Payne & Co., makers of the *PB Herald's* third printing press.<sup>8</sup> For years a new Double Demy Albion, with a 36 x 23 inch platen, was worth £65 in Britain, but as it became superseded its price fell and by 1884 a new machine was worth £55.<sup>9</sup>

The nineteenth century saw continual experimentation as innovators on both sides of the Atlantic sought ways to improve inking, paper feed and delivery, and eliminate manual operation where possible. The Albion continued in the manufacturers' catalogues until the outbreak of World War II, but it was largely used only as a secondary machine for proofing. The cylinder proof press, which took over, was a revolutionary change in the making of an impression.

At Otley on the River Wharfe in Yorkshire, joiner and builder William Dawson's business evolved into the manufacture of printing presses through production of an early printers' guillotine. His first printing press was the Ulverstonian patented by Stephen Soulby, a printer of Ulverston, which was made and marketed by the pair until 1859. Dawson's foreman, David Payne, was not satisfied with the impression given by this machine and reversed the process from a stationery bed holding the type forme, with

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<sup>4</sup> H. Whetton ed., *Practical Printing and Binding* (London: Odhams Press, 1946), pp. 71 & 72; H.J. Bushnell, 'Sixty Years of Printing', *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2, col.7.

<sup>5</sup> *Hawkes Bay Tribune*, 17 April 1926 from McKay papers, ATL MS-papers-1006-47.

<sup>6</sup> Oral family reference.

<sup>7</sup> Printing section, Science Museum, South Kensington, London.

<sup>8</sup> James Moran, *Printing Presses* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973) pp.91-9 & 136.

<sup>9</sup> Miller & Richard, *Typefounders Catalogues*, 1865, 1884, n.p; Miller & Richard, *Typefounders Catalogue*, 1873 (Owston Ferry [England]: Blomfield Books, 1974) reprint of 1873 edition published by Miller & Richard, Edinburgh and London, np.

cylinder and inking apparatus moving, to one where the cylinder was placed in fixed bearings with the type bed movable. With this improvement Dawson and Payne pioneered the successful series of cylinder printing machines known as Wharfedale. The name was generic, however, for, in the absence of any registered patent for the original developments, many manufacturers from Otley and beyond produced similar presses.<sup>10</sup>

Payne established his own printing works in Otley in 1866, and ensured a secure future for the Wharfedale press with an improved paper feeding process, which this time was patented. Once the patent expired, 'other makers immediately applied it to their various machines, until at the present day no Wharfedale is complete without it'.<sup>11</sup> Payne's earlier presses bore the name 'Atlas' Wharfedale. He retired in favour of his sons in 1879 but it was not until 1881 that the name of Payne & Sons appeared.

Unless documented by the newspaper itself, precise changes are difficult to trace in early newspaper plant. For example, the *Nelson Evening Mail*, which began in 1866, did not mention its early presses in its 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication, *Nelson's Newspaper: The story of the Nelson Evening Mail*. Though it was admittedly a book for lay readership, only two changes of press were mentioned, one in 1910 and another in 1964. Neither press was named.<sup>12</sup>

Management at the *PB Herald* replaced the Albion with a Wharfedale, which in turn was superseded by a second Wharfedale model. Bushnell regularly referred to the *PB Herald's* second press as a small 'Lily' hand-press, with no other attribution, and its successor as the Payne Wharfedale. The 'Lily' was in fact also a Wharfedale, but hand-operated. It was no doubt from John Lilly & Co. of Clerkenwell, London, and not from one of the many manufacturers in Otley. The London firm produced a Wharfedale rotary letter-press machine, which bore the imprint 'J. Lilly & Co, Maker, London', in a prominent position and thus 'Lily' could easily have become the machine's colloquial name.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Wood, *Otley and the Wharfedale Printing Machine* (Andoversford: The Whittington Press, 1985) p.6; Moran (1973) p.136.

<sup>11</sup> 'British & American Printing Machines', *The British & Colonial Printer & Stationer* no.1329, vol.LVIII no.7, London, 15 February 1906, p.4.

<sup>12</sup> *Nelson's Newspaper: The Story of the Nelson Evening Mail* (Nelson: Nelson Evening Mail, 1992) pp.23 & 47.

Publishing was still heavy work with the 'Lily'. The press was 'operated by a crank, and capable of turning out the issue in three hours. All hands took turns in operating the press, until the first gas engine was installed'.<sup>14</sup> A gas engine arrived in 1884, when a coal gas system was introduced to central Gisborne. Crisp & Muir first installed a half horse-power gas engine.<sup>15</sup>

By 1885 there were 135 printing establishments in the colony. Their means of power as reported in *Typo* were:

Hand power	67	Steam and gas	4
Steam	11	Water and gas	2
Gas	27	Steam, water and gas	1 <sup>16</sup>
Water	23		

The *PB Herald's* hand-fed 'Lily' arrived between 1876, when Dufaur moved the business, and 1878. Bushnell's early recollections were of the 'Lily', with the Albion engaged in job-printing. The 'Lily' was later sold to the *Wairoa Guardian*.<sup>17</sup> Change had occurred by 1879, as is confirmed by the following statement:

A little before 5 o'clock in the afternoon people begin to gather round our doors; at 5 o'clock the office begins to fill, and by the time the paper is on the press, and the sound of revolving cylinders is heard, there is a rush for early papers, which our publisher finds a difficulty to meet.<sup>18</sup>

Fire seriously disrupted both the Poverty Bay newspapers in November 1877. As in such cases, volunteers fought valiantly and in this instance the *PB Herald* building was saved. Most of its equipment, including shelving, which was broken down, was thrown into boxes and removed. The newspaper's rival, the *Standard*, suffered serious disruption as its premises were destroyed. The *PB Herald* did not appear the next day and apologized for any shortcomings in their next issue due to the 'wholesale disarrangement of type and plant which has not yet been remedied'. It took one week to reassemble pied type at the *PB Herald* and substantially longer for the *Standard*, which did not reappear until fifteen days after the fire.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *The Printers' Register – supplement*, 6 March 1876, p.341.

<sup>14</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2 cols. 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Typo*, 26 February 1887, vol.1, no.2 p.10.

<sup>17</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3 cols.3-4.

<sup>18</sup> *PBH* 7 June 1879.

<sup>19</sup> *PBH* 4 December 1877.



Early in 1879 a short-lived *Evening Express* was absorbed by the *PB Herald*. Nothing is known about the paper apart from the names of those who registered it, as mentioned in chapter 2. The *PB Herald* changed its page head to read the Evening Herald, but the masthead remained as the *PB Herald*.<sup>20</sup> It is not known if any equipment passed to the *PB Herald*.

Towards the end of that year, after the *Standard*'s demise, the *PB Herald* moved its presses and type to the large printing room behind Bourke & Smith's Auction Mart vacated by the *Standard*. While the latter's main press went northwards to the *Free Lance* in Auckland, the *PB Herald* bought all the stock in the job printing department. With the move, the newspaper missed one edition, that of Saturday 20 December 1879.

As mentioned in chapter 3, fire again disrupted the *PB Herald* in 1904. The conflagration was even recorded in verbose terms across the Tasman, where *Cowans* trade journal recorded that 'this year's victim who has been called upon to feed the flames is Mr. A.R. Muir, whose premises at Gisborne, in which he prints and publishes that successful property, the *Poverty Bay Herald* ...'<sup>21</sup> The old auction mart, home for nearly thirty years, and part of the newspaper's plant, 'which it has taken many years' careful selection to bring together',<sup>22</sup> were damaged beyond repair. According to *Cowans*, the building contained the library, publishing, job-printing and stationery departments of the *PB Herald*. Fortunately, when the business expanded with the arrival of the new linotype machines in 1900, a brick printing office had been added at the rear of the wooden auction mart. This was spared. The maxim coined by the entertainment world applied: the show went on and the *PB Herald* continued without a pause. By then production was on a yet further improved press, a Wharfedale machine manufactured by Payne & Sons of Atlas Works. This press suffered in the fire; with circulation probably between two and three thousand at this time, the Payne Wharfedale limped along with help from the job-printing department.

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<sup>20</sup> *PBH* 21 January 1879.

<sup>21</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, October 1904, vol.1,no.3, p.6.

<sup>22</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1904.

The Payne Wharfedale press may have replaced the *PB Herald's* 'Lily' in October 1883, for Monday 8 October is missing from the files and at that point the size of the newspaper changed, although Bushnell implied that the 'Lily' was in service when gas was introduced.<sup>23</sup> A more probable entry point was between February 1884 and February 1885, for valuer John Coleman stated that new plant to the value of £200.00 was introduced during that year.<sup>24</sup> The plant most likely came from Alex. Cowan & Sons Limited of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, who were certainly Payne's agent in Australia in 1899,<sup>25</sup> and who reported upon the 1904 fire in terms signifying they knew the business and its proprietor, as mentioned.

The Payne Wharfedale was the first flat-bed mechanically-operated Wharfedale. The simplest type of rotary press, it was sheet-fed from previously cut sheets of paper printed on one side of the paper then, with the formes changed, the process was repeated on the other side of the page. This restricted the insertion of last-minute news as the printing process was time-consuming. Then, 'when the paper was printed complete there was still the folding and counting to do'.<sup>26</sup> The press was capable of printing about 1200 copies per hour.

Although the *PB Herald* used both British and American type, as is discussed later in this chapter, for the most part the machinery was British. The only specific mention of American equipment used by the newspaper was by advertisement when a 'Jewell' Diagonal Lever Paper Cutter, manufactured by Globe Manufacturing Co., New York, was offered for £13.10.0. In good condition, the paper cutter cut 23 inches, and was now too small for the newspaper's present needs.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the technological advancement in presses, the world of the compositor remained secure for much of the nineteenth century. The end of the century, however, saw a dramatic change in typesetting. Invented by Ottmar Mergenthaler of Baltimore, the linotype machine cast its first line of type in America in 1886 before moving across the Atlantic to Britain. An operator sat in front of Mergenthaler's slug-casting machine with

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<sup>23</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1904; 26 August 1905; *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3 cols.3 & 4.

<sup>24</sup> Valuation, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>25</sup> *The Printers' Register*, no.427, 6 January 1899, p.1.

<sup>26</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

<sup>27</sup> *PBH* 1 February 1896.

the copy at the top of the keyboard, which looked somewhat like that of a typewriter. By manipulation of the key buttons a mechanism released the brass matrices containing the dies of letters, which travelled to the assembler box, the equivalent of the old composing stick. The slug was then cast from molten metal held in a pot behind the mould and, critically, the type was later returned to its right place in the storage compartment.<sup>28</sup> The machines were faster and could also recycle the metal, a great saving as with hand composition a large amount of expensive and heavy metal was tied up in the stock of typefaces.

There was no doubt that mechanical type-setting was the way of the future, with a claim that it was five times more efficient than hand setting.<sup>29</sup> The *PB Herald* compared the leap in technology as:

a marvel of mechanical skill, and [it] is just as much an advance on the old, laborious system of hand composition as the 1900 reaper and binder is to the hand sickle of half a century ago, or as the threshing machine is to the flail.<sup>30</sup>

As the sea-change in technology became apparent, compositors working within the longer-established printing tradition in Great Britain were advised not to consider relocating to the colonies, for they were not welcome. In Australia the advent of the linotype had brought intense competition and reduced wages.

We have as much work as we can manage, but the trade generally is not too prosperous... Were it not that living is cheaper than a few years ago there would be a great deal of hardship. As it is, I would not advise English compositors to emigrate here or to any part of Australia with a view to following their trade.<sup>31</sup>

Mechanized typesetting was held back initially not only by the printers' fear of redundancy but also their fear of the unknown, as skills sometimes handed down over the generations were to be superseded. It was a crucial period in the history of unionism in the printing industry. In New Zealand, printers in Otago, with its gold rush and consequent population growth, formed the first collective organization, the Otago Typographical Association, probably in 1862; this was followed by associations in Wellington, Canterbury and Auckland. These early unions were conservative, and were

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<sup>28</sup> Whetton (1946) pp.33-34.

<sup>29</sup> *PBH* 20 May 1892. The manager of the Edinburgh *Scottish Leader* stated the cost of setting 250 columns by linotype was no dearer than 50 columns by hand.

<sup>30</sup> *PBH* 5 November 1900.

<sup>31</sup> A correspondent from the Government Printing Office, Brisbane, 17 November 1898, in the *Printers Register* no.427 (supplement), London, 6 January 1899, p.vii.

as much about ensuring the trade remained within trained hands as negotiating wages and conditions for printers. All were relatively short-lived.<sup>32</sup>

With the period of expansionary growth in New Zealand in the 1870s under Colonial treasurer and later premier, Julius Vogel, who was also owner of the *New Zealand Mail* and the *Wellington Independent* for much of the decade, the printing trade unions revived themselves.<sup>33</sup> During this time Allan R. Muir as a journeyman printer at the *Wellington Independent* and its weekly, the *New Zealand Mail*, was most likely a chapel member.<sup>34</sup> It does not appear union activity stretched to Poverty Bay during his reign at the *PB Herald*, and there is no evidence to show that the installation of two Mergenthaler linotype machines in November 1900 caused unrest.<sup>35</sup>

The printing industry was in a depressed state in New Zealand early in the 1890s and organization of labour in general was still in its infancy until towards the end of that decade, when printers in the colony were confronted with the reality of changing technology. New Zealand's newspaper proprietors reacted to the consequences of the advent of the linotype machine by forming an association. Spurred by George Fenwick (later Sir George), managing director of the *Otago Daily Times*, the major newspaper proprietors formed the Newspaper Proprietors Association, which celebrated its centenary as the Newspaper Publishers Association of New Zealand (Inc) in October 1998. The first meeting of 'Linotype proprietors and delegates from the Typographical Association',<sup>36</sup> arranged for 13 October 1898, took place in the United Press Association office in Wellington. 'The whole of the newspaper proprietors who are using or are about to use the machines will be represented...',<sup>37</sup> said Fenwick.

Employment for printers did fall initially, with the number of compositors employed in New Zealand dropping from 969 to 811 between 1896 and 1901 – that includes women

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Franks, *Print & Politics* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), pp.26-32.

<sup>33</sup> Franks (2001) p.31

<sup>34</sup> Chapel – the printing trade's unique form of self-governing workplace organization, which regulated much of the working lives of printers in Franks (2001) p.10.

<sup>35</sup> For example no union representation was mentioned in Thompson's case for unfair payment upon dismissal (chapter 5); *PBH* 5 November 1900.

<sup>36</sup> Facsimile of letter from George Fenwick, 3 August 1898, reproduced in the commemorative programme for the Centenary Dinner held by the Newspapers Publishers Association, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. letter dated 19 September 1898.

compositors, who numbered 120 (15 per cent of the total) in 1901.<sup>38</sup> According to the *PB Herald* there were more unemployed printers in Wellington than usual on the eve of the Parliamentary Session because many country journals had recently invested in type-setting machines and, as a consequence, laid off staff.<sup>39</sup> A year or so later *Cowans* reported that between April 1903 and March 1904 only one married and three single compositors called upon the Labour Department in New Zealand, and all were found employment.<sup>40</sup> The next census of 1906 showed a levelling off, with only a small further loss of employment for compositors. The typographical union was successful in its negotiations with sympathetic employers as it was agreed that only journeyman compositors, young men apprenticed as compositors, and a limited number of new apprentices could be employed as linotype operators. Overall, the impact of mechanization was not as severe as it might have been for the New Zealand printer, for it more or less coincided with expansion within the industry.<sup>41</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century the *PB Herald*, with its two linotype machines, was certainly within the vanguard of the country's provincial printing industry. In the South Island, a provincial newspaper business with a larger stable, the *Timaru Herald* and its evening newspaper, the *South Canterbury Times* (which closed in 1901), installed three linotypes in 1900. Further north, the *Pahiatua Herald* installed two linotypes in 1904.<sup>42</sup> All the early machines in New Zealand were No. 1 Mergenthalers.<sup>43</sup> The 1901 census showed 76 linotypes in use in the country's 188 printing establishments. The *PB Herald* added further machines around 1905, perhaps slightly ahead of many of its provincial peers for there were now 239 printing works throughout the country, with 141 linotypes in operation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Franks (2001) pp.47-61. Census data from *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of 12<sup>th</sup> April 1896* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1887); *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of 31<sup>st</sup> March 1901* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1902).

<sup>39</sup> *PBH* 2 June 1902.

<sup>40</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, October 1904, vol.1,no.3, p.4.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* pp.9-11. *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of 29<sup>th</sup> April 1906* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1906) from Franks, p.60.

<sup>42</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.234; *Cowans*, Melbourne, August 1904, vol.1, no2, p.15 and December 1904, vol.1, no.4, pp.7-8.

<sup>43</sup> R.A. McKay ed., *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940) p.107.

<sup>44</sup> Franks (2001) pp.60-1.

When the first linotype machine arrived in New Zealand is uncertain. An extract from the *PB Herald* of 7 July 1894 says the first type-setting machines in New Zealand were at the *New Zealand Herald*, 'which was getting two type-setting machines'. These may have been linotypes, or perhaps Hattersley or Kastenbein machines – the former was mainly used on provincial newspapers in Britain and reached the *Daily Times* in London as late as 1891, by which stage it was being superseded by the latter, which the *Times* used until 1908.<sup>45</sup> McKay, in the comprehensive centennial history of the printing industry, said the first establishment to introduce linotypes was the *Auckland Star*, which installed five machines in 1897. He added that they were followed closely by the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Christchurch Press*. Dispute arises, however, for another challenger for the claim to be first was the firm of McKee and Gamble, publishers of the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1897-1908. Arthur McKee stated that he brought a linotype with him when he immigrated in 1890.<sup>46</sup>

With the continual evolution of printing technology during the nineteenth century and beyond, timing investment decisions must have been fraught for sole proprietors in particular. Understandably, the *PB Herald's* linotypes were introduced proudly. They would enable increased text and thus more news, for the hard-working compositor could work to a tighter deadline. Under the laborious method of setting every piece of type by hand and replacing such type back in its case after use, pre-set advertisements had been considerably more cost-effective in production for the proprietor than text. The publishing of current news was dependent upon the number of staff available and the speed with which they worked, which, particularly in a small newspaper, meant a fine balance between cost of production and a viable end product worthy of its claim to be a 'news'paper.

Not surprisingly, the new linotypes were first used for news at the *PB Herald*. The advertisements appear to have moved over slowly and about the time of change there are occasional signs with different shading in the ink that a late amendment was added by hand and slipped in.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd, 1955) p.196.

<sup>46</sup> *PBH* 7 July 1894; McKay R.A. ed. (1940) p.107; Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey & Keith Maslen, *Book & Print in New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997) p.63.

<sup>47</sup> *PBH* 16 November 1900 is a good example.

Apart from the fact that advertisements were set ahead of the last minute rush, most ran for a time, and some were saved for reinsertion at a later date. For example, the marked file copies around 1882 showed the 'Special Evangelistic Services' advertisement, marked as 'out keep standing'. Much of this standing type was then presumably reused for the Wesleyan Church's later advertisements. In the early days, when the stock of type was limited, no doubt keeping type standing would depend upon demand for the various letters. A simple system of two numerals, one over the other, indicated to the compositor when a classified advertisement was to be withdrawn. Examples of the marking and hand corrections are attached in Appendix D.

Gisborne, and in tandem the *PB Herald*, were prospering as they entered the twentieth century. Revenue was no doubt solid with strong advertising, and Muir made two major investments: a grand building to signify the newspaper's importance and to replace the premises damaged by fire, and a larger press. The advent of a Cossar flat-bed press, also manufactured by Payne & Sons, was the pinnacle of achievement for the *PB Herald*. As the most up-to-date Cossar in Australasia it was a source of immense pride and arrived in August 1907 from England with an engineer, W.H. Hargreaves, who supervised its assembly. In an interview while in Gisborne, Hargreaves said: 'This is the largest, latest, and best Cossar flat-bed machine turned out'. He added that the machine's designer, Mr Cossar, felt there was no further room for refinement.<sup>48</sup>

Thomas Cossar, who served a ship-building apprenticeship before entering his late father's printing office in Glasgow, experimented for five years with his own printing press before he eventually succeeded in devising a method to enable the flat-bed machine to be fed from a reel of paper rather than cut sheets. The principle he took to Payne & Sons in 1903 was advanced but not a complete blueprint. According to James Moran, the first complete machine, a single-cylinder Cossar press designed to print a newspaper of eight pages in two operations, was shipped to New Zealand in 1903.<sup>49</sup> This seems unlikely because Hargreaves, who was chosen by Payne & Sons to oversee the building of the machines during Cossar's absences in his own business, reported that: 'Before turning out the first machine a few difficulties were found, but were successfully

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<sup>48</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

<sup>49</sup> Moran (1973) p. 206.

overcome by Mr Cossar'.<sup>50</sup> It would seem that the timing was too tight for a press to have been developed, marketed, ordered, manufactured and to have either arrived or be in transit to New Zealand. In his interview with the *PB Herald*, Hargreaves did mention that the first machine was a single cylinder, but there was no reference to it having come to New Zealand.

The Cossar machine bought by the *PB Herald* could well have been the machine to which Moran referred for three reasons:

1. Hargreaves, Payne & Sons' senior engineer – at least for working on the Cossar – travelled from England to supervise its installation. This was perhaps mandatory for a first installation but it seems a considerable expense if there was already an engineer in New Zealand tutored in the Cossar press, albeit a single cylinder and not the double cylinder one-operation model erected in Gisborne.
2. In the 1924 Jubilee edition it was stated that: 'The Herald some seventeen years ago led the way in the printing trade of the Dominion by introducing the Cossar machine, the first of its type to come this way'. The report was from first-hand information for the two primary staff members no doubt responsible for that edition, editor Lennie Muir and printing foreman/publisher Fred Muir, were employed at the *PB Herald* well before 1907.<sup>51</sup>
3. A supplement produced by the *Gisborne Herald* when it introduced a Duplex Rotary Press in August 1945 states that the *PB Herald* was the first office 'in either Australia or New Zealand to install a Cossar printing machine'.<sup>52</sup>

The flat-bed web Cossar was designed to fill the gap between the sheet-fed Wharfedale and the fast-speed rotary machine, which necessitated an expensive stereotyping plant. It was advertised by Alex. Cowan & Sons Limited as 'The ideal press for provincial newspapers with a circulation too large for a two-feeder, and not large enough for a rotary'.<sup>53</sup> By July 1904 the *British Printer* reported that 'the Cossar machine is causing quite a stir at the present time'.<sup>54</sup> The success of the machine was such that the *PB Herald* waited just over twelve months<sup>3</sup> for its order to be fulfilled as 'Mr Cossar was

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<sup>50</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

<sup>51</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3, col.3.

<sup>52</sup> *GH* 18 August 1945.

<sup>53</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, August 1904, vol.1, no.2, supplement, np.

<sup>54</sup> *British Printer*, London, June-July 1904, vol.17, no.99, p.136.



anxious to have in the very latest improvements, which he considered, as has been proved, would be a very great advantage'.<sup>55</sup> The break-through for the newspaper proprietor was its immense improvement in paper feed and the neatly folded end result:

With the Cossar flat-bed web a continuous roll of paper over three miles in length is automatically worked through the whole paper of eight pages printed at the rate of about 3600 per hour, the papers cut, folded, pasted together in pages, and counted in two dozen lots ready for delivery.<sup>56</sup>

The advent of the Cossar was news indeed, and the newspaper published considerable detail about the machine and its installation. Apart from the mechanical details, it highlighted the fact that the machine had an automatic counter and was well controlled, because

the machinist had complete control without having to run around the machine, there being lever handles and foot brakes at handy points, and in case of emergency the machine could be brought to a standstill immediately. The machine has that strength and fine finish characteristic of British work.<sup>57</sup>

Many Australasian printers were well informed as to developments within the industry for a number received the *British Printer*, as is apparent from letters and critiques of work sent for assessment.<sup>58</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the stir caused by the Cossar in Britain was also felt in New Zealand when the *PB Herald* installed its new press. Frank Pirani of the *Fielding Star* sat in during the assembly and commissioning of the Cossar and the newspaper's comprehensive report stated that other proprietors also showed considerable interest. It took two weeks to erect the press over the concrete pit that was built to enable access for complete cleaning. A few minor adjustments meant the press was not fully operational on 10 August, when it was announced officially. The press was powered by a new seventeen horse-power Crossley gas engine.<sup>59</sup> The Cossar remained in operation at the *PB Herald* until after World War I, when it was replaced by 'the latest after-war model' Cossar press.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Two examples from the *British Printer* follow: June-July 1888, vol.1, no.6, p.2 (Coupland Harding of Napier was glad to receive the journal and wished it every success); November-December 1890, vol.III, no.18, p.3 (the question papers included in the *BP* were acknowledged as especially useful in NZ by Chas. B. Godber of Wellington).

<sup>59</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

<sup>60</sup> *GH* 18 August 1945.

At the *PB Herald* the presses were accorded an affectionate persona and reference was made to them colloquially during the period studied as: the Albion, the 'Lily' (always in inverted commas), the Payne Wharfedale and the Cossar. The size of the Cossar, in particular, gave it a focal place in the business; it was the heart of the matter and during production the hum and sense of expectation at the rear end of the building, where the press was housed, led to heightened activity, as those around scooped up newspapers to check, bundle together and deliver.

## Job-Printing

It is impossible to build a complete picture of the equipment used by the job-printing department for there was nothing grand about such a department and therefore little was written; to use a printer's term described above, it was the chapel to the newspaper's grander church. The *PB Herald* began with plant that was as simple as the needs of the times. Before the Albion was relegated to job printing, the work was undertaken on a small hand-press, part of the initial consignment from Napier. Later two 'platten' [*sic*] machines were added in succession according to Bushnell, which eased the load from the slow Albion.<sup>61</sup>

Invented in America early in the nineteenth century, the humble jobbing platen was an important mainstay for printers, whatever the size of their shop, until well into the twentieth century. Acceptance was initially slow, but eventually numerous versions of the machine were produced and the technology helped speed up production of the many small printed items required for commerce and industry. Importantly, the platen machine raised awareness and acceptance of dry printing, which did away with the necessity to first wet the paper. In 1897 John Southward, writing in *Progress in Printing and the Graphic Arts during the Victorian Era*, highlighted some of the other benefits; operation could be by one boy, the results were superior, especially for colour work where a good register was needed and, critically, the general public now expected a superior product where the impression did not show through on the reverse side. Southward said:

Previously work of this kind was done at a press, on which, with a boy rolling and a man pulling, 250 commercial cards could be printed in an hour. A quick platen machine will now do 2,000. The public used to be charged for 500 of such cards about 7s 6d, but 1,000 of them are now done for 4s 6d. Handbills, which in the old press days were about 5s per 1,000 are now charged 8s 6d for 10,000 and so on... The

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<sup>61</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2 cols.4 & 7.

public would not now tolerate the business cards, for instance, that were accepted sixty years ago.<sup>62</sup>

The *PB Herald's* first jobbing platen machine was either part of the order placed in Melbourne for additional machinery and type, mentioned in January 1878, or acquired during the following year, when £100 was spent improving equipment in the department. Around that time, the *PB Herald* acquired a small amount of stock from the *Standard* and, as business picked up, a further staff member was hired.<sup>63</sup> By early 1880 the job-printing manager announced the arrival of a new Empire fast printing machine, probably Bushnell's second 'platten' [*sic*] machine.<sup>64</sup> This no doubt arrived from Gordon & Gotch, Melbourne, agents for J. M. Powell & Son's Empire treadle platen machine. The Empire, said Moran, 'was characterized by an extra-large disc-like inking surface, nearly circular but cut across the base'.<sup>65</sup> The British-made platen was claimed by Gordon & Gotch to be 'the easiest working and strongest in the market, printing a larger forme than any other'.<sup>66</sup>

As with the Albion, thirty years before, the Payne Wharfedale was retained by the *PB Herald* in 1907, when the Cossar arrived. In 1924 it was recorded that 'this faithful press still renders useful service in the job-printing department'.<sup>67</sup>

Evidence of income from job printing is fragmentary at best. Kathleen Coleridge, when describing the ephemeral nature of job-printing commissions, maintains that 'at least half of the output of any printing press in colonial New Zealand was job-printing'.<sup>68</sup> Coleridge suggests, however, that once past the pioneering period provincial newspapers undertook jobbing work incidentally rather than as a reliable income stream.<sup>69</sup>

From advertisements within the newspaper it appears that job-printing was generally a strong department at the *PB Herald*. Occasionally it was the only printing establishment

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<sup>62</sup> Moran (1973) p.143-155.

<sup>63</sup> *PBH* 8 January 1878; 19 July 1879.

<sup>64</sup> *PBH* 14 February 1880.

<sup>65</sup> Moran (1973) p.151.

<sup>66</sup> *Australasian Newspaper Directory* (Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch, 1886), pp.5 & 9.

<sup>67</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.3.col. 4.

<sup>68</sup> K.A. Coleridge, 'Printing in Wellington: the pioneer period', *NZ Libraries*, December 1983, vol.44, no.4, p.61.

<sup>69</sup> Roderick Cave & Kathleen Coleridge, 'For Gospel and Wool Trade: Early Printing in New Zealand', *Printing History*, vol.13, 1985, p.25.

within the district, though certainly some sent their orders elsewhere. From approximately the time Allan Muir joined Thomas Crisp, the *PB Herald* Printing & Publishing office called its commercial printing arm Herald Print.

Job printing fell into roughly four categories during the period under discussion: stationery and associated business requirements; flyers, handbills and posters; more comprehensive printing, such as catalogues; and elaborate printing for product required to make an impact, such as the Theatre Royal's advertising card, most probably designed for national circulation, and the tickets for dinner with His Excellency, the Governor General of New Zealand, at the Masonic Hotel.<sup>70</sup>

During the Company's ownership, it is known the job-printing department upgraded its type and equipment, but to what level of sophistication is unknown. That a finely printed memorandum from the firm, sent late in 1879, was printed by the Wellington firm of Lyon & Blair, suggests either that the *PB Herald's* equipment was still limited or that an earlier proprietor had ordered a considerable stock. The second premise is unlikely as Carlile & Co probably printed their own or ordered from the *HB Herald*, and Dufaur probably used his own resources; therefore printing at the *PB Herald* was limited at the time of the Company's ownership.<sup>71</sup> A memorandum produced eight years later is on a different, less ornate, style of letterhead, probably produced by the firm, but it has no attribution.<sup>72</sup>

All successful Victorian commercial printers were required to keep up with fashion, and maintain a selection of fancy type. As Keith Maslen states in his study of the Dunedin firm of Matthews, Baxter & Company, the major purpose of the work was for display.

They [the types] were meant to be looked at, not through, and their designers' motto was 'Vive la différence'. At its extreme, the fashion, still practised in the firm in the late 1890s, was to set each line in a different style and different size.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Tairawhiti Museum (Theatre Royal brochure, approximately 1898); R.D.B. Robinson's scrapbook (ticket to the dinner – no year date is given), GDCA.

<sup>71</sup> Memorandum from the *Poverty Bay Herald* Office to T. Carter, Esq., 1 September 1879, NA, Auckland, BADZ Series 5181/28/166.

<sup>72</sup> Memorandum from Crisp & Muir, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>73</sup> K.I.D. Maslen, *Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin, New Zealand* (Melbourne: The Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Occasional Publication No.2, 1981) pp.6 & 7.

The earliest piece of ephemera extant from the *PB Herald*'s presses, and the only item available from the first decade, is a simple flyer from 28 August 1882. Twenty-seven of its thirty-four lines are of different typeface and size; therefore it, along with later examples, is a good example of Maslen's 'Vive la différence'. The flyer appeared for two days printed on coloured paper, first green then yellow.

A selection of presentation printing from around 1892 onwards is extant, for long-serving town clerk, W.D.B. Robinson, kept a scrapbook of memorabilia related to civic and personal events. Among the items are his annual subscription tickets (for example his membership card for the Gisborne Poultry Fanciers' Club, with its border and cockerel ornament - 1895), invitations, elaborate menus (such as the Farewell Banquet to His Excellency The Earl of Ranfurly - 1904) and dance cards; they all show the work executed by the *PB Herald* as professional and abreast with the times in style.<sup>74</sup> This is confirmed by the standard of work submitted to the *British Printer* by Paul Schwabe of the *PB Herald*.

An advantage for printers was that their craft was visible and portable. In spite of its isolation, printers in Poverty Bay could keep in touch with what their contemporaries were producing across the world, if they wished, and Schwabe did, for he chose to subscribe to the *British Printer*. Schwabe was actively involved for he wrote of his pleasure at receiving the journal and expressed particular interest in 'the type jobs'.<sup>75</sup>

The *British Printer* cast itself as an important medium between those engaged in the printing trade and their suppliers and, as it sought to raise the professionalism of the trade, it encouraged printers by offering competitions and an avenue for assessment of general work submitted. For printers far from the mainstream this was invaluable. Messrs Hastings & Jones of Townsville, who sent a 'very acceptable example', declared the journal was a 'perfect Godsend as we see nothing in the way of decent printing'.<sup>76</sup> Schwabe also sent work to be judged by his peers. His first parcel arrived in 1899. The critique is given in full:

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<sup>74</sup> R.D.B. Robinson's scrapbook, GDCA; Tairawhiti Museum, Gisborne (Theatre Royal brochure, approximately 1898).

<sup>75</sup> *British Printer*, January-February 1900, vol.XIII, no.73, p.29.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, March-April 1891, vol.IV, no.20, p.35.

The specimens forming a first parcel from Mr. Paul Schwabe, Poverty Bay *Herald* Office, Gisborne, New Zealand, might have come from one of any dozen well-known jobbing offices we might name in this country, the style and general production being quite up to date. Business cards and small work appear to advantage, the skilful grouping of matter characterising the parcel shewing here more especially. Rule designs are well handled, usually in simple panel firms and worked in a tint. Lithotone headings are also well used. The address is a fair type of the rule jobs – ornament used sparingly, good judgment in combining rule, and due appreciation of tasteful effects, and shall we add, just a lack of finish in closing up rules. The modern Captain Cook visiting this Bay would certainly not dub it poverty-stricken in a printerian sense.<sup>77</sup>

The *PB Herald* proudly quoted almost verbatim from the *British Printer*. With slight poetic licence, however, they omitted the criticism of ‘and shall we add, just a lack of finish in closing up rules’.<sup>78</sup> Schwabe’s second parcel, received in 1901, was particularly well reviewed, as follows:

A second parcel of samples from Mr. Paul Schwabe, *Herald* office, Gisborne, New Zealand, shews to even greater advantage than the first set of specimens submitted. The display is entirely of a modern order, the use of rule, tints, and grouped matter all being truly workmanlike. The memo. heads are certainly good, whilst the pleasing ‘finish’ of the jobs is a further recommendation.<sup>79</sup>

Not all work from New Zealand was well received for the celebratory card put out by the Wellington firm of Lyon & Blair for its fiftieth anniversary had rather poor type display, ‘unevenly whited out, and wanting in finish of details, especially in the rule ribbon at the top’. *Typo* reproduced the card as a supplement and their presswork ‘was badly out of register’, according to the *British Printer*.<sup>80</sup>

Much of the early job printing undertaken at the *PB Herald* was for local small businesses. In the nineteenth century the traders, with their habit of bulk purchase that necessitated individual wrapping, labelling and extension of credit to customers, were considerable consumers of printed material. From the beginning the *PB Herald* periodically advertised its wares:

Grocers’, Butchers’, Bakers’ and Storekeepers’ Billheads, Bags and Wrappers, at the Herald Office.

Tea papers, Coffee labels and all kinds of Grocers’ printing.

Fancy programmes in the newest styles;

Pill Box labels;

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, November-December 1899, vol.XII, no.72, p.314.

<sup>78</sup> *PBH* 8 March 1900.

<sup>79</sup> *British Printer*, May-June 1901, vol.XIV, no.81, p.144.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, March-April 1891, vol.IV, no.20, p.30.

Handbills, posters, playbills;  
Direction labels, Bottle labels and tickets;  
Pamphlets<sup>81</sup>

In other words, the *PB Herald* was equipped to help with all requirements, albeit with modest printing type and paper stock initially.

Another form of simple printing was the advertising flyer enclosed with the newspaper, where maximum impact at minimal cost was required. This method of imparting knowledge was used from at least 1882 as mentioned above. The nature of this advertising medium was transient. Three remain: the first, an advertisement for Professor A. Woodraski's 'Magnificent Stereoscopical Panorama'! and other marvels at Parnell & Boylan's Hall (28 August 1882), contains a more diverse range of type than the second, a simple light blue flyer announcing that a local business, Parnell & Boylan, was closing (6 November 1886); the third, for an Auckland merchant tailor, reverts to the sensationalism of the first, with bold headlines proclaiming 'Veni! Vidi! Vici'! (17 July 1891). There were no doubt more flyers than are traceable, and three were mentioned in the newspaper early in 1887: 'handbills for Dr Dunn's lecture and Mr Wilson dentist will be found in this issue', and a short while later a handbill was produced for Hannah's Shoe Store.<sup>82</sup>

Copies of a selection of the printing referred to above are included as Appendix D.

From time to time the newspaper gained extra revenue as a vehicle for distribution of community information. Examples of inserts included a registration form for the national election of 1893, catalogues for the Agricultural and Pastoral Show, a circular for the Carnival Committee's program and sports day programs.<sup>83</sup>

A service advertised in 1898 was for the printing of greetings in Christmas and New Year private cards, which were 'the fashion'. It is possible that these early cards were produced by the *PB Herald* – by 1905 it was recorded that they had an embossing

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<sup>81</sup> *PBH* November 1875.

<sup>82</sup> *PBH* 30 April 1887; 13 May 1887.

<sup>83</sup> *PBH* 27 September 1893 (registration form for national election); 29 July 1898 (A & P Show catalogue); 5 October 1898 (circular for Carnival Committee's program); 4 February 1902 (St Patrick's Day Sports catalogue).

machine, but the use of such a machine for Christmas cards would have been optional.<sup>84</sup> After its first year of publication, *Cowans* mentioned a number of greeting cards received from New Zealand. These were produced by the firms concerned, and the most notable was from the *Greymouth Evening Star* – ‘greeting Lino. Set; mounted photo. of Linos. and operators’.<sup>85</sup> Considerable detail about the cards received was given by both *Cowans* and the *British Printer*, but neither mentioned the *PB Herald*.

The Lyon & Blair memorandum form was not the only outsourced printing as considerable commercial printing was also being sent to Auckland, Wellington and Napier around 1879. When the management changed, editor and manager James Browne acted promptly. He reduced rates and: ‘the business has increased so largely, that we have found it necessary to enable us to complete the number of orders received, to make further additions to our job printing department’.<sup>86</sup>

Certainly Poverty Bay’s businesses were suffering in the depression of the late seventies and early eighties but it appears poor management mentioned earlier exacerbated problems in the commercial printing section, for it advertised heavily, even though its rival, the *Standard*, was out of production for about five months during 1879. A large advertisement, which appeared for months, demonstrated a lack of professionalism. Cheap printing was on offer at the ‘HERAD Job Printing Establishment’. The colophon, too, displayed a lack of rigour as for some time it read: ‘the ...Publishing Compy. (Limtied)’.

Printing was being undertaken outside the district in the mid-eighties too, for accounts published in the *PB Independent* show Cook County monthly payments payable to Wilson & Horton (Auckland) and Baldwin (*PB Independent*), with no mention of Chrisp & Muir.<sup>87</sup> Two further items indicate that the Harbor Board was having quite substantial printing done in Auckland (Wilson & Horton - £5.2.6) and Wellington (Lyon & Blair - £65).<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1905 (embossing machine); 16 November 1898 (Christmas cards). It is said the first Christmas card was designed by a British painter of pretty things, W.C.T. Dobson, in 1844. *Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase & Fable*, (London: Cassell and Company, 1956 ed.) p.206.

<sup>85</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, February 1905, vol.1, no.5, p.17.

<sup>86</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

<sup>87</sup> *PB Independent* 7 November 1885; 12 November 1885.

<sup>88</sup> *PB Independent* 12 November 1885; 22 November 1885.



Printing was also going beyond New Zealand's shores. As an example, a New Zealand insurance company sent its annual almanack to be lithographed in California in 1880, much to the disgust of local residents. The money was needed within the colony during this depressed period, said the *PB Herald*, but if it was not possible to achieve the high standard required then at least send the work to New South Wales or Victoria, or even London or Liverpool.<sup>89</sup>

Competition from the metropolitan printers was taken seriously but the local firms at least had an edge over their rivals with the speedy production of certain printing, and local knowledge. The *PB Herald* first advertised that handbills could be printed in half an hour and distributed through the town but perhaps this was optimistic, for two months later the time given was one hour. Speed was occasionally a handicap, however, for one of the few extant examples shows an inverted 'n', as the manager became the 'mauager'.<sup>90</sup> With the doubling of time also came an increased sales pitch, for by now production for the posters, handbills or playbills was from the Herald Atmospheric Power Printing Establishment.<sup>91</sup> Larger printing establishments in the colony had enjoyed steam printing for some time, the first arrival being in 1862 when the *Otago Daily Times* upgraded with a modest two-cylinder press,<sup>92</sup> and the *PB Herald's* use of this grandiose title was no doubt to 'puff' themselves; there is no evidence of the title having been used, with most work simply signed 'Herald'.

Another form of transient advertising undertaken by the *PB Herald*, where product from the job printing section was once again circulated within the newspaper, was the distribution of real estate plans. At least one appeared as an insert within the newspaper.<sup>93</sup> The size of some of the remaining real estate announcements suggests that sometimes they appeared purely in poster form. They were most likely distributed beyond the confines of the Poverty Bay area and their printing also reached beyond the district. The few remaining copies show the *PB Herald* was in competition with the

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<sup>89</sup> *PBH* 16 January 1880.

<sup>90</sup> Professor A. Woodraski's Stereoscopic Panorama, 28 August 1882.

<sup>91</sup> *PBH* 13 January 1886 (½ hour); 1 March 1886 and 19 March 1895 – (1 hour to produce and distribute).

<sup>92</sup> Jeb Byrne, 'The Comparative Development of Newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the Nineteenth Century', *American Studies International*, vol. XXXVII, no.1, 1999, p.58.

<sup>93</sup> *PBH* 1 August 1893 (plans for Kaiti sub division).

*Gisborne Times* (the second *Telephone* became the *Gisborne Times* on 1 January 1900) and both faced competition from Auckland's *New Zealand Herald*.<sup>94</sup>

The threat of competition from outside the district continued for decades, as from time to time the newspaper advertisements emphasized that the *PB Herald* job printing rates for every type of work were below those of Auckland and Wellington.<sup>95</sup> Tendering for work and the frequent undercutting of quotations was an industry concern voiced in *Typo* by R. Coupland Harding in 1887. The tendering system was beset with evils, he said, and the competitive system meant that skilled trades-people were frequently not receiving an adequate wage.<sup>96</sup> In their half-yearly report of 1893, the Typographical Society also highlighted the problem, plus it sought to protect its members by proposing steep tariffs on the importation of stereotypes and matrices of articles.<sup>97</sup>

Winning work by tender required judgment, reputation, no doubt occasional luck, and was sometimes aided by questionable decision-making (as is mentioned in chapter 2). Gisborne's council contracts are discussed in detail below. Amongst the other contracts put out for tender were requirements for sporting events, and from time to time the publication of the local Almanack.<sup>98</sup> For the most part the *PB Herald* was not given the comfort of a near monopoly; for example, the company published the Almanack in 1880, and the following year the contract was awarded to H.J. Bushnell who was still employed at the *PB Herald* (more than 2000 copies were produced, for circulation was given as guaranteed at that figure). Bushnell left to establish himself as an independent printer in 1898.

Besides Allan Muir and Herbert Bushnell, other printers registered within the district in 1888 were: C.H. Webb, John Fisher and J.J. Hay. Hay left no trace. The early registers were sometimes inaccurate or incomplete, and in this instance there was no mention of Gisborne's earliest independent printer, Thomas Adams, who originally trained as an

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<sup>94</sup> Tairawhiti Museum, Gisborne (Aberdeen Road sub-division, 15 December, *Herald* Print); (Wainui Road/Parau Road, 14 December 1901, *NZ Herald*); (Lowe Street/Childers Road, 2 August 1902, *Herald* Print); (Awapuni Road, Waikanae, 2 August 1902, the *Times*).

<sup>95</sup> *PBH* 6 March 1896.

<sup>96</sup> *Typo*, 26 February 1887, vol.1, no.2, p.10.

<sup>97</sup> *PBH* 18 January 1894.

<sup>98</sup> e.g. *PBH* 22 December 1888 – Waerenga Hika Jockey Club racing books, £2; 10 October 1891 – PB Turf Club's privileges cards, £3.17.6; 30 October 1891 – Spring Racing Meeting cards, £4.2.6.

ironmonger. He opened the first stationery shop in Gisborne in 1874, and died in 1905.<sup>99</sup> An example of considerable inaccuracy was the rearranging of Bushnell's name: he was recorded as Robert Bushnell in an Affidavit (1882), and *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory* was particularly confused for he was James A. Bushull, James A. Basheel, James A. Bushell, and James Bushnell.<sup>100</sup>

By 1905, when the *PB Herald* opened its new doors, the job printing department was 'a lofty and spacious room well equipped with a fine selection of fancy types and with all the plant necessary for the prompt and satisfactory execution of orders'. Two gas engines of unknown capacity powered all the printing plant.<sup>101</sup>

### COUNCIL AND PUBLIC BODY CONTRACTS

Yet another source of income, both for the newspaper and the job-printing department, was from the district's statutory bodies. During the *PB Herald's* early years copy letters in the Borough Council records show that the Cook County Council, the district governing body established in 1876, and the Borough Council incorporated in 1877, sought to apportion their printing contracts evenly between the *Standard* and the *PB Herald*.<sup>102</sup> Figures given in November 1878 show this was not always even, for the Printing & Publishing Company was paid £18.6.3 to the *Standard's* £30.0.0.<sup>103</sup>

Letters in 1882 to both the *Standard* and the *PB Herald* specified that the tender for printing and advertising give a price for the first insertion and all subsequent ones. 'Forms and tabulated matter as per specimens supplied herewith. I also forward an abstract of the forms numbered. In tendering please quote no: placing the price opposite each', said the town clerk.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *PBH* 16 November 1880; obituary 20 February 1905; J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. McKay, 1982) p.195; *The Australasian Federal Directory of Commerce, Trades & Professions 1888-9* (Melbourne & Sydney: J.W.F. Rogers) p.481.

<sup>100</sup> Affidavit AK 148 filed 1 September 1882 at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act; James A. Bushull - *Wise's NZPO Directory, 1883-4* (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co., 1884), p.150; James A. Basheel, *ibid.* (1885-6), p.170; James A. Bushell *ibid.* (1890-1), p.210; and James Bushnell, *ibid.* (1892-3), p.314.

<sup>101</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1905.

<sup>102</sup> BCCB 29 March 1882-12 May 1886, GDCA. (To copy an article iron oxide ink was used then the letter was sandwiched between pieces of damp and dry linen and clamped into a letterpress; the brown ink 'rusted'. With practice the method took three minutes. [The Wells Fargo History Museum, San Francisco, CA 94163]. Copies in the Borough Council's tissue book are not clear-cut and the use of water is evident.)

<sup>103</sup> *PBH* 30 November 1878.

<sup>104</sup> BCCB, (1882-86), no. 158 dated 20 December 1882, GDCA.

Unfortunately the tender documents no longer exist in this instance but the *PB Herald* reported that its tender for job printing was accepted in January 1883. Chrisp, however, was elected that year as a councillor and the *Standard* challenged the tender. As a consequence the *PB Herald* did not accept council advertising for a time, and management extricated itself from the predicament by assigning the tender to James Browne, former editor and a bookseller at the time, who in turn declared he had no press and would have the work undertaken by the *PB Herald*. He assessed the value of the printing as between £50 and £60 annually, depending upon what was required, and stated he would not give a guarantee of £50 without getting some profit.<sup>105</sup> The requirement for a guarantee was not specified in the council's correspondence on file until 1885, though the ephemeral existence of some of Gisborne's newspapers no doubt caused them to call for two sureties in the sum of £50. Council's letter of 25 April 1885 also required the tenderer to call at their office, as 'many of the forms are now in use'.<sup>106</sup>

For one month in early 1885, the *PB Herald* was the only newspaper published in the district, before John Baldwin began the weekly *PB Independent*. At that time the *PB Herald* carried all the Cook County Council notices, such as tenders for contracts, and stated that the newspaper was mailed to all parts of the spread-out Cook County.<sup>107</sup> Once again, in early 1886 the *PB Herald* claimed it was the only newspaper circulating in the district and it was the medium used by general government, for example the Cook County Council, the Borough Council, the Harbor Board and all district roads boards. There was a hiatus for two months at the weekly *PB Independent*, around the time Baldwin moved his plant, but the *PB Herald*'s claim appears condescending for Baldwin had not closed his operation.<sup>108</sup> Certainly Chrisp & Muir were awarded the Borough Council printing contract for the year ending March 1886.<sup>109</sup>

It appears that the partnership's dominance caused the town clerk some irritation, although the tenor of his letters was calmer by 1888, when the stability of the *PB Herald* was no doubt of some help as he attempted to strike fair and reasonable deals for all. The year after the *Standard*'s third suspension, when the only other newspaper in production

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<sup>105</sup> *PBH* 1 March 1883.

<sup>106</sup> BCCB, (1882-86) no. 627 dated 25 April 1885, GDCA.

<sup>107</sup> *PBH* 12 February 1885.

<sup>108</sup> *PBH* 13 January 1886.

<sup>109</sup> BCCB, (1882-86) no. 630 dated 6 May 1885, GDCA.

in Gisborne was the *Telephone* (27 October 1883-12 February 1885), Chrisp & Muir received a curt letter that rescinded their contract to print the burgess roll in 1884.<sup>110</sup> It is likely that the business suffered as Wellington-based William was very part-time, as was his brother, Allan, who visited during 1884, but only took up the reins of printing again in November of that year. The town clerk's frustration with the situation led to his request that Chrisp & Muir discount their prices in 1885 by 10 per cent, as their prices during 1884 were too high. The partners agreed.<sup>111</sup>

Almost as soon as he settled, Allan and his printing counterpart at the *Telephone* chose not to conform to the council's processes. Muir's acerbic management style, which emerged again with the dismissal of editor Thomson (see chapter 5), caused tension within his partnership. The arrangement no doubt suited Gannon, at the about-to-be defunct *Telephone*, who probably knew his position was weak. The negotiation is illustrated by an extract from a letter from Muir to his brother, William:

On Monday I found that the tenders for the Country work had to be sent in on Wednesday and saw Gannon in reference to it, when we agreed that no tender should be put in. Chrisp was in a funk for fear that they meant to exclude us and it was hard for him to think that they were going to act square. When the tenders came to be opened and it was found that there were none for the printing the members thought it was an oversight but Gannon explained that as the newspapers were at great expense in giving the reports of Council meetings...they thought it was only fair for them not to tender but let the council give their work impartially to both of them.<sup>112</sup>

The *Telephone*'s closure left the *PB Independent*, which went tri-weekly in June 1885, and the *PB Herald* competing for printing contracts.<sup>113</sup> Competition came from printers outside the district too, as discussed. Another *Standard*, the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* appeared in June 1887 and the *PB Independent* closed in August 1888. Earlier that year all three newspapers were asked to tender for the Borough Council printing. By this time Allan R. Muir was sole proprietor of the *PB Herald*, and his tender of £19.19.0 was accepted for all the Borough Council printing for the year ending 31 March 1889. At no other time was the tender figure quoted in reply.<sup>114</sup> This figure was

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid. no. 452 dated 30 May 1884.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. no. 671 dated 8 August 1885.

<sup>112</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>113</sup> BCCB, (1882-1886), no. 671 dated 8 August 1885, GDCA.

<sup>114</sup> BCCB, 29 August 1887-18 September 1891, nos 77-8, 92, dated 17 March 1888 and 21 April 1888, GDCA.

for the Borough Council printing only. The information is of more value as an indication of the strength of the *PB Herald's* operation rather than as a help with revenue.

As the community grew and prospered council printing became decidedly more elaborate and council by-laws appeared in booklet form. Printing was by Bushnell, Adams and the *PB Herald*. A bookbinding department was introduced at the *PB Herald* in August 1905. The council took advantage of this and by 1912, if not before, the annual mayor's report was a fine production – clothbound and with marbled end papers.<sup>115</sup>

The *PB Herald's* job-printing department was not always equipped to handle such local body contracts, for in 1887 Chrisp & Muir presumably won a contract to print the Harbor Board Schedule but sub-contracted the printing to Wilson & Horton in Auckland. The sub-contracting was not due to Chrisp's role as harbour master, for he had resigned in 1886. The Auckland firm made an error of £4 in their quotation that the *PB Herald* had to carry, for the Harbor Board clerk was instructed that they 'cannot grant any sum over the amount of the contract'.<sup>116</sup>

## Equipment

### TYPE

The newspaper began with a limited selection of type passed on from the *HB Herald*. The first mention of additions to their stock came during the Company's ownership. In early 1878 the Company announced an upgrade of machinery and type. Further supplies arrived in March 1879. The additions were promoted thus:

which includes some of the latest novelties and designs in ornamental types and borders. We have also received a large consignment of printing and commercial stationery, which will enable us to execute the work entrusted to us with the same neatness, taste, and expedition, as in the best offices in the colony.<sup>117</sup>

From this time at least, the *PB Herald* was printed with hard face type from the Scottish firm of Miller & Richard. Because of its serviceability, this type was especially suited to newspaper work. The type was obtained from agents, Gordon & Gotch Limited,

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<sup>115</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1905; general council printing, GDCA.

<sup>116</sup> *PBH* 11 May 1887.

<sup>117</sup> *PBH* 12 December 1878; 31 March 1879.

Melbourne, who claimed that nine out of ten newspapers in the Australasian colonies used this product and that they offered the largest stock or indented to order.<sup>118</sup>

The *PB Herald* also used the 'choicest founts of the best' American types but, while their house advertisement at the time highlighted their premier type from English and American foundries, it did not specify the source of this type.<sup>119</sup> It could well have been Alex. Cowan & Sons Limited, who were agents for the American Type Founders Company, and who promoted the fact that they were prepared to replace type on the old body with 'English or American Point Lining Type'.<sup>120</sup> They also offered to practically give away their wooden type. The linotype machines, of course, produced their own type and from their introduction in 1900 onwards fresh type was used for the newspaper each day for all but some advertisements.

Competition for commercial printing was taken seriously and again in 1886 the *PB Herald* announced not only that it had a further selection of plain and ornamental type but that their letter-press printing rates were comparable with those from the main centres.<sup>121</sup> As advertising picked up and space became more of a premium, the newspaper carried few house advertisements: one in May 1894 advised that the firm carried a large stock of printers' stationery, imported directly from the manufacturers; a second brief announcement in June 1898 told of a considerable increase in the range of jobbing and fancy type held.<sup>122</sup> Further stock was added in 1907, when the 'jobbing department was brought thoroughly up to date'.<sup>123</sup>

Items held in Robinson's scrapbook attest to the increased range of stock, for a competitive small town printer needed variety – care must surely have been taken with elaborate blocks in particular, to ensure they were not overused, with the consequent loss of cachet. The investment is not surprising for Allan Muir was a professional printer with nearly fifty years' experience and therefore, even though he appeared parsimonious in negotiations with staff as mentioned, he probably considered the tools of the trade a good investment.

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<sup>118</sup> *Australasian Newspaper Directory* (1886) p.3.

<sup>119</sup> *PBH* 18 March 1884.

<sup>120</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, June 1904, vol.1, no.1, p.13.

<sup>121</sup> *PBH* 13 January 1886.

<sup>122</sup> *PBH* 8 May 1894; 6 June 1898.

## INK

With the advance in the printing industry in the nineteenth century, the manufacture of printing ink also began to stabilize and become an industry, rather than an individual production. As with paper, ink used for newspaper printing was inferior to that used for finer printing. For some time the black news inks were based on mineral oils, which had no oxidation capability, and until about 1925 inks were still based on the oil/rosin/pigment formulations. Mixing the viscous paste required skill.<sup>124</sup>

By the latter half of the nineteenth century coloured printing inks became surer, with new, brighter and more stable pigments. The *HB Herald*, parent company to the *PB Herald*, introduced a second colour in their commercial printing on 7 June 1862. At its birth, the *PB Herald* advertised that it had plain and coloured inks; the colours highlighted were gold, silver or copper bronze.<sup>125</sup>

File copies of the *PB Herald* show that the inking process was occasionally inconsistent. An example in 1882 was an advertisement for Woodyear & Ross's Circus. Three blocks, which were presumably provided by the circus, show erratic reproduction. On one occasion the advertisement was particularly badly handled as the ink bled badly.<sup>126</sup>

Variations in ink are discernible occasionally. Page 4 was printed first, as is further discussed in chapter 8, and on two instances in 1893 page 4 appears in a slightly different coloured ink, suggesting that it was printed at a different time from pages 1, 2 and 3. For example, on 11 August page 4 of the file copy is in blue ink; this may not have followed through the whole run, and, as on this day, the A & P Show's catalogue was included with the newspaper, it is probable that the pressmen were using up blue ink from the catalogue. The following day the black ink appeared again, pale but firm. The back page of the file copy of the 20 November has aged with a tinge of pinky-red. It appears the ink, and perhaps the paper, were different from that used in the main run of the newspaper. Other variations are not so obvious but are found quite regularly.

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<sup>123</sup> *PBH* 16 September 1907.

<sup>124</sup> Steve Wood, 'The History of Printing Ink' in *The Jubilee Series of Monographs* no. 1 for the British Printing Society (Sutton Coldfields: Westwood Press, 1994) pp.3-7.

<sup>125</sup> Johncock (1992), pp.7 & 8; *PBH* 5 January 1874.

<sup>126</sup> *PBH* 6 September 1882 – the advertisements appeared from 31 August 1882.



## PAPER

Around the time of the *PB Herald's* establishment, New Zealand's earlier hopes of establishing a paper-making industry from *phormium tenax* (flax) received a fillip with the establishment of the Flax Commission in 1870. Experiments were also undertaken across the Tasman as Melbourne papermaker Samuel Ramsden imported small amounts of *phormium tenax* in the early 1870s.<sup>127</sup> In New Zealand an attempt was made to introduce a bonus system and by 1874, the year of the *PB Herald's* founding, a bonus of £1,000 was offered for the first fifty tons of printing paper to be produced.

