

'Large letter'd as with thundering shout'

An Analysis of Typographic Posters Advertising Emigration to
New Zealand 1839 – 1875

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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Visual and Material Culture

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of ephemeral, typographic material in the promotion of emigration to New Zealand in the nineteenth century. It focuses on the advertising posters produced by the New Zealand Company, the Otago and Canterbury Associations, the provincial governments and Government of New Zealand. It aims to identify how advertising and typography contributed to the transfer of the promotion message from the producer to the audience in this specific historical context.

For the first time a comprehensive data set of emigration posters of this period has been gathered together and examined. The posters are analysed in the context of their contemporary visual, material and print cultures, with particular reference to ephemeral printing. To account for all the historical, textual and graphic properties of the posters, the thesis develops and applies a novel, multilayered system of analysis, drawing on communication theory, social semiotic principles and Gestalt principles of composition.

The posters afforded emigration promoters a visual medium for distributing audience-appropriate messages through typographic strategies. They provided promoters with the facility for fast and inexpensive messaging that was otherwise unavailable in nineteenth century communication. The thesis concludes that posters were a significant part of an early, coherent and systematic advertising campaign which utilised processes and persuasive tools that have traditionally been seen as emergent only in the late nineteenth century.

This thesis establishes the value of ephemeral material and the study of graphic language when applied to the examination of historical phenomena. As well as shedding new light on these particular forms of historical design and modes of communication, it also adds a further valuable dimension to the more well-known story of nineteenth century emigration promotion by focussing on its graphic and advertising languages rather than its pictorial aspects. The investigation undertaken provides a new analytical system through which a combination of historical, ephemeral, typographic and advertising material can be examined in the future.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND USAGES

Abbreviations

AJHR	Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, New Zealand
ANZ	Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o Kāwananga
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
CA	Canterbury Association
HL	Hocken Library/Uare Taoka Hakena
NA	National Archives, London
NLS	National Library of Scotland/Leabharlann Nàiseanta na h-Alba
NLNZ	National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga O Aotearoa
NZC	New Zealand Company
NZCS	New Zealand Company Scrapbook
NZG	New Zealand Government
OA	Otago Association
PGA	Provincial Government of Auckland
PGC	Provincial Government of Canterbury
PGO	Provincial Government of Otago
PGT	Provincial Government of Taranaki
RCI	Royal Cornwall Institute
RCSL	Royal Commonwealth Society Library

Usages

An issue that arises in using historical documents concerns grammar and spelling. Throughout the posters, the related material and the contemporary writings, words such as ‘colonization’ are invariably spelled with a ‘z’. I have kept this spelling when using quoted material, but reverted to present-day conventional New Zealand usage of the ‘s’ for such words.

The word ‘labourer’ is spelled on the posters both as ‘labourer’ and ‘laborer’. In quoting the text, I have retained the original spelling in all cases.

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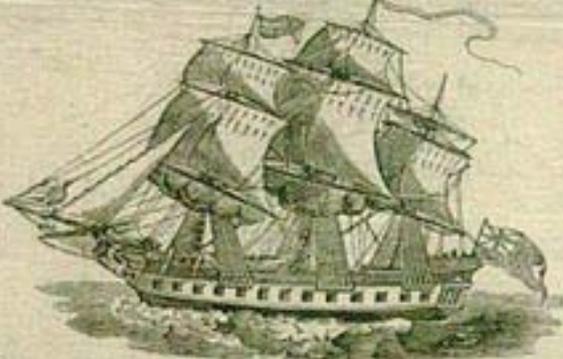
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INTRODUCTION

**FIRST SCOTTISH
COLONY for
New Zealand**

That Fine
FAST
SAILING



TEAK-BUILD
SHIP

BENGAL MERCHANT,
501 Tons Register---JOHN HEMERY, COMMANDER,
WILL POSITIVELY
SAIL FROM PORT-GLASGOW
For NEW ZEALAND,
With the first Body of Settlers
FROM SCOTLAND,
On FRIDAY, Oct. 25.

SINGLE WOMEN, going out as Servants to Cabin
Passengers, or in charge of Married Emigrants, will re-
ceive a *Free Passage* on board of this Ship.

All Goods and Luggage must be forwarded by the 20th
instant *at latest*, on which day the Ship will clear out.

For *Freight* (having room for dead Weight and Mea-
surement Goods) and *Passage*, apply to

JOHN CRAWFORD,
24, QUEEN STREET.

NEW ZEALAND LAND Co.'s OFFICE,
GLASGOW, 5th Oct. 1839.

J. Clark, Printer, Argue Office.

Fig. 1. Advertising poster for the ship *Bengal Merchant*. This poster was produced and displayed in Glasgow at the same time as William Golder saw one pasted up on a wall in that city. Golder left Scotland for New Zealand on the *Bengal Merchant* in 1839.

John Clark, Glasgow for the New Zealand Company agent John Crawford, 5 October 1840. OG.1961.12, Glasgow Museums Photo Library. 360mm x 540mm.

INTRODUCTION

*So, thus, if possible, their dreams,
To realize, and give their schemes
A prosp'rous issue; and beguile
O'er to their ends the sons of toil,—

Great placard sheets, they post about,
Large letter'd as with thundering shout.
They would proclaim—that deaf might hear,
Or blind might see, both far and near—

Free passage to New Zealand's isle!
Are offered to the sons of toil! ¹*

William Golder, a Scotsman who arrived in New Zealand on the *Bengal Merchant* in 1840, penned this poem. He commented later that he was persuaded to emigrate after seeing a New Zealand Company (NZC) poster pasted on a wall in Glasgow; it was one of the ‘great placard sheets’ of his second verse (fig. 1).² This thesis examines a set of these advertising posters with the aim of assessing their role in nineteenth century emigration to New Zealand as part of the ‘age of emigration’.³ It is a cross disciplinary enquiry that encompasses the histories of migration, visual and media culture and printing practice, specifically the printing of ephemeral material. Scholars such as Judith Johnston, Patricia Burns, Paul Hudson, and Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn use individual examples of a small selection of these posters as illustration in their studies of New Zealand emigration, but they do not examine them in any detail.⁴ By contrast, this thesis collects and then examines the posters as mediators in the process of emigration and as the objects of focus.⁵ Through an extended analysis of their graphic and textual languages, and the circumstances of their production, distribution and display, this thesis offers a different way of looking at the processes of emigration promotion. It takes a new methodological approach to examine ‘little-used’ material in order to cast new ‘angles of vision’ on New Zealand history.⁶

In undertaking such an enquiry, this thesis draws together a number of disparate topics that are usually investigated in separate studies with different aims and methodologies. My examination of the posters is part of a well-established tradition of enquiry into historical emigration. It also contributes to a growing body of literature on the social and cultural functions of visual and media material in the nineteenth century.⁷ Specifically, the thesis addresses three areas of enquiry that both add to existing knowledge and challenge conventional interpretations. First, the use of the printed ephemera of advertising as the focus of enquiry and the material for analysis is novel. The fleeting and disposable nature of ephemera means that little remains for examination and consequently it is often not available for use or is overlooked as source material for historical analysis.

Second, this study focuses on typographic, rather than pictorial material unlike most recent poster analyses.⁸ Image analysis is part of an art historical methodology upon which many scholars draw. On the other hand, typographic analysis is a relatively new and different field of enquiry. Both the use of ephemera for historical research and the wider field of typographic analysis are expanded upon below.

Third, ephemeral material embodies and conveys historical knowledge about nineteenth century emigration to New Zealand that is different from the archival, textual and pictorial sources conventionally used by scholars. Tibor Kalman *et al* suggest that how history is understood depends on how it is written. How it is written depends a great deal on the lens used to view it.⁹ This thesis argues that a typographic and advertising communication lens will add significantly to our understanding of the history of emigration to New Zealand.

The producers of these posters—the emigration agencies and their agents—directed them towards groups of the English labouring and middle classes who were experiencing the many adverse affects of industrialisation. Middle-class Victorians identified a hierarchy of the ‘working’ classes with agricultural labourers at the bottom. Though Edward Thompson suggests that the labouring class thought about itself in the singular, it is more likely that the people who lived within a nuanced class system would embrace intra-class hierarchies.¹⁰ Urban factory workers, for example, were seen to be

socially superior to rural agricultural labourers. Therefore, I use ‘labouring classes’, along with the ‘middle classes’, who were equally stratified, to encompass the two groups distinguished by the posters’ producers.¹¹

The posters that survive for examination span the years 1839 to 1875, covering the period of promotion by the NZC, the Otago and Canterbury Associations, the provincial governments of New Zealand, and the early promotional activities of the New Zealand Government. Posters are regularly pasted over or torn down to accommodate new ones and many of the original emigration posters are now lost. However, a sufficient number related to New Zealand emigration remain scattered among archival repositories around the world and I have collected them together for examination.

The existing historiography of emigration to New Zealand examines it as a phenomenon within the wider ‘second age of emigration’ in the nineteenth century.¹² Studies have examined forces behind why people emigrated, why they left England and why they went to New Zealand. This thesis does not rehearse that history in detail. Instead, it aims to add a different voice to it. There were historical precedents in the ‘ambitious, the sharp-witted and the young’ who left poverty behind to seek for greener pastures. Until the second age of emigration, this consisted of internal migration within countries.¹³ Scholars are divided on the issue of whether external emigration to other countries is what people actively wanted to do. Charlotte Erickson and Eric Richards question whether people who gained little or no benefit from England's industrial growth in the nineteenth century welcomed the chance to emigrate as a way of escaping poverty and distress. Each cites the difficulty emigration promoters had in persuading the so-called excess labour force to emigrate.¹⁴ Philip Temple suggests that ‘thousands...sought free passages’ which demonstrated a ‘serious intent’ on their part to emigrate.¹⁵ Similarly, Paul Hudson notes that the disaffected and disenfranchised understood that emigration could not only take them out of poverty but offered them and their children opportunities unimaginable in England.¹⁶

This thesis explores how emigration promoters systematically used the forces that prompted emigration, and those that resisted it, to persuade their intended audiences to

consider emigrating to the newest colony and the ‘farthest promised land’.¹⁷ The ephemeral nature of these advertising posters and the historical distance of their audiences make it impossible for us to know what specific effect the posters had on individual decision-making. There are inherent dangers in assuming audience response at such a remove and with a necessarily incomplete data set. There is always an ‘ontological gap’ in translating abstract notions of reality between cultures or across time.¹⁸ Liz McFall suggests instead that we examine the relationships between the practitioners, their clients, the material and the sites of advertising. She argues that this will produce a clearer picture of both contemporary practices and phenomena, and provide the material to examine change over time.¹⁹ The thesis takes this production-led approach, arguing that the intentions of a producer can be surmised substantially through the materials he or she produced. My use of ‘producer’ is intended to mean those who generate the messages on the posters and cause the posters to be materially produced by printers. This could include the emigration or promotion agencies or any one of their local or peripatetic agents. In this sense, the printers of the posters are also producers, but I refer to them exclusively as ‘printers’. The producers, I refer to as ‘producers’, ‘promotion agencies’ or ‘emigration agencies’, depending on context. They are one and the same. As much as possible, I refer to the posters by the name of their producers unless I am discussing design. As this is the domain of the printers, I discuss these aspects with reference to the printers’ names. The production approach to the examination of the posters reflects current scholarly interest in producer enquiry, especially in the examination of advertising and promotional material.²⁰ It also assumes that meaning can be found in what is produced, especially when production is the result of specific intentionality. My approach views all texts within their wider contexts and the diverse circumstances of how and why they were produced, and how they were intended to be used.

