The Ebb and Flow of the Tasman mediasphere: A century of Australian and New Zealand print media development, 1840–1940

By Denis Cryle

Shared narratives: exploring the dynamics of antipodean press settlement

The significant contribution of the colonial press to processes of settlement and modernity has been acknowledged across a range of Australian and New Zealand sites, albeit on a case-by-case basis. Noteworthy examples of this are the detailed early nineteenth century accounts of the struggles between colonial newspapers and government over the introduction of the British ideology of a free press. The authoritative *Book in Print* notes, in the case of New Zealand, that "there has been no general survey of government regulation and control of the printing industry in New Zealand" (Griffith, Harvey and Meslon, 1997:81). Despite significant commonalities across sites and colonies, a similar approach has prevailed among Australian historians, albeit with a growing awareness of the common assumptions and prejudices common to new settler societies (Ihde, 2004). In contrast with New Zealand, political accounts of the early press–government struggles in New South Wales and Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) constitute an ongoing preoccupation (Meaney, 1969; Walker, 1976; Morris Miller, 1952; Woodbury, 1972; Cryle 1989), although few of these studies attempt to establish meaningful comparisons between Australian newspapers or the colonies concerned.

The notable exception to this is Lloyd's overview of the Australian colonies in which he identifies four principal constituents of the early Australian press: namely, its shared philosophical tradition, received technology and practice, peculiar geography and patterns of settlement (1999:10). Of interest for comparative purposes are Lloyd's observations about the eccentric pattern of Australian press expansion, and his contrast between this pattern with "the orderly movement of the printing press and the advancing frontier in the case of North

America" (1999:18). Of interest for our purposes is an extension of Lloyd's Australian analysis to the dynamics of press settlement in New Zealand, not merely by examining interaction between centres in the North and South Islands but also between subsequent Australian colonies, like Victoria and South Australia, which diverge from the convict settlement pattern of the more established colonies. Harvey's pioneering study (1990) of trans-Tasman connections in the mid colonial period indicates one such trajectory through his portrait of David Burn, but more systematic work remains to be undertaken. Burn, a prominent literary journalist in Hobart town, migrated to New Zealand where he subsequently worked and published extensively in the Auckland press.

The role of the mission presses in the colonial period has been well documented by New Zealand researchers (Griffith, Harvey and Maslen 1997:22ff), unlike their Australian counterparts who continue to focus almost exclusively on the colonial newspaper's political and secular role (Walker, 1976; Ihde, 2004). Unlike the dominant free press narrative which prevails in colonial Australian historiography, studies of the early New Zealand press have been framed as histories of printing and print production, with Sydney as an acknowledged jumping off point for the introduction of machinery and personnel (Coleridge 1989). The comparative study of Australia and New Zealand proposed here is well placed to analyse and explore these trans-Tasman trajectories, not only in the context of local politics, land disputes with indigenous peoples and cultural trade, but equally in relation to Pacific and maritime networks which incorporate the activities of the missionaries, their presses and their journalistic offspring who played an ongoing role in colonial journalism. The links between Aaron Buzacott, a notable Pacific missionary and translator, and the Fairfaxes of the *Sydney Morning Herald* form a revealing prelude to the prominent press careers of his sons, Charlie Hardie and William Hitchcock in Brisbane and regional Queensland, in keeping with these

wider inter-colonial and Pacific influences (Griffith, Harvey and Maslen, 1997:248; Cryle, 1989).

At this point in time, a more integrated study of the Australia-NZ newspaper press, such as that proposed here, has the capacity to supplement and build upon parallel History of the Book projects undertaken in New Zealand (Griffith, Harvey and Maslen, 1997) and in Australia (Lyons and Arnold, 2001) over the last decade. One promising linkage, confirmed in the New Zealand study, is the ongoing significance of printing, book production and the craft union ethos, a national perspective grounded in earlier studies of local printing in Dunedin (Waite, 2001) and Canterbury (Smith, 1953). While Hagan's in-depth Australian study of *Printers and Politics* (1966) identifies a significant interchange of workers and ideas from the mid nineteenth century, in conjunction with the Australasian Typographical Union and its *Journal*, his wider perspective has not been revisited in Franks' more recent New Zealand study of *Print and Politics* (2001) nor in *Book and Print*, excellent studies as they both are. One of the aims of the current project will be to establish stronger comparative perspectives on colonial printing in relation to the Australia-NZ press.