Experimentation with other types of material, such as tussock, was also undertaken, but no results met with commercial success. Finally, local industry was more or less killed off by the Customs Act of 1882, which enabled paper of not less than demy size to enter the country duty free.<sup>128</sup>

While the large Melbourne newspapers, such as the *Age*, imported their own newsprint, general agents brought paper to Melbourne from Britain and redistributed it. O. Levey, in particular, exported on to New Zealand on a fairly regular basis.<sup>129</sup> Newsprint supplied to registered newspaper proprietors was exempt under the 'Preferential and Reciprocal Trade Act, 1903', which gave preference to Britain and its dominions by charging additional duty on certain goods not manufactured in those parts. Supplies also came from America, and in 1905 printing paper worth £28,429 came to New Zealand from that source.<sup>130</sup>

The early newspapers in the Poverty Bay district suffered through isolation, once again, as maintaining a sufficient stock of newsprint was a balancing act between cost and supply. Sometimes the weather beat them as mentioned in chapter 1. Bushnell recalled:

at times it so happened that supplies would be out in the Bay for days before being available. On one occasion the stock of news print of both papers had run out, and this necessitated one journal having to search the town for a sufficient supply for its next

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<sup>127</sup> *Journal of Commerce of Victoria*, 9 January 1873, no. 930, vol XIX, p.12 – S. Ramsden imported 10 cwt of *phormium tenax* to the value of £2; 3 April 1873, no.942, vol.XIX, p.12 – 4 tons to the value of £42.

<sup>128</sup> Sydney Shep, 'The Paper Record: *Phormium Tenax* and New Zealand Papermaking', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.21, no.3, 1997, pp.161-3.

<sup>129</sup> *Journal of Commerce of Victoria*, 27 February 1873, no.937, vol.XIX, p.14 – E & D Syme (the *Age*) 236 packets of newsprint in four groups worth £2,650; 27 March 1873, no.941, vol.XIX, p.19 – O. Levey exported 29 packages of paper worth £560 to New Zealand.

<sup>130</sup> *The NZ Official Year-Book 1906*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1906) pp.284-9.

issue. By good chance a few reams of white wrapping paper were unearthed in a merchant's store.<sup>131</sup>

In 1876 Webb apologized for the poor quality of the newsprint. His order was incorrect and 'to our utter dissatisfaction paper of a very inferior quality was sent to us'.<sup>132</sup> With the *PB Standard*'s stock of newsprint low, he had no choice but to accept the consignment.

Gisborne's press was not alone in experiencing these difficulties. Patrick Day, although referring to an earlier period of New Zealand's development, described the phenomenon as 'organizational problems associated with regular newspaper production in an isolated country'.<sup>133</sup> In the case quoted from Bushnell, the *Pretty Jane* negotiated the bar the next day and all were relieved.<sup>134</sup>

The *PB Herald* probably used English or Scottish-manufactured paper redistributed from Melbourne. As with New Zealand, Australia 'imported from the Home country free of duty'.<sup>135</sup> It is known that at least by 1894 the *PB Herald* imported newsprint directly from England. As the district grew and with it the newspaper, the *PB Herald* increased its capacity in various ways. On this occasion the wider newsprint imported was to enable another four columns to be added, making each page eight columns. Gisborne's newspaper was thus equal in size to the metropolitan *Dunedin Star*, 'one of the leading evening newspapers in the colony'.<sup>136</sup> By 1924 the newspaper was using Canadian newsprint.

It took time for the *PB Herald* to be able to maintain a reasonable store of newsprint and for some years only a few reams were held, which led to crises from time to time. In the general market there was no scarcity in the 1870s and, as the cost of paper made from rags escalated, most newspapers used a product made from straw, although leading

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<sup>131</sup> H.J.B. [H.J. Bushnell], 'The Early Press' in *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) p.144

<sup>132</sup> *PB Standard* 1 April 1876

<sup>133</sup> P. Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1880* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.1

<sup>134</sup> *Life in Early Poverty Bay* (1927) p.144

<sup>135</sup> Shep (1997) p.163.

<sup>136</sup> *PBH* 24 April 1894.

journals, such as the *London Times*, printed on paper made more or less from esparto grass.<sup>137</sup>

With the passage of time, the frequently acid-heavy method of paper production has meant some of the file copies held in the purpose-built strong-room at the *Gisborne Herald* office are now extremely fragile. However, the paper has not aged consistently as, for example, it is of particular poor quality during the latter part of 1894, and in September 1898, when the newspaper was changed to an enlarged format. This probably indicates the proprietors acquired their newsprint from different sources.<sup>138</sup>

Over the period studied the dimensions of the newspaper page also changed, as follows:

January 1874	Issue no. 1	41.5 cm wide x 54 cm long (7 cols 4 pages);
October 1883	Issue no. 2036	44.5 cm wide x 62 cm long;
April 1894	Issue no. 6959	49.5 cm wide x 62 cm long (8 cols)
September 1898	Issue no. 8319	53 cm wide x 68.5 cm (9 cols)
August 1907	Issue no. ?*	43.6 cm wide x 66.5 cm long (7 cols 8 pages)

\*archival files missing from August 13 to 31<sup>st</sup>

For a short time in mid-1905 the length of the newspaper increased dramatically, to the point where the bound file copies are folded under and have frayed badly. The length is approximately 91.5 cm. The additional length was an attempt to accommodate a newspaper that had grown beyond four pages. Regular supplements also appeared twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The arrival of the Cossar press relieved the tension between page size and increasing content; the broadsheet became smaller but eight pages were produced regularly. By 1914 the *PB Herald* was fluctuating between ten and twelve pages.

## General

A four-page illustrated supplement to the *PB Herald* helped celebrate Christmas in 1883; this and others that followed may have been acquired from a larger newspaper, such as Auckland's *New Zealand Herald*, for no illustrations had yet appeared in the newspaper. There are no illustrated supplements remaining within the files, nor is the 32-column supplement 'full of reading matter' promised in 1895 available. Earlier, in 1878, a group

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<sup>137</sup> Joel Munsell, *Chronology of the Origin and Progress of Paper and Paper-Making*, 1876 (New York: Albany reprint, 1980) pp.216-227.

<sup>138</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1898.

of supplements with reading matter alone were included, as is discussed in chapter 7. The illustrated supplements, at least, were probably produced by one of the metropolitan newspapers, using the imported stereotypes and matrices mentioned earlier.<sup>139</sup>

In December 1885 the *PB Independent* offered an illustrated Christmas supplement. That newspaper certainly did not have the facilities needed to produce such a magazine and indeed it did not arrive on schedule. An apology on 19 December explained that through ‘some mistake in transit our bundle of supplements has not arrived’.<sup>140</sup>

## Valuation of Plant

Valuer John Coleman assessed the business as worth £2,473 on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1885. During the preceding year £200 worth of plant was added, taking the total plant figure to £1,000 by February 1885. A depression caused the overall valuation to remain almost static for two years and by July 1887 the business was valued at £2,531. Plant and machinery, according to the valuer’s schedule (not sighted), was worth £823.2.10.<sup>141</sup>

No data is available for a direct comparison with other newspapers. The valuation is known for two provincial newspapers within a five-year time span: they were the *Bruce Herald*, Milton, which was valued for sale in 1877 at what seems an excessive price – sale price £12,000; value of plant £1,500, stationery £600... High book debts of £4,500 were included, compared with book debts of £1,551.15.6 for the *PB Herald* at February 1885. The second business was the *Evening Herald*, Wanganui, which became a company in 1882 with a capital of £7,500. This included a weekly publication, the *Yeoman*.<sup>142</sup>

## Printing Staff

Strength was a prerequisite for a printer. To operate a wooden or iron lever press it was estimated that a man needed to weigh at least 160 pounds. The early pressmen were said to advertise their occupation by the way they walked.<sup>143</sup> Even after the advent of steam

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<sup>139</sup> *PBH* 23 December 1895 – mentioned that the supplement would be published tomorrow.

<sup>140</sup> *PB Independent* 19 December and 24 December 1885.

<sup>141</sup> Valuation, 27 July 1887, Muir family papers.

<sup>142</sup> R. Harvey, ‘Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers’, *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.17, no.2, 1993, pp.74-5.

<sup>143</sup> W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: from Franklin to the machine age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) p.13.

printing there were still full cases of type to lift and heavy formes to be placed onto the beds of the presses. Very few advertisements for staff appeared in the *PB Herald* but in 1901, though the newspaper was considerably past the hand press stage, 'a strong lad' was required.<sup>144</sup>

The first printers and compositors employed at the *PB Herald* in 1874 were: J. Howell, J. Morgan, John Mogridge and P. Langford. The first rather unclear photograph shows them all to be young, but of an age where they had probably served at least some sort of apprenticeship.<sup>145</sup> Mogridge, who travelled from Napier with Carlile and the press, only stayed a short while before joining the *Standard*. He was eighteen when he arrived in Gisborne. Morgan may have remained for a time as he is listed in the 1886 *PB Almanack* as a printer, though is missing from an 1878 directory.<sup>146</sup>

Many staff members stayed considerably longer than Mogridge at the *PB Herald*. Bushnell, who joined as printing foreman in 1878 at the age of twenty-six, remained for twenty years until he established an independent printing house in Gisborne. The composing room foreman, A.D. Robinson, joined the firm in 1889 and was still there at the time of the 1924 jubilee, as was J.A. Eaton, who joined in 1893 and moved from hand compositor to linotype operator. Of these three, Bushnell at least had gained considerable experience elsewhere. As a boy he joined the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, first as a runner and later he 'ran off the first proof of the first issue of that journal'. His experience included time at the *New Zealander*, the *Evening News* and the *Daily Telegraph*.<sup>147</sup>

There was some interchange of staff between firms within the district. With such a small community this occurred by word of mouth. More often than not, however, staff presumably came from outside the district. Perhaps positions were advertised, but many were very likely advised through the industry network. The *PB Herald* carried no advertisements calling for printing staff, although from time to time a lad was required.

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<sup>144</sup> *PBH* 10 January 1901.

<sup>145</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2 cols 4,5,6 & 7.

<sup>146</sup> Wise's *NZPO Directory* (Dunedin: Henry Wise & Co., 1878); *Stubbs PB & Wairoa Almanack, Directory and Guide for 1886*.

Apart from the loyal band mentioned above it is almost impossible to ascertain details of the printers as the various directories, such as *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directories*, do not provide conclusive evidence. Paul Schwabe was with the *PB Herald* from at least 1899 unto 1904. Apart from his correspondence with the *British Printer*, as detailed, he also entered that journal's Seventh Gold Medal Competition in 1904 and was recorded on the 'roll of honour' as 64<sup>th</sup>. Eighty-seven competitors entered, with eighteen entrants from Australasia – a further two from New Zealand and fifteen from Australia.<sup>148</sup>

One machinist, E.A. Slack, who was initially with Thomas Porter at the *Telephone* joined the *PB Herald* shortly after Allan Muir's arrival.

I engaged Slack and gave the present machinist notice, now I shall endeavour to make a boy feed the machine and keep Slack on jobbing with a superintendent of the machine only.<sup>149</sup>

Slack remained at the *PB Herald* until around 1899, when he joined Hamilton T. Jones, as part-proprietor of the renewed *Telephone*.

Allan Ramsay Muir's second son, Frederick Percy, by all accounts a genial man, was inveigled into the newspaper largely against his will. Fred, as he was known, wished to go to sea but his destiny was otherwise, and he became printing manager and publisher of the *PB Herald*. His name did not appear as publisher on the colophon until 1910, but both he and Allan Lennie participated in the business as lads from the mid-1880s. When he officially joined the printing department is not known. After Lennie's death in 1935 he was managing director until his own death in 1938.

It is not possible to ascertain how the advent of the linotype machine affected staff numbers at the *PB Herald*. As the chief operator, A.D. McFarlane, was exceedingly skilled. He no doubt joined the firm with the arrival of the linotypes. McFarlane enjoyed a well-earned reputation as the 'fastest manipulator of the keys in New Zealand', according to his new employer.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924 p.2, col. 4; *The GH*, 6 August 1940 (Bushnell's obituary – he died aged 88); McKay (1982) p.385.

<sup>148</sup> *Cowans*, Melbourne, August 1904, vol.1, no.2, p.13.

<sup>149</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>150</sup> *PBH* 5 November 1900.

For those who mastered the art the linotype was a wonderful advance. In an interview many years later, an old hand at *Tablet Print* in Otago put it thus: ‘if Heaven was lined with linotypes, I wouldn’t mind working on ... a good one mind you’.<sup>151</sup> McFelm went on: ‘I enjoyed my work in the printing trade immensely. It was a trade for a thinking person’.

It was common practice for newspapers of the period to report on news of their profession and two such items in the *PB Herald* highlighted the effect mechanical type-setting was having: first, a report that the *Sydney Morning Herald* was making forty-five redundant when it introduced five Hattersley type-setting machines in December 1895, followed by a further five at the end of January; and, second, a claim that more printers than usual were looking for work in Wellington on the eve of the parliamentary session of 1902, and that many country journals had ‘shortened their staff by the employment of type-setting machinery’.<sup>152</sup>

A photograph of the *PB Herald*’s pressmen taken at the beginning of the twentieth century shows a complement of eleven; two men and one youth are in waistcoats with no apron, four men and one boy wear the dark blue aprons of compositors, and three men and one youth, probably those engaged in casting stereotype plates, sport white aprons.<sup>153</sup> While photographic evidence is not conclusive, the formality of the line-up suggests all staff were present. The variance in dress suggests two were operators on the clean linotypes, with the teenager an apprentice, and the remainder worked at the presses, with perhaps one printer’s devil and one apprentice. The photograph’s date is uncertain, but it is probably between 1900 and 1905, when the *PB Herald* had two linotypes. There may have been a slight increase in staff with the advent of more linotype machines and the new press, as another provincial newspaper of comparable size, the *Ashburton Guardian*, employed fifteen staff after their new press and linotypes were installed in 1907.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Interview with Maurice McFelm, Dunedin, New Zealand, 3 October 2002 – courtesy of Noel Waite. University of Otago, Dunedin.

<sup>152</sup> *PBH* 29 January 1895; 2 June 1902.

<sup>153</sup> By 1891 four-fifths of the colony’s children received primary schooling but secondary education remained the preserve of the wealthy. In 1901 the school leaving age was raised to 14 years, therefore the lad in this photograph was probably aged 14 – Graham J., ‘Settler Society’, in *Oxford History of NZ* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981) p.132 and A.C. Wilson *Wire & Wireless* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1994) p.85.

<sup>154</sup> Harvey, (1993) p.76.

The proportion of boys to men indicates Allan was working within industry guidelines. Evidence given at the 'Sweating Commission' in 1890 defined the ideal sought by the newly formed Canterbury Typographical Association that boy labour be restricted to production of weekly newspapers and job-printing. Journeyman-compositor Frederick Gerard, secretary of the association, expressed this view, as did Mr C.M. (pseudonym given), compositor and president of the Typographical Society in Auckland, who said: 'Apprentices can learn better on weekly papers or in jobbing-rooms, than on daily papers. The Society allows one boy to three men, but no boys on daily papers'.<sup>155</sup>

Not only was there concern for the child's welfare and skill-base, there was also concern that wages would decrease and competition increase. The printers were anxious to protect their positions. Experienced printers who addressed the 'Sweating Commission', held during a period of economic stringency in New Zealand, complained that professional positions were under threat and the industry in danger of deskilling, with the employment of a high proportion of boys and even girls. Many females worked in the binderies. The *Auckland Star* was 'the greatest offender' with its employment of between forty and fifty girls, according to Mr C.M.<sup>156</sup> The first female staff member at the *PB Herald*, Sadie Winifred Walker, arrived in 1903. Her role is unknown, but it is highly unlikely there were women employed in the composing room of the newspaper, on the main press or at presses in the job-printing department during the period studied.<sup>157</sup>

Morrison found that in country Victoria a few women had moved into journalism by the 1880s. Women were not employed as compositors, however, largely because of the trade barriers.<sup>158</sup> Gisborne did have one woman compositor during the period. Flora Baldwin, wife of John Baldwin, printer and editor of the *PB Independent* newspaper, set up type. As Baldwin's fortunes fell, Mrs Baldwin was listed as lessee. The *PB Independent* is discussed in further detail in chapter 3.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> 'Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire Into Certain Relations Between Employers of Certain Kinds of Labour and the Persons Employed Therein', *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (NZ) H.-5 (1890) Sweating Commission, paragraphs 1147 & 1570 (hereinafter abbreviated as Sweating Commission). No other identification is given for those interviewed, such as Mr C.M.

<sup>156</sup> Sweating Commission, paragraph 1567.

<sup>157</sup> *PBH* centennial edition, 5 January 1974, p. 29.

<sup>158</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, *The Contribution of the Country Press to the Making of Victoria, 1840-1890*, PhD thesis, Monash University, 1991, p.237.

<sup>159</sup> *PBH* 24 August 1888; 25 August 1888.



The 1865 Masters & Apprentices Act, with its system of binding apprentices from a minimum age of twelve and an indenture no more than five years, broke down. Industry struggled to create a legally binding uniform solution. The conservative *PB Herald* took the side of Richard Seddon on this occasion and rejoiced when the Masters & Apprentices Bill of 1895 proposed by William Pember Reeves, previously editor of the *Canterbury Times* and the *Lyttleton Times*,<sup>160</sup> was defeated. It was a ‘monstrous Bill, as it was wholly in favour of the apprentices’, declared the editor.<sup>161</sup>

Allan’s eldest sons did work at the newspaper office from a young age. In a letter to William, Allan said that Slack’s employment would ‘enable me to dispense with the man I recently got from Wellington for the boys are now at [unclear] and are of great assistance’.<sup>162</sup> Few names of those behind the presses appear in the *PB Herald* but one other boy who was mentioned was David Pirani, son of Henry Cohen Pirani, formerly manager of the *West Coast Times* and the *Marlborough Express*, and editor of the *HB Herald* in 1880. Young Pirani completed a full apprenticeship at the *PB Herald*, finishing in April 1880.<sup>163</sup>

The compositors and printers in general made few mistakes at the *PB Herald*. At times the quality of work lacked rigour, particularly around the difficult years of 1878-80, as mentioned. Also laziness crept in from time to time, when a change of date was overlooked, for example when the year date was left unchanged in early 1891 and again in 1895. Occasionally day-by-day dates suffered from inaccuracy or were altered with different type.<sup>164</sup> On 20 February 1891 an apology was carried because a serious error had occurred – the date of the Waiapu Jockey Club’s meeting was inaccurate. A piece of type dropped from the forme and what appeared as Friday March 1<sup>st</sup> should have read March 13<sup>th</sup>.

Proof reading initially was by the accountant. An advertisement during Browne’s time called for an employee to act as accountant, counter clerk and proof-reader.<sup>165</sup> For much

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<sup>160</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.214 & 217.

<sup>161</sup> *PBH* 20 February 1895.

<sup>162</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>163</sup> Scholefield (1958) pp.163-4; *PBH* 28 April 1880.

<sup>164</sup> *PBH* 11-19 March 1886 – a good example, where the 1 remained and the second numeral was altered in different type. An example of inaccuracy is found on 12 March, where page 2 says 21 March.

<sup>165</sup> *PBH* 9 September 1878.

of the twentieth century women were engaged as proof-readers. It is not known how Allan Muir handled the task. The fine work of checking text, in particular, needed concentration, for textual errors are picked up by reading rather than skimming. When a meaning was altered an error could be critical – and amusing. Two examples, which suggest that either the printers had trouble interpreting difficult handwriting or perhaps that the reporter misread his shorthand, were: a defendant at the Magistrates Court was misnamed – Hugh Binnie was called Hugh Bruce (7 April 1892) and, after the linotypes arrived, Supreme Court prisoner Iopa te Hau was referred to as ‘conscientious’ – the judge actually called him ‘contentious’ (14 April 1902).

## Working Conditions

The fine work undertaken by compositors, in particular, was hard on the eyes. An article written by James Browne (Snyder), and reproduced in the *PB Standard*, pointed out the toil behind the scenes, as he implored the public not to treat the results as a rag, or toss it aside contemptuously. He described life at a morning newspaper, which the *PB Herald* was at times, as were its rivals, and explained that during the diligent writing and coordination undertaken by the literary staff, the compositors were hard at work. And, said Browne,

for long hours afterwards, the compositors by gaslight are picking up the single letters which make up words and sentences put together by brain work, the pressman is getting ready for printing, the fly boys are being aroused from their slumbers, and in the small hours of the night, when most others are in dreamland, all in the printing office is life and activity. Every man and also every lad engaged on the mechanical department of the paper must possess considerable intelligence and a thorough knowledge of his work.<sup>166</sup>

Lighting at the *PB Herald* initially was by kerosene lamp or candle. It is known that the press was powered by gas after its introduction in 1884, but incandescent gas lighting may have not followed immediately. The morning paper was first produced in a free-standing building. A photograph shows six sash windows, but probably the building had roughly another six on the two sides not visible and therefore daylight hours were no doubt reasonable. The lack of currency of the early newspapers meant that preparation for a morning or evening edition could be largely undertaken during daylight hours. Two

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<sup>166</sup> *PB Standard* 3 May 1876.

editions in the files show candlewax, so reading in dim light, at the very least, was undertaken.<sup>167</sup>

The business moved to more central premises within two years. It is probable that there was considerably less natural light there, for the building was alongside the Argyll Hotel. The third move early in 1880 is better documented. There the printers worked in a large space of 36 x 33 feet. To the rear of the general printing area was a 12 foot square room, probably the storeroom, which meant the paper supplies were easily accessible. Two other rooms housed the editorial and administrative staff. The premises were down a right-of-way with buildings both sides. There may have been a window at either side of the rear paper store and perhaps a skylight, but overall natural light was probably poor.<sup>168</sup> The premises were extended before mid-1898, but details are limited.<sup>169</sup>

Compositors needed nimble fingers to set type, especially before the advent of the linotype, and printers initially worked with damp paper. Gisborne's frosty winter mornings must have taxed the printing staff in particular. The plan of the *PB Herald's* premises from 1880 shows two fireplaces in the front section, occupied by auctioneers Bourke and Smith, and no fireplaces in the rear. Heating was no doubt primitive, if available at all in the early period.

By 1905, when Allan Muir rebuilt his business after the previous year's fire, the printing department was again at the rear of the building. By then facilities were vastly improved. The publishing office, on the eastern side of the building, was lit by a 'handsomely-embossed plate-glass window'.<sup>170</sup> There was a central light-well adjacent to the job-printing area. The press area opened out at the rear to ensure easy access for those sorting and distributing the newspaper. The building was established before the arrival of electricity, which was available in Gisborne only from 20 March 1912.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> *PBH* 12 March 1874 and 21 June 1879 show candlewax.

<sup>168</sup> Memorandum of Agreement 1 January 1880 between Bourke & Smith and the PB Printing & Publishing Co. - gives a floor plan of the premises, document held at the *GH* office.

<sup>169</sup> DP 1110, (dated 10 June 1898) Land Information Office, Gisborne.

<sup>170</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1905.

<sup>171</sup> *Jubilee of the Civic Government*, (Gisborne: PB Herald Office, 1927) p.95.

A lack of safety features once printing became more mechanized meant that pressmen needed to exercise exceptional concentration. Well into the twentieth century this was still the case, as Charles Goodman, a printer with the *Manly Daily* from 1924, recalls:

Like most printers of those days we served a six-year term, and most carry the scars of no guards on machines – in my case and [*sic*] top of left middle finger and various twists and scars on other fingers.<sup>172</sup>

Printers at the *PB Herald* were no exception, and while most incidents no doubt went unreported Slack met with a painful accident early in his time with Chrisp & Muir when the cutting machine's knife fell, slicing off the top of his index finger.<sup>173</sup>

## HOURS

Peak periods no doubt fluctuated more at the outset, with production of a bi-weekly newspaper, and, with limited staff, all hands were needed to help with the heavy work of publication. The *Gisborne Times*, in an article about the early *Standard*, said:

In those days the compositors, and indeed all the staff had to work long hours getting out the paper. It was not unusual to start at 8 o'clock in the morning and work until 3.30 a.m. the next day. Then Mr [Thomas] Browne, as the 'boy', had to deliver the papers to subscribers in the morning.<sup>174</sup>

One of the conditions reported at the 'Sweating Commission' some years later was that 'no young person between the ages of 14-18 be allowed to work in any factory for more than 48 hours per week and not at all between 6 pm-6am'.<sup>175</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, printing at the *PB Herald* in winter began at 4 pm rather than the usual 5 pm. This was perhaps to help indoor staff, who were working with dull light, but certainly to help outdoor agents during the darker months, for both light and the inadequate track or road surfaces made travel more treacherous in winter. By 1902, with a country and a town edition, the country edition was published 'punctually' at 3 pm 'to catch the train, so that it may be delivered at Ormond by 4.15 pm and throughout the district by 5.30 pm'.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> ANHG Newsletter, no.13,, July 2001, p.12.

<sup>173</sup> *PBH* 9 December 1885.

<sup>174</sup> *Gisborne Times*, jubilee edition , 12 May 1927.

<sup>175</sup> Sweating Commission, paragraph 16.

<sup>176</sup> *PBH* 30 May 1898; 26 June 1902.

The early printers treasured the odd respite they had when no issue was produced. The Prince of Wales' birthday was one such day. 'The printers' work is arduous and the hours long', said James Browne on 8 November 1878, when announcing there would be no paper the following Monday. The district celebrated with the Friendly Societies' Sports. Browne's theatrical response on Tuesday is an oft-quoted piece when the newspaper's history is being retold. Unfortunately large sections of page 2 are missing, but Browne's comments remain:

There is a holiday look about our paper this evening. We can't help it. Printers are but mortal. They will be loyal; in fact our experience today is, that compositors are about the most loyal fellows going. The editor and foreman have been doing all they could to explain to the compositors, that Albert Edward did not want such a display of loyalty, but our boys replied that the PrinshofWaleswasarealgenlman. This is our apology for the extraordinary appearance of the *Herald* this evening.<sup>177</sup>

The regularity of production affected the printing staff more than the editorial staff for years, as there was usually a time-lag between pen and press. More apologies appeared at the end of 1878 as the printers were in celebratory mood once more. The summer heat was intense that year, and 'Christmas has not concluded in the *Herald* office'.<sup>178</sup> Initially Christmas Day was not a holiday but, from the outset, New Year's Day was sacrosanct. Christmas was later handled by issuing a four-page supplement and taking at least December 25 as a holiday. By 1898 conditions had become a little easier; the four-page supplement appeared on Saturday December 24, and the next issue of the newspaper was Wednesday.

The Queen's Birthday, Good Friday and Easter Monday were also observed as holidays, although the newspaper appeared on Easter Saturday. 'The young printers in the office have very powerful religious scruples', but 'we shall issue as usual on Saturday, when we hope with the help of our special reporter, assisted by carrier pigeons, to place our readers in possession of what has been done at the Easter Encampment'.<sup>179</sup>

Browne again. Once he ceased writing, holiday announcements reverted to a simple message.

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<sup>177</sup> *PBH* 12 November 1878.

<sup>178</sup> *PBH* 27 December 1878.

<sup>179</sup> *PBH* 14 April 1881.

## WAGES

It is impossible to be definitive about wages paid to almost all ranks of printers during the period of this study. Early on, however, Thomas Browne, the boy at the *Standard*, received 15s per week. This seems high when compared with boys in Wellington, who received between 6 and 8s around 1890, though probably the role was not comparable.<sup>180</sup>

Around 1878-79 it is known that the printers' remuneration at both the *Standard* and the *PB Herald* was commensurate with salaries elsewhere, and certainly not higher, even though their commercial printing charges were high.<sup>181</sup>

There was little security of position for much of the period. The fluctuating economy caused hardship at times, as did the erratic existence of the often-troubled printing ventures within the district. As we have seen, Slack approached Allan Muir.

Slack, the machinist, came to me and asked for a job and from him I learnt that Porter had been cutting down the wages all round and the men were dissatisfied, he then told them that they had better arrange among themselves to carry it on for the future.<sup>182</sup>

Muir himself cut salaries at the end of the 1880s. H.C. Thomson, editor from 1887 to 1894, was initially paid £5 per week, which sum was reduced to £4 in March 1889. No increase was forthcoming in the following five years, as discussed in the following chapter. In Auckland a similar story was told, as George Whitcombe of Whitcombe & Tombs, testified before the 'Sweating Commission'. Competition was so keen that master-printers had to reduce the wages paid to compositors. The company also introduced girl labour as girls were paid less.<sup>183</sup>

Conditions within the industry in general varied. The rate for a journeyman-printer in Typographical Association offices in 1891 was £3, though not all received this amount. For example, the *Catholic Times*, which was admittedly taken to court, paid an experienced compositor £1.12.6.<sup>184</sup> Ten years later, a dispute in Christchurch led the Conciliation Board to recommend that the newspapers and jobbing firms adopt the

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<sup>180</sup> *Gisborne Times*, jubilee edition, 12 May 1927; Sweating Commission, paragraph 1928.

<sup>181</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

<sup>182</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>183</sup> Sweating Commission, paragraph 1225.

<sup>184</sup> *PBH* 15 December 1891; 17 December 1891.

Wellington Award.<sup>185</sup> Evidence given by Frederick Gerard, journeyman-compositor, at the 'Sweating Commission' was that his piecework pay was 11d per 1,000 ens, whereas his equivalent in Dunedin was paid 12d. Gerard earned about £3.10.0 per week on average. Whitcombe, whose business was a non- union shop, said compositors were paid the highest wages in the trade. For years they had paid £3.0.0 he said, although the figure at the time of the Commission was around £2.10.0- £2.15.0.<sup>186</sup>

## Conclusion

Those who produced the newspaper and carried out the commercial printing contracts at the *PB Herald* remain shadowy figures. The results of their labours are visible but it is difficult to discern the conditions under which they worked. For much of the period under discussion the small business required flexibility of its workers; the nimble-fingered compositors helped with the wetting of the paper and the heavy operation of the presses. A glimpse of their work may be seen from the photograph discussed, where clothing is protected by inky aprons, and the hands bear evidence of clinging ink.

Team-work was vital in a small shop and the printers appear to have enjoyed a camaraderie of spirit and, for most times, a pride in their work. The loyalty of some staff and maturity, for Bushnell was forty-six when he left, no doubt helped with training and probably contributed to stability within the group.

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<sup>185</sup> *PBH* 3 January 1901.

<sup>186</sup> Sweating Commission, paragraphs 1146 & 1225.

## 5. THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* 1874-1914: 'JOURNALISTS ARE A QUEER TRIBE'<sup>1</sup>

For reasons often beyond security and ease of apprenticeship, the world of newspaper production frequently entices successive generations to carry on the tradition of their forebears' craft. This was so with those raised with the hand-press, handwritten copy and hot metal in nineteenth-century New Zealand and Australia, and may still be encountered today in the electronic age of newspaper production. Those working as journalists Tom Clarke suggests, make up a 'tribe', bound in many cases with something akin to brotherly ties, with the editor as chief. Addiction or passion: both expressions may be too strong, but certainly, many have 'printers' ink in their veins'.<sup>2</sup>

A study of Dunedin printers undertaken recently highlighted the continuous nature of family involvement in that city's printing trade during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Brent Neave suggests that the history 'reads like a family tree of early immigrants and their descendants, and of printing establishments whose proprietors and workers form an intertwined lineage'.<sup>3</sup>

The Hornblow family, based mainly around the Wairarapa, north of Wellington, were a typical printing and publishing family suggests Michael Hamblyn. Charles William, a glazier and journalist, who came from a long line of South London printers, arrived in Wellington in 1856. In 1867 he moved to the Wairapapa and supplemented his income as correspondent for the *Mail* and the *New Zealand Times*. Four of his seven surviving children became printers and publishers, and Robert Hornblow succeeded his father, John, as proprietor of the *Manawatu Herald*. Another of Charles' grandsons, Reginald

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<sup>1</sup> *Lectures in Journalism*, Bulletin no.26, Journalism Series no.1, September 1934, (Auckland University College, University of New Zealand) – quotation from Tom Clarke on back facing page.

<sup>2</sup> Two examples: The Muir family – Allan Ramsay Muir and his sons are discussed within this thesis; they were followed by a) Allan Stanley, Percy, Ian, Roy, Geoffrey Grey and Dawson Ford; b) Dawson's son, Michael Charles; c) the sixth generation is represented by Bridget and Jeremy Muir and Craig Willson; The Hornblow and Browne families, as detailed within this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Brent Neave, *Design Studies*, University of Otago, 2000, 305 Special Topic – courtesy Noel Waite, University of Otago, Dunedin.



Hornblow, chose journalism and became chief reporter and sports editor of the *Evening Post*. Publishing and printing were a good way to 'get on', suggests Hamlyn.<sup>4</sup>

Elizabeth Morrison found that in the country newspapers of Victoria during the 1870s, family involvement contributed to the strength of a newspaper. As time went on, however, a consequence of family stability was that the ambitious young found limited opportunities for career growth. Many moved on to set up elsewhere, a pattern that led to what Morrison describes as organic growth.<sup>5</sup>

For the first two decades of the newspaper's life, those in the *PB Herald's* literary department were an itinerant group. Some of the editors came with wide experience and others, such as Frederick Dufaur, may have had no former experience within a newspaper. Not a great deal is known about their family traditions, but it is known that James 'Snyder' Browne, the fourth editor, was the first journalist of the family. He fell into journalism by accident when engaged as a book-keeper in Tasmania in 1844. He was present when a local reporter arrived drunk and rebellious to report upon a meeting with a clergyman; Browne took over.<sup>6</sup> He was followed by his sons, Montague and James Oakley Browne, and his grandson, James junior's son, Howard Oakley Browne. James O. Browne was the Press Association representative in the parliamentary press gallery in 1906.<sup>7</sup>

Allan R. Muir and his wife, Maria, had five sons: Allan Leonard, Stanley and Bruce, who entered the profession on the literary side, and Frederick Percy who went into the production side, as mentioned in chapter 4. The middle son, Charles William, ran a bookshop and stationery business; his premises were incorporated in the 1905 *PB Herald* building. There appears to have been considerable loyalty and commitment from each family member and this no doubt played an important part in ensuring the growth and

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Hamlyn, "'Reared on Printer's Ink": John K. Hornblow and the *Manawatu Herald*,' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.24, no.3, 2000, pp.192-201.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, 'The contribution of the country press to the making of Victoria', PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1991, p.174.

<sup>6</sup> *Taranaki Herald* 7 November 1885 – Browne's obituary.

<sup>7</sup> Montague was sub-editor at the *Daily Telegraph*, Napier (*PBH* 9 September 1881); James Oakley, *NZ Times*, and *Auckland Star* and his son, Howard Oakley Browne, reporter for four years on the *PBH* (*PBH* 1 July 1887); James Oakley Browne, was press association representative, parliamentary press gallery (*NZ Mail* 10 October 1906) p.1.

viability of the *PB Herald*. Whether each family member was well-suited to, or felt fulfilled by, the occupation assigned to them is not explored within this thesis.

## The Editor Speaks...

In her comprehensive work, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, written after World War I, Lucy Salmon described the importance of the editor as follows:

The newspaper historically has had three distinct functions; the first was to publish the news, the second was to interpret the news and thereby to influence public opinion, the third has been to gain success as a business enterprise. The editor and the editorial belong to that period in the history of the press when the chief interest of the public in reading the newspaper lay in knowing what opinions it was right and wise to hold in regard to the great questions of the day.<sup>8</sup>

Because of Poverty Bay's early isolation, initially the great questions of the day were invariably local or subject to considerable delay in publication. The style of the *PB Herald* fluctuated throughout its first eleven years, when the ownership and the editorship changed frequently. Only Browne stamped his personality upon the newspaper as editor in this first period.

It was in 1814 that a newspaper, the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, became the first to feature a responsible column with the editor's opinion. The period from 1830-1890 was what Salmon described as the great age of the editor, one of 'personal journalism', when the owner, editor and publisher were one and the same person.<sup>9</sup> Samuel Revans of the *New Zealand Gazette* held all three positions, as did Charles Elliott of the *Nelson Examiner*<sup>10</sup> but strangely, for fledgling weekly publications, the early Gisborne newspaper proprietors had employees in one of those roles for all but a short period. Webb, as owner and publisher of the *Standard*, edited his newspaper for a time but, for part of 1876 at least, he employed an editor, James 'Snyder' Browne. William Carlile, while editor and part owner of the *PB Herald*, had both a manager, A. Pratt, and printer and publisher in

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<sup>8</sup> L.M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) pp. 249-251.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*; also in Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.165 – an early newspaper was an intensely personal matter with one person owner, editor, reporter, printer and business manager.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Revans to H.S. Chapman, 18 April 1841 (Revans quotes his position as manager); 7 July 1841 (Revans talks of his investment multiplying); & 10 February 1842 (Revans employs Wicksteed to free him from the role of editor), ATL typescript, vol.1, qMS-1687, pp. 84, 147 & 179; Lishi Kwasitsu, *Printing and the Book Trade in Early Nelson* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 1996) p.11.

Dufaur.<sup>11</sup> The only period at the *PB Herald* when all three roles were carried by one man was during Dufaur's first ownership of twenty-one months (23 November 1875 to 14 September 1877).

Initially editorials in the *PB Herald* appeared inconsistently, which suggests several things. First, they were no doubt restricted by the time and talents of the incumbent editor and, in some cases, there simply was no editor, as the often peripatetic parade of men who occupied the editor's chair until the mid 1890s did not always overlap. Also, an imperative was no doubt production costs in addition to revenue considerations generally. Priority was given to advertisements or notices, most of which would be in type for more than one day, and recently arrived news. For instance, on 13 April 1874, when the schooner *Opotiki* landed European telegrams (by submarine cable via Australia), editor Carlile's leader and 'other interesting items' were held over to make way for the telegraphic intelligence.<sup>12</sup>

Financial management probably also had a bearing on whether or not extra writers were employed. The demands upon a responsible editor and leader writer, especially in a daily newspaper, frequently led to the custom, now widely accepted, of using additional contributors as writers for the editorials.<sup>13</sup> In the nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers not only was he<sup>14</sup> writing by hand,<sup>15</sup> but he was judged by the published outcome. Anthony Alpers, when recalling his years as a member of the contributing staff of the Christchurch *Press* in the 1890s, wrote:

I soon found that writing leaders for a morning paper was strenuous work for a schoolmaster. It was in the days before the typewriter had come into general use. I

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<sup>11</sup> Supreme Court registration under 1868 Act, AK57, 13 December 1873 – Reference supplied by Ian Morrison.

<sup>12</sup> *PBH* 2 February 1874; 13 April 1874.

<sup>13</sup> David Burn contributed elsewhere e.g. an editorial for the *New Zealander* (2 November 1855) in Ross Harvey, 'Editors and Compositors', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.14, no.3, 1990 (issued April 1991) p.113; O.T.J. Alpers, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Hamilton: Pauls' Book Arcade, 1951) pp.57-60; *PBH* 27 May 1882; 29 May 1882; 30 May 1882; 7 June 1882 (different editorial writers).

<sup>14</sup> It was a male-dominated industry and readership - 108 females were employed in printing establishments throughout NZ by 1885, cf. 1999 men - *Typo* 26 February 1887, vol.1, no.2, p.10; 'Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire Into Certain Relations Between Employers of Certain Kinds of Labour and the Persons Employed Therein', *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (NZ)* H.-5 (1890) - Sweating Commission, e.g. paragraph 1148: 'We have one establishment in which there have been female compositors introduced...' p.42.

<sup>15</sup> Commercial success for the typewriter began in 1874, after Remington introduced the moving platen – *Macmillan Compact Encyclopedia* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1990) p. 556.

soon learned that I could trust neither the printers nor proof-readers to decipher my crude handwriting.<sup>16</sup>

For the most part the editorials expressed independent thought, and were written either by the editor or, as far as is possible to ascertain, within house. The marked newspapers of 1882 (see Appendix D) are invaluable for they give proof of authorship, and confirm that at least three writers contributed around that time, including James Browne who was not exactly in house by then, as he had retired from the newspaper. At times editorials may have been lifted, at least in part, from other sources. Early in 1895 a number of general leading articles, such as the background to theosophy, 'our education system' or a discussion on suicide could well have originated elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

Alpers, as an external writer, berated proof-readers for what he termed their tyrannical ways. They were inclined to alter copy, both the punctuation and, worse, even the text occasionally, when they considered his language too racy, and thus he needed to remain at the office to check the 'first pull'.<sup>18</sup>

Textual errors were uncommon in the *PB Herald*. The type of error from misinterpretation that Alpers referred to did appear in an editorial in 1888, and the editor apologized the following day. The word 'collusion' appeared as 'collision', but 'the context, however, showed the word intended'.<sup>19</sup>

That the editorial was sometimes erratic in the early *PB Herald* is inconsistent with Patricia Burns' summation of the newspapers of a slightly earlier period. Burns found the editorials of the early newspapers were the most important part, and were seldom cut back.<sup>20</sup> However, Charles Elliott of the *Nelson Examiner*, a significant early New Zealand editor, stated that the chief business of a newspaper was 'not so much to promulgate opinions as to communicate facts...'.<sup>21</sup> That did not, of course, demean the importance of the editorial to Elliott.

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<sup>16</sup> Alpers (1951) pp. 58-60.

<sup>17</sup> *PBH* 7, 9 & 10 January 1895.

<sup>18</sup> Alpers (1951) pp. 58-60.

<sup>19</sup> *PBH* 1 August 1888.

<sup>20</sup> Patricia Burns, *The Foundations of the NZ Press, 1839-1850*, PhD thesis, Victoria University, 1957, pt I, p.111.

<sup>21</sup> Ross Harvey, 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand: More Imagined than Real', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, p.139.

The editorial style adopted by the *PB Herald* was mostly erudite but did not take the classical tone of some nineteenth-century colonial New Zealand writers. Browne, with his wide experience, looked internationally, but, conversely, he could also be personal or very parochial.<sup>22</sup> In general Browne's editorials were solid, with a concentration on the district. The focus on local events is not surprising. As the *Opunake Times* put it succinctly: 'Our district first, our neighbours next'.<sup>23</sup>

Burns found that the early New Zealand editors were typical Englishmen of their day who took their role of education seriously.

The editors had no intention of allowing the settlers to stagnate intellectually while they were so urgently engaged in cutting back the bush and establishing homes. ...In the momentous adventure of establishing a colony which could one day become a force within the British Empire, the journalists would serve as guides and philosophers; they would keep the settlers in mind of their high destiny...<sup>24</sup>

Though the Poverty Bay press began twenty or so years after the period Burns studied, the district, as a second frontier society, was then undergoing the transformation to which she referred. The settlers were largely preoccupied with forging a living and the unsophisticated amenities in the town meant that the literary men who passed through were largely those without a niche elsewhere, or those who, like Browne, were at the end of their career. Some of the early incumbents of the editor's chair at the *PB Herald* were part-time employees only.

The editors were as follows:

1. **William Warrand Carlile**, the first editor, was educated at Oxford University. Carlile joined the *HB Herald* in 1870; he was a part-owner and for a time, its editor. His sojourn in Gisborne was an interregnum from that newspaper. *Wise's Guide for 1875-76* gave Carlile & Co. as proprietors of the *PB Herald* but quoted Carlile, who, in 'his paper published by Messrs Dinwiddie, Morrison & Co. of Napier', spoke lyrically of the virtues and beauty of Napier.<sup>25</sup> It appears, therefore, that Carlile's time in Gisborne during his

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<sup>22</sup> *PBH* 15 July 1878 (Cable Conference, Melbourne); *PBH* 31 March 1879 (close of 1<sup>st</sup> quarter – hope the readers content with the efforts made by the new editor).

<sup>23</sup> Harvey (1996) p.139.

<sup>24</sup> Burns (1957) part I p.111.

<sup>25</sup> *Wise's Guide for 1875-76*, part III (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co, 1876), p.18.

editorship of approximately two years was intermittent. He left the *HB Herald* in June 1878 to go farming.<sup>26</sup>

Carlile's interests, as both editor and proprietor, were never particularly those of the developing country town of Gisborne as his allegiance was towards Hawkes Bay. Hamer suggests that the nineteenth-century newspaper editor-proprietor in New Zealand deserves special study. Country towns within the United States, Australia and New Zealand frequently boasted more journals than the community could comfortably support and it behove the editor-proprietor to 'boost' the district as their livelihood, and that of their employees, depended upon the vibrancy of the town they serviced.<sup>27</sup> In Gisborne Henry Webb at the *PB Standard* took that role upon himself more than any editor at the *PB Herald*. For example, not long after the *PB Standard* began, he extolled the district's virtues in euphoric terms:

With our rich pastures that kindly woo the hand of industry; hills with 'verdure clad', forming a back country of illimitable extent; a superb climate which even sunny Italy cannot excel; at peace all abroad; content with all at home; a steadily increasing trade; a daily addition to our numbers and our wealth. With all these – backed up by a hardy yeomanry kind of pluck, which has transformed in the short space of four years, a murderer's den into a land literally flowing with milk and honey – may we not cherish the watchword of progress 'go on', and look hopefully to that future we have yet to make?<sup>28</sup>

Carlile also drew upon Italy to encourage settlement when he placed the beauties of the Bay of Naples alongside those of Napier. His picture was for Hawkes Bay not Poverty Bay, and nothing of similar enticement was written about the latter.<sup>29</sup> He and his partners invested in Poverty Bay purely for commercial reasons. This was not just growth from land speculation, but was no doubt also based on the premise that the district could become newsworthy and prosperous, for traces of oil were discovered in 1866. *Wise's Guide* carried an effusive piece about the prospects – Poverty Bay's oil was quite equal to that of Canada or the United States, according to the Guide – and entrepreneur Captain George Edward Read pushed the potential. From 1874 over thirty wells were sunk.

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<sup>26</sup> McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, p.29; Scholefield (1958) documented him as editor of the *HB Herald* from 1870-1878, p.142; n.b. Carlisle continued writing, however, for example 'Democracy in New Zealand', *Economic Review*, July 1899 vol. 76 p. 539 [cited from F. Parsons, *The Story of New Zealand* (Philadelphia: Equity Series, 1904) p.808].

<sup>27</sup> D.A. Hamer, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, April 1979, vol.13, no.1, p.16.

<sup>28</sup> *PB Standard* 23 November 1872.

<sup>29</sup> *Wise's Guide for 1875-76*, part III, p.18.

Patrick Day argues that by the 1870s New Zealand's migrants were largely working class but, unlike their predecessors in the Wakefield settlements, they were generally literate.<sup>30</sup> It is safe to say that few of the far-flung settlers in the East Coast district had a classical education, such as Carlile's, and during his term as editor the newspaper reflected the readership, with a simple approach.

The standard of literacy as the district developed is difficult to assess. Education was seriously limited; primary schools were mostly primitive and the first secondary class was held within a primary school in 1888.<sup>31</sup> Māoris were better catered for, with a proliferation of Māori schools in the region in the 1870s, although initially secondary education was a distance away at Te Aute. Māori readership of the newspaper is unknown. Their tradition of recording and transmitting information orally changed quickly in some instances, for example when it suited them for negotiation with settlers and government, and often more slowly in other circumstances.<sup>32</sup> During Carlile's incumbency as editor a few notices appeared in the Māori language, but for much of the latter nineteenth century, news was available elsewhere in the Māori language (see chapters 2, 3 and 7).

Carlile was a workmanlike editor who dealt with local and international news with the facilities available. Early in the *PB Herald's* life the *Auckland Star*, a supporter of the various *Standard* newspapers, railed against Carlile as a 'scoundrel who is a disgrace to journalism', for his apparent sycophancy in political circles. The *PB Herald* largely avoided emotive writing, and certainly Carlile did not indulge in personality journalism. The newspaper under his aegis did not discuss the role of editor or mention his departure.<sup>33</sup>

**2. Frederick 'Percy' Dufaur**, Carlile's publisher and the second editor, bought the newspaper on 23 November 1875. He also assumed the editorship. According to a

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<sup>30</sup> Day (1990) pp.174-5.

<sup>31</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, NZ, 1971) p.154; Seventeen pupils were enrolled for the first secondary class in 1888 – J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast* (Gisborne: J.G. McKay, 57 Centennial Crescent, (1982) p.363.

<sup>32</sup> Penny Griffith, Ross Harvey & Keith Maslen, *Book & Print in New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997) p.33.

<sup>33</sup> McKay, writing in 1950, said Carlile left in early 1877 and was succeeded by Frederick Humphries. This was not so. McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, np; the *Auckland Star* quoted in the *Standard* 19 March 1874.

letter printed in the *Standard* Dufaur owed his position to his ability to ingratiate himself, 'through a series of fortunate circumstances' and 'his oily palaver' with people of influence, who 'pushed him into the post'.<sup>34</sup> There was certainly no love lost between the two newspapers. At the end of his first stint as proprietor, Dufaur thanked Webb 'for his promise to forbear, for a time, from killing me'.<sup>35</sup> Two months later Dufaur, as agent for the PB Publishing Company (the Company), was unhelpful when a serious fire narrowly missed the *PB Herald* but devastated the *Standard*. The *PB Herald* was left in confusion, with type and 'other material' carried into the street, but Henry Webb suffered damage to his press. Webb asked to use the Company's large press when not needed by the *PB Herald*, as an interim measure. Dufaur deferred to the directors, who agreed but placed unacceptable provisos in the way. Webb found himself stymied and, as mentioned in chapter 4, the *Standard* remained out of action for fifteen days.<sup>36</sup>

Dufaur was a man of the times. In the seventies and eighties he wore many hats: he was managing clerk for a solicitor, acted as a banker to his friends, and his business interests included land and timber, as well as journalism.<sup>37</sup> His first period at the helm of the *PB Herald* lasted nearly two years, and he remained as printer, publisher and editor of the newspaper during a hand-over of four months, after he sold the business to the Company. He was once more writing reports and editorials for the newspaper after his repurchase on 23 May 1882; this fact is confirmed by initials over a few of the archival copies held at the *Herald* office (see Appendix D). He was not, however, the editor in 1882.<sup>38</sup>

**3. Frederick Humphries** became editor in December 1877. Appointed by the Company, his experience appeared to augur well, for he had been with the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Oamaru Mail*, the *Tuapeka Times*, the *Thames Guardian*, the *Wellington Argus* and 'several influential Australian journals'.<sup>39</sup>

None of the Company directors had newspaper experience; thus Humphries, who was also appointed as manager, was given full control. The newspaper succeeded editorially under his management, but rapidly over-extended itself. Humphries, who was described

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<sup>34</sup> *Standard* 19 July 1876.

<sup>35</sup> *PBH* 11 September 1877.

<sup>36</sup> *PBH* 4 December 1877.

<sup>37</sup> *PBH* 3 July 1883 Dufaur as land agent; 9 October 1883 Dufaur selling puriri props.

<sup>38</sup> *PBH* 26 May 1882; 29 May 1882; 30 May 1882.



by a contemporary as a genial English public school boy, did not appear to comprehend the limits of a small country town with two newspapers, and invested heavily in new equipment. The newspaper gave little indication of a precarious existence, with regular advertising and wide-ranging news, but the business ‘found itself many hundred pounds to the bad, and under obligations to one of the banks’.<sup>40</sup> He lasted one year as editor and manager and left under a cloud of criticism.

**4. James ‘Snyder’ Browne** replaced Humphries. Browne, who arrived in Gisborne early in 1876 as editor of the *Standard*, was a journalist with a wealth of experience. Born in London in 1820, he lived for some years in Brazil, before moving to Australia. After Launceston he moved to Victoria and later New Zealand’s South Island. Before becoming editor of the *Coromandel Mail*, a newspaper that closed in 1876, he was a joint editor of the *New Zealand Herald*. Browne listed his newspaper experience as: reporter (shipping, local, general and special), permanent editor, temporary editor, assistant editor, co-editor, contributor, own correspondent, proprietor, part proprietor, shareholder, printer, publisher, ‘and well – here I am’.<sup>41</sup>

Browne was a showman. A large man, anecdotal evidence gave him as a ‘thorough pressman’, in that he enjoyed a drink.<sup>42</sup> He was certainly conspicuous in a small community and thrived on debate. On one occasion, Irishman William Crawford, brewer, keen photographer and Gisborne’s first mayor, chided the ebullient Browne for stirring up the method of mayoral election. No doubt just ‘gentle Snyderisms’, but ‘Mr Editor, why do you go in for these abstruse trigs when plane trigonometry is so much easier’.<sup>43</sup>

Browne’s style was robust and occasionally florid. While his companionable tone probably helped the newspaper survive during difficult times, a bonus is that a century or more later his writing has proven helpful for the historian. For example, Browne kept the public informed of events at the newspaper office: ‘By the *Rotorua*, which arrived

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<sup>39</sup> *PBH* 14 December 1877.

<sup>40</sup> *PBH* 8 January 1878 ‘...some three weeks since we telegraphed Melbourne for additional machinery and type...’; *PBH* 12 January 1881.

<sup>41</sup> *PBH* 15 March 1878; Scholefield (1958) pp.84, 116, 242; McKay papers ATL, MS-1006-48; *PBH* 25 March 1881; *PBH* 14 November 1885; *Taranaki Herald* 7 November 1885, obituary.

<sup>42</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.10.

<sup>43</sup> *PBH* 21 September 1880.

yesterday from Melbourne, we were placed in possession of a large quantity of printers' material from the celebrated type foundries of Messrs Miller and Richards' [*sic*].<sup>44</sup>

As editor Browne was also a strong advocate for the district. He called for loyalty and community participation, such as when the Oil Springs were re-opened in early 1880. '...people have become awakened to a sense of their importance to the welfare of the district...', he said. Later he claimed that 'the tide of good fortune may be looked for as flowing in our direction'.<sup>45</sup>

Patrick Day argues that New Zealand journalists of this era suffered because of enforced anonymity, which ensured that an individual was unlikely to be recompensed for merit.<sup>46</sup> In a settlement town such as Gisborne there was little chance of anonymity, and it appears not to have been sought. As mentioned, Browne was certainly a visible member of his community, as were other editors. Some suffered the consequences of antagonising members of the community and their chastisement was very public. Browne, for example, fell out with J. Battery, the army unit stationed at Ormond. An effigy was made of him, taken out and hung on 'a sour apple tree, to the tin whistling of "Old John Brown"'.<sup>47</sup> A more painful punishment was suffered by Henry McKay, a later editor, who was accused of publishing 'libellous and defamatory statements...',<sup>48</sup> and horsewhipped by M.J. Gannon. The seventh editor, George Adams, was also publicly punished as he received a 'pomelling in the street, and went about for some days after with a black eye'.<sup>49</sup> Adams' writing also provoked the ire of a prominent visiting adventurer, Captain Jackson Barry, who chased him with a stick.<sup>50</sup>

Newspaper editors in country areas not only faced public demand that they be held accountable for their actions but also the dilemma of trying to maintain impartiality and sensitivity within a small community, a dilemma that persists to this day for provincial newspapers. Browne highlighted this problem when a civic figure was charged with a serious offence at the Resident Magistrates Court. He argued the role of the press was to

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<sup>44</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

<sup>45</sup> *Wise's Guide for 1875-76*, part III, p.2; McKay (1982) p.337; *PBH* 9 February 1880; 23 February 1880.

<sup>46</sup> Day (1990) p.169.

<sup>47</sup> *PBH* 25 April 1881.

<sup>48</sup> *PB Standard* 24 November 1881.

<sup>49</sup> H.J.B. [H.J. Bushnell], 'Sixty Years of Printing', *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2. It is unknown why the editor was horse-whipped.

report without suppression. The press, he said, was the unbiased agent of the people. 'It is, as we know and feel, very painful to men who conscientiously discharge their functions as recorders of current [*sic*] or passing events.'<sup>51</sup> A later editor, probably Adams, also explained the dilemma to the reading public. He said 'we' had a public face and, as such, was custodian of the integrity of the newspaper. 'We', however, was also a resident of the town and had compassion for members of that society.<sup>52</sup>

Writing in 1864 from the small community of Nelson, Charles Elliot defended the editorial 'we' in part as follows:

Now this 'we' is, in fact, of great service to every community possessing a newspaper, for it enables the Editor to separate his person from his office, and to write more boldly on subjects which, more or less, impugn the powers that be, thus forming a simple, but efficient safeguard to the freedom of the press.<sup>53</sup>

'Snyder' Browne remained as editor and business manager for two and a half years, from December 1878 to April 1881: a time of stringency within Gisborne and also the wider community. The *Standard* and the *PB Herald* were struggling and Webb, who had lost his editor to his rival, found it difficult to compete with the Company, with its wide shareholding of prominent citizens, and resorted to personality journalism. Browne pointedly ignored the insults.<sup>54</sup>

Browne, whose maxim was 'that the art of newspaper work is not so much what one should say as what one should leave unsaid',<sup>55</sup> does not appear to have been physically attacked, but he did provoke anger with his independent stand against powerful elements within the community towards the end of 1880. The out-of-town trustees of Captain Read's Estate challenged the proprietors of the *PB Herald* to remove Browne. The cause of their wrath was twofold: an editorial they claimed vilified the late Captain Read, and

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<sup>50</sup> McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, p.29; *1885 Poverty Bay Directory*.

<sup>51</sup> *PBH* 21 April 1879.

<sup>52</sup> *PBH* 10 November 1882. Four illustrations of the difficulties faced by independent newspapers are given in place of an editorial. One hypothetical example tells of a man who appears in court, charged with assaulting his wife. The reporter is present. Then a woman, with face bandaged and a child in her arms appears before the editor to plead that the case not appear. The husband is a good provider when not drunk and he will lose his job and reputation should mention be made of the case in the newspaper. Even if we soften the report our independence has departed from within us.

<sup>53</sup> Kwasitsu (1996) p.35.

<sup>54</sup> *PBH* 22 December 1879.

