"Jack's as Good as His Master"

Scots and Print Culture in New Zealand, 1860–1900

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Scots played a significant role in the general British colonial expansion of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the settling of New Zealand in particular. Between 1825 and 1940 an estimated 2.33 million people emigrated from Scottish shores. While most went to North America, there were significant short periods (1853–54, 1860–64, and 1875–77) when almost half of those departing came to Australia and New Zealand. As one study concludes, "Between 1861 and 1940 more than half the natural increase of population in Scotland left the country. In proportional terms this meant that the Scots were more emigration prone than any nation in Europe apart from the Irish."[1]

Prior to 1860, Scots could be found scattered in New Zealand Company settlements of Wellington (started in 1840), Wanganui (1840), New Plymouth (1841), and Nelson (1842). The colony's most distinctive Scottish settlement was the Free Church settlement of Otago, in 1848, which was dominated by Scots until the Otago gold rush of the 1860s. Of the immigrants who came to the Otago province between 1848 and 1860, 80 percent (4,978) were Scottish in origin, with the majority from towns and areas clustered around Glasgow and Edinburgh.[2] A second Scots separatist settlement was that of Waipu between 1855 and 1859, populated by more than nine hundred followers of Reverend Norman McLeod, whose restless migration to Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century concluded with a second move to New Zealand.

Such religiously influenced migrations were superseded in the 1870s by the more pragmatic and controlled immigration schemes of Julius Vogel's government. It is estimated that of the hundred thousand assisted immigrants who arrived in New Zealand in the 1870s, 19.5 percent were Scots. The New Zealand government made a special effort to recruit skilled Scots immigrant labor, employing seventy-three immigration agents in Scotland and advertising in more than 280 Scottish newspapers.[3] The result was a controlled, targeted mix of incomers, including agricultural laborers (31 percent), domestics (19 percent), general laborers (10 percent), and artisans (20 percent). The majority went to Otago (62 percent), suggesting the effect of "chain migration" common among emigrant communities (whereby successful settlers provided the necessary connections for other family members to follow in their wake), but significant numbers settled in Canterbury (18 percent) and Wellington (10 percent).[4]

But what would have attracted Scots in the first place to New Zealand, a land several thousand miles away from their place of origin, and what might have kept them there? This essay offers some insight into what the trained Scottish printer in particular might have found on his arrival, and the role Scots and their expertise in printing and publishing played in encouraging regional identities and the establishment of an infrastructure for print culture activity in the first century of New Zealand's Pakeha (white) colonization.

Scots and Communication Networks

Of the circumstances that might have attracted skilled printers to New Zealand, some clues can be found in comments such as those made in

the following letter from a Scots printer in 1852–53, describing life in the "New Edinburgh" of the antipodes. Used to cold Edinburgh days and long working weeks on low wages, the printer writes in glowing terms of his impressions of his new home in Dunedin, and of his working conditions:

> We must say for ourselves that we are pretty comfortable. Our house is hardly three minutes walk away from the printing office, and I can go and come from the office when I like. All that is required is to get the paper out on the Saturday morning, and that we can do in less than a week counting 8 hours a day, which is the New Zealand hours of daily labour, although in Australia it is 10 hours a day. . . . As we can finish the paper in less time than a week, I often take a day's sail on the river, or work away in our garden, in which I take much delight, and as I seldom go to the office till between 8 and 9, and drop work at 5 in the evening, I can find plenty time to work in the garden.

The printer, Daniel Campbell, employed on the *Otago Witness,* concludes in self-satisfied terms: "I have about £2 a week, and all extra time paid, with no body to say what time is this to come to your work, or is such a thing not done yet. So far from this a man's service in the colonies are valued with some sort of justice, in fact, to use the expression, 'Jack's as good as his master' here, and even better in some cases."[5]