My synecdochal use of ‘England’ and ‘English’ in this thesis does not assume that emigration was an exclusively English enterprise; it was British in the sense that all four countries of Great Britain were involved. There is also at least one poster for each of



Fig. 2. Map of New Zealand, 1852.

Drawn and engraved by John Rapkin, Illustrations by H. Warren & engraved by J. B. Allen.
Map Coll-830a/[ca.1852]/Acc.296,Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. 260mm x 380mm.

those countries in my data set. However, there is sufficient scholarly support for characterising the group of people addressed in the posters as English in the context of nineteenth century definitions of Englishness. ‘English’ and ‘British’ did not always compete. The two adjectives often overlapped, possibly due to a contemporary lack of nationalist movements in Scotland and Ireland. The fairly new idea of a coherent ‘mass’ dominated numerically and culturally by the English, often made the Britons ‘think of themselves as “the English”’.²¹ Additionally, most of the posters were produced and distributed in England and it was the deleterious effects of English industrialism that provided much of the motivation for emigration. What follows is a short history of emigration to New Zealand from England which provides the social, economic and political context for the examination of the production of the posters in the rest of the thesis.

ENGLISH EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Among those many projects and principles for remedying all that is socially wrong, with which the ear of the public is ever filled, there is none so confidently asserted, and none so seldom denied or disputed, as an extensive systematic removal of our population to new lands and fresh sources of enterprise.²²

John Hill Burton’s confident assertion of emigration as the remedy for all the social and economic ills of nineteenth century England echoed the views of many contemporary reformers, philanthropists, businessmen and politicians.²³ Some of them, like Burton, advocated for it; others facilitated it. A major ideological shift in attitudes towards emigration from its shameful associations in the eighteenth century ensured that it became the proper business of English enterprise in the nineteenth century. Some felt that ‘colonization was the most important subject to which British statesmen could direct their energies’.²⁴ The urgent internal problems of unemployment and overpopulation made rapid colonial expansion into the world’s so-called ‘wastelands’ a necessary part of British imperial policy.²⁵ The ‘laws of nature’ provided for the removal of great numbers of the ‘redundant population’ to inhabit the ‘uninhabited portion of the globe’.²⁶ Conversely, there were many in those classes that would benefit from

emigration that regarded it less as a remedy for their so-called ills and more of a way towards ‘success and opportunity’.²⁷

The first concerted attempt to populate New Zealand’s wastelands with English emigrants was in 1825. A New Zealand Company was formed to transfer people from England to islands that, at that time, provided a home for Māori, who knew it as Aotearoa/Te Ika o Maui: the North Island, and Te Wai Pounamu: the South Island (fig. 2). It was also a sporadic shelter for whalers and sealers, and the haven of escaped convicts from Australia or runaway seamen.²⁸ The islands were also the site of a number of Church Missionary Society stations. Administratively, they were part of the colony of New South Wales.²⁹ The intention of the 1825 company was to establish agricultural settlements in the Hokianga area in the north of what became the North Island.³⁰ Two ships, the *Rosanna* and the *Lambton* arrived in New Zealand in early 1826 to a hostile reception from Māori. Daunted, they departed. There were no further expeditions under the auspices of this company.

The genesis of most of the posters examined in this thesis lies in the New Zealand Association of 1837 which was established to re-invigorate emigration to New Zealand. The Association was formed to facilitate a plan to settle New Zealand using the model of an earlier scheme devised for South Australia. The overarching aim of the scheme was to facilitate not ‘mere emigration’—the transference of people from one place to another—but ‘colonization in its ancient and systematic form’.³¹ Many of its members had some involvement in the South Australian scheme and the 1825 company.³² A new New Zealand Company (NZC) eventually emerged out of the Association, ostensibly guided by the colonising philosophies of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield argued that the colonisation of wastelands would only be successful if it was systematic, and transplanted what Michael Radzevicius calls ‘England elsewhere’—a replica of the mother country—to the new colony.³³ Aspects of this colonisation theory were not entirely original; Wakefield built substantially on the philosophies of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Robert Wilmot-Horton in the 1820s.³⁴ The idea that emigration should be systematic was Horton’s. Additionally, the task of developing the principles into practical measures fell to the directors of the NZC.³⁵ Wakefield felt he

was the ‘theorizer’ and he certainly was the NZC’s most vocal and persuasive advocate.³⁶

Wakefield wrote prolifically on the subject of colonisation and how it should be conducted.³⁷ His *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australiasia* set out a scheme for systematic emigration calculated to effect an ‘expansion of the nation’ by ‘planting... instant townships’.³⁸ Colonisation was to deliver economic and social outcomes for the emigrants to, the investors in, and the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand. The scheme hinged on the price of land; vast tracts were to be bought from Māori for ‘perishable commodities’ and the perceived advantages of ‘*colonisation itself*’.³⁹ Small allotments were to be sold at a ‘sufficient price’. This was an artificially set price that would prevent labourers from acquiring land too early and dispersing throughout the ‘land-abundant’ colony.⁴⁰

The NZC’s scheme of systematic emigration was based on a mutual arrangement of middle-class colonists with enough capital to provide employment for sufficient labouring-class emigrants to undertake it.⁴¹ Wakefield argued that to create ‘a division of labour through the means of mutual co-operation’, the emigrant population should comprise a ‘mixture of all classes of society’: the ‘*poorer orders*’, ‘*the children and grandchildren of the highest families*’ and those of the ‘*intermediate ranks of life*’.⁴² Such a population was to be what Mick Borrie called a ‘vertical slice’ of English society.⁴³ Beyond this, the sale to capitalists of land at a high price—having obtained it at a low price from Māori—would finance the emigration of the labourers.⁴⁴ The processes set in place by the NZC, including its advertising and its use of local recruiting agents, were geared towards realising these objectives. Ged Martin argues that this was an ideological exercise, or as Erik Olssen suggests, an ‘experiment’: a simplistic and unrealistic solution to a series of complex problems.⁴⁵

Unlike the New Zealand Company of 1825, which lacked the skills required to promote its activities, the members of the 1839 NZC appreciated the value of publicity. The NZC use of public display as a way of disseminating information about emigration to New Zealand which was largely unknown both as a country and as an emigration destination. Many scholars of emigration attribute this flair for publicity to Wakefield,

some admiringly, others more critically.⁴⁶ Patricia Burns notes that Wakefield's talent was 'a mixed blessing for everyone concerned, with the exception of the printing trade'.⁴⁷ He took full advantage of all the available media outlets. In the nineteenth century most of these were print-based. The NZC soon began publicising its scheme in newspapers and specialist journals. It set up a network of local agents to recruit the future members of the society it planned for the new colony of New Zealand.⁴⁸ It had posters pasted onto the walls of 'taverns, toll-houses and railway carriages' of towns and villages in many parts of England and in the wider British Isles.⁴⁹

The first NZC settlers arrived on Petone Beach in what is now Wellington Harbour at the southern tip of the North Island on 22 January 1840. Two weeks later, on 6 February, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by representatives of the British Government and a group of 43 Māori chiefs in the Far North.⁵⁰ The English and Māori versions of the Treaty were different, but both essentially 'represent an agreement in which Māori gave the Crown rights to govern and to develop British settlements, while the Crown guaranteed Māori full protection of their interests and status, and full citizenship rights'.⁵¹ This compact inaugurated New Zealand's existence as a Crown Colony.⁵² In 1841 the British Government granted the NZC a Royal Charter which allowed it to continue its operations for a period of forty years.⁵³ Amid the subsequent confused issues of the Crown's right of pre-emption over land sales and the legality of pre-1840 sales, the NZC continued to send out emigrant ships.

Jock Phillips notes that most of the New Zealand population growth among non-Māori in the years between 1840 and 1852 was due to emigration.⁵⁴ A drop in numbers between 1843 and 1846 reflected an economic recovery in England, the NZC's financial difficulties, and some uncertainty about the future of the colony.⁵⁵ A resurgence of emigration in the later 1840s was due in part to a downturn in the English economy and the formation of two further emigration schemes: the Otago Association (OA) and Canterbury Association (CA).

These bodies settled emigrants on the east coast of the South Island.⁵⁶ Both were guided by the systematic principles of the NZC. The NZC sold lands to the Associations and assisted them with initial funding, surveys of the settlements and publicity.⁵⁷ The

principle difference between these two Associations and the NZC was the foundation of the former as church associations: Otago by the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland and Canterbury by the Church of England.⁵⁸ The OA sought to establish a colony in New Zealand that was principally Presbyterian, Scottish and farming in character.⁵⁹ The CA looked for wider societal diversity but one founded on the desire for an 'English utopia' that harked back to a pre-industrial society.⁶⁰ The NZC, along with its affiliate Associations, facilitated the emigration of some 14,000 people to New Zealand between 1840 and 1852.⁶¹ Most went to the settlements of Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury.⁶²

The New Zealand Constitution of 1852 shifted power in the Crown Colony from the English Crown to the New Zealand Colonial Parliament, under which sat six provincial legislatures: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago.⁶³ The provincial governments had small schemes to increase their population through emigration. Posters exist for the provincial governments of Auckland (PGA); Otago (PGO); Canterbury (PGC) and Taranaki, by which New Plymouth had become known after 1858 (PGT).⁶⁴ The most sustained were those of Canterbury and Otago.⁶⁵ Following the example of the NZC, each provincial government hired local agents to recruit emigrants on its behalf. These were augmented and sometimes assisted by peripatetic agents, residents of their respective provinces who returned to England for the purpose of recruiting.⁶⁶ For a short time in the 1860s, the NZG assumed some responsibility for emigration and worked with the provinces.⁶⁷

In the 1870s the NZG instituted a campaign to attract and employ emigrants for their huge and 'ambitious' public works schemes.⁶⁸ Using foreign loans and investment, the colonial treasurer Julius Vogel introduced major infrastructure projects throughout the country to build roads and railways. An office of the Agent-General for New Zealand was established in London with a remit to recruit and select suitable emigrants for these schemes.⁶⁹ Isaac Featherston was appointed to the position of Agent-General and he hired Charles Cater as the chief emigration agent. Again, the NZC model of promotion and recruitment proved useful.⁷⁰