<sup>55</sup> *Taranaki Herald* 7 November 1885, Browne's obituary.

the newspaper's hostile treatment of W.L. Rees,<sup>56</sup> whose role with land transactions within the district is discussed in chapter 3. His dealings affected Read's Estate. To gain publicity for their mission to remove the editor, William Coleman and J. Friar Clarke, trustees, distributed a public circular, making sure the directors of the Company received a copy. The Company, which officially supported the editor's independence, divided. Some directors wrote to support Browne, in particular chairman Thomas Porter, who issued a public statement reaffirming the Company's trust in the editor. Perhaps commercial concerns influenced another director, lawyer Edward ff. Ward, later chairman, who stated he supported editorial independence but his actions spoke otherwise. Ward publicly distanced himself from Browne's stance, to the point where he stated the article was 'published without my knowledge and to my great disgust'.<sup>57</sup>

Browne survived, but he appears to have relinquished his role as editor with some relief when Craig bought the newspaper six months later:

I had felt that the daily strain on me in endeavours to write the truth, and at the same time avoid giving offence seriously telling on me. I had resolved to enter another and less harassing pursuit by way of a change of life.<sup>58</sup>

An earlier editor said much the same. Certainly David Burn, whose path may have crossed with Browne's in either Tasmania or Auckland, had outside interests as well as being the editor of the bi-weekly *Southern Cross* and the government-run *Maori Messenger: ko te Karere Maori*. One of Burn's dairies recorded his frustration and fatigue:

Hard is the fate of the petty provincial journalist, but, much more is that of the petty colonial editor, who is looked to to supply a never ending, still increasing supply of sauce piquant, no matter whether he may be furnished or not furnished with materials for compounding it. How very different is this constant drain upon the brain from the occasional, vivid, and spontaneous contribution on a pet and long considered subject! ...It is a weary, thankless sort of life.<sup>59</sup>

Browne went in varied directions – bookseller, accountant in bankruptcy, custom-house agent and land transfer broker – but he continued to be connected with the *PB Herald*, as

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<sup>56</sup> Captain Read died 23 February 1878, McKay (1982) p.193; William Lee Rees, a lawyer, was MHR for Auckland City East (1876) and again an M.P. (1889-1890), McKay (1982) p.320.

<sup>57</sup> *PBH* 20 September 1880; 21 September 1880; 22 September 1880.

<sup>58</sup> *PBH* 25 April 1881.

<sup>59</sup> Harvey, (1990 - issued April 1991), p.110.

a writer and nominal publisher.<sup>60</sup> During this period he provided a light-hearted touch not otherwise apparent within the newspaper. His occasional 'Letter for Home' for transmission to Europe, exhorted others to come to New Zealand, perhaps masquerading above one's station – no, 'your manners would not allow it' – or: 'Look here, my dear boy, you will make a splendid member of our colonial parliament...'<sup>61</sup> Archival copies held at the *PB Herald* also show JB wrote editorials during the first half of the eighties. When James Browne died in November 1885, the *Taranaki Herald* called him 'perhaps the oldest journalist in 'harness' in New Zealand'.<sup>62</sup>

On the whole Gisborne did not attract long-serving editors. This was partly due to the emerging nature of the district, with its isolation, and its fluctuating economic conditions, which were not conducive to security of tenure in a field such as journalism. Browne, who had travelled extensively and was at the end of his career, remained in Gisborne until his death. His successor, Samuel Craig was particularly short-lived.

**5. Samuel Pullman Craig**, the fifth editor, bought the *PB Herald* in April 1881. A newcomer to Gisborne, he had 'life-long experience in journalism', according to Browne.<sup>63</sup> Craig, formerly a compositor in Christchurch,<sup>64</sup> assumed the editorship for approximately seven months only.

While Craig passed through Gisborne quickly, his successor, Henry McKay, along with Browne, probably provided at least some continuity with writing during the hiatuses the newspaper experienced.

**6. Henry McKay** was editor by November 1881, during Craig's ownership.<sup>65</sup> Born in India and educated in Simla, McKay spent time as a storekeeper on the Thames

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<sup>60</sup> The Borough Council printing contract was assigned to Browne to avoid conflict of interest when Thomas Chrisp was elected to the Council – see chapter 4.

<sup>61</sup> *PBH* 18 July 1879; 15 August 1879.

<sup>62</sup> *PBH* 27 May 1882 (editorial); 3 June 1882 (editorial); 7 June 1882 (editorial) – initials over copy in *Herald* Archives; 24 January 1883 (Snyder's Diary); 5 November 1885 (Browne's death); *Taranaki Herald*, 7 November 1885.

<sup>63</sup> *PBH* 12 January 1881.

<sup>64</sup> *Wise & Co.'s NZ Directory for 1880-1881*, (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co., 1881), p.410.

<sup>65</sup> Griffin's Colonial Printer's Register, 12 December 1881, p. 6 – Reference supplied by Ian Morrison; *PB Standard* 24 November 1881.

goldfields in New Zealand before coming to Gisborne.<sup>66</sup> As with Dufaur, he was a man of versatility for he began as accountant at the *PB Herald* in 1879, the year he arrived in Gisborne at age twenty-eight. He was editor for about one year, and was registered as printer and publisher on 20 May 1882, when the ownership changed once more.<sup>67</sup> Marked file copies during 1882 show writing of the editorials was shared between at least HM (McKay), JB (Browne) and FD (Dufaur), with McKay the major author.<sup>68</sup> He was no doubt a contributor during the early absences of his successor, George Adams.

7. **George Adams** held the editor's chair for five years, from 1883 until early 1887, but his tenure was interrupted by periods in Wellington. A fine shorthand writer, he was also a Hansard reporter during the parliamentary sessions, which left the *PB Herald*, a daily newspaper in a growing district, with a number of short-term editors during his absences. Other newspapers at the time, for example the *Hawera Star*, operated in a similar fashion.<sup>69</sup>

Adams began his career in London, arriving in New Zealand in 1874. He was first a reader on the *Auckland Herald*, before becoming a permanent parliamentary committee reporter in Wellington. A lively character, Adams was a good writer, but impetuous. During this period Adams or his representative also brought out a morning tri-weekly, the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette*, in 1886. His agents purchased the press used from John Baldwin, proprietor of the *PB Independent*.<sup>70</sup> After Adams' untimely death whilst burning gorse on his property in Wellington in 1887, the *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* was placed in the hands of the public trustee.

Adams' absences and his interest in the tri-weekly *Gisborne Standard and Cook County Gazette* no doubt caused divided loyalties for him, and short-term loyalties for those who

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<sup>66</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand – Auckland Provincial District*, vol. 2 (Wellington: The Cyclopedia Co. Ltd, 1902) p.971.

<sup>67</sup> Registration AK 145 lodged at Supreme Court offices under 1868 Printers' Act, BBAE 5529/1, NA; Deed of Assignment of plant book debts etc. of Herald newspaper, Craig to Dufaur and Chrisp 20.5.82 – document held at the GH office.

<sup>68</sup> *PBH* 26 May 1882; 27 May 1882; 30 May 1882; McKay is given as an editor in Scholefield (1958) p.153 (copied in Gisborne's 1<sup>st</sup> Industries Fair, June 1961, Jaycee's Project: The Press in Gisborne and the East Coast, compiled by Nigel Thorpe); but not in McKay (1982) or the McKay papers; *PB Standard* 24 November 1881.

<sup>69</sup> William Alfred Parkinson, a member of the Hansard staff, was editor in the early 1880s – Scholefield (1958) p.138.

<sup>70</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.154; Muir family papers (A); *PB Independent* 1885-8.

covered for him at the *PB Herald*. He was editor until parliament resumed at the end of April 1887. That year, while Chrisp & Muir faced three actions, as discussed in chapter 3, the editorial department was particularly erratic. By October 1887 the partnership accepted Hugh Thomson's application to become editor in '*locum tenens*'.<sup>71</sup> Whether Adams returned mid year is not known.

The passing parade of editors who deputized for Adams during his absences from 1883-87 included Patrick Galvin, Walter Leslie and Hugh Thomson. Two other men may also have stood in for a short time: Charles Wilson and Morgan Morris.<sup>72</sup>

**8. Patrick Galvin**, an Irishman who had founded the *Hawera and Normanby Star* with others in 1880,<sup>73</sup> alternated with Adams once, if not twice. Prior to his temporary assignment in Gisborne he had been a sub-editor on the *Wellington Independent*. He left that position when the newspaper changed ownership, as did William and Allan R. Muir. The brothers, therefore, certainly knew Galvin.<sup>74</sup> His residence in Gisborne and employment with the *PB Herald* was during the parliamentary sessions of perhaps 1883 and certainly 1884. Galvin arrived with his wife on 5 May 1884, about two months after William Muir bought Dufaur's share of the *PB Herald*. He had presumably terminated his employment by December 1884, as the newspaper reported:

It was rumoured that Thomas Bracken and Patrick Galvin, who has lately returned from Gisborne, are about to start a weekly paper in Wellington; something like the *Sunday Advertiser* in Dunedin. Mr Galvin possesses the necessary plant and operations to begin in about six weeks.<sup>75</sup>

Galvin left Gisborne just before Allan R. Muir brought his family to settle there. As he wrote to his brother:<sup>76</sup>

Of course you will have seen Galvin and got all the news from him. The steamers lay to [*sic*] far apart for me to recognise anyone on board. Pat lost no time in getting

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<sup>71</sup> *PBH* 13 August 1894.

<sup>72</sup> Scholefield (1958) does not list Wilson as an editor of the *PB Herald*, but states he was editor of two newspapers: the *PB Standard* and the *Napier Evening News* and *Hawkes Bay Advertiser* at the same time, from 1887-1890 (pp.145 & 153-4); both the McKay papers ATL MS-1006-48, handwritten notes n.p and Muir family papers (A) give Wilson as an editor of the *PB Herald*. Morgan Morris, formerly of the *Auckland Free Lance*, is mentioned as an editor by the three above sources. He left no mark.

<sup>73</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.138.

<sup>74</sup> *NZ Mail* 4 April 1880.

<sup>75</sup> *PBH* 9 December 1884.

<sup>76</sup> *PBH* 24 November 1884 Mesdames Muir and family (3) and Messrs Muir arrived by s.s. *Wairapapa*; this could be a misprint as from Allan's letter 27 November 1884 it does not appear that William's wife, Louisa, was with them. Maria, his wife, is mentioned and Fred, their second son.

away. Adams says that on his arrival the previous week he saw that Galvin was anxious to put in the next week so that he should have no lost time, and that was the reason of his going on to Auckland.<sup>77</sup>

It is not entirely clear from the one surviving letter from the period, but it appears that there was some disquiet, certainly in the editorial department, when Allan R. Muir arrived to settle in Gisborne.<sup>78</sup> William had been commuting between Wellington and Gisborne and was largely an absentee proprietor, and his partner, a mariner, Captain Thomas Chrisp, had other interests. Chrisp certainly wrote for the newspaper but he had no newspaper training.

**9. Walter Leslie**, who arrived around 1886, did not bring calm and stability to the literary section. He, as with others such as Dufaur, probably had no experience as an editor, although Leslie did have a newspaper background. He was a reporter in Oamaru before he arrived in Gisborne and, as he wrote from Wellington seeking the Gisborne position, it appears he was unemployed for a short time.<sup>79</sup> His tenure came to an abrupt end, with dismissal for neglect of his duties. This brought about one of the court actions of 1887, when Chrisp & Muir started the year by being sued for unfair dismissal, with Leslie maintaining his appointment was permanent. Leslie demanded three months' notice instead of the one month given.<sup>80</sup> Chrisp, Muir, reporter H.O. Browne ('Snyder's' grandson) and publisher Bushnell gave evidence. Chrisp & Muir lost the case and were charged £45. Leslie was subsequently declared bankrupt, with debts of £242, assets £65 (which included the £45).<sup>81</sup>

Midway during the troublesome year of 1887, Allan R. Muir bought Chrisp's partnership. No editor after Browne, apart from Adams on a part-time basis, had stamped his personality upon the paper and there may have been no resident editor when Muir assumed control. A parallel may be drawn with the country newspapers of Victoria for there too the 'literary flair and flourish'<sup>82</sup> of the earlier editors had, for the most part waned by the 1870s and talent was sometimes not readily available. The comparison is

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<sup>77</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *Wise's NZPO Directory, 1883-4* (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co. 1884) p.592; *PBH* 14 September 1885, Leslie responded to a toast to the press.

<sup>80</sup> McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, p.29.

<sup>81</sup> *PBH* 20 December 1886; 14 January 1887; 25 January 1887.

<sup>82</sup> Morrison (1991) p.195.



relevant as New Zealand, and especially Poverty Bay, were years behind Victoria in their development. That no-one emerged in Poverty Bay as a strong editor before Thompson's permanent appointment is not surprising, as for most, their commitment to the district was tenuous.

**10. Hugh Charles Thomson** arrived in Gisborne towards the end of 1887. He brought his family to settle and became a permanent staff member at the *PB Herald* from 1 January 1888, after Adams' death. Thomson, who was certainly known to Muir in the itinerant world of New Zealand's early journalism, was an Irishman who had arrived in New Zealand in 1867. Both were in Wellington in the early 1870s when Thomson and three others controlled the *Wellington Independent*, begun with partners by Allan Ramsay's father, James Muir in 1845. At that time Allan R. Muir was foreman of the *Wellington Independent's* weekly, the *New Zealand Mail*. Thomson moved frequently: he was one of three editors of a liberal newspaper, the *Wellington Evening Chronicle* (1878-80); he established the *Waipawa Mail* at roughly the same time; he had a period of adventurous journalism in the Reefton area, and for a short time was editor of the Christchurch evening *Telegraph*.<sup>83</sup>

Allan R. Muir, with his training as a pressman, moved from a foreman's position to that of proprietor. What is available from the public record, and the tenor of the letter written upon his arrival to settle permanently in Gisborne, suggest that his handling of staff was abrupt.<sup>84</sup> Once more he came to court when sued for wrongful dismissal, this time by Thomson. The problem was the publication of an incautious letter, for which Thomson was summarily dismissed in March 1894, with one week's salary. At stake were an editor's independence and a proprietor's concern for his legal liability. Muir, understandably coming from a position of concern about any further libel actions, perhaps overreacted considering Thomson had been employed for more than six years. He was chastised by the judge for peremptory behaviour and ordered to pay Thomson £130. Muir's defence was that he had cautioned Thomson that the debate between the temperance party and the publicans, as the latter faced the re-election of their licences,

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<sup>83</sup> *Wise's NZPO Directory* (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co. 1892-93; 1894-95) pp.316 & 332; Muir family papers (A); McKay papers, ATL, MS-1006-48, np; Scholefield (1958) pp.29, 37, 148, 153, 223, & 255.

<sup>84</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1; also, when Muir came to reduce Thomson's salary in March 1889 he did it by leaving a note on his table saying, with regret, that the depression had necessitated such a move – *PB Herald* 13 August 1894.

was too heated. The letter elicited a writ, but Muir avoided a further public appearance by making an out-of-court settlement.<sup>85</sup>

Lennie Muir, the editor-designate, was not ready to assume the position when Thomson departed suddenly. It was two or more years before Muir, who was Thomson's sub-editor and a parliamentary press reporter, moved into the chair he subsequently held for nearly forty years. Once more the literary department was under the guidance of short-term editors.

**11. W.D. Lusty** probably stood in immediately after Thomson left. He appears to have moved to Gisborne temporarily from Wellington, before continuing on to Reefton and then Nelson. He later sat in the parliamentary press gallery as representative of the *New Zealand Herald*, alongside Stanley Muir.<sup>86</sup>

**12. L.W. Parsons**, a musician and former employee of the *Thames Star*, was editor for a period during 1895-96 according to *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*, although McKay recorded him as being an editor during Adams' time.<sup>87</sup>

**13. Allan Leonard (Lennie) Muir**, Allan R.'s oldest son, became editor in May 1896. It was not unusual for a family-owned newspaper to employ various family members and, as Rod Kirkpatrick says, families 'managed to produce children with the skills needed to manage, edit and print the paper.'<sup>88</sup> Lennie Muir remained in the position until his death in 1935, and during his reign the *PB Herald* emerged as a leading provincial daily newspaper.

Lennie Muir was a quiet man. His name was kept very much in the background. Even allowing for the gloss of eulogies, the editorial after his death in 1935 explained a great deal about the man:

Mr Muir was not so well known to the general public as he might have been, and should have been, but among those with whom he did come in contact none was more

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<sup>85</sup> Writ no. 643, 4 July 1894, Supreme Court of New Zealand, Wellington District, Gisborne, Action Register, p. 410, NA, Auckland, BAJI 5824/3a; case reported in the *PB Herald* 13 and 14 August 1894.

<sup>86</sup> *Wise's NZPO Directory*, 1892-3; *ibid.* 1894-5; *ibid.* 1896-97 (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co. 1893; 1895; 1897) pp. 928 & 1130 & 1239; *NZ Mail* 27 September 1905, p.35 & 10 October 1906, p.1.

<sup>87</sup> McKay papers ATL, MS-1006-48 p.29; *Wise's NZPO Directory*, 1896-7 (Dunedin: H. Wise & Co. 1897) p.324.

<sup>88</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience* (Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing Pty. Ltd., 2000) p.211.

highly esteemed or deeply respected. A naturally retiring disposition, coupled with the occupancy of a position that required almost judicial impartiality, restrained him from participating extensively in activities that would have benefitted from his association and advice, yet few men have wielded greater influence in the community.<sup>89</sup>

Born in Wellington in 1871, Lennie was a newspaperman from an early age. Printer's ink was certainly in his veins. He dedicated his life to the *PB Herald* in the manner of one who has an unwavering certainty in his vocation. He began helping about the age of thirteen, not an uncommon occurrence, for his grandfather was apprenticed at that age and his father at age fourteen. Lennie was not similarly apprenticed, however, and spent his secondary years boarding at Nelson College. His early assistance was during the holidays.<sup>90</sup>

Lennie's early career began in Gisborne. By the age of twenty he joined the parliamentary press gallery, where he served for six sessions. The position in Wellington was one of status, particularly for a provincial newspaper.<sup>91</sup> Lennie's periods in Gisborne during those six years were as a reporter and later sub-editor. He became editor of the *PB Herald* at the age of twenty-six.

The *PB Herald* was central to Lennie's life. He was apparently almost always first in the office each morning and if an event of moment happened out of hours he would travel to town to post a bulletin in the window,<sup>92</sup> a habit that Geoffrey Muir later discouraged, for it gave away the news.<sup>93</sup> One instance of such a bulletin was as the Boers abandoned Pretoria. News of the Boer War had received a high priority and therefore what looked like the climax necessitated a bulletin, posted on the window around 6 pm, maybe by Lennie.<sup>94</sup>

Lennie appears to have been firm and compassionate. His eldest son, Allan Stanley (1894-1964), mentioned his father's wise counsel. On one occasion, for example, at a

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<sup>89</sup> *PBH* editorial 2 October 1935.

<sup>90</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>91</sup> The parliamentary press gallery session in 1905 had 15 members, including A.M. Burns, chairman of the Press Association, and nine members from metropolitan newspapers plus J. Petrie (*Timaru Post*), S. Muir (*Gisborne Herald*), R.A. Loughnan (*Wanganui Chronicle*), H.G. Mitchell & F.K. Saunders (*Lyttelton Times*). *NZ Mail* 27 September 1905, p.35.

<sup>92</sup> *PBH* editorial 2 October 1935.

<sup>93</sup> G.G. Muir, editor 1949-1964.

<sup>94</sup> *PBH* 1 June 1900.

particularly heated Borough Council meeting, a councillor voted against the establishment of a steam plant at Lake Waikaremoana because the cost of carting coal there would be prohibitive. Allan S. filed a report, which his father edited. 'It was not his policy to make a Borough councillor look ridiculous,' said Allan Stanley.<sup>95</sup>

The voice in the chair could not always remain in the background. Allan S. recalled that the reporters had difficulty with an illiterate, but very active, hospital board member. 'We used to dress up her remarks', said Allan S., but she complained about being misreported. 'I was told to report her verbatim, dropped h's and all.' Next morning Lennie was bailed up in a corner of his office by an irate umbrella-wielding board member; he calmed the situation and the two parted friends.<sup>96</sup>

Lennie's style was low-key, as befits an unassuming man. His commitment to Poverty Bay was wholehearted. He boosted the district, highlighted the positive and addressed matters that he considered needed attention. Lennie supported his father and other members of the Beautifying Association in his editorials by calling for civic improvements and, over the years, much space was given to highlighting areas of concern, such as transport.<sup>97</sup>

Interestingly, Lennie, as editor at the time of the *PB Herald's* jubilee, omitted any mention of the Muir family in the twelve-page jubilee edition. He was an employee of thirty-four years by then, and the next brother, Frederick, was not far behind him. Perhaps it was a sense of proprietorship, for linotype operator, J. Eaton, was mentioned with thirty-one years' service, but to a large extent it illustrates Lennie Muir's reticence at a public display.<sup>98</sup>

While outside the time frame of this study, Lennie did play an important if unobtrusive role in the community. He was also a regular attendant at the NZ Press Association and the NZ Newspaper Proprietors' Association's annual conferences. He was a director of the Press Association from 1926-29 and chairman of a division. His only long break from

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<sup>95</sup> The meeting was under W. Douglas Lysnar, mayor, 1908-11 – McKay (1982) p.394.

<sup>96</sup> ASM's memoir Muir family papers.

<sup>97</sup> e.g. Lennie was a consistent advocate for a light rail facility in the district – *PBH* 12 November 1900.

<sup>98</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924.

the *PB Herald* was as a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference in London in 1930.<sup>99</sup> He also attended the 1930 jubilee meeting of the United Press Association.

A complete list of editors and their dates is given as Appendix C (page 301).

### SALARIES

Gisborne did not attract editors who wished to influence national politics, or those who felt it their charitable mission to contribute to the greater learning of the community; therefore it is likely all editors received some sort of remuneration. Harvey expresses some reservation about Day's premise that many editors of the nineteenth-century press from 1840-80 were largely unremunerated. Admittedly Day's focus is on the earlier part of the period, when there were men of letters and of private means, but pioneering Gisborne did not play host to such men.<sup>100</sup>

As already noted, Carlile was an Oxford graduate; he perhaps had private means, but as a representative of three shareholders he would have received some recompense. The sole proprietors, Dufaur and Craig, may have taken their income in the form of a dividend but the other incumbents certainly lived from their professional income, which could fluctuate according to the fortunes of the newspaper.

Two editors whose remuneration it is possible to document are Leslie (1885+) and Thomson (1887-94). Walter Leslie, editor of the *PB Herald* for a short time, probably in 1886, received a salary of £13 per month while relieving for Adams.<sup>101</sup> His annual salary was to be £150.<sup>102</sup> This appears generous in comparison with the salary received six years earlier by the editor of the *Waikato Mail*, a newspaper launched in Cambridge in September 1880. Admittedly the *PB Herald* was a daily newspaper, compared to the tri-weekly *Waikato Mail*, but that editor's salary was £4 per month, increasing to £5 per month after the first six months. Another editor, Dr Kidd, who was James Browne's

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<sup>99</sup> Lennie became the first president of the Gisborne Rotary Club, was a member of the council of the Gisborne Chamber of Commerce, and a vestry member of Holy Trinity Anglican Church - *PBH* 2 October 1935, obituary.

<sup>100</sup> Harvey (1993) p.218; Day (1990) pp.164-5.

<sup>101</sup> *PBH* 25 January 1887.

<sup>102</sup> *PBH* 20 December 1886; 14 January 1887; By January 1887 Leslie had been unemployed for sometime – he hoped to get a position as committee reporter in parliament for the forthcoming session, at a salary of £150 per annum, which he stated was about the same figure he was to get at the *PBH* - *PBH* 25 January 1887.

predecessor as editor of the *Coromandel Mail*, received £1.1.6 per week. That newspaper purchased much of its editorial matter from the Auckland Star.<sup>103</sup>

Thomson was engaged on a temporary basis in 1887. His salary at 1st October 1887 was £5 per week. A downturn led Muir to reduce this amount to £4 from March 1889, which gave him an annual salary of £208. A promise to reinstate the original salary had not been fulfilled by the time Thomson was dismissed five years later. Acting upon legal advice, he raised his original request for compensation from three to six months' salary, at the higher rate of £5 per week; a total of £130. The judge awarded Thomson £52, or three months' salary at the lower rate, with a sympathetic statement that 'the plaintiff was entitled to rank with a superior class of servants, no matter whether he was paid by the year, quarter, month, week, or day'.<sup>104</sup>

## General Editorial/Administrative Staff

Tom Clarke, in his description of journalists as a 'queer tribe' emphasized the interaction of those within the literary section of a newspaper. The tribe's chief, the editor, needed skill to draw the different groups together as journalists retained an individuality and, 'like all good fellows, they can be led but not driven'.<sup>105</sup> Information about the 'good fellows' behind the shop front is sparse. They recorded events, selected information from various sources or sub-edited the text, but all pretty much anonymously.

### SUB EDITORS

R.A. Loughnan, when proposing the toast to the editorial staff at the *Lyttelton Times* jubilee banquet, said sub-editors were a vastly under-rated group. After twenty-five years within the industry he still could not see how they, with their blue pencil, could make sense out of the 'great piles':

He [the sub-editor] passed his life in a struggle with mysteries, and with the impossible – the mysteries of many kinds of hand-writing, which he had to read at lightening speed, and the impossible task of putting in the paper every day five times as much as it could hold.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Ross Harvey, 'Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century NZ Newspapers', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.17, no.2, 1993, p.76; Scholefield (1958) p.116.

<sup>104</sup> *PBH* 14 August 1894.

<sup>105</sup> *Lectures in Journalism*, Bulletin no.26, Journalism Series no.1, September 1934, (Auckland University College, University of New Zealand) – quotation from Tom Clarke on back facing page.

<sup>106</sup> *PBH* 26 January 1901.

The *PB Herald* probably employed only one sub-editor at a time. Hamilton T. Jones held the position for the majority of the period under review, and Lennie Muir gained experience in the role in the early 1890s.

The jubilee edition of the *PB Herald* did not give many personal details, but it did highlight loyalty, as did Browne thirty-six years beforehand.<sup>107</sup> The only member of the editorial staff highlighted in the edition was Jones, who joined the staff in 1879 and was still serving in 1924.<sup>108</sup> Jones' career at the *PB Herald* was dissected by periods with other newspapers in Gisborne and Australia. This is examined in chapter 3. Years later Jones' senior status was recognized by the *PB Herald*; by resolution at the annual general meeting of 1915 the company agreed 'to defray the cost of the telephone connected to Mr Jones' private residence'.<sup>109</sup>

## REPORTERS

Reporting – embarking into the field in search of news – is an act of deference toward facts, an acknowledgment of the limitations of one's own deductive or creative powers.<sup>110</sup>

While much of the content of New Zealand's early newspapers, the *PB Herald* among them, was cut-and-paste from other journals, there was always a need for local knowledge. Even in the days before daily publication, when local news had more time to travel by word of mouth between issues, the *PB Herald* carried very local items such as details of the building of a new seventeen room hotel in Gladstone Road.<sup>111</sup> Whether these early items were gathered by the editor or a reporter is not known, but the principle of gathering and reporting upon such information began in London in the seventeenth century, once the lapse in the Licensing Act of 1679 allowed more freedom. It was then that newspaper reporting began to develop, with stories probably coming from observation, hearsay or maybe on occasion an employee was sent to investigate and report back.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Browne praised the trustworthiness of the employees, all of whom gave great loyalty as he struggled to improve the newspaper's viability - *PBH* 12 January 1881.

<sup>108</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition 5 January 1924, p.2.

<sup>109</sup> *PBH* AGM Minutes 21 June 1915.

<sup>110</sup> Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Fort Worth et al: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1997) p.220.

<sup>111</sup> *PBH* 12 January 1874.

<sup>112</sup> Stephens (1997) p.225.

In New Zealand, country newspapers in particular, thrived, and still do, on relaying matters close to home and their knowledge of the community they serve. Therefore that news must be gathered and presented to the readership by an interpreter, the reporter. The arrival of the telegraph did not alter the amount of local content in the *PB Herald* greatly, but it added another dimension of modest significance for the reporter as local stories of national interest were supplied to New Zealand's press agency by its members.

Few of New Zealand's early reporters left much detail of their profession in the public domain,<sup>113</sup> but it is important to document those behind the scenes where possible. As Harvey has stated, knowledge of the less tangible side of production, such as the identity of the newspaper employees with eye-witness accounts of their lives and the conditions they worked under, is critical to add an invaluable dimension to research into the nineteenth-century New Zealand newspaper.<sup>114</sup>

The *PB Herald* certainly claimed ownership of the provenance of some writing within its pages, with its special representatives, but there was no place for individual recognition. Across the world debate was underway as to the importance of a by-line.

The early advocates of signature urged in its favor that in every other field anonymous information, counsel, or judgment was disregarded; that the press itself rejected anonymous communications; that the part taken by the press had come to be that of a judge rather than that of an advocate; that it fostered a greater sense of responsibility on the part of writers; and that anonymity simply prolonged 'the reign of the mighty 'we''.<sup>115</sup>

Day argues that anonymity was an aim within the early New Zealand press, though it was not always achievable, but that from the 1860s onwards the majority of writers were able to maintain their shield of privacy.<sup>116</sup> In Gisborne this shield was impossible for the editors, as mentioned, and probably for the reporters, but the identity of the special correspondents may have been less well known outside their areas.

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<sup>113</sup> Richard Wakelin (editor of the *Wellington Independent* then the *NZ Mail*), for example, did write of his experiences – see Richard Wakelin, *History and Politics: Containing the Political Recollections and Leaves from the Writings of a New Zealand Journalist, 1851-1861-1862-1877*, (Wellington: Lyon and Blair) Hocken Library reprint, 1973.

<sup>114</sup> Harvey, (1990 - issued April 1991) p.113.

<sup>115</sup> J.B. Kinnear, 'Anonymous Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, July 1867, vol. 5, pp.324-339 and T. Hughes, 'Anonymous Journalism', *Macmillan's Magazine*, December 1861, vol. 5, pp.157-168, in Lucy Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. 68.

<sup>116</sup> Day (1990) pp.168-9.



Using special correspondents was the first sign that editors were prepared to broaden their news coverage from the intensely local in America.<sup>117</sup> Lucy Salmon describes the role as the ‘chameleon of the press’, as the contributor and the circumstances could vary greatly.<sup>118</sup> Probably because of its widely scattered district, the *PB Herald* used special correspondents from its early days. There was little regularity about their reports, although outlying districts did appear to have a formal arrangement for news.

One of the earlier contributors accompanied a group to the oil springs. ‘We’ gilded the lily. ‘After a leisurely and most pleasant ride our party arrived at Mr Bloomfield’s Station, Waingaromea, at 7.30 p.m., where we were most hospitably received, and accommodated with all the comforts one could desire.’ The party was listed, three experts and ‘Your Own’, in inverted commas. The party was joined by many others the next day and made ‘a very interesting cavalcade, and as they were seen winding along the bed of the Maungataikapu, it seemed as if they were bent on some raid, or in the pursuit of some enemy’.<sup>119</sup> The vagaries of reporting in the back country were pronounced for, when the party came to mount the following day, the horses had disappeared and fresh mounts had to be found.

The marked copies of mid 1882 show that at least two correspondents were contributing to the newspaper’s East Coast Newsletter. ‘Old Pro’, the author of the Letter on 30 May 1882, was M. Eau (difficult to decipher), whereas 1 June was written by Dr Scott. The Wairoa Newsletter was attributed to Williams.<sup>120</sup> Whether Williams was a resident or traveller is not known, and as many descendants of Bishop William Williams settled in Hawkes Bay and Poverty Bay it is difficult to be definitive about this contributor.

It appears Allan R. Muir was also a ‘special reporter’ on occasion. He visited the oil springs in 1887 as the *PB Herald* representative. A lengthy report followed the visit.<sup>121</sup>

A strong Māori presence in the East Coast district meant that at times it was essential that the *PB Herald* engage a Māori-speaking correspondent. On at least one occasion during

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<sup>117</sup> Stephens (1997) p.221.

<sup>118</sup> Salmon (1923) p.181.

<sup>119</sup> *PBH* 23 February 1880; 24 February 1880; *PBH* jubilee edition 5 January 1924, p.2.

<sup>120</sup> *PBH* 30 May 1882; 1 June 1882.

<sup>121</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1887.

Sir James Carroll's period as the Eastern Māori representative in parliament, negotiations were undertaken that were of national importance. The *PB Herald's* special representative must have been fluent in Māori and also a skilled horseman, for the terrain was rugged when a small party travelled to the Uriwera country for a korero (gathering).<sup>122</sup> Some years later Carroll visited the Ngati Porou Māori of the East Coast for a celebration. On this occasion communication was easier for the reporter had access to a special telephone. 'He [the reporter] is enabled to obtain direct communication with the *Herald* office. It was nearly possible to hear the shouts of welcome with the haka given for Carroll.'<sup>123</sup> There were approximately 1,500 Māori present for the big korero; detailed reports of which were filed and the reporter must have understood the proceedings.<sup>124</sup> The correspondent was not Bishop William Williams or Reverend Henry Williams, for they arrived late due to bad weather.

Three who spoke fluent Māori and had a connection with the press within the region at some stage were: Colonel Porter, licensed interpreter M. Gannon (for these two see chapter 2), and Major John Thompson Large, proprietor and editor of the *Wairoa Guardian and County Advocate* from 1881-1891.<sup>125</sup>

As with most other provincial papers of any size the *PB Herald* engaged a correspondent in Wellington for parliamentary reporting. For most, their affiliation with the *PB Herald* was transient. Adams, as editor, was an exception; as a part-time editor he filed stories back to the *PB Herald* from Wellington as an independent, but that arrangement probably did not last much beyond Allan Muir's arrival.

Adams tells me that he made an arrangement with you that he was to get a pound a week while in Wellington for his correspondence, and he puts it at twelve weeks. I suppose if you made such an agreement with him one must stick to it, but it seems to me a big item considering his connection with the paper. He tells me there were occasions when he had to employ others to do the work and that he paid nearly the whole of that sum away in getting the work done.<sup>126</sup>

Others who filed for the *PB Herald* from Wellington were Patrick Galvin, William Ranwell, James Kinsella and William Berry. One of the libel actions in 1887 elicited a

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<sup>122</sup> *PBH* 3 June 1895; 11 June 1895; 14 June 1895.

<sup>123</sup> *PBH* 20 March 1902.

<sup>124</sup> *PBH* 18 March 1902; 20 March 1902; 21 March 1902.

<sup>125</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.147.

response from Adams that he was not acting in any way for the *PB Herald* in July 1886, and was not the instigator of a telegram to the newspaper reporting on a communication about solicitor Brassey to the Law Society.

[He] Had reason to believe there were several acting for the Herald. Thought it possible Mr Ranwell had sent it...Had not talked to the Post people about it...The literary employees of the Herald were the agents of the Press Association ...<sup>127</sup>

In a move not uncommon during the formative years of newspaper publication in New Zealand, Ranwell may have trained as a compositor before he took up the pen.<sup>128</sup>

Kinsella, who spent most of his years on the literary staff of the *New Zealand Herald*, acted as parliamentary correspondent for the *PB Herald* in his early days. Berry, a Hansard reporter and Kinsella's son-in-law, also acted as parliamentary correspondent and later came to Gisborne to fill a temporary gap in the literary department.<sup>129</sup>

On at least one occasion the *PB Herald* sent a correspondent to report upon an event of national significance. The occasion was the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to Auckland during June 1901. Lennie Muir, that correspondent, was also appointed to represent the London *Daily Mail*, which indicates his professionalism was respected and also that his newspaper connections extended well beyond Poverty Bay.

Much of the everyday news from Poverty Bay was generated from the courts: the Magistrates Court, the Resident Magistrates Court, and the District Court, with the Supreme Court sitting on occasion by the end of the eighties.<sup>130</sup> The buildings were unimpressive and in 1882 the court reporter burst into print. Please could he have a few nails to fix the press seat at the Resident Magistrates Court? The position was cold, he said, about which nothing much could be done, but the seat 'creaks and groans in a most disagreeable manner, much to the annoyance of the representatives of the press and those

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<sup>126</sup> *PBH* 28 December 1887; A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>127</sup> *PBH* 2 July 1887.

<sup>128</sup> *Wise & Co.'s NZ Directory for 1880-1881*, (Dunedin: H.Wise & Co., 1881) p. 632 – Ranwell registered as a compositor.

<sup>129</sup> *PBH* 23 April 1901, Mr Berry filled in during Mr Shugar's illness; *PBH* 13 May 1901.

<sup>130</sup> Oliver (1971) p.156.

in court'.<sup>131</sup> A new court house was built in 1895, and this time, the reporters found their table almost behind the witness box, 'a huge cumbersome thing'.<sup>132</sup>

Nearly twenty years later His Honour, Mr Justice Conolly, lamenting the fact that Gisborne's often important Supreme Court cases were not reported in the *Law Journal*, praised the accuracy of law reporting in the town over the years. The issue was raised, however, as he expressed surprise at an erroneous report in the morning newspaper, the *Gisborne Times*. In general, said Conolly, the Gisborne newspaper reports were 'more full and accurate than recorded elsewhere'.<sup>133</sup>

Burns, writing about the pioneer newspapers of New Zealand, described reporting as the Cinderella of writing. There was usually no shortage of men wishing to contribute an editorial, but the rigours of collecting news in difficult or uncomfortable conditions made the role less appealing. The editor of the *New Zealand Gazette* highlighted the restrictions faced by those reporting the news: '...further, he was much incommoded from the want of a suitable place, and by the noise that prevailed during the day'.<sup>134</sup>

Reporting in the town was one thing; reporting in Gisborne's country environs was another. 'Your own' described the uncertainty of horseback on one of the many trips to the oil springs and on another occasion Chrisp, who was still contributing to the newspaper long after he relinquished his partnership, suffered when his buggy went over a hill. He and his companion continued to the oil springs on horseback.<sup>135</sup>

Junior reporter Allan Stanley Muir wrote a brief memoir about his early experiences. No dates are mentioned but most probably his reminiscences were all pre World War I, as Allan S. Muir was away from Gisborne as an army major during the war. At one point he had a motor bicycle but the mud roads caused many problems, as they had for the earlier messengers or reporters travelling by horse. On one occasion Muir went to Nuhaka to report on the New Year Show: 'It rained on the way home and I finished up on my side in an unbridged creek at Bartletts and had to push the bike into Gisborne'. Another aspect

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<sup>131</sup> *PBH* 29 August 1882.

<sup>132</sup> *PBH* 19 June 1895.

<sup>133</sup> *PBH* 20 May 1901.

<sup>134</sup> *NZ Gazette* 6 January 1844 in Burns (1957) p.32.

<sup>135</sup> *PBH* 8 March 1896.

of Muir's job was to accompany the magistrate, Mr W.A. Barton, together with a 'whole cavalcade of police lawyers', on his three-week trips to Port Awanui, north of Waipiro Bay on the East Coast. Mr Barton either drove his gig or rode his 'beautiful chestnut mare'. Muir did not say how he travelled but presumably by horse for the route was over unmetalled roads and often by the beach: 'Sometimes we would only get to Whangara where the hotel was on the beach other times we would make Tologa'. From there it was along the beach to Port Awanui. 'Mr Barton was very good to me and saw that I got correct reports and did not get into the pub bars', he wrote.<sup>136</sup> Allan S. Muir did not fit the mould of quiet Muir men.

Howard Oakley Browne, 'Snyder's' grandson, worked as a reporter on the *PB Herald* for four years from about the beginning of 1883. He was a witness at court in the case of *Baldwin v. Chrisp & Muir* in July 1887, by which time he had left their employ.<sup>137</sup>

As the newspaper grew in stature, the role of chief reporter was given increasing recognition. All incumbents from Lennie Muir through to Stanley Muir had considerable experience by New Zealand standards; at least three served as parliamentary correspondents in Wellington, and F.K. Reeves, who spent eighteen months in Gisborne after Lennie became editor, returned to a senior position on the *New Zealand Times*. His short time in Gisborne impressed for the eulogies at his departure were more than polite: the Chief Justice commented that Reeves was one of the best reporters he had ever known; leading lawyer R.N. Jones mentioned that the reports on political and other meetings were infallible and invariably correct during Reeves' time; and J.A. Harding congratulated him on behalf of the sporting community. By 1905 Reeves was a member of the parliamentary press gallery, representing Wellington's *Evening Post*.<sup>138</sup> His successor at the *PB Herald* was J.S. Kelly, sometime Wellington correspondent and parliamentary reporter for the *Lyttelton Times* and 'other leading journals'.<sup>139</sup>

Stanley Muir did his initial training in London. Upon his return to New Zealand he became a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, where he was president for a time.

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<sup>136</sup> ASM's memoir.

<sup>137</sup> *PBH* 27 June 1887.

<sup>138</sup> *PBH* 19 March 1898; F K Reeves was listed in *Wise's NZPO Directory, 1896-7* (Dunedin: H.Wise & Co., 1897 & 1899), p.324 and (1898-9), pp.360 & 363 as editor; *NZ Mail* 27 September 1905, p.35.

<sup>139</sup> *PBH* 19 March 1898.

After many years as chief reporter, Stanley became managing director of the *PB Herald* after his brother, Fred, retired in 1937. Stanley died in 1953.

Reporters do not rate highly in the incomplete directories and almanacks and by 1896 and 1898 A.L. Muir was the only reporter recorded.<sup>140</sup> There are certainly omissions, whether by choice or error, in the various almanacks and directories, but also inaccuracies, as mentioned.<sup>141</sup> Reeves, for example, was listed as editor during 1896-7; he was never editor and by 1896 Lennie Muir had moved from reporter to editor.

In the days before tape recorders a reporter had to be adept at shorthand. Mansfield, writing in 1935, emphasized that there was no room for arrogance in the matter. For reference he turned back to Thomas Allen Reed, outstanding proponent and author of *The Reporter's Guide* (nd) published about 1855: 'But now and then the reporter, even in a small provincial town, finds himself called upon for a verbatim rendering of some unusually important address'.<sup>142</sup> William McIntosh Muir learned shorthand, perhaps around the time Reed was writing, for a small Pitman volume was found among his papers. By the time he was part proprietor of the *PB Herald* early in 1884, however, it is doubtful if he did any reporting, though he may have contributed some of the early stories about the search for oil.<sup>143</sup>

Shorthand was lauded in the early 1890s in Gisborne. By mid 1891 the local Phonographic Society had fourteen members, a magazine and a library. The chief reporters at the *PB Herald* certainly all knew shorthand, but their competency no doubt varied. Comments in shorthand at the bottom of page 2 in the marked newspapers of 1880 show Pitman's shorthand being used within the general office.<sup>144</sup>

A letter to the editor gave a titillating suggestion that the *PB Herald* possessed a phonograph in 1891, when it began:

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<sup>140</sup> *PB Almanack & Directory for 1885; Wise's NZPO Directory, 1896-7*, p.325.

<sup>141</sup> Neither the *PB Herald* nor A.R Muir were listed in the *Gisborne Trades' Directory 1900-1901*.

<sup>142</sup> Mansfield (1953) p.83.

<sup>143</sup> ATL unsorted Muir papers – a small, cockroach-eaten volume I. Pitman, *The Phonographic Reporter* (London: Pitman & Sons, nd.) bears his name.

<sup>144</sup> *PBH* 4 February 1880.

Your reporting phonograph was probably a little out of gear -- had a dent in it or something -- if from your report of the Harbor Board meeting your correspondent was led to suppose...<sup>145</sup>

Probably the tone in William Sievwright's letter was one of irony, but may be someone, such as William Crawford, known to have bought a typewriter four years after it was invented and to be a keen photographer from 1874, bought such a machine through his fascination with new technology. Whatever, the phonograph, or dictating machine, was introduced to the American market in 1887. Largely sabotaged by stenographers, the machine met with little success but by 1891 Thomas Edison had regained control of his invention and a machine could be bought for US\$150. The 'talking machine' was seen primarily as an instrument for office dictation, and thus eminently suitable for reporting.<sup>146</sup>

Accuracy of reporting in the *PB Herald* was occasionally called into question. During Adams' peripatetic editorship in 1887 a public spat occurred about the reporting of a speech given by ex-parliamentarian Alan McDonald. In reply, the newspaper suggested if McDonald had a reporter of his own who was more accurate, they would 'be willing to give to the hospital as much as he may be willing to forfeit if he fails'.<sup>147</sup> Occasionally reporting inaccuracies, as opposed to compositor errors, crept into the newspaper. In 1891 a councillor was reported as saying that the cost of land for a bridge was too high; in fact he said the opposite. On another occasion Allan S. no doubt brought about discreet laughter when he reported that a 'learned judge' had collided with a tram when riding his bicycle and unfortunately his Honor was not injured. 'It got in that way', he recalled.<sup>148</sup>

The veracity of a newspaper has long been debated, and was highlighted in the first of a series of articles on the NZ Press Association, written on behalf of that organization. To many, the reporter symbolizes the daily newspaper. 'He has many critics. When his reports are accurate and impartial, they win respect; if he makes an error he or his editor

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<sup>145</sup> *PBH* 3 July 1891.

<sup>146</sup> William Fitzgerald Crawford (1<sup>st</sup> mayor of Gisborne 1877-78) ran a brewery, was a fine photographer, and also introduced the first writing machine into Gisborne in 1878. McKay (1982) pp.394-395; R. Gelatt, *The Fabulous Phonograph 1877-1977* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1977) pp.22-3 and 235.

<sup>147</sup> *PBH* 14 September 1887.

<sup>148</sup> The reporter apparently misheard Councillor Orr's remarks - *PBH* 6 June 1891; ASM's memoir.

will probably hear of it.’<sup>149</sup> A question of the legitimacy of reporting arose in August 1881, when the reporter was unavoidably absent from the Borough Council meeting. Political interest weighed in, for objections were raised as councillor Piesse, ‘supporting the press’, gave a copy of the report of the committee meeting to the *PB Herald*, which published it.<sup>150</sup>

Discerning fact from fiction could also be a challenge, especially for a junior reporter. Allan S. Muir’s first job in about 1911-12 was to cover the shipping news. The ships were scows, schooners [*sic*], pharquentines [*sic*] and barques, as well as small steamers and ocean liners, which sat out in the roadstead. Muir found he was vulnerable as a novice, for the ships’ captains took great delight in weaving some fantasy for publication into the real news from their voyage.<sup>151</sup>

There was a touch of frontier-land at times in Gisborne, particularly during the years of commercial struggle. A serious world depression in 1885 affected all. John Baldwin, who began the tri-weekly *PB Independent* in 1885, was in difficulties by 1887. The *PB Herald* reported him twice as being disruptive, once at a Harbor Board meeting and, more seriously, as having been drunk at the hospital meeting, when he pulled a revolver again. No damage was done but Baldwin sued Chrisp & Muir, one of three libel actions they fought during the eventful year of 1887, which are discussed in chapter 3.<sup>152</sup> Much later on, Allan S. Muir recalled the struggle at Tokomaru Bay over logging. After the hotel was closed at 10 p.m. the road was ‘black with bushmen... fighting and rowing in a grand mêlée’.<sup>153</sup>

Both Lennie and Fred Muir worked at the newspaper office not long after their family’s arrival in Gisborne in 1884. Their duties were probably general. A slightly damaged letter from their father to his brother, William, said ‘...the boys are now at ? and are of great assistance ?... They have improved very much since I have been away’.<sup>154</sup> As newspaper proprietors, little is reported about the Muir family, but that Lennie had a

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<sup>149</sup> ‘The World Through your Newspaper’, undated NZPA article c. 1961, Muir family papers.

<sup>150</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1881.

<sup>151</sup> ASM’s memoir – Gisborne’s roadstead was the holding area in the bay where ships that could not enter the harbour sat. Only small vessels have ever been able to moor at Gisborne’s wharf.

<sup>152</sup> *PBH* 14 January 1887.

<sup>153</sup> ASM’s memoir.

<sup>154</sup> A.R.Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.



literary bent and was interested in journalism was evidenced by his membership of the Presbyterian Literary Society, to which he contributed a short essay on Phonography in June 1887.<sup>155</sup>

Lennie married Harriet Taylor in North Otago on 3 January 1894, coincidentally almost 20 years to the day the *PB Herald* was founded, and perhaps the timing rules him out as the securer of a scoop, although he was at that time working from Wellington. The *PB Herald* trumpeted its importance, for it was first to publish the names of the new railway commissioners under 'Special to the Herald'; their special parliamentary correspondent had sent the news by wire from Wellington, before the Wellington newspapers or the Press Association had the information.<sup>156</sup>

The *PB Herald* hailed a second scoop in 1902, when it learned, perhaps through its small town network at the telegraph office, that the imperial government was requesting a further one thousand troops for the South African conflict. Prime Minister Richard Seddon had telegraphed the members of parliament, seeking their views. The newspaper, as the first in the colony with this leading story, transmitted the information to other newspapers in New Zealand.<sup>157</sup>

For a time newspapers relied on scoops to lift them above their rivals but, with the increased efficiency of collective news agencies, other methods of individuality had to be found and the scoop was thus a passing phase. The above mentioned were the two significant scoops for the *PB Herald*, but on another occasion when a strong news story broke locally, the *PB Herald*, as a member of the Press Association, transmitted the news gleaned partially by junior reporter Allan S. Muir nation-wide. The incident proved Allan S. had the inquisitiveness needed for a good reporter.

Late at night in June 1912 a two and a half-year-old twin-screw steamer, the *Star of Canada*, foundered on a reef at Kaiti Beach, close to the town. Two tugs battled out in bad weather, with Allan S. and his uncle, Stanley, on the *Hipi*:

There was a big sea running but the tug master got around the stem of the *Canada* and alongside. While my uncle was trying to get a story from the ships' officers or anyone

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<sup>155</sup> *PBH* 15 June 1887.

<sup>156</sup> *PBH* 22 January 1894.

<sup>157</sup> *PBH* 23 January 1902.

who would talk, I went on a tour of the ship down below. Got into the engine room and from a fireman was shown where water had got in.<sup>158</sup>

The story was published, but next morning Allan S. was 'kicked off' the *Hipi* when he tried to reboard. After a row with the agents the newspaper was given an official pass. Sometime later, Allan S. Muir was at the Supreme Court during the long salvage action that followed. The harbour-master, Captain Probert, gave evidence that it was the worst weather he had ever experienced in Gisborne. 'I thought here's some copy as I knew Probert was in Sydney on the night the ship went ashore. Counsel, however, missed that fact and the statement stood.'<sup>159</sup>

#### ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Beside the employees in management mentioned in chapter 2, an employee of particular significance was Walter H. Chrisp. Son of Captain Thomas Chrisp, he was secretary of the company for sixty years. Chrisp joined the *PB Herald* in 1885.<sup>160</sup>

#### NUMBER OF STAFF

No documents exist to help gauge the numbers employed in the literary or administrative sections of the *PB Herald*, apart from Allan S. Muir's memoir. Two photographs exist of the early printers, but the reporters were probably a less cohesive unit.

Initially the newspaper employed a manager, A.C. Pratt. It is probable that Carlile had one supporting literary staff member, for his permanent residency in Gisborne is doubtful. This staff member was likely to have been on piece-rates as most early journals could not afford a full-time reporter.<sup>161</sup> In Browne's time as editor he was supported by one reporter, as an article bewailing the cost of the free newspapers given out states in part: 'We have to pay for everything in connection with the publication of the *Herald*. Compositors, boys, telegrams, paper, ink, rent, rates, insurance, editor, accountant, reporter...'<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> ASM's memoir.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2.

<sup>161</sup> *NZ Gazette* 6 January 1844 in Burns (1957) p.32.

<sup>162</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1879.

The *PB Herald* employed at least five men and three boys two years before Allan R. Muir settled in Gisborne, for their labour helped save the building from a fire which began next door. At least two or three men were probably from the printing section, with the boys apprentices or boy labour; it was almost certainly not the entire staff complement.<sup>163</sup>

Around this time, the *Hawera Star* – established by Patrick Galvin and others, and which became a daily in 1883 – employed thirteen staff. Two reporters supported the editor and sub-editor. The staff, which was considered large for a provincial newspaper, also included an accountant.<sup>164</sup>

The *PB Herald* appeared to use casual contributors. This was probably for two reasons: firstly for financial reasons from the point of view of both salary and office accommodation, although probably part-time employees shared their space, and secondly because of the scattered terrain and the difficulty of access. The marked file copies show that many contributed to the *PB Herald* during May and June 1882. ‘HM’ (McKay), the editor at the time, was the author of a number of articles, both in brief and in depth, and another, ‘TB’, was probably in full employment as a reporter. TB, most likely a shorthand writer, reported at the Magistrates Court and also wrote a long engineer’s report. Of the other writers ‘FD’ (Dufaur) and ‘C’ (Thomas Chrisp) were part-owners at the time, and thus were financially connected to the newspaper. Three other contributors, however, were probably casual writers: ‘JB’ (James Browne); ‘FW’ (unknown); and ‘R’ who wrote three short pieces about the deferred Settlers Bill, and was probably W.L. Rees. That ‘C’ was Chrisp was evident from H.M. Coleman’s valuation of the business when Allan R. Muir bought Chrisp’s share, for he stated Muir would save Chrisp’s salary but would need to engage a writer.<sup>165</sup>

It appears a second reporter was employed at least by 1883 as ‘sacred relics’, such as modern manuscript, newspapers, pen and lead-pencils had a habit of disappearing from

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<sup>163</sup> *PBH* 21 March 1882; 23 March 1882.

<sup>164</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.138; Harvey ‘Formula for Success: Economic Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Press’, in *An Index of Civilisation: studies of printing and publishing history in honour of Keith Maslen*, ed. R. Harvey, W. Kirsop & B.J. McMullin (Centre for Bibliographical & Textual Studies, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, 1993) p.217.

<sup>165</sup> Valuation 27 July 1887, Muir papers.

the office. 'The editor's and reporters' tables will in future remain untouched by visitors.'<sup>166</sup>

By the time Allan S. Muir joined the newspaper around 1910 there were three reporters employed. The chief reporter, an uncle, was Stanley Muir, Allan R. Muir's fourth son, who was born 19<sup>th</sup> August 1881. Stanley probably served an unofficial apprenticeship at the *PB Herald* around the turn of the century. He travelled to Britain in 1903 and joined the Gisborne staff in 1905. For two years he was also part of the small contingent of parliamentary reporters in Wellington.<sup>167</sup>

### WAGES AND CONDITIONS

Details of remuneration for those in the literary department of the *PB Herald* are sparse, whereas the wages paid in the job-printing department were said to be similar to those in other towns in the colony in 1879.<sup>168</sup> Wages were subject to income or capital, and as fortunes fluctuated no doubt most newspapers within the colony adapted to some extent. Certainly Captain Porter at the *Telephone* reduced all wages in November 1884, as discussed in chapter 4.<sup>169</sup> Five years later Allan R. Muir reduced Thomson's weekly wage substantially from £5 to £4 as discussed above. Thomson was still receiving £4 when dismissed in March 1894.<sup>170</sup> Perhaps other wages were curtailed too, though that is not a given as other staff, including Lennie Muir, may have been on a proportionately lower base rate.

Allan S. Muir received £1.0.0 per week as a junior reporter when he began. In his memoir he dated his employment from 1914, but the *Star of Canada* went aground in June 1912 and Lysnar was mayor until 1911, therefore this is inaccurate. He said: 'Hours were long, usually from 8 am to 10 pm. The last call was at the police station to see if anything had happened during the hours of darkness'.

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<sup>166</sup> *PBH* 26 February 1883.

<sup>167</sup> ASM's memoir; *NZ Mail* 27 September 1905 p.35 (photograph of 15 reporters); *NZ Mail* 10 October 1906 p.1 (photograph of 12 reporters); *Wise's NZPO Directory, 1905* (Dunedin: H.Wise & Co. 1905) p.1185.

<sup>168</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879, when the newspaper was losing contracts to Auckland and Wellington because of high charges.

<sup>169</sup> A.R.Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1.

<sup>170</sup> *PBH* 13 August 1894.

Election time was particularly lively and demanding. ‘We used to publish very full reports’, said Allan S. Muir, ‘which had to be in the office at 8 am on the morning following the meeting’.<sup>171</sup>

Allan S. Muir’s hours were enlivened by his sense of humour, which on occasion perhaps hindered his reporting. At one particularly lively electoral meeting Labour candidate, Tom Brindle, accused the *PB Herald*, and Allan’s father, editor Lennie Muir, in particular, of muck-raking.

I joined in the fun and retorted that it was the only heap in which we could find his name. With that I got a solid biff on the head from a lady with an umbrella, that nearly knocked me out.<sup>172</sup>

Hours were long for those in both the printing and literary sides of newspaper production. David Burn, an editor of an admittedly earlier period, recorded in a rare diary that he worked a seven-day week, though he certainly had business and social interests beyond his editorships. ‘Hard is the fate of the petty provincial journalist, but, much more is that of the petty colonial editor, who is looked to to supply a never ending, still increasing supply of sauce piquant...’<sup>173</sup>

As mentioned in chapter 4, lighting must have been trying for all staff for some years. The configuration of the first two offices is not known, but when the *PB Herald* moved to its third home the literary and administrative staff worked from two small contiguous rooms. The larger one measured 14 feet x 11 feet and the smaller 11 feet square. They were internal offices and perhaps had a skylight. There was no fireplace for heating.<sup>174</sup>

News gathered in less than adequate light also taxed the reporters. By 1898 at least some venues enjoyed incandescent gas lighting. This did not give a true light, however, thus the reporter covering the Poverty Bay Club Ball in June apologized for inaccuracies in his description of gowns worn.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> ASM’s memoir.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Harvey (1990 - issued April 1991) p.110.

<sup>174</sup> from Memorandum of Agreement, Bourke and Carlaw Smith to the PB Printing & Publishing Co., 1 January 1880, document held at GH office.

<sup>175</sup> *PBH* 8 June 1898; Lighting was slow to improve even to this level and it was three more years before St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church used incandescent gas lighting (13 May 1901).

Allan R. Muir's careful planning and confidence in the business enabled him to keep abreast of technological developments (see chapter 4) and he had the press area separated from the literary department by late 1899 as a partial insurance against fire; a wise precaution as it turned out.<sup>176</sup> Once the new building was complete in August 1905 the literary staff worked in pleasant conditions. The prime office suite facing Gladstone Road was rented. The editorial rooms were internal rooms past the front suite, reached by a bridge across a light well. The general reporters work in the same area to this day. The whole area was well lit and ventilated and the rooms were:

conveniently furnished, amongst the equipment being a complete internal telephone service, enabling instant communication to be obtained between the various departments of the paper. Lavatory accommodation is attached to the suite.<sup>177</sup>

By 1912 Allan and Maria's youngest son, Bruce, joined the newspaper as a reporter.<sup>178</sup> Thus by Allan Ramsay's death in 1914 four Muirs were engaged on the literary side of the *PB Herald*: Lennie, Stanley, Bruce and Allan Stanley, the first representative of the fourth generation.

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<sup>176</sup> *PBH* 17 September 1904 (fire); *PBH* 26 October 1905.