Letters like these were crucial to reinforcing Scottish perceptions of New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century. Such personal testimonials, tapping into long-standing communication networks (letters sent home and passed round for reading among kin) were key factors in shaping expectations and reactions of family, friends, and acquaintances. Many nineteenth-century commentators noted the disparity between early emigrant experiences and glowing official representations of colonial life in homeward-aimed newspapers, pamphlets, and books. The "letter home," anonymous and positive accounts of life in the colonies published in the popular press in Britain, was one such propagandistic tool used by government officials to entice settlers abroad. But not all private letters were positive in tone, particularly in the early years of settlement. One contemporary noted in 1850, remarking on the manner in which such early "letters home" were reproduced and recirculated in New Zealand newspapers for public consumption, "The gammon that the first comers wrote home, and which is come back here in the New Zealand journals, is dreadfully absurd exaggeration, nonsense, foolishness."[6]

Emigration and Identity

If the initial emigrant experience in the first wave of colonial migration to New Zealand in the 1840s was often viewed as poor and difficult, in the 1850s and 1860s a different picture began to emerge from skilled workers such as Daniel Campbell. For them, New Zealand offered itself as a land of valued labor, short working hours, good weather, and lack of class distinctions, proving an attractive option for individuals with needed trade skills. More important, both Australia and New Zealand became clearly associated in the minds of early settlers with concepts of the reinvention of self, classlessness, and social mobility. As Eric Richard has noted, a reading of the correspondence of many Scots emigrants "leaves the impression, across the categories, that the very act of emigration produced a heightened consciousness of social status, and an aspiration towards independence."[7] Representing a full range of immigrant classes, the rich and poor Scots who ventured to New Zealand in the first wave of emigration (1840s to 1860s) seemed to share, as another commentator has suggested, "a burning desire to do away with the abuses of landlordism and to create a more just and equitable society."[8]

In New Zealand and Australia, a general consensual impression among early emigrants was that of freedom and ability to reinvent oneself (an impression too often dispelled by the harsh realities of settler life). As the Scottish printer and journalist William Cormack Calder wrote home on arriving in Adelaide in 1858, "When I left Edinburgh I put on the resolution of leaving all *caste* behind, and putting my hand to anything. I was aware that we were going to a country where everything like stiffness or 'starch' would be looked on with the greatest contempt."[9]

But freedom, independence, and lack of "starch" were not enough to compel skilled Scots printers to review their migratory options. After all, in 1837, more than eighty letter-press printing firms could be found in Edinburgh alone. By 1861 Edinburgh's printing and allied trades were a solid part of the city's civic fabric; they employed around three thousand workers, representing 4.57 percent of the total workforce in a city of just under two hundred thousand inhabitants, and ranked third in industrial occupations behind the building (7.30 percent) and clothing (12.59 percent) industries.[10]

More compelling for those in skilled trades such as printing were the reported working conditions and wages. While Daniel Campbell worked forty-five hours a week and earned £2 for his printing efforts, his Edinburgh-based counterparts undertaking newspaper work in 1853 were earning thirty-five shillings (12.5 percent less) for a fifty-seven-hour week.[11] Given

such a disparity in working conditions and wages, it is easy to see why emigration halfway across the world might have seemed so appealing to skilled Scottish compositors and printers.

Print in Practice

Opportunities for those trained in printing were plentiful in the first fifty years of New Zealand colonial development. The first "printer" in New Zealand was the Reverend William Yate, whose makeshift attempts at printing in 1830 at Kerikeri did not produce much of substance or quality (only a poorly printed four-page Maori-language catechism) and were abruptly terminated within months of start-up.[12] Between 1835 and 1886, though, the printing trade went from a single printer operating on makeshift equipment in a missionary settlement (William Colenso at Paihia) to 135 printing establishments stretching from the Bay of Islands to the Otago region, servicing a population of just over half a million and employing almost eighteen hundred personnel.[13] More than a quarter of these firms (thirty-six) were located in the Scots-founded city of Dunedin. Auckland ran a near second with twenty-eight printing establishments. In addition, the Otago region was dominant in related trades: two of New Zealand's national paper mills (founded by Scots Edward McGlashan and James Walker Bain in 1876, and until 1900 the only mills in operation in New Zealand) were located there, as were major cardboard box and paper bag manufacturers and paper merchants. (By 1887 the Edinburgh papermakers Cowan and Co. had established a branch office in Dunedin).[14] The type of material produced by these establishments ranged from print ephemera necessary for commercial purposes (labels, advertising leaflets, letterheads, bank notes, packaging material) to pamphlets and newspapers.

