

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND**

BULLETIN

Volume Fourteen, Number One

First Quarter, 1990

(Issued February 1991)

**ADVERTISING, CIRCULATION AND PROFITABILITY:
ASPECTS OF THE EARLY COLONIAL PRESS***

STUDIES OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS very often concentrate on particular facets of the various papers' production. Those of us who read much in papers of a century or more ago naturally try to diminish our labours and to concentrate on what attracts our interest or seems to be of significance to us. In much the same way that looking at today's Wellington *Evening Post* I may personally well throw away the sports pages and the classified advertisements for cars completely unread, because they do not interest me, there is the temptation to ignore matter from a century ago which seems to me not specially remarkable. If we do not concentrate our attention, of course, we may well succumb to 'information overload', but in our partly unconscious concentration on what *seems* important to a reader of the late twentieth century, bombarded with information on all sides, we may well ignore aspects of the paper's production which to others could be of great significance.¹ Almost inevitably we will not be alert to aspects of the paper which were important to readers, journalists and printers of a century ago.

Precisely the same comments can be made, of course, about studies of newspapers in other societies and periods. In Jeremy Black's interesting and thought-provoking study of the eighteenth-century English press,² it would be quite wrong to say that matters of production, circulation and advertising are ignored, they are not: but the four pages he devoted to costs and circulation compared with the forty-plus in which he dealt with the way foreign news was reported is a clear indication that Dr Black was concentrating on another area neglected by other modern students of the press. I believe analysis of the news content of colonial papers to be something which needs further attention, but that is not the subject of this present paper.

It is something of a mistake to review the history of newspaper printing and publishing in a particular colony, town or district only in the terms of that district and its own local history, just as it is a mistake to attempt to study provincial or colonial printing only as part of the wider history of printing and the book trade

* A revised version of a paper read to members of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand at their annual conference, 29-30 September 1989.

in general without reference to the social conditions in which the paper was produced. In my own reading of or research into the spread of printing (which, after all, most of the time means the spread of newspapers) in various colonial territories in Asia, Africa and the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I have been very much struck by the same sort of problems with distribution, with payment of subscription revenue, with attempts to muzzle the press by withholding advertising and so on, which turn up in territory after territory.

Nor can one but notice how the printers and editors of the newspapers in one colony, one province, were well aware what was happening to their 'cotems' elsewhere: they exchanged papers and used one another's journals as sources for stories they reprinted; in modern jargon they were very often members of the same invisible college, though one of them might have trained in Dublin and work in Canada, and another have served his apprenticeship in Newcastle and work in New South Wales.

In the case of the West Indian colonies, as an almost invariable rule, it was not until well into the nineteenth century that production of newspapers was largely in the hands of the island-born; editors, master-printers, compositors and even on occasion pressmen came from elsewhere — usually Scotland, England or Ireland but sometimes the colonies of North America. In the case of Australia and New Zealand the rule of the expatriate was obviously shorter, but once more the influence of those who had trained as printers in Britain or in other older colonies, or perhaps the United States, was great. The cross-Tasman links were obvious, and many printers and newspaper men spent time on both sides.

All the natural tendencies within the newspaper trade would be for those working in it to see the same needs and advance the same solutions as were attempted by their colleagues in Annapolis, Bridgetown, Calcutta, Durban or Exeter.³ Not only this, they would expect the same freedoms or controls as generally prevailed where they had been before: many of the complaints about the press being muzzled in a particular colony were made because the printers or editors were making odious comparisons with what happened at Home — while the record of the Colonial Office in London, at least from the 1830s, in discouraging attacks on press freedom by its local officials or others in the colonies should not be overlooked. There were restraints on the freedom of the press in the colonies (generally greater in crown colonies than those with internal self-government, and of course greatest of all in the Indian empire), but Whitehall generally was working to reduce these restraints. Their existence was certainly no part of imperial policy as understood at Home.