<sup>177</sup> *PBH* 26 August.

<sup>178</sup> Charles William Muir, the middle son, opened a stationers and bookshop on 22 July 1905. His shop was part of the *PBH*'s premises, with a frontage to Gladstone Road.

## 6. COMMUNICATION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE EAST COAST DISTRICT

The third less visible aspect studied here is the channels of communication used by the newspapers of Poverty Bay, and in particular the *PB Herald*, for communication is the very essence of a newspaper. The process is four-way. The tangible evidence is the printed page that sends a message to and is received by an audience; this is mostly ephemeral, but may last one hundred years or more in an archive. The three other passing processes are more difficult to assess, especially at the distance of a century or so. First there is the collection of content, when the institution interacts with its community and further afield to gather and sift both news and advertising. The second essential element is the team work needed within the organization as the threads are drawn together to create the third part, what the New Zealand Press Association has termed the 'daily miracle of the newspaper which can be bought for a few pence'.<sup>1</sup> The fourth factor in the equation is the feedback from the newspaper's public.

### News-Gathering

In the process of communication an event is not news until the happening is reported from one to another. James Sanders suggests therefore, that it may be said that 'man' makes news. 'He has been doing it for a long time. He never ceases to impart what he has seen and he seldom loses an audience if what he has seen is worth knowing.'<sup>2</sup>

Communication was often frustrating for the early communities of New Zealand. Patrick Day calls the unpredictability an 'absence of communication'.<sup>3</sup> This was certainly so for the Poverty Bay newspapers before, and even after the advent of the telegraph. Step one, the gathering of information, for frequently it was barely news because of its lack of currency, was often excessively complicated in this remote district. The sea was a conduit for information from both outside the district and within, with bays acting as harbours for the area to the north-east of Gisborne, affectionately called 'the Coast', and its hinterland. Away from the sea, the scattered pattern of settlement and the hilly terrain slowed the regular exchange of information. Oliver concludes that the region's internal

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<sup>1</sup> 'The world through your newspaper', undated NZPA article c. 1961, Muir family papers.

<sup>2</sup> James Sanders, *Dateline—NZPA* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton Ltd., 1979) p.1.

and external communications remained backwards, when compared with almost all of New Zealand, and certainly other areas in the North Island, until World War II.<sup>4</sup>

Henry Webb at the *PB Standard* was the newspaper pioneer who felt the isolation most, for before the arrival of the telegraph in May 1875 the *PB Herald* did at least have a parent company in Hawkes Bay, approximately 160 kilometres to the south. Eight months after the establishment of the *PB Standard*, Webb lamented:

The painful position of isolation in which settlers of Poverty Bay are placed makes the items of intelligence which drop down upon us by fits and starts doubly valuable; while at the departure of each steamer we are left in the most exquisite doubt as to the probable amount of time that will elapse before any possible opportunity presents itself to put us in possession of the state of affairs in which, with the rest of the island, we have the greatest concern. Murder, battle, sudden death, plague, pestilence, and famine, may all devastate the land, and come stealing upon us ere we know aught of their approach.<sup>5</sup>

Taken chronologically, the news-gathering processes employed by the early Poverty Bay newspapers were as follows:

### **BY MAIL**

As was the convention of the time, Gisborne's early newspapers relied heavily upon other newspapers and the occasional private letter for their text. The practice of exchanges between newspapermen was widely accepted in countries such as the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand before the advent of the telegraph. Richard Kielbowicz notes that in America up to the 1860s newspapers 'obtained most of their state, national, and international news by mail'.<sup>6</sup> Some publications, such as the fortnightly *Journal of Commerce of Victoria*, acknowledged receipt and named its exchange newspapers.<sup>7</sup> For decades New Zealand too depended upon the mail service for its national and international news, therefore a reliable service was an advantage for

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<sup>3</sup> Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.60.

<sup>4</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response*, (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) p.4.

<sup>5</sup> *PB Standard* 14 May 1873.

<sup>6</sup> Richard B. Kielbowicz, *News in the Mail: the press, Post Office, and public information, 1700-1860s* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), p. 141 quoted in Ross Harvey, 'Bringing News to New Zealand: the Supply and Control of Overseas News in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History*, vol.8, no.1, 2002, p.23.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of Commerce of Victoria and Melbourne*, no.175 – new series vol. XXXII, 20 September 1886, p.8 – thirteen publications received; no.176 – new series vol. XXXII, 6 October 1886, p.8 – fifteen publications received, including *NZ Trade Review*, *NZ Prices Current*, the *Adelaide Observer* and the *Globe* (Sydney).



newspaper editors who, Kielbowicz asserts, acted as gatekeepers for their community's news.

The postal news service from Britain to New Zealand came first via the so-called Direct Line (via Suez). A second, faster route via San Francisco proved much more popular, and by 1877 mail taking that route reached London in forty-five days, compared with fifty-five to sixty-five days via Suez.<sup>8</sup> Both the weather and the shipping schedules affected Gisborne. Sometimes more than one connection was missed. In 1876, for example, bad weather prevented the SS *Pretty Jane* from reaching Napier in time to catch the *City of York*, with its consignment of English mail. This was the second consecutive time Poverty Bay's 'Home' mail had missed the connection.<sup>9</sup> A change to the San Francisco timetable in 1886 meant further delay for Gisborne as, while the incoming mail remained in Auckland longer, the outgoing mail missed the connection.<sup>10</sup> Passage from Auckland usually took three days, although anything up to two weeks was known. Residents in Poverty Bay were used to being second-class citizens in the communication chain, and the following piece was not written as a complaint, merely a report signifying the mail's arrival. The 1895 notice said: 'The Gisborne portion of the 'Frisco mail will reach here tomorrow morning by the *Mararoa*, it having been forwarded to New Plymouth from Auckland, and thence overland to Napier'.<sup>11</sup>

Before the *PB Herald* began, Henry Webb at the *PB Standard* sought help beyond the scheduled mail carriers, as 'captains of steamers and sailing vessels' were entreated to pick up free copies of the *PB Standard* from its office.<sup>12</sup> A number of vessels serviced the district. The smaller mail-carrying ships, such as the *Pretty Jane* and the *Go Ahead* from Auckland, could cross the bar to berth in the Taruheru river, although occasionally they became stuck, whereas the larger vessels, such as southern mail ship, the SS *Rangitira*, had to remain in the roadstead and were unloaded by lighter. From the outset Webb was caught by the lack of mail. He apologized in his first issue:

The unfrequency [*sic*] and uncertainty of steamers arriving...frustrate all business calculations...The *Rangitira* arrived on Thursday week at 3 o'clock in the morning,

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<sup>8</sup> A.C. Wilson *Wire & Wireless* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1994) pp.97-8.

<sup>9</sup> *PB Standard* 2 August 1876.

<sup>10</sup> *PBH* 17 November 1886.

<sup>11</sup> *PBH* 21 June 1895.

<sup>12</sup> *PB Standard* 5 October 1872.

landed her few passengers and bolted again immediately as if the bailiffs had been after her, and without a mail....<sup>13</sup>

Although the early Gisborne newspapers' fluctuations mostly rode on the waves, certain despatches arrived on horseback. Some mail went south with Māori riders to and from Wairoa and thence on to Napier. On at least one occasion in 1873 the *PB Standard* received its exchange papers that way: 'Thanks to the blessing of not having been troubled too much lately with steamers calling here, we received files of Auckland newspapers via Napier yesterday'.<sup>14</sup> Because of the steep and rugged country it was many years before a moderately reliable connection directly north became available.

The *PB Standard* and the *PB Herald* both began before Gisborne was connected to the national telegraph system but their birth was after the North Island's telegraph trunk was completed and much of the country was linked. At that time, and for much of the twentieth century also, Melbourne was a 'staging point' for New Zealand's international news.<sup>15</sup> News from Europe was 'packed' or abbreviated by the telegraph companies, who vied with each other to win custom. In the 1870s three advertised in Melbourne: the Oriental, Greville, and Reuters, which had the British and Foreign News Service.<sup>16</sup> The Melbourne summaries were forwarded by sea, initially to Bluff but later to a selection of ports, where they were encoded into morse and forwarded throughout the country. As a former journalist, Julius Vogel was concerned about the slowness of the system and agitated for a trans-Tasman cable connection.<sup>17</sup>

Gisborne newspapers received their despatches by one or two further stages: they were relayed either by telegraph to a close terminus and posted on from there, or sent directly by mail. The speediest gateways were Napier and later Wairoa, Tauranga or Opotiki. Receipt of the articles published was acknowledged as by telegram, in spite of the fact that they had arrived in Poverty Bay by mail. For instance:

a) *PBH* 12 February 1874

European telegrams (per SS *Victoria*) – news dated to 26 January;

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<sup>13</sup> *PB Standard* 5 October 1872.

<sup>14</sup> *PB Standard* 23 November 1872.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson (1994) p.47; 'Modern Communications Speed the News', undated NZPA article c. 1961, Muir family papers.

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, 'The contribution of the country press to the making of Victoria', PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1991, pp.186-7.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson (1994) p. 47.

European telegrams (Java cable) Pt Chalmers (February 9); London (January 31); The Ashantees Treat for Peace (February 1).

b) *PBH* 1 June 1874

The editorial stated: 'The European telegrams to hand by the mail steamer, furnish us with a budget of home news both varied and interesting'.

c) *PBH* 20 August 1875

From Bluff, 12 August: 'The *Omeo* arrived at 8 am from Melbourne having left there at 6 pm on the 5<sup>th</sup>'. Part of the consignment was cable news from Paris dated 1 August.

In the instances quoted above, the currency of the news as published by the *PB Herald* ranged from four to nineteen days. Before the partial relay by telegraph, resigned editors could wait up to 114 days for news from England. David Burn, editor of various Auckland newspapers during the 1850s, remarked in his diary on 1 July 1850: 'Yesterdays [*sic*] brig proved to be the '*Moa*', fifteen days from Sydney, and with English news to the 8<sup>th</sup> of March'.<sup>18</sup>

The *PB Herald* filled its columns with information drawn from a wide variety of sources, not all acknowledged and many not dated. Numerous New Zealand publications were mentioned, such as the *Auckland Herald*, the *Bay of Plenty Times*, the *New Zealand Gazette*, the *Southland News*, the *Timaru Herald*, the *Bruce Herald* and the *Grey Argus*. No doubt most, if not all, arrived by mail. During Browne's time he mentioned that the exchange list was large, but gave no figures.<sup>19</sup>

The practice of taking much news from exchange newspapers occasionally got out of hand. In country Australia a note to the editor of the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* from a reader congratulated him: 'Yours is a NEWSPAPER; most of the things printed in N.S. Wales are merely advertising sheets edited with a pair of scissors'.<sup>20</sup> Frank Luther Mott, when recalling his days in a small Iowa newspaper office in the 1890s, described the practice vividly:

My first copy was a piece of reprint credited to "Ex." to indicate that it had been taken from some paper obtained by "exchange" and it probably had bounced around among many papers before Father had clipped it from one of his own "exchanges".<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> from David Burn's diary, in Harvey (2002) p.25.

<sup>19</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

<sup>20</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience: A History of the NSW Provincial Press 1841-1990* (Canberra City: Infinite Harvest Publishing Pty. Ltd., 2000) p.351.

Herbert Bushnell recalled that in Gisborne the sub-editors awaited the arrival of the exchange newspapers eagerly. 'It was no uncommon occurrence to insert "pars" and "wires" snipped from contemporaries and serve them up under "This Day's headings",' said Bushnell. They did not always get away with the veracity of their claims, however, as on one occasion a touring performer challenged the newspaper; he had read the same interprovincial news days beforehand while in the South Island. He was promptly told that it was still current because Gisborne was geographically situated so many degrees 'farther north'. 'Son, come and sell tickets for me in the box office tonight', was the response.<sup>22</sup>

As mentioned, cut-and-paste items could 'bounce around', or they could be from primary sources, such as a method for getting rid of rats taken from the *Weekly Herald*.<sup>23</sup> This 'on-feeding' was described in a convoluted piece in the *Standard*:

CAMEO indulges in some tall talk in the *Weekly News* of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. in which he makes a meal out of the very small fact that newspapers 'feed' on each other in this colony and is down rather heavy on the *Waikato Times* for republishing a 'story of mine' as coming from the *Charleston Herald*.<sup>24</sup>

Even after the arrival of the telegraph newspapers, both large and small, continued to clip from their contemporaries. In 1880 the United Press Association in New Zealand sought to have the Telegraph Office kept open late on special occasions, such as the arrival of the San Francisco and Suez mails.<sup>25</sup> An example of the interchange in a well-established metropolitan newspaper was an almost full column in the Melbourne *Argus* five years after the trans-Tasman cable connection. Extracts from the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Auckland Herald* and the *New Zealand Times*, were prefaced with the following introduction: 'By the *Te Anau* we have received later files of New Zealand papers. The political news has been for the most part anticipated by our intelligence from Auckland, and by the cable news.'<sup>26</sup> Most of the column was devoted to further political news.

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<sup>21</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *The Old Printing Office* (Lake Oswego, Oregon: Blackwell North America, Inc., 1985) np.

<sup>22</sup> H.J.B. [H.J. Bushnell], 'The Early Press', in *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) p.144.

<sup>23</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1877- the 'recipe' was taken from Agricola's column.

<sup>24</sup> *PB Standard* 21 December 1872.

<sup>25</sup> Harvey (2002) p.26.

<sup>26</sup> *Argus*, 29 September 1881, p.9.

Contemporary newspapers could give a dimension not possible in the abbreviated messages received by telegraph. An analysis of the current situation in Ireland in the *PB Herald* of February 1886, for example, was prefaced by an acknowledgement that the newspapers that had arrived by mail the day before were helpful. They made it possible to get 'a far better idea of the most recent phase assumed by the great Irish Question than could be formed from the short telegrams recently published...'<sup>27</sup>

Country newspapers in Australia were expressing similar thoughts. The *Rochester Express* (Victoria) commented that the month's mail was 'very interesting' and that 'while the cable made known the "principal items" a month or so earlier, the news received by ship enabled particulars to be expanded'.<sup>28</sup>

Much time was taken with gleaning information from other newspapers, as David Burn recorded in his diary twenty or so years earlier. It took him all day to prepare a summary from the English news that had arrived on the *Moa* the previous day.<sup>29</sup> Browne downplayed the task of sifting through the newspaper exchanges during his editorship, as he once again boosted his product. The *PB Herald* had a very large exchange list, he said, and 'we have only to give our industry in compiling matter which shall be interesting to all classes of readers'.<sup>30</sup> The gate-keeping role of the editorial team was confirmed two years later, when the mail steamers, from both north and south, brought an unusually large selection of newspapers. The exchanges 'were carefully perused' by the editorial team to ascertain how their contemporaries were feeling about premier Sir George Grey.<sup>31</sup>

Great value was placed by the expatriate colonists on the regular exchange of newspapers, especially with 'home', as the majority of the settlers still thought of Britain, and consequently various governments found it difficult to charge a commercial rate for carriage. When the generous rate of free postage within New Zealand and to Britain, if by direct ship, was revoked in 1864 the overall charge of 1d a copy was looked upon as a 'tax on knowledge'. By the Post Office Act, which became operative in 1869,

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<sup>27</sup> *PBH* 11 February 1886.

<sup>28</sup> *Rochester Express* 18 December 1874, cited in Morrison (1991) p.191.

<sup>29</sup> from David Burn's diary, in Harvey (2002) p.25.

<sup>30</sup> *PBH* 31 March 1879.

<sup>31</sup> *PBH* 29 August 1879.

newspapers exchanged between offices within New Zealand could be carried free of charge, and by 1873 nation-wide newspaper postage for the general community was reduced to ½d, with the overseas rate placed at 1d.<sup>32</sup> In 1892 the rates became assessable by weight. This caused concern for the larger weekly newspapers designed for circulation in the country areas of New Zealand, or for friends and relatives overseas. Four-page newspapers, such as the *PB Herald*, could travel overseas for the reduced rate of ½d. Postage for British newspapers, which did not have the large weeklies, was also ½d to New Zealand at the time.<sup>33</sup>

The smaller communities, in particular, also drew on the services of friends and acquaintances for news from time to time. When applauding the arrival of the telegraph service to Blenheim, the editor of the *Marlborough Express* wrote: 'We are no longer dependent on the chance caprice of friends in the various localities and centres of population for their news...'<sup>34</sup> Newspapers, and even letters, were passed on by friends to grateful editors, from which extracts of seemingly limited interest were occasionally published. The *PB Herald* sometimes mentioned the source, such as a private letter 'received by a friend'. Mr Sims had recovered well said the friend's letter, and it was 'hoped he would pull through'.<sup>35</sup> It was not just isolated Gisborne that relied upon friends, for in Napier inefficiencies at the Press Association were corrected by information received privately.<sup>36</sup> The interchange system also worked in reverse for, while not quite a correlation, one death notice that appeared in the *PB Herald* recorded the passing in Natal of a young man from Invernesshire, with the addendum, 'Canterbury papers please copy'.<sup>37</sup> On another occasion Aberdeen papers were requested to copy. Presumably the fellow newspapers published free of charge.<sup>38</sup>

### **BY TELEGRAPH – THE MOTHER OF ALL NETWORKS<sup>39</sup>**

Overall, the East Coast district was insignificant to the colony from a news point of view for no gold was discovered and Gisborne was not a first port of call, therefore it was not a

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<sup>32</sup> G.H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand*, (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958) pp.8-9.

<sup>33</sup> *PBH* 20 July 1892.

<sup>34</sup> *Marlborough Express* 30 September 1871, cited in Harvey (2002) p.26.

<sup>35</sup> *PBH* 21 July 1892.

<sup>36</sup> *HB Herald* 1 November 1884 – the PA did not wire information about acceptances for a horse race.

<sup>37</sup> *PBH* 22 July 1895.

<sup>38</sup> *PBH* 29 April 1896.

priority. Telegraphic links, which began in Canterbury in the early 1860s, were forged throughout the North Island during the later part of that decade, with a trunk line between Wellington and Auckland, that was eventually completed in April 1872. The route via Gisborne and its northern neighbour of Opotiki was rejected and the line went north-west from Napier via Taupo to Tauranga. It was 4 May 1875 before Gisborne was connected to the national telegraph system, with the line brought through from Wairoa. Twelve months earlier, when the Napier line had reached Wairoa, the *PB Herald* commented: 'It is now possible to get into immediate touch with outside districts by taking only a day's ride to Wairoa'.<sup>40</sup>

As with construction of other parts of the cable network in the North Island, such as the 208 km section from Taupo to Tauranga, negotiations between the Māori land-owners and the Pākehā 'interlopers' could be fraught and delay occurred with the Gisborne connection. The contractors were initially challenged by both the Wairoa and the Nuhaka Māori; the first group demanded a rent of 1/- per chain, and the second group demanded, and received, payment as recompense for services given fighting Te Kooti earlier.<sup>41</sup>

Australia was linked by cable to Java late in 1871. During the 1870s the world became progressively more linked and the telegraph, which had started hesitantly in 1844, grew to have over 650,000 miles of wire and 30,000 miles of submarine cable. 'Time itself was telegraphed out of existence', said London's *Daily Telegraph*, and a message could be sent from London to Bombay and back, for instance, in four minutes.<sup>42</sup> By 21 February 1876 New Zealand was part of the international link back to Great Britain with a cable from La Perouse, near the head of Sydney's Botany Bay, to Wakapuaka, near Nelson. A second trans-Tasman cable was in place by May 1890.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Tom Standage, *The Victorian Internet* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998) - Numerous methods of long-distance communication were attempted; Morse's telegraph proved the most successful. Standage headed his discourse on the early developments and Morse's success: 'The mother of all networks' - p.3.

<sup>40</sup> J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. McKay, 1982) pp.333-4.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Standage (1998) p.97 - the name *Daily Telegraph* was chosen to give the impression of rapid, up-to-date delivery of news. Wilson (1994) p. 28...the special mission of annihilating time and space [a constant Victorian metaphor for telegraphy].

<sup>43</sup> In Australia the landline went west to Adelaide then north to Port Darwin, onto Java, India, the Mediterranean and finally to London; initial charge was 15/- per word from GB and 1/6 per word from Australia - Wilson (1994) pp.49-50. The service suffered frequent disruptions; the land-line to Pt Darwin had 'trouble from the elements and the natives' (*PBH* 5.6.78) and the Singapore cable 'appears to be always parting', because of the friction caused by rubbing on the coral - (*PBH* 15.7.78).

As with the mail service, the transmission of news via Gisborne's single wire was also subject to the vagaries of the weather, for almost every time a serious south-easterly gale blew there was either silence or only faint communication through the Wairoa-Gisborne section of the national telegraph. The wire itself became news, as in the following:

From the outside world all is darkness today in the *Herald*: for the telegraph lines are down and there comes nothing to hand. It will not in any way alter the state of things, and appetite for news must wait upon its coming. ... The line broke down in the vicinity of the Big River, and the lineman is out repairing damages which, it is believed, will be effected in time for our next issue.

The newspaper did not gain a reprieve the next day either for the district was 'still in darkness; no cablegrams; no telegrams; no steamer arrived from north or south; no nothing in the way of news either to raise or depress the spirits'.<sup>44</sup>

Long after most areas enjoyed a duplex system, the problem of one line still plagued the East Coast district. A gale in May 1892 brought the following report:

The Gisborne lineman goes as far as Frasertown, unless he finds the source of interruption before. A message from Muriwai states that Mr Fyson (the lineman) has passed there and is pushing on towards Mahia. The country over which he will have to travel is very rough and progress will be slow.<sup>45</sup>

In this instance it was discovered a landslide had taken five telegraph poles out to sea.

The Wairoa lineman meanwhile had travelled north and remarkably the two linemen, with help, repaired the damage within a day.

An editorial in the *PB Herald* about the time Allan Lennie Muir became editor in 1896, once again called for better service for the district. It was not just another complaint about broken wires this time but, with the forthcoming reduction in telegraph rates, the editor foresaw a bottleneck occurring. Already press telegrams suffered because the telegraph office did not remain open after 8 pm and, with the single wire one of the 'busiest lines in the colony', a block frequently occurred. Delays were especially severe during the sitting of parliament, when full reports were transmitted, and Gisborne was hampered by the fact that its messages came via Napier and Wairoa and were frequently

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<sup>44</sup> *PBH* 9 and 10 June 1879.

<sup>45</sup> *PBH* 30 April 1892.



held over until the traffic between those two centres was completed.<sup>46</sup> A second wire was installed between Napier and Wairoa in 1896.

The *PB Herald* continued to rail against its tenuous link to the outside world of news. By 1907 the prosperous *PB Herald*, with its high quality Cossar press, still could not control its news-gathering. Once more the line was broken in high winds:

As too often occurs under like conditions, the single wire that serves to keep us in touch with the rest of the world has fallen, or leaked to such an extent that the means of communication could not be maintained. It occurs too often to be novel, but their frequency causes an accumulation of the irritating circumstances and intensifies the public indignation that an important district like this can be isolated with almost every storm.<sup>47</sup>

Three years after its establishment, the annual cost of maintaining the Wairoa to Gisborne section of the telegraph line was £503.10.4.<sup>48</sup> This was approximately ten times the amount the *PB Herald* paid for its annual subscription to the Press Association.<sup>49</sup>

#### **BY PIGEON**

Paul Julius Reuter, the father of news-gathering, was the first to use pigeons to carry news. In 1850 the 'new-fangled' European electric telegraph went from Paris to Brussels, with the German line extending from Berlin to Aachen. The train took nine hours to cover the one hundred-mile gap. Reuter, a failed publisher, set up an organization in April 1850 to collect stock market prices and relay them across the gap by pigeon post.<sup>50</sup> In New Zealand the pioneer of 'Pigeongrams' was Henry Brett of the *Auckland Star*, who began by using the birds between the Thames goldfields and Auckland in the 1860s.<sup>51</sup>

Pigeons made sense for the scattered community of Poverty Bay, where news of any event within the district reached the town at horse-pace over frequently rough terrain at best. Towards the end of 1880, the *PB Herald* happily announced the arrival of its first line of carrier pigeons, 'a magnificent pair Berlin breed' from Brett in Auckland. The

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<sup>46</sup> *PBH* 18 April 1896.

<sup>47</sup> *PBH* 17 September 1907.

<sup>48</sup> cost for the year July-June 1878, *PBH* 17 October 1878.

<sup>49</sup> annual subscription to the 'Press Association' £50 - Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the 'The Poverty Bay Herald Newspaper' business for the year ending February 1886, ATL MS-6219-3.

<sup>50</sup> Press release from Muriel Penn, May 1969, 'Reuters' Communications', Muir family papers; Harold Herd, *The March of Journalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1952) pp. 331-2; Standage (1998) p.141.

<sup>51</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.13.

birds were put into immediate training to fly between the Oil Springs and the *PB Herald* office 'by which any information of importance will reach us within 40 minutes after the bird has started for home'.<sup>52</sup>

The birds, which were very tame, were first used for the Agricultural Show a few days later but as the newspaper did not publish that evening the 'information was of no public use'.<sup>53</sup> The first 'Pigeongram' appeared later that month, when an event of considerable importance to the young district took place. It was the official opening of the Gisborne to Ormond tramway. Much of the report was written beforehand, but for the first time the newspaper was able to give precise information from a distance on the same day, such as when the tram, a 'Flying Dutchman' that travelled at five miles per hour, arrived at various destinations. The 'only incident worth recording' that day, 'was a narrow escape from a collision a short distance from the quarry to the main road...' A further report described lunch, which was 'partaken about 2 pm'. This was headed 3 pm.<sup>54</sup>

The pigeons were particularly useful for district race results, for example in May 1882 when the Waerenga a Hika Birthday Race Meeting results appeared. This time the attribution used was (Per Herald Carrier Pigeon Express). Nearly half a column of results followed.<sup>55</sup> Attribution varied from 'Pigeongram', 'Carrier Pigeon Express', as above, and 'In our Pigeographic report...' The latter appeared in the text, alongside an apology for a typographical error.<sup>56</sup>

The directors of the Southern Cross Petroleum Company gave four pairs of carrier pigeons to their general manager in December 1883. The intention was for the birds to carry information to and from the Oil Springs, but the hoped-for discovery was not forthcoming and little was heard. Although Allan R. Muir was a keen member of the Gisborne Poultry Fanciers' Club<sup>57</sup>, the pigeons seem to have disappeared as couriers around the time he joined the *PB Herald* in 1884.

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<sup>52</sup> *PBH* 22 October 1880.

<sup>53</sup> *PBH* 4 November 1880.

<sup>54</sup> *PBH* 25 November 1880.

<sup>55</sup> *PBH* 24 May 1882.

<sup>56</sup> *PBH* 25 May 1882 – the typographical error, not a reporting error, was in a report of the Maiden Plate.

<sup>57</sup> *PBH* 10 May 1895; 15 May 1896 – A.R. Muir vice president of the Poultry Fanciers' Club.

## BY TELEPHONE

The telephone, now so much taken for granted, was worthy of detailed mention in its infancy. The first indication that there was such an instrument in Gisborne, albeit a primitive form of today's one-to-one connection, was early in 1883, when the *PB Herald* correspondent used the service. 'Only six minutes elapsed from the time our correspondent put in his telephone message at Ormond, yesterday, until it had been written and delivered in the *Herald* office.'<sup>58</sup>

A further connection was made to Makaraka around October 1885,<sup>59</sup> and the following year a line was taken to Tologa Bay on the East Coast.<sup>60</sup> Businesses within the district attempted to get a limited town service in 1886, with a line not exceeding half a mile from the hoped-for exchange. Costs were to be £9 for the first year and £8 for subsequent years. The *PB Herald* and government offices were among the twenty proponents of such a service. The exchange did not eventuate until 1896, when the fifty-three subscribers barely met the required quota. It was a period of expansion overall, with the number of exchanges in New Zealand having grown from 270 in 1890 to 575 in 1896.<sup>61</sup>

Because of the limited number of subscribers, the exchange only opened from 9 am to 5 pm at the outset. In 1897 the *PB Herald* urged all public offices to become connected as with greater numbers the exchange would remain open from 8 am to 8 pm.<sup>62</sup> By February 1902 the Gisborne exchange had 200 subscribers. Charges, which were initially complex, were gradually reduced and simplified.<sup>63</sup>

The practicality of the service depended upon both the number of subscribers and once again, the weather. There is record of poles being used for the Tologa Bay service but many of the lines were of primitive construction. Some ran along the tops of fences, with 'special insulation being provided and others being hung from trees through the bush'.<sup>64</sup> Though extraordinarily limited by the standards of today's wired world, the telephone

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<sup>58</sup> *PBH* 7 February 1883.

<sup>59</sup> *PBH* 24 September 1885.

<sup>60</sup> *PBH* 5 April 1886 – the Cook County Council gave 1400 21 ft poles (value £3,000) and was asked to contribute £229 as half the cost of delivering them. There was debate about payment for the construction – the government offered £400, which was considered inadequate.

<sup>61</sup> Wilson (1994) p.78.

<sup>62</sup> *PBH* 1 April 1897 – 65 subscribers were needed for an extension of hours. When more bureaux opened, e.g. as far north as Waipiro Bay, customers could talk for 6 minutes for 6d, the cost of a telegram.

<sup>63</sup> Wilson (1994) p.78.

<sup>64</sup> *PBH* 19 December 1900.

helped bridge the gap between town and country, and boosted Gisborne and its scattered hinterland psychologically:

Thus a town subscriber desiring to communicate with, say, a Te Arai settler, living within a mile of the telephone station at that place, pays 6d. For that sum the officer at Te Arai has to send to the residence of the gentleman and inform him that he is wanted, and subscriber and country settler may have five minutes conversation upon the wire.<sup>65</sup>

News and no doubt classified advertising copy was conveyed to the *PB Herald* office by telephone from the outset. The value of the instrument was highlighted when the Hon. James Carroll (later Sir James Carroll), member for Waiapu (with a subsequent name change to the Gisborne seat) and Minister for Native Affairs at the time, visited the East Coast district in 1902:

As showing how everything is up to date at Mr Ngata's house there is a private telephone connected with the Port Awanui bureau, and this having been placed at the disposal of our reporter, he is enabled to obtain direct communication with the *Herald* office.<sup>66</sup>

The use of the early telephone in Poverty Bay was restricted by the lack of published numbers. The Post & Telegraph Department demanded a fee of 10/- p.a. to publish the names of private owners on their exchange list. The *PB Herald* had the complete list of one hundred and sixty-eight subscribers at the end of 1900; it is not known if they published it as a service to the community, but they did publish numbers for the new connections.<sup>67</sup> The newspaper was one of the district's early subscribers; the format for printing their number was Telephone 27. By 1914 the *PB Herald* had two telephone lines: Editorial 874 and Commercial & Printing 527.

## IN PERSON

Local news arrived at the newspaper office by messenger, with the reporters, by word of mouth, and later by telephone. Bushnell recalled that frequently 'old-timers' would drop into the composing room with an item of news.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *PBH* 23 November 1896.

<sup>66</sup> *PBH* 20 March 1902.

<sup>67</sup> *PBH* 19 December 1900. Five years later up to twenty-five miles was charged at 6d for three minutes; over twenty-five miles was 1/- for three minutes. When connected through the bureau it was half price. Telephone subscribers were not allowed to allow non subscribers to use their telephone – (*PBH* 27.4.05 and 12.5.05).

<sup>68</sup> *Life in Early Poverty Bay* (1927) p.144.

## Collective News-Gathering

'A new journalism' emerged with the advent of press associations.<sup>69</sup> Although the timing differed, Jeb Byrne, in his comparative study of nineteenth-century newspapers in the United States and New Zealand, notes that as newspapers came to depend more and more upon the telegraph the cost of such news-gathering meant that even highly competitive newspapers saw merit in clubbing together.

New Zealand's first news-gathering service grew from the early telegraph in the South Island. Summaries from the mail received at the port of Bluff, and forwarded by telegraph to Dunedin and onward to Christchurch, were initially commissioned by two astute journalists: Julius Vogel (later Sir Julius Vogel) for the *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin) and J.E. Fitzgerald for the *Press* (Christchurch). Fitzgerald's brother, Gerald, turned the service, which was forced by cost to include other Canterbury newspapers, into what became the short-lived New Zealand General Telegraph Agency begun in May 1865. For his part, Vogel, co-founder of the *Otago Daily Times*, organized news summaries to be prepared by the *Argus* in Melbourne, initially for the *Otago Daily Times* but he later widened his service, with telegrams available for sale. In effect his service also became a press agency. In late 1866 or early 1867 the Government was persuaded to take over the dissemination of news and offer it to newspapers on a subscription basis. Charges of a conflict between the public and private spheres developed and eventually Vogel, then Postmaster General and Electric Telegraph Commissioner as well as Colonial Treasurer, closed the Government service, against his will, in 1870.<sup>70</sup>

Two press associations replaced the Government service: the *Otago Daily Times* established its own news service and expanded it to include a number of other newspapers, amongst them the *HB Bay Herald*. Concurrently the Australian-based Greville's Telegram Company, which had the Reuters agency, supplied New Zealand newspapers through a branch office. The Government found the competing interests of the two press agencies conflicted with the public and commercial use of the system, and

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<sup>69</sup> Jeb Byrne, 'The comparative development of newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the nineteenth century', *American Studies International* Vol. XXXVII, no.1, 1999, p.64.

<sup>70</sup> sources used are Harvey (2002) pp.26-7; Day (1990) pp.191-8; and Sanders (1979) pp.1-3.

by 1872 the two amalgamated into the Holt and McCarthy agency (the Press Agency), controlled indirectly by Vogel. For six years it was the sole New Zealand press agency.<sup>71</sup>

Competition returned when the *Otago Daily Times* negotiated with other newspapers late in 1878 to establish what became the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA). Twenty-six newspapers joined, amongst them Gisborne's *Standard*, which Sanders describes puzzlingly as a 'senior' newspaper. The tri-weekly newspaper was 'senior' in that it was the first newspaper in the district, but on the local scene the daily *PB Herald* was dominant. The criterion was not age, however, for the 'junior' category included the then fourteen-year-old *Bruce Herald*, but may well have been the category of service the *Standard*'s subscription covered.<sup>72</sup>

Just before the NZPA was formed the Government granted three of the major newspapers associated with it, the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Lyttelton Times* and the *New Zealand Herald*, a monopoly on a special wire. Holt and McCarthy were not successful in their petition for similar treatment. Accusations of bias were raised in parliament, and newspapers, among them the *PB Herald*, an opponent of the Grey Ministry, protested.<sup>73</sup> The two agencies amalgamated in 1879 to form the United Press Association (UPA). Importantly, membership of this association was open to all newspapers in New Zealand. Reuter continued to supply a cable service until 1887, when the UPA terminated the agreement; it was more than twenty-nine years before Reuter's cable service returned to New Zealand. The year before its exit Reuter introduced a new 'social and mercantile code containing no less than 10,000 separate phrases' to encourage greater activity.<sup>74</sup>

Charges for the UPA set late in 1879, in which the *PB Herald* was to pay an entrance fee of £25, later amended in pencil in the minute book to £50, were raised in January 1880 as costs escalated. The major metropolitan newspapers' entrance fee was set at £500, medium-sized establishments, such as those in centres larger than Gisborne, for example

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<sup>71</sup> Harvey (2002) p.27; Day (1990) pp.204-222.

<sup>72</sup> Sanders (1979) pp. 4-5; Scholefield (1958) pp.190-1.

<sup>73</sup> Sir George Grey (governor of NZ 1845-53 and again from 1861-68) was premier from October 1877 to 1879 – Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) p.298; *PBH* 24 October 1878.

<sup>74</sup> *Journal of Commerce of Victoria and Melbourne*, no.170 – new series vol. XXXII, 12 June 1886, p.5.

Timaru and Napier, were charged £300. A third category carried a fee of £100. 'The fees for 'other' papers would be at the discretion of the committee.'<sup>75</sup>

It was a period of enormous change; the newspapers needed access to agency news to compete but the costs were contested by many. Shortly after Frederick Dufaur and Thomas Chrisp took over from Samuel Craig in 1882, the Press Telegrams Bill passed through Parliament with some opposition. The *PB Herald* protested vigorously at the UPA's monopoly and also the 'manifestly unfair' entry fee of £500 set for all new daily newspapers.<sup>76</sup> The *PB Herald* swallowed whatever chagrin it felt and joined the UPA in October of that year. The second *Standard*, also joined during 1882. The thorny question of entry fees to the UPA favoured established newspapers; in 1894 they changed again, with Gisborne included in the third-class category according to Sanders, at an entry fee of £400.<sup>77</sup>

When describing the different levels of service to a potential new member in 1888 the manager of the UPA explained: 'The first level contains everything; the second class contains all but "specials"; the third contains the ordinary foreign cables and a summary only of Australian news'.<sup>78</sup> While Gisborne as a town was classified as third-class in the newspaper world, the *PB Herald* subscribed to the second-class service, which cost £50 annually.<sup>79</sup> Payment for cables was charged in proportion to the number of words received.<sup>80</sup>

One effect of the UPA's monopoly complained of by the *PB Herald* and others was to standardize news. During E.T. Gillon's reign as manager from 1878 to 1884 his forceful personality and style dominated the organization. Critics grumbled that reports 'bore the imprint of one mastermind who had control of the news',<sup>81</sup> but by the time Gillon, an accomplished journalist, left the association he had cemented it in place as the dominant force in New Zealand journalism.

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<sup>75</sup> Sanders (1979) pp.8-9.

<sup>76</sup> *PBH* 13 June 1882.

<sup>77</sup> Sanders (1979) p.28.

<sup>78</sup> letter from Attack to proprietor, *Times*, Reefton, 25 May 1888 in Harvey (2002) p.31.

<sup>79</sup> annual subscription to the 'Press Association' £50 - Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the 'the Poverty Bay Herald Newspaper' business for the year ending February 1886, ATL MS-6219-3.

<sup>80</sup> Sanders (1979) pp.14-22.

Costs and control by the larger newspapers meant some of the smaller newspapers felt alienated. Joseph Ives who, as mentioned in chapter 3, established numerous small newspapers, attempted to launch an alternative service, the Anglo-Colonial Press Association in 1894. Its prospectus said, in part:

The New Zealand Press Association enjoys a vicious monopoly which is being worked to the detriment of small and struggling newspapers. The ring which controls its management and supply of news dictates prohibitory terms, and with a hope of breaking down that vicious monopoly which Parliament in its wisdom saw fit to extend in favour of the wealthy papers, I now approach...<sup>82</sup>

Other complaints resounded. Recipient newspapers had little, if any, control over the ingress of material from the agencies. The quality and quantity of news delivered by the NZPA from within New Zealand<sup>83</sup> and also from abroad was frequently considered unsatisfactory. 'Costly rubbish' was forwarded on with disregard for priority or newsworthiness said the industry journal, *Typo*. 'Long-suffering journalists' were fed up with reports such as an account of a British racehorse, which suffered from a sprain while exercising.<sup>84</sup>

Inaccuracies in the transcription of cable news or exaggeration also caused concern. Banner headlines had not yet been discovered but tabloid-type drama, recognized as a money-spinner by American newspaper proprietors such as Joseph Pulitzer, and W. Randolph Hearst, had made its entrance in some NZPA reports. An example given by the industry journal, *Typo*, was of a clash at a Wesleyan meeting. The agency reported it as a riot, with two men attacked by stones. 'The Press Association may have to defend itself from libel actions before long', said *Typo*.<sup>85</sup>

The newspapers had, of course, a public voice. The *PB Herald* used it. The business spent 'hundred of pounds' annually with the Telegraph Department and Press Association, and its small voice needed to be heard.

The Association send [*sic*] through an amount of useless rubbish, often much behind time. For instance, on Monday last we received from the Press agent at Auckland, at

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<sup>81</sup> Byrne (1999) pp.66-7

<sup>82</sup> Harvey (2001) pp.28-9.

<sup>83</sup> Harvey (2002) – from letter from the Wanganui Herald Newspaper Co. to Atack, manager of the NZPA, 21 June 1895, pp.30 & 34.

<sup>84</sup> *Typo*, 24 September 1887, vol.1, no.9, p.71.

<sup>85</sup> *Typo*, 23 September 1888, vol.2, no.21, p.104.



the cost of ½d per word, a message of 111 words giving the names of the Ruahine's passengers, the list having been published throughout the colony over a week previously.<sup>86</sup>

To avoid confusion with news services overseas, New Zealand's UPA changed its name to the New Zealand Press Association in 1942. Membership of the Press Association meant co-operation. The national system would not work if newspapers did not feed local news of wider interest into the system. After Gisborne's bad fire of early 1887 both the *PB Herald* reporters and the telegraph operators were stretched getting the news out. George Cummings, the telegraphist, worked 'well into the small hours. Through his courtesy we got away a telegram to the Press Association announcing the result so news would appear in the morning papers in the colony.'<sup>87</sup>

In spite of vicissitudes and considerable complaint, the UPA grew and, with a name change in January 1942 to the New Zealand Press Association, it remains in business to this day.

## Ups and Downs in Gisborne

That the advent of the telegraph was of immense importance to Gisborne is unquestionable. The collective news-gathering that followed lifted medium-sized provincial newspapers, such as the *PB Herald*, from their second-hand status; at last they were in the world rather than voyeurs at arms' length. The wonder, said Browne, was that a newspaper could place before readers in small communities 'the principal events which has [*sic*] occurred only a few hours previously at the centres of distant kingdoms and empires'.<sup>88</sup>

The *PB Herald* had the strength to participate in the accelerating world of communication and the multiplicity of information that came its way was breathtaking, especially when compared with the local scene, with much of its connection still by bridle track.

Do our readers understand what the Press Association is? It is the means by which they are able to read in the HERALD each evening precisely the same accounts of the Spanish-American war, and of every Home, foreign and inter-colonial subject, as they will find in the same day's papers in Wellington and Auckland, or Sydney and Melbourne. The New Zealand newspaper proprietors have joined hands with their

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<sup>86</sup> *PBH* 17 August 1893.

<sup>87</sup> *PBH* 8 March 1887.

<sup>88</sup> *PBH* 22 December 1877.

brethren of the big dailies in Australia and have made arrangements by which they collect from all the ends of the earth the fullest, the latest, and the most accurate information, and thus Gisborne is brought into daily touch with London, with Washington, Cuba, St. Petersburg, Egypt, and even far-off China. For years the proprietors have been paying heavy contributions to cover the cost of collection and cable charges, and to build up this splendid institution.<sup>89</sup>

The first agency reports published by the early Gisborne newspapers were from the Anglo-Australian press agency. The *Standard* published reports from late in 1873, but not many agency pieces appeared.<sup>90</sup> From there on the *PB Herald* took the lead and published telegraphic intelligence, as it was called, by June 1875. A fracas erupted between the pioneering newspapers in August 1877 when the *Standard* accused its rival of publishing biased telegraphic information. Not so, replied the *PB Herald*, in trenchant terms; it had a Wellington correspondent and therefore a primary and reputable source whereas the *Standard* only used secondhand telegrams from Napier.<sup>91</sup> The *PB Herald* continued to upstage the *Standard* and published from the Press Agency from September 1877. A year later the *Standard* subscribed to the first NZPA (not to be confused with the NZPA that sprang from the UPA in 1942).<sup>92</sup>

Cable news from both the UPA and Reuter's Agency appeared in the *PB Herald* from 1882. Attribution was given as follows: 'AUSTRALIAN NEWS BY ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH (REUTERS TELEGRAMS)' and 'TELEGRAMS [PER UNITED PRESS AGENCY]'.<sup>93</sup> Six months later 'CABLEGRAMS BY ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH – COPYRIGHT [REUTERS TELEGRAMS]' appeared, above 'AUSTRALIAN NEWS BY ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH – Copyright [REUTERS TELEGRAMS]' and 'TELEGRAMS [PER UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION]'.<sup>94</sup> The word 'Copyright' first appeared after the Copyright Bill was passed on 28 August 1882; a significant step, brought about by the pilfering of reports.

As well as using Agency reports, the *PB Herald* continued, as did many of its contemporaries, to express competitiveness by using 'Our own correspondent', who sent cable news from London or Australia, and our 'Special correspondent', who likewise sent the 'LATEST TELEGRAMS' from within the country. The *PB Herald* also retained a

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<sup>89</sup> *PBH* 1 July 1898.

<sup>90</sup> *Standard* 17 September 1873; *Standard* 10 January 1874; *PBH* 29 June 1875.

<sup>91</sup> *Standard* 29 August 1877 and *PBH* 31 August 1877.

<sup>92</sup> *PBH* 14 September 1877; Sanders (1979) p.5.

<sup>93</sup> *PBH* 3 July 1883.

parliamentary agent.<sup>95</sup> Terms fluctuated and the agents varied in their efficiency, but the connection was prized: the *PB Herald* was only one-step removed from the action – the country's political scene.

As the newspaper matured and settled into comfortable dominance in the district, the attributions used became smaller. News arriving by telegraph was no longer an adventure and the country of origin took priority over the means of distribution, in roughly the following proportion:

FRANCE AND ENGLAND (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association)<sup>96</sup>

Attribution continued to vary marginally during the period studied. With the newspaper's increased sophistication came more detail, such as 'Received March 17, 10 am' above a commercial item from London dated 16 March. By 1905 attribution could be 'Napier, last night' or 'Auckland, this day'.<sup>97</sup>

Most newspapers had ceased to mention the telegraph by the end of the nineteenth century. Proposed cable increases prompted the *PB Herald* to continue its modest crusade on behalf of the small voice. In an early example of the city versus country debate oft-heard in both Australia and New Zealand, the *PB Herald* pointed out that country newspapers remained limited by numbers and could not offset costs by increased circulation and advertising. Small newspapers were already struggling with cable costs, said the newspaper. For city newspapers:

If any sensation occurs they are able to recoup the cost of telegrams by increased sale of papers – but the papers in smaller towns will simply be unable to afford the additional expense... Thus it will be the general public throughout the country districts of the colony who will be the real sufferers by the Government's enlightened policy for the encouragement of newspapers.<sup>98</sup>

Piracy of UPA telegrams, a simmering problem, was addressed by the 1882 Copyright Bill, which allowed eighteen hours' protection of cable news. Twenty-four hours'

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<sup>94</sup> *PBH* 30 January 1884.

<sup>95</sup> George Adams received £1 per week for his correspondence, which he put at twelve weeks, in 1884 – A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1. For at least two periods the *PB Herald* had an upgraded presence, with Lennie Muir in the press gallery (1891-96) and Stanley Muir (1905-06).

<sup>96</sup> *PBH* 3 February 1898.

<sup>97</sup> *PBH* 17 March 1898; 26 August 1905.

<sup>98</sup> *PBH* 1 July 1898.

protection of cable news was granted in 1884. A proposal to rescind this agreement in mid 1898 met with dismay. Any rag-planter could pirate information and build up a newspaper on news that cost them nothing said an editorial in the *PB Herald*. 'This is nothing more or less than theft.'<sup>99</sup>

Small though Gisborne was, news was lifted periodically, with varying degrees of propriety. As early as 1878 Holt and McCarthy tested the question of copyright in cable news, with the assertion that a Gisborne newspaper was copying telegraphic abstracts of foreign news. No evidence has been found to identify the newspaper, but the result of the case was that the Court of Appeal held there was no copyright in news.<sup>100</sup>

The daily *Telephone*, published by Captain Porter and A.W. Croft in 'correct manner and chaste style',<sup>101</sup> emerged in 1883 after the collapse of the second *Standard*. Correct manner did not extend to plagiarism. Suspicions were aroused early as the *PB Herald* noticed the *Telephone*'s telegrams bore a marked resemblance to those carried in their own pages. The *PB Herald* resorted to subterfuge and published three stories:

1. A short report that the Rt Hon. W.E. Gladstone was reported as seriously ill;
2. A serious explosion had taken place in a mine in Ebbw, Monmouthshire; and
3. The Crown Prince dislocated his ankle when stepping from his carriage.

Mr Gladstone was, in fact, perfectly well, as was the Crown Prince. Such an explosion had taken place twenty years ago, and '...by some marvellous sympathy of instinct, the *Telephone* correspondent thought fit to revive this sad incident just at the moment it appeared in our columns' demurred the *PB Herald* artfully. The *Telephone* published all three reports, and bore the consequent public denouement:

...the *Telephone* staff supply their readers with telegrams by adopting the simple, easy, and economical system of copying our telegraphic intelligence as if they had paid for it.<sup>102</sup>

Four years later Thomas Chrisp and Allan R. Muir sued John Baldwin, proprietor of the tri-weekly *PB Independent*, established in March 1885, for a breach of the 'Electric Lines Act, 1884'. The charge, mentioned briefly in chapter 3, was that Baldwin failed to allow eighteen hours before re-publishing an extract from a Reuter's telegram. While the case

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<sup>99</sup> *PBH* 1 July 1898.

<sup>100</sup> Scholefield (1958) p.12.

<sup>101</sup> *Telephone* 1 February 1884.

<sup>102</sup> *PBH* 13 December 1883.

revolved around one telegram, Chrisp and Muir maintained Baldwin's 'offence' was continual. The telegram in question was received from Melbourne, delivered at the *Herald* office by a messenger, and published that evening; it appeared in part, with slightly altered wording, the following morning in the *Standard*. The case was dismissed. It was not for the magistrate to determine if Hardcastle, Baldwin's Napier agent who allegedly forwarded the report to him, had received the information lawfully.<sup>103</sup>

Competition in the early days of collective news-gathering saw a different type of fraud seep into the system. Before the UPA gave unity in 1880 rival news agencies were known to plant false information. As Day says, 'newspaper proprietors learned to become suspicious of the accuracy of their telegraphed news'. An editorial in the *Lyttelton Times* of 23 April 1879 qualified a telegram received from London thus:

The announcement of the probable 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...

The *New Zealand Herald* went further:

It will be remembered that the celebrated 'fall of Plerna' telegram, and the more recent one by which ... 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.<sup>104</sup>

In Gisborne the *PB Herald* gave itself a proviso when quoting facts taken from the *Australasian* newspaper, about the New Zealand loan being negotiated in London in 1877. The London telegram, dated 4 June, 'if correct, sets at rest the *vexata quæstio* of the price obtained for the last loan...'<sup>105</sup>

## The Telegraph in Gisborne

For the *PB Herald* the telegraph fell into two categories: the local operators, who gave excellent service, and their employer, the Post & Telegraph Department, which was frequently inadequate in the newspaper's eyes.

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<sup>103</sup> *PBH* 26 March 1887.

<sup>104</sup> Day (1990) p.226.

<sup>105</sup> *PBH* 15 July 1877.

## THE OPERATORS

Because of the precision needed to transmit and transpose messages by hand the early operators enjoyed a status as the élite of the telegraph office. The Gisborne operators' task was helped in early 1892 with the arrival of typewriters to aid transmission.<sup>106</sup>

Typewriters were far from commonplace and their introduction in Gisborne was probably to avoid putting on extra staff. In Wellington W.H. Atack, the Department's general manager from 1885, did not receive a typewriter until 1902, and the Wakapuaka office was even further behind.<sup>107</sup>

The operators frequently worked long hours, and from January 1880 overtime payments were suspended, except in exceptional cases. A foment of unrest caused partly by this decision led to a short and abortive strike in January 1880; this was New Zealand's first nation-wide stoppage. The Gisborne telegraphists did not join the strike.<sup>108</sup> By 1896, however, the operators were under immense strain because the Gisborne office did not remain open after 8 pm for the press work. The bulk of the messages came through the day, along with other business. Not only were the operators juggling priorities, they were frequently confronted with lengthy press messages. The *PB Herald* called for increased hours or more staff, as the operators were 'seriously over-worked'.<sup>109</sup> Lengthy press telegrams, for example, slowed things down in June 1896 with the operator on duty from 2 pm to midnight.<sup>110</sup>

For a time press messages were restricted to two hundred words before the sender had to vacate the line for a period, as competition in the 1870s saw rivals tie up the telegraph with extra long reports. The restriction did not last and telegraph operators, particularly in the smaller centres, were forced to prioritize.

Not surprisingly, priorities in Gisborne were inclined to differ. During the 1890s in particular, the *PB Herald's* priority was to public service reports emanating from Wellington. These were invariably long, taxing affairs. During the Bank of New Zealand crisis in 1894 the operator on duty, George Cummings, remained at his post from early in

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<sup>106</sup> *PBH* 27 February 1892.

<sup>107</sup> Sanders (1979) p.34.

<sup>108</sup> Wilson (1994) pp.52-3 and *PBH* 31 January 1880 - one hundred and five struck throughout New Zealand, with eleven from Napier; they were fined £3 each and loss of a few days' pay.

<sup>109</sup> *PBH* 18 April 1896.

the evening until 5 am. He transcribed the lengthy messages ‘in a painstaking fashion’.<sup>111</sup> The extremely lengthy Financial Statement in July of the following year, took the Telegraph office from 8 pm to 9 am to receive, with three operators working. After 5,000 words on that occasion the line was opened to ‘the ordinary business of the day’. In all, the Financial Statement contained 20,000 words.<sup>112</sup>

Overwhelmingly the *PB Herald* respected the telegraph operators. Frequently individuals were thanked and in July 1896 the Napier operators’ initiative ensured that the *PB Herald* received its Budget coverage. On this occasion a choice was offered and the *PB Herald* had elected to take the summary of 6,000 words rather than the complete package of 17,500 words, ‘to save the telegraph operators’. Only 2,200 words turned up, however, and when the Napier operators recognized the brevity they supplemented the report.<sup>113</sup>

Messages received by telegraph were often condensed or coded for economy, or somehow damaged in their transmission. The operators’ task was then to transcribe the *mélange*. A cabled report of a massacre in New Caledonia in mid 1878 arrived in Gisborne in disarray:

As might reasonably be expected, the names of the places where the outrages were committed, were so mangled in the transmission, that it was impossible to state definitely the scene of the butchery...<sup>114</sup>

In this case the lack of information was detectable and the *PB Herald*’s readers received the correct information the following day because Mr William Cox, a former resident of New Caledonia and now of Gisborne, helped clarify the situation. ‘The real names of the places where the massacre took place are Ourail and Boulapari...’<sup>115</sup>

Telegraphists and reporters alike needed to be linguistic contortionists at times to translate condensed messages. A.J. Fraser, the NZPA’s Sydney manager, sent his worst example of such tortured prose to Wellington as an example:

‘Powell building first fort matopps band Greeks harvesting Thessaly secretly armed entered niaousta macedonia killed 80 turkish guards porte reinforced spain granted

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<sup>110</sup> *PBH* 8 June and 17 June 1896.

<sup>111</sup> *PBH* 30 June 1894.

<sup>112</sup> *PBH* 31 July 1895.

<sup>113</sup> *PBH* 15 July 1896.

<sup>114</sup> *PBH* 17 July 1878.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

germany favoured nation germany imposes rates similar contries without special etc. etc.’<sup>116</sup>

News by remote control, as news summarized and forwarded via an agent might be termed, sometimes had other flaws. In a rare acknowledgement of the custom of reprinting articles at the *PB Herald*, the newspaper corrected an article carried the previous day. It was merely a correction not an apology, for there was not total ownership. It was not their error, merely one of the system. As the correction was made the following day, the information had come by telegraph and was not lifted from a contemporary newspaper. The item concerned the number of public houses per capita in England and Wales: there were ninety persons to every public house, said the first report. Not so:

A gentleman detected the mistake, and on examining the figures found the number to be nine hundred to each public house. Evidently a nought dropped out of the paragraph in going the rounds of the papers.<sup>117</sup>

As mentioned, water and wind affected Gisborne’s telegraph wire. This could place added strain on the hard-working local operators, as the following example attests:

One telegraph operator sick (McNeil) therefore Mr McElwain took the Public Works Statement delivered last night in the House of Representatives... Operating commenced at 9 pm last night and was finished at 6 am – 11,000 words were wired. The line was working badly but his copy is distinct and clear – congratulations.<sup>118</sup>

Dissatisfaction with the telegraph operators was rare. The *PB Herald* did voice a complaint in 1893. The newspaper had the services of the ‘smartest ‘special’’ in the press gallery. He expended enormous energy to obtain first-class information and get it to his parent company but his efforts were hampered by the carelessness of the local telegraph operators.<sup>119</sup> That smart ‘special’ was Lennie Muir.

#### **GISBORNE’S POST & TELEGRAPH OFFICE**<sup>120</sup>

The office began with three staff: H. Kane, telegraphist, A.J. Vincent, counter clerk, and C. Pyke, lineman.<sup>121</sup> Ten years on there were three telegraphists, F.H. Barnard, G. J.

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<sup>116</sup> letter to the NZPA manager, W.H. Atack, 30 July 1896 cited in Harvey (2002), p.29.

<sup>117</sup> *PBH* 11 June 1892.

<sup>118</sup> *PBH* 12 July 1882.

<sup>119</sup> *PBH* 7 August 1893.

<sup>120</sup> The Telegraph Department amalgamated with the postal service in 1881 and the body was thereafter known as the Post & Telegraph Department – Wilson (1994) p.41.

<sup>121</sup> *PB Almanac and Directory for 1876*.



McElwaine and George Cummings.<sup>122</sup> From May 1890 the Gisborne Post & Telegraph office was officially open six days per week from 8 am – 9 pm. On Sundays the office opened only for the press, if necessary. Late shifts were covered by a roster system. On special occasions, such as when the news of the Relief of Mafeking came through during a weekend in May 1900, office hours were extended. That news traversed five intermediary stations and arrived in Gisborne in the record time of fifteen minutes. The *PB Herald* carried a paucity of telegraphic information the following Monday, however, as the department refused all work for stations beyond Pahiatua and Palmerston North, both considerably south of Gisborne.<sup>123</sup>

The *PB Herald* grew increasingly frustrated with the Post & Telegraph Department for 'gross incompetence'. In spite of heavy Press Association charges, government messages could take precedence over those for the press in Gisborne and elsewhere. The power of the transmitting stations and the complete lack of control felt by the *PB Herald* frustrated successive editors for years. The delay was from both the originating source and the intervening transmitter. For example, after the election of 1893 it was 2.30 pm before the wires were clear to receive press work and then the *PB Herald* messages were 'put on at Wellington'. The messages did not begin to arrive until 10 pm, complained the newspaper.<sup>124</sup>

As the *PB Herald* gained momentum as a major provincial newspaper the tussle for priority continued. It was still at the mercy of those in the transmitting stations. More pressure on the wires in 1896 meant the racing results from Auckland took three hours to arrive, and were thus not available for publication. The press and those receiving and transmitting messages did not agree upon priority. Hapless or helpless, in the summer of 1898 the *PB Herald* missed the Australia-England cricket results because of substantial delay in transit; they were despatched from Wakapuaka between 2.30 and 5.20 pm and did not arrive in Gisborne until 10 pm. The previous day results from the Takapuna racecourse took nearly seven hours to arrive, 'having been forestalled hours before by private messages'.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *Stubb's PB and Wairoa Almanack, Directory and Guide for 1886.*

<sup>123</sup> *PBH* 23 May 1900.