The company of John Brogden and Sons was contracted to oversee the Vogel schemes and recruit emigrants to work on them. Between July 1872 and April 1873 Brogden recruited over 1200 navvies, or industrial labourers, to work on the infrastructure projects.⁷¹ Brogden's recruitment activities helped to raise New Zealand's profile at a time when its reputation for a poor climate, wars with Māori and its distance from England all worked against it. In spite of an agricultural depression in England, New Zealand was not always the first choice of a prospective emigrant until Brogden and then the NZG offered incentives such as free and assisted passages. The NZG also introduced a scheme through which residents could nominate friends and relatives for assistance.⁷²

Independent groups also made their way to New Zealand: the non-Conformists from the Midlands in the 1860s are one example.⁷³ Single women of both the labouring and middle classes were recruited through a variety of schemes, such as Maria Rye's Female Middle Class Emigration Society and the British Ladies' Female Emigrant Society.⁷⁴ Special group settlements came to farm land that was set aside to accommodate them in Dannevirke, Feilding, Te Puke, Te Aroha, Matakura and Katikati.⁷⁵ Soldiers who fought in the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s and 1860s were settled on land near Auckland to protect it against perceived threats from Māori. The discovery of gold in Otago brought a huge influx of miners from Australia, America and other parts of the world, including China.⁷⁶ Though the early schemes in particular provided relatively small numbers of settlers, the non-Māori population of New Zealand increased from 27,000 in 1851 to 98,000 in 1861 and 255,000 in 1871.⁷⁷ In the later years, population growth was the result of both emigration and natural increase through births. Many people emigrated and then moved on but between 1853 and 1870 there was a net emigration of 50,000 people who came mostly from either England or Australia.⁷⁸

PROMOTING EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

There was a great deal of discussion about emigration in newspapers and journals in which the merits of emigration and individual destinations were debated. The social and economic effects of emigration were also the subject of much attention by political

economists and commentators.⁷⁹ Certainly, the various schemes examined in this thesis and the discourses on emigration that surrounded them suggest that there was a substantial body of information about the subject in many parts of the country and available across the social spectrum. Further, large typographic posters broadcast both emigration and New Zealand in targeted areas. For example, this poster in figure 3 (top) advertises a meeting of the Popular Literature and Historical Society in Gateshead on 30 November 1839. It features a lecture on ‘Colonization and Emigration’ by the Newcastle lawyer, radical and political and social reformer William Lockey Harle. A handwritten annotation on the poster explains that the lecture is an ‘explanation of the measures pointed out by Mr. Gibbon Wakefield’. Lockey Harle promoted emigration as a ‘remedy’ for the social and economic ills of the labouring classes. Northumbria, however, was not an area from which many emigrants to New Zealand were recruited. The poster in figure 3 (bottom left) was produced to advertise one of a number of lectures delivered in and around London to promote emigration to New Zealand. Ephemeral but visually arresting material such as this raised public awareness of both in urban and rural visual landscapes.⁸⁰

Scholars working in the field of emigration have yet to establish the role or influence of material such as posters in the promotion of New Zealand. Among others, Phillips and Hearn note that the promotional materials of advertising made a significant contribution to the real or imagined profile of New Zealand in the middle years of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ Whether by profile they meant to indicate that this material was instrumental in recruiting emigrants is not clear. Until this thesis, little of it has been examined in any systematic detail.⁸² Phillips also notes that few of the studies of immigrant flows predate the 1870s.⁸³ So, while this thesis is not about the flows but the material and method used to produce them, it provides further information about emigration in the earlier years. A few studies have included some discussion of promotional material within their wider investigations of the phenomenon.⁸⁴ Miles Fairburn discusses at length and in detail the ‘stream of idealising literature’ that directed attention towards New Zealand. He notes that the extensive Hocken *Bibliography* only scratched the surface of the ‘multitudinous items’ produced between 1840 and 1909.⁸⁵ Robert Grant outlines the ways that more than 270 texts, maps and

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COLONIZATION, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THE NEW ZEALAND
POPULAR LECTURE AND MUSICAL SOCIETY
ARE HAPPY TO INFORM THE PUBLIC THAT

W.M. LOCKEY HARLE, Esq.

WILL DELIVER A LECTURE ON
Colonization and Emigration,
being an explanation of the Australian journals sent by the Editors of the Field.
AT THE NEXT ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIETY WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE
IN THE
LECTURE ROOM, NELSON STREET,
On Saturday Evening, the 30th Nov. Inst.

PROGRAMME.

GLEE—"The New Mariners," Messrs Robson, Wilson, and Stodhart.	CALCOTT.
SONG—"The Rose of Cashmere," Mr. Wilson.	HARRIS.
DUET—"When the Breeze leaves a Sigh," Miss Bolton and Mr. Wilson.	BRASAM.
SONG—"My Lovely Dark-eyed Mary," Mr. Robson.	PARRY.
SONG—"The Pilot," Mr. Stodhart.	NELSON.
GLEE—"Bright Phoenix," Messrs. Garrett, Ryatt, and Donald.	BURBY.

LECTURE.

GLEE—"The Cornet's Evening Song," Miss Bolton, Messrs. Robson, Wilson, & Stodhart.	ROBINSON.
SONG—"We have liv'd and lov'd together," Miss Bolton.	HERR.
OVERTURE—"The Calife Bagdad," Pianosorte.	BOLLING.
GLEE—"Old Sir Simon the King,"	
SONG—"Black Eyed Susan," Mr. Ferry.	DISNEY.
FINALE—"Fill me Boy."	COOK.

Doors open at 7 o'Clock, to commence at half-past. Admittance 6d. each; front Seats 6d.
Nov. 28th. 1840.

William Douglas, Observer Office, No 14, High Street, Gateshead.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ON MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1862,
THE REV. E. GARBETT, M.A.
WILL READ A
LECTURE ON NEW ZEALAND,
Illustrated by numerous DRAWINGS,
AT
ST. PETER'S INFANT SCHOOL ROOM.

The Chair will be taken at SEVEN o'Clock, by the
REV. JOSEPH HASLEGRAVE, M.A.

ADMISSION 6d.
The profits to be given to the above Society.

NEW ZEALAND.

A
Public Meeting
if all Friendly to Emigration to New Zealand, will be held in
JUSTICIARY COURT HALL,
On the Evening of
MONDAY, the 30th Nov.
At EIGHT o'Clock,

with a purpose of Memorializing Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Her Majesty's Principal
Secretary of State for the Colonies, to grant Free Passages from the Clyde to New
Zealand all Working Men, and their Wives and Children, who may be willing to
emigrate thither, and who may be eligible according to Government regulations.

THE HONOURABLE THE LORD PROVOST
Has kindly consented to take the Chair.

W. & W. MILLER, Printers, 29, Bell Street.

Fig. 3. *top*: Lockey Harle was a prominent Gateshead lawyer who advocated for emigration along the systematic principles of the NZC.

bottom left: Churchmen were instrumental in advocating the emigration of distressed labourers.

bottom right: Poster advertising a public meeting to discuss the issue of free emigration to New Zealand.

from top:

William Stephens, Gateshead for the Popular Lecture and Musical Society, 1840.

Unknown printer, London for the Church Missionary Society, 1862. Eph-A-LECTURE-1862-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. 220mm x 183mm

right: W. & W. Miller, Glasgow 21 November 1840CO208/291/46, NZCS, National Archives, London.

220mm x 300mm. CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London. 550mm x 450mm.

pictorial images listed in A. S. Thomson's *The Story of New Zealand* 'appear' to have influenced those who chose to emigrate to New Zealand.⁸⁶ Fairburn and Grant's work, and the material they examine, forms the context of promotion within which the posters operated. The sources they cite are predominantly textual but Grant is one of four scholars who focus their attention on how the NZC in particular promoted New Zealand specifically through visual texts.

In 'Promotional Shots: The New Zealand Company's Paintings, Drawings and Prints of Wellington in the 1840s and their Use in Selling a Colony', Marion Minson analyses a number of images to determine how the NZC used them in promoting New Zealand to prospective colonists.⁸⁷ Many of these images were reproduced as lithographic prints and distributed widely in England. She notes the great 'volley' of words 'from posters and broadsides' and other printed material that accompanied them, but suggests that they were incomprehensible to the illiterate.⁸⁸ Six years later Grant examined the same images, and more, in *The Prospective Gaze: British Metropolitan Images of New Zealand 1800-1860*.⁸⁹ Neither of these studies includes analysis of the emigration poster because they are typographic rather than pictorial. Paul Hudson's examination of the influence of information distributed by the NZC agents necessarily includes some mention of posters as it was these agents who produced many of them.⁹⁰ Seeking to determine the relative importance of the availability of information in relation to other factors in the emigration decision, he provides the beginnings of a discussion of posters, but only in terms of production numbers and costs and how they were used by some of the agents.⁹¹

The most comprehensive discussion of these posters is in Judith Johnston's thesis 'Images and Appraisals of New Zealand 1839 to 1855'. She takes a cognitive-behavioural approach towards understanding how pictorial images created expectations of New Zealand in prospective emigrants and colonists. Her underlying theory of how persuasion can affect behavior through inherent human cognitive processes is useful for this study. She argues that the 'cognitive map' of the intended audiences mediated their understanding of, and attitude towards, what the promotional material proposed. She also examines how those attitudes affected their subsequent behaviour.⁹² She discusses the advertising posters associated with emigration promotion in general terms. She outlines the content of a few posters and something of their display: 'flaming posters

[were] flaunted' everywhere, including railway carriages. She notes that posters and advertisements were also sent out to 'parishes, unions, public and private bodies, landlords, major working institutions and all provincial reading rooms'.⁹³ Her account provides some useful detail on their distribution and display. Johnston suggests that posters were the 'first means of attracting attention' to the various meetings and lectures that they advertised, but she does not elaborate the way they did this apart from their public display.⁹⁴ Nor does she investigate the relationships between other promotional material, the publication of the posters, and the occasion of the meetings. However, she does point out well before the flood of emigration studies of the last twenty-five years that an investigation of this material will be important for a fuller understanding of New Zealand emigration. She refers to the 'valuable and ancillary' material in the NZC records in London, among which is a large scrapbook of posters.⁹⁵ The scrapbook was also accessed, but minimally employed, by Burns and Hudson. Hudson acknowledges that while promotional material was integral to the work of the NZC agents, it has yet to be explored and its influence determined.⁹⁶