There were other points of similarity regardless of the colony or settlement in which a printer established himself. The readership in young settler colonies would (at least for the first few years of their settlement) have expected papers comparable with those they had read at Home. Even later the increased influx of newspapers and magazines from Britain and elsewhere (made easier by imperial post and regular shipping) provided standards of comparison, standards which the colonial reader would almost certainly have expected the local newspaper printer or editor to adopt.⁴ At what stage the 'Australasianisation' of the local press can be said to

have taken place I would prefer to leave others to decide, but in the case of New Zealand it was certainly not before the 1870s at the earliest, and I would doubt whether it was much earlier (except perhaps in Sydney) across the Tasman.

Even if all I suggest is true, and that the similarities in such papers as the *Wellington Spectator*, the *Port of Spain Gazette*, the *Freetown New Era*, or the *Melbourne Advertiser* to such British papers as the *Glasgow Courier*, the *Sheffield Telegraph* and the *Leicester Mercury* outweigh the differences, there were differences. Advertising was one area in which there was (and I believe still is) considerable difference between British papers and the Australasian press, or perhaps any press serving a pioneering society. (One thinks one recognises similarities between the newspapers of Colorado and the other mining areas in the Rockies of the 1860s and 1870s and the goldfields papers which appeared in Australia and New Zealand, but the dearth of statistical information in David Halaas's curiously uninformative study⁵ makes it hard to resolve). In Britain, as various writers have pointed out, the relatively late appearance of a local press meant that for many products and services the idea of advertising in the local weekly or daily paper never caught on; perfectly satisfactory distribution channels had long been secured by other means. It was only the new innovative dealer with something fresh to supply, or for whom the coming of the railway and improved postal services opened new markets — or the tradesman whose business was in desperate trouble — who would have any need to advertise his wares in Britain.

The balance of newspaper advertising in British papers has been considered by such writers as R. B. Walker,⁶ Ivor Asquith⁷ and Scott Bennett.⁸ As the latter's methodology seemed transportable to the colonial situation, some years ago I used his classification to categorise advertisements in two successful and important West Indian papers of the late eighteenth century,⁹ and over the past few years some of my students have attempted¹⁰ to apply Bennett's methodology to the examination of short runs of early New Zealand papers. Deliberately the whole range of surviving papers was traversed; some of the papers examined have been from major centres of settlement in New Zealand, some from secondary cities or the back-blocks; some papers were highly profitable successful ventures which still appear today, others of journalism almost guaranteed to fail. A list of the papers is given as Appendix I.

Scarcely surprisingly, the categories of advertising which Bennett worked out from the advertisements appearing in early nineteenth-century issues of *The Times* and the *Eton & Windsor Express* did not lend themselves easily to classifying the sorts of advertising in the early colonial newspapers of New Zealand. Some of the categories he used scarcely appeared at all. *The Times* carried many advertisements inserted by domestic servants seeking a place, but one may ask would anyone ever have sought work as a butler at Buller or Ballarat?

Equally, some of the items naturally advertised in papers for a pioneering pastoral community — shepherds or shearing hands required, and bulls and stallions to stand, for instance — would scarcely have been handed in at Printing House Square. Table I summarises the major categories of advertisement in the New Zealand papers, with the findings for the West Indian and English papers also given for comparison.

The Table probably fails to bring out clearly some aspects of New Zealand advertising which are of interest. There was (and still is) a difference in advertising content between morning and evening papers, as there is between dailies and weeklies, and part of the difference comes from the territory served, the advertising hinterland. A study of such matters is something I would like to see undertaken. But despite its weaknesses¹¹ the Table shows clearly the much greater importance of retail advertising for all New Zealand papers than was the case in Britain or in the West Indies. In many cases retail advertising seems to have been the major source of income for the newspaper proprietors, as it also seems to be today for some of the successful papers of the 1990s.