The changing economic conditions of migration during subsequent decades like the 1890s are also noteworthy, differing as they do from prospects at the mid colonial period, and increasing the likelihood of competition for employment, industrial rivalry and workplace hostility towards emigrant or imported workers. The reaction of the Sydney print unions to the presence of New Zealand women compositors during the 1890s is an example of this pattern (Cave, 2000), while the ongoing concerns of the Australian Journalists Association, prior to World War One, at the prospect of being undercut by untrained New Zealand journalists are another (Oosterman, 2005). Associated with this on-the-job rivalry in various locations is the rise of trade unionism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Returning New Zealanders brought unionism back to their homeland in the case of the New Zealand Journalists Association (Oosterman, 2005), while Australian unionists subsequently pressed for the incorporation of their own organisation into legislation following the New Zealand example (Lloyd, 1985). The steady flow of Australian industrial ideas and unionists across the Tasman coincided with the emergence of an industrially militant labour press. Given the importance of newspapers to the early labour movement, the renewed mobility of this generation of editors and journalists corresponds in certain respects with the settlement patterns of the early colonial 'free press' period. Not that the export of ideas and ideology was always predetermined. To date, embryonic research in this fertile area suggests variable political outcomes. For while the notable career of J.T. Paul in Otago tends to confirm the major contribution made in New Zealand by Australian unionists (Stewart, 1974), that of William Lane, the former Queensland socialist and instigator of the failed Paraguay experiment, suggests a change in political trajectory. According to Gobbett and Saunders (1995:122), Lane used his former Queensland connections with Gresley Lukin, then proprietor of Wellington's *Evening Post* to gain the prestigious editorship of the *New Zealand Herald*, a powerful but conservative Auckland paper. In such cases, relocation was an escape from the past rather than more of the same.

Press, empire and twentieth century modernity: the role of information and communication technology

This comparative project will contribute to a significant body of contemporary research which examines the expansion of the British-speaking press as a primary agent of modernity, focussing on Australian and New Zealand as settler societies from the early colonial period until World War Two. Following Thompson (1995) and Hartley (1992 and 1996) who have examined the politics of an emerging mediasphere from the eighteenth century, historians of the early twentieth century such as Rieger (2005) have continued to document the fascination of the press with modernity and technology in the context of inter-imperial rivalries and the

impetus it provided for the rapid spread of new communication technologies. These contributions will determine the broader framework within which this study situates itself.

Hartley (1996), in ascribing a pre-eminent role to the daily newspaper press in the creation of modernity, has argued that:

> both journalism and modernity are products of European (and Euro-sourced) societies over the last three or four centuries; both are associated with the development of exploration, scientific thought, industrialisation, political emancipation and imperial expansion. Both promote notions of freedom, progress and universal enlightenment and are associated with the breaking down of traditional knowledges and hierarchies, and their replacement with abstract bonds of virtual communication which are linked by the media (33).

In this context, Riffenburgh's insightful trans-Atlantic study of the London and New York popular press and its fascination with imperial and Arctic exploration (1994), offers a potential prototype for an Australia-NZ study incorporating the Pacific and Antarctic. The processes of modernity, outlined by Hartley, characterise the early twentieth century Australia-NZ press relationship, operating as it continues to do within a wider imperial framework. Thus, Sydney became an Australian-based Fleet Street for Australian and New Zealand journalists alike, while Keith Murdoch's Melbourne *Herald* introduced popular notions of journalism into the antipodes, founded upon the illustrious tutelage of Northcliffe and his ground-breaking *Daily Mail*.

On the changing relationship between twentieth century empire and modernity, Hartley (1996) and Kaul (2003) note that rule by force gave way increasingly to rule by information and knowledge, at a time when concentration of ownership was becoming a feature of the English-speaking daily press and modern media organisations were assuming their

recognisable form (Osborne and Lewis, 2001). Significant players in the twentieth century for our purposes are Murdoch's *Herald* and *Weekly Times* and Wilson and Horton's *New Zealand Herald*, but also Hugh Denison's Sydney-based Associated Newspapers, the emerging Packer group and popular enterprises such as Norton's *Truth* newspaper chain. Thus the dynastic character of press ownership can also be mapped across this period through an examination of the relevant Newspaper Proprietors' Associations and of regular Australia-NZ press delegations to the Imperial Press Conferences (Cryle, 2002), as an integral part of the antipodean press modernity project.