The range of ephemeral print material produced by New Zealand printers is graphically portrayed in contemporary colonial art of the 1860s and 1870s, and in particular in the popular *trompe l'oeil* paintings of Australasian draftsmen Harry Wrigg and William F. Gordon. The exhibition of these artists' work in local booksellers' and stationers' windows in Auckland, Wellington, and Wanganui drew large crowds fascinated by these hyperrealistic portrayals of popular culture, and commanded high prices. As one contemporary journalist wrote on viewing Harry Wrigg's *Leisure Hours,* on display in the window of William Lyons's bookshop in Lambton Quay, Wellington, in 1872, the details appeared "copied with such minute fidelity that it is very difficult to realise the fact that the articles are not pasted on to a large sheet of paper."[15]

The popularity of these artists' work, as Roger Blackley has pointed out, derived from their representations of the centrality of print culture communication in New Zealand life. Such items, "linking remote and insecure communities such as Wanganui with other colonial outposts, also maintained colonists' communications with their homelands."[16] This is attested to by the sheer number of printed items sent within and outside New Zealand borders. Estimates suggest that in 1885 a New Zealand settler population of just over 500,000 sent 35,829,855 letters, 14,233,878 newspapers, and 1,774,273 telegrams.[17]

The telegrams, wrapped and unwrapped overseas and indigenous newspapers and literary periodicals, and bus and ferry tickets and banknotes, were also unnoted testaments to the rise of a New Zealand printing industry that supported the production of indigenously based newspapers and literary periodical production. There were, as J. E. Traue notes, "28 newspapers founded between 1840 and 1848 for a European population of 59,000 in 1858; 181 newspapers founded between 1860 and 1879; 150 founded between 1880 and 1889." As well, between 1850 and 1962 more than 129 "periodicals of literary interest" were founded. Such statistically significant blossoming of print media activity, however, must be viewed with caution. Of the 129 literary periodicals noted, for example, eighty-two failed within three years.[18] Equally high was the rapid demise of local and regional newspapers in the nineteenth century, due to commercial failures, lack of a large regional base of paying readers, the shifting concerns and political ambitions of their owners, or the general instability and inadequacy of transport and postal networks.

Tasmanian Crossings

As a result of such volatile entrances and exits in the trade, there was much fluidity in working circumstances. Likewise there was an often unacknowledged general mobility among skilled operators and owners between New Zealand (South Island in particular) and the Australian printing and newspaper trade during much of the second half of the nineteenth century. Rough estimates of data from trade journals and official documentation covering the last two decades of the nineteenth century identify somewhere between 150 and 200 printing-trade and newspaper individuals involved in such trans-Tasman activity.[19]

Similarly forgotten is the fact that for much of the nineteenth century, travel and trade by sea between Australia and the Otago province was more frequent and rapid than overland routes between Dunedin and the

rest of South Island, or even between Dunedin and Auckland or Wellington. In 1870 there were only forty-six miles of public railway and telegraph routes in the country, built in the 1860s to link Dunedin, Christchurch, and Invercargill to their respective ports. Dunedin and Christchurch were not linked by rail until 1879; Wellington and Auckland were not linked for another thirty years.[20] Shipping was the primary transport option available and coastal trade increased dramatically following the introduction of steamships in the 1850s. It is not surprising, then, to find the printing trade in Dunedin linked to Australian counterparts. As a recent study suggests, taken as commonplace were such complex journeys to print as that of an 1875 panoramic image of Dunedin (drawn by a Melbourne artist), involving up to five sea crossings of engraving and artist before the final image appeared in the *Illustrated New Zealand Herald* on 2 July 1875 and in the *Illustrated Australian News* a mere ten days later.[21] Thus it is well to remember, as one historian summarized for a New Zealand audience, that "New Zealand began its European history as part of the Australian frontier … and that the major themes of our history were the major themes in the history of Australia. More to the point, the character of New Zealand society was deeply influenced in several ways by proximity to the Australian colonies. Those who came to New Zealand often had the benefit of Australian experience and usually tried to learn from Australian mistakes."[22]