Because of some differences in the way different investigators interpreted part of Bennett's classification, to break these broad categories down into the smaller sub-groups he used is probably not very helpful, while the eighty-odd years between the date of the first West Indian papers I analysed and the New Zealand papers of the 1870s makes some other comparisons pointless. It was probably true in Britain as well as her colonies that Victoria's reign saw a steady increase in advertising of retail goods, of new products for which a market had to be created, a demand whipped up; but even so the very remarkable contrast between the rather modest retail advertising in the English and West Indian papers and the domination of the papers' advertising columns by advertisements of this kind in New Zealand is worth remark.

True, New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century was still in the position of a client culture, importing many manufactured goods etcetera from Britain — but the West Indian colonies had been still more heavily dependent on Britain for all except a very few local products, and their papers were not dominated by retail advertising in the same way. True, in the early days of many of the new settlements in New Zealand other conventional means of obtaining goods had not developed to the extent that they had in Britain or the Caribbean, but one can hardly argue that by the 1860s and 1870s the major cities of Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin and Wellington were still so raw, their markets and merchants so little known, that newspaper advertising was still vital — yet by the 1870s the proportions of retail trade advertising in these cities' papers had if anything increased. Why?

What has become quite clear to me and to those who have analysed the individual papers (though I cannot prove it, and anecdotal accounts are perhaps best avoided) is how far the nature of the advertising reflects different preoccupations in different parts of New Zealand or how the papers' news and editorial content changed at different periods. One would naturally expect a paper from Timaru¹² or Oamaru to be heavily agricultural or pastoral in the preoccupations of both advertisers and reporters, and generally this is so. One would expect the goldfields papers to reflect quite different interests from those of the farmers and runholders, and (if we have been brought up on Westerns) the very large proportion of advertisements for hotels and hard liquor these goldfields papers contain is what we expect to find. Roughly speaking, throughout the New Zealand press one would also expect to find that in the paper which was successful, after the first faltering

steps when it was established, at least half the space would be devoted to advertising.¹³ The paper with much less was in trouble.

As a part of their analysis, those examining the papers had to analyse one issue of their paper by the space devoted to the different categories of advertisement (otherwise they counted by *number* of advertisements). In that issue they had also to count the number of non-New Zealand advertisements it contained. This examination gave only an impression (and of course is not covered by the Table); it is on that impression I now comment.

First, to analyse advertisements by *space occupied* rather than *number* is of increasing importance as the nineteenth century wears on, but the labour involved almost precludes it as a normal research method. Secondly, in a pioneering society still very heavily dependent on imported goods, I had expected to find a larger proportion of the advertisements coming from the sources of supply — from Britain or from Australia — than was in fact the case. By my recollection, the mid-Victorian papers of the Caribbean colonies had an increasingly large and very noticeable proportion of advertising from Britain and North America, with stereos for the advertisements supplied by London or New York agents, a feature we have not found to be nearly so common in New Zealand. Is it in fact surprising that such a small proportion — fewer than five per cent — were placed from outside New Zealand?

Should we also find it surprising that with the passage of time the news content of the papers is increasingly concerned only with New Zealand, or to a lesser extent the neighbouring Australian colonies? Coming to the papers from a study of the West Indian press, which was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries always very much more concerned with events in the outside world than with what happened in the islands, or remembering Jeremy Black's comments on the wide-ranging coverage of European affairs to be found even in small-town provincial English papers in the late eighteenth century,¹⁴ I wonder a little at how sparse local coverage of foreign affairs was. At times of crisis — the Indian Mutiny, the Crimean War, the American Civil War or (much less thoroughly covered) the Franco-Prussian war — New Zealand newspapers did reprint quite a lot on events abroad, but the extent to which ours was normally an inward-looking press needs explanation.

Was it the case, in fact, that by the 1860s and 1870s the postal system was so well developed, and the availability of English papers and magazines so great, that those New Zealanders who were interested in world affairs would have been able to satisfy their wants from these sources, that the New Zealand editors chose to concentrate on supplying only what their readers could not get from elsewhere? My examination has been concentrated on the period before telegraphic despatches were generally available to editors of New Zealand papers; once they were, and local newspapers could supply overseas news more rapidly than the overseas competition, did their news content change very much? Or by that time had the convention of a largely inward-looking press become too firmly fixed? Further research is needed to determine these points.