These brief references to 'material', or posters specifically, and the acknowledgement by some scholars of the 'scant attention' paid to such little-used sources, presents a gap in the literature on emigration to New Zealand that this thesis aims to fill.⁹⁷ This study seeks a clearer picture of historical events and practices that takes account of a primary source related directly to the emigration decision. A recent volume of essays edited by Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney encourages the use of 'new- or little-used' material to investigate New Zealand's 'many pasts' and its 'multiplicity of stories'.⁹⁸ The emigration posters provide an opportunity to re-examine some of the multiplicity of stories related to early emigration to New Zealand in one of those ways—through the material produced to promote it. As part of the ephemeral material of nineteenth century visual and print cultures, the posters were conceived, produced, distributed and displayed in ways that were particular to their genre, and their place and time and so offer a basis for new and expanded histories. Why they have not been sought out and examined before is due to their nature as ephemeral material and the status derived from that nature.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EPHEMERA

Ephemera is the jobbing work of the printing trade, most of which is designed to ‘flare and fade’ soon after it is produced.⁹⁹ It includes material such as pamphlets, newspapers and serial publications. It also covers a variety of single-page productions such as bus tickets, food wrappers and posters.¹⁰⁰ It is these latter items that seldom survive their immediate use. But for studies such as this one they are a valuable source of information. Further, as Elizabeth Holcombe notes that

the information is not simply the words printed on it; it can be the printing method used, the colours, the paper, the font, the decorative motifs chosen... that play a documentary role.¹⁰¹

Ephemerists argue that these ‘fragmentary documents of everyday life’ record valuable evidence of the spirit of their age and its quotidian shifts.¹⁰² Michael Twyman and John Hinks posit that the extant remains of historical ephemera make the stories of their time and place accessible long after their primary use is over.¹⁰³ The evidential value of such material lies in its ability to speak of its social history through its content, and its textual and graphic languages.¹⁰⁴ These features make it possible for scholars to hear how people spoke to each other, how they used language and for what purposes. Such ephemera provides significant value for social and cultural studies.¹⁰⁵ It is especially useful in the study of how language is used in advertising as the ephemeral forms are often where its ‘purest’ forms are found.¹⁰⁶ Extant advertising posters offer scholars glimpses of the time, place and culture that produced them, and insights into large-scale activities such as mass emigration.¹⁰⁷ Such material intentionally focuses its message on contemporary issues of and for its present. These quotidian aspects of life are less readily available from books which often speak to future readers, usually have longer-lasting relevance and are often ‘consciously devised’ with that in mind.¹⁰⁸ As Maurice Rickards points out, ephemera is the unedited half of history.¹⁰⁹

There are a number of reasons why ephemera is not often used as a credible historical source. Writing on the historiography of nineteenth-century visual culture, Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski point to an historical primacy of fine art as the object of study over ephemera such as advertising material.¹¹⁰ Geographers also privilege

paintings in pursuit of knowledge about historical landscapes, neglecting almost entirely the ‘illustrative and decorative’ found in ephemera.¹¹¹ Johnston, Minson and Grant’s examination of the images of New Zealand point to this type of privileging. Yet, the public was constantly taking ‘oracular doses of Potts’ Pills’ through advertising messages that were pasted or painted on walls, attached to umbrellas, coins, tombstones, lithographed in lamp-black (pigment made from soot) on pavements, and ‘daubed on fences’ in cities and provincial towns alike.¹¹² This material fragility points to the second and most persistent barrier to using ephemera for scholarly study. Traditionally, this has been the difficulty of access. The survival of paint and lamp-black was necessarily precarious, but posters often fared little better. If they did not disappear into dustbins or get lost behind repastings, they were often simply forgotten.¹¹³ While examination of the material of phenomena such as emigration may afford different ways of understanding the drivers of emigration, accessing the material related to it has been difficult. To a great extent extent, it still is.¹¹⁴

The problem of accessibility has undoubtedly contributed to the historical neglect of ephemeral material such as posters. Social and print historians have not typically had a coherent and accessible archive or set of sources to investigate. Legal deposit acts which stipulate that copies of all published material must be deposited in the national libraries within Britain do not cover posters.¹¹⁵ This is standard practice; the National Library of New Zealand does not include ephemeral material on its list of publications covered by the Legal Deposit Act either.¹¹⁶ Much of this material survives only ‘by chance’ or through specific and often personal collection practices.¹¹⁷ Sally de Beaumont *et al* note that some of the collections of large national institutions as well as those of universities, local studies libraries, and in private and business archives are not even known to ephemerists. Finding aids often fail to locate material that is held under vague and only laboriously searchable categories such as ‘miscellaneous’.¹¹⁸ When ephemeral material does survive, often scattered among repositories, it is seldom either systematically collected or analysed due to the almost unknowable character of its existence or its whereabouts.¹¹⁹

At times fragments of collections can be found in many of the same repositories that hold more conventional research material such as books or manuscripts. This raises a

third issue that explains why ephemera is often neglected in scholarly studies. Laurel Brake argues that there has been a ‘persistent and largely unproblematised tendency in the wider humanities to privilege books in nineteenth century studies’.¹²⁰ Until recently, the book has dominated print culture studies and the value of ephemera is often overlooked by this conflation of print culture with book culture.¹²¹ Books are invariably what engage cultural, print and literary historians, but the majority of printed material was ephemera. At fourteen per cent of total print production even as late as 1907, the book was not the most common text up to that time. The highest value production was jobbing printing; posters, tickets, timetables, labels and forms were the documents that constituted the predominant reading experience.¹²² Posters were key communication tools in the nineteenth century and they played a significant role in shaping public perceptions of contemporary issues. Yet scholars often dismiss them as ‘quaint, colourful, but of little intrinsic value as historical documents’.¹²³ There seems to be little correlation between the ubiquity of these everyday documents and the scant scholarly attention paid to them.¹²⁴

Nevertheless, digitising projects and improvements in finding aids are slowly making ephemera collections known and more readily available. Two of the largest and most diverse collections of ephemera in England are in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University and the ephemera collections at the Department of Typography and Graphic Communication at Reading University.¹²⁵ The Bodleian Library is progressively putting its collections on line. The collections at Reading are catalogued, but remain accessible only in the physical world due to the lack of funding to make them digitally available to the wider scholarly community. Scholars have also begun taking an interest in media-related ephemeral material of the historical popular press, advertising and the distribution of information.¹²⁶ Digitised archives make historical newspapers more readily available for study. The *Times Digital Archive*, the *British Newspaper Archives* and the newspaper archives of the Highland Council’s website, *Am Baile*, are all useful for in the research of historical phenomena such as emigration.¹²⁷ Trends in the study of popular culture and a growing interest in exploiting forms of evidence beyond conventional sources has introduced collections of material that hitherto have been hidden away.¹²⁸ Generally these studies have covered newspapers and small book formats—pamphlets

and chapbooks for example—rather than the single page forms of ephemera such as posters. A significant exception is the many studies of playbills and broadside ballads. Ballads have been collected and catalogued for centuries and so they have been relatively accessible for some time. Scholars in this area are concerned largely with the provenance of their material and the social and cultural events and phenomena they document, rather than their typographic aspects.¹²⁹ Studies that use posters as a part of a wider focus on advertising generally use material from the last half of the nineteenth century onwards.¹³⁰ Many have assumed that prior to the middle of the century, advertising was an incoherent and primitive business.¹³¹ On the contrary, others have identified sophisticated practices of advertising in the early nineteenth century.¹³² It was simply not an industry with a framework of agreed guidelines, terms of reference or conditions of work. No doubt this is one of the factors in scholars' preference for working with late nineteenth century examples.

Because of the culturally contingent nature of ephemeral material, understanding all the manifestations of its 'moment' is critical to its interpretation.¹³³ Contemporary printing practices dictate the nature of ephemeral material and so affect how they are read. This is often not accounted for when ephemera is used today to illustrate points made in texts rather than as a text for making a point. When scholars overlook its role as an information source they bypass the influence of its historical production contexts.¹³⁴ This can easily lead them to mis-read the intent and effect of the material. While technology provides a narrow version of history, it does contribute to an understanding of change and why some changes happen. Finally, the method of display contributes considerably to the transfer of a message from producer to audience. Small newspaper advertisements, for example, have considerably less visual impact than large posters do. Rather than viewing material solely through a conceptual lens, scholars need to understand that it is equally driven by the technology that produced it and the ways in which its use was dictated by its materiality.

The principle argument in this thesis is that the emigration agencies used the posters strategically as part of a toolbox of tactics to either promote or effect emigration. Posters had qualities that were unlike any other contemporary media. Agencies recognised and used the singular qualities of posters for distinct purposes in specific situations.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MATERIALITY

As well as being ephemeral material the emigration posters are material objects. While I do not explicitly address their materiality in a disciplinary sense, I recognise that it was their material quality which allowed them to enact their purpose in ways that were unique to them.¹³⁵ There is an ‘intrinsic spatial dimension’ to posters afforded by their materiality.¹³⁶ Unlike some ephemeral material, posters were not handed out, not part of the private readings spaces of a newspaper, but pasted onto publicly available surfaces, usually vertical ones. The surface itself was variable. Well-established distribution and display networks and mechanisms allowed advertisers to ‘wallcast’ their message across a wide area quickly and easily (fig. 4, *top right*).¹³⁷ Some were static and could be revisited; others moved around and could be re-encountered. Posters were pasted on bridges and public transport and displayed anywhere from the city walls to omnibuses and railway carriages.¹³⁸ They could be paraded through the streets by sandwichmen or on advertising vans (figs. 4, *top left* & 5, *top*).¹³⁹

The Victorians themselves recognised the pervasive tangible presence of advertising material in their public spaces.¹⁴⁰ The advertising agent Henry Sampson noted that

often firms which advertise on an extensive scale themselves contract with the railway companies, and not a few have extended their announcements from the stations to the sides of the line...anyone having a vacant space at the side of his house or a blank wall in the same, may, provided he live in anything like a business thoroughfare, and that the vantage place is free from obstruction, do advantageous business with an advertising contractor.¹⁴¹

Posters had a significant advantage for producers or advertisers. First, they were not subject to the taxes levied on newspaper advertising between the seventeenth century and 1855 when these levies were abolished.¹⁴² Second, they enjoyed a relative lack of physical constraints. Neither technology, restrictive newspaper columns nor legislative measures (at least until towards the end of the century) prevented printers from investigating creative strategies for visualising messages that were not previously seen in