Printing Dynasties

A prime example of such mobility between Australia and New Zealand was John McNairn Mitchell. Mitchell, born in Glasgow on 20 May 1830, was apprenticed as an engraver in Scotland before qualifying as a journeyman. In the 1850s he joined the rush to the Australian gold fields of Victoria, then traveled to Melbourne, where he started the printing firm Fergusson and Mitchell in partnership with James Fergusson. On a trip to New Zealand in 1862, he decided to settle in Dunedin. In order to assess the methods and standards of printing in the city, he spent a short time in the jobbing department of the *Otago Daily Times,* then proceeded to open the New Zealand branch of Fergusson and Mitchell in Princes Street.

Mitchell brought over another Scot with printing expertise, Alexander Cameron (1832–91), to become the factory manager in Dunedin. Cameron, originally from Glasgow, had been educated on the Isle of Skye before returning to Glasgow to train as a lithographer. He emigrated to Melbourne with his father in the 1850s. His father became a grocer, while Cameron used his training in service of the Fergusson and Mitchell firm. In 1862 he

brought over the machinery necessary to establish the Dunedin branch, and remained as factory manager at Princes Street until his death in 1891.[23]

Under Mitchell's guidance and Cameron's supervision, the firm flourished and expanded to occupy a substantial building on Princes Street, as attested to in an 1889 account of a visit to the firm's premises:

> The ramifications of the very large business which is carried on by Messrs. Fergusson and Mitchell, in Dunedin, are more extensive than those who have not gone over the premises would expect. As showing the magnitude of the place, it may be stated that it extends back 165 feet: the factory containing three flats [floors], and the front building, which are the shop and show-room, two flats. The front shop monopolises a considerable portion of the ground floor, and is replete with every variety of goods which can possibly come under the term stationery.... The manufacturing section of the business monopolises the greater part of the Princes Street building.[24]

Mitchell expanded his business interests in 1882, buying the failing Woodhaugh Paper Mill from fellow Scot Edward McGlashan. Operating under the trading name of the Otago Paper Mills, the mill was rebuilt and over the next ten years restocked with Scottish-built machinery, including a fifty-two-ton MG paper machine manufactured by the Edinburgh firm James Milne and Son.[25] After John Mitchell's retirement from general business in late 1905, his eldest son, Frank W. Mitchell, became managing director and chairman, a position he retained until 1941. Another brother, Cecil F. Mitchell, also worked in the firm as general manager from 1906 to 1919.[26] On John Mitchell's death in 1914, the New Zealand branch of Fergusson and Mitchell, which he had built into a major Dunedin employer, was bought and absorbed by Whitcombe and Tombs, Ltd.

Mitchell, Cameron, and McGlashan are just some examples of the interlinked network of Scots-trained printing specialists whose activities, particularly in Dunedin, created the businesses underpinning print culture activity in New Zealand. Another example of the role of the Scots family networks and "chain migration" in the establishment of print in New Zealand can be found in the Mackay family. The Scots printer John Mackay emigrated to Dunedin in 1860 on the passenger ship *Storm Cloud*. Little is known of his background, but there is evidence of his being active from the 1860s to the 1880s as the printer of journals and newspapers such as the *Temperance Herald* (published 1878–81) and the *New Zealand Freemason* (started in 1880). Accurate information about his work is difficult to come by, as he has been confused by later chroniclers of New Zealand history with his better-known son, John Mackay (II).

John Mackay (II) (1851–1937) was the most successful member of his family in the New Zealand printing trade, rising to become government printer in Wellington in 1896. Born in Fife, Scotland, in 1851, and an emigrant with his family to Dunedin in 1860, he was educated at the Otago Boys' High School. On graduation in 1864 he served his apprenticeship in the printing offices of his brother, Joseph Mackay, running the *Bruce Herald*. In 1870 he moved on to work for the printing firm of Mills, Dick & Co. After twelve months he left to become an independent partner with the entrepreneurial George Fenwick (1847–1929), establishing the printing firm Mackay and Fenwick on Princes Street, Dunedin.