At a global level, Rieger's recent study of *Technology and the Future of Modernity in Britain and Germany, 1890–1945* (2005) covers similar territory, albeit from the European-centred context of imperial rivalry. Unlike Hartley, Rieger pays little attention to the press, preferring to selectively analyse such related developments as ocean transport, aviation and film as examples of the "modern wonders" of twentieth century technology. An Australia-NZ study which proposes to incorporate the promotional and popularising influence of the press on such communication and media developments and explores the gendered and racial implications of the public's ongoing fascination with technology, would serve to reposition the newspaper press in general, and the Tasman press more particularly, within the modern 'mediasphere', to employ Hartley's term.

The colonial press and the remaking of the Tasman world

Important in understanding the emerging trans-Tasman relationship from this period is the flow of ideas and news beyond the Australian mainland. Despite its local preoccupations and ownership, the colonial press was heavily dependent on overseas and incoming news reports (Kirkpatrick, 2000:345ff) not only from Britain but from nearby colonies. A geographically-grounded analysis of news sources, such as has been attempted for the 1838 Australian

Bicentenary project (Atkinson, 1978) would yield further valuable insights into the Australia-New Zealand connection, not only for biographical purposes but for tracing the flows of information, ideas and commerce which underpin the role of the press, including the transplantation of ideologies of race through frontier contact and missionary work. Atkinson's study of the geographic sources of early Sydney press news provides only basic information on New Zealand or the Pacific, yet his approach is of potential value in calling as it does for the identification of "the mental maps" and "international networks that involve ideas both about places and about the people who lived in them" (1978:88).

By contrast with the mid colonial period (1840–60), expansion during the boom decades 1860 – 1890 was fuelled by the discovery of gold, unprecedented immigration and urbanisation. This period saw the emergence of more complex Tasman networks in which New Zealand was no longer merely the final destination for British and Australian capital and labour, but became a more active participant in press business and development. A feature of this emerging activity was the pivotal role of new boom centres such as Dunedin (Otago) and Melbourne (Victoria), with significant implications for more established rivals like Auckland and Sydney (Davison, 1978; Belich, 1996). While patterns of New Zealand immigration have been identified from the established southern colonies (Harvey, 1990; Day, 1990; Kirkpatrick in Curthoys and Schultz 1999), research by Cryle (1989 and 1997) suggests that emigration began to occur from other Australian colonies like Queensland and Western Australia in the wake of gold discoveries. Moreover, this movement occurred in both directions rather than solely into New Zealand, as part of the wider pattern of trans-Pacific migration extending as far as North America (Bell and Bell, 1993). The complex career of Julius Vogel (Dalziel, 1986), the eminent New Zealand journalist, entrepreneur and politician, began with formative experience in Victoria, with subsequent reconnections to Melbourne and the Australian colonies for the purposes of news gathering, communication and business. Such a trans-

Tasman perspective can be applied, both to influential and lesser known journalists than Vogel, as Cryle demonstrates in his study of the inter-colonial careers of early Australian journalists (1997), but equally to whole enterprises and institutions. The *Otago Daily Times*, the dominant Dunedin and South Island newspaper which Vogel used as a springboard for his political and business career, was subsequently edited by a series of notable literary figures, a number of whom had strong Victorian and NSW connections (Twopeny 1973; Barton, 1866).

A feature of metropolitan press expansion at the same period was increased competition for news and access to expanding communication systems like the international telegraph (Australia 1872, New Zealand 1876), as colonial newspapers sought to broaden their appeal and distribution. Significant for our purposes is the emergence of metropolitan weeklies like the *Australasian*, *Sydney Mail* and *Queenslander*, the former published by the Melbourne *Argus* with a clearly trans-Tasman and inter-colonial appeal. This distinctive and voluminous form of newspaper publication, with magazine as well as news functions and an inter-colonial as well as local reach (Inglis, 1992), commands attention for the purposes of this project, not merely because it was "the most significant colonial development in the production of Australian fiction," (Stewart 1979:23 in Murphy and Mitropoulos 2002:135) but because it changed the demographics of colonial newspaper readership. Its New Zealand impact and readership require further investigation in the case of titles like the *Australasian*, while similar kinds of publications appearing locally in New Zealand merit equal attention. In the case of newspaper fiction, Harvey has uncovered a direct link between the Melbourne press and New Zealand titles like the *Golden Bay Argus* in the form of shared newspaper supplements. After research into the role of Melbourne-based agencies in the 1890s, Harvey concludes that:

> little research has been carried out on the provision of newspaper supplements in
>
> Australian with the singular exception of Elizabeth Morrison's work stemming from

the publication of serialised fiction in Australian newspapers. No studies have yet been made of supplements in New Zealand (1999:413).