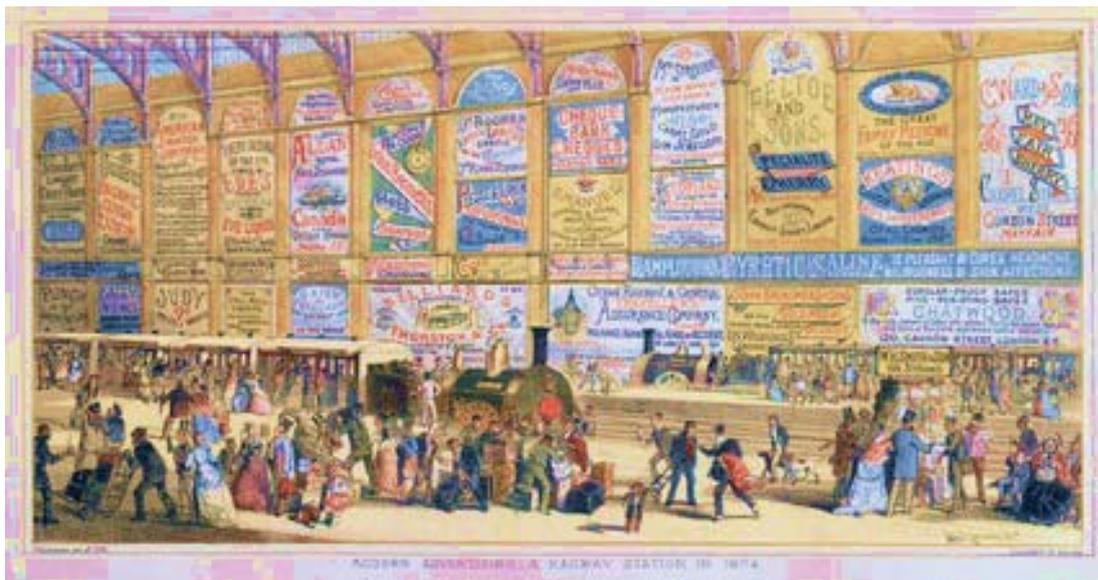


Fig. 4. *top left*: 'An advertising van of 1826, *The Last Stage of the Last State Lottery*'.

top right: 'An Old Bill-station'.

bottom: 'Modern Advertising: A Railway Station in 1874'. This coloured lithograph, and the Parry painting in figure 5 (*bottom*), illustrate the changes in advertising display that occurred when various Act of Parliament restricted and controlled the sites.

from top:

Henry Sampson, *A History of Advertising* (1874), opp. pp. 467 and 27 respectively.

Alfred Concanen, printed by Stannard & Sons, London, 1874.

public promotional display.¹⁴³ Third, they were fast and relatively cheap to produce in quantity due to technological developments in the printing industry that were prompted by the needs of advertising.¹⁴⁴ They were able to be widely distributed and publicly displayed through well-established mechanisms.¹⁴⁵ Finally, as material objects in public spaces, posters were immediately available to many eyes at once, calling for the attention of anyone who happened to be passing by. The design, distribution and display of posters made their messages immediately available, if not unavoidable.¹⁴⁶ Posters were similarly useful for their audiences. Magazines and books produced through processes such as lithography were well beyond the pocket of a rural labourer or dairymaid. Newspapers and pamphlets were not usually expensive, and some were distributed free by local agents, and they were often shared among friends and family.¹⁴⁷ Publicly displayed posters were always free to view.

Nor, it seems, were posters able to be ignored. As highly visible manifestations of cultural practices, posters performed roles within wider social spheres.¹⁴⁸ Considerable contemporary public discourses on advertising, consumer culture and modernity circulated around the nineteenth century poster.¹⁴⁹ The value of a typographic poster is that it is designed to attract the attention of passers-by by speaking loudly in public.¹⁵⁰ W.H. Pine commented on the 'new mode of catching the attention', particularly the posters 'six or eight feet long'.¹⁵¹ Charles Dickens wrote on the ubiquity of such posters or 'bills' on his arrival in London in 1850.

All traces of the broken windows were billed out, the doors were billed across, the water-spout was billed over. The building was shored up to prevent its tumbling into the street; and the very beams erected against it were less wood than paste and paper, they had been so continually posted and reposted. The forlorn dregs of old posters so encumbered this wreck, that there was no hold for new posters, and the stickers had abandoned the place in despair, except one enterprising man who had hoisted the last masquerade to a clear spot near the level of the stack of chimneys where it waved and drooped like a shattered flag. Below the rusty cellar-grating, crumpled remnants of old bills torn down, rotted away in wasting heaps of fallen leaves. Here and there, some of the thick rind of the house had peeled off in strips, and

littered heavily down, littering the street; but, still, below these rents and gashes, layers of decomposing posters showed themselves, as if they were interminable. I thought the building could never even be pulled down, but in one adhesive heap of rottenness and poster.¹⁵²

THE UBIQUITY OF POSTER ADVERTISING

The ubiquity of advertising posters in the nineteenth century visual landscape made this public method of message transmission mandatory for anyone who wished to broadcast something to someone. Posters were embedded in the landscape; they were a major feature of its material and visual spaces.¹⁵³ Many scholars note the considerable impact that posters had in the nineteenth century visual landscape.¹⁵⁴ Leiss *et al* in particular argue that prior to 1868, when laws were passed against bill posting, London streets were considerably more covered with advertising than they are today.¹⁵⁵ McFall has also written extensively on the ubiquity of nineteenth century advertising and its manifestation on public walls, though her focus is on the latter half of the century.¹⁵⁶ Advertising posters were one of a growing number of ‘visual events’ in the public landscape.¹⁵⁷ Visual culture scholars argue that the development of the ‘world picture’—not a picture of the world *per se* but the act of seeing the world as a picture—developed substantially in the nineteenth century. The world became a kind of ‘mental encyclopaedia’ of images that taught people to think through their eyes.¹⁵⁸ Advertising posters tapped into this method of meaning transfer through a system of shared cultural experiences and communication conventions.¹⁵⁹ Because the latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of significant development in chromolithographic printing and the allure of the pictorial print, the posters examined in the studies of most scholars are almost inevitably pictorial.¹⁶⁰

Consistent exposure to a wide range of visual and media material, including posters, which circulated inescapably within the visual and cultural landscape, forced the pedestrian to adapt to the ‘ebb and flow of data’.¹⁶¹ This, along with a congruence of shared cultural knowledge, made it possible for audiences to decode (interpret) the

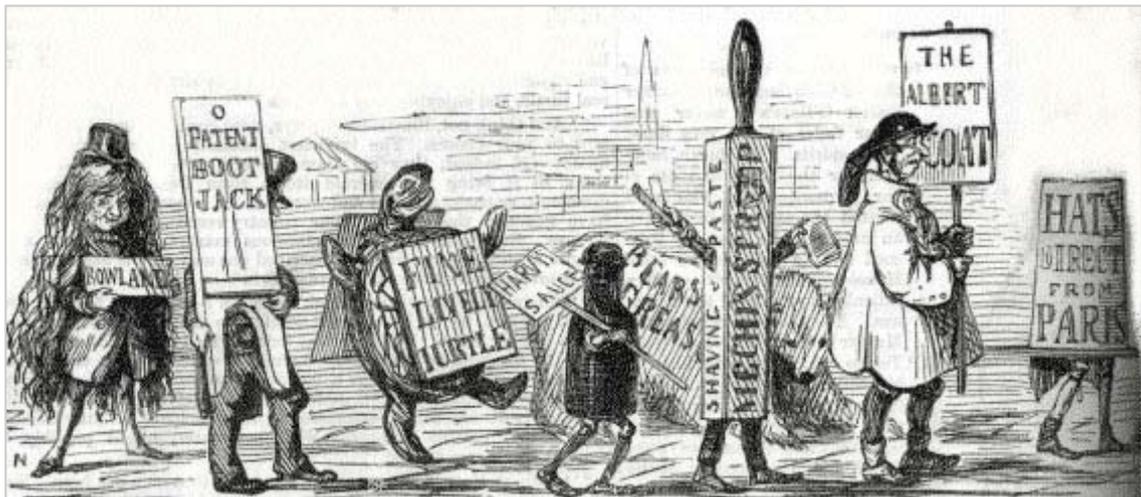


Fig. 5. *top*: Caricature of sandwichmen parading through the street in 1846.

bottom: John Orlando's Parry's painting illustrates something of what Dickens described. What became known as the 'language of the walls' is evident on the side of this nineteenth century central London building. It demonstrates the size and variety of posters and their ubiquity in the English visual landscape in the first half of the century. This was not a painting of a specific location, but a theatre backdrop that Parry produced to capture the flavour of contemporary London life.

from top:

Punch, January-June, 1846.

John Orlando Parry, London Street Scene, or, Tale of a Billsticker, 1835.

Alfred Dunhill Museum, London. 760mm x 1065mm.

messages that producers had encoded (inscribed).¹⁶² Seen in conjunction with much of the contemporary comment, Parry's painting in figure 5 demonstrates the ubiquity of posters as advertising display prior to 1850. It also demonstrates that *typographic* posters dominated in the first half of the century.

READING THE TYPOGRAPHIC WALL

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the ubiquitous, boldly executed and publicly displayed posters were the century's new media.¹⁶³ These posters highlight the increasingly strong relationship between reading and seeing, and visual culture and the written word.¹⁶⁴ Kevin Hayes and John Strachan note that language became a visual activity as cities came to be covered in writing.¹⁶⁵ For Hayes and Strachan, typography facilitates the literary components of the texts. But many typographic scholars argue that, even though typefaces are the 'medium' for representing language, they have more than just a facilitating function. Posters in particular contributed to the contemporary phenomenon of public writing. While cities have usually been regarded in the literature as the dominant site of public advertising, the emigration posters demonstrate that this form of advertising was equally prevalent in the provinces.¹⁶⁶ Sara Thornoton points out that public text in town or country

was no longer something that had to be sought out and paid for dearly; it now sought out the subject, moved into the line of his or her gaze and asked to be read.¹⁶⁷

But, as posters sought out their audience, they asked to be read in ways that differed from other media. Twyman points out, for example, that changes in economic and societal structures, and technological developments fostered new methods and modes of communicating visually through print and subsequently new strategies for reading.¹⁶⁸ Studies of historical information design demonstrate that the move away from the continuous body copy seen in books to the tabular, caption and abbreviated styles in timetables, catalogues and posters saw a shift in how texts were communicated and how people read them.¹⁶⁹

To overlook the capacity of ephemeral material to communicate graphically is to ignore one half of its message. Empirical studies of present day document design suggest that the ‘rhetorical appropriateness’ of typefaces maximises their potential for communicating complexity in typographic material outside of books.¹⁷⁰ Attention to the selection of typefaces indicates how a producer communicates through type based on the significance an audience is likely to take from a typographically rendered message.¹⁷¹ These studies argue that typefaces provide producers with a tool to indicate to an audience what kind of document it is looking at and to signify issues relevant to them both.¹⁷² Train timetables, gardening catalogues and posters each have singular typographic ways of communicating what they are and how to read them.¹⁷³