Fenwick sold his interest in the firm in 1875 to become manager of the *Otago Guardian.* Mackay carried on until 1879, when he amalgamated his business with that of two other Scots, Thomas Bracken (better known as a poet and lyricist of New Zealand's national anthem) and Alexander Bathgate, to become a managing director of Mackay, Bracken & Co. Newspaper titles published by the firm included the *New Zealand Public Opinion,* the *Sportsman and Saturday Advertiser* (until 1884), and from 1884 the *Morning Herald.* A later partner, replacing Alexander Bathgate in 1884, was the Edinburgh-born John Bathgate (1809–86), whose long residence in New Zealand included multiple careers as a lawyer, bank agent, journalist, politician, judge, and business manager.

In 1888 John Mackay (II) sold his interests and spent a year overseas traveling and undertaking further training. He returned to Dunedin in 1889 to become the factory manager of the *Evening Star,* and in 1896, against stiff competition, won the post of government printer at the Government Printing Office in Wellington. During his twenty years as government printer, he is credited with improving the organization, efficiency, and work rates of the government's printing operations. As the official Government Printing Office history records, "He was a master printer in the true sense of the term, a splendid organiser, a man of business and foresight in his trade."[27] John died in Wellington on 3 March 1937, at the age of eighty-six.

John's brother Joseph, active from 1864 to 1883 in the Otago region, was also a prominent figure in the print and publishing trade, described by one commentator as "the record newspaper planter of his day in New Zealand."[28] Like John, Joseph emigrated with his parents and siblings to Dunedin in 1860, and in 1864 founded and printed his first publication, the sixpenny monthly *Otago Christian Reformer.* Shortly afterward, on 4 April 1864, he started the *Bruce Herald,* based in the small Otago provincial town of Milton. Over the next fifteen years Mackay started another five papers in the Otago region. He was also involved in 1873 in an unsuccessful bid to launch a papermaking mill in Mataura in competition with Edward

McGlashan (Scots pioneer of New Zealand papermaking and founder of the Mataura Paper Mill Company).[29]

Joseph Mackay is credited with pioneering the "chain newspaper" concept in New Zealand, whereby small regional papers linked to or owned by a larger paper supplemented their local content with reprints of general news features and material generated by the central paper. Mackay's chain was not very successful: two associated smaller papers (chiefly reprints of *Bruce Herald* material for local consumption) folded or were absorbed into the *Bruce Herald* within a few years of their founding (the *Tuapeka Recorder,* 1865–67, and the *Clutha Times,* 1878–79). A third chain paper, founded in 1878, the *Mataura Ensign,* over half of whose content consisted of copy reprinted from the *Bruce Herald,* lasted a year before Mackay was forced to sell his share in it and in the *Bruce Herald.*[30] Similar fates awaited his final attempts at newspaper proprietorship and printing: *The Southern Free Press* and the *Mataura Mercury,* both started in 1882, were sold off to other entrepreneurs in 1883.

The opportunities seized by the Mackay family, however, were enough to tempt Joseph Mackay's cousin, Andrew Ferguson, to join them in Dunedin in 1867. Ferguson, born in Dunfermline, had worked in the offices of the Edinburgh printer Thomas Constable for a year before joining Smith, Elder and Co. in London. In his first year in New Zealand he worked with his cousins running the *Bruce Herald,* then joined Andrew Burns and John Ludford to start the *Tuapeka Times* in the small town of Lawrence in February 1868.[31] For a period they had competition from George Fenwick and James Matthews, who published the rival *Tuapeka Press and Goldfields Advocate.* By 1869, however, Fenwick and Matthews had conceded defeat and accepted £150 from Ferguson and partners to close down their publication.

What followed offers another interesting example of cooperative and interlinked New Zealand print culture development. In mid-October 1869, having disposed of their interests in the *Tuapeka Press,* Fenwick and Matthews traveled to Cromwell to investigate the possibilities of starting a local newspaper there. A few weeks later, on 1 November 1869, a local entrepreneur, Robert Carrick, announced rival plans to publish a paper there by mid-November. With the help of Ferguson and the *Tuapeka Times* in Lawrence, Fenwick and Matthews printed a double issue of their own paper (the *Cromwell Argus*) with a Cromwell masthead on Saturday, 6 November. The issue was distributed to subscribers the next day through the efforts of Fenwick, who rode all day Sunday on horseback with five hundred copies in order to reach Cromwell before the rival journal could be set up.[32] Fenwick continued to run the *Cromwell Argus* until 1871, when, as noted earlier, he joined Ferguson's cousin John Mackay in establishing a printing office in Dunedin.