A collaborative environment: press and print culture during and after Federation

More so than its sister New Zealand study, Lyons and Arnold's *History of the Book in Australia* casts valuable light upon larger print markets operating across the empire and the antipodes. They confirm, in the process, the centrality of Melbourne as a major destination for print exports to the southern hemisphere (Lyons in Lyons and Arnold, 2001: 19ff). Issues of readership and circulation have also been addressed in the same collection by such contributors as Arnold, Lyons, Kirsop and Buckridge. However, the related issue of distribution and the seminal role played by such agencies as the London and Melbourne-based Gordon and Gotch, a major supplier of newspapers and printed matter across Australia and New Zealand (Cryle 1996 and 2005 forthcoming), require further attention, not least because of Gordon and Gotch's complementary role as a local advertising agency and colonial publisher in its own right. Critical for an understanding of the colonial press and book relationship is Harvey's pertinent observation in *Book and Print* that "unlike the situation in Britain where book publishers were established well over a century before newspapers were produced, in its New Zealand colony, newspapers came first" (1997:128). Harvey's observation applies equally to colonial Australia, thereby confirming, its "special significance" for histories of colonial print culture.

Despite a useful overview for the period, 1891-1945, and its suggestive case study approach, Lyons and Arnold's study operates within a pre-eminently national perspective, in part because of its groundbreaking character. One is forced to look elsewhere for evidence of Tasman links in journalism and literature, notably to Clarke's biographical portraits (1988) of late nineteenth century women, for whom prospects for marriage, travel and press careers

were closely intertwined. More systematic in this regard has been the ongoing work of Lydia Wevers at the Stout Research Centre (Victoria University), extending to the twentieth century in the case of women journalists and writers (Wevers and Webby, 1987) but also to travel writing and literary journalism as distinctive subgenres of colonial newspaper work within a collaborative Tasman environment (2000, 2002). In her joint study of Australia-NZ fiction with Elizabeth Webby, a major researcher in Australian literary history and historian of the book, Wevers argues that her historical subjects saw themselves as "part of the same literary environment… The Tasman boundary was not much more significant than the state boundary between New South Wales and Victoria" (1987: vii, ix). Wever's contention has implications for nationalist writing on both sides of the Tasman from the late nineteenth century. For while women may appear to have been marginalised by the masculinism of nationalist work, notably in Australia (Lake, 1999; Clarke, 1988), a trans-Tasman press study should critically revisit this construction of literary and national journalism. Preliminary research at the Alexander Turnbull library suggests that New Zealand writers contributed strongly to the Sydney *Bulletin*. Indeed specialised newspapers and magazines continued well beyond Federation (1901), to appeal to selective and educated readerships throughout Australasia (Bennett, Studdert in Lyons and Arnold, 2001). While the concept of Australasia may have been politically stillborn by the end of the 1890s, it did not automatically preclude ongoing cultural contact and collaboration.

One important outcome to emerge from the extensive History of the Book projects in both New Zealand and Australia is a clearer awareness of the strength and limitations of locally-based approaches to print media historiography. Prescient in this regard were the early caveats of Cave and others that:

> By concentrating on nations as they exist today, we are forced to play down

or even leave out the international connection and international trade… We discourage the study of commonalities (2000).

Consequently, the current study situates itself between the national and imperial approaches, restricting itself, in geographical scope, to the immediate Tasman region. While scholarly British studies (Bell et al, 2000) have alerted local scholars to the validity of Cave's reservations and the need to engage with comparative approaches, broader imperial studies operating within a metropole/periphery framework run the everpresent risk of obscuring the Tasman connection, by focussing exclusively on Melbourne or Australia at the expense of New Zealand. A trans-colonial and transnational approach, combining the mobility of imperial studies with the specificity of nationally-based scholarship, appears most appropriate for our purposes, bearing in mind that ongoing trans-Tasman rivalries are as much a matter of geography as of shared imperial origins.