<sup>124</sup> *PBH* 29 November 1893.

<sup>125</sup> *PBH* 3 February 1898.

## CHARGES

As mentioned, the cost of news by telegraph was high. It was a determinant in the health of small newspapers. The *PB Herald* struggled through its early years and even though the Company shareholders, owners shortly after the arrival of news by telegraph, lost money on their venture, they provided a deeper purse than Webb was able to manage. The stakes were raised, with the *PB Herald* becoming a daily in October 1878 against the *Standard's* tri-weekly publication, and though this also called for upgraded access to news the *PB Herald* managed to survive. By the 1890s, as the *PB Herald* settled down as the 'grandfather' of the district's newspapers its stability and efficiency moved it from the small, vulnerable, newspaper category. Its cash flow enabled it to offset the added costs of good news-gathering by telegraph, unlike most of its various rivals in Gisborne. A reliable income was important for both telegraph costs and wages were payable weekly.<sup>126</sup>

Charles Lemon, general manager of the Post & Telegraph Department, simplified telegraph charges in 1870 by introducing a common tariff. Thus country districts, such as Poverty Bay, were not penalised by their distance from the main centres.<sup>127</sup> In 1876 press telegrams sent between 8 am and 5 pm were charged at half ordinary rates. Because the *PB Herald* was an evening paper it qualified for a special rate for two hundred words at 1s 3d per one hundred words, night rates enjoyed by newspapers in the larger centres. Evening newspapers were also entitled to receive a further two hundred words in 'the case of the mails from Australia and England'.<sup>128</sup>

Charges for overseas cable news were very high. In 1886 a long-talked about reduction came into effect, with press messages between Britain and New Zealand becoming 3s 11d per word.<sup>129</sup> By 1896, as New Zealand emerged from a downturn, telephone and telegraph services were treated as one and as the economy expanded tariffs were lowered. The result was a substantial rise in volume and service. The press rate, usually half the

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<sup>126</sup> *PBH* 5 July 1884.

<sup>127</sup> Taken from Harvey (2002) p.30 and Sanders (1979) p.44.

<sup>128</sup> Harvey (2002) p.30.

<sup>129</sup> *PBH* 31 July 1886.

standard cable rate, was 7½d per word from Britain to New Zealand via the Pacific cable by 1912.<sup>130</sup>

## Communication Within

Of the four branches of the communication tree number two is the hardest to assess at a distance. Number three, the newspaper itself, leaves tangible evidence, but the interaction between parties as the newspaper is assembled changed substantially over the period studied, as the *PB Herald* blossomed with the district's improved communication, improved printing technology and larger premises.

The most obvious changes were in accommodation and the number employed. From a distance we can be sure that personal interaction was forced upon the early staff by their limited accommodation. Allan R. Muir extended his original premises around 1900, and placed at least some of the printing equipment at the rear of his building thus, by then, printing and editorial staff were probably reasonably separate. The grand structure built in 1905 no doubt divided them further.

Several personalities emerge from the early years. Charles Major, a law clerk in Gisborne between 1878 and 1880, wrote years later of genial Frederick Humphries, the editor during much of his stay in Gisborne.<sup>131</sup> Browne, the fourth editor, was of the same cut.<sup>132</sup> His sense of humour helps confirm this reputation, as seen in his description of the young printers being in some disarray after a holiday.<sup>133</sup> On another occasion the younger members of staff stepped too far out of line for they organized a turkey drive on a subscriber's property, 'bringing down on the editor and the foreman the wrath of the subscriber'.<sup>134</sup> Old timers frequently dropped into the composing rooms of the newspapers for a chat,<sup>135</sup> and while the latter example includes other workplaces, all these examples suggest that a convivial atmosphere existed at the *PB Herald*, in spite of cramped conditions and penurious times.

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<sup>130</sup> A new cable link from Vancouver-Fanning Is.-Fiji-Norfolk Is, with a fork to either Queensland (Southport) or NZ (Doubtless Bay) was operational by December 1902 – Wilson (1994) pp.78-102.

<sup>131</sup> Reminiscences of Charles Edwin Major, 70 years of life in New Zealand, Hocken Library M 1 377: duplicate of typescript made in 1953 acc. no. 11,526, accessed Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>132</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.10.

<sup>133</sup> For instance when Browne said the 'PrinshofWaleswasarealgenlman' because his birthday was the catalyst for the newspaper's strange appearance – *PBH* 12 November 1878.

<sup>134</sup> *PBH* jubilee edition, 5 January 1924, p.2.

<sup>135</sup> *Life in Early Poverty Bay* (1927) p.144.

There was considerable uncertainty about the office during 1884, with co-owner William Muir engrossed in his land transactions and his brother, Allan, who paid at least one visit to Gisborne before settling there, staying permanently only from late November. Neither Chrisp nor Dufaur were printers and after Allan R.'s arrival he wrote to his brother, William, that they had operated the printing department 'on the co-operative principle'. As a printer, Allan presumably wished to make the department more accountable and he implemented several rapid staff changes: the present machinist was given notice, as was 'the man I recently got from Wellington'; a boy was put on jobbing and Slack was hired from the struggling rival *Telephone*.<sup>136</sup> Although there was little or no security of tenure around generally, his actions no doubt unsettled those remaining. Muir also upset his new partner, 'who was in a funk for fear' over his handling of a tender process.<sup>137</sup> Chrisp and Muir did not know each other professionally or socially, and their relationship, which would probably impinge upon the office in general, was likely to have been tense. Chrisp left the partnership during the difficult year of 1887, when they fought three libel actions.

During Allan R. Muir's reign as proprietor, harmony was probably regained when Lennie became editor in 1896. Editor Hugh Thompson's abrupt dismissal by letter in 1894 suggests distance between the proprietor and the editor at that time.<sup>138</sup> As discussed in chapter 4, the loyalty of a number of printers suggests a happy working environment and, as Allan R. was not averse to moving people on, it indicates competence.

As for interaction as the newspaper was assembled, this probably changed in four stages:

- 1) when the newspaper moved from a tri-weekly to a daily and deadlines became tighter;
- 2) as the impact of the telegraph grew, and with it too much rather than too little news;
- 3) the advent of the linotype machines which changed the time taken to get the news to the press; and
- 4) as the printers became necessarily more technical, particularly when the Cossar press arrived.

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<sup>136</sup> A.R. Muir letter to W.M. Muir, Gisborne, 27 November 1884, ATL, MS-6219-1

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> *PBH* 13 August 1894.

## Feedback from the Readership

Apart from circulation numbers, which indicate if the newspaper is accepted or not, feedback is delayed and infrequent. In a newspaper it takes the form of letters to the editor, perhaps an advertisement, or occasionally by private communication – with a visit, or by telegraph, telephone or mail. In the case of Poverty Bay during the period studied, feedback also occurred through rival newspapers. This was biased, for the most part, and therefore challenged, ridiculed or ignored.

Little has changed in that letters to the editor in the *PB Herald* of the nineteenth and early twentieth century frequently commented one upon the other. In direct feedback to the newspaper, however, others expressed an opinion about the newspaper's content or corrected an error. Two letters from 1880 illustrate the interaction:

- 1) George Hughes, who wrote about the 'The late alleged arson case', began with 'The unkind and uncharitable spirit in which your leading article of Friday evening is penned...' Hughes was accused of being 'muddled with drink' and 'Ed.' took half a column to explain the newspaper's position.<sup>139</sup>
- 2) In a letter from the Petroleum Company the manager corrected facts about a tender. He also felt that the *PB Herald's* reporting implied that his firm was unprofessional in its handling of the tender.<sup>140</sup>

Two complaints were voiced about the *PB Herald* in 1886. In a long, and exceptionally purple piece of prose, the newspaper declared itself innocent of any wrongdoing towards Brother Joyce, a Freemason. Joyce and the *PB Herald* had a fractious relationship and on this occasion the conflict was about the handling of an advertising contract.<sup>141</sup> A second personality at odds with the newspaper was William Lee Rees, the region's 'archetypal promoter-politician in this period, the regional Vogel...' <sup>142</sup> Rees accused the *PB Herald* of injuring the district and the people in it. The newspaper did not, in his opinion,

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<sup>139</sup> *PBH* 9 February 1880.

<sup>140</sup> *PBH* 22 July 1880.

<sup>141</sup> *PBH* 11 February 1886.

<sup>142</sup> Oliver (1971) p.115.

support his land and settlement scheme, and it also inappropriately ‘censured the conduct of a few dishonest lawyers and bankrupts’.<sup>143</sup>

As with the printers at the *New Zealand Gazette* who lost their jobs through the insertion of an advertisement nearly fifty years before, Hugh Thompson also lost his position as editor for a report about the Temperance League. The *PB Herald* received a solicitor’s letter that, in part, demanded an ‘ample apology’.<sup>144</sup>

Personal feedback is all but impossible to discover. It did happen however. As mentioned in chapter 5, Allan Stanley Muir recalled a very active Hospital Board member who accosted his father (Lennie) in his office, after she felt misreported.<sup>145</sup> Incidents such as this were perhaps isolated but in a small community no doubt frequent feedback was given, both positive and negative.

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Great change took place in communication throughout the developed world between 1874 and 1914. The newspaper, as a high profile tool of communication, reflected this. In Poverty Bay communication developed slowly but the *PB Herald* grew to become a vastly different entity during the period studied. While the impact of the telegraph and improved printing technology were conspicuous, peering behind the front cover to discern how the newspaper was drawn together becomes more difficult as the tempo of the newspaper increased. Not unexpectedly, valuable column inches were not given over to ‘newspaper chat’, except to excuse shortcomings outside the newspaper’s control, such as breakdowns in the telegraph.

The first hesitant, but largely unsuccessful wireless communication took place within the district late in 1901, when a home-made battery set was used to communicate with a

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<sup>143</sup> *PBH* 19 April 1886

<sup>144</sup> In March 1845 the printers published a near defamatory advertisement placed by Samuel Revans; *PBH* 10 June 1892.

<sup>145</sup> ASM’s memoir.

passing ship, and a continuous telephone service was established in 1912.<sup>146</sup> Communication within and from the district was still primitive, however, when compared with much of New Zealand. It remained an 'out-district'<sup>147</sup> for years to come.

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<sup>146</sup> McKay (1982) p.334.

<sup>147</sup> Oliver (1971) p.191.

## 7. THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* 1874-1914: NEWS AND ITS PRESENTATION

During the forty years from 1874 to 1914, the East Coast district changed from troubled pioneering adolescence to confident maturity. The *PB Herald*, with its growing size and increased sophistication, reflected this progress. Four interrelated aspects are evident from a study of the newspaper's pages: the movement from news columns often anxiously and laboriously filled, with much gleaned from exchange newspapers, to a more measured professional approach; the impact of improved communication and printing technology; growing consumerism; and the newspaper's physical expansion. The next two chapters discuss these points under the following headings: news and its presentation (chapter 7) and advertising and layout (chapter 8).

News and its presentation follows logically from the previous chapter's investigation of communication and how the news was obtained. First the term 'news' is considered, followed by an examination of the way news was handled by a second-tier New Zealand newspaper, such as the *PB Herald*, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not all the newspaper's text was news, however. Frank Simpson, in an early Master's thesis, describes it as, 'an assortment of letterpress which cannot be considered news in its true sense. This information, or supplementary news, includes features and specialized information'.<sup>1</sup>

### News

'News eludes definition':<sup>2</sup> in her attempt to identify what is the commodity called 'news', Susan Brooker-Gross concludes that news is generalisable, or even uniform. Historically (her study is of nineteenth-century United States press, but the same may be said for New Zealand's press), newspapers at least partly subscribed to this thesis for they openly copied from each other. Shortly after the advent of the telegraph link with the wider world, most news in New Zealand came from an even more unified source, one

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<sup>1</sup> Frank A. Simpson, *Some Aspects of the Daily Newspaper as a Social Institution, with Special Reference to New Zealand Conditions*, Master of Arts Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1947, p.147.

<sup>2</sup> Susan R. Brooker-Gross, '19<sup>th</sup> Century News Definitions and Wire-Service Usage', *Journalism Quarterly* vol.60, no.1, Spring 1983, p.25.



news agency. The consequence of this monopoly situation, which existed for most of the period under discussion, was that a single national view point was inclined to prevail.

The Reverend A.B. Chappell, writing some years earlier than Brooker-Gross, concluded that “‘News’ is a naked word”.<sup>3</sup> News requires a state – not even a happening necessarily – and a receiver. For a newspaper someone, for example a journalist, must capture the fugitive fact and put it on the record as news. ‘The newspaper is meant to minister to a current, changing, ephemeral need’, said Chappell, a leader writer for the *New Zealand Herald*. The style of news-writing in the nineteenth century, however, often meant that the facts were buried in a rambling narrative, and thus difficult to discern.

A corollary to finding and recording the fugitive fact for the early newspapers of New Zealand was that on occasion the fugitive fled, and there was no news of moment. An editorial in the *Wellington Independent* in 1860, during the time of James Muir’s partnership in the newspaper with Thomas McKenzie, admitted just that, for no news meant trouble for the publication – it was ‘the very reverse of “good news”’.<sup>4</sup>

#### **NEWS AND ITS TREATMENT AT THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD***

The nineteenth-century *PB Herald* was an average affair – nothing, apart from excessive libel activity in the 1880s (as discussed in chapter 4) distinguished it from many of its contemporaries. By 1914, when Allan R. Muir died, however, the newspaper was a leader in its field. Journalists in general were beginning to think of themselves as professionals by the late nineteenth century and this is reflected in the *PB Herald*. Many factors contributed to this growing professionalism of the newspaper. Three in particular were: the currency of news as communication to and within the district improved; the solidarity of the Muir family and, from a news point of view, Lennie in particular, who was rigid in maintaining a professional ethic; and third, the financial strength to keep abreast with technology.

The early newspapers in the district, the *Standard* and the *PB Herald*, experienced either a feast or a famine with the supply of news. Before the latter became a daily newspaper

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<sup>3</sup> A.B. Chappell ‘History in the Newspaper’, *Lectures in Journalism*, Bulletin no.26, Journalism Series no.1, September 1934, (Auckland University College, University of New Zealand), p.26.

<sup>4</sup> *Wellington Independent* 17 February 1860.

in September 1878 it coped with the feast by including the odd supplementary sheet, often only half printed. The change to a daily newspaper eased space, but also proved demanding for the small staff. Herbert Bushnell, writing about the late 1870s, said it could be ‘a difficult matter at times to supply sufficient “copy” to fill the columns of the then four-page daily issues’.<sup>5</sup> Later, with a considerably more reliable information flow, the constrictions of a four-page newspaper, with frequently little less than one page allocated to news, meant that the *PB Herald* faced the daily challenge of compressing ‘a quart of raw news into a pint pot’.<sup>6</sup>

### YESTERDAY’S NEWS

Tradition died slowly within the newspaper industry, especially within the provincial colonial press of New Zealand, and thus the *PB Herald*, and others of its ilk, trod as predictably as their forebears in their approach to news. The bulk of their news pages; when read today, point to different priorities; there is the odd similarity too, however.

Journalists and academics have only been partly successful in their efforts to codify ‘the character of newsworthiness’.<sup>7</sup> No definitive answer is possible given the number of variables involved, but the chief criteria, as espoused by Sally White, are ‘impact or relevance (sometimes referred to as consequence), timeliness, proximity, prominence, conflict, currency and the unusual or novel’.<sup>8</sup>

Impact is an indisputable element for the purveyor of news. But, the large story is rare and, for a small community such as that of Poverty Bay, the news of impact was often such things as whether the telegraph had broken or not. These events had no relevance elsewhere. In this the *PB Herald* obeyed an essential news criterion, and recognized that relevance lay within its market-place. The priority given to some news stories does, however, suggest that the audience was not the only criterion, and this is discussed further below.

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<sup>5</sup> H.J.B. [H.J. Bushnell], ‘The Early Press’, in *Life in Early Poverty Bay: Trials and Triumphs of its Brave Founders* (Gisborne: the Gisborne Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) p.144.

<sup>6</sup> John Hardingham ed. *The New Zealand Herald Manual of Journalism*, (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1967) p.21.

<sup>7</sup> Sally A. White, *Reporting in Australia*, (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1996) p.11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Time for a newspaper today means the gathering, compilation and presentation of a message to ensure maximum effectiveness and relevance. 'Yesterday's news is worthless. Timeliness, though, was frequently not a priority in the *PB Herald*. Time itself was fluid for in early Gisborne the newspaper reported that the clocks belonging to the Post Office, the Telegraph Office, every hotel and each bank differed, with not one telling the same time.<sup>9</sup> Stale news was happily run and there was little sense of urgency. When space was tight information, if considered worthy, was held over often for days, rather than discarded. In February 1886, for example, the newspaper ran a European telegram received several days before that 'told us that 100,000 Poles were expelled from Prussia'.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes, however, it is not clear whether the cables were delayed in transmission or held over by the newspaper. Around April 1895, for instance, a column headed 'Delayed Cables' appeared each day and the delay could be up to five days.<sup>11</sup> The sense of urgency improved considerably by the turn of the twentieth century when a scoop was considered a coup.

Proximity, a key criterion today, was frequently ignored. The limited space available was often taken up with items of little or no relevance to the Poverty Bay readers, and while there was no doubt a certain element of fashion and expectation from the Victorian-era reader involved, the inappropriateness of choice appears strange for the four-page *PB Herald*. The following report from Sydney, and many similar stories, ran marooned, without background to fill in or hook given to attach it to a point of reference. 'Early this morning a row occurred among three men and a woman at Randwick. A man named Thompson killed the woman. It is reported that two of the men escaped.'<sup>12</sup>

The celebrity culture recognized within the *PB Herald* differed from today only in its preoccupation with often obscure members of royalty or members of the aristocracy from perhaps Britain, Europe or the British Raj in India. They were the 'Hollywood' stars, or the inner circle of the British royal family, of today. For example, sixteen lines were devoted to Prince Victor's book, *Cruise of the Bacchante*,<sup>13</sup> and an even more elaborate narrative appeared concerning the threatened parting of King Milan and Queen Natalie of

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<sup>9</sup> *PBH* 13 June 1879.

<sup>10</sup> *PBH* 5 February 1886.

<sup>11</sup> *PBH* 8 April 1896.

<sup>12</sup> *PBH* 4 February 1898.

<sup>13</sup> *PBH* 2 June 1886.

Servia, when sixty-seven lines were devoted to a telegraphed report. A 'late letter of the *Argus* London correspondent' was quoted in full, explaining the royal fracas, which admittedly had some political dimensions.<sup>14</sup>

A priority to be found in both yesterday's and today's news is the handling of conflict. It was, and still is, considered to be of high news value. Jeb Byrne, in his comparison between nineteenth-century newspapers in the United States and New Zealand, found that though news was compressed by the costs of the telegraph and the competition for space, 'elements of strong conflict [were] considered by editors to be dear to the hearts of newspaper readers'.<sup>15</sup> The highlight for news during the period under discussion was the Boer War; the *PB Herald* revelled in its role as informant of the conflict and the story dominated the media for a considerable time.<sup>16</sup>

Elizabeth Morrison's conclusion that 'the profile of the typical or quintessential colonial – whether Victorian, Australian or Australasian – delineated in Victorian country newspapers is severely simple. Often explicit and always implied, the embodiment of "white", "civilised" and "male",<sup>17</sup> is equally valid for the *PB Herald*. The colony's two races of different hue to the 'white' settlers – the Māori (discussed later in this chapter) and the Chinese – were often dismissed without name. The shipping news mostly named the 'white' travellers, but otherwise reference was to one or more 'natives' or 'Chinese'. This treatment of difference reflects White's interpretation of currency, where a topic or approach concurs with the mores of the time.

The late nineteenth century was, after all, a period when European nations extended and consolidated their influence across the globe; therefore an acceptance of the benefits of colonization, and the rights of the colonizer, within the colonial press is not surprising. One editorial in the *PB Herald* exemplified this stance. The writer addressed 'The Chinese Question' in an imperialistic manner. Chinese immigrants had caused trouble elsewhere, it was claimed, and thus it was necessary 'to keep our land for workers of a civilised race'. An English gardener cannot 'compete against almond-eyed strangers', he

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<sup>14</sup> *PBH* 1 July 1887.

<sup>15</sup> Jeb Byrne, 'The comparative development of newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the nineteenth century', *American Studies International* vol. XXXVII, no.1, 1999, pp. 64-5.

<sup>16</sup> *PBH* Tuesday 6 March 1900.

said, but the Englishman, 'recognises responsibilities which the Chinaman knoweth not'.<sup>18</sup>

Little has changed in the newsworthiness of the novel or unusual. With modern technology the inclusion of such pieces may depend to the last minute upon space, for if a news-breaking story presents itself the novel will make way. The layout of the nineteenth century newspaper was less flexible. Even when space was getting particularly tight the *PB Herald* included a change of tone from time to time. In 1904, for example, the newspaper told of a pet conger eel partly tamed by Mr Adams of Resolution Bay, Marlborough.<sup>19</sup>

Space was as paramount within the four-page *PB Herald* as it is to newspapers today. However the similarity stops with the word rather than its usage, as difference abounds. A large amount of space was given to detailed reports of events such as public meetings and court proceedings. For the *PB Herald* this meant political, local body and Harbor Board meetings and court cases, in particular. Several columns of verbatim reporting left little space for any other news of the day. The *PB Herald* acknowledged precedence as, for instance, in the following: 'owing to the demand on our space for local reports, a quantity of telegraphic and other matter is held over'.<sup>20</sup> The editorial was also held over. Advertising was never curtailed.

Henry Mayer, writing of the press in Australia, quotes from a contemporary piece called 'The Victorian Press', in which it was asserted that the 'great majority of readers' did not read serious matters such as the parliamentary debates of the day. Parliamentary debates and reports quoted in detail demanded considerable reading; no doubt more titillating matters such as divorce reports and atrocities, readily available as Mayer mentions, leavened the frequently plain and isolated lives of many.<sup>21</sup> Admittedly Mayer was referring to the popular press, and the *PB Herald* was a conservative broadsheet, but the

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<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, 'The contribution of the country press to the making of Victoria', PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1991, p.269.

<sup>18</sup> *PBH* 5 January 1895.

<sup>19</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1904.

<sup>20</sup> *PBH* 21 June 1888.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Landsdowne Press, reprinted 1968) p.17. Mayer's quote from 'The Victorian Press', *Victorian Review*, April 1881, p.684.

observation still applies, as is illustrated by the reported killing at Randwick and many other sad stories of human weakness found within the *PB Herald's* pages.

The pace of a story's delivery was barely considered in the nineteenth-century *PB Herald*, which often 'dawdle[d] over an engaging tale'.<sup>22</sup> In this the newspaper, along with its contemporaries, was perhaps merely a reflection of the times, with life in general at horse and cart speed. As time went by costs and competition for space saw the news become crisper. The following report, for instance, demonstrates the gentle ramble:

The practice of the Fire Brigade, yesterday morning was a most successful one, and demonstrated that Captain Winter's corps of sworn foes to their enemy, fire, are gradually, and successfully, surmounting the difficulties they at first experienced in the manning of the new fire engine. The distance the Brigade sent a good stream of water from the length of hose at their command proved at once how serviceable the present appliances would prove in the event of a fire breaking out...<sup>23</sup>

The above report also illustrates a critical difference in news writing. Important facts or the key elements of the story did not run first, as in the standard inverted pyramid model in use today, and for most of the twentieth century, where the facts are ordered according to importance. Differences in layout in the nineteenth-century press meant that if a story overran it merely moved to the next column, rather than be edited from the bottom. In this instance the crux of the story, that the Brigade needed better equipment, was about halfway down the twenty-nine line report.

Objectivity in reporting was slow to emerge. David Mindich feels that in America, at least, by the 1890s journalists and journalism were 'what the profession calls "objective"'.<sup>24</sup> Once again the *PB Herald* conformed to industry practice at the time and was demonstrably subjective. Its style did become more objective with time but occasional lapses appeared into the early twentieth century. An example from 1894, reprinted from the *Wairoa Guardian*, showed both newspapers in subjective mode, as they discussed the Māori who were planning to join the Mormons in Salt Lake City... 'As for the Maoris, they will never be missed, and our only fear is that the inevitable disenchantment...'<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Fort Worth et al: Harcourt Brace & Co. 1997) p.246.

<sup>23</sup> *PBH* 10 November 1882.

<sup>24</sup> David Mindich, *Just the Facts* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) pp.113-4.

Selection of news was frequently subjective also. One example was the space allotted to the printing and newspaper industry. The detail given to technical innovation, or national and international happenings appears, from this distance, to speak to the small printing fraternity rather than the general readership. Three examples that appeared in the same edition were first a lengthy report on a libel case held in Wellington against the manager of the *Catholic Times*. Admittedly this was a test case for the progress of the typographical unions and, also, court cases were generously dealt with, but here more than half a column, or 32 cm, was run. Alongside were two brief messages selected from the telegraph: one about the Portuguese press and a second to say that ‘the Paris printers are sending aid to the Berlin printers’.<sup>26</sup>

There was a modest element of class introduced into the *PB Herald*. In this the newspaper was again following current style, for a title was newsworthy. In 1892, for instance, nine lines were devoted to ‘three elegant dog-carts, each with fine action horses yoked in tandem... They were driven by Lord Burford and friends... His lordship purposes a pleasure and business trip through the Hutt and Wairarapa districts’.<sup>27</sup>

## **A Flowering Within and Without**

Change began seeping through the newspaper industry in the late nineteenth century. ‘New Journalism’, which emanated from America and took root in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century emphasized, among other things, news, ‘extensive use of the interview, human interest story and enterprise reporting’.<sup>28</sup>

Journalism as a profession also saw change in New Zealand around this time. The New Zealand Institution of Journalists was formed in 1891, and one of its aims was to raise the status of journalism and act as a body politically. When congratulating themselves upon the success of the institution at the annual general meeting in 1898 a member commented that New Zealand was the only one of the Australasian colonies to have a ‘journalistic household’.<sup>29</sup> There was a sense of coming of age.

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<sup>25</sup> From the *Wairoa Guardian* in the *PBH* 19 March 1894.

<sup>26</sup> *PBH* 15 December 1891.

<sup>27</sup> *PBH* 10 December 1892.

<sup>28</sup> Marion T. Marzolf, ‘American “New Journalism” takes root in Europe at End of 19<sup>th</sup> Century’, *Journalism Quarterly*, vol.61, no.3, 1984, p.529.

<sup>29</sup> *PBH* 30 August 1898.

In encouraging a standard within the industry New Zealand was certainly ahead of its larger and older neighbour, Australia, where a description of journalists as a 'spineless downtrodden crew' was heard in the 1890s. Journalists there began to organize themselves in the 1880s but it was not until 1910 that the Australian Journalists Association was formed in Melbourne, with a branch formed in New South Wales the following year.<sup>30</sup>

Just before the turn of the nineteenth century, the *PB Herald* enlarged its page size and, with a motto of 'Progress', said its aim was to 'supply news second only to those journals of the four main centres'.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the new century saw a psychological change. By 1900 Allan R. Muir was fifty-five years of age, and had lived through the vagaries of a pioneering Wellington and then a developing East Coast district. He was financially secure, his five sons were committed to the district, the district was making moderate progress, and his business was solid.

A significant factor around this time was the district's new morning daily, the *Gisborne Times*. The reinvented newspaper was better resourced than its predecessors within the district, and proved a solid local competitor for the *PB Herald* from early 1901. For the latter, news space remained cramped – in spite of the regular use of supplements – until the installation of the Cossar press in 1907, and there was minimal display sense, but a feeling of objectivity and news sense began to prevail.

The linotypes made little difference to the news reported in the *PB Herald*, though they obviously facilitated speedier composition. The growing district meant there was more local news coming forth and also more advertising being generated. Beyond the local scene, national and international news was more accessible and, abiding by its word, the *PB Herald* did cast its news net widely.

Whether it was the rise in news expectations from management and its readership, pressure from material available or whether it was observation of the changing styles of writing, the *PB Herald* of the early twentieth century had no room for circumlocution or the apparent random choice of earlier days. But filling was still acceptable within the

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<sup>30</sup> Kirkpatrick (2000) pp.225-6.

<sup>31</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1898.



news columns, which continued to include items with attribution such as ‘The *Wairarapa Star* has it...’, ‘according to the *Otago Daily Times*’, or ‘the *Wanganui Herald* says...’ The items quoted qualified as news stories with a modest time frame; for example, an excerpt in the same edition told that ‘a strong party of government surveyors has commenced the permanent survey of the Rimutaka railway deviation’.<sup>32</sup>

Overall, the *PB Herald* did not fall into the ‘humdrum’ category of largely ‘scissors and paste’ news selection as it almost always enjoyed the services of a dedicated editor, in that most were free from printing responsibilities – Dufaur was the one exception. Certainly their influence and expertise varied, as discussed in chapter 5, but the newspaper was, for the most part, a journalist’s paper with original material, as opposed to the ‘humdrum’ printer’s paper, as defined by Rod Kirkpatrick.<sup>33</sup>

### **Technology’s Contribution**

Improvements in technology impacted upon news delivery in two ways: the overcoming of what Geoffrey Blainey memorably called the ‘tyranny of distance’<sup>34</sup> and considerable innovation within the printing industry.

As mentioned, the supply of news during the period studied was never completely reliable, but Poverty Bay’s telegraph link south to Wellington in 1875 and New Zealand’s subsequent connection to Australia in 1876 certainly meant communication with the outer world improved immeasurably. In the early days in particular, the erratic service from beyond the district brought two difficulties: one was juggling priorities because of the unreliable flow of fresh news or information, and the second was sometimes deciphering that which came. Not only did the telegraph break and the ships often fail to maintain a schedule, but the Post Office – the recipient of the early telegrams and exchange newspapers – was also a cause of trouble according to both the *PB Standard* and the *PB Herald*. The mail often took considerable time moving from ship to shore to the sorting area. When it finally arrived, the editors could complain again, as Webb did when there was ‘too little room at our disposal to dilate upon the many interesting topics found therein’.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *PBH* 8 March 1900 – the excerpt came from the *Wairarapa Times*.

<sup>33</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience* (Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing, 2000), p.210.

<sup>34</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966).

<sup>35</sup> *PB Standard* 30 April 1873.

Both the *PB Standard* and *PB Herald* confided on occasion that their intelligence was unclear. In October 1872, for example, when the telegrams that arrived by sea on the *Dawn* did not make it clear if Julius Vogel planned to form a ministry or not, and ‘it is idle to speculate’, said the *PB Standard*.<sup>36</sup> Nearly a decade later the *PB Herald* was also uncertain about the outcome of a court case as the conflicting nature of the telegrams ‘precludes us from making comments one way or the other’.<sup>37</sup>

Change came gradually. The most obvious one was, of course, that the telegraph gave both national and international news currency. Initially only national news was immediate, with a two to seven day delay for the *PB Herald*’s international bracket of news. By 1882 the time lag was sometimes only one day, though mostly more, and by 1884 news from Australia could be immediate. News from the northern hemisphere frequently appeared the day after the telegram was dated and, depending upon the time of day it was transmitted, this would mostly translate to immediacy because of time change.

Brooker-Gross, in a detailed study of timeliness in fifteen nineteenth-century daily newspapers from Western Ohio, concluded that technological improvements did not entirely explain the decrease in time lag, and that the three categories did not show a consistent pattern. Over a time span from 1839 to 1899, she found a sharp decrease in time lag followed by a modest rise for foreign news, a steady decrease in time lapse between event and publication for domestic (national) news and, surprisingly, a greater time lag for local news in comparison to national. One explanation was that local news was more expensive to procure than that wired from a central point, and a second hypothesis ventured was that local news became less of a challenge, as it became the fashion to boast of ‘the innovative and rapid means [they] used to gather news’.<sup>38</sup>

Certainly the extent and regularity of attribution suggests the proprietors and editorial staff of the *PB Herald* were proud of their position as primary receivers of information about events in the wider world, and their role as selectors and distributors of such information. They were also abundantly clear that their commercial interest lay within

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<sup>36</sup> *PB Standard* 14 October 1872.

<sup>37</sup> *PBH* 25 June 1881.

<sup>38</sup> Susan Brooker-Gross, ‘Timeliness: Interpretations from a Sample of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Newspapers’, *Journalism Quarterly*, vol.58, no.4, Winter 1981, pp. 594-7.

the community, which meant local reports were accorded priority and national news was largely interpreted from the local viewpoint. Civic news was much easier to procure than country news in the wide-spread district of Poverty Bay, especially before the telephone network grew – it only began in 1896. Not much of moment happened in the sparsely populated countryside but there were times when local news gathering must have been significantly more expensive than agency reports received by wire. The search for oil, for example, necessitated a reporter or correspondent being away for days, as did the considerably longer journeys undertaken by Allan S. Muir when he accompanied the resident magistrate on his travels up the East Coast.

Apart from speed, the telegraph brought about two other changes: a means by which to distribute information from a central point, such as a press agency, and succinct messages. In Byrne's words, the 'traditionally discursive "letter" style was suddenly compressed' and stories of conflict were accorded priority.<sup>39</sup> The first Press Agency report in the *PB Herald* was just that: curt and reporting conflict. Headlines on the first day, one under the other, said: TELEGRAMS [PRESS AGENCY] [BY TELEGRAPH]. Two short international items appeared, both from Bombay, but under different dates:

September 9 – The funeral of the late M. Thiers passed off quietly. There is nothing fresh to hand from Plewna. The Turks have forced the Schipka pass, and have entered Bulgaria.

September 12 – The Czar, Duke Nicholas, and Prince Charles with the Russian Roumanian army are attacking Plewna. The Russian headquarters are at Kadenxa, between Bulgaraeni and Poredin. There is no news of Mehmet Ali or Sulieman Pasha.

National news, with its cheaper telegraph rates (as discussed in chapter 6), was better served, with nearly one column of news featuring items from Timaru, New Plymouth, Christchurch, Napier and Wellington. Further Agency news on that first day appeared under a separate heading as 'Parliamentary Intelligence'.<sup>40</sup>

As telegraph charges were modified and collective news-gathering settled down, reports in the *PB Herald* became less staccato. In 1880 Dr Lemon, Superintendent of Telegraphs (later Superintendent of Posts and Telegraphs), complained that the press took up unnecessary telegraph space. Newspapermen, for their part, had discovered that it was

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<sup>39</sup> Byrne, (1999), pp. 64-65.

<sup>40</sup> *PBH* 14 September 1877

more economic to receive reports 'in extenso' as it saved them the trouble of expanding the copy.<sup>41</sup>

Another change evident is that the telegraph enabled a story to be built up. For example within the first Agency bulletin received by the *PB Herald* was a report about a serious fire in Wellington; the story was followed in the same edition by 'LATER' – thus the story was moved forward. This gave greater emotional impact than a story spread over a time frame, but condensed into one report.

The year 1907 was a highlight for not only did New Zealand move from colony status to become the Dominion of New Zealand, but the *PB Herald* took a leap forward by installing the Cossar machine, as discussed in chapter 4. The subsequent expansion of the newspaper was the only indication that the business had moved from one press to another; prior to that each press was introduced unobtrusively. The arrival of the two linotypes was announced but the change was barely discernible from the newspaper's pages, although extra text did appear with the supplements. The newspaper's appearance is discussed further in chapter 8. Once the Cossar arrived the newspaper's size fluctuated between ten and twelve pages. The new machine was introduced with an eight-page supplement headed 'A Forward Move'. Again, emphasis was on the printing industry but also no doubt the supplement was for posterity.<sup>42</sup>

Improvement in technology, especially with the machines mentioned above, also led to a more stable appearance. No doubt other factors such as an improved cash flow and the consequent ability to maintain sufficient supplies of essentials, such as newsprint, also contributed to the improved appearance for toward the end of the period studied both paper and ink became much more uniform in the *PB Herald*.

## Style

George Pitt, when describing the early South Australian newspapers, talks of 'the peculiarities of the early newspaper'.<sup>43</sup> One of these peculiarities was in the space-saving arrangement whereby an assemblage of completely unrelated items was run. For a time

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<sup>41</sup> from 'Press Telegrams Committee Report', *Appendices to the Journals of House of Representatives (NZ)* I.-5 (1880), p.22, in R. Harvey, 'Bringing the news to New Zealand: the supply and control of overseas news in the nineteenth century' *Media History*, vol.8, no.1, 2002, p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1907.

the *PB Herald* called this, LOCAL AND GENERAL.<sup>44</sup> The montage appeared in a prime position after, or in place of, the editorial on page 2 and varied considerably in length and subject matter. Mostly it was an amalgam of local news, pieces lifted from other newspapers and telegraph items. The appropriate and all-encompassing heading of LOCAL AND GENERAL disappeared by 1882, but the content continued with much the same unrelated mix. Without warning the reader could be plunged from local to international. On 15 July 1878, for instance, an item about the local footballers was followed immediately by an item about the Emperor of Russia appearing downcast.<sup>45</sup>

As mentioned, the general columns of the newspaper were tightened up by the early twentieth century. Gradually the inclusion of numerous single sentence items was reduced as telegraph charges became more manageable, which meant that reports were usually at least a paragraph long or, for events such as the Boer War, given in considerable detail. What did help immeasurably was that the news was broken into manageable units with headlines, as examined further in chapter 8.

Style includes language, and this was a variable feature of the nineteenth-century *PB Herald*. Arnot Reid, a Scottish editor who travelled to America in 1887, felt that the major difference between the newspapers of the two countries was that 'The English press belongs to the leader [editorial] writers, and the American press to the reporters'.<sup>46</sup> Men of letters were preferred in England. British colony though it was, the writers who found their way to the small community of Poverty Bay were, with the exception of Carlisle and maybe McKay, not men of letters. The newspaper did follow Victorian British style to a point, however, in that occasional Latin words or expressions were used, as were classical references.

One of Pitt's 'peculiarities' was the use of words in a nineteenth-century colonial newspaper that have gone out of fashion or are now interpreted in a different way. Many such examples are found within the *PB Herald*. One such on July 5 began: 'Yesterday

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<sup>43</sup> George H. Pitt, *The Press of South Australia 1836 to 1850* (Adelaide: the Wakefield Press, 1946) p.48.

<sup>44</sup> *PBH* 1879-1882.

<sup>45</sup> *PBH* 15 July 1878.

<sup>46</sup> Marzolf (1991) p.531.

was the “Glorious Fourth” ... For us it has more melancholy associations as a rule, being a settlement day for bills and such like matters’.<sup>47</sup>

The *PB Herald*’s style headed towards entertaining tabloid occasionally, albeit in a conservative manner. The flamboyant, creative language that appeared, however, was not a studied movement towards the American idea of vivacious reporting to encourage wider readership, but related more to the various writers’ personalities. More than one writer indulged in the theatrical. A report about a local political meeting in 1886, for instance, had a local ‘Dogberry’, and for those called ‘ragamuffins’ by others, ‘why not say it called them Megatheriums or Kamskchatkans’?<sup>48</sup> Writing such as this, while not a regular feature, was certainly evident until about the 1890s.

‘New journalism’, as touched on above, was causing many in the northern hemisphere to reassess the long-held traditional way of doing things. The term was coined by Englishman Matthew Arnold, who, in an article written in 1887 after a trip to America, criticized the democratizing of the press. The tug of war was between adherents to the traditional bland newspapers carrying ‘heavy overdose[s] of politics’<sup>49</sup> that were losing their appeal and those who felt the industry needed to market itself better. After all, as innovators said, the primary task of a newspaper was to get itself read. To quote from Herd:

The newspaper reader was flatteringly pictured as a serious-minded person whose interests were confined to politics, the law courts and the Stock Exchange and who did not need any help in absorbing the news beyond good eyesight and abundant leisure...<sup>50</sup>

Reformation had not escaped notice at the *PB Herald*, which devoted an editorial to this ‘craze for newness’ in 1896, in which it dealt with making content ‘bright’ for the reader. The newspaper’s visual impact was not mentioned. Now that the excitement of the election was over, said the writer, the journalists needed to find new excitements - among the ‘new things’ mentioned were roller skating, descent in a balloon and the motor car, ‘which bids fair to revolutionise locomotion’.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper’s news sense did become

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<sup>47</sup> *PBH* 5 July 1884.

<sup>48</sup> *PBH* 19 April 1886.

<sup>49</sup> Marzolf (1991) pp.530-1; Harold Herd, *The March of Journalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952) pp.222-3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *PBH* 7 December 1896.

more pro-active around this time, however, and the writing more immediate. Also, the format became marginally more accessible. This is examined further under layout.

It is important not to confuse the style of an editor with that of the newspaper, but in a small newspaper such as the *PB Herald*, to some extent the two went hand in hand. Many of the writers were pedestrian but during James Browne's time as editor his authorship was obvious, for he was conspicuous in his grandiloquence – rather like the gentleman himself, from all accounts. Hugh Thompson, a later editor, laboured at times. An excerpt from an editorial about the Licensing Bill demonstrates this:

A rumor was circulated in the lobbies a few hours before the measure saw daylight, that Ministers found their task of framing a measure likely to be generally satisfactory a work of such difficulty that they were forced to throw themselves into the arms of one side or the other. Quidnuncs jumped to the conclusion that the Government had resolved to repose on the breast of the publican.<sup>52</sup>

Lennie Muir, too, imparted a style during his reign as editor. The writing and the tenor of the newspaper was, by this stage, clear and calm. This was not entirely due to Lennie alone for the improved communication and technology helped greatly. The calm was also a reflection of the newspaper's secure position as a well-run business with a promising future.

## **Categories of News**

News does not fit into discrete categories. They overlap. One topic that could be classified as local, national or international news was sport. It was consistently covered within the pages of the *PB Herald*, with advertising of events usually on page 3 and coverage of results within the news on pages 2 or 3. Racing was a particular highlight, and in this the *PB Herald* was not alone. In Victoria a cable linked Flemington Race Course to the chief towns and to Sydney, enabling results to be transmitted within minutes.<sup>53</sup> Around the same time the *PB Herald* used pigeons to transmit results from within the district quickly. Often these reports (Per Herald Carrier Pigeon Express) were nearly half a column long.<sup>54</sup> Race meetings outside the district were also newsworthy, as were the major international meetings, such as the Melbourne Cup.

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<sup>52</sup> *PBH* 17 August 1893.

<sup>53</sup> Morrison (1991) p.258.

<sup>54</sup> *PBH* 24 May 1882.

Because of the all-round nature of sport it is predictable that it should be a steady news item within the *PB Herald* and the press in general. Both the provincial and the metropolitan press of Victorian England treated sport generously, as did newspapers in Australasia. Shipping was also a regular topic; locally it was of immense importance but news of maritime happenings from far and wide was also common. A third subject that crossed boundaries from the local to the international was politics, but coverage of elections and the national parliament, in particular, was obviously seasonal.

### LOCAL NEWS

Roderick Cave, in a study of colonial newspapers before the telegraph, found they became increasingly inward looking.<sup>55</sup> The *PB Herald* certainly focused on the local but as the more troublesome earlier years – with depression, lack of funds and libel actions – passed, and the younger generation of Muirs became involved from the 1890s onward, it broadened its focus.

When considering what a colonial newspaper was Ross Harvey suggests the modern reader may find its disregard for local news somewhat cavalier. The premise put forward is that small communities passed their news by word of mouth, so publishers treated it as a ‘poor cousin’ to international news.<sup>56</sup> As mentioned earlier, Brooker-Gross concluded that cost was a signifier.<sup>57</sup> Unlike New Zealand’s metropolitan newspapers of the time, which were predominately for urban dwellers, the *PB Herald* could find itself spread thinly around the far-flung pastoral farming community, sought even in the back-blocks of the station. Lydia Wevers, in her study of the library at Brancepeth Farm in the Wairarapa found, for example, that newspapers were sent out to the fencing gangs on the property.<sup>58</sup> This meant local news was important to keep the scattered district in touch with itself.

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<sup>55</sup> Roderick Cave, ‘Advertising, Circulation and Profitability: Aspects of the Early Colonial Press’, *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.14, no.1, 1990, p.5.

<sup>56</sup> R. Harvey, ‘Bringing the News to New Zealand: the supply and control of overseas news in the nineteenth century’, *Media News*, vol.8, no.1, 2002, p. 22.

<sup>57</sup> Brooker-Gross (1981) pp.594-7.

<sup>58</sup> Lydia Wevers, ‘Reading on the Farm. A Study of the Brancepeth Farm Library’, a paper delivered at the ‘Books and Empire’ conference, University of Sydney, NSW, February 2003.



The *PB Herald* gave its main focus as pastoral in the *Australasian Trade Directory*.<sup>59</sup> This differentiated the newspaper from provincial newspapers, such as the *Greymouth Argus*, a paper for mining and agriculture,<sup>60</sup> and certainly from metropolitan newspapers. With farming as the mainstay of the district, the newspaper spoke to its rural community with items such as ‘A mob of 250 head of cattle swam across the Turanganui river to-day *en route* for one of Mr J.N. Williams’ stations’.<sup>61</sup> Or, in a further example, ‘our reporter on the coast’ relayed news of the ownership of the various mobs on the road. In this instance perhaps it was also the novelty of the new instrument, the telephone, which added to the value of the information given.<sup>62</sup>

Not all local items remained purely factual, as from time to time opinion was expressed beyond the editorial, such as when complaints were heard about men and boys bathing at the beach between 6 and 7 pm. ‘This should at once be stopped, as it precludes females from taking their usual promenade...’<sup>63</sup>

The term ‘local’ was not used consistently within the *PB Herald*. In 1884 it was announced that lack of space precluded ‘any notice of external events of importance, though these events have been numerous’. Priority in this instance was given to a speech by politician Alan McDonald, and news held over included: the death of Prince Leopold, which may divert the Queen from the pain of the death of the gillie John Brown, as ‘continual reference to the late gillie was becoming nauseous’, – twenty-three lines were devoted to this issue; the British forces in the Soudan; operations in Tonquin; fresh trouble at the Cape; a terrible riot in Cincinatti; and the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons.<sup>64</sup> On 31 August 1887, however, when no editorial was carried, local intelligence was deemed to take priority, but the interpretation of ‘local’ is clearly controversial. The general column said ‘The cable being interrupted there are no messages to-day and a few uninteresting Colonial telegrams received have been discarded to make way for local matter much more readable’. What followed were two local snippets and numerous items from a distance, such as a report about public works in

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<sup>59</sup> *Australasian Newspaper Directory* 1886, compiled and published by Gordon & Gotch Ltd., Melbourne, pp.102-3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *PBH* 13 December 1883.

<sup>62</sup> *PBH* 18 March 1902.

<sup>63</sup> *PBH* 18 December 1884.

<sup>64</sup> *PBH* 7 April 1884.

Buenos Aires, 'where very little English is spoken', and the real cause of the Emperor William's illness, which was 'his appetite for unwholesome dishes'.<sup>65</sup>

Much of the local news was along the lines of that found in other Australian or New Zealand nineteenth-century newspapers. It included discussion about local politics; reports of local meetings and court cases; suggestions, plaudits or complaints about infrastructure; pastoral items; church activity; entertainment; sports events; and personal items, such as 'a great many of our readers will be pleased to hear of the recovery of Mr John Christie, of the Bank of New Zealand, from his late illness'.<sup>66</sup> From time to time throughout the period studied considerable coverage was given to the tantalizing search for oil and the complex land question. As mentioned, the district had a large Māori population; this is discussed under a separate heading.

One topic covered widely and for the duration of the period under study was shipping. Poverty Bay, as one of New Zealand's more isolated regions, was heavily dependent upon shipping. The narrative given by the district's newspapers, as opposed to shipping intelligence, kept the sea's profile high, and the comings and goings of vessels, their dramas and happy moments were recorded almost as an on-going serial. The *PB Standard*, in particular, gave the 'serial' a creative and chatty style when informing the readers about the latest activity. An example of this indulgence follows:

The *Gazelle* ...she sails today, if the wind hauls to south, tantalizing north-easters, which have been blowing for the last week, have detained the *Dawn* and the *Clematis* which maybe expected any moment from Napier.

The *Rangitira*, even should she have been detained on 'pleasure bent', ought to be up today.

The *Star of the South* – up and down and not called in – pleased if she would because no mail from Auckland since 16 December. No wonder things get rusting [*sic*] in the postal department!<sup>67</sup>

Two weeks later another conversational gem about the sea and its cargo appeared in the *PB Standard*. The *Tawera* had a stormy passage of ten days from Auckland to Gisborne. 'All Henri Potai's flour, biscuits etc. were thrown overboard during the gale...The *Tawera* required a thorough overhaul; new stanchions, bulwarks and recaulking all over.'<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1887.

<sup>66</sup> *PBH* 29 May 1886.

<sup>67</sup> *PB Standard* 4 January 1873.

<sup>68</sup> *PB Standard* 18 January 1973.

Shipping intelligence varied as a news item for the *PB Herald*. During the late 1870s and early 1880s details of passengers and sometimes cargo were carried in a specific column to the left of page 2. There appears to have been no pattern, however, as frequently the names of selected passengers, items of cargo, and also notice as to when the launch was leaving for ships in the roadstead, were carried in the general news columns. This was important in Gisborne not only for mail, but the transport of passengers who needed to take the scheduled launch in order to board their vessel in the roadstead. It is not known whether the newspapers published this information gratis or were paid to give the timetable. Examples of the paragraphs, and in this case they appeared one underneath the other, are as follows:

The *Southern Cross* arrived from Auckland this morning. She brought one passenger, Mrs Pepper. The *Ringarooma* will arrive tomorrow morning. The last boat will leave the wharf at noon. The *Omapere*, with a cargo of produce from Oamaru and Timaru, is expected here on Tuesday.<sup>69</sup>

A poignant reminder of how difficult or unpleasant travelling by boat could be was given in the *PB Herald* mid-1887, when the writer commented upon a particularly good voyage. ‘There was no overcrowding, no packing away in stuffy little cabins, but there was just a comfortable number of very sociable passengers.’ On this occasion they were entertained by Hugo’s Buffalo Minstrels, passengers on the run from Sydney to Auckland, and later, with calm weather in the Bay of Plenty, the spacious promenade deck was cleared and a ‘magnificent ballroom was soon prepared’. Awnings, flags and evergreens were used for decoration, an officer played the piano, and the area was lit by electric light.<sup>70</sup>

Gisborne’s prosperity was closely linked to its inadequate river-mouth port and thus it was an on-going news item. By January 1910, when the Gisborne Harbor Board received word that its new dredge, the *Maui*, had left Scotland, the *PB Herald* reported congestion in that five sailing vessels were discharging cargo at the wharf the same time as about twenty lighters and a number of fishing boats sought anchorage.<sup>71</sup> The lighters serviced the larger vessels that sat in the roadstead.

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<sup>69</sup> *PBH* 6 July 1884.

<sup>70</sup> *PBH* 30 July 1887.

<sup>71</sup> *PBH* 13 January 1910.

## NATIONAL NEWS

Poverty Bay was linked to the national telegraph grid in May 1875. From this time national news, with its cheaper telegraph rates, was better served than international news, as we have seen.

From around Allan R. Muir's time at least, a parliamentary correspondent was retained by the *PB Herald*. This was no doubt aided by Allan and William Muir's intimate knowledge of the Wellington press world which, though it was not a static world, demonstrates that the newspaper valued an independent ear in the capital. The *PB Herald* spoke with a Conservative voice, although it protested that it remained independent. In this it conformed to Patrick Day's view that the majority of newspaper managements made much of their political independence, but 'the practice of partisan political allegiance remained'.<sup>72</sup> The *PB Herald* did, however, see merit in the Liberal point of view at times.

The early *PB Herald* was frequently critical of political leaders Sir George Grey and Richard Seddon. It viewed the national scene through the prism of the conservative mainstream press, for example the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Christchurch Press*. In this it saw itself as relaying viewpoints of importance from the opinion makers of the day. In August 1879, when the mail steamers brought an unusually large set of exchange newspapers, the newspaper commented: 'We have carefully perused the political columns of our contemporaries and cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the Grey party seem greatly in the ascendancy'.<sup>73</sup> A day or so before an editorial in the *PB Herald* had mauled Grey, who had returned from retirement. It expressed a complete lack of confidence in the man, but supported what was known as the 'Liberal' policy. This was also found in 'expression through the leading columns of the newspaper press'.<sup>74</sup> Something similar was expressed a few years later, when the newspaper feared a return to 'Greyism'. Once more they scoured the columns of 'several of the more able and powerful colonial journals'.<sup>75</sup> Most editorials, however, did not bow or show obeisance to the senior journals of the colony.

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<sup>72</sup> Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990) p.181.

<sup>73</sup> *PBH* 29 August 1879.

<sup>74</sup> *PBH* 26 August 1879.

<sup>75</sup> *PBH* 19 May 1884.

Extensive coverage was given in 1895 to an address given by Dr Newman, in opposition to Seddon. Newman's message was that every government needed a strong opposition, and the *PB Herald* allocated 200 cm to his point of view.<sup>76</sup> Shortly thereafter Seddon's criticism of the conservative press brought the *PB Herald* to vociferous defence of the press's freedom. 'According to Mr Seddon, journalistic reference must not be made to the true financial state of the colony, because such would be "unpatriotic".'<sup>77</sup>

Seddon, however, was considered preferable to William Pember Reeves, who was far too socialist for the comfortable *PB Herald*. Allan R. Muir was perhaps behind the opinion expressed as the newspaper lambasted Reeves' introduction of the Masters & Apprentices Bill. The 'monstrous' Bill, which was subsequently dropped, was wholly in favour of the apprentices, opined the editorial.<sup>78</sup>

In 1896 during John Ballance's period as Liberal premier, Lennie Muir, who had sat through long hours in the Parliamentary Press Gallery, wrote an irreverent editorial mimicking Gilbert and Sullivan. This was one of the few occasions that he allowed himself levity. It began: 'We have got a little list'. The 'little list' described the Bore – 'with harsh unmusical voice he travels the gamut of his subject...'; the 'Prosy Member', sometimes a school teacher or preacher, who 'is fond of fine rounded sentences and well-worn quotations, and not infrequently gets tangled in the depths of the classics'; the 'Garrulous Member' – 'it is generally noticed after his most loquacious utterances that he leaves his conscience in one lobby and his vote in the other'; the 'Stonewaller', of whom there were a number – these gentlemen talked for hours, 'upon every conceivable branch of the subject', to block a motion or a Bill, 'reading from books, explaining words out of dictionaries; another well-known figure was the Local Member – 'he is for ever trotting out "the dustruct a' come from"'. He talked for Hansard, as otherwise his electorate might think he was failing – an 'evil custom' according to the writer. Then there were the 'Professional politicians' on both sides of the house, the 'Egotist', the 'Parliamentary Poet', and the 'authority on Parliamentary procedure' – 'they'd none of them be missed'.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *PBH* 15 January 1895.

<sup>77</sup> *PBH* 22 March 1895.

<sup>78</sup> *PBH* 21 February 1895.

<sup>79</sup> *PBH* 22 October 1896.

Overall, the *PB Herald* was circumspect in its approach to politics. In the editorial quoted above, for example, it acknowledged that although it did not agree with the Labor [Liberal] point of view, and in spite of the inadequacies of the system and the peculiarities of numerous members of parliament, it did respect some of the Labor politicians. At a farewell for their chief reporter, F. K. Reeves, in 1898, two who gave praise for Reeves' accuracy but disagreed with the newspaper's political stance, said that 'although the *Herald* called itself a Conservative paper (which please Mr Joyce, it doesn't) – it employed broad-minded men on its staff'.<sup>80</sup>

The Liberals were swept into office in 1890 under Ballance and shortly thereafter new arrival Edward Smyrk attempted to counter the well-ensconced *PB Herald*'s political leaning with the *New Zealand Standard*. It lasted one year (1892) but the Liberal *Gisborne Times*, which began on 2 January 1901, did gain a strong foothold for a time.

#### INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The *PB Herald* was not parochial but, as with almost all other newspapers in New Zealand at the time, international news arrived through at least one intermediary source. This was particularly so during the early years when international news went through several channels before appearing in the *PB Herald*. For example, at the outset items appeared under 'European telegrams (from the Southern Papers)' or were lifted from exchange newspapers. Shortly after, details of the cable or ship were given and the time delay averaged about ten days. Much of the cut and paste news, for want of a better description of the varied pieces published, was given vague attribution – 'the editor of a weekly paper in Nevada writes'<sup>81</sup> – or none at all.

After the telegraph reached Gisborne in May 1875 and before the first Press Agency reports in September 1877, the *PB Herald* carried a reasonable amount of international matter under the heading 'Telegrams' – these arrived via the coastal shipping service. The bi-weekly newspaper did well for on Friday 31 August 1877, for instance, it ran news dispatched from London on 26 and 28 August. On that occasion the telegraphic news measured 21 cm. The coastal service was not entirely reliable though, as discussed in chapter 6.

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<sup>80</sup> *PBH* 19 March 1898.

<sup>81</sup> *PBH* 31 August 1877.

Elizabeth Morrison found that during the 1880s the country press of Victoria carried a few small items of British and foreign news received directly through telegraph and cable facilities, or a news agency, but that most of the international news was sourced from cable news received by the larger Melbourne dailies. Overseas cable news was again modest in these country Victorian newspapers the 1890s.<sup>82</sup> In Poverty Bay, difficulties experienced during the early 1880s meant that the cheaper methods of news gathering were used quite widely but, as the depressed times passed, the *PB Herald* mostly gained its international news directly by telegraph or from a press agency.

For most of the period under review international news was treated at the *PB Herald* in two segments headed: 'Australian' and 'British & Foreign'. Although coming from a British perspective, with Britain still considered 'home' by many in New Zealand, the news contained in the second section was wide-ranging and more often than not from other areas of the world.