Andrew Ferguson continued working as a printer, newspaper proprietor, and journalist, writing most of the articles in the *Tuapeka Times* throughout the 1870s. In 1876 he and Andrew Burns started the *Tapanui Courier,* which Ferguson ran until 1882, when he sold his interests and returned to Edinburgh. Ferguson's printing career, however, did not end there: back in Edinburgh he promptly joined the firm of Scott and Ferguson, Burness and Co., which in 1896 was amalgamated into Morrison and Gibb (a well-known local printing firm), of which he remained secretary until his retirement. Thus we see completed a circle of migration and flow of expertise from Scotland to New Zealand and back.

Conclusion

Such examples of individual and linked enterprise at work illustrate how local, national, and international links, family connections and common shared skills, could shape the direction of printing activity and print culture consumption in New Zealand. They are just a few of the many illustrations as well of the flow of expertise between Scotland and New Zealand (often via Australia). Roderick Cave perceptively points out, though, that during this period and well into the twentieth century this flow was usually one way and shaped by prior cultural experiences: "Practically every compositor or pressman or journalist or bookseller who worked in New Zealand came from outside. He came bringing his already formed ideas of what the compositor, pressman or journalist should do, however much his subsequent experience of New Zealand life might modify those ideas."[33]

Print culture was crucial to the communication of codes, social constructs, business, and political concerns of New Zealanders. Throughout the first half-century of New Zealand colonial enterprise, the production of print and its related elements was the result of externally supplied expertise, equipment, and training, which Scots played their part in supplying. More accurately, much of Pakeha print culture activity during this period was represented by the newspaper, which functioned as the primary tool of communication among communities. From the price of grain, literary jottings, and serialized fiction to inflammatory attacks on government policies, newspapers were the spaces where local and regional identities were forged, and where print culture was clearly viewed as a practical tool in an emerging colonial society.

But as Daniel Campbell complained in homesick terms toward the end of the letter quoted at the beginning of this piece, the utilitarian nature of working as a printer in such early colonial contexts—even in Dunedin,

commercial center of New Zealand in 1852–53—had its negative side. "I may mention that I have all along … had a great notion of going to Sydney," he exclaimed, "for this place is so small, and so very dull, just like a Scottish country village, so unlike what we have been accustomed to—the din, life, bustle, amusement and entertainment, which are always to be seen in a large town like the beautiful town of Edinbro."[34] Such moments of weariness, however, must have been fewer as time went on, for more than twenty-five years later, Daniel Campbell could still be found in Dunedin, by this time a managing director of the *Otago Witness* and the *Otago Daily Times*.[35] In Campbell's case, Jack had indeed become a master (printer).

Notes

1. Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Studies* 21 (Oct. 1985): 474.

2. V. Maxwell, "Scots Migration to Otago" (Ph.D. diss. in progress, University of Otago), noted in Tom Brooking, "'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside'—The Scots in New Zealand," in *The Scots Abroad*, ed. R. A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 159.

3. Ibid., 161.

4. Ibid., 162.

5. Daniel Campbell to unidentified friend, 1852 or 1853, MS Papers 2333, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

6. *Collection of Recent Communications from Settlers in the British Colonies* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850), 92; quoted in Bill Bell, "Crusoe's Books: The Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century," in *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce,* ed. Bill Bell, Philip Bennett, and Jonquil Bevan (Hampshire, UK, and New Castle, Del.: St. Paul's Bibliographies and Oak Knoll Press, 2000), 118.

7. Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration," 493.

8. Tom Brooking, "The Great Escape: Wakefield and the Scottish Settlement of Otago," in *Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the Colonial Dream: A Reconsideration* (Wellington: GP Publications, 1997), 158.