The nineteenth century poster used graphic language to communicate quickly.¹⁷⁴ Posters offered ‘two or three good catch-lines’ to attract attention and ‘for the eye to rest on’ sufficiently to engage the intellect.¹⁷⁵ Messages were communicated through words that were picked out for emphasis in large display typefaces.¹⁷⁶ Exaggerated in both weight and size, they were often fully ‘twelve inches in diameter’.¹⁷⁷ These foot-wide typefaces were useful for creating visual emphasis or drawing attention to key points.¹⁷⁸ They were no longer under the influence of book typography and their distinctly different visual language is often the hallmark of ephemeral printing.¹⁷⁹ James McCroskey argues that a text that has inherent rhetorical strength can be further advantaged, or ‘massaged’, as John Doyle and Paul Bottomley suggest, through the expression of its qualities.¹⁸⁰ They argue that a critical part of the process through which an audience makes connections between itself and the message lies in how it is transmitted.¹⁸¹ Such abbreviated delivery mechanisms on the posters ensured that both a hurriedly passing or a ‘haltingly literate’ audience gained access to the message.¹⁸²

How they gain access to the meaning of the message is a different matter. The potential for understanding what the formal qualities of typefaces might signify in a specific context, or how they are used to ascribe meaning, has been historically absent from type studies. Instead, the discrete practices of typefounding and the design, history and uses of typefaces *outside* of their meaning potential have been of particular interest to many scholars. Writers and practitioners since at least 1683 have been interested in printing practices but their studies generally address such discrete issues as the mechanical, the

technological and the histories of individual printers and their activities.¹⁸³ The potential of typeface design and typographic compositions to have sign-value has seldom been studied as integral to the work of printing practice. John Hinks points to the many and varied historical studies which survey the practices of provincial printers through the compilation of directory lists, commenting that these necessarily are not concerned with interpretation and significance.¹⁸⁴ While the work of these printers is compiled and categorised as comprehensive bodies of work that represent a *practice*, it is not analysed as the *production* of intentional design.¹⁸⁵

The design of typefaces within particular cultural situations has been the focus of more attention by mid-twentieth century scholar/printers. Perhaps sparked by the centennial celebrations of the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 in London's Hyde Park, they tapped into an interest in nineteenth century cultural production, re-introducing Victorian typefaces to a twentieth century audience.¹⁸⁶ These analyses are not usually used to understand how they make a contribution to the meaning of a whole text for a particular, and historical, audience. Nicolette Gray's *Nineteenth Century Typefaces* is one of the few studies which situates these typefaces firmly within both their historical traditions and their contemporary social and cultural contexts.¹⁸⁷

Examination of the potential of typefaces to embody meaning through their contextualised sign-value is certainly missing from studies of discrete bodies of ephemeral material. Apart from a few small forays, systematic analyses of a coherent set of typographic posters have yet to be undertaken. Rob Banham's investigation of early nineteenth century lottery posters, for example, contains interesting insights into printers' solutions for acquiring types when those commercially available were neither sufficiently big nor bold for their purposes. Beyond that, he includes a discussion of the graphic properties of the posters, but does not focus closely on typography.¹⁸⁸ Twyman's short treatise on the genre of nineteenth century typographic posters provides an overview of the type of poster analysed in this thesis. His examination of posters as a genre, rather than a discrete collection, sets out a number of principles that informed their design and is useful for understanding how they worked in context.¹⁸⁹ David Henkin's work on street advertising in antebellum New York and the descriptive analysis of nineteenth century railway posters by Dieter Hopkin and Beverly Cole

address the material as part of visual cultural and historical phenomena.¹⁹⁰ Their interest is in the distribution and display of posters; production is covered only in the sense of practice rather than the specifics of typefaces or typographic compositions. None of these studies include discussions of the entire social life of the posters, how they were produced, why they were produced as they were, and what that might reveal about the broader processes of printing and the contexts of the issues the posters address while they hang on the walls.

Studies of present-day new media often address the visual aspects of type, usually in relation to readability and usability. Cheris Kramarae comments that new media, by offering new ways of disseminating texts, may have brought about a new language, ‘Global English’, which through a melding of languages, written and visual, alters the meaning of language itself.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Jessica Helfand suggests that new media has given typography an entirely new syntax and a different set of rules that reinforce the possibilities of the visual beyond readability or historical nostalgia. She argues that these opportunities are without precedent in the history of type.¹⁹² Both Kramarae and Helfand ignore the evidence of the typography of the new media of the nineteenth century and the contemporary technological and cultural changes that created a new syntax, a different set of rules and new sign-values of its own for an the earlier era.

These studies indicate that the investigation of the sign-value of typefaces is a relatively new area. In the last ten years there has been considerable interest in theorising how typefaces make meaning. Many scholars argue that typefaces and their arrangement on a page—typography—have a quite specific meaning within particular cultural contexts.¹⁹³ Michael McCarthy and David Mothersbaugh note the ‘major executional element’ in typography significantly influences a reader’s processing of the message.¹⁹⁴ Printed literature of all kinds is culturally constructed and mutually consensual.¹⁹⁵ Like all social practice, printing is ‘accented’ and typefaces provide the accent.¹⁹⁶ In this way, typefaces have the capacity to form ‘autonomous sign systems’ in which a situated audience finds meaning.¹⁹⁷ McCarthy and Mothersbaugh suggest that an historical lack of interest in the role of typography, especially within advertising, may be due to the absence of a useful and comprehensive framework within which to analyse it.¹⁹⁸ Jürgen Spitzmüller suggests that this is the result of a traditional European tendency to privilege

first verbal and then textual language.¹⁹⁹ The lack of interest is also partly due to an historical perception that the graphic language of typography has a purely facilitating function and has nothing to say beyond what it denotes or describes.²⁰⁰ Like ephemera, it is often discounted as an information source.

Typographic analysis has also struggled in its attempts to separate itself from books just as ephemeral printing has. Recently, a number of researchers, among them linguists, literary and media scholars, document designers and social semioticians, have begun to work within an expanded field of typographic research. Some are now recognising the potential for signification in typography and typographic forms. In 1996, Rob Waller wondered why linguists, for example, took so little interest in the graphic qualities of language. Since then linguists have responded by developing methods for examining the multi-modality of written language; that is, the inseparability of the textual languages and graphic languages.²⁰¹ Theo van Leeuwen acknowledges that not taking account of typography's meaning potential and omitting it from his 1996 work with Gunther Kress on the analysis of visual images was a 'fundamental oversight'.²⁰² He now argues that if a mode is 'a resource for making signs in a socio-cultural group', then text, as a combination of resources or languages, is inherently multimodal.²⁰³ It is at once textual, graphic and visual, with text always expressed graphically and reading, as Hayes notes, experienced visually.²⁰⁴ Multi-modal analysis has since been employed in literary studies but, again, this has been confined almost exclusively to the examination of book-length texts.

These studies have nonetheless done much to direct attention to the inherent interdisciplinarity of the studies of culture, information, literature and design, an issue that is important in understanding why historical material was produced in the way it was. André Görtler points to the historically-based correlation between the design of letters and the culture that produced them. Echoing McFall's argument for historical context, he says that this is critical to understanding how such sign-values are encoded and decoded.²⁰⁵ Kalman *et al* argue that 'to look at artifacts without knowing what they were in their own time is to look into a vacuum'.²⁰⁶ The meaning of typefaces, for example, is not inherent but culturally contingent, and the only way to understand them is to know how and why they were constructed. They are only fully readable within the

culture that constructs and uses them or through some understanding of the culture. Some recognition of this is seen in a small group of typographic studies which concentrate on the culturally contingent drivers of historical typeface design and typographic compositions. Twyman's studies of the new methods of communicating information in the eighteenth century, and the letterpress poster and bold typefaces of the nineteenth century explore some of the economic, technological and social drivers of both their development and use.²⁰⁷ More recently, Emily King's investigations of late twentieth century typeface design argues that the formal distinctions between various designs were more influenced by their geographies and economies than has generally been considered. Investigating typeface designs from the introduction of desktop technology in 1987, her focus is on the contexts from which they emerged. She concludes that individual form in typeface design is more contingent on local conditions and concerns than on global aesthetic movements. She also found that they were substantially informed by their own histories of the forms of letters.²⁰⁸ This interest in how design happens has helped to position the tools of design, that is typefaces and typography, as meaningful modes of communication. This thesis expands on those ideas to investigate how nineteenth century English typefaces were designed and how and why they changed over time as part of my focus on the graphic language of the posters.

UNDERSTANDING COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Typographic posters have a number of complex but interconnected communication functions that they enact through textual messages which are transmitted by graphic language.²⁰⁹ Communication, marketing and advertising theorists such as McCarthy and Mothersbaugh argue that graphic language has rhetorical properties and psychological effects that can mediate the ways an audience reads the message.²¹⁰ Many studies on typography are based on experiments and observations in real-life situations, so none deal with historical materials. They are, however, particularly useful for this study as they support the idea that type and typography is, and always has been, the interface between a text and an audience. This thesis draws on the work of these theorists to take a novel 'analytical stance' in understanding nineteenth century New Zealand emigration.²¹¹ It is primarily concerned with what the producers of the posters

communicated rather than with what the audience was able to comprehend. Nevertheless, it needs to take account of the audience inasmuch as the producers needed to do so to ensure that their messages were received effectively and as intended. Methods for producing and analysing present-day communications are relatively well understood by both scholars and practitioners.²¹² The methods implemented in historical communications such as the emigration posters are much less well understood.