International news in the following three examples, each a decade apart, was handled thus:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Heading</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Space allocated</i>
1880	LOCAL AND GENERAL	Two local matters Two international cut and paste items: 1. The <i>Tablet</i> of London was opposing the disestablishment of the Anglican Church; 2. The <i>Fiji Argus</i> 'gushes' about a recent divorce.	13 lines 7 lines 27 lines
	LATEST CABLE NEWS (from our own correspondent)	LONDON: September 18 1. The death of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; 2. An Australian cricket match against 'eleven gentlemen of Scotland'... 3. Turkey has sent a note to the European Powers, offering to carry out their demands respecting the cession of Dulcigno... PARIS: September 18 A crisis in the French Chambers with regard to the expulsion of the Jesuits.	3 lines 10 lines 7 lines 7 lines
	AUSTRALIAN CABLE NEWS (from our own correspondent)	ADELAIDE: Monday The abandonment of a vessel. BRISBANE: Monday Arrival of a steamer from the Solomon Islands.	2 lines 14 lines

<sup>82</sup> Morrison, (1991), p.258 and p.276.

There was also excessive filling in the above edition, with international cut-and-paste such as a light-hearted account about a London street doctor ‘much given to quacking’ – this was given 92 lines. At this time the *PB Herald* was mortgaged from the PB Printing & Publishing Co. to seven shareholders, times were tight, and expenses were obviously being kept to a minimum.<sup>83</sup>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Heading</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Space allocated</i>
1890	The miscellaneous column carried no heading.	11 local items, each accorded one paragraph.	107 lines in total
	Australian news: no collective banner. THE QUETTA DISASTER [THREE SUB HEADLINES] (by Electric Telegraph – Copyright – Per Press Association – received March 4 1.10 a.m.)*  THE WRECK OF THE HOLYHEAD – Melbourne Feb. 18	The report from Brisbane was clearly a lead story of a ship disaster and a miraculous rescue. This was followed by three further headings, one after the other, and a further account of much the same length received at 1.30 p.m. *The reference is quoted exactly as published, with the text spelt out in full. The <i>Holyhead</i> hit a reef off Point Lonsdale and the <i>PB Herald</i> dealt with the matter at length.	25 lines          87 lines
	Below the Australian news: Football England v. Scotland. London, March 3 – The Prescott Disaster AN UNDELIVERED WARNING MESSAGE Washington, March 1 –	A football match between England and Scotland;  The messenger sent to warn residents of the burst Prescott dam got so drunk he did not deliver the message.	6 lines   Two headings – same space as the text 6 lines each (approx.)
	BRITISH & FOREIGN (By Electric Telegraph – Copyright – Per Press Ass’n – Rec’d March 2, 6.30 p.m.)*	WASHINGTON, March 1 Two paragraphs of different subject. LONDON, March 1 Seven paragraphs, each relating to a different topic.	7 lines  34 lines
	(Received March 4, noon)	March 3 Three paragraphs of different subject (previously LONDON heading intended but not repeated). SOFIA, March 3 Two items about Bulgaria. LISBON, March 1 Portuguese National Defence Fund. CONSTANTINOPLE, March 1 Memorandum from the Armenian Patriarch. PARIS, March 3 M. Nauget (Boulangist) has been elected. BERLIN, March 3 Election results. CAPETOWN, March 3 The [barque] Storm King has arrived. <sup>84</sup>	9 lines  7 lines  4 lines  5 lines  2 lines  3 lines  1 line

<sup>83</sup> *PBH* Tuesday 21 September 1880.

<sup>84</sup> *PBH* Tuesday 4 March 1890.



\* Again, the reference is quoted as published, this time with abbreviations.

By 1900 the *PB Herald* differentiated more with headlines. Again there was a miscellaneous column and in this issue two items, once again related to shipping, were mentioned from Australia.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Heading – (frequently larger than the text)</i>	<i>Provenance, Date and Content</i>	<i>Space allocated</i>
1900	THE PLAGUE ANOTHER VICTIM DEAD PRECAUTIONS IN NEW ZEALAND (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association)	SYDNEY, March 5	1 line
	A STEAMER WRECKED (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association) (Received March 6, 9.30 a.m.)	AUCKLAND, this day	16 lines
	THE PARIS EXHIBITION (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association) (Received March 5, 9.15 a.m.)	PERTH, March 6	4 lines
	THE ANTI-BRITISH CRUSADE IN FRANCE (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association) (Received March 6, 9.30 a.m.)	LONDON, March 5 The Prince of Wales will not attend the opening of the Paris Exhibition.	2 lines
		PARIS, March 5	6 lines
	Between the international news mentioned above and below came one headed item of New Zealand news, followed by abbreviated news items from Auckland and Wellington (Press Ass'n).		
	AUSTRALIAN	BRISBANE, Mar. 5 Comment about the Pacific cable.	3 lines
		MELBOURNE, Mar. 5 A paragraph from the <i>Age</i> about wheat.	5 lines
	BRITISH & FOREIGN (Electric Telegraph – Copyright – United Press Association)	LONDON, March 5 British Cotton and Woollen Buyers (Received March 6, 9.30 a.m.)	5 lines
		Owing to the pressure of public affairs the Queen has abandoned her visit to Bordighera, in Riviera [ <i>sic</i> ].	3 lines

In 1900 the Boer War was underway and that consumed the *PB Herald*. The newspaper was not alone in its full coverage of such an event. One full column gave news from various points of view and location. Presumably it was all from the UPA, though attribution was not given throughout. There followed much news about contributions

from New Zealand, a small connection to Gisborne, then over one column was devoted to 'The Battle of Colenso', an account from the *London Daily Telegraph*.<sup>85</sup>

It is of little or no value to draw an average of international news carried proportionate to local and national coverage, as it varied substantially. In the 1900 example listed above, during the Boer War admittedly, in eight columns of news approximately six were of international news. Ten years earlier, with nearly seven columns of news, one and a half were of international news.

The *PB Herald* was not an inward-looking newspaper. Its coverage of world news was modest but efficient, especially once news gathering became easier with improved communication.

### **RECOGNITION OF THE MĀORI**

As explained in chapter 2, European settlement in Poverty Bay did not begin to move forward until some time had elapsed after the Te Kooti massacre in 1868. Nationally, the Māori had become increasingly apprehensive about the long-term implications of European colonization. The Waikato Māori Wars of 1860-64 gave way to guerilla movements<sup>86</sup> and the message spelt out by many in the European press of the time was that the 'natives' were second class citizens. Byrne suggests that both in America with its 'savages', and in New Zealand, with its 'natives' or 'aboriginals', a question of provenance prevailed.<sup>87</sup> The myth of the noble savage had gone, to be replaced by the irritation caused by a group of people of different colour and customs, who frequently challenged smooth colonization.

An editorial in the *PB Herald* confirms its early stance as Eurocentric. In the search for viable oil deposits within the district, it called upon the Māori to adopt values espoused by the European community: in other words, the other 'tribe' must accept the inevitable and move with the times.

The Maoris must do what Europeans have done, and will do whenever occasion demands. They must remove the dead bones and allow a work of progress to proceed,

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<sup>85</sup> *PBH* Tuesday 6 March 1900.

<sup>86</sup> M.P.K. Sorrenson 'Maori and Pakeha' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981) pp.180-187

<sup>87</sup> Byrne (1999), p.62-64.

which is certain to prove as a great benefit to themselves as to the white people of the Bay.<sup>88</sup>

An earlier example of the feeling of difference came through in the *PB Standard*. Much of interest had arrived and it was necessary to prioritize the news.

Possibly that of the most importance is the reported murder of an [*sic*] European by a section of the Waikato natives. This intelligence, flashed to the *Bay of Plenty Times* from Auckland, and brought on here by the *Paterson*, will be found among the telegrams...<sup>89</sup>

Strikingly for the early newspapers published in a Māori-rich region, there was little news of that community's affairs given in either the *Standard* or the *PB Herald*. Certainly the on-going negotiation with the Māori over land transactions in the East Coast region during the seventies and eighties gave them both matter for comment, but it is remarkable how little editorial coverage was devoted to the Māori.

The newspapers were, of course, intent upon encouraging settlement, for their future rested on the success of the district. The multiple ownership of Māori land and the complexity this led to, touched upon in chapter 2, gave rise to a rash of lawyers within the district and was something the newspapers preferred not to highlight. An editorial in the *PB Herald* in 1883 spoke of the influx of 'many strangers'. These newcomers, all affluent-looking gentlemen, were in the district to buy land at fair prices and not to 'coax the Maori into selling land which does not belong to him at all, or only a small part'.<sup>90</sup> One of the 'portly gentlemen', as the newspaper described some of them, was probably William Muir.

As communication was of particular interest to pioneering communities, and especially in isolated Poverty Bay, the building or forging of routes was newsworthy. This often entailed interaction with the Māori and it is possible to draw a limited picture of local difficulties. Early in 1873, the *Standard* told of trouble with some of the Māori over land for a 112 mile bridle track north from Gisborne. The problem in this instance was not just access, which was frequently a matter for negotiation, but the fact that some of the 'natives' were not willing to work.<sup>91</sup> A couple of years later the *PB Herald*, when

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<sup>88</sup> *PBH* 9 February 1880.

<sup>89</sup> *PB Standard* 30 April 1873.

<sup>90</sup> *PBH* 3 November 1883.

<sup>91</sup> *PB Standard* 26 March 1873.

complaining of the useless state of a different road, one of the ‘most important trunk roads on the East Coast’ from Gisborne, Ormond, Motu and thence to Opotiki, made no mention of any Māori problems encountered.<sup>92</sup> A year or so later though, the telegraph line’s passage from Wairoa to Gisborne was interrupted, as some Māori landowners sought considerable compensation.<sup>93</sup>

On one occasion when the telegraph line was down and there was a paucity of news, Māori activity appeared as a feature. The report bore the characteristic touch of James Browne:

[There was the] sight of fearsome Maoris heading down Gladstone Road. The Bank Manager locked his safe etc. Then our reporter, who has nerves of steel, and fears nothing – not even the bailiff – sought out the matter. It was this: some whales had been seen in the Bay. Eight Maoris – armed, spear, revolver, tattoos, tomahawk, coils of rope...<sup>94</sup>

Only very little appeared in the *PB Herald* in the Māori language, and that in the early days, although an important judgement from the Native Court was translated in late 1888. This was unusual.<sup>95</sup> A few panuitanga, or notices, appeared very early on in 1874. The first, from John R. Rigg, Shipwright, Boatbuilder and Sparmaker, said: ‘Panuitangi: Kai, Hanga Kaipuke Kamura Poti, near Waikanae at the lower end of Read’s Store, Gisborne’. It was not accurate and should have read: Kaihanga Kaipuke Kamura Poti, meaning: The boatbuilders and steamboat carpenters, near Waikanae Beach ...<sup>96</sup> Small local body notices continued to appear in both languages very occasionally, for example the Cook County Council’s call for dog registration in 1895.<sup>97</sup>

A dispute over leases between Wi Pere and Captain Read saw a few notices in March 1874. The first had no translation but the second was to both the Europeans and the Māori. It bears repeating as its expression highlights the differences within the early community. The explanation held within brackets was included in the original piece.

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<sup>92</sup> *PBH* 4 May 1874.

<sup>93</sup> J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. McKay, 1982) pp.333-4.

<sup>94</sup> *PBH* 11 June 1879.

<sup>95</sup> *PBH* 26 November 1888.

<sup>96</sup> *PBH* 22 January 1874.

<sup>97</sup> *PBH* 3 January 1895.

Now I shall go and drive Matheson's sheep to Manuka Whitikitiki. I intend to be troublesome now. I shall embrace (meaning that he will back up) those Europeans who manage their affairs in the open day.<sup>98</sup>

Certainly Māori names appeared in the *PB Herald* from time to time in notices from the different courts. The cases from the Native Land Court were mostly reported at some length and some of the cases were given considerable coverage, but frequently the parties are not named. For instance a case at the Magistrates Court was reported as a considerable waste of time as it was a case of assault: 'one Maori woman against another'.<sup>99</sup> Few Māori had any 'face' in the Pākehā society of Gisborne.

The *PB Herald* only very occasionally devoted an editorial to policy in connection with Māori affairs. One such example was at the time of a typhoid outbreak in 1891, when they suggested that it would be unfair for settlers to bear the cost of a doctor in the Māori-rich district of Waiapu for the Māoris would make the most use of him.<sup>100</sup>

It took until 1906 for New Zealand to include the Māori people in the census statistics. Six years earlier, a crusading editorial appeared in the *PB Herald*. It began:

Maoris come and go, and no-one keeps count. There is no record of the Native population except the quinquennial census. The individual Maori does not come into the knowledge of the State when he enters the world and the State makes no note of his passing hence.<sup>101</sup>

Why are the Māori people, who have 'our' laws, education and limited franchise, treated as non-people in census terms, asked the newspaper. The editorial signified a seismic shift in thought.

Certainly the Māori had their own newspaper until *Te Waka Maori o Nui Tirani* folded in late 1879. The other Māori newspapers in the district, *Takitimu* and *Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa*, appeared in 1883 and 1884 respectively, and were short-lived. Twenty-five years after the *PB Herald* began, *Te Pipiwharau He Kupu Whakamarama* appeared. It was published in Gisborne from November 1899 to July 1913. These newspapers are discussed in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3.

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<sup>98</sup> *PBH* 5 March 1874.

<sup>99</sup> *PBH* 15 July 1878.

<sup>100</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response*, (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) p.147 & p. 179.

In early 1880, after *Te Waka*'s demise, the Māori complained that they had no organ of their own. The *PB Herald* suggested that they, and other newspapers, would be happy to print the 'views, wishes and complaints of the Maori'. The proviso was language. 'All the press would ask is that Maori communications be interpreted into English, when, if not too long, they could be printed in two languages.'<sup>102</sup> The offer was not accepted and had it been, there were two hesitations:

1. Almost certainly no compositor at the *PB Herald* at the time was fluent in Māori – John Rigg's advertisement mentioned earlier suggests they were not fluent in the language then for a comma was wrongly inserted in Kaihanga (Kai, hanga; kai means food, thus giving a wrong meaning); and
2. Experienced compositors held words and spellings in their minds as they assembled their composing stick. In setting an unfamiliar language, such as written Māori, the compositor would probably be working letter by letter, which would inevitably slow the process of typesetting.

In this the four-page *Wairoa Guardian & Country Advocate* had an edge, for their proprietor, John Large, was a licensed interpreter. Based in Wairoa, with a population of 450 in 1886, the bi-weekly newspaper circulated throughout the East Coast region. It undertook job printing in both Māori and English, and highlighted the fact that Māori manuscript was revised by a licensed interpreter and correctly printed.<sup>103</sup>

Figures for the population of New Zealand around this time point to the vast disparity within the country. The Pākehā population was 432,519, with the number of Māori estimated to be about 42,000.<sup>104</sup> It is impossible to give an accurate breakdown of settlement figures in the Poverty Bay district as the native census was taken on a tribal basis before 1906, but in the East Coast district the disparity was inverted. Figures taken in the 1906 for Waiapu County to the north of Gisborne, for example, were 858 Europeans and 2,611 Māori.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *PBH* 21 December 1900.

<sup>102</sup> *PBH* 9 April 1880.

<sup>103</sup> *Australasian Newspaper Directory* 1886, pp.100-101.

<sup>104</sup> *PBH* 12 January 1880.

<sup>105</sup> McKay (1982) p.401.

## MISCELLANEOUS

As mentioned throughout, in common with general practice small items were regularly used as fillers within the news pages of the *PB Herald*. Gradually this custom died as the volume of news increased, but fillers were always used when a report finished short of the bottom of the page. These fillers were often timeless, and frequently light-hearted. Occasionally poems of modest authorship found their way into the news pages, but jokes were much more frequent. Their selection was often on length and, when at the bottom of the page, that in turn depended upon where the previous item ended. During a slow patch in early 1901 half a column was given over to 'Alleged Humor', a selection of jokes.<sup>106</sup> Three out of the five long jokes were accorded limited attribution, with 'Titbits', 'Scraps' or 'Answers'. Many of these fillers no doubt came from the two-monthly *British Printer*, for it leavened its pages with 'editorial humour'.<sup>107</sup> The provenance of some of the more remote fillers from distant American journals was also probably the *British Printer*.

A limited survey of the very early issues of 1878, 1888, 1898 and 1908 showed the *PB Herald* rarely had space for miscellany. The tri-weekly newspaper did have a fortnightly supplement of two broadsheet pages in early 1878. The content varied but included such items as a poem, two serialized stories – a good gothic romance such as “The Bride of Barcelona”, a romance of Spain in the fifteenth century’<sup>108</sup> – book reviews, sketches and scientific information. A lighter vein was also added, with a miscellany of humour and fun the newspaper described as ‘froth’.<sup>109</sup> There was heavy emphasis on the serials, which could finish mid paragraph, if that suited the printer, rather than at the end of a chapter. This was not unusual, for newspaper postage was cheaper than that for the heavier book so, for a time, the ephemeral newspaper tapped into the market.

A widely used practice for country newspapers in Victoria, Australia, around this time, was the use of pre-packaged supplements.<sup>110</sup> No doubt the *PB Herald*'s supplements were along the same lines. The fortnightly supplement did not last long but the *PB Herald* did announce a weekly supplement to cater for its country readers in 1882. The

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<sup>106</sup> *PBH* 26 January 1901.

<sup>107</sup> For instance a column headed 'Pi' in the *British Printer*, January-February 1888, vol.I, no.1, p.17.'

<sup>108</sup> *PBH* 18 January 1878.

<sup>109</sup> *PBH* 4 January 1878.

<sup>110</sup> Morrison (1991) p.192.

promise was for scientific and farming notes, plus a 'serial tale'.<sup>111</sup> This supplement only lasted for two or three issues, and no copies were filed within the archival newspapers, which suggests they were bought in. Illustrated four-page Christmas supplements were announced from 1883, as discussed in chapter 4, but again they are missing from the files. They presumably contained fiction to occupy the reader through the short break from publishing, as a description given in 1884 said the supplement had 'numerous interesting features'.<sup>112</sup>

By 1888 the newspaper concentrated mainly on news and advertisements. From time to time specialized information, perhaps about agriculture for example, was included, but not as frequently as promised. Much the same may be said about the newspaper in 1898, a decade later. Around this time occasional feature articles appeared; these were not the result of investigative reporting or interviews, for there was no time or space or precedent for such matters, but followed a tradition established long ago by the colony's earliest journals when they included descriptive narratives of journeys. These give an insight into a life long past and make for fascinating reading now. One such series of reports carried by the *PB Herald* was the story of a journey into the back blocks of the Uriwera with James Carroll, as he attempted to quell unrest amongst the Māori in June 1895.<sup>113</sup>

The colony's history, or that of some residents, was also of interest as the nineteenth century came to an end. Again, no serials or poems appeared in the *PB Herald* but reminiscences from the early days were featured occasionally. These, too, make fascinating reading now.

A particularly significant insert came in June 1901, when the *PB Herald* ran a supplement, the 'Gisborne Commercial Review'. This was locally written and produced and contained a densely packed account of the story of settlement with 'Exciting Records – Extensive Resources – Industrial Expansion'. It was the first consolidated report of the district and was the most conspicuous boost to appear in the newspaper.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> *PBH* 5 August 1882.

<sup>112</sup> *PBH* 6 December 1883; 22 December 1884.

<sup>113</sup> *PBH* 3, 11 & 14 June 1895.

<sup>114</sup> *PBH* 22 June 1901.



The final year of the survey, 1908, showed no miscellaneous writing and was entirely taken up with news and advertising.

#### NEWS IN ADVERTISING

The message given by many an advertisement may be interpreted as news in that it gives information. Stephens describes this aptly as ‘unusually purposive, [a] self-interested variety of news, but a quiet news, usually with minimal news value’.<sup>115</sup> In newspapers such as the *PB Herald*, much of the classified advertising, which gave considerable information about the normal everyday life of the community, fitted such a description. Many of these advertisements provided what might be termed service data in that they announced shipping schedules, mail notices, land for sale, council works, positions vacant and so on.

Display advertising gave information beyond advertising too. An advertisement for W. Fraser, ‘practical watch-maker and jeweller’, for example, told of the arrival of a ‘Collection of ferns, pressed and botanically named by Mrs Armstrong, of Dunedin, whose name is a household word in the Colonies, having taken Prizes at the following Exhibitions: Sydney, Melbourne, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Wellington’.<sup>116</sup> Mrs Armstrong may, or may not have been well-known throughout parts of Australasia, but the advertisement tells the *PB Herald* reader of the art form and that it is of interest both within New Zealand and in the wider world of metropolitan Melbourne and Sydney.

Merchants also influenced fashion within the community. They brought news of styles popular in the metropolitan market-place, and very few in a small community such as Poverty Bay had the wealth, inclination or opportunity to go outside their dictates. Certainly this information was restricted within the *PB Herald* for there was not the money to alter advertising blocks seasonally; therefore it was largely the text alone that carried the changes of fashion. There was a small amount of mail order advertising carried within the *PB Herald*, and this was accompanied by illustrations to show the local population what was in vogue. For instance Stewart Dawson, an Auckland jeweller,

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<sup>115</sup> Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (Fort Worth et al: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1997) p.165.

<sup>116</sup> *PBH* 3 May 1886.

sought custom on the East Coast and elsewhere with several fine illustrations as enticement.<sup>117</sup>

The *PB Herald* did not accord itself a motto or banner to work within, as did a number of newspapers, for example the *Wellington Independent*, with

‘Nothing extenuate  
Nor set down aught in malice’<sup>118</sup>

and the *PB Independent* with

‘A Good Cause makes a Stout Heart: Candor and Open Dealing are the Honor of Man’s  
Nature.’<sup>119</sup>

It did, however, once state its goal of ‘Progress’ and a constrained aspiration to ‘supply news second only to those journals of the four main centres’.<sup>120</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century the content of the newspaper indicates that it was held in high regard and fulfilling this ambition.

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<sup>117</sup> Stewart Dawson, jeweller of Auckland, ran an extensive display advertisement - *PBH* 22 December 1900; *HB Herald* 23 January 1900.

<sup>118</sup> See *Wellington Independent* 3 January 1860.

<sup>119</sup> See *PB Independent* 25 April 1885.

<sup>120</sup> *PBH* 19 September 1898

## 8. THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* 1874-1914: ADVERTISING AND LAYOUT

While news is the 'news'paper's foundation, advertising might be considered the mortar that holds it together. Ross Harvey argues that nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers were set up only as businesses governed by commercial imperatives, to earn money for their proprietors and to sell goods and services for their advertisers. To ensure circulation, they also had to appeal to and inform the purchaser.<sup>1</sup> By 1904 the *British Printer* declared that 'There is not a successful firm to-day [*sic*] but owes its success, yea, its very existence, to advertising'.<sup>2</sup>

The early Poverty Bay journals that did not adhere to these criteria, such as the weekly *New Zealand Freemason* and *Facts*, a political weekly, died or were barely born. The *PB Herald*, however, was undoubtedly established as a business and advertising remained a priority throughout.

The second section of this chapter looks at the general appearance of the newspaper. The overwhelming difference here for the *PB Herald* was the change from a cramped four-page bi-weekly to an expansive eight-page daily newspaper in 1907. The newspaper's relationship with the changing fashions in print, presentation and the wider world is also explored.

### ADVERTISING

The newspaper is a business. And, in all but rare cases, it always has been. Studies undertaken in the United States indicate that by the 1870s advertising was becoming a newspaper's most important form of revenue. This coincided with a rise in consumerism.<sup>3</sup> There is a remarkable difference between the English and West Indian newspapers and those of the Australasian colonies according to Cave, who notes that retail advertising is far greater in the latter newspapers.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. Harvey 'The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand: More Imagined than Real?' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, p.133.

<sup>2</sup> *British Printer* December-January 1904-5, vol.XVII, no.102, p.292.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, 'Newspaper Trends in the 1870s: Proliferation, Popularization and Political Independence', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol.22, no.2, Summer 1995, pp.361-375.

<sup>4</sup> Roderick Cave, 'Advertising, Circulation and Profitability: Aspects of the Early Colonial Press', *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.14, no.1, 1990, p.4.

Figures for the *New Zealand Times* Newspaper Company Limited in 1874 and 1875 confirm the importance of advertising. The ‘General Statement for one year and two months ending 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1874’ read in part:

Profit	£	s.	d.
To Advertisements	6,671	17	11
“ Sales “N.Z. Times”	1,939	6	0
“ Sales “N.Z. Mail”	768	10	5
“ General Printing	2,167	5	4
“ Waste Paper	5	15	4
	<u>£11,552</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>

Advertising for the following year, a shorter period, was £6,014.13.8. Revenue from newspaper sales was up at £2,942.13.8, with a lower subscription base (£494.9.8 for the *New Zealand Mail* and £1,438.4.5 for the *New Zealand Times*), but casual newspaper sales of £1,009.19.7 were included.<sup>5</sup>

From the outset advertising was a priority for the *PB Herald* for, as a threepenny newspaper – as it was initially – with limited circulation, it could not expect to sustain itself by subscription, nor could it rely on job printing to any great extent for there were two printers within the small town vying for business. The publisher of an admittedly larger journal explained that the newspaper business ‘is based on calculation of what it costs to print and distribute a line of type’. He based his advertising rate on that cost. ‘...the amount of space which I give to advertising doesn’t matter as to cost. ...But reading matter, beyond a certain limit, does not pay’.<sup>6</sup>

In Dunedin, the *Penny Post* stated clearly: ‘We don’t pretend to be philanthropists, or that we are publishing this journal solely for the benefit of the public... £.s.d. is at the bottom of this one.’<sup>7</sup> The *PB Herald* was not quite so blunt but it unambiguously admitted that advertising was the newspaper’s life blood. More than once it excused the curtailing of news as in this instance: ‘Pressure of new advertisements in our space

<sup>5</sup> *NZ Times* Newspaper Company Limited, general statement for one year and two months ending 31<sup>st</sup> December 1874, and for one year ending 31<sup>st</sup> December 1875, Muir family papers.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Inside a Newspaper’, an address delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal on 23 January, 1933, by P.D. Ross, publisher of the *Ottawa Journal*, ATL-1006-49.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in R. Harvey (1996), pp.139-140.

compels us to hold over a leading article and other interesting matter. O.O.'s letter will appear in our next issue.'<sup>8</sup>

In the introduction to this chapter it was suggested that advertising was the mortar of the newspaper. In fact it was more like solid bricks when the ratio of advertising to news is considered. A survey of two weeks, the first from Saturday 1 March 1890 (seven columns per page) and the second from Thursday 1 March 1900 (nine columns per page) showed that news coverage increased slightly over the period, but it remained at under 25 per cent of the total newspaper. In 1890 an average of 6.5 columns of text was carried to 21.5 columns of advertising – or 23.21 per cent news. By 1900, with nine columns, the average was 8.475 columns of text to 27.525 columns of advertising – or 23.54 per cent of news. This gave a ratio of news to advertising as around 23.5 per cent to 76.5 per cent.

Gradually news improved its grasp and in the early 1900s the ratio was approximately 29 per cent news to 71 per cent advertising. By October 1909 the *PB Herald* was generally eight pages, with a standard format of 33 per cent news to 67 per cent advertising. Finally, for the time span covered by this thesis, by March 1914 the newspaper was generally ten pages in length, with a twelve page issue at least once a week. The ratio within the ten page newspaper was 33.6 per cent news to 66.4 per cent advertising, with the volume of news a little higher in the larger newspaper, at 35.7 per cent.

Advertising carried in the very early *PB Herald* was run in single or double column form, with shipping giving the only enlivening wood-cut to relieve the page. Other popular 'cuts, similar to those illustrated by Kathleen Coleridge in her selection of ornamental and display types used in Wellington during the first decades of settlement, appeared within the month.<sup>9</sup> They probably arrived per the *Opotiki* and the *Rangitira*, and included a crest (Poverty Bay), a clipper (the *Julius Vogel*), a horse and rider (Bismarck) and a sheep.<sup>10</sup> The trade emblems used by the *PB Herald* in the first few years were all small and within a price range of 6d to 2s.<sup>11</sup> The most widely used 'cuts were horse blocks during the

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<sup>8</sup> *PBH* 14 September 1877.

<sup>9</sup> K. Coleridge, 'Ornamental and Display Types Used by Commercial Printers in Colonial New Zealand,' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.20, no.2, 1996, pp.107-111.

<sup>10</sup> *PBH* 19 January 1874.

<sup>11</sup> Miller & Richard, *Typefounders Catalogue*, (Owston Ferry [England]: Blomfield Books, 1974) reprint of 1873 edition published by Miller & Richard, Edinburgh and London.

breeding season, advertising horses at stud. Repetition was acceptable and one image might appear six times within an edition.<sup>12</sup>

Local advertisements came slowly, with most of the back page taken for a while by advertisements from Napier, Auckland and England. The population needed to be built up to swell the market in the pioneering district of Poverty Bay and a number of the early local advertisements were expounding facilities and services, such as comfortable hotels or good grazing, in the expectation of encouraging outsiders to help swell the populace. They were mostly small classified advertisements.

In-house advertisements run by the *PB Herald* itself give some indication as to prosperity and growth within the district as, when demand for advertising was high, in-house advertisements were reduced in size or ceased. Regular in-house advertising was carried during the tough times of the late 1870s, for instance. For much of 1879 a shoddy house advertisement for the 'HERAD Job Printing Establishment' demonstrated a lack of rigour, but by early 1881 trade and commerce were picking up in New Zealand, and general advertising increased. By late 1881 only the occasional small filler advertisement for the newspaper's services was carried. The *PB Herald* looked outward after Allan Muir's arrival in late 1884, when it promoted its credentials beyond the district; it was the only newspaper in the district, it carried all the Cook County Council notices, was mailed to all parts of Cook County, and was found on file in various libraries and many hotels throughout New Zealand.<sup>13</sup> Fate took a hand, however, for a general downturn within the colony meant that advertising too suffered. Thankfully for Poverty Bay the market for wool held up during this time but, though the newspaper's appearance improved, advertising was down in 1885. Gradually the situation stabilized and, predictably, advertising increased as the community grew.

Government advertising was not of great significance within the *PB Herald*. Figures show that the total revenue from this source for 1884-1887 was £115.12.5.<sup>14</sup> This was on the lower end of the scale for government advertising for newspapers of a similar size, and was approximately 5.7 per cent of the figure earned by the *Press* in Christchurch,

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<sup>12</sup> *PBH* 24 September 1880.

<sup>13</sup> *PBH* 12 February 1885.

<sup>14</sup> 'Amounts Paid to Each Newspaper in the Colony for Advertising', *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (NZ) H.-32A (1895) p.5.

whose total over the same period was £2,003.19.4. Things improved in the period 1890-1894, with a total of £392.2.8, little more than that received by the *Patea Mail*, a provincial newspaper, and approximately 7.5 per cent of the *Press*'s contract.<sup>15</sup>

Local politics were a considerable help, however. Throughout the period studied, the *PB Herald* carried full reports of local Council accounts, such as in May 1898, when seven full columns were taken, and by 1905 a full page insert was included with the balance sheet of the County Fund of Cook County.<sup>16</sup> Election time was also a bonus for the newspaper, with copious announcements from candidates swelling the revenue.<sup>17</sup>

Another form of regular advertising was the 'advertorial', when the advertiser's message was given a further boost by being incorporated within editorial text, introduced perhaps as 'We would like to draw your attention to ...' This format was apparently standard practice, especially in country newspapers. According to an article from the *Auckland Star*, 8 January 1870, quoted with reservation by Harvey for advertised figures do not include promotion within the text, it was a valuable source of income.<sup>18</sup>

In 1881 both the *PB Herald* and the *PB Standard* were deceived. They received a letter on impressive letterhead from 'Rodanow Manufacturing Co., Boston', purportedly manufacturers of Swiss watches. Swiss and French addresses were given as credentials too, and both newspapers ran a sizeable advertisement for some time. Neither received the promised payment.<sup>19</sup>

The first semblance of a display advertisement in the *PB Herald* came at the end of 1877. It was a generalist advertisement for Mustang Liniment, 'The Foe of Pain', written in naïve style with left-hand slanting script. It was no doubt syndicated throughout much of New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> Before the rise of advertising agencies much of this general advertising was handled by brokers, who placed prepared material supplied to them to its best

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> *PBH* 26 June 1905.

<sup>17</sup> *PBH* 31 May 1898; 31 October 1881.

<sup>18</sup> *PBH* 14 December 1881; 29 August 1882; 13 September 1882; Ross Harvey, 'Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Press', in R. Harvey, W. Kirsop & B.J. McMullin eds., *An Index of Civilisation: Studies of Printing and Publishing History in Honour of Keith Maslen* (Melbourne: Centre for Bibliographical and Textual Studies, Monash University, 1993) p. 214.

<sup>19</sup> *PB Standard* 1 January 1881; *PBH* 7 April 1881.

<sup>20</sup> *PBH* 2 November 1877.

advantage.<sup>21</sup> The newspapers, for their part, retained agents to solicit advertising from the national advertisers on their behalf. The *PB Herald* advertised for such an agent in Auckland in 1881. He was also to collect accounts.<sup>22</sup>

The first locally-generated display advertisement appeared around that time; a wood engraving executed by S. Calvert of Melbourne. Here was an early example of hyperbole in advertising, for it showed a sophisticated image of one of Gisborne's grander buildings, the Albion Club Hotel, complete with horses, carriage and well-clothed pedestrians. The 9.5 cm high x 10.6 cm wide illustration plus text took up three columns.<sup>23</sup> The advertisement also appeared in the *Standard*.<sup>24</sup>

America led the way in recognizing the growing value of advertising and appreciating that it could be an art form. From time to time the *British Printer*, as a vehicle for much display advertising itself, pointed out the benefits of attractive advertising. The following example illustrates the different approaches taken by the British and American type-founders in the late 1890s. Visual appeal was a winning approach in that in spite of the fact that American type was fifty per cent more expensive than British type, it was used in half the display work produced in Indian printing offices. The reason, said an Anglo-Indian publisher, was that: 'Each mail brings beautifully printed prospectuses from America while the printer is hardly aware that an English typefounder [*sic*] exists unless he subscribes to a trade journal'.<sup>25</sup>

Advertising as a skill began to be heralded in the *British Printer* in the early 1890s. The newspaper proprietor or printer was made aware of increasing sophistication in the production of fashion blocks, and during the decade the advertisements for type carried by the journal became evermore eye-catching and florid. The fashion blocks largely escaped the prolixity of the elaborate type faces advertised, and by the end of the decade the general style became more subdued.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ernest Sommerlad, *Mightier than the Sword*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950) pp.150-1.

<sup>22</sup> *PBH* 25 June 1881.

<sup>23</sup> *PBH* 10 November 1882.

<sup>24</sup> *Standard* 7 November 1882.

<sup>25</sup> *British Printer* January-February 1899, vol.XII, no.68, p.67.

<sup>26</sup> *British Printer* September-October 1891, vol.IV, no.23, p.91.



The *PB Herald* first advertised its style in the *Australasian Newspaper Directory* as ‘moderate display’. Two years later the qualification, moderate, was removed but the amendment was more in the word than the result, for display advertising remained moderate.<sup>27</sup> The newspaper’s advertisers, particularly the local firms with restricted budgets, remained cautious in their approach to display advertising, and much was just text. Large text, small text, different text – it was frequently the white space that differentiated display from classified advertising, although occasionally blocks were included to help attract the eye. Fashion blocks were limited, and few local advertisers commissioned custom-made blocks as most included a generic printer’s block.

Among those who followed the Albion Club Hotel in producing their own block were general drapers Adairs, who sought to override the other merchants with a three-column spread. The business occupied a corner site and the advertisement featured both street elevations, together with a depiction of the street activity – a hand cart, a couple of carriages and very few pedestrians. Whineray’s Furnishing Warehouse, established 1877, commissioned a cheaper single-column block with just their building and no activity. It appeared in May 1894 and the block ran for eighteen months with a clear fracture from top to bottom, until replaced with a new block.<sup>28</sup> By 1907 Robertsons, a third merchant, had its own block of a corner shop window complete with goods and lettering. The simple block was signed with M in a circle.<sup>29</sup>

Printing from a finely-cut wood-engraving, such as that made for the Albion Club Hotel, was rare as for a relatively small cost a stereo or electro reproduction of the original block ensured it was not damaged by deterioration or accidental damage.

Originality, as stressed by the *British Printer* in its two-page article ‘Advertisement writing for printers’, was borne in mind by some of the national advertisers.<sup>30</sup> Their creative attempts enlivened the newspaper, which was still a fairly stolid production. Some were humorous, such as the damaged face of a man who had ‘told the people’ that ‘Zealandia’ Boots were no good, and one gave movement and entertainment with a

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<sup>27</sup> *Australasian Newspaper Directory* (Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch Ltd, 1886), pp.102-3; *Australasian Newspaper Directory*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch Ltd., 1888) pp.120-1 .

<sup>28</sup> *PBH* 1 May 1894 – replaced by 19 December 1895.

<sup>29</sup> *PBH* 1 November 1907.

<sup>30</sup> *British Printer* December-January 1904-5, vol.XVII, no.102, pp.292-3.

selection of detailed cartoons for yet another boot manufacturer, Garrett's.<sup>31</sup> A selection of examples of the advertisements mentioned is included as Appendix D.

Staff at the *PB Herald* were aware of the growth of an advertising industry as it became the topic for an editorial in 1895. Advertisement-writing in the United States, said the writer, was 'becoming a regular branch of literature'. 'Some of the first class writers command salaries of £200,000 p.a. and young men are regularly training for the job and going to college.'<sup>32</sup> The *British Printer* meanwhile, which was received in Poverty Bay, also talked of figures greatly in excess of anything in New Zealand's ken. A former editor in America was paid \$1,000 per month to organize a store's advertising of \$5,000 per week. 'Advertising is the leverage with which this store has been raised up', said postmaster general Wanamaker.<sup>33</sup>

In 1904 the *British Printer* warned of the pitfalls in not moving with the times but also in seeking the new 'El Dorado'.<sup>34</sup> The suggestion was that, as with the introduction of the linotype, where many rushed to school only to find they did not pass, so it would be with advertisement writing. But printers, who in Britain had already served a seven-year apprenticeship, could write an advertisement suitable for display suggested the *British Printer*. Work was no longer awarded through networking but on merit, and firms must compete by using their best workmen rather than the odd clerk as advertisers 'are becoming enlightened, but very, very slowly'.<sup>35</sup> One hundred years later much of the advice, such as 'it is always better to try to conceal what you are driving at', and 'our circular, which is of the ordinary kind, duly arrives, and as soon as it is opened is relegated to the wastepaper basket', is relevant today.

Some were listening and observing the changing fashions successfully. 'Advertisers of pills, jams, biscuits, etc., have awakened to the fact that it is no good merely saying that they sell these commodities.'<sup>36</sup> They had to catch the reader's eye and advertisements from such firms greatly helped the newspaper industry but many firms were either hampered financially or visually and retained their 'old style' of lines of text. A very

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<sup>31</sup> *PBH* 23 May 1895; 31 May 1895.

<sup>32</sup> *PBH* 21 March 1895.

<sup>33</sup> *British Printer* January-February 1891, vol.IV, no.19, p.3.

<sup>34</sup> *British Printer* December-January 1904-5, vol.XVII, no.102, pp.292-3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

limited number of advertisements chosen by Gisborne's local merchants reflected trends in style. An example of one that did, a fine art nouveau piece, is included in Appendix D.

There is only moderate evidence of growing professionalism within the advertising columns of the *PB Herald*. Certainly display advertising increased in volume and illustration, and by the late 1890s the newspaper had adopted a more sober, neater style. But at times the design of the advertisements remained amateurish, though this very fact gave the advertisements an individuality rarely seen today. An example of this was perhaps the longest running advertisement, that of two small heads in silhouette facing each other. This certainly caught the eye for the woman on the right had a sunken expression; she was 'without teeth', and her counterpart had a fine jaw. Grossman, the dentist, took a 5.5 cm advertisement in the more expensive section above the minor masthead for decades and the women, his second graphic, were a permanent fixture, appearing from about mid-1887 until the early 1900s.

Not all the display advertisements in the *PB Herald* were printed cleanly. Some of the larger blocks show evidence of bleeding around the edges or odd ink marks in the white space – this continued even after the arrival of the Cossar press. This was probably brought about by use of worn blocks, but could also be attributable to the primacy of speed over precision, for the newspaper was, after all, an ephemeral article. An example is attached in Appendix D.

Advertising costs varied marginally, with a rearrangement of charges in 1883, in particular. A selection of these costs is detailed below:

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of advertisement</i>	<i>Detail</i>	<i>Cost</i>
1874	Classified  Above editorial Longer advertisements  Business notices and cards Wanted	For every inch of space Subsequent consecutive insertion in one of the outside pages Those not in consecutive issues  Per inch Inserted by the month  For those not exceeding one inch  For those not exceeding four lines <sup>37</sup>	2/- 1/-  full price each insertion 4/- by the month, or quarter, by arrangement 1 guinea per quarter 1/- each insertion
1883	Wanted	6 words, single insertion weekly monthly 12* words, single insertion weekly monthly * the newspaper printed this figure as 2	1/- 5/6 20/- 2/- 10/- 32/6 <sup>38</sup>
1885		16 words 32 words By space – cannot be booked if under 3/- therefore 1/- and 2/- advertisements, if booked, will be charged at 3/-	1/- 2/- 3/- per inch <sup>39</sup>
1895		As above, with the following addition: Standing advertisements three or six months	Liberal terms <sup>40</sup>
1898	Classified Wanted, House to Let etc.	Again, as in 1885, with the following addition: By space – first insertion subsequent consecutive insertion	3/- per inch 1/6 per inch By quarter as per contract. <sup>41</sup>
1900	Classified Death notices Death and funeral Notices	as above	3/- 4/- Quarterly and annual contracts by negotiation

By 1885 there was a request that advertisements be left not later than noon. Double column advertisements and alterations to existing advertisements were to arrive by 3 pm

<sup>37</sup> *PBH* 5 January 1874.

<sup>38</sup> *PBH* 10 August 1883.

<sup>39</sup> *PBH* 6 October 1885.

<sup>40</sup> *PBH* 29 August 1895.

<sup>41</sup> *PBH* 6 June 1898.

the previous day. Notice to discontinue (unless mentioned in original order) was to be forwarded in writing to the manager by 10 am on the day of publishing.<sup>42</sup>

Marked copies of the *PB Herald* between 1878 and 1880 give a fair indication of how the printers assessed the advertising requirements. Corrections, numbers one over the other, or various forms of code advised whether an advertisement was to remain in place or its life-span. This was not always adhered to though, for on occasion an advertisement would appear beyond its scheduled end date. This was either because there was a need to pad the newspaper or inefficiency. In March 1880, for example, an advertisement scheduled for thirty insertions reached that number, then overran by nine days, with first a question mark, then marked 'out', and still it continued.<sup>43</sup>

## DESIGN AND LAYOUT

The *PB Herald* began as a seven-column four-page newspaper, changing to eight columns by 1896 and nine columns by 1900. The hand-set columns did not have the accuracy given by later printing methods and varied slightly. The column measurement varied between 14 and 14.5 ems.<sup>44</sup>

As the *PB Herald* prospered, along with its local community and New Zealand in general, attempts were made to give greater coverage without actually moving from four to eight pages. Methods to squeeze in extra usable space such as moving the text closer to the edge of the page, increasing paper size and altering column width were used. In 1894, for instance, the page size increased to 62 x 49.5 cm, with eight columns. By the end of 1895 it measured 64 x 47 cm, and from September 1898 a larger sheet was used, that gave an increased column length and allowed a ninth column to be inserted. The page measured 66 x 53.5 cm, which caused problems for archiving as the now fragile newspapers are stored in leather folios of identical size. The larger page size is folded to fit the format. Paper size changed once more early in 1901, becoming 67 x 51 cm. When the Cossar press arrived the newspaper expanded, with a reduction in page size. Most of the August 1907 file copies are missing, making it impossible to give a precise date, but the size became 43.6 x 66.5 cm, with seven columns.

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<sup>42</sup> *PBH* 6 October 1885.

<sup>43</sup> *PBH* 3-16 March 1880.

<sup>44</sup> There was an approximate .5 latitude, with columns 3 & 4 e.g. *PBH* 31 August 1877 p.2, col. 4 measured 14.5 ems.

### THE JUGGLING ACT ...

Page 2 was always the focal point of the newspaper. Initially a few small notices were carried before the punctuation of the minor masthead, and the one, two or occasionally three leading articles that followed. When no editorial was included, which happened irregularly but about every ten days, the masthead was followed by a general compilation of small news items. At the outset, page 3 only carried the small overflow. The prime position of page 2 quickly attracted advertisements. By April 1886, with advertisements encroaching upon page 2, the newspaper announced that in order to make room for further advertisements 'a part of the reading matter will henceforth be put on the fourth page'.<sup>45</sup> Page 3 continued with approximately one column of news.

Gradually the newspaper moved its text further to the right of page 2 to accommodate more advertisements in the higher-priced position above the editorial. Sometimes three, four and even five and a half columns were run before the editorial – this meant news was pushed from the priority page 2 onto page 3. An innovative move made by the *PB Herald* after the linotypes arrived saw the format changed: reading matter was spread across all four pages of the newspaper, with a 'striking article of special interest' on the front page. The first such issue devoted the left-hand column on page 1 to a personal account of the British quarters in Peking, taken from the *Christchurch Press*. Further text appeared as follows: three and a half columns on the right-hand side of page 2, three columns on page 3 and a further two on page 4.<sup>46</sup> The first newspaper in New Zealand to use the front page entirely for news was the *Christchurch Star-Times* in 1946.<sup>47</sup>

Advertisements carried small numbers for ledger purposes. Each January new advertisements came into the system at 1, while the continuing advertisements retained their old number. In the marked copies the running number was penned at the foot of page 2, to be continued the next day.<sup>48</sup> From these numbers it is possible to assess how the newspaper was laid out. The numbers confirm that page 2 was the last to be put to bed and that setting went from left to right. The classified advertisements were inserted last and moved from page 3 to page 2 if there was an overlap. Page 1 changed little, but

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<sup>45</sup> *PBH* 1 April 1886.

<sup>46</sup> *PBH* 3 December 1900.

<sup>47</sup> *ANHG Newsletter* no. 13, July 2001, p. 11.

<sup>48</sup> See *PBH* 4 February 1880, Appendix D.

page 4 was probably the first to be assembled. When something was removed from either of these pages it was usually a larger block, and thus quicker to remove and replace.

As with the *Wellington Independent* in the sixties, for example, one page, or even half-page supplements were used at the *PB Herald* when news over-ran. The reverse was frequently left blank. By 1877 an increasing number of inserts were appearing in the bi-weekly newspaper, as discussed in the previous chapter. When the *PB Herald* turned tri-weekly, supplements continued to appear, this time on a weekly basis. Coverage was stepped up from late 1900, with two inserts frequently appearing each week. This brought reading matter to fourteen columns in each edition. By September 1904 supplementary pages were included each Saturday.

Management at the *PB Herald* heaved a metaphorical sign of relief and relaxed with the arrival of the Cossar press; the cramped columns of the four-page daily moved to eight pages of seven columns. The format changed and news disappeared from the front page, which was entirely taken up with advertising. Towards the end of 1911 the newspaper moved to ten and occasionally twelve pages.

## PRESENTATION

In spite of technological advances and much investment in the 1880s and 1890s, the British newspapers of the nineteenth century consisted of 'solidly composed pages' with 'small uninformative headlines', as discussed, and they 'had a grey and static look about them' that had not varied in decades.<sup>49</sup> The century had seen extensive social and economic change but the pattern of the newspaper appeared 'frozen' in time. This is not unexpected for historically newspaper publishers were slow to adopt new methods. Barnhurst and Nerone, in a study of the newspaper's front page over a century from 1885 to 1985, argue that improved technology and economics did not bring about change, rather it was changes in design theory and news ideology that brought about the reappraisal of layout.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Harold Herd, *The March of Journalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952) pp.222-3.

<sup>50</sup> Kevin G. Barnhurst & John C. Nerone, 'Design Trends in U.S. Front Pages, 1885-1985', *Journalism Quarterly*, vol.68, no.4, Winter, 1991, pp.796-799.

Presentation improved minimally at the *PB Herald* in that more space was given to display advertising at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is the only sign of consideration within the newspaper for eye appeal. The printers used a traditional brass masthead: an open version of black-letter type, a particularly popular type-face in the larger size.<sup>51</sup> From August 1892 the newspaper's masthead was extended across the width of the page. This saw the small advertisements previously carried on either side eliminated. Two years later with volume XXI, issue no. 6959, (April 1894) the full-width masthead was enlarged and a slightly different type-face used. By this stage the old type face appeared worn and was not inking properly. The size increased from 2.3 cm to 3 cm, and a more elaborate open version of black-letter type was introduced. A full stop, not previously included, was added to the second masthead.<sup>52</sup> Copies of the mastheads are included as Appendix E.

This conservative masthead ran counter to some of the evening *PB Herald's* competitors, which vied with the older newspaper for notice. For example, three of the four mastheads for the morning newspapers, the *Telephone* and the *PB Independent*, were creative, the latter using a distinctly 'wild-west' touch. The *Telephone* began circumspectly with a simple sans serif type, probably Great Primer Grotesque.<sup>53</sup> By early 1884, however, the newspaper sported an elaborate 'modern' masthead: modern in the sense that it incorporated a rectangular telephone, book-ended by fancy corners, over which ran the newspaper's elaborate title in a semicircle. Produced by Wilsons & Horton of Auckland (see Appendix E), the masthead and its underlying line of daily details took up 9 cm, roughly 1 cm more than the *PB Independent*, and 2 cm more than the open version of the black-letter face run by the conservative *Standard* and the *PB Herald*.

The *PB Independent* ran a masthead of two lines. On the upper line, 'The Poverty Bay' appeared in a form of ornamented open face gothic, surrounded with flourishes. The word 'Independent' underneath was also in ornamented face. Within a month the masthead changed. To the modern eye it resembles the 'Wanted' wild-west posters now produced as tourist souvenirs; this is not surprising for the mail run to San Francisco connected New Zealand with America's west coast and, as Byrne asserts: 'New Zealand

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<sup>51</sup> K. Coleridge, (1996), p. 116.

<sup>52</sup> *PBH* 23 April 1894; 24 April 1894.

<sup>53</sup> K.I.D. Maslen *Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin, New Zealand*, (Melbourne: BSANZ, Occasional Publication no.2, 1981) p.12.



newspapers through much of the nineteenth century were more akin to contemporary newspapers of America's West than to those of its long-settled East'.<sup>54</sup> Again divided into two, the upper line of the *PB Independent*'s new masthead was in a simpler ornamented form. The previously ornamented 'Independent' underneath was in a bold condensed line of serif type, similar to, but not an exact match of, Egyptian.<sup>55</sup>

## HEADLINES

The newspapers allocated very little space to headlines. George Everett, writing in *Journalism Quarterly*, sees the development of the headline as one of the most fascinating in press history: 'one of those appealing phenomena of the past that we seem to chronicle more thoroughly than we explain'.<sup>56</sup>

In America new trends in headlines appeared around the 1860s to 1870s. The depth of headline increased there with the 'thirst for Civil War news',<sup>57</sup> but was long only employed in a single column. Everett suggests the widely-held view that the use of type on the revolving cylinder prohibited the use of multi-column headlines is not a sufficient explanation, for it was technically possible to run wider headlines, but with one line at a time. The single headline remained even when the pre-stereotype type-revolving machine was superseded and a second, probably greater factor Everett suggests, was that the commonly used brass column rule itself precluded double headlines, as it would be time-consuming and expensive to cut the costly rule. Everett's hypothesis is credible for single column headlines prevailed in the *PB Herald* in spite of a vastly improved press.

Even after a seven-year apprenticeship in Britain, the *British Printer* declared it was hard to be an all round printer. 'There was some ingenuity using brass rules now', said the journal, and mostly printers developed their specialities, such as 'brass rule, or straight word, or a good stone hand'.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Jeb Byrne, 'The Comparative Development of Newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the Nineteenth Century', *American Studies International* vol. XXXVII, no.1, 1999, p.57.

<sup>55</sup> Maslen (1981) p.32.

<sup>56</sup> George Everett, 'Printing Technology as a Barrier to Multi-Column Headlines, 1850-95', *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn 1976, (no vol. or no. given) p.528.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *British Printer* July-August 1888, vol.I, no.4, p.7.

Also, headlines took up space. The idea of marketing a newspaper to the public as an attractive production with clear signposting to guide the reader was foreign to the early newsmen. The competitive element was in speed of news rather than its display. As with the Civil War mentioned above, headlines in the *PB Herald* expanded in depth at the time of the Boer War.

Limited sector breaks were used from the outset within the *PB Herald*. Double line breaks were used, fairly arbitrarily, and once the telegraph delivered news under the double line break came the heading, 'Telegrams'. Smaller headings sometimes followed, for example:

**TELEGRAMS**

**THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR**

LONDON, August 26.

GREAT BATTLE

RUSSIAN GENERAL DORUSCHUISKY KILLED

On Friday 31 August 1877 that was the only telegraph news. The major message in this instance was the fact that the story arrived by telegraph; the secondary headlines were lengthy because conflict was newsworthy. More often than not, however, it was the originating source that was given the headline treatment in bold; in other words, PARIS or HOKITIKA would be eye catching, with no indication of what news emanated from that centre. In the edition quoted above a further double line prefaced

**Parliamentary Intelligence.**

[BY TELEGRAPH]

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

WELLINGTON, August 30.

Three prime messages are evident here: a generic pointer to what the column holds, the means by which the report was received and its source. The headline was more about the success of the newspaper as a modern medium rather than an indication of the report's contents.

Headlines in the *PB Herald* became stronger from the mid-eighties. Gradually the sectioning became systematic, as cable news was packaged under BRITISH & FOREIGN; AUSTRALIAN; and INTERPROVINCIAL. Any item of particular significance or particular titillation gained its own headline. By the end of the nineteenth century the *PB Herald* treated international news with considerable respect and allocated it more individual headlines.

The single column headlines varied only marginally in format in the *PB Herald* throughout the period of this study. Once the newspaper expanded, advertising was given more white space but not the headlines.

### ILLUSTRATION

Anything approaching an illustration was slow to appear in the *PB Herald*. The first attempt is a quintessential reflection of the times. The horse fasteners outside the Masonic Hotel and other ‘places of public resort’<sup>59</sup> had a sharp point and could damage a restless horse: Mr E.V. Luttrell of the Masonic Stables had a better idea, and a simple sketch gave an excellent illustration of his idea. Another simple sketch appeared in 1888 to explain the scene of a murder, but this was more a diagram than an illustration.<sup>60</sup> By comparison, the admittedly larger Wellington *Independent* newspaper produced a limited series of detailed engravings to illustrate what was happening in the Taranaki conflict with the Māori.<sup>61</sup> This was largely for the benefit of those at ‘home’ (the United Kingdom), but still demonstrated considerable news sense and strength in the comparatively early days of New Zealand’s press. This type of illustration never appeared within the pages of the *PB Herald* in the forty years under consideration.

The newspaper did publish a supplement in 1884 to incorporate a locally-produced map of the Kimberley gold district in South Africa; who printed the map is unknown, and unfortunately it was not archived.<sup>62</sup>

By 1914, therefore, the *PB Herald* enjoyed the facility of a vastly improved press, which enabled the business to expand to suit the growing needs of the district. Poverty Bay was a market place with international connections and well served by its local press, both the *PB Herald* and the *Gisborne Times*.

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<sup>59</sup> *PBH* 5 February 1878.

<sup>60</sup> *PBH* 10 December 1888.

<sup>61</sup> *Independent* 24 April 1860.

<sup>62</sup> *PBH* 12 June 1886.

## 9. CONCLUSION

Allan Ramsay Muir died in April 1914, before the conflagration of World War I began. He was seventy years of age. His life spanned an exceptional period in the development of the newspaper industry in New Zealand for he was born in Wellington in February 1845, just before his father and four other printers established the *Wellington Independent*, and when the news arrived by sailing ships, 'the arrival of every one of which at the infant capital was an event of great importance'.<sup>1</sup> His latter years saw not only the arrival of the news by telegraph or telephone, but transport improved by the motor car and newspaper production aided immeasurably by sophisticated presses. He bequeathed a fine provincial newspaper, the *PB Herald*, to his five sons, four of whom had extensive newspaper experience between them.

Muir arrived in Gisborne twelve years after the first newspaper, the *PB Standard*, began on 5 October 1872. For the last thirty years of his life, he presided over the *PB Herald*, first in partnership with Captain Thomas Chrisp for three years, then as sole proprietor, and finally as chairman of the private company he established in 1908.

Henry Edwin Webb, however, was the pioneer of the press in Poverty Bay, for it was he who began the *PB Standard*. Webb created a worthy weekly newspaper that expanded within two months to a bi-weekly. The *PB Standard* became tri-weekly from January 1874, when the bi-weekly *PB Herald* began. As can be seen from the operational details given in tabular form for the *PB Standard* and the *PB Herald* in chapter 2, and again as Appendix B, the pioneering newspaper changed its production schedule frequently, whereas the *PB Herald* became, and remained, a daily newspaper from September 1878.

Luck and influential friends helped the *PB Herald* overcome the difficulties that beset both newspapers during their early days. Webb was particularly unlucky, with two major setbacks to his newspaper: first the death of his eldest son, Charles Henry, in April 1875, and second a fire that left the newspaper with almost no plant. As discussed in chapter 2, Webb's two sons served a 'probation'<sup>2</sup> at the *Southern Cross* in Auckland and he relied

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<sup>1</sup> *PBH* 10 March 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *PB Standard* 28 April 1875.

heavily upon Charles Henry and Henry Edwin junior, as labour in the frontier town was unreliable. For months Charles Henry set the type and operated the heavy Eagle press with assistance from his younger brother only, so his death at the age of seventeen was a great personal and professional loss.<sup>3</sup>

The second severe blow came in November 1877 when the *PB Standard's* premises were caught in Gisborne's first major fire. Webb lost his main press and much of his equipment, and the *PB Herald*, which had also suffered some disruption but did not lose its press, was unhelpful.<sup>4</sup> It was fifteen days before the *PB Standard* reappeared.