9. William Cormack Calder, typescript, D4826(i), South Australia Archives, quoted in Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration," 493.

10. Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 8–9.

11. Ibid., 17.

12. For further details, see Roderick Cave and Kathleen Coleridge, "For Gospel and Wool Trade: Early Printing in New Zealand," *Printing History* 7, no. 1 (1985): 15–27.

13. W. B. Sutch, "An Economic Survey: Position of the Industry," in *History of Printing in New Zealand 1830–1940,* ed. R. A. McKay (Wellington: Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940), 180, noted in Cave and Coleridge, "For Gospel and Wool Trade," 27; Noel Waite, "Printers' Proof: The Dunedin Master Printers' Association 1889–1894," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin,* 25, nos. 1–2 (2001): 20.

14. As Noel Waite ("Printers' Proof," 20) points out, the paper mills were the Mataura Falls Paper Mill and the Woodhaugh Paper Mill. The cardboard box manufacturers included Thomas J. Treacy, and the paper bag manufacturers included the New Zealand Paper Bag Manufacturing Co.

15. *Evening Post,* 2 Aug. 1872, 2, quoted in Roger Blackley, *Stray Leaves: Colonial Trompe L'oeil Drawings* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), 3. I am grateful to Lydia Wevers for bringing this book to my attention. It was produced to accompany a fascinating exhibition on Australasian *trompe l'oeil* art displayed at Victoria University, Wellington, in early 2001.

16. Blackley, *Stray Leaves,* 26.

17. James Hector, *Handbook of New Zealand Statistics* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1886), "Addendum: Statistics for 1885," quoted ibid.

18. J. E. Traue, "But Why Mulgan, Marris, and Schroder?: The Mutation of the Local Newspaper in New Zealand's Colonial Print Culture," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin,* 21, no. 2 (1997): 109.

19. Ian Morrison, "Cook's Choice—Reflections on Trans-Tasman Literary Culture," in *Books and Bibliography: Essays in Commemoration of Don McKenzie,* ed. John Thomson (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2002), 160.

20. James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1996), 352.

21. Morrison, "Cook's Choice," 161.

22. Erik Olssen, "Lands of Sheep and Gold: The Australian Dimension to the New Zealand Past, 1840–1900," in *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788–1988,* ed. Keith Sinclair (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), 36.

23. *Gregory-Camerons, Printers to Dunedin: 125 Years of the Family in New Zealand,* comp. Nevill Wilson and Edgar Gregory from notes and material assembled by Elizabeth Gregory, n.d.

24. *The Strangers' Vade-Mecum; or, South Land Guide,* 2d ed. (Dunedin: C. W. White, Dunedin Publishers, 1890), 83. I am grateful to Noel Waite for the information from this source.

25. John H. Angus, *Papermaking Pioneers: A History of New Zealand Paper Mills Limited and Its Predecessors* (Mataura: New Zealand Paper Mills Limited, 1976), 66.

26. Ibid., 77–78; *Otago Daily Times,* 3 Oct. 1996, 28.

27. W. A. Glue, *History of the Government Printing Office* (Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966), 95.

28. John T. Paul, quoted in J. L. Gregory and R. V. S. Perry, "History of Otago Printing," 1969. Typescript, Hocken Library, Dunedin, MS. 0030, 18.

29. Angus, *Papermaking Pioneers,* 27.

30. Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1958), 190–92.

31. Ibid., 198.

32. George Griffiths, "Fenwick, George, 1847–1929," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* updated 21 May 2002, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/.

33. Roderick Cave, "Printing in Colonial New Zealand: An Insular History?" in *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand,* ed. Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes, and Alan Loney (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), 241.

34. Daniel Campbell to unidentified friend, 1852 or 1853, MS Papers 2333, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

35. The *Colonial Printers Register* of 5 Dec. 1879, 40, records Daniel Campbell of Dunedin registered as managing director of the *Otago Daily Times,* and again in 24 April 1880, 118, as engaged as printer, overseer, manager, and managing director of the *Otago Witness.* Clearly Campbell had developed and expanded substantially his profile and activities during his long residence in the Otago province. I am grateful to Ian Morrison for supplying me with this information.