While historical production is often analysed from present day-perspectives, scholars seldom use tools that encompass modern understandings of the human dimensions of older practices *and* their more specific, situated imperatives.²¹³ McFall warns us against a theoretical approach to advertising which assumes ‘profound’ differences from one age to another.²¹⁴ The work of a number of scholars suggests that the differences are not so great, that nineteenth century advertising had a capacity to persuade comparable to the methodical and systematic present day practices. Petty *et al* and others note that this is due primarily to the centrality of human cognition regardless of time and place.²¹⁵

Judith Johnston, for example, notes that the structure and role of the communications of the NZC, in spite of its changes in form, was little different in substance from similar processes in the twentieth century. Her argument that prospective emigrants were able to mediate advertising messages through their personal cognitive maps suggests that Richard Perloff’s analysis of the ‘attitude-behaviour relationship’ as it is understood today is also useful for examining historical material related to communication. Perloff argues that such cognition in an audience produces significant effects which, in turn, affects behaviour.²¹⁶ Here, I take Richard Petty and John Cacioppo’s definition of attitude as the ‘evaluations people hold in regard to themselves [prospective emigrants or colonists], other people [the emigration promoters]...and issues [the emigration proposition]’.²¹⁷

An audience’s evaluation or perception of the credibility of the source of a message is one of the most importance factors in the communication process. McCroskey argues that it can enhance or reduce the success of the transfer and persuasive force of the message.²¹⁸ For messages to have a truth-value, they must be perceived to come from credible sources.²¹⁹ If an audience is able to perceive trustworthiness, recognise competency or expertise and believe in the best intentions or goodwill a source might

have towards it, it is more likely to accept the truth of what the source conveys. But no source is inherently credible. Rather, the *perception* of credibility in the source resides in the audience. Through a process of ‘internalization’, audiences that can recognise some alignment of their interests with those of the source are more likely to accept its credibility.²²⁰ Communication theorists argue that the source of a message can manage how this is evaluated. They posit that audience perceptions are formed substantially by how the attributes of credibility are communicated to it. These perceptions are further enhanced if the message is delivered and the source identified at the same time.²²¹

An audience’s evaluation of a message can also be mediated by the presence of authority.²²² Such authority is often gained through socialisation and long habits of obedience to a source or equally to a message that is framed as authoritative. Each has an influence on how an audience responds to it. Perloff argues that authority uses ‘compliance’ to influence behaviour; if an audience can see some benefit accruing from complying with an authoritative source or message, it is more likely to do so.²²³

Studies such as those of McCroskey, Perloff, Petty and Cacioppo, and Stiff and Mongeau suggest that communication, *per se*, is a social practice that depends on two equally affective factors. First, psychologists, linguists and communication scholars argue for the role of cognition, as an inherent human psychological function, in making the link between a producer’s message and its audience to direct more attentive thinking.²²⁴ Perloff posits that this prompts people to undertake the action being proposed in the message.²²⁵

The second factor is where contemporary contingencies intersect with the cognitive processing of a communication message. Cook argues that without this contingent specificity, comprehension would be impossible. The successful transmission of a message from a source to a receiver depends on how these symbols and stereotypes are encoded and decoded.²²⁶ Colour, the graphic force and meaning of typefaces, and the composition of texts which ‘direct’ reading in a certain way, are all strategies that depend on cultural knowledge of how to both write and read a text at any particular time and place.²²⁷ In underscoring the analysis of the posters with these theories in

mind, this thesis is able to see how the posters were at once governed by fairly constant cognitive processes and contingent on their time and place.

An examination of the graphic languages on the posters through the broad analysis of the typographic page and the detailed analysis of the typefaces offers an opportunity to identify the specific sign-value in each. This, in turn, provides information about what their producers thought was important both to convey and to emphasise. It tells us how printers used the resources at their disposal to do so in a way that was socially and culturally appropriate to the audience.

CONCLUSION

A number of scholars working either in emigration or New Zealand studies have identified the need for the examination of little-used primary sources and further, for their examination through new methodological stances. A review of the literature has revealed that no existing study has set out to find and examine a coherent body of posters that sought to promote emigration to New Zealand in the nineteenth century. It has also shown that, in spite of considerable new thinking on the evidential value of ephemera, material such as this has seldom been used to examine historical phenomena. Analysis of the graphic languages in the material offers the opportunity for a detailed examination of the use of typefaces and typography in a specific, historical context. The graphic language of typeface design and typography has also been overlooked, again despite increasing scholarly understandings of its potential for enhancing the meaning of textual language as well as for its inherent sign-value in specific contexts. Scholars suggest that looking more closely at the material produced to promote emigration to New Zealand may broaden our understanding of this historical phenomenon. What they all have in common is their conviction that the material had an effect that has yet to be determined. Why this should be so is clear: a concentration on the book in print culture studies; the difficulties involved in identifying and accessing ephemeral material; an art historical tradition that has made the examination of pictorial images more methodologically attractive among literary scholars and the lack of a framework for examining typographic material. Due to the growth of digital technology, finding

ephemeral material, while it remains difficult, is less difficult. Policies that allow researchers to photograph material make it easy to collect.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The following chapter outlines the methods used to examine the posters. The multi-modal, cross-disciplinary nature of their examination has meant that it requires a separate chapter to best cover the range of methods. This acknowledges the significance of applying the methods to examine a specific set of historical material. It comprises the methods of collection and analysis of the examined posters. Chapter two examines how the topic of the posters—emigration to New Zealand—was presented to its intended audience across the years of the study. It takes the opportunity to introduce a number of the printers of the posters and the typefaces they used. Chapter three examines the various inducements the agencies offered to both classes of audience to persuade them to emigrate to New Zealand. It explores the denotations and connotations of the inducements and interrogates the role of cultural myth in the promoters' encouragements. Chapter four introduces the audiences in detail. This chapter examines the language used on the posters to address to diverse audiences with an aim to determine how the producers 'spoke' to them, looking for differences and similarities. It takes account of how both the denoted addresses and the connoted messages of the textual and graphic languages mediate their address. Further, it looks for evidence of change over time. Chapter five draws on the theory that points to the critical role of the source of the message in the communication process. It analyses how the agencies used the posters to present themselves as credible providers of emigration.

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CHAPTER ONE



Fig. 6. A poster printed for a New Zealand Company (NZC) agent. This image shows how the posters are inserted into the scrapbook along one edge. Two posters evident on the left are attached to the same page in the scrapbook.

This method of collecting and storing the posters in the scrapbook has cropped the sides of many of the posters examined in this thesis. Even many of those found elsewhere are no longer intact.

William Franklin in Hungerford, c. May 1840. CO208/291, New Zealand Company Scrapbook, National Archives, London. 550mm x 450mm.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis focuses on the graphic ephemeral material that has hitherto been overlooked, both in emigration histories and in investigations of nineteenth century communication and printing practices. It will add a new voice to those histories by highlighting the significance of the contemporary and ubiquitous practices of the production and display of public advertising. It will not attempt to prove cause and effect, but rather to explain how ephemeral material such as advertising posters worked to contribute to the contemporary promotion of emigration. As the posters are examples of historical material, their identification and collection was a significant part of the methodology and this chapter outlines how that occurred. The chapter then moves on to outline the methods used to analyse the collected set of posters.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to structure this enquiry, I developed a set of research questions concerning the emigration posters. The thesis seeks to identify the contexts within which these posters were produced and in which they circulated. These contexts include culture and society of Victorian England as well as the more specific set of circumstances of emigration. My study positions the posters within contemporary visual and media cultures, material production, social contexts and technological contingencies. In doing so, it asks how those circumstances dictated the content, form and sign-value on the posters, and their use.

The thesis asks why and how part of that promotion took the particular form of the typographic advertising poster and what that brought to the enterprise. More specifically, it asks how the posters communicated. It examines how particular language forms were used to meet the needs of its producers to attract and engage the attention of

their audiences. It interrogates the nature and contribution of the textual language on the posters, including how particular meanings were embedded in the messages, who put them there, what their intentions were in doing so and what that tells us about nineteenth century emigration. The thesis addresses the question of how graphic language—typeface design and typography—was used in order to understand how the messages were transmitted and mediated. The question of how existing and emerging technologies constrained or advanced the practices of typefounding and printing and how these determined the production of the posters is also considered. Where information is available, this thesis introduces the printers of the posters within the context of the production of the posters.

Finally, the thesis takes the view that posters are unlike other forms of promotional material. They are accessible, highly visible, materially present in public spaces and necessarily speak in an abbreviated language which accommodates casual encounters. The thesis asks what influence these factors had in determining how the posters were produced and used within the wider promotional activities of the agencies that produced them. Through analysis of the multimodal languages of the posters it also interrogates the communication strategies of mid-nineteenth century advertising producers.

There is no single established and encompassing method that is able to address the issues I have identified and to answer the questions I have isolated. I used two methods: archival research to locate, access, and establish the context of, the posters; and a set of tools—content analysis, semiotic analysis and the Gestalt principles of visual perception—to understand how the individual posters communicate at the levels of denotation (descriptive) and connotation (implicit).

COLLECTING THE SET OF POSTERS

Finding the extant posters was a major undertaking. I tracked down and photographed as many posters as I could find in repositories in Britain, New Zealand and Australia. I found the core group of posters in a New Zealand Company scrapbook in the National Archives in London. I found others in the Courtney Library of the Royal Cornwall Institute in Truro, the Peoples' Palace Museum in Glasgow, the Gloucestershire

Archives in Gloucester, the Hocken Library and the Otago Settlers' Museum in Dunedin, Archives New Zealand in Canterbury, Dunedin and Wellington, the Canterbury Museum, the Auckland City Libraries and the National Library of Australia. These repositories also hold the most significant collections of a wide range of material related to emigration to New Zealand so, unless there are any hidden in private collections, I can be confident that these posters are likely to be all that remain extant. There were no duplicates across the repositories; each appears to be unique. However, there are two identical copies of a poster printed by John Toms of Chard in the Company scrapbook. They are stamped '67' and '75' in the right hand corners, a method of registration used by the person who constructed the scrapbook. This suggests that they were possibly printed on two separate occasions and a copy of each sent to the London office of the Company.

I focused my analysis on the 52 posters that specifically promote or facilitate emigration to New Zealand in some way. Some are small and could be categorised as handbills, but the difference between posters and handbills is not always clear. A NZG agent, Rev. G. Smales, for example, noted that he had handbills 'printed and posted' in Scottish towns in the 1870s.¹ So handbills could behave like posters and as some were intended to fulfil much the same function they are included in my analysis. The NZC scrapbook (catalogued as such in the National Archives in London) contains a wide range of ephemeral material related to emigration to New Zealand that I did not analyse in detail, although I address it as part of the context of the posters. The scrapbook contains newspaper clippings, handbills, printed prospecti and other ephemeral material which includes a poster calling for capital to form a company to provide steam communication between England and New Zealand. A windowbill which advises that a 'petition lies here' is related the NZC's efforts to establish a 'distinct Colonial Government' in New Zealand. Auction posters for goods belonging to people emigrating to New Zealand, for 'horned cattle' to be picked up in Sydney and advertisements for published works on New Zealand are also related to the project of emigration. I used a number of other posters that are related to colonisation or New Zealand emigration in some way to provide context. Because they were produced by independent, though interested, parties, I have not considered them for detailed analysis.

The posters' survival through time and neglect

In spite of the difficulties a nineteenth century poster may face in surviving to tell its story in the twenty-first century, a number of those I examined have done so largely because of the policies of their producers. Because the NZC required its agents to send promotional material for approval to London, a number of the posters are now part of the NZC scrapbook.² That there are some missing could indicate that the requirements were not always met. Figure 6 shows how the posters are pasted along their edges into a large book (approximately 1000mm x 750mm). With three edges free I could examine the fronts and backs of the posters. They are creased in a regular pattern which indicates they were folded into small parcels roughly 12mm x 20mm. Many of them are addressed on the reverse side to 'Mr. John Ward, Esq., New Zealand [Land] Company, Broad Street Buildings, London'. So it is likely that the collection of the contents of the scrapbook was initiated by the NZC to gather together the printed material related to their operations.