Running contrary to the assumptions of nationalist historiography from the 1890s are the recent insights of scholars such as Oosterman (2005) who documents continued movement by journalists across the Tasman during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the wake of Melbourne's mid colonial dominance, Sydney came to assume renewed importance as a destination for New Zealand print and literary journalists by this time, with the *Bulletin* acting as "the chief mark for the freelance" (2005:85). New Zealand journalists also became concentrated on the staffs of individual Sydney newspapers, including the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* (Oosterman 2005) and the *Sun* and *Daily Guardian* after World War One (Newsmen File, Alexander Turnbull MSS). Just as aspiring Australian journalists travelled to or were sent to Fleet Street for mentoring and training purposes, so their New Zealand counterparts often migrated to nearby Sydney. It is highly unlikely that once in Australia, many did not switch to regional newspaper work in view of the local character of New

Zealand journalism, but this aspect of twentieth century migration is yet to receive serious attention.

An important contradiction underpinning the study of trans-Tasman press connections over a century is the dual role played by the newspaper press both as an agent of localisation and globalisation. In the case of newspapers, unlike magazines, press historiography in Australian and in New Zealand has been written largely from a local perspective. In their special issue devoted to Australasian media history, Osborne and Cryle argue that:

> More important than quantity is the need to reconceptualise Australasian media history to acknowledge more clearly its dependent interconnections with broader Australian historical experience and to relocate it more substantially within the larger framework of Australasian interconnections with larger worlds (2002:5).

An important corrective to this purely local approach have been recent histories of global news dissemination, notably by Potter (2003), Rantanen (1998), Kaul (2003) and Putnis (2004). The issue of Australasian interconnections, one of particular interest for this study, has been addressed by Putnis and Rantanen and, in some detail, by Harvey (2002) in the New Zealand context. However, the trans-Tasman study proposed will focus more closely upon the issue of inter-Dominion mobility and press communication rather than adopting the orthodox metropole/periphery model traditionally employed by imperial historians. Within the wider field of print media research, recent nationally-based histories of the book (Griffith, Harvey and Maslen; 1997; Lyons and Arnold 2001) acknowledge the role of empire, albeit from their own national perspectives. Interconnections remain to be made between Australia and New Zealand in view of the national focus of each study.. Both projects leave unanswered complex issues surrounding this special inter-Dominion relationship, one characterised by a 'tyranny of proximity' (to rework Blainey's term) and equally subject to

periods of convergence and divergence under the influence of market forces, migration and evolving cultural and communication networks. What recent global news historians have thus far uncovered in the late nineteenth century is a changing system of press alliances involving New Zealand and Australian interests, in competition both with British interests and with one another (Cryle, 2006).

While co-operation between individual Australian and New Zealand journalists was apparent at the time of the Boer War (Oosterman, 2005), the groundwork for the information revolution and twentieth century Tasman press networks was arguably laid during the intercolonial conferences of the 1880s and 1890s in the lead-up to Federation, involving New Zealand as well as Australian representatives for most of this period. Livingston (1996), writing from an Australian perspective, focuses on the implications of these conferences for federation and nationhood; but they can also be viewed more broadly as a catalyst for subsequent Australia-NZ newspaper and government co-operation over such issues as postal and cable services. In this regard, Cryle's ongoing research into the Australia-NZ relations within the Empire Press Union (2002, 2005), from its establishment in 1909 until mid-century, has cast light on the pivotal role of the English-speaking press as a local/global institution of modernity, in conjunction with the work of Osborne and Lewis (2001) and Harvey (2002).

A systematic survey of the pre-World War One years should extend beyond individual careers to embrace individuals newspapers and cities; it should equally seek to map flows in news content across the Tasman during these critical decades, including an assessment of the relevant professional and industry journals. New Zealand sources (Fenwick, 1929; Sanders, 1979) confirm that approximately one third of cable news reaching New Zealand at this time was Australian and that the volume of news continued to rise inexorably into the twentieth

century as cable costs were steadily reduced. This was largely through the efforts of the Australian and New Zealand Press Associations, based in London and Sydney respectively, although their agreements were still subject to renegotiation as a result of new business arrangements (1896), government intervention (1909) and a general dissatisfaction with the extent and quality of material deemed relevant to Australian or New Zealand subscribers. We know far less however about news flows from New Zealand into Australia, either in general terms or through individual agreements between particular newspapers and their assigned correspondents. There is some evidence that a good deal of this news traffic was based around sport and racing in association with key events like cricket tours and the Melbourne Cup (Cryle, 2006). Certainly, popular newspapers play an increasing role from the turn on the century as major recipients and users of cable news.