'Little is known about the economics of newspaper publishing in nineteenth century New Zealand' Ross Harvey commented in a recent study¹⁵ which gives circulation figures for some New Zealand papers in the 1870s and 1880s. I can add little to the invaluable information he culled from the National Archives. What Harvey wrote of New Zealand is true also of almost every other society and every other newspaper; those for which ledgers and audited circulation figures are available, anywhere in the English-speaking world, are very few. Even circulation is a real problem in most cases; for the newspapers we have examined actual known circulations are available for only a small proportion, and we have had to make the best guess we could on the actual circulation of a particular paper — a guess based on the known population of the district, or the known circulation of the same paper at a different date, or the circulation of a similar paper in a similar settlement or in another colony, or obtained by pulling figures out of the air . . .

One does not feel a great deal of confidence in some of this, and for this reason I have been trying to calculate whether application of Bennett's interesting 'productivity ratio'¹⁶ might not help us to make rather more accurate guesses on how many copies of particular papers were actually sold. I am by no means sure that the method has any validity at all, but in a few cases as I reworked some of the calculations which had been undertaken by my analysts and which were clearly incorrect, it seemed that by using a 'probable' or 'typical' productivity ratio on occasion one could work backwards to a more accurate circulation figure than obtained by pulling figures out of the air. (Productivity ratios and circulation figures used are given in Appendix I.) I shall be interested in hearing of any other means for calculating probable circulations which other researchers may use.

Calculation of productivity ratios, and certainly to attempt working backwards from the ratio towards an estimate of circulation, depends on correct information on some other things, in which all that is certain is that we don't know. The essence of the Scott Bennett argument, or of the way in which I have attempted to analyse early West Indian papers, is that the proprietors were running the papers as a normal business proposition, as enterprises which they expected would fairly rapidly sustain themselves and make money for their owners; newspaper production is something you do for profit. This idea of course could be refined:

you might not make money out of the newspaper, but potentially you would make money from government contracts which would come your way only if you had a paper, *or*

you might not make money from the paper until the particular settlement had grown, but if you could hang on until it had grown, the paper would become profitable, *or*

only if you ran a newspaper could you hope to get the volume of jobbing work which would make your business profitable, *or*

only with the steady flow of composition and presswork provided by newspaper or periodical production could you keep a printing staff together — even if you lost money on the paper, you would in the end lose less than if you did not have it, *or*

the printing and publishing of the newspaper in itself might not be profitable, but there were benefits of a different kind to be gained.

Difficulties of retaining staff may not often have counted for much in the Australasian colonies, but in some of the West Indian islands the seasonal nature of the highly profitable work for the Houses of Assembly, and the difficulty in recruiting compositors once those laid off had left the island, made several printers continue to produce papers which they knew were uneconomic. The relative lack of success of those printers who did not produce a newspaper, in both the West Indies and in New Zealand, seems clear. That some printers started their papers knowing that the first years would be difficult, but that when the new settlement became established they hoped to make good profits, seems equally certain — this was, after all, a feature of most mercantile enterprise in a new settlement.

What is by no means clear to me yet, is precisely *what* it was that proprietors hoped to gain from some of the papers that were started in New Zealand. Can we profitably speculate about the motives of Joseph Ives in starting the many papers which Ross Harvey¹⁷ has listed and which with hindsight seem not to have had any chance of commercial success — political ambition certainly, *but what else?* It has been written of the Auckland *Southern Cross* that 'during Mr Brown's proprietorship [to 1862] it never paid. He lost £10,000 on it and was always making enemies',¹⁸ so why on earth did Brown keep on? In this paper I am not concerned with those printers who did not produce newspapers, but I believe K.A. Coleridge's work on the Wellington press¹⁹ shows how relatively unimportant George Watson was compared with his newspapered rivals. Can we speculate about why such printers contented themselves with their lesser role?