The *PB Herald*, begun in January 1874 by a group from Hawkes Bay to the south, had a number of proprietors during its early years. Allegations that it was backed by a group of runholders anxious to extend their influence arose from the outset and, in spite of considerable protestations, the charges continued into 1883, when William Macintosh Muir purchased a half share in the business.<sup>5</sup> No evidence has been found to confirm the *PB Standard's* claim that the newspaper was established with the Superintendent of Hawkes Bay as its patron, and that the 'clique' he was part of intended to annex Poverty Bay to Hawkes Bay, but there is evidence that the *PB Herald* did benefit from the support of influential members of the community, especially in the early years. This is explored in chapters 2 and 3. The *PB Standard*, on the other hand, enjoyed financial support from Gisborne's most influential businessman, Captain George Read, but Webb fell out with Read over a small contra deal; Read sued for the debt within two days.<sup>6</sup> Captain Read, who made his money from trade rather than land or pastoral activities, died early in 1878. His estate held a substantial mortgage over the *Standard* at the time it first folded in late 1879.<sup>7</sup>

It appears, therefore, that in spite of a regular change of ownership and considerable struggle in its first decade, the *PB Herald* managed to survive the depressed years of the late 1870s and produce a daily newspaper because of useful contacts, modest financial backing and luck.

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<sup>3</sup> *PB Standard* 28 April 1875.

<sup>4</sup> *PBH* 4 December 1877.

<sup>5</sup> *PB Standard* 29 January 1874; 19 March 1874; 10 March 1883; *Telephone* 27 October 1883.

<sup>6</sup> *Standard* 9 September 1876.

<sup>7</sup> for mortgage see *PBH* 26 November 1879.

If each reincarnation of the *PB Standard* is considered as a rebirth, the district saw exceptional newspaper activity during the period from the end of 1872 to the late 1890s. Ten English-speaking newspapers either began or rebadged themselves. Many, however, were short-lived or established for a specific market, such as *Facts*, a political weekly that appeared from July to September 1883. Four Māori newspapers were also published in the district during that period. The latter are discussed within chapters 2 and 3, but are not included within the analysis of why the *PB Herald* managed to outrun its various competitors. The market stabilized from the late 1890s, with the closure of the second *Telephone* and the emergence in its stead of the *Gisborne Times* in January 1901. Two further publications appeared briefly in Poverty Bay: the *Waiapu Advocate* in 1902 and a weekly, the *New Era*, in 1911.

Many men and one woman enjoyed a brief period as proprietor, or part proprietor of a newspaper, but the three main protagonists in Poverty Bay's newspaper world were Henry Edwin Webb, Allan Ramsay Muir and John Baldwin of the *PB Independent* (March 1885-August 1888). All three were supported by their families: Henry Edwin Webb was succeeded by his second son, Henry Edwin Webb junior (in partnership with printer John Mogridge). Their tenure lasted from October 1881 to April 1883. Two months later Charles Henry Collins Webb, almost certainly Webb senior's nephew, took over the defunct *PB Standard*. In spite of a concerted effort to deliver an improved service he made little headway and the first *PB Standard* finally disappeared with its closure in October 1883.

John Baldwin's *PB Independent* was printed on the press formerly used by the *Telephone*, the *PB Standard*'s successor. Baldwin did not own the press, as we have seen, but he did have the backing of Edmund P. Joyce, who was prominent in local politics.<sup>8</sup> The pressures of business overwhelmed Baldwin and, as his health deteriorated, his wife assisted him as compositor. Flora Baldwin's name appeared on the colophon from July 1886.

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<sup>8</sup> J.A. McKay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. MacKay, 1982) pp.201-2.

Most of Poverty Bay's other newspaper proprietors, and there were a number who owned newspapers for a very short time, were businessmen with no training in the craft of printing or the art of journalism. Experience or training did not always help; for example, the well-credentialed Samuel Craig left the *PB Herald* with considerable financial loss after seven months.<sup>9</sup>

The second contention of this thesis, that it was the solidarity of one family that enabled the *PB Herald* to gain an increasing lead in the market place, does not explain why, however hard the Webb family tried, they could not make headway against the conditions and their competitor. Certainly Allan R. Muir did not settle in Poverty Bay until the Webb family had departed from the newspaper scene and the general business climate had improved. Family stability and solidarity then, while important, must be qualified as the principal reason for success, given the part played by extraneous factors.

In the case of the Muir family, fortune – and no doubt the law – was on Allan R. Muir's side, for he and his partner, Thomas Chrisp, faced five court actions in the years 1886 and 1887. Chrisp left the partnership in July 1887, after judgment was found for the defendants in the most serious charge for £5,000 in a libel case filed by solicitor Willoughby Brassey, and heard in the Supreme Court. Muir alone faced a second writ for the same amount from Brassey and three further charges: a writ for libel for £300 (1887), a further claim for libel for £1,500 and a claim for wrongful dismissal (both in 1894).<sup>10</sup> As indicated, these cases were taxing emotionally and financially but, fortunately for Muir, he avoided any serious payout that would have damaged his ability to finance and manage a newspaper business.

Of course, family participation in the newspaper industry was not unusual. Reference is made within this study to Australian Rod Kirkpatrick, who has written about various family connections in the press of Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia,<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *PBH* 12 January 1881; *PB Standard* 24 November 1881.

<sup>10</sup> Full details are given in chapter 3.

<sup>11</sup> Rod Kirkpatrick, 'Dynamism or Dullness?' *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol.23, no.4, 1999; Rod Kirkpatrick, R. Country Conscience: *A History of the NSW Provincial Press 1841-1990* (Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing Pty. Ltd, 2000).

and Michael Hamlyn, who has recorded the role of the Hornblow family from the Wairapapa district in New Zealand's North Island.<sup>12</sup>

The Muir family thread is an important element of this thesis about the pioneering press of Poverty Bay, but this is not a family history. Great emphasis has been placed on technical detail, working conditions, infrastructure and the social context in which the news was received and presented. All the newspapers of the district are included, with particular detail accorded the *PB Herald*, some analysis of the *PB Standard*, within the limitation of its incomplete archive, the first *Telephone* and the *PB Independent*. From the time the *Gisborne Times* appeared in January 1901, both newspapers were scanned more for layout, advertising and, in the case of the *Gisborne Times*, changes in publisher, than content. The thesis therefore analyses the press of a particular region, in this case Poverty Bay, from the 1870s to the early twentieth century. The newspapers are not examined in isolation, but within the milieu of their time.

Poverty Bay's newspaper history begins in the 1870s which, as observed, was late in New Zealand's press story. For three decades journalistic expansion in the country had taken place somewhat erratically and, as new areas opened up, there was usually an optimist with modest resources poised to begin a newspaper in each new township. The path was much the same as that found in Poverty Bay: struggle, frequent failure and the occasional newspaper that survived. The pattern continued as further areas were opened up and hopeful journalists moved to establish themselves quickly. Gradually, however, the climate changed as the hand press and the flat-bed Wharfedale press were superseded by ever more sophisticated machines, costs for wages and newsprint increased, and the expense of establishing a newspaper became prohibitive for all but a few. Guy Scholefield concludes that the period from roughly 1870 to 1920 was a 'golden age' for the 'gallant pioneers'.<sup>13</sup>

Comparisons may be made with settlement in North America, where again newspapers were among the first institutions established as settlers moved across the continent from east to west. Differences abound in that the telegraph began in North America in the

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<sup>12</sup> Michael Hamlyn, "Reared on Printer's Ink": John K. Hornblow and the *Manawatu Herald*, *BSANZ Bulletin*, vol. 24, no.3, 2000, pp.192-201.

<sup>13</sup> G. H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand*, (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958) p.17.



1840s and technological advances in newspaper publishing took hold earlier, but once again the newspaper marched in time with settlement. Logan U. Reavis, writing in 1867, recorded that the pioneer with his axe and hoe was being overtaken by the plow. The community too was speeding up and ‘instead of the school-house, the church, and the printing office, being, as of old, the products of half a generation, they now take their places among the institutions of advancing civilization in a month and a year’.<sup>14</sup>

As observed, the *PB Herald* was a leading institution within its community. By the early twentieth century, in particular, it projected a modern face. This was not restricted to its community or to its country, for its choice of press put it in the forefront of the provincial press of Australasia. One of its printers too had competed successfully on the British stage, as has been seen. The newspaper’s content and presentation also reflected a close connection with developments in the industry – this is not surprising for Allan R. travelled to the Pacific Islands and later to Great Britain and France, two of his sons, Lennie and Stanley, served a term in the parliamentary press gallery in Wellington, and Stanley travelled to Europe. After the period of this thesis, Lennie Muir became involved in national press affairs.

The *PB Herald*, therefore, was in what appeared to be an unassailable position by the turn of the twentieth century. Allan R. Muir had approximately fifty years’ experience and his elder son, Lennie, had occupied the editor’s chair most ably since 1896. Its competitor from 1900, the *Gisborne Times*, supported the Liberal philosophy, whereas the *PB Herald* leaned to the conservative side of politics, but both newspapers were moderate in their political stance. The newspapers ran alongside each other, one morning and the other evening, for thirty-eight years. The Depression of the 1930s hastened the inevitable closure of one newspaper and, as mentioned, the *Gisborne Times* ceased in 1938. Neither newspaper was particularly threatened by competition from outside the district, as Poverty Bay remained difficult to access until well into the twentieth century. Port town though it was, Gisborne was not on the way to anywhere, and logistics meant that it was chiefly weekly journals that were imported.

Importantly, it must be acknowledged that though this thesis explores the provincial press of Poverty Bay in detail, one aspect that is not studied in great detail is the Māori press of

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<sup>14</sup> David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) p.98.

the area. As mentioned in the introduction, Poverty Bay was a region where the two races were 'more nearly in balance than is the case in most other parts of New Zealand'.<sup>15</sup> However, neither of the two main journals, *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* and *Te Pipiwharau He Kupu Whakamarama*, began in Gisborne. Moreover, to study the Māori press in detail requires a good knowledge of the language. Such a study would give a further dimension to the handling and choice of news in nineteenth-century New Zealand, and contribute to the literature of other nations with an indigenous culture, such as North America.

Members of the Muir family have guided the *PB Herald* for one hundred and twenty years. During that time the newspaper has kept its readers in touch with their community. It has also opened the world to that community, with continual reflection on developments at a national and international level. It is through institutions such as a viable newspaper that a community can learn, develop and grow. Importantly, the Muir family has earned and maintained respect both from its local constituents and from the national press family.

The news media of Poverty Bay and the Muir family were, and remain, firmly intertwined. The Muir family is also firmly entwined with the history of the press in New Zealand because it holds a unique position in that James Muir 'pulled the first damp sheet'<sup>16</sup> from the first press to produce a newspaper in New Zealand. Members of this low-key dynasty have also taken their place on the national press stage from time to time, but that is another story. As a member of the Muir family, it is important that the writer leaves the final word to an unbiased outsider, Guy Scholefield, who documented Allan R. Muir's purchase and said: 'The family thereafter devoted themselves to developing the Herald, which became one of the soundest papers in New Zealand'.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> W.H. Oliver, *Challenge and Response* (Gisborne: The East Coast Development Research Association, 1971) p.4.

<sup>16</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 25 November 1865.

<sup>17</sup> Scholefield (1958), p.153.

## APPENDIX A: Ownership and management details

### *Summary of ownership and management details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Manager</i>
5.1.1874	Messrs Dinwiddie, Morrison, Carlile & Grigg	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	A.C. Pratt
19.11.1875	Frederick Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur
14.9.1877	Poverty Bay Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur	F. Dufaur
15.1.1878	“ “		William Ratcliffe	W. Ratcliffe (co. secretary)
9.5.1878	“ “		Frederick Humphries	F. Humphries
11.12.1878	“ “		James Browne	J. Browne
19.7.1879	(thanks recorded to personnel at shareholders' meeting this date)	Herbert J. Bushnell (overseer)	J. Browne	J. Browne Henry McKay (co. secretary)
25.2.1880	By mortgage to seven shareholders		J. Browne	J. Browne H.McKay
2.4.1880	“ “		A. Beveridge (also agent for distribution)	
11.1.1881	Samuel Pullman Craig		S. Craig	S. Craig
20.5.1882	Frederick Dufaur & Thomas Chrisp*	H. McKay	H. McKay	
11.9.1882	“ “	H.J. Bushnell	H.J. Bushnell	H.J. Bushnell
20.2.1884	Thomas Chrisp & William M. Muir	“ “	Chrisp & Muir	

\*Colophon said published by H. McKay for the Proprietor, Frederick Dufaur. Deed of Assignment and the accompanying Affidavit, 20 May 1882, both gave the transfer as Craig to Chrisp & Dufaur (documents held at *Gisborne Herald* office)

**APPENDIX B: Operational details – PB Herald, PB Standard,  
Telephone**

**POVERTY BAY HERALD**

**Price and production details**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of Publication</i>
5.1.1874	3d 6/- per quarter	Bi-weekly: Monday and Thursday mornings (masthead – open version of black-letter type)
2.4.1874		Name change: <b><i>Poverty Bay Herald and East Coast Newsletter</i></b>
1.1.1875		Bi-weekly: Tuesday and Friday
3.5.1878	3d 7/6 per quarter	Tri-weekly: Monday, Wednesday and Friday
9.9.1878	1d 8/6 per quarter	Daily: Saturday excepted
19.10.1878		Daily: Evening publication, including Saturday
2.12.1878	Town delivery: 6/6 prepaid; 7/6 booked Country: 7/6 prepaid; 8/6 booked	
21.1.1879		Twice daily: Newspaper appeared morning and evening until at least 17.10.79 Running head became the <i>Evening Herald</i> , and presumably <i>Morning Herald</i> (the file copies are from the second edition)
16.12.1879		Daily: When the <i>PBH</i> reverted to once daily is unknown – running head remains the <i>Evening Herald</i>
31.3.1880	Town subscribers requested to pay weekly – 6d for six deliveries	
28.10. 1883		Name reverted to: <b><i>Poverty Bay Herald</i></b>

**POVERTY BAY STANDARD**

*Price, production and ownership details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of publication</i>
5.10.1872	6d 21/- p.a. (7/- p.a. postage)	Weekly: Saturday morning (masthead – simple with serif)
1.1.1873	3d or 3 for 6d (mentioned once and not repeated for sometime) 6/- per quarter 7/6 with postage 21/- p.a. 26/- with postage	Bi-weekly: Wednesday and Saturday (masthead – curved, in an open version of black-letter type)
6.12.1873	3d.	(masthead – straight, open version of black-letter type)
10.1.1874	3 for 6d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday
23.4.1874		Incorporated the <i>People's Advocate</i> <b>Standard and People's Advocate</b>
30.4.1874	3d	Bi-weekly: Wednesday and Saturday
2 5.1874	5/- per quarter (payable in advance)	Format enlarged and price reduced
1.7.1874	Reduced advertising rates and subscriptions	
		No microfilm records for 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880. Almost no records available for this period.
By at least 6.5.1878	3d	<b>Poverty Bay Standard</b> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday (masthead on one edition available 1.3.1879 – closed black-letter type with version of a British flag in the centre)
12.11.1879		Publication ceased after meeting of creditors
April 1880		<b>Poverty Bay Standard</b> Proprietor: Henry Edwin Webb
January 1881	3d	<b>Standard</b> Bi-weekly (8 pages): Wednesday and Saturday (masthead – simple woodblock prepared in house) Proprietor: Henry Edwin Webb
6.4.1881	3d	<b>Poverty Bay Standard</b> Bi-weekly (4 pages + 2 supplementary) Wednesday and Saturday (new masthead – again prepared in-house; the masthead is compressed with words 'The Poverty Bay' are above 'Standard' – advertising runs either side)

25.10.1881	2d 6/- per quarter 7/- if booked	<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly (4 + 1 pages – 7 columns): Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Proprietors: Henry Edwin Webb (jnr) and John Mogridge (new masthead – again, simple woodblock)
1.11.1881	2d.	<b><i>Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly (4 pages): Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday (masthead – remains simple woodblock assembled in-house with the P.B. taken out)
15.11.1881		<b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> (new masthead – open version of black letter type)
24.7.1882	1d	Daily evening publication
13.3.1883	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
21.4.1883		Ceased publication (Webb & Mogridge continued jobbing section)
19.4.1883		Business suspended
7.6.1883		Reinstated as the <b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Proprietor: Charles Henry Collins Webb (masthead – closed black-letter type)
25.10.1883		Ceased as the <b><i>Poverty Bay Standard</i></b>

## *THE TELEPHONE*

### *Price, production and ownership details*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Day of publication</i>
27.10.1883	2d	A name change from the <i>Poverty Bay Standard</i> to the <i>Telephone</i> Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings Proprietors: Capt. Thomas Porter and Alfred William Croft Publisher: John Mogridge (masthead – simple sans serif)
1.1.84	1d	Daily – morning (elaborate masthead made by Wilsons & Horton – the ‘s’ in Wilson is correct)
6.3.84	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
1.4.84	1d	Daily - evening
28.7.84		Proprietor: John Mogridge
15.10.84		Proprietor: John Fisher
15.12.84	2d	Tri-weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings
30.12.84		Ceased publication

## APPENDIX C: Editors

William Warrand Carlile	5.1.1874 – 25.11.1875
Frederick Dufaur	25.11.1875 – 14.12.1877
Frederick Humphries	14.12.1877 – 9.12.1878
James ‘Snyder’ Browne	11.12.1878 – April 1881
Samuel Craig	April 1881 – November 1881
Henry McKay	November 1881 – late 1882
George Adams	1883 – December 1887
Patrick Galvin	in <i>locum tenens</i> for Adams in 1884 and maybe 1883
<i>Charles Wilson</i>	<i>uncertain, but one or other may have filled</i>
<i>Morgan Morris*</i>	<i>in 1885 and 1887</i>
Walter Leslie	in <i>locum tenens</i> for Adams 1886
Hugh Charles Thompson	in <i>locum tenens</i> for Adams 3 October 1887
	Permanent position end December 1887 – 14 March 1894
W.D. Lusty	1894
L.W. Parsons	1895 - early 1896
A.L. Muir	May 1896 – 1935

The dates and names in italics are subject to conjecture, but are based on reasonable evidence.

\* Morris is given as an editor in McKay’s notes (ATL, MS-1006-48) and in the Muir family papers (untitled history of journalism in Poverty Bay written between 1914 and 1935). He began the short-lived *Newton Echo*, ‘a miserably printed and edited weekly sheet’ in Auckland around 1886 (*Typo* 29 November 1890, pp.133-4).



## **APPENDIX D: Examples from *Poverty Bay Herald***

PROFIT AND LOSS – FEBRUARY 1886

VALUATION OF THE POVERTY BAY HERALD NEWSPAPER PROPERTY – 27 JULY 1887

MEMO FROM A.R. MUIR TO T. C. CHRISP – 27 JULY 1887

MARKED COPY (EDITORIAL)

MARKED COPIES (ADVERTISING) – 14 AUGUST 1878; 29 JANUARY 1880; 4 FEBRUARY 1880; 15 MAY 1880.

EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS – 19 JANUARY 1880 (FIRST DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENT); 4 FEBRUARY 1880; 7 NOVEMBER 1882 (FIRST LOCAL DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENT); 22 JANUARY 1895 (LONGEST RUNNING ADVERTISEMENT); 31 MAY 1895; 28 MARCH 1900; 1 NOVEMBER 1907 (BLEEDING AROUND THE EDGES).

EXAMPLES OF FLYERS – 28 AUGUST 1882; 17 JULY 1891.

EXAMPLES OF JOB PRINTING – INCLUDES MEMORANDUM HEADING PRINTED FOR THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* BY LYON & BLAIR; ALL OTHER EXAMPLES OF WORK UNDERTAKEN BY THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD*.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities of "The Poverty Bay Evening Herald" newspaper business for the year ending February 1886

Balance				
By Balance in hand on 1st January		00		
• Book debts, ledger balances after allowing all bad & doubtful and deducting £105. 17. 0 as discount		1200		
" Stock of Stationery		100		
" Plant		1100		
• Good will of business lease which has been renewed for 5 years after expiration of present lease ending 31 <sup>st</sup> Decr 1886		700		
• Subscription to Press Association		50		3180
<b>Liabilities</b>				
To Common Stock of		10	10	
Edwin Ronald			8. 15	
• Capital of Telegraph			2. 15	
• Dividend on Gisborne			10	
• Balance assets over liabilities		3181		3181
<b>Capital etc.</b>				
To Allan Ramsay clear capital withdrawn by amounts withdrawn from 1000		1100		
		000		1100
To Thomas Chrup capital (interest 1 year) withdrawn by amounts with drawn		1100		
		000		1100
Total capital in concern				£1600



Valuation  
of the Poverty Bay Herald Newspaper property

On the 20<sup>th</sup> Feb'y 84 Mr. J. Dufaur's half share was sold for £4050, which gives the value of a full share £8100.0.0  
 From Feb'y 84 to Feb'y 85 fresh plant was added to the value of 200.0.0  
 And liabilities paid off amounting to 173.0.0  
 Making the value on 20<sup>th</sup> Feb'y 85, when Mr. Wm. Anni declined to exercise his right to purchase Captain Crisp's half share at £400. }  
2473.0.0

To arrive at the present value allow as under:-

Depreciation of plant from Feb'y 84 }  
 3 1/2 years, say 25% on £800, } 250.0.0  
 Estimated liability on account of }  
 of Libel actions } 150.0.0

400.0.0  
2073.0.0

To which must be added the increase in amount of Book Debts since Feb'y 84 -

Amount at this date is 1551.15.6  
 and in June 83 was 1166.11.9  
 384.18.9

Less 40% of balance 64.15.9 315.3.0

Liabilities in June 83 were 145.0.0  
 Less at present time 31.15.0

Total value £ 2531.8.0

Any difference in amount of Book Debts and liabilities on

The respective dates mentioned would alter these figures, but as I have the amounts in June '83 and at the present time, the result arrived at would probably be not much altered. The only other consideration that would affect the result is any difference in value of the Goodwill.

The remaining figures supplied refer to present values only, and are -

Machinery & Plant as per schedule		823. 2. 10
Book debts as per list	1551. 15. 6	
Less 15%	<u>232. 15. 3</u>	
		1319. 0. 3

Contents of offices (figures not supplied)		
	but say	<u>75. 0. 0</u>
		2217. 3. 1

Less Liabilities	31. 15. 0	
" do per de of Law Suits	<u>150. 0. 0</u>	
		<u>181. 15. 0</u>
Making the value exclusive of Goodwill		<u>2035. 8. 1</u>

The Balance Sheet of June '83 shows a balance of profit for the previous 12 months (since the purchase from Mr. Craig in May '82) at the rate of £800 per annum.

In 1884 (probably part of a year only) profits amounting to £573, appear to have been made and sunk in the business; and in 1885 & 1886 the profits were at the rate of £500 per annum. I cannot well say what comparative weight should be given to these estimates of profit, but so far as they go they do not point to increasing profits; and the fact that

in the district generally business prospects are worse and money scarcer than hitherto, and also that a strong opposition paper has started will tend to decrease future profits.

A saving of expense will be made by Mr. Mauri combining Captain Crisp's duties with his own, but extra expense will be incurred in the employment of a writer, and other increased expenses are anticipated; and these considerations, that the expense on the whole will not be lessened, counterbalance the idea that any saving of part of Captain Crisp's salary should be capitalised.

On the other hand it can be said that to a certain extent the expenses just mentioned would have to be incurred even if Captain Crisp remained, and also that the paper is more firmly established as the leading journal in the district than in former years; but considering all the circumstances and especially the establishment of other newspapers, the existing depression, and the reduced value of property of all descriptions in the colony, I am of opinion that the goodwill at the present time is not of much more value than when in Feb'y 85 Mr. Wm. Mauri declined to purchase a half share at £1200. And I state my present valuation of an equal half share of the property at the sum of One thousand Three hundred pounds.

Wm. Coleman

ibove  
27 July 1887

Gisborne, 27 July 1887

Memo. from Chrisp J Muir.

To

be hereby agreed & decided by the award  
of Mr Jno Coleman as to the price  
Mr AR Muir has to pay and I Chas  
receive for all his interest in the  
Poverty Bay Herald: A. R. Muir paying  
the sum named and relieving  
the said I Chas of all liabilities  
present or future in connection  
with the paper

Witness  
A. R. Muir

Amount of award  
£1300

Port of Poverty Bay. HIGH WATER. A.M. P.M. 29 1.33 3.13 30 2.03 3.19 31 2.43 4.5

ARRIVALS. MAY. The Rotora, Captain Tozer, from the ... The Anau, Carey, from the South.

DEPARTURES. MAY. The Rotora, Tozer, for Southern ... The Anau, Carey, for Auckland.

IMPORTS. 10 pkgs, 10 colls, 5 boxes, 1 case, 1 ... 13 pkgs, 9 cases, 42 ... 10 boxes tobacco, Graham, Pitt &

COMMERCIAL. The New Zealand Loan and Mercantile ... received from the London ... produce telegram under date

MAIL NOTICE. The following: Wellington, and South; also the Aus- ... per Te Anau, on Friday, June

Advertisements. Land Loan and Mercantile Agency Company. Queen Victoria Street, House, London, E.C. £3,000,000. £170,000. MAKES ADVANCES on the Stations and on the Wool, Grain, Tallow, Skins, Horns, Preserved Cotton, Kauri Gum, &c., for Shipment to any American, or English prepared to EXCHANGE London, £25 per ... are in hand, or are draft at usance; and 5 not in funds, or in pos- 25 per cent. of the cost ACTS AS AGENT—Town Boards, Boards, and Companies re- execution of contracts, and Runholders, the financial manage- their properties during

Special Advertisements. G. JOHNSTONE [L. G. DIREY] JOHNSTONE & DIREY, LAND, STOCK, STATION AND GENERAL COMMISSION AGENTS. The business and interest of Country Clients carefully attended to. The sale and purchase of Hotel Properties negotiated on favorable terms. Circulars issued to our various correspondents in New Zealand and Australia, as occasion requires. Office:—Lowe street. 810

The Poverty Bay Herald AND East Coast News Letter.

PUBLISHED EVERY EVENING. GISBORNE: MONDAY, MAY 29, 1882.

In giving his decision on the charge brought by the police against the landlord of the Argyll Hotel, our worthy Resident Magistrate laid down very clearly his interpretation of the 146th clause of the Licensing Act. Mr. Price pointed out that before a breach of the law could be sheeted home it was incumbent on the prosecution to prove that the man accused of drunkenness had obtained the drink on the premises of the licensee charged with the offence; further, that such licensee must also be shown to have been cognisant of the fact. Most people will heartily endorse Mr. PRICE'S interpretation of this section of the Act, as being the only common sense and equitable one, but the concluding words of his remarks on the case are certainly open to question. The R.M. says, on the one hand, that it was incumbent on the police to show that the person charged with drunkenness had obtained the intoxicating drink on the premises of the licensee charged with a breach of the 146th section of the Act, and it is difficult to discover any other interpretation of the clause in question. It would be monstrous to suppose that the licensee of a respectable, well-conducted hotel, was liable at any moment to fine or other punishment merely because some untried individual, who had been invited to excess elsewhere, happened to stagger into his house and become noisy and disorderly. No sane person could imagine for a moment that the Licensing Act, one-sided and defective as it undoubtedly is, could contain such a vexatious, arbitrary provision. Hotelkeepers contribute as largely to the revenue as any other section of business people and as prominent taxpayers they are assuredly entitled to that protection accorded by law to their fellow citizens. But, if such be the case, how can Mr. PRICE be justified in concluding his remarks by stating that he considered the police had acted rightly in laying the charge against Mr. DICKSON—in other words, that it is the correct thing for Sergeant BULLEN to drag a respectable citizen into Court, and to charge him with a serious offence with no proof at hand in support of the charge. Surely this is a hap-hazard random mode of procedure. Would it not have been more prudent and seemly in every way to have enquired into the matter before instituting proceedings? If the man HAYES had become intoxicated on the Argyll premises, Mr. DICKSON would clearly have been guilty of a breach of the Act. It would have been a very simple matter to have discovered something regarding the pros and cons of the affair at the outset, instead of bringing a lame case into Court, which falls through from utter absence of proof. It would be well if the police were to exercise a little more judgment in such cases.

At the Resident Magistrate's Court this morning, before Judge Price, Resident Magistrate John Dickson was brought up on remand from the 27th, when he was charged with larceny and ordered for medical treatment. The accused did not appear to be much better, and was remanded by the Magistrate until Monday next.

Mr Birch, the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Napier, has received instructions to adjourn the sittings of the Court from the 12th of June to the 13th on which day all prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, must attend. His Honor Mr Justice Gillies will preside at the sittings.

Master W. W. K. McLean has just ridden through from Napier via the Wairoa, bringing with him two celebrated pointers, one of them being a prize-taker for three consecutive years at the Hawke's Bay A. and P. Society's shows, and the other being a prize-bred Arab mare, brought to the colony by Sir George Grey from the Cape. He reports the road in very fair order. The contractors are progressing favorably with the work, and our informant is of opinion that in a few months there will be no difficulty in driving a buggy through to Wairoa. McLean made the distance from Wairoa to Gisborne in twelve hours.

A committee of the congregation of the Holy Trinity Church have been preparing the report which is to be placed early in the month of June next. The purpose for which the bazaar is to be held is for the augmentation of the Church Stipend Fund. The Committee have been working very hard, in order to render the gathering a thorough success. The ladies comprising the Committee call for contributions from friends of all suitable articles for bazaar purposes in the shape of fancy needle work, books, pictures, &c. They also desire to obtain material wherewith to make up articles for the bazaar, and donations in the form of specie will not be refused, but very gratefully accepted. We wish the ladies who have taken such an amount of interest in this matter every success, and trust that the laudable object desired to be attained will be of such a nature as to meet their greatest expectations. Due notice of the date of the bazaar will be given.

There are (says an Auckland paper) great complaints with regard to the management of the Roturua township. It is said to be simply an establishment for wealthy people. The resident physician has £400 a year, a free house, and a considerable establishment at command, including the best bath for everyone who enters his establishment he is entitled to charge £1 per diem. There are several poor men at Ohinemutu who have been enabled to go there by subscriptions raised amongst acquaintances, and for whom visitors are frequently solicited for subscriptions, but the resident physician placed there by the Government has nothing to do with them, and is not required to give them medical aid.

It is asserted by a Southern contemporary that the frozen-meat industry of the Australasian Colonies is threatened with a powerful competitor, in the shape of the new Direct American Fresh Meat Company which has just been formed in Great Britain for the purpose of importing fresh meat in carcase, from direct sources of supply on the American seaboard and elsewhere, to the United Kingdom. The promoters allege that the American supply is practically inexhaustible, and that it can be laid down in England, by means of the cold dry air process, in as prime condition as regards quality, freshness, flavor, and appearance, as on the day it was killed. Special attention is directed to the fact that the meat is not frozen, as is the case with the meat from the Australasian Colonies, and it is calculated that it can be sold in London at a profit for 33d per pound. Australia and New Zealand will have to look to it. A few more shipments such as those recently received in London would ruin the trade for ever, even without the menaced American competition.

As will be seen by advertisement in another column, Mr. D. M. Orr has been appointed agent for the North British and Mercantile Fire Insurance Company in this district. The North British takes risks at lowest current rates, and is one of the wealthiest of Insurance Companies. We congratulate the Company on their choice of an agent, and feel assured that its interests will be well attended to by Mr. Orr, who has had considerable experience in this line of business.

CABLE NEWS. LONDON. May 26. In the House of Commons last night the Irish Repression Bill was read a second time, and the House went into Committee on the Bill. In the course of the debate which ensued, Mr. Parnell referred to the statement made by Mr. Dillon the previous night, that as evictions were continuing in Ireland he must refuse to denounce the commission of outrages against landlords. Mr. Parnell considerably modified Dillon's remarks,

AUSTRIAN. SATURDAY. The Victoria Government have offered a reward of £200 for information leading to the discovery of the perpetrators of the late explosion at Praliraz on the 27th instant.

TELEGRAMS. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENTS.) NAPIER. This Day. Mrs. Fuzard, wife of the landlord of the Masonic Hotel, was found dead in her bed on Saturday morning. She had been suffering from abscess on the liver, but was apparently well the night before. The funeral was held yesterday and was largely attended.

WELLINGTON. This Day. The principal topic of conversation in the lobbies of the House since Friday night has been Sir George Grey's speech of that evening approving of Mr. Bryce's West Coast Native policy. All sorts of conjectures have been hazarded as to its meaning, but the general opinion is that whatever the motive of the speech was, it was the most sensible one Sir George Grey has delivered for a long while. It is expected that Sir Julius Vogel will arrive in Wellington before the end of the session. The Eight Hours' Bill brought in by Mr. Green, member for Dunedin, provides that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work, or 48 hours a legal week, and that all hours in excess be calculated as overtime and paid for at ordinary rates or such other rate as may be agreed upon between employers and employed. The exceptions are for domestic servants, persons employed in dairies, and persons whose avocations occupy a less number of hours than eight per day. The examiners of the Christchurch Law Society have awarded Mr. Andrews, of Nelson, the Society's gold medal for the best set of law papers presented by articled clerks at the March examination, and they have also awarded to Mr. Stulling, of Palmerston, and Mr. Milton, of Christchurch, certificates of merit for excellence of work. The sum of £900 has been subscribed here in aid of the Tamaru disaster fund. This includes the subscription of five guineas from each of the members of the Government.

AUCKLAND. This Day. Endeavors are being made to float a Sperm Candles Company. The son of Daniel Calley, of Pukerimu, was horribly gored by a boar on Saturday. The boy had both legs ripped almost from the knee to the top of the thigh, and his bowels were completely ripped open. A petition to Parliament bearing 1,150 signatures will be taken to Wellington by Mr. Tule, M.H.R., asking for the use of Government House for University education purposes. H.M.S. Nelson arrived from Sydney yesterday. H.M.S. Cornwallot left for England last evening. The rifle match on Saturday between the D Battery Artillery and City Rifles resulted in a victory for the former corps by 16 points. In consequence of the success of the shooting of the Artillery in their matches against local corps and others throughout the Colony, the members of the Battery decided to invite the team to a dinner to be held next week.

NELSON. This Day. A young man named John Midgely, 18 years of age, was shot through the head at Foxhall on Saturday, and was killed instantaneously. His death is believed to be the result of an accident.

GREYMOUTH. This Day. Considerable excitement was occasioned here on Saturday by a rich strike of stone in Keep-it-Dark reef. It is estimated that four bags of stone which were obtained contain from two to three hundred ounces of gold. The specimens are richer than anything ever seen on this field before.

CHRISTCHURCH. This Day. An impression has got abroad that the Exhibition is to be kept open for six months, which is incorrect. The

COMPLIMENTARY BANQUET TO JUDGES BROOKFIELD AND PUCKEY.

The complimentary dinner given to their Honors Judges Brookfield and Puckey, by the citizens of Gisborne, was held at the Masonic Hotel on Saturday night. Punctually to the time appointed, 9 p.m., the guests and those who joined in doing them this honor assumed their places at the table, the company in all numbering fifty, among whom were the representatives of all the professions, commercial men, and the principal settlers of the district. It was the largest and most representative assembly which has met in Gisborne for an occasion of this kind. His Worship the Mayor, (Mr. C. D. Bennett), occupied the chair, with Judge Puckey on his right and Judge Brookfield on the left. Messrs. A. Graham and W. L. Rees acted as crumpets. The tables were elegantly laid, and the arrangements were in every respect perfect, the dinner being served in Host Page's well known, and creditable style. The whole of the dispositions were under the personal direction and supervision of the proprietor, who evidently is a master hand at his work. As will be seen the menu was most appetizing, and the company being most agreeable, everything from first to last passed off in a pleasant manner. Without exception all expressed themselves as highly gratified with the proceedings.

The following is the menu of the dinner:— Soups.—Julienne, Oyster. Fish.—Flounders Au Gratin. ENTREES.—Pigeon Pie, Stewed Sweetbread, Mutton Cutlets and Port Wine Sauce and Tomato Sauce. JOINTS.—Roast Sirloin of Beef, Roast Lamb and Mint Sauce, Roast Pork and Apple Sauce, Boiled Ham, Ox Tongue. POULTRY.—Roast Turkey and Bread Sauce, Roast Fowl, Boiled Fowl and Bechamel Sauce, Boiled Fowl and Egg Sauce, Roast Pheasant, Roast Duck. SWEETS.—Tipsey Cake, Pound Cake, Cheese Cakes, Swiss Roll, Lemon Cream, Lemon Jelly, Ribbon Jelly, Apple Tart, Stewed Peas and Rice, Small Pastry, Italian Cream, German Cream, Orange Jelly, Boiled Custard, Blanc Manger, Lemon Sponge. DESSERT IN SEASON. WINE CARTE.—Port, Sherry, Claret, Hochheim. Champagne—Roederer, Seck-buch.

After the viands had been done full justice to, the following toasts were given by the Chairman and drunk most enthusiastically:—"The Queen," His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and all the Royal Family, and "His Excellency the Governor." Next came the toast of the evening, "Our Guests." In proposing it, His Worship said it did not call for any lengthy remarks from him. They had met there that night to do honor to the gentlemen who had presided as judges at the Native Land Court, which had that day concluded its sittings in Gisborne. They were well aware how low time after time they had occasion to demand a more frequent sitting of the Court in order that the titles to the Native lands should be speedily adjusted, and the barrier to the progress of the district removed. They had had several sittings of the Court, but the Judges came and went, leaving matters in almost the same position they were previously in. There was but very little improvement and progress in the desired direction. However, in this instance, it would be admitted that a great work had been done by their Honors during the few months they were engaged in their arduous duties. Since he had the pleasure—he might say the honor—of proposing the health of the guests, it would remark that as a result of their labors they could already see unmistakable signs of a return of prosperity to the district. He hoped that before long their honors would be permitted to return to Gisborne, and continue the work they had begun. He felt that no more words were required from him, as there was not one present who did not fully appreciate what had been done for the district during the last session of the Court. He would conclude by calling on them to drink the health of the guests. The toast was drunk most cordially, accompanied by the song "For they are jolly good fellows." His Honor Judge Puckey in responding, begged to thank them for the kind manner in which they had health, and also for that could say was that he had duties to the best of his health, and had been done here, he was very much obliged to them.

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WELL-BRED  
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would beg to draw  
ending purchasers to  
the stock and furni-  
at description

& CO.  
Auctioneers.

THE TRUSTEES  
E. G. E. READ.

have been instructed  
KARAWA, on SATUR-  
instant, at 12 noon,  
LEASEHOLD IN-  
the late C. D. Read,  
in the KARAWA  
100 acres more or less,

will and securely  
KARAWA POUND,  
portion of the land

GOOD YOUNG

& CO.  
Auctioneers.



FOR SALE

CROSS-BRED FAT  
OTHERS,  
Good Store Wethers,  
Ewes

OTT FLEMING,  
Mahia.



Harrows, Harness,  
About 15 Tons Hay, &c., &c.

The place is near Ormond, and this is  
a capital chance to secure a nice farm.  
87

WM. COMMON & CO.,  
HAVE FOR SALE, CHEAP.

The following Goods.

- FENCING WIRE—Sampson Patent  
Steel, Ryland's Best Annealed,  
6, 7, 8, (400 coils),  
1 1/2 and 1 1/4 inch STAPLES, diamond  
points
- CORRUGATED IRON and SPOUT-  
ING.
- WIRE NAILS, various sizes.
- SPADES, FORKS, AXES.
- CORNSACKS, WOOLPACKS, vari-  
ous sizes

- 1 Reid & Gray Sarnow FLOUGH.
- Little's SHEEP DIP, Campbell's Dip,  
CARBOLIC ACID.
- RAW and BOILED OIL, LAMP  
BLACK.
- RED and BLUE RADDLE.

guaranteed FLOUR,  
in 100's and 50's.

- 50 cases JAMS, very cheap.
- "Home Treasure" SEWING MA-  
CHINES, each.
- 7 Polished *Sandalwood* TRUNKS,  
with Brass Fittings.
- 2 sets of CHESTS OF DRAWERS,  
*Sandalwood*
- 2 casks CROCKERY.
- 2 casks TUMBLERS, cut and plain.
- Glenshany WHISKEY, in bottle.
- Superior Blended *Sandalwood Whisky*
- Blood Wolfe's STOUT, quarts and  
pints.
- Two Cobles Beer, quart and  
pint.
- Tennant's BEER, quarts and pints.
- Superior PORT and SHERRY.
- BELTZER WATER, in quarts and  
pints.

guaranteed,  
67 CASES FLOWERS OF SUL-  
PHUR.

WM. COMMON & CO.,  
STOCK & STATION AGENTS,  
MERCHANTS AND COMMISSION  
AGENTS.

Will make Liberal Advances against the  
incoming clip, Rye Grass, or other Pro-  
duce; will Purchase for Cash, or con-  
sign on owner's account either to the  
Colonial or European markets.

WILLIAM COMMON

Do not forget to be  
give or

A BENEFIT for

THE SALE WILL

LEONA

WHOLESALE and  
*Sandalwood*  
GLADSTONE

1879. **SUN**

W.M.

BEGS TO INTIMATE THAT  
NEW AND MAG

THE STOCK HAS B  
Having just returned from Auc

Bought Many Li  
As the follow  
1000 yards Fancy Di  
50 pieces Fast Col  
50 pieces Plain Pr

<p>and on reaching at a stock. The Honor said that he might already regret that what he had stated in his summary. The same of action was in full and malicious publication of the notices alleged to contain matter damaging to the plaintiffs title to their property, and causing damage. The plaintiffs had to satisfy the jury therefore of three things. First, the plaintiff had to satisfy the jury that it was the defendant Mr. Ross, who was responsible for the damages, therefore, they would have to find that he was responsible for Mr. Robinson's acts. Assuming they found that they were satisfied that there was damage to the plaintiffs interest in connection with the sale of the property, then they satisfied that the damage was the</p>	<p>once telegraph you. Mr. Barclayman has been appointed Crown Prosecutor for the Talcahuano County.</p> <p>A sportsman was boasting yesterday of having shot a rabbit. "Only it was not in season," said a friend. "Oh, yes," was the reply, "I never measured what I measured it."</p> <p>The improved lamp just is padded about the height that a fellow wants to rest his back and is becoming popular.</p> <p>A schoolmistress asked a child what he meant by the word "hesitant." "Said the teacher, "I had to do without a book at Mr. Smith's," the child replied, "the</p>	<p><b>GOVERNMENT SAVINGS' BANKS RETURNS.</b></p> <p>The quarterly returns of the Money Order Offices and Saving Banks in conjunction with the Postal Department have been published from which we gather the following information:—The total number of money order and savings bank orders open at the end of the year was 160, as compared with 147 for the same period in 1878. Over 31,000 money orders, amounting to £109,180, were issued during the quarter against 27,239 orders amounting to £89,500, for the same period in 1878. In the Savings Bank Department 4,124 accounts were opened, against</p>	<p>for the next sitting addressed to the Board.</p> <p>A. BEEVIE 210</p> <p><b>MR. C. WILSON</b> SOLICITOR AT LAW</p> <p>H. ANTHONY and J. W. BISHOP SOLICITORS AT LAW</p> <p>MR. W. BISHOP'S OFFICE 103 GLADSTONE ROAD</p>
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*Reginald (212) 3-12-70-10 1/4/1/200*

<p>A horrible accident happened on Thursday last at Marowai. A lad, the son of the chief Mr. Kapanoa. The unfortunate youth was playing soccer at a distance from the house. He was running and slipped on the ground. He was running on the ground, when he was thrown back and struck on the head. He was thrown back and struck on the head. He was thrown back and struck on the head.</p>	<p><b>CHRISTCHURCH.</b></p> <p>The Day. Mr. Montgomerie will read the obituary at 8 o'clock on Thursday evening, and received an unanimous vote of confidence.</p> <p>Mr. Bradford, Honorary Minister at Christchurch, has given a lecture that will make a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the people. The lecture was given at the house of Mr. Bradford, Honorary Minister at Christchurch, on Thursday evening last. The lecture was given at the house of Mr. Bradford, Honorary Minister at Christchurch, on Thursday evening last.</p>	<p>Two men who had been injured in a street race, by expelling force under the feet, were committed for trial.</p> <p>At the annual meeting of the General Assembly, held at the City Hall, on Thursday evening last, the balance sheet showed a profit of £1,000. At the annual meeting of the General Assembly, held at the City Hall, on Thursday evening last, the balance sheet showed a profit of £1,000.</p>	<p>The play was at its height in the afternoon of a well-known club, and from a distant corner was heard a cry of "Go, go, go!" The cry was heard from a distant corner, and from a distant corner was heard a cry of "Go, go, go!"</p>	<p>At the meeting of the Board of Directors, held on Thursday evening last, the balance sheet showed a profit of £1,000. At the meeting of the Board of Directors, held on Thursday evening last, the balance sheet showed a profit of £1,000.</p>
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**DINNER AT THE ARGYLL EVERY DAY**



ga Bay this 30th day of

D. STAGPOOLE,  
Licensing Committee,  
Tologa Bay.

Stands, and  
colors and  
most varied  
Gisborne.

786

LARGE & TOWNLEY.

is expected to arrive from the ...  
a few days, and will commence lo  
immediately after arrival.

For freight or passage, apply to  
GRAHAM, PITT & BENNETT  
Agen

762

T-CLASS FAMILY HOTEL is the most COMFORTABLE and ECONOMICAL IN THE COLO

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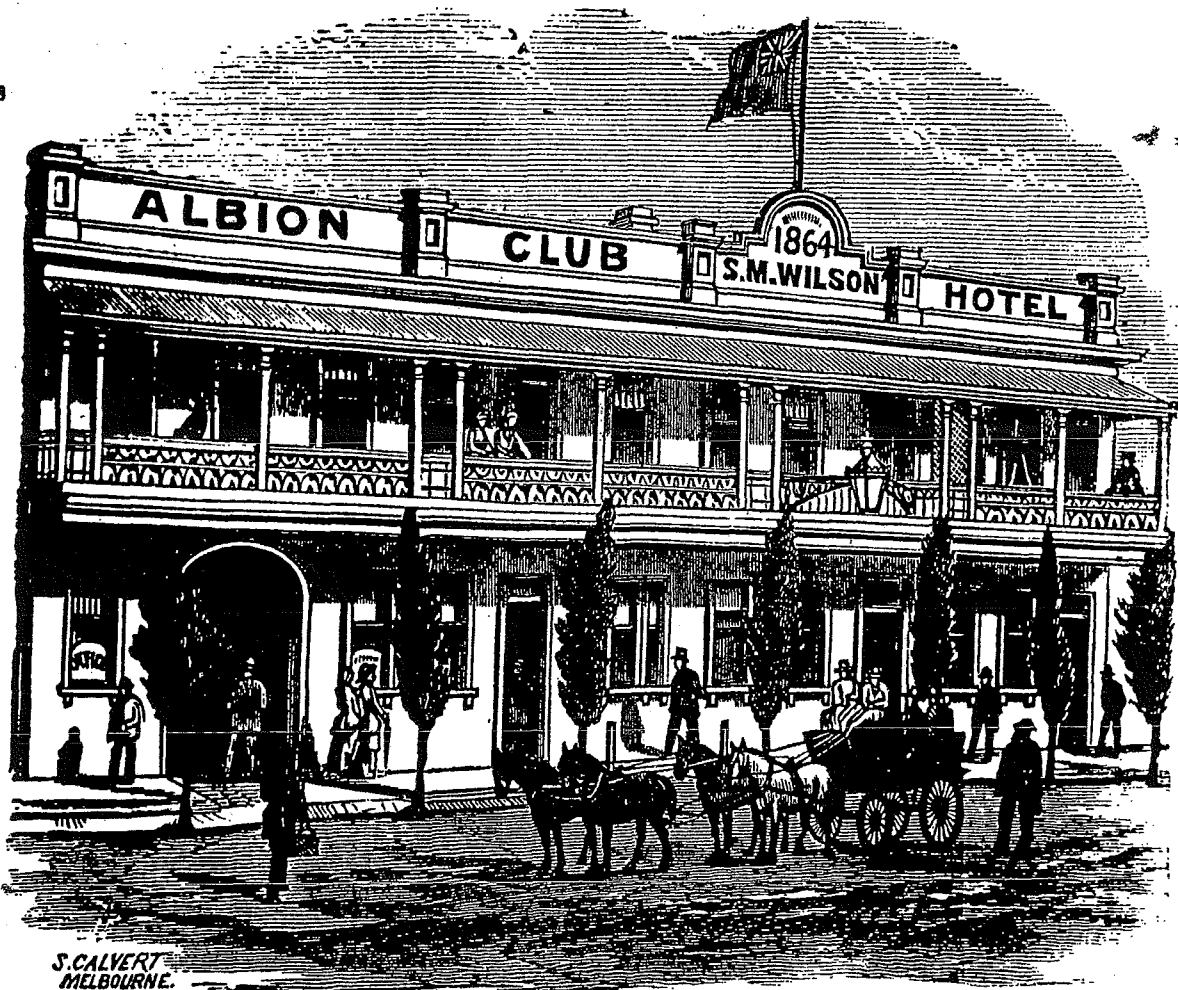
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J. CALVERT  
MELBOURNE.

Stables under  
personal  
supervision of  
Proprietor.

Saddle Horse  
and Buggies at  
hours.

Large 5-horse  
Brake  
for Picnic Part  
equipped  
at one hour's  
notice.

Conveyances  
awaiting arrival  
every steamer.

An experienced  
Groom  
in attendance  
night and day.

CENTRALLY SITUATED. POSITION UNRIVALLED.

ents—"LIGHT-RUNNING STANDARD SEWING MACHINE."

# ROLL AND INGLE

ALL PATTERNS IN

## SHEEP SHEARS,

ALL KINDS OF

ASSOCIATION (LTD.)

**YATES' SEASON 1895-96**  
**RELIABLE SEEDS.**  
 SEASON 1895-96.

**FIRST SHIPMENT of FIVE CASES**  
 JUST OPENED UP,

Consisting of  
**VEGETABLE, GARDEN, AND FLOWER SEEDS.**  
**BIRD SEED, LAWN GRASS, Etc.**

ALSO,—  
 cas, Broad Beans, Giant Rocca Onion Seed  
 Carrots, Spring Vetches (in bulk)  
 and Tobacco Dust (for destroy-  
 ing insect pests).

**SEED POTATOES.**

Choice Selected Seed.  
**EARLY SORTS N GREAT VARIETY**  
 (imported from Canterbury).

**SNOWDROP FLOUR**  
**MCGILL'S OATMEAL**  
**BRAN, POLLARD**  
**LINSEED, ETC. ETC.**

**JAMES MCKEE,**

GLADSTONE ROAD.

**SUTTON AND SONS**  
**Vegetable & Flower Seeds.**

**WE** have just received a  
 collection of the  
 above  
**CELEBRATED**  
**GARDEN SEEDS.**

**WILLIAMS & KETTLE, LIMITED,**  
 AGENTS FOR  
**NAPIER & GISBORNE**

**MILNER & THOMPSON**  
 FOR  
 A THOROUGHLY RELIABLE  
**PIANO OR ORGAN**

Bug-Myrtle and Rest, by S. R. Crockett, 2500  
 The "Graphic" Academy Pictures for 1895  
 Sporting Sketches (new division)  
 Nuggets  
 Varieties

A NEW SHIPMENT OF  
**CAMERON'S NEW VENUS TOBACCO**  
 (The Best Dark Tobacco to be had).  
 Also,—A Fresh Supply of  
**INDEPENDENT PENS & WATERBURY**  
**WATCHES (Ladies' and Gents).**

**THOS. ADAMS,**  
 BOOKSELLER, STATIONER, NEWS  
 AGENT & TOBACCONIST,  
 Gisborne.

**Gisborne Dental Surgery**  
 (OPPOSITE THEATRE ROYAL).

**ARTIFICIAL TEETH.**  
**ARTIFICIAL TEETH.**  
 WITH TEETH  
**WALTER J. SYKES,**  
 SURGEON DENTIST.  
 WITHOUT TEETH

**THE** late Mr A. GROSSMAN'S practice will  
 be carried on as usual by Mr **WALTER**  
**J. SYKES, who was awarded the First Order**  
*of Merit, Medal and Diploma at the Inter-*  
*national Exhibition, 1882, for Artificial Teeth.*  
**TWENTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE.**

\* Other Dentists' work altered and repaired.  
**TEETH EXTRACTED, 2/6.**  
 Nitrous oxide gas administered (including  
 extraction), 10/6.  
 Close at 1 p.m. THURSDAYS.  
**WALTER J. SYKES,**  
 Registered Dentist, Manager.

**DENTISTRY.**  
**Mr S. A. Noble-Campbell,**  
 SURGEON DENTIST,  
 LOWE STREET  
 (Opposite P.B. Farmers' Grain Store).

SUCCESSOR TO MESSRS WILSON AND  
 DAVIES, OF NAPIER.  
 Close at 1 P.M. THURSDAYS.

At the meeting of the Board on Friday it was decided to  
 Reidy to surrender the lease of  
 Tiniroto village.

The football fixture, Turanga  
 Rovers, which was to have been  
 Saturday, was postponed owing to  
 weather, and will take place on  
 August 3rd.

Captain Edwin wired at 2.5 this  
 North-east and north and west str  
 with rain; glass fall, and high  
 sea heavy on coast.

At a concert in aid of the school  
 recently held in the Te Arai school  
 was a good attendance, and a  
 programme was gone through, all  
 former acquitting themselves well.

The Building Society having  
 completed a successful year, those in  
 join should take the opportunity of  
 with the new year. Inducing  
 habits of thrift, the young people  
 should be encouraged to take  
 whilst the advantages to those of  
 are well known.

The wind and sea having  
 subsided, the Hinemoa was enabled  
 to proceed with the search for the  
 Wa this morning, which had to be  
 on Saturday at noon. A heavy  
 rolling into the bay yesterday.  
 steamer was taken over to the lee  
 Nick's Head, where a comparative  
 anchorage was obtained.

The Rotokino experienced  
 weather on her trip to Sydney,  
 shafts being fractured when about  
 off Sydney Heads. The steamer  
 while temporary repairs were  
 While the Rotokino is in Sydney  
 shaft will be placed in the steamer.

The ladies bathing shed on the  
 unfortunately left unlocked, and  
 tereed one day last week and the  
 costumes, hats, and boots removed  
 beach, where they were burnt in  
 some contemptible sneak. This  
 destruction should not be tolerated  
 is clearly the duty of those who  
 loss to have the matter investigated  
 communicating with the proper authorities.

Mr R. Cole, Secretary of the  
 Amateur Athletic Club, received  
 Saturday that the local club had  
 affiliated to the New Zealand  
 The following have been re-in  
 amateurs:—Messrs Teat, Dods, H  
 Eaton, Wildish, Taylor, Maher  
 Sellars, Bridges, O'Meara, Lysnar,  
 Huata, and DeLautour. Messrs  
 W. Andrews, C. Taylor, and J. M  
 applications have been held over  
 October meeting.



NG ARM.  
ROCKERS,  
HAIRS,  
lates.  
SOLE STOCK  
ATES

**DORMER AND EDWARDS,**  
JOYCE'S NEW BUILDINGS,  
GLADSTONE ROAD, GISBORNE.

MARVELLOUS VALUE  
BLANKETS  
MEN'S, BOYS' AND Y  
50 DOZEN FRENCH  
A visit of i

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**PIANOS!**  
Stock of  
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— £45  
, from £25 to  
sold on the  
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DEBFUL  
**Machine**  
PLEX."  
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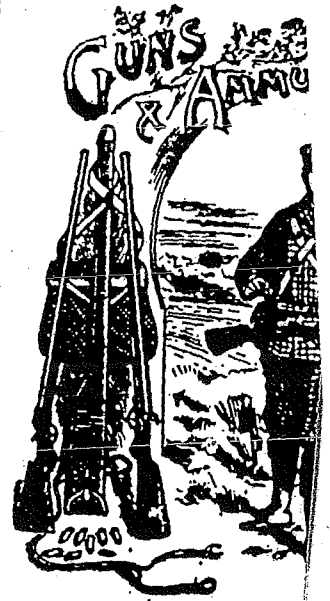
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GOODS  
WEEK,

PIANOS  
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FINISHING  
IE



**I AM THE MAN**  
WHO WENT SOUTH AND TOLD THE  
PEOPLE "ZEALANDIA" BOOTS  
WERE NO GOOD.



**PERSERVERANCE**  
WIL  
Hence for VALUE  
By keeping a large staff of the  
modern machiner

Men's Balmorals, 8/11, 10/6, 11/6  
Men's Shoes, 7/11, 8/11, 10/6  
Canvas Shoes, 5/-, 6/-, 6/6  
Men's Bluchers, 6/6, 7/6, 8/6  
Ladies' Shoes, 6/6, 7/6, 8/6 to  
Special attention paid

**W. MORGAN,**  
SADDLER AND HARNESS  
MAKER.

ALL KINDS OF SADDLERY AND  
HARNESS kept in Stock, or  
made to order on the

It is wiser to remember,  
It is folly to forget!

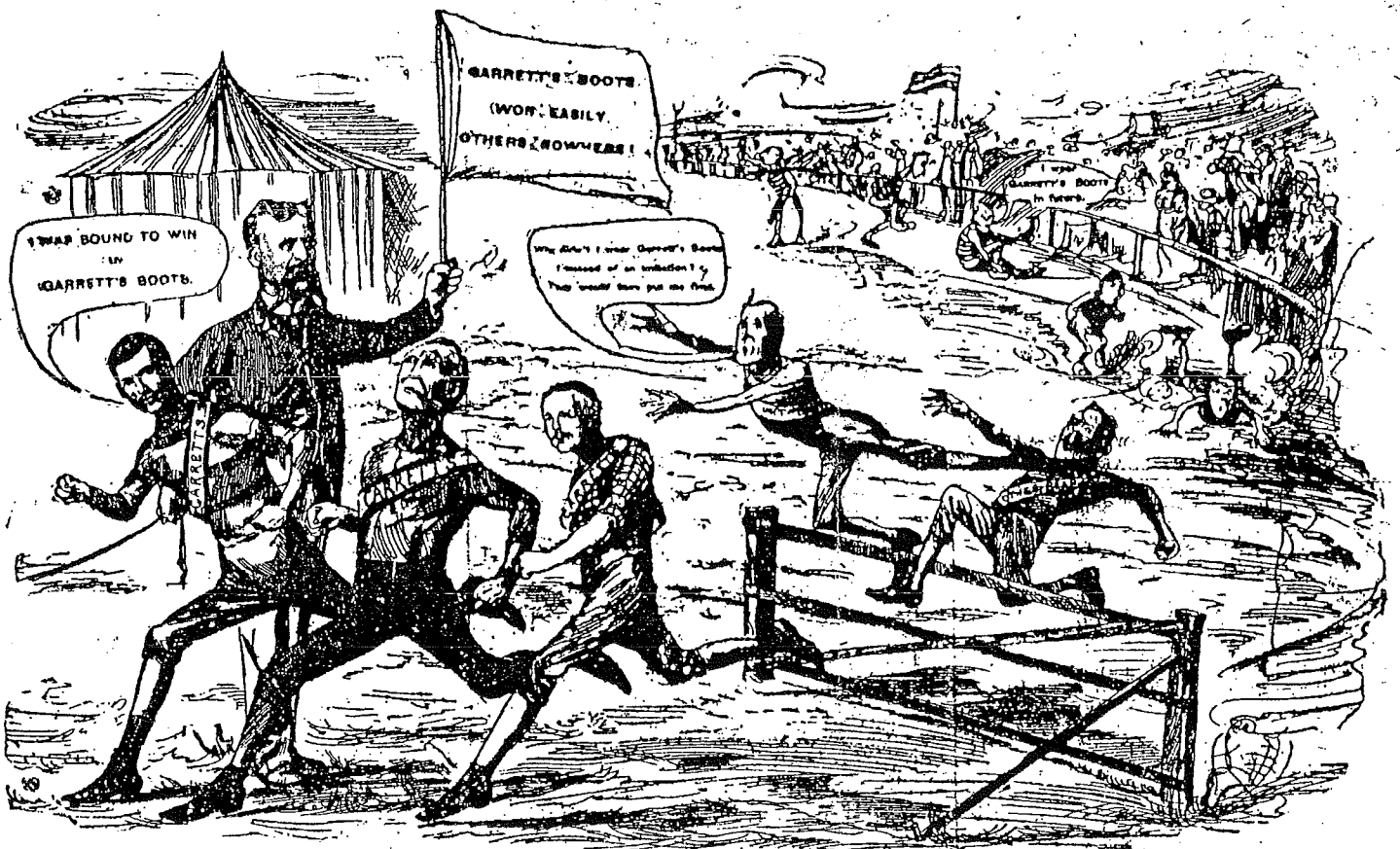
**BEE OINTMENT,**

TRY IT.