A grounded study of the Australia-NZ press for the decades after 1890 will need to address not only links with trade unionism but also parallel developments in the popular press, including colonial imitators of the London *Telegraph* and the new journalism of sensationalist and evening papers which thrived in the larger Australia-NZ centres after World War One (Cryle, 1999a). We know for example that Norton of *Truth* notoriety recruited his Sydney staff 'on the cheap' from New Zealand (Hawthorn in Curthoys and Schultz, 1989) but we know little about attempts to extend popular readership across the Tasman in the manner of *Truth's* interstate editions. In post-war Australia and New Zealand, intense territorial competition between newspaper groups like Hugh Denison's *Sun* and the Melbourne *Herald* has been the subject of local study but the extent to which this 'circulation warfare' between Sydney/Melbourne (Murray, 1978) and Auckland/Canterbury markets (Smith, 1953) crossed the Tasman or developed other axes is well worthy of investigation.

Rather than assuming a harmonious and mutually co-operative relationship at all levels of the industry, a longitudinal study of the Australia-NZ press which incorporates the economic uncertainties and national insularity of the 1890s and 1930s permits a fuller understanding of fluctuations occurring in labour relations, resources, communications and co-operation on both sides of the Tasman. Nevertheless, the restructuring and eventual disappearance of the labour and weekly press, coupled with the onset of syndication in both locations after 1930, ensured that common traditions and attitudes would resurface in the press, namely a fascination with new European-based technologies and the increasingly global potential of modern communications.

Rieger's (2005) examples of innovative technologies can be selectively taken up and explored in this context, including the advent of wireless and broadcasting (Marconi, AWA) in Australia and New Zealand., Press reaction to broadcasting, can be studied through an analysis of its regular commentaries on radio's development and through industry discussions in joint forums such as the Empire Press Union, where the impact and expansion of empire communications, was regularly documented and discussed. In keeping with Rieger's findings however, attention needs also to be paid to the ambivalent reception accorded to twentieth century Western inventiveness on the part of the press and its publics. This ambivalence towards more competitive and threatening forms of technology extended to relentless newspaper coverage of technological disasters in the air, at home and at sea. Far from remaining an objective observer, the print media was increasingly caught up in an ongoing bid to pursue and protect its own commercial interests, while resisting regulatory or retaliatory constraints. Arguably the modernist narrative as articulated by the press is further complicated, if not circumscribed, by such factors as the outbreak of World War Two, the growing ascendancy of broadcasting and the increasing willingness on the part of

governments to employ the new medium of wireless as a means of offsetting the commercial and political weight of established newspaper groups.

In understanding the collaboration and rivalries which characterised the Australia-NZ media relationship over the period (1840–1940, imperial ties were of prime importance. However, there is increasing evidence that the media relationship was also a direct one, rather than simply indirect through Britain.. In this sense, the British World of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided not merely a set of fixed territories but a global trading bloc in which British capital and labour moved with relative freedom. Hartley (1996) has linked the processes of modernity to the development of the daily newspaper press in the context of the British Empire, where the information order plays an increasing hegemonic role by the late nineteenth century. These same processes characterise the Australia-New Zealand print media relationship and structure what we have called, following Hartley (1996), a Tasman mediasphere, influenced by British practice but also characterised by a range of other influences, colonial, Asia-Pacific and American, in the case of security and cultural trade. For the purposes of ongoing research, the focus will be on the role of the print media as a catalyst of modernity, particularly on metropolitan newspapers in larger centres where its influence was paramount. However, attention will also be paid to the weeklies as local agents of progress, especially to widely-read city weeklies like the *Australasian*, the *New Zealand Observer* and the nationalist press in order to re-assess and demonstrate the persistence of trans-Tasman media ties.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, Alan (1978) "A Slice of the Sydney Press,"*Push from the Bush* : 82–99.

Barton, G.B. (1866) *Literature in New South Wales*, Sydney, Richards.