Some of the interesting studies in Britain, and in Australia, have been able to build on the increased competition which developed between metropolitan and country papers after the coming of the railways, and the improved delivery offered by firms like W.H. Smith & Son.²⁰ In New Zealand anecdotal evidence shows that there was strong competition for back-block circulation between the weekly or country editions of some of the big-city papers and those produced in secondary centres, but how far the coming of improved transport or better postal facilities affected this remains to be studied. Even the size of circulation for a paper to be viable remains to be established, I believe: what in fact *was* the minimum size of settlement for which a weekly, twice-weekly or daily paper could be provided?

The figures quoted by different authorities vary wildly. According to the *Printers Register*²¹ in the 1880s conventional wisdom held a population of fifty thousand to be the minimum to support a daily paper in England. According to another source²² some ten years earlier (when papers were more expensive) twenty thousand was believed to be enough in Britain, and half that figure in the United States. (Of course, what was meant by a newspaper was open to dispute.²³) Better communications and swifter transport meant increased competition from elsewhere of course, but the marked reduction in the cost of newsprint from the 1860s certainly had the effect in Britain of cheapening production. What effect did cheaper paper have on newspaper production in Australasia?

By contrast with these figures of 50,000, 20,000 and 10,000 stated by British authorities on the press, in the 1860s the Rocky Mountain mining papers claimed they needed no more than 800 to 1000 subscribers — *and that if the papers carried no advertising and did no jobbing work.*²⁴ If they carried advertisements and undertook jobbing work, it was claimed, these Rocky Mountain papers could cover costs with a much smaller circulation and, by implication, for a still smaller population base.

If we take the catchment area of ten thousand persons as being more appropriate for the pioneering conditions of Australia and New Zealand than either the safe British total or the bravado of the Rockies, it is clear that in fact many papers were produced for a much smaller group of potential readers and subscribers. A circulation of one copy to every ten of the population was well below the ratio on which many pioneering printers operated. And apparently they produced their papers profitably: rather few of the early printers of Australasia may have achieved the amazing success that the rare British provincial newspaper proprietor like Benjamin Collins²⁷ did in the eighteenth century with the *Salisbury Journal* for a city of under 7000 population, but on the whole, compared with their fellow colonists in other fields of work, they did not do too badly. And in a sense, of course, the very dearth of data in the archives, the lack of official and unofficial record to allow us to calculate how many copies they sold and how much money they made — these losses which we bewail — and the total lack of files of many of the newspapers are a tribute to an aspect of colonial government and the local printing trade about which we should feel rather glad: by and large there are few government records *because the governments of the day left the press with a great deal of freedom.* The part played by that free press in building the modern New Zealand and Australia is all the more honourable, though its history is harder to write.

Roderick Cave,
Victoria University of Wellington.

NOTES

1. As Lucy Brown comments (pp.144-45, 244-45) in her excellent *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) the sporting news which I so quickly discard was an important and increasing part of not only the metropolitan but also the provincial press in late Victorian England. Reporting all local fixtures in whatever sport has been an important aspect of the Australasian press too.
To cite another instance of the subjectiveness of what is 'important', an overseas visitor recently commented to me on the excellence of the shipping reports in the *Wellington Evening Post* against the shipping news in the comparable English papers. As a shipping clerk, he found of great value what most of us scarcely see, a feature of the paper that I had noticed only as a survival of what was obviously an important feature in the early colonial press.
2. Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).
3. I am not arguing that the same conditions and solutions applied throughout the English-speaking world. Colonial printers were likely to adopt solutions similar to those they believed they had seen used successfully elsewhere in the British metropolitan or provincial press or in other colonies; the