IT is a SURE REMEDY, and will seldom  
deceive you.

REPAIR  
THE GI

# THE POVERTY BAY HERALD. FRIDAY, MAY



**Garrett's**

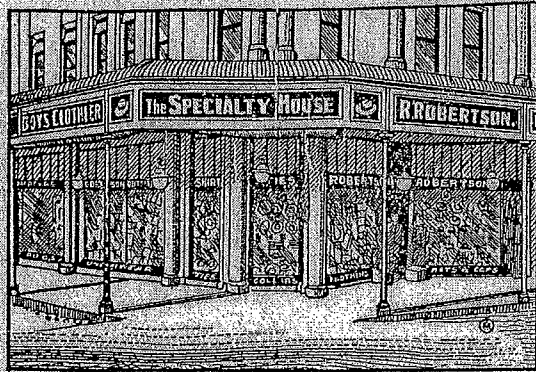
PB Herald 28 March 1900

PB Herald 1 November 1907

18 INSTRUMENTS TO CHOOSE FROM 18



Collard and Collard  
 Pull and Field  
 Mornington and Weston  
 Chas. Begg Model  
 Brinsmead  
 Waldemar  
 William Sames  
 G. H. Schwechten  
 And others.



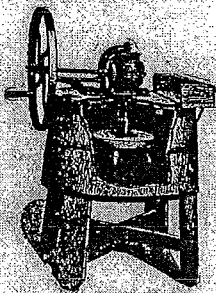
**ROBERTSON'S**

ON THE CORNER ON THE CORNER  
 "WHERE THE GOOD HATS ARE"

---

**A. PARNELL AND CO.**


THE  
**BEST**  
 Washing Machine  
 IN  
 THE MARKET.



**£3 10s.**

Will Not Tear the Clothes and Washes Curtains equally as well as Blankets, Quilts, etc. Turn for Ten Minutes, screw the Wringer on the side, and Wring into the Blue tub or Basket.

**Labor**





---

# PARNELL & BOYLAN'S HALL

---

Lessee ... .. Mr. A. Brewer

---

**FOR A FEW NIGHTS ONLY!**

COMMENCING

**TO-MORROW EVENING,**

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29.

---

**PROFESSOR A. WOODRASKI'S**

MAGNIFICENT

STEREOSCOPICAL

**PANORAMA!**

BEAUTIFUL PAINTINGS, by the Greatest Artist in Vienna, M. Johann Schieber

The Battle of WORTH, Franco-Prussian War

The Russo-Turkish War

The sight of the Terrible Massacre in the streets of SEREJEVA, Bosnia

**BATTLE OF ULUNDI.**

The beautiful city of VENICE, built in the Adriatic Sea

The oldest city in the world—ROME

Views of VIENNA, PARIS, BERLIN, GERMANY, &c. &c.

---

Combined with this great exhibition is the

**Wonderful Straussberg Organ**

WITH EIGHT AUTOMATON FIGURES.

---

Come and See

**THE MYSTERIOUS MAN,**

The Liberal Artist, the Great Prestidigitateur. A Trip Through Wonderland.

---



**GIFTS! GIFTS!!**

A Lavish Distribution of Presents takes place nightly, comprising Gold and Silver Watches, Tea and Coffee Services, Butter Coolers, Liquer Games, &c.. &c.

---

Admission, 2s; Children, 1s.  
Doors open at 7.30; Overture at 7.45.

---

A. BREWER, Proprietor.

W. A. PRICE, Business Manager.

---

Printed at "HERALD" General Printing Office, Gishorne.

**VENI! VIDI! VICI!**

**G. McBRIDE,**

*Merchant Tailor, AUCKLAND.*

Our Mr. R. McBRIDE is now staying at the Masonic Hotel, with a very large and varied stock of Colonial, English and Continental Tweeds and Coatings, specially suited for the present and coming

**VENI!**

seasons. Fit, Style, and Finish Guaranteed. Visit of inspection will be esteemed a favour, or Mr. R. McBRIDE will be glad to wait on anyone who will leave their address. Gisborne buyers are thus offered the advantage of a first-class Auckland Tailor at Auckland Prices.

**SPECIALTIES:**

*PATENT WATERPROOF TWEED  
OVERCOATS,*

*LADIES' JACKETS, VIDI! LADIES' ULSTERS,  
LADIES' RIDING HABITS,  
And High-Class Tailoring Generally.*

*G. McBRIDE, Merchant Tailor*

*IMPORTER, MANUFACTURER,  
NAVAL & MILITARY CONTRACTOR.*

**VICI!**

**205 Queen Street, 205  
AUCKLAND.**

*The Largest Tailoring Concern in New Zealand!*

Examples of Job Printing – includes Memorandum heading printed for the Poverty Bay Herald by Lyon & Blair; all other examples of work undertaken by the Poverty Bay Herald.

Memorandum

Gisborne

Sept 1st 1879.

FROM THE "POVERTY BAY HERALD" OFFICE.

TO T. Fisher Esq.

Lyon & Blair

Rep Commissioner of Registration

I have closed forward summary of the  
 and names of the Property Govt printed for. And  
 report had it had not been forward  
 that summary report and balance sheet  
 which was a form returned. I thought that is  
 the form used by you but it appears had I have  
 not done the other things. I would have done  
 my impression was where due to whom  
 read the  
 I am Sir Wm Beckett, Public  
 The best form of things in also set.

— EXTRACT —

From "THE POVERTY BAY HERALD,"

Monday, February 7th, 1898.

**T**HE Bland Holt Company brought their Gisborne season to a close on Saturday evening with the production of that delightful drama, "The Golden Ladder." The performance was by no means the least enjoyable of the three dramas staged here. The scenery was magnificent, one set representing a view of palms, shore and harbor in Madagascar, with a warship lying at anchor nearby was the loveliest picture ever presented to the views of a Gisborne audience. At one stage, the conclusion of the second act, the auditorium rang with cheers at the presentation of a most effective tableau, the arrival of the captain of a British warship and his men to rescue here and heroine from the clutches of a band of Frenchmen. Needless to say, "The Golden Ladder" was presented with all the perfection and exact attention to detail that has made Bland Holt famous. The company, who numbered 50 people, left for Napier by the Flora, last night. The season, we may say, has been a most successful one. It was Mr Holt's first visit to Gisborne, and he has been so satisfied with his venture that we doubt not he will visit us again in his future tours of the colony. Mr Holt has proved two things; that Gisborne players loyally support a good show, and that large companies such as his can mount upon the boards of the Theatre Royal their finest pieces in a manner that leaves little wanting.

**Theatre Royal.**

GISBORNE.

SITUATED IN  
**GLADSTONE ROAD,**  
THE  
PRINCIPAL THOROUGHFARE.

**J. McKEE,**  
PROPRIETOR.

**Theatre Royal.**

**SEATING ACCOMMODATION:**

FLOOR, 800. GALLERY, 300.

**DIMENSIONS:**

AUDITORIUM	75 feet by 50 feet
STAGE	50 feet by 26 feet
STAGE TRAYS (2)	8 feet deep
OPENING IN PROSCENIUM	20 feet
HEIGHT	15 feet
HEIGHT OF FLATS	13 feet

Twelve Sets Scenery and Wood Wings.  
Six Scenes (Cloths).

Three Dressing Rooms. Lighted with Gas.

THE BEST AND LATEST IMPROVEMENTS IN VENTILATION HAVE JUST BEEN COMPLETED.

**MADAME BURTON, PRIMA DONNA.**

SAYS:

"I consider it one of the Best Sounding Halls I have sung in, in New Zealand."

**JOHN FULLER**

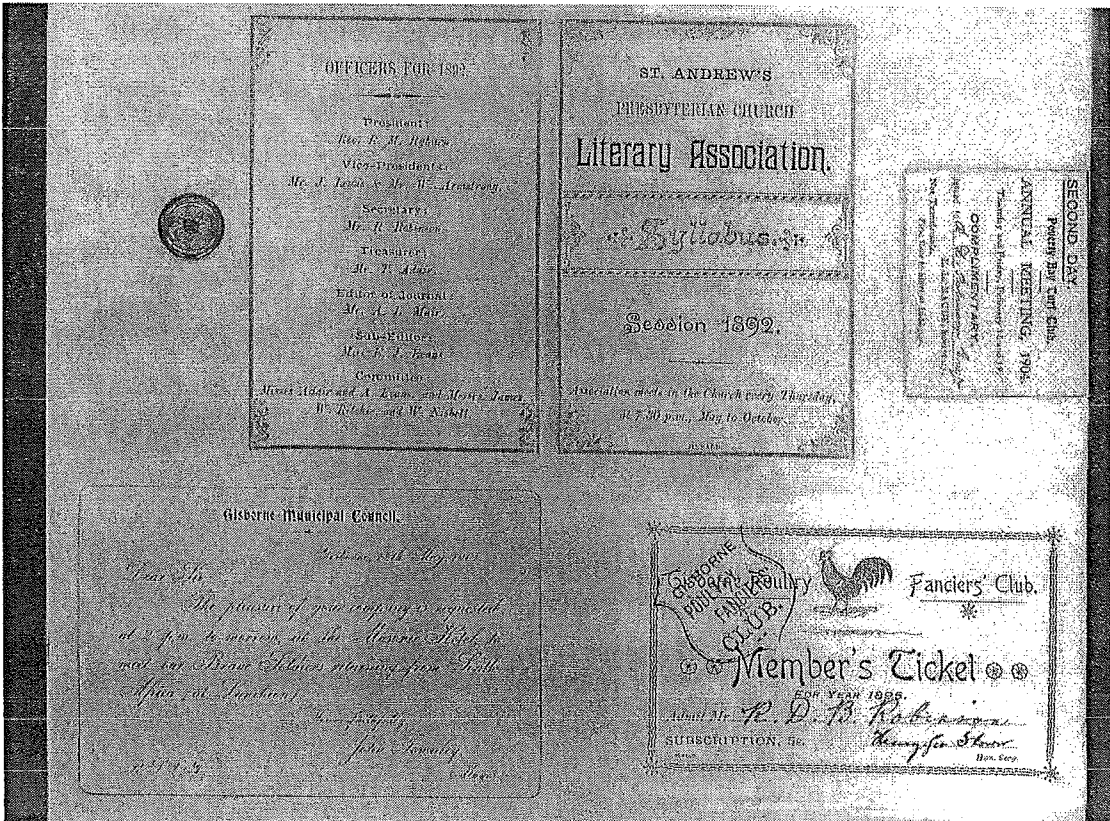
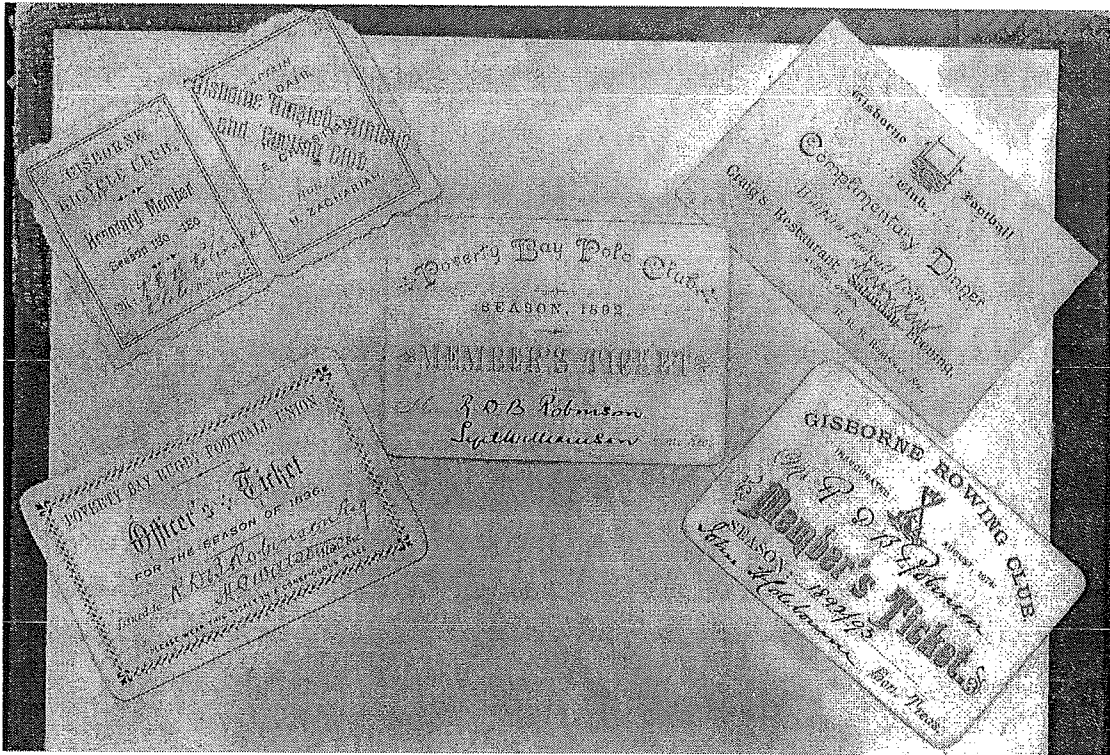
SAYS:

"It is a real pleasure to sing in the Theatre Royal, Gisborne, no effort being required."

**PATRONS:**

Madame Antoinette Sterling.  
Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove Opera Company.  
Pollard's Opera Company.  
Gisborne Amateur Operatic Society.  
Kowalski.  
Bentley and Thornton Dramatic Companies.  
Montague-Turner Opera Company.  
George Darrell Company.

**JAS. McKEE,**  
PROPRIETOR, GISBORNE.



Ephemera from R.D.B. Robinson's scrapbook

W Governor's Reception. W

RAILWAY EXCURSION

TO

KAITARATAHI.

..... SATURDAY, 4th JUNE, 1904. ....



Train Leaves Gisborne Station at 1 o'clock p.m.

R. D. B. Robinson, Secretary.



TE KAU PAKEA, GISBORNE

Menu.



Huitres au Citron.

..

Couronné à la Royale. Oyster.

..

Hapuka à la Normande.

..

Wild Duck Saute au Vin Rouge.

Petits Pates de Volaille.

Ris de Veau aux Champignons.

..

Roast Sirloin of Beef. Horse Radish Sauce.

Roast Lamb. Mint Sauce.

York Ham. Ox Tongue.

Roast Turkey. Purée of Walnuts.  
Roast Duck. Apple Sauce.  
Boiled Chicken à la Béchamel.

..

Pudding à la Prince Albert.  
Macedoine de Fruit, Trifle au Gateau.

Meringues à la Crème.

Gelée au Marasquin.

Gelée à la Framboises.

..

Anchois aux Capres.

Fruit in Season. Coffee Noir.

..

Claret.

Hook.

Chablis.

Port.

Sherry.

Whisky.

Brandy.

Liqueurs.

..

Cigars.

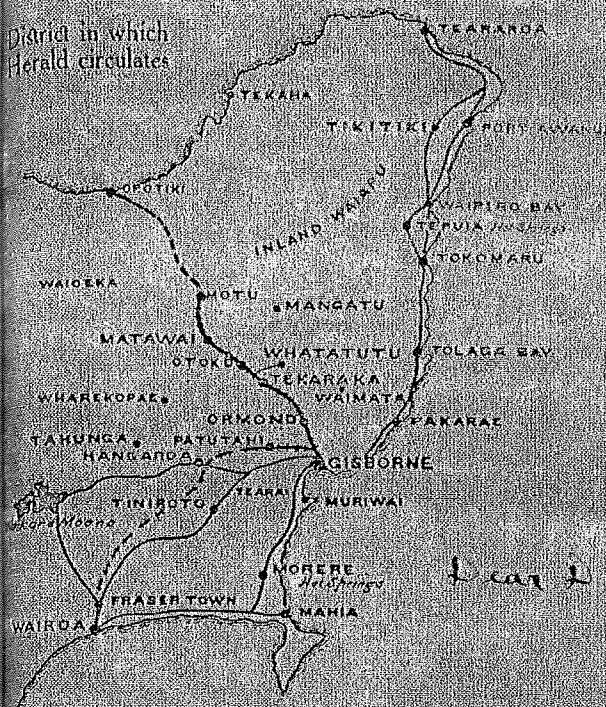
Cigarettes.



LIQUORS.



District in which  
Herald circulates



FROM THE

## POVERTY BAY HERALD CO LTD

PRINTED & BOOKBINDER'S

GLADSTONE ROAD  
GIBBORNE N.Z.

Gisborne  
Sept 27th 11

Dear Mr Mac Neil

Your reference to certain

of Cook's sketches of the East Coast being  
in the possession of the British Museum  
recalls to my mind the fact that many  
years ago Mr Mac Neil Cooper, of Gisborne  
showing me over his collection of early  
New Zealand records, produced an  
extensive collection of copies of Cook's  
sketches of the East Coast, including  
Taranaki. I thought I would  
mention this fact to you in the hope  
that the information might be of some  
value. The sketches were made by Cook  
during his voyage in 1769-70.

*Population.*

Gisborne Borough	9859
Cook County	6110
Waikohu County	3279
Waipuu County	1910
Opotiki County	1632
Opotiki Borough	1030
Waioa County	2085
Waioa Borough	1210
<b>Total</b>	<b>27,115</b>

*Exports from Gisborne*

for year ended June 30th, 1916.  
£2,184,145

**WOOL EXPORT, 1915-16.**

48,988 bales = 18,738,649 lbs.  
valued £1,152,323

**EXPORTS.**

Beef	75,254 cwt.
Mutton	232,357 cwt.
Lamb	82,804 cwt.
Sheepskins	1,994,519 lb.
Timber	529,282 super ft.
Butter	3428 cwt.

*Valuations.*

**CAPITAL VALUE.**

Gisborne Borough	£2,562,047
Opotiki County	£1,245,937
Opotiki Borough	£254,397
Waikohu County	£2,711,385
Waikohu County	£2,626,075
Cook County	£7,497,600
Waioa County	£3,004,353
Waioa Borough	£266,814

## APPENDIX E: Mastheads

*POVERTY BAY STANDARD*

*POVERTY BAY HERALD*

*MOSQUITO*

*TELEPHONE*

*INDEPENDENT*

*GISBORNE TIMES*







# The Poverty Bay Herald.

Vol. I. No. 1. GIBBORNE, POVERTY BAY, MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1874. [Price 8d.]

<p><b>J. MOONEY</b> BUILDER, &amp;c. Gibson. Orders for all kinds of Work done on the most liberal terms.</p> <p><b>J. H. MORGAN</b> ARCHITECT. WHARF TIMBER YARD, GIBBORNE.</p>	<p><b>A. PARNELL</b>, Ironmongery and Hardware Stores. The Largest and Best Assorted Stock of General Hardware in Gisborne.</p> <p>Having Freshly Imported and on Hand, Spoons, Blades, and Forks.</p>	<p><b>MESSRS BOYLAN BROS</b> HAVE ON SALE GROCERIES</p> <p>First Quality, Choice, Curry Powder; Choice Salt, Blacking Essence and Tomatoes; Java Liquors, Blau, Stock, Vinegar Pickles, Capers, Mustard Pickles, Assorted Confectionery Olives, Pickled Onions, in Brine and Sausages Lard and Butter, Soap, Sardines, Pickled Peas, Pickled Onions.</p> <p>Colonial Soap, Blacking Liquors, Blau, Stock, Vinegar Pickles, Capers, Mustard Pickles, Assorted Confectionery Olives, Pickled Onions, in Brine and Sausages Lard and Butter, Soap, Sardines, Pickled Peas, Pickled Onions.</p>	<p><b>AMERICAN</b> Stationery and Cigar Divan (Near the Music Hall), GLADSTONE-ROAD, GIBBORNE.</p>
--	--	---	--

# The Poverty Bay Herald

VOL. XXI. NO. 2658. GIBBORNE, MONDAY, APRIL 23, 1894. [Published Every Evening.] PRICE ONE PENNY.

M. F. FINNEMAN, AUTUMN & WINTER FASHIONS, NEW ZEALAND CLOTHING FACTORY. REDUCTION IN PRICE OF GAS.

First Display of

# The Poverty Bay Herald.

XXI—NO. 2659. [Published Every Evening.] GIBBORNE, TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1894. PRICE ONE PENNY.

M. F. FINNEMAN, ARCHITECT, 105 GIBBORNE ROAD.  
THOS. DALRYMPLE, 1444 DUNE STREET, GIBBORNE.  
IRONMONGERS & DAYS, GIBBORNE ROAD, GIBBORNE.

AUTUMN & WINTER FASHIONS. FIRST DISPLAY OF New Mantles, Jackets, Millinery, and Dress Goods.

IF YOU LIKE HOT TEA ASK YOUR ORDER FOR **NELSON**

Australian Mutual Provident Society.  
M. F. GARRETT.

# The Poverty Bay Herald

VOL. XVIII. NO. 5906. GIBBORNE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1891.

1890 | SUMMER | 1891

**G. R. MOORE**  
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.  
WELLINGTON, GIBBORNE, AND  
NEW ZEALAND.  
PREPARED AGRICULTURAL  
IMPLEMENT.

**HOT PICKLES AND GINGER**  
THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE  
And Family Description of one of the Tonic Fines.

**COOK COUNTY FRISING**  
WARRIDURIE  
JUST OPENED.

**ROYLAN AND CO.**  
H. E. JOHNSON.

70/115/11

# THE MOSQUITO.

Vol. 1.]

GISBORNE, P.B., THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1881.

[No. 1

## W. MAY PHILLIPS,

(LATE M. JENNINGS.)

### TOBACCONIST,

Gladstone Road.

SMOKERS' REQUISITES of all descriptions. PIPES CLEANED & REPAIRED.

Tobacco cut to order on the Premises.

A COMFORTABLE SMOKING ROOM FOR GENTLEMEN. CIGARS & DAUGHTS

FOR THOSE FOND OF THE GAMES.

The Proprietor's aim is to supply "Good Goods." To receive Quality & Attention to All.

To Gain Mutual Satisfaction.

Open from 7 a.m. till 10 p.m., or so long as business requires.

## LEONARD & Co.

A young man of a fine figure of Oisness from this firm. He looked so handsome, and was so well liked that the fair maiden could do nothing but consent.

Menial for GENTLEMEN

Purchase from Leonard and Company.

## ALLANACH'S

DON'T think it a surprise  
But if you're in want of pies,  
Or if you are inclined to have a snack,  
Just all you've got to do,  
(What I'm telling you is true),

Go to call on ALEXANDER ALLANACH,  
Next door to Bromley and Butler's

### NOTICE

At the last meeting of the Society for the promotion of the best measures to be taken for the relief of the poor, the following resolutions were passed:—  
1. That the "Medal Most" always on sale at the corner. SATURDAY NIGHT!!

## E. K. BROWN,

### GENERAL IMPORTER,

Custom House Street,  
GISBORNE.

## G. T. HENDERSON,

### LAW WRITER,

Lowry Street,  
GISBORNE.

## COMBS & Co.

### Autumn and Winter

### DRAPERY,

### Military & Clothing

## W. GOODS

WATCHMAKING JEWELLERY  
WATCHMAKING JEWELLERY

Gladstone Road, GISBORNE.

## Come Round to the GISBORNE HOTEL,

AND WE WILL GET OUR

### Patrick's Pot

Good Mice, & like!

## JENNINGS.

## MASONIC STABLES.

Highway side, (between The Die & The Mill) GISBORNE.

## Sam Stevenson

### CASEY

ANNOUNCES that he can get excellently  
Books, Toys, Illustrations, Papers, Tobacco, Pipes, and anything down to matches.

As Low as  
any other Retail House  
in the town

## The Gisborne CRAIG.

DO YOU WANT SWEETS?

Go to Craig.

Do you want Cakes?

Go to Craig.

Do you want Money or anything else?

Go to Craig!

## The Settler's Hotel.

THE "SETTLERS" has been aptly named, as persons visiting it, invariably become "Settlers." The motto is—

### Q. C. H.,

Viz., Quality, Cleanliness, and Economy.

## James Lawrence,

Proprietor.



an elaborate attempt to turn  
out...

# The Poverty Bay

# INDEPENDENT.

A Good Cause makes a Stout Heart: Candor and Open Dealing are the Honor  
of Man's Nature. Saturday

VOL. I.—No. 4.

GISBORNE, MARCH 28, 1885.

PRICE 2d.

MOON—SUN—HIGH WATER.

the amelioration of the condition, and

above sordid accumulation, which latter

# THE POVERTY BAY INDEPENDENT.

A Good Cause makes a Stout Heart: Candor and Open Dealing are the Honor of Man's Nature.

VOL. I.—No. 3.

GISBORNE, APRIL 25, 1885.

PRICE 2d.

M. W. FINNEMAN, A. SCHIEGGI	THE POVERTY BAY ALMANAC, DIRECTORY, GUIDE, AND HANDBOOK.	STOCKTAKING, MONSTER CASH CLEARING SALE.	JAMES ERSKINE.	DICKSON'S HOTEL
Office: New Bond and Royal's Inns, Upper Store, (Opposite Head, Gisborne).	Full of Local and General Information for Families and Business Men.	DRESSING AND CLOTHING, DRAPERS AND CLOTHING, G. R. MOORE'S.	FRANCY BREAD AND BISCUIT BAKERS	ARGYLE DINING ROOM, New Buildings, Lambton Quay, Dinner—5s. per person.

# THE Poverty Bay Independent.

A Good Cause makes a Stout Heart: Candor and Open Dealing are the Honor of Man's Nature.

VOL. I.—No. 11.

GISBORNE, MAY 16, 1885.

PRICE 2d.

M. W. FINNEMAN, A. SCHIEGGI	THE POVERTY BAY ALMANAC, DIRECTORY, GUIDE, AND HANDBOOK.	STOCKTAKING, MONSTER CASH CLEARING SALE.	JAMES ERSKINE.	DICKSON'S HOTEL
Office: New Bond and Royal's Inns, Upper Store, (Opposite Head, Gisborne).	Full of Local and General Information for Families and Business Men.	DRESSING AND CLOTHING, DRAPERS AND CLOTHING, G. R. MOORE'S.	FRANCY BREAD AND BISCUIT BAKERS	ARGYLE DINING ROOM, New Buildings, Lambton Quay, Dinner—5s. per person.

# THE Poverty Bay Independent.

A Good Cause makes a Stout Heart: Candor and Open Dealing are the Honor of Man's Nature.

VOL. I.—No. 20.

GISBORNE, JULY 9, 1885.

PRICE 1d.

F. MALONE, CANDLER AND HANDSOMEWARE MERCHANT.	NOTICE	IF YOU WANT A GOODBYE TRY J. H. A. T.	NOTICE
Now Continued Business as usual, and is well ready to trade and supplied as usual.			M. DAVIS, Proprietor, Books, 44, St. George's Quay, and adjacent to the Bank of this paper. Advertisers—Posters, Hats, Stationery, Bills, etc.





## APPENDIX F: Illustrations

MAP OF THE EAST CAPE DISTRICT OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD*'S FIRST HOME. SEEN HERE ARE (L TO R) R LANGFORD, J. MOGRIDGE, J. MORGAN, J. HOWELL, S. HARTNELL (SADDLER), T. FAGAN (SADDLER'S APPRENTICE), A.C. PRATT (*PB HERALD* MANAGER), GEORGE H. LYSNAR.

GISBORNE, c. 1878 - THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD*'S SECOND OFFICE IS TO THE RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH, NEXT TO THE ARGYLL HOTEL.  
PHOTO W.F. CRAWFORD (WFC½ W28, TAIRAWHITI MUSEUM, GISBORNE).

*POVERTY BAY HERALD* OFFICE, c.1905.

GLADSTONE ROAD, GISBORNE; 1910 - THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* IS TO THE RIGHT OF E. W. BURTON.

*GISBORNE TIMES* OFFICE, EARLY 1900s.

A LINEMAN TARRING THE AERIAL TELEGRAPH CABLE OVER THE WAIMATA RIVER. THE POST OFFICE IN THE BACKGROUND (WITH THE CLOCK TOWER) WAS BUILT IN 1902. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS PROBABLY TAKEN WITHIN A FEW YEARS OF THAT DATE.

PRINTERS AT THE *POVERTY BAY HERALD* - TAKEN PROBABLY BETWEEN 1900 AND 1905.

THE WHARFEDALE LETTER-PRESS MACHINE, MANUFACTURED BY J. LILLY OF LONDON.  
*PRINTERS' REGISTER* - SUPPLEMENT, 6 MARCH 1876.

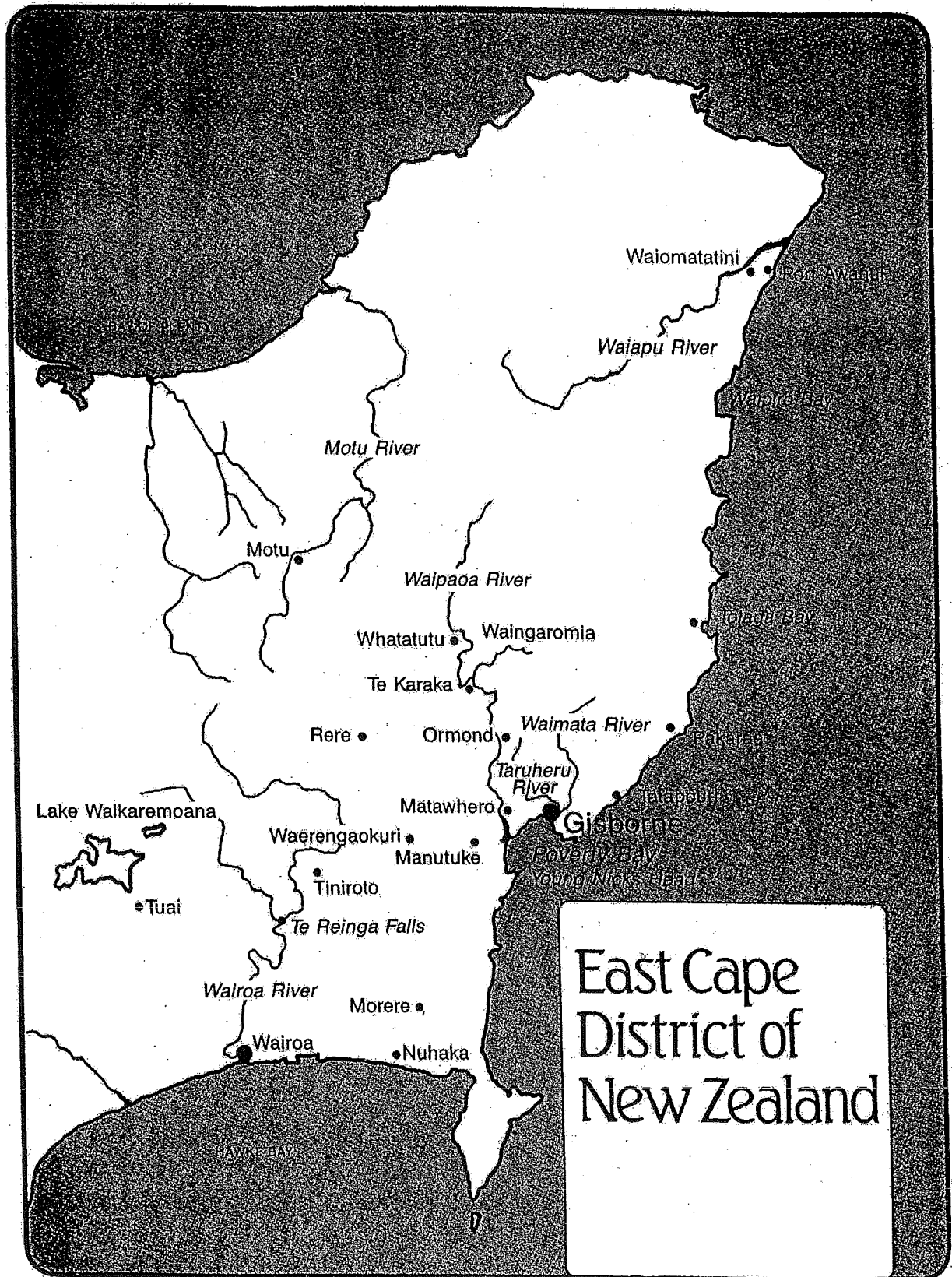
*POVERTY BAY HERALD*:

ALLAN RAMSAY MUIR (PROPRIETOR 1884 TO 1908; CHAIRMAN 1908 TO 1914)

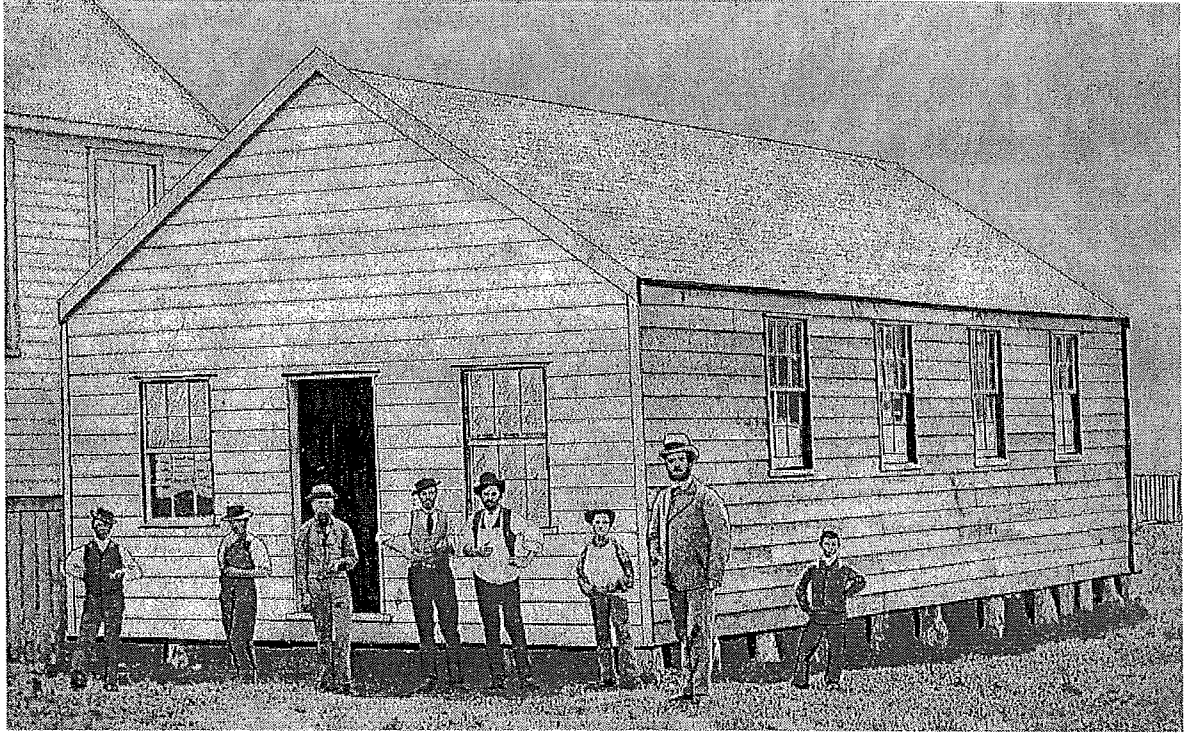
ALLAN LEONARD MUIR (EDITOR 1896-1935) AT WORK BEFORE 1905.

ALLAN STANLEY MUIR SEATED AT A LINOTYPE MACHINE, c.1910. A.S. MUIR'S CAREER INCLUDED MILITARY SERVICE IN TWO WORLD WARS; IN CIVILIAN LIFE HE WAS FIRST REPORTER, LATER ADVERTISING MANAGER THEN MANAGING DIRECTOR FROM 1952 TO 1964.

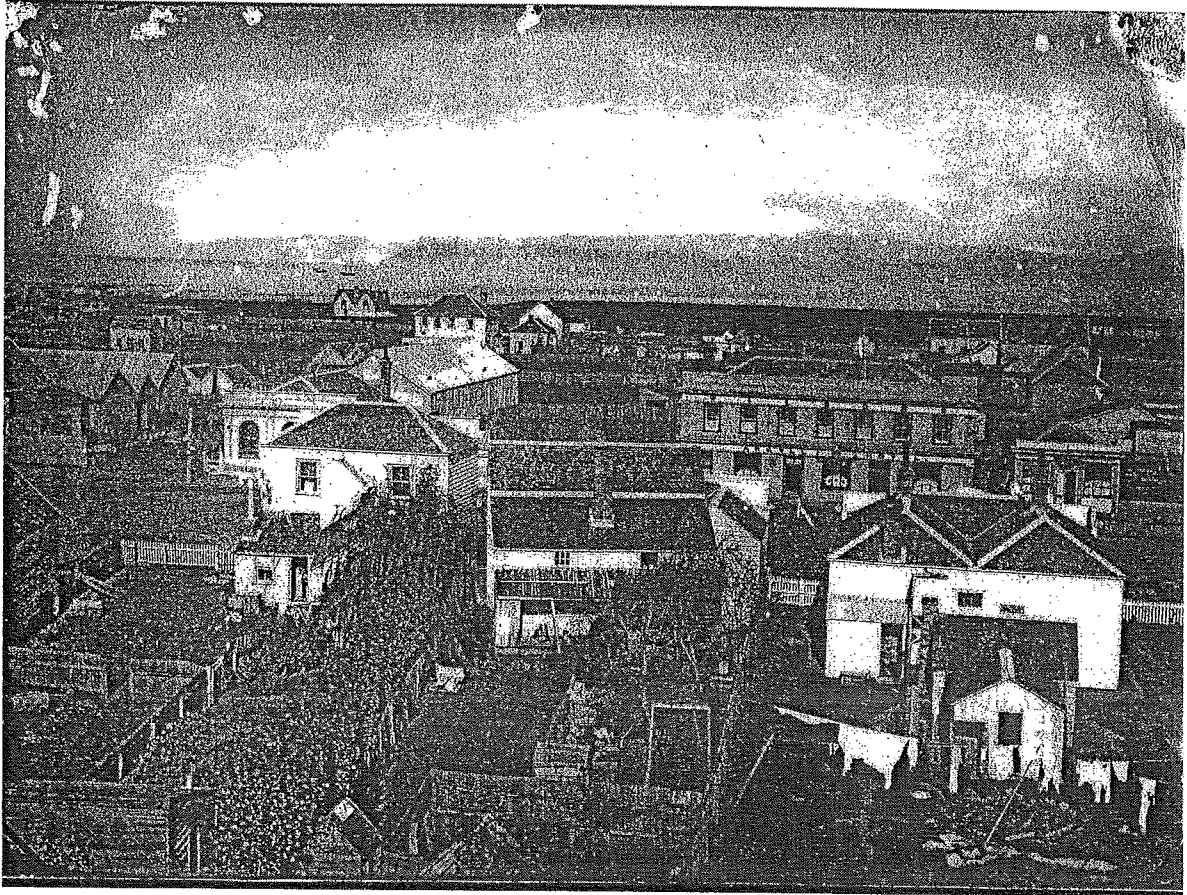




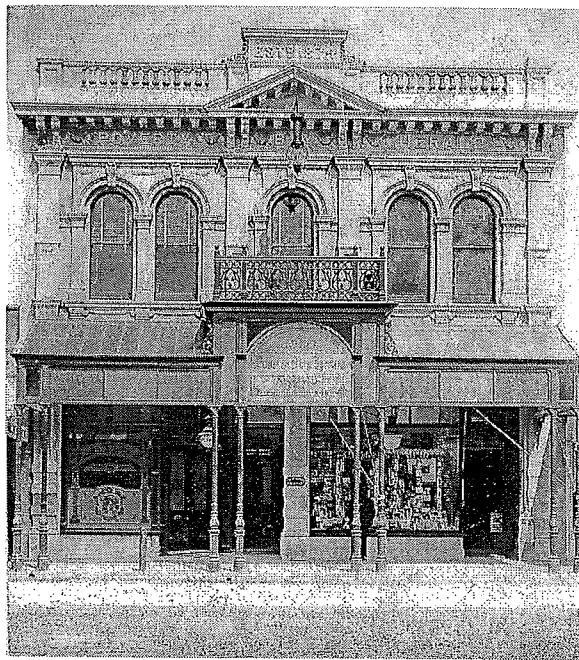
East Cape  
District of  
New Zealand



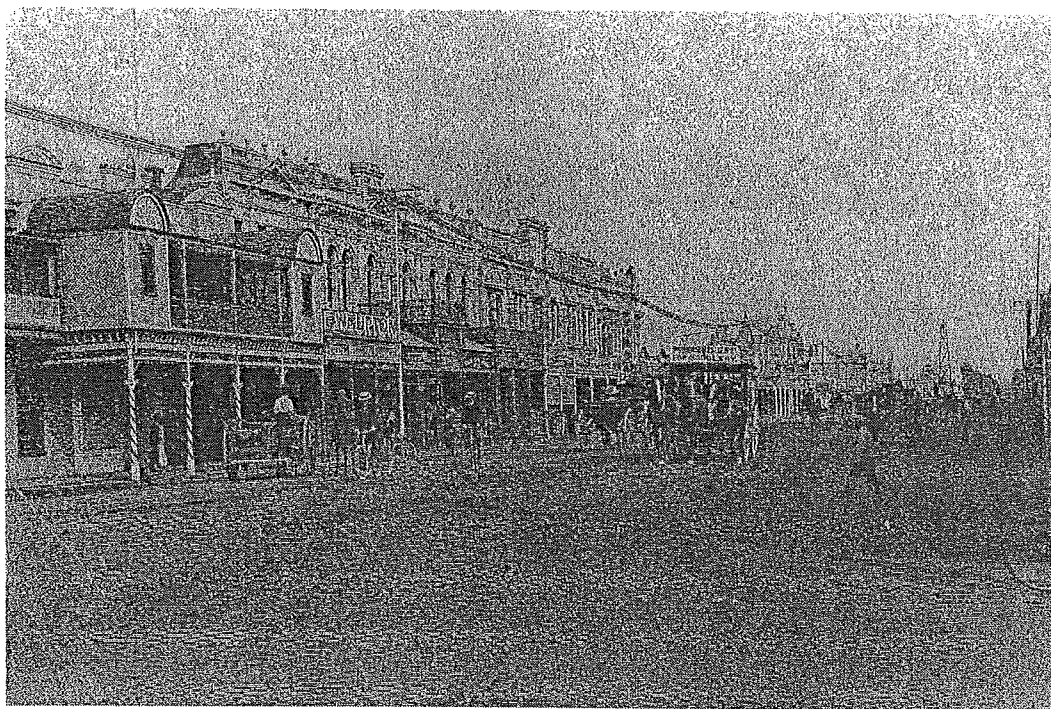
*Poverty Bay Herald's* first home (1874). Seen here are (left to right) R. Langford, J. Mogridge, J. Morgan, J. Howell, S. Hartnell (saddler), T. Fagan (saddler's apprentice), A.C. Pratt (*PB Herald* manager), George H. Lysnar.



Gisborne c.1878; the *Poverty Bay Herald's* second office is to the right of the photograph, next to the Argyll Hotel. With the help of a magnifying glass it is possible to discern the name, Herald, on the right-hand side window and on the triangular canopy over the door.  
*Photograph: (WFC½ W28, Tairawhiti Museum, Gisborne).*



*Poverty Bay Herald* office c. 1905

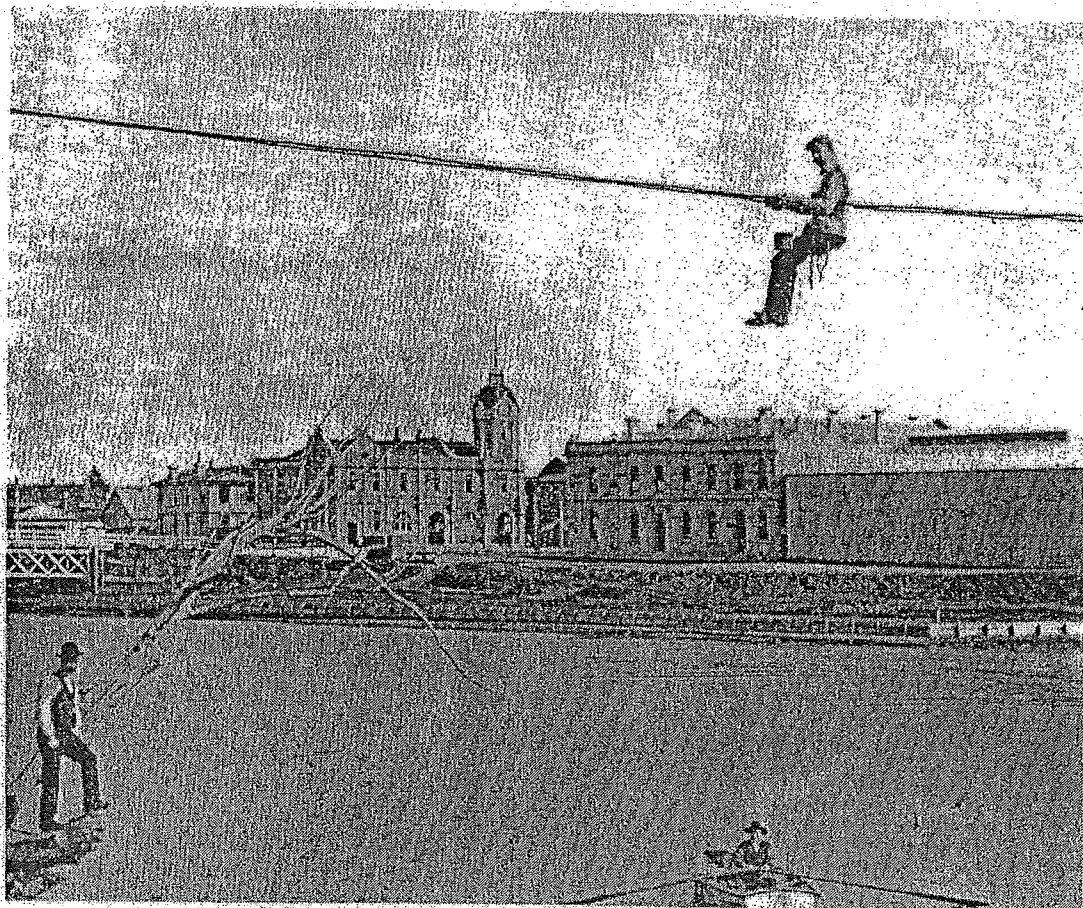


Gladstone Road, Gisborne (1910)  
the *Poverty Bay Herald* is to the right of E.W. Burton





*Gisborne Times* office – early 1900s



A lineman tarring the aerial telegraph cable over the Waimata River. The Post Office in the background (with the clock tower) was built in 1902. The photograph was probably taken within a few years of that date.

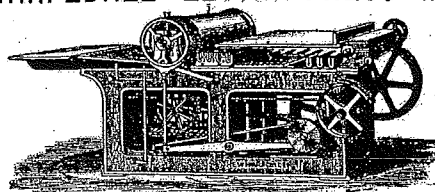


Printers at *Poverty Bay Herald* – taken probably between 1900 and 1905

Mar. 6, 1876. THE PRINTERS' REGISTER—SUPPLEMENT 341

**NOTICE TO LITHOGRAPHIC AND LETTER-PRESS PRINTERS.  
THE WHARFEDALE LETTER-PRESS MACHINE.**

Terms and Particulars at  
the Works.

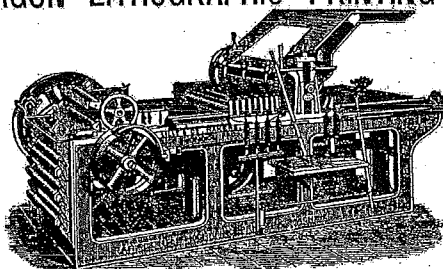


Terms and Particulars at  
the Works.

The only WHARFEDALE MACHINE Manufactured in London, especially built for First-class BOOK and COLOUR WORK. Perfection of Register guaranteed. Can be seen at work at Her Majesty's Printing Office and other Book and General Printing Offices.

**THE PARAGON LITHOGRAPHIC PRINTING MACHINE.**

For Prices, further Particulars, &c.  
address to the Works.



For Prices, further Particulars, &c.  
address to the Works.

Messrs. JOHN LILLY & CO. having selected and purchased the Patterns, Models, Drawings, Templates, Gauges, &c., lately used by the Paragon Company, Eliam Road, Leeds, are now manufacturing this excellent Machine, as used by the chief Colour Printing Firms in the world, and so will know. It is distinguished by greater strength than any other Machine, to enable it to bear without vibration the great pressure necessary to produce sharp and clear work. It registers perfect in the day without points, which heretofore enabled it to do work at greater speed than most Colour Machines. They guarantee perfect register in any number of colours, and run at any time, refer to a hundred of the chief Colour Printing Houses in the Kingdom. The taking and distributing arrangements are good, and the rollers can be raised or lowered off the stone or slab, or both, at leisure while the Machine is running. A small lever regulates the Cylinder, so that the Machine will double ink or the Cylinder may be stopped, at pleasure while the carriage remains in motion, thus giving regulatedinking power. We make them from Oliver's site to Quadruple Duty, having laid down a special plant of the latest modern Machinery.

**JOHN LILLY & Co.,  
ENGINEERS AND PRINTING MACHINE MAKERS.**

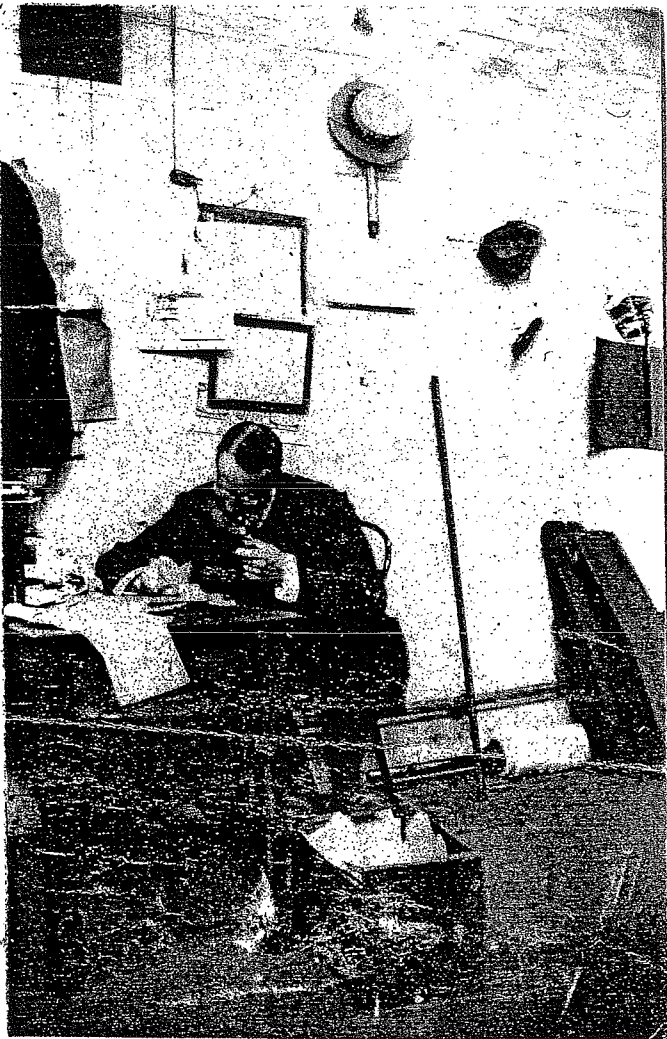
- AND MANUFACTURERS OF THE FOLLOWING:—
- IMPROVED-PARAGON PATENT LITHOGRAPHIC MACHINE.
  - WHARFEDALE LETTER-PRESS PRINTING MACHINE.
  - WHARFEDALE COLOUR MACHINE.
  - WHARFEDALE TWO-COLOUR MACHINE.
  - PART ENGLISH PERFECTING MACHINE.
  - ANGLI-FRENCH PERFECTING MACHINE (with or without FLYERS and UPRIGHT SPINDLE).
  - HORIZONTAL PRINTING MACHINE, for Jobbing purposes, &c.
  - WHARFEDALE GUILLOTINE CUTTING MACHINE.
  - TREADLE FLATEN MACHINE.
  - ROLLING MACHINE.
  - STEREO and ELECTRO FOUNDRIES and MACHINERY (DELAGANA'S IMPROVED).
  - STEAM ENGINES, ROLLERS, &c.

Works: St. John Street, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.

The Wharfedale Letter-Press Machine manufactured by J. Lilly, London

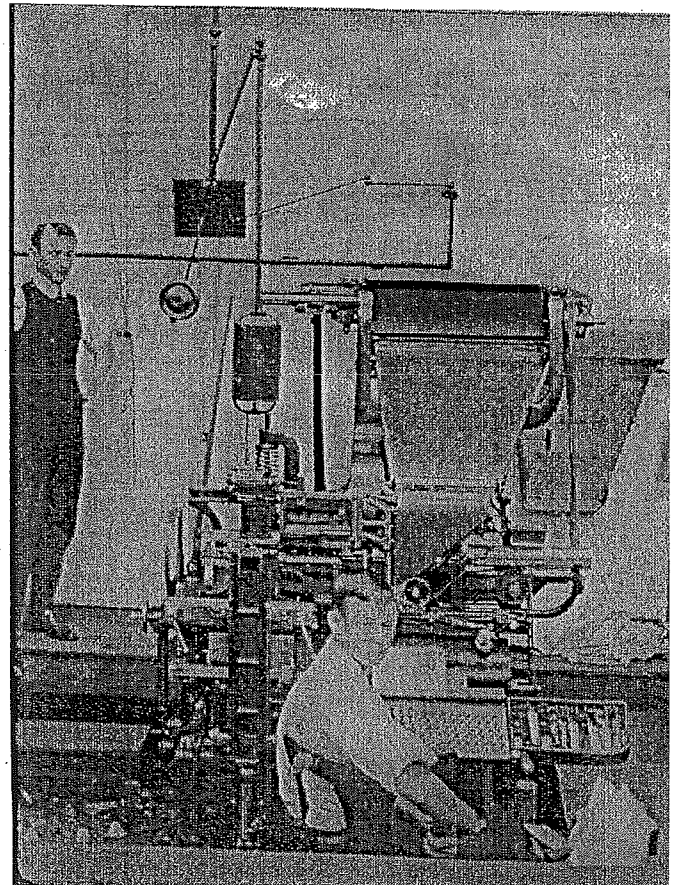


A. R. Muir (1845-1914)



A.L. Muir (editor 1896 to 1908) at work before 1905

A.S. Muir seated at a Linotype machine, c. 1910



## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **1. NEWSPAPERS**

##### **a) Poverty Bay: English language**

Poverty Bay newspapers listed in order of first appearance. The *Poverty Bay Standard* changed its name and ownership frequently and there are almost no records for the years 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880. The changes of name are included under the original banner as it was largely the same enterprise. Systematic reading of the *Poverty Bay Standard* from October 1872 – April 1874 and April – December 1876; otherwise, titles and colophon checked for all publications, plus selective reading –

*Poverty Bay Standard*, October 1872 - December 1873.

*Standard and People's Advocate*, December 1873 - December 1876.

*Gisborne Standard*, April 1880 - April 1883.

*Poverty Bay Standard*, June 1883 - October 1883.

*Telephone*, October 1883 - February 1885.

*Gisborne Standard & Cook County Gazette*, June 1887 - October 1891.

*Poverty Bay Herald*, January 1874 – 1914.

*Poverty Bay Herald and East Coast Newsletter*, April 1874 - October 1883.

*Gisborne Herald* centenary edition, 5 January 1974.

*Facts*, July 1883 - September 1883.

*Mosquito*, March 1881.

*Poverty Bay Independent*, March 1885 - August 1888.

*Telephone*, July 1895 - December 1900 (incorporated into the *Gisborne Times*).

*Gisborne Times*, January 1901 - 1938 (acquired by the *Poverty Bay Herald*).

##### **b) Poverty Bay: Maori language**

Details checked from the newspapers, but content not read. Dates given to place them in context –

*Te Waka Maori o Nui Tirani*, 1876? more probably 1878 – May 1879 (begun in Wellington 1863; moved from Gisborne to Napier May 1879).

*Takitimu*, May 1883.

*Te Waka Maori o Aotearoa*, February 1884 - October 1884.

*Te Pīpīwharau He Kupu Whakamarama*, November 1899 - July 1913 (moved from Nelson 1898).



**c) New Zealand Newspapers**

Selective reading and dates given to place them in context –

*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, April 1840 - September 1844.

*Wellington Independent*, April 1845 - May 1874.

*Taranaki Herald*, 7 November 1885.

*Hawkes Bay Herald*, (initially *HBH & Ahuriri Advocate*) September 1857 – January 1937.

*New Zealand Mail*, 1870 – 1907.

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