Bell, Philip & Bell Roger (1993) *Implicated. The Unites States of Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Bell, Bill & Bennett, Philip & Bevan, Jonquil (2000) *Across boundaries. The Book in Culture and Commerce*, Winchester, Oak Knoll Press.

Belich, James (1996). *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders : From Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, Auckland, Allen Lane.

Cave, Roderick (2000) "Printing in Colonial New Zealand: An Insular History" in Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes and Alan Loney (eds), *A Book in the Hand: Essays in the history of the book in New Zealand*, Auckland, Auckland University Press: 235–46.

Clarke, Patricia (1988), *Pen Portraits: Women Writers and Journalists in Nineteenth Century Australia*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin.

Coleridge, Kathleen (1989), "Printing and Publishing in Wellington, New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s:in *Early Printing in New Zealand*, Occasional Papers in Bibliography and Librarianship, Wellington, Victoria University.

Cryle, Denis (1989) *The Press in Colonial Queensland. A Social and Political History 1845–1875*¸ St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Cryle, Denis (1999) "Researching Media History: National and Global perspectives" in *Media History*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999 : 65–70.

Cryle, Denis (1999a)"Old tales, new techniques: Popular journalism 1860–1930". In Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz (eds.), *Journalism Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press : 56–69.

Cryle, Denis (2002) "The Empire Press Union and Antipodean Communications: Australian-New Zealand Involvement 1909–1950" in *Media History*, 8 (1) : 49–62.

Cryle, Denis (2004). Gordon and Gotch from the 1940s to the Present: Regional Distribution and Integration in.Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 28 (1–2): 17–26.

Cryle, Denis (2005) "Case Study: Gordon & Gotch" in Craig Munro and Robyn Sheahan-Bright (eds) *Paper Empires. A History of the Book in Australia 1946–2001*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Cryle, Denis (2005) "The Empire Press Union and the expansion of imperial air services 1909–1939 with special reference to Australia and New Zealand" Auckland, British Word Conference, forthcoming.

Cryle, Denis (2006) "Peripheral Politics: antipodean interventions in imperial news and cable communications" in Chandrika Kaul (ed) *Media and the British Empire*, London, Palgrave,.

Day, Patrick (1990) *The Making of the New Zealand Press*, Wellington, Victoria University Press.

Davison, Graeme (1978) *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Carlton, Melbourne, University Press.

Empire Press Union (1931) New Zealand Section, *Annual Meetings*, Auckland, New Zealand.

Fenwick, George (1929), *The United Press Association. Formation and Early History*, Dunedin, Otago Times.

Franks, Peter (2001) *Print and Politics: A History and Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865–1995,* Wellington, Victoria University Press.

Griffith, P. Harvey, R. and Maslen, K (eds.) (1997) *Book and Print in New Zealand. A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*, Wellington, Victoria University Press.

Gobbett, D. and Saunders, Malcolm (1995*) With Lane in Parguay. Harry Taylor of the Murray Pioneer 1873–1932,* Rockhampton, Central Queensland University.

Hartley, J. (1996) *Popular Reality. Journalism, Modernity and Popular Culture,* London, Arnold.

Harvey, Ross (1988). 'Joseph Ivess: "Celebrated Country Newspaper Propagator"', *Turnbull Library Record*, 21 (1): 5–28.

Harvey, Ross (1999). "Peripatetic Pressmen: Some Trans-Tasman Connections in the Book Trade" in *The Culture of the Book: Essays from Two Hemispheres in Honour of Wallace Kirsop*, Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, : 410–418.

Harvey, Ross (2002) "Bringing the News to New Zealand: The Supply and Control of Overseas News in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History*, 8 (1) : 21–34.

Harvey, Ross (2003). 'Sources of "Literary" Copy for New Zealand Newspapers', *Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand Bulletin*, 27 (3–4) : 83–93.

Harvey, Ross and Somerville, Ross (1998). "Australian-New Zealand Connections after 1945: Or, Reedkoala: An Adventure in Australian Publishing," *Publishing Studies*, no 6: 72–78.

Headrick, D. (1981) *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, Oxford University Press.

Hagan, Jim (1966*) Printers and Politics*: *A History of the Australian Printing Unions 1850–1950*, Canberra, Australian National University.

Ihde, E. (2004) *A Manifesto for New South Wales, Edward Smith Hall and the Sydney Monitor, 1826–1840*, Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing.