- similarity of pioneering conditions produced some features in which the early American press provided a model – a model of which in some cases the colonial printers were very clearly aware.
4. Compare with Graeme Johanson, "Cultural Cringe" or Colonial Fringe?, *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 17 (1985): 78-85.
 5. David Fridtjof Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).
 6. R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers 1650-1750', *Business History*, 15 (1973): 112-30.
 7. Ivor Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790-1821', *Historical Journal*, 18 (1975): 703-24.
 8. Scott Bennett, 'Victorian Newspaper Advertising: Counting What Counts', *Publishing History*, 8 (1980): 5-18.
 9. Roderick Cave, 'Rum and Revolution: Advertising and News in the West Indian Press in the 1790s', (paper delivered at the International Conference on the History of the Book, Monash University, August 1986). Further accounts of the West Indian press appear in my *Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies* (London: Pindar Press, 1987).
 10. Classification by Bennett's classes is not completely straightforward, and some students clearly interpreted them in such a way that their results scarcely bear comparison with others; for some students with an individual approach to statistical analysis, comparison was again difficult. I have left out of account altogether those analyses which clearly were unreliable; they do not appear in either Appendix I or Table I. The reliability of some of those I have included is suspect, but they appear adequate for the information I have attempted to draw from them.
 11. For no.17, the *Christchurch Press* of 1861, the analyst reported that the strict application of Bennett's method of sampling forced her to leave out of account a mid-week supplement almost completely made up of advertising, which will probably have skewed the results reported. Many retailers advertised through insertion of business cards rather than by offering specific items; such advertisements will have been classified in Bennett's class A6 general business announcements, rather than in the retail category.
 12. An examination of an early Timaru paper showed that it was clearly of this kind, though (for the reasons given in note 10) the analysis of its content was not one I have felt safe to include in Table I.
 13. Compare with Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), pp.86-87 for estimates of space devoted to advertising in some English papers of the 1860s.
 14. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (1987), pp.197-243.
 15. Ross Harvey, 'Circulation Figures of Some Nineteenth Century New Zealand Newspapers', *Archifacts* (Dec 1988/March 1989): 20-29. I am grateful to Ross Harvey for an early sight of this important article before it was published.
 16. Bennett's 'productivity factor' for advertisements is calculated by dividing the percentage of total revenue earned by advertisements by the percentage of the total space in the paper devoted to them; for news the factor is derived from the percentage of income gained from sales divided by the percentage of space for news. The 'productivity ratio' is obtained by dividing the advertising productivity factor by the news productivity factor; see Bennett, 'Victorian Newspaper Advertising' (1980): 14.
 17. Ross Harvey, 'Joseph Ives, "Celebrated Country Newspaper Propagator"', *Turnbull Library Record*, 21 (1988): 5-28.
 18. Auckland Institute and Museum, *The Pioneer Press* (Auckland: Auckland Institute and Museum, 1958), p.10. I am grateful to Philip Abela for bringing this reference to my attention.
 19. K.A. Coleridge, 'Printing and Publishing in Wellington, New Zealand, in the 1840s and 1850s', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, 10 (1986): pp.62-79.
 20. Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (1985), pp.45-6 has some useful notes on Scottish papers' catchment areas; Charles Wilson, *First with the News: the History of W.H. Smith 1792-1972* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985). In New South Wales the Bathurst *National Advocate*, sent westwards by train at 3.30 a.m., had about nine hours start on the metropolitan dailies, and in consequence enjoyed a wide circulation outside its 'natural' area of influence: see R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976), pp.181-82.
 21. Quoted by Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (1985), p.46.
 22. James Grant, *The Metropolitan, Weekly and Provincial Press* (London, 1872) pp.204-5, quoted in Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales* (1976), p.180.
 23. It is worth noting that at the end of his *The Newspaper Press: Its Origin, Growth and Present Position* (London, 1871) James Grant poured scorn on some of the western American papers: 'Surely those compilers of statistics respecting the American Press cannot be serious when they dignify with the

name of newspapers such publications as those to which reference is made in such terms as are employed in the following:- "We have to apologize to our readers for issuing only a paper half the usual size this week, owing to our only compositor, with ourselves, being ill, and our pressman drunk; while in consequence of our wife being laid up, we have been obliged day and night to rock the cradle" . . . Only imagine what sort of journals such publications as these must be! Is it not a manifest misnomer to call them newspapers? And yet out of the number of American journals dignified with the name of newspapers there is at least a fourth part which are conducted in a manner of which I have given some specimens – are printed in worn-out type, hideous to look at, and on paper so coarse as to be unfit even for wrapping up tea and sugar in a grocer's shop. Such publications as these are a perfect burlesque on the very name of newspapers.' (pp.410-12)

24. *Tri-Weekly Miners' Register*, Central City, Colorado, 28 July 1862; quoted in Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers* (1981), p.34.
25. Christine Ferdinand, 'Benjamin Collins, the *Salisbury Journal* and the Provincial Book Trade', *The Library*, 6th ser., 11 (1989): 116-38. How far Collins's fortune was derived from other activities – his Cephalic Snuff, his children's books, his moneylending – rather than advertising in or subscriptions to the *Salisbury Journal* need not really concern us, but it is useful to be reminded that there may well be more to a newspaper printer than being just a printer.

TABLE I : CATEGORIES OF ADVERTISEMENT IN THE EARLY NEW ZEALAND PRESS

Title of Newspaper	Bennett's Category						Date
	A Real Property	B Retail Trade	C Employ- ment	D Public Events	E Legal Notices	F Other	
1. NZ Spectator	38.8	42.5	1.5	0.0	15.6	1.6	1844/5
2. Otago Witness	51.3	26.4	3.7	2.3	14.5	2.3	1851
3. Lyttelton Times	55.8	28.1	4.6	1.8	6.9	2.8	1851
4. Otago Witness	49.1	26.5	4.4	3.1	8.6	8.3	1855
5. Canterbury St'd	45.1	33.1	5.3	2.8	6.6	7.1	1855
6. NZealander	54.2	23.1	5.3	5.6	5.6	6.3	1857
7. Nelson Examiner	48.1	33.3	6.8	3.2	4.2	4.5	1857
8. NZ Spectator	54.6	29.6	7.5	2.8	1.8	3.7	1857
9. HawkesBay Hld	48.6	34.4	1.7	1.0	10.2	4.3	1857/8
10. Colonist	40.1	43.4	3.8	6.9	3.7	2.1	1858
11. NZealander	57.0	28.0	2.6	3.7	5.7	3.0	1859
12. Southern Cross	59.3	28.8	5.4	4.0	3.0	2.5	1859
13. NZ Spectator	56.9	24.7	9.2	3.6	0.7	5.0	1859
14. Wanganui Chron	55.8	26.2	3.7	3.3	5.4	5.6	1860
15. Taranaki News	55.6	30.7	0.0	5.3	4.2	4.2	1860
16. Wanganui Chron	59.3	17.8	3.0	6.1	9.2	4.6	1861
17. [Ch'ch] Press	62.4	14.0	10.0	5.0	4.3	5.4	1863
18. NZ Herald	52.9	31.7	7.9	3.2	0.9	3.2	1864
19. Evening Post	38.6	41.9	5.1	5.9	5.4	3.1	1865
20. Otago D Times	46.2	31.4	9.9	3.5	7.1	1.9	1865
21. W Coast Times	38.3	51.0	7.0	1.9	0.2	1.7	1866
22. Grey R Argus	27.6	58.0	5.9	3.5	5.1	1.8	1868
23. W'port D Times	25.9	55.4	6.6	2.8	4.9	1.2	1868
24. Oamaru Times	48.6	20.7	10.4	9.8	4.5	5.7	1869
25. Thames Adv'tiser	36.2	42.8	7.7	8.2	2.7	2.5	1872
26. Nelson Ev Mail	41.7	36.1	11.1	2.8	5.6	3.5	1875
27. Evening Post	34.4	38.0	16.0	4.5	4.3	2.8	1877
<i>[J'ca] Royal Gazette</i>	<i>43.5</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>5.2</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>9.4</i>	<i>25.0</i>	<i>1794</i>
<i>Bahama Gazette</i>	<i>52.2</i>	<i>16.0</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>13.6</i>	<i>11.6</i>	<i>1794</i>
<i>Eton & W Express</i>	<i>54.7</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>5.9</i>	<i>6.2</i>	<i>5.9</i>	<i>5.3</i>	<i>1812-27</i>
<i>[London] Times</i>	<i>56.7</i>	<i>15.0</i>	<i>17.5</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>1812-27</i>