Inglis, Ken (1980) "The Imperial Connection: Telegraphic communication between England and Australia, 1872–1902" in A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones, *Australia and Britain: Studies in a Changing Relationship*, Sydney and London, Sydney University Press : 21–38.

Inglis, Ken (1992) "Questions about newspapers", *Australian Cultural History*, 11 : 120–127.

Kaul, Chandrika (2003) *Reporting the Raj, The British Press and India, c1880–1922*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Kirkpatrick, R (1999) "House of Unelected Representatives: The Provincial Press 1825–1900" in Ann Curthoys and Julieanne Schultz (eds), *Journalism: Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press : 20–35.

Livingston, K. (1996) *The Wired Nation Continent. The Communication Revolution and Federating Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Lloyd, C (1999) "British Press Traditions, Colonial Governors and the Struggle for a 'Free' Press in Ann Curthoys and Julieanne Schultz (eds), *Journalism: Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press : 20–35.

Lyons, Martin. and Arnold, John. (eds) (2001) *A History of the Book in Australia 1891–1945*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Meaney, Frank (1969) The History of the Sydney Press 1803–1850, MA, thesis, University of Newcastle.

Morris Miller, E (1952) *Pressmen and Governors. Australian Editors and Writers in Early Tasmania*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson.

Murphy, W. and Mitropoulos, M. (2002) "Tracking the *Australasian* to *Aussie Post,*" *Australian Journalism Review,* 24 (2) : 133–150.

Murray, Robert (1998) *The Confident Years. Australia in the Twenties*, Sydney, Allen Lane.

Osborne, G. and Lewis, G, (2001) *Communication Traditions in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Oosterman, Allison (2005) "Inky Wayfarers: New Zealand and the Australian connection in the early twentieth century", *Australian Journalism Review*, 27 (1) : 77–91.

Potter, S.J. (2003) *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System 1876–1922*. Oxford*,* Oxford University Press.

Putnis, Peter (1997) "The Business of Empire: Henry M. Collins and the early role of Reuters in Australia", *Australian Journal of Communication*, 24 (3) 1997: 11–26.

Rantanen Terhi (1998) "The Struggle for Control of Domestic News Markets' in Oliver Boyd- Barrett and Rantanen Terhi (eds), *The Globalization of News* London, Sage: 35–48.

Rieger, Bernhard (2005) *Technology and the Culture and Modernity in Britain and Germany 1890–1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Riffenburgh, Beau (1994) *The Myth of the Explorer, The Press, Sensationalism and Biographical Discovery*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press.

Read, Donald (1992) *The Power of News*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sanders, J. (1979) *Dateline–NZPA. The New Zealand Press Association 1880–1980*, Auckland, Wilson and Horton.

Smith, A. A. (1953) *Printing in Canterbury*, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs.

Stewart, Peter J. (1974) *Type of a Century: 100 Years in Trade Unionism in the Printing Industry in Otago*, Otago, New Zealand Printing and Related Trade Union of Works.

Select Committee on Press Cable Service (1909) Report, in Senate, *Journals*, 1, Canberra, Government Printer.

Thompson John B. (1995) *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*, Blackwell, Polity Press.

Turner, H.E. (1925) *The Imperial Press Conference in Australia*, London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Turner, H.E. (1946) *The Sixth Imperial Press Conference*, London: Empire Press Union.

Walker, R.B. (1980) *Yesterday's News. A History of the Newspaper Press in New South Wales from 1920 to 1945*, Sydney, Sydney University Press.

Webby, Elizabeth and Wevers, Lydia (eds) (1987) *Happy Endings: Stories by Australian and New Zealand Women, 1930s – 1980s*, Wellington, Port Nicolson Press.

Wevers, Lydia (2002) *Century of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809–1900*, Auckland, Auckland University Press.

Wilson, A.C. (1994) *Wire and Wireless: A History of Telecommunications in New Zealand 1860–1987*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

Winseck, D. (1999) "Back to the Future: telecommunications online information services and convergence from 1840 to 1910", *Media History*, 5 (2) : 137–157

Woodbury, J. (1972) *Andrew Bent and the Freedom of the Press in Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart, Fuller's Bookshop.

Waite, Noel (2001) "Printer's Proof: The Dunedin Master Printers' Association 1889–1894", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, v.25 : 17–41.