APPENDIX I: LIST OF NEWSPAPERS ANALYSED

Number	Title	Date	Circulation	Percentage of adverts	Productivity ratio	Notes
1.	N Z Spectator (Wellington)	1844/5	130	22.6	0.8	
2.	Otago Witness (Dunedin)	1851	100*	11.1	5.5	A sick paper
3.	Lyttelton Times (Christchurch)	1851	500*	40.6	1.8	A healthy one
4.	Otago Witness (Dunedin)	1855	160	33.2	3.4	Makes first profit 1855
5.	Canterbury Standard (Christchurch)	1855	450*	66.1	1.7	
6.	New Zealander (Auckland)	1857	500*	52.3	3.1	Estimate of circ. too low?
7.	Nelson Examiner (Nelson)	1857	1250*	40.0	2.0	
8.	N Z Spectator (Wellington)	1857	500*	54.0	1.4	
9.	Hawkes Bay Herald (Napier)	1857/8	500*	60.6	0.9	Estimate of circ. too high?
10.	Colonist (Nelson)	1858	1250*	25.7	1.7	Estimate of circ. too high?
11.	New Zealander (Auckland)	1859	1000*	67.0	1.0	Estimate of circ. too high?
12.	Southern Cross (Auckland)	1859	1000*	57.0	0.9	Known to be losing money
13.	N Z Spectator (Wellington)	1859	500*	53.0	1.2	
14.	Wanganui Chronicle (Wanganui)	1860	500*	42.0	1.5	
15.	Taranaki News (New Plymouth)	1860	500*	36.7	1.7	
16.	Wanganui Chronicle (Wanganui)	1861	500*	54.6	1.5	
17.	The Press (Christchurch)	1863	600	67.4	1.3	
18.	N Z Herald (Auckland)	1864	2070*	57.4	1.3	
19.	Evening Post (Wellington)	1865	500*	73.0	1.5	
20.	Otago Daily Times (Dunedin)	1865	2750	72.3	0.4	Low for a suc- cessful paper?
21.	West Coast Times (Hokitika)	1866	500*	63.2	1.4	

Number	Title	Date	Circulation	Percentage of adverts	Productivity ratio	Notes
22.	Grey River Argus (Greymouth)	1868	500*	61.0	3.5	Est of circ. too low? (1876: 760)
23.	Westport Daily Times (Westport)	1868	500*	74.0	2.0	
24.	Oamaru Times (Oamaru)	1869	500*	61.7	5.0	Advert. revenue over-estimated?
25.	Thames Advertiser (Thames)	1872	2000*	64.0	1.4	Circ in 1876: 3250 copies
26.	Nelson Evening Mail (Nelson)	1875	1225	1.9	1.5	-
27.	Evening Post (Wellington)	1877	3000	77.0	1.4	
28.	Royal Gazette (Kingston, Jamaica)	1794	1000	50.1	0.9	P/R low for a famous money- spinner
29.	Bahama Gazette (Nassau)	1794	300*	44.7	1.7	Barely profitable
30.	Eton & Windsor Express	1812-27	500*	62	4.0	
31.	The Times (London)	1812-27		51		P/Ratio not calculated

*Circulation estimated according to best information available

Copyright of Full Text rests with the original copyright owner and, except as permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, copying this copyright material is prohibited without the permission of the owner or its exclusive licensee or agent or by way of a license from Copyright Agency Limited. For information about such licences contact Copyright Agency Limited on (02) 93947600 (ph) or (02) 93947601 (fax)