Since one copy of each of these posters appears to exist only in the scrapbook, it is also likely that the distribution of the remainder by local agents or printers determined their eventual demise. The torn and marked condition of a number of the posters and the pasting of more than one in the same place suggest that they may have been stored elsewhere and added to the scrapbook later. There is no indication either in the records or in the scrapbook to tell us when that happened or who was responsible for it.

It is not possible to know for certain how many NZC posters additional to those in the scrapbook were produced and not sent to the London office. That there were quite a number is reflected in the fact that most of those in the scrapbook were stamped, presumably as they arrived at the NZC's offices. Less certain is whether or not the stamping began at number one. The stamped posters in the scrapbook begin at number five and many numbers are missing. The binding of the scrapbook is also broken and it is difficult to tell whether pages are missing. Since the spine thickness of both the cover and the book block are similar, it is likely that few, if any, pages have been lost. What can be deduced from this is that, either there was another scrapbook, possibly now lost, the stamp was used to account for items other than posters that were stored elsewhere or

posters were stamped and not kept. Adding to the mystery is the fact that not all of the posters were stamped. What is known is that there were well over 100 agents operating during the Company's activities and nothing like that number of posters appears to exist.

The stamps are useful, though, for speculating on the order of production, though it could equally represent the order in which the printers or agents sent them to the London office. For example, there are five posters that were produced in June 1840: Hudson (Birmingham) is 63, Toms (Chard) is 67, Franklin (Hungerford) is 68 and Truscott (London) is 71. Axminster's Wills posters are 72 and 73 and an additional, but identical, Toms poster is 75. Each follows the other in the scrapbook in ascending order. The whereabouts of numbers 64, 65, 66, 69, 70 and 74 is not known.

The posters held in the Hocken Library, produced by the Company and the Otago Association, were collected by Thomas Hocken on a visit to England in August 1903. One exception is a poster printed by James Truscott in 1839 which was originally in the collection of New Zealand's Justice Henry Chapman. Among many other activities related to the Company's operations, Chapman was also the publisher of the *New Zealand Journal*.³ He may have brought the poster with him when he emigrated to New Zealand in 1843. Hocken negotiated the eventual transfer of duplicated Company documents to New Zealand, though he thought some were 'useless' and simply 'accumulations of dirt and dust'. The documents were handed over to the New Zealand Government and, though he requested them, he himself did not receive any for his own library collection.⁴ The posters do not appear to have been part of this transfer of documents and there is no record of how he came to possess them, though he has annotated some of them. They are single copies and do not replicate those in the scrapbook. There are a number of facsimiles of the *Ajax* and *Bengal Merchant* posters in various repositories. Facsimile copies of the *Ajax* are held in the Otago Settlers Museum and the National Library of New Zealand. The original of the *Bengal Merchant* poster is held in the People's Palace Museum in Glasgow, but was originally part of the records of the Earl of Durham. Facsimiles are in the national libraries of New Zealand and Scotland.

It is likely that the same pattern was repeated during the operations of the Associations and the governments as the same policies regarding emigration itself were put in place. The fragile material conditions related to the ephemerality of posters remained unchanged. The Canterbury Association posters, held in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch are part of two collections. One is the Canterbury Pilgrims and Early Settlers Association and the others are in the Museum's own collection. There is no record of how they came to be in these collections, though it is possible that the Canterbury Association collected them for the same purposes as the Company. James Fitzgerald was the secretary of the Association and left for New Zealand in 1850, sailing on one of the Association's first four ships, the *Charlotte Jane*. Whether he brought one or two of the posters with him is not known. The Association was also pro-active in preserving its records as it felt they would 'constitute an authentic record of the Canterbury Settlement at its first origin, and be the earliest materials for its future history'.⁵ The posters may well have been among these earliest materials. The poster printed for the Canterbury Association by Henry Bull of Devizes is held in the Gloucestershire Archives in Gloucester. There is no indication in the archival records that indicate how it got there, and its presence is made more curious by the fact that it is a poster addressed to Wiltshire labourers rather than those from Gloucestershire. It is a part of a collection of Australian emigration material in the archives and may have been produced to take advantage of the very active Australian emigration scheme initiated by Lord Bruce in the early 1850s.

The records show that the Agent-General's office produced posters for the New Zealand Government in 1871 and 1872.⁶ These were sent to Wellington but are apparently now lost as those posters that *are* in the collection at Archives New Zealand are from 1873. Auckland Libraries holds the poster that advertises the Auckland Provincial Council's scheme for free grants of land. The poster printed for the Lincolnshire agent John White is enclosed in a pamphlet by White and held in the National Library of Australia in Canberra. Finally, the whereabouts of a poster produced by the shipping brokers Filby & Co, and Joseph Stayner for the Canterbury Association's ships the *Sir George Seymour* and the *Charlotte Jane* is unknown. I found a copy in the doctoral thesis of New Zealand geographer Judith Johnston. I have been unable to contact her to ask where the original

poster might be. It is not held in either the Canterbury Museum, nor in the Hocken Library as she suggests in her thesis.⁷

Contextualising the set of posters

Equally important to my analysis of the posters is their historical moment.⁸ Twyman directs our attention to one of the inherent problems of using ephemeral material in historical studies. An ephemeral data set, by definition, is almost always incomplete and this makes quantitative studies ‘pointless’. He concedes that inferences often can be drawn from what is available and fuller understandings can be gained from drawing on contemporary contextual information.⁹ I drew here on the work of Guy Cook and his account of the synthesis of all the components that bring a message into being as an integral part of wider societal discourses on contemporary issues. Critical to my study is his categorisation of the texts that surround the main text under analysis. He uses the terms ‘co-text’ and ‘inter-text’ to describe two levels of surrounding discourse. Co-texts are those that are immediately associated with the texts that audiences are able to understand as belonging to that text, and inter-texts are those which do not strictly belong to them, but are associated with them.¹⁰ This was a critical element in the examination of the textual language in the posters as the meanings are only comprehensible in the light of these historical co-texts and inter-texts.¹¹

Repositories in and beyond the institutions that hold the posters have collections of pamphlets, handbooks, parliamentary papers, Company records, newspaper archives, books, journals, lithographs and other miscellaneous primary material related to New Zealand emigration. They provided context: an overview of the circumstances within which the posters were produced. Discussions have encompassed Victorian values, agrarian reform, industrialisation, unemployment, self-improvement and identity within each source.¹² Each contributes variously to the narrative of an industrialised and urbanised England that gave rise to the proposition of emigration to New Zealand, the prevailing attitudes towards colonisation and emigration in the nineteenth century and the perceptions of the fitness and manifest destiny of the English to be colonisers and emigrants. I explored these to give form to the social and cultural dimensions of a so-called ‘English national character’ that related specifically to emigration.¹³

I examined other contextual material to clarify how the producers of the posters may have come to see poster production as beneficial to their needs. While emigration was the catalyst for the production of the posters, such production was also inextricably bound up with nineteenth century advertising, visual and media cultures. A great deal of contemporary writing on advertising culture and practice in Britain is readily available through the digitisation of books and journals. There is a significant body of visual cultural material that is relevant to New Zealand emigration. Collections of panoramas, lithographs and prints, and newspapers and specialist journals are held in a variety of repositories which have made them available digitally. I sourced some of this material from the archives, museums or libraries themselves, but I accessed a good deal of it online.

Finally, the posters sit within the context of nineteenth century printing technologies. To understand why these posters are as they are, why not larger or smaller, why composed in this way and not that, why these typefaces or these fonts at this time and not at that, I examined the scanty primary documents on printing practice. Typeface is the name given to a family of letterforms, such as fat face. Within this, there are different sizes, varying degrees of compression, expansion and boldness, along with italic, roman, and upper case and lower case. Each of these is a font. So, while the typeface is fat face, the font might be 12point upper case italic. The typefounders' specimen books held in the St Bride Library in London were especially useful for identifying typefaces.

Contemporary commentators such as Dickens gave me insights into the ubiquity and design of the posters and how and where they were displayed. Most of the information on the practices of printers, I gleaned from the small body of secondary literature noted by John Hinks.¹⁴

ANALYSIS

Content analysis

At its most basic level of counting, content analysis produces an 'objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications'.¹⁵ It is central to studies of communication because it identifies how often specific content is repeated. It

was useful for laying an objective foundation for using the more focused subjective analytical tools of semiotics and Gestalt principles that follow.

I conducted a content analysis to provide a relatively reliable way of calculating repetition in the textual and graphic languages of the posters.¹⁶ Repetition makes two things evident. First, it indicates that producers considered certain concepts within a poster important to communicate by purposefully ensuring it was reinforced textually. Second, repetition across this set of posters identified themes.¹⁷ I then used the themes to structure the argument in the thesis, confident that they were meaningful because they were done with intent.¹⁸ This was also useful for identifying both continuity and change from the earliest posters to the latest. There are, however, words and phrases that would occur regularly on a poster or within a set of posters which would lead naturally to self-evident conclusions. One would expect, for example, to see ‘emigration’ repeated across a set of posters that advertises for emigrants and I had to take account of that by examining how it was articulated.

Traditionally textual language is seen as content and graphic language, if it is considered at all, as form. While that is certainly true, because graphic language is an equal contributor to a written text it is equally amenable to counting. In the case of the posters, a content analysis of the graphic language—different typefaces and their fonts, punctuation and hierarchy—ensures that textual frequency was not the sole criteria for identifying importance or constructing thematic groupings. I took account of the graphic weight of words or phrases, the repetition of typefaces to articulate specific words within a single poster and the use of particular typefaces for specific purposes. I charted the incidence of graphic articulation to reinforce the words, phrases or concepts in producers’ textual repetitions. I looked for how and when the language, in the form of typefaces, composition and the use of colour, changed over time.

Semiotic analysis

In order to understand specific aspects of language, and graphic language in particular, I drew upon semiotic analysis. Semiotic analysis looks for how language signifies. As I am focusing on broad interpretations of what language is, I found two key shifts in the application of semiotic analysis that takes account of the textual, the graphic and the

performative aspects of the posters. Roland Barthes' work on the embedded meanings in visual language expanded Ferdinand de Saussure's early twentieth century assumption that meaning was only signifiable through words.¹⁹ De Saussure's structural, linguistic approach to meaning tended towards denotation, the commonsense, literal meaning of a word that might reasonably be recognised by anyone. What is denoted has concrete meaning which indicates 'what or who, is represented'.²⁰ Barthes challenged this, first by rejecting the notion that a signifier is so arbitrary that anyone, regardless of culture, can read it. For most post-structural semioticians, denotation is always culturally contingent and dependent on consensus.²¹ Consequently, my analysis assumed that the meaning of words on the posters are inherently situated within their specific culture.

As a tool for interpreting meaning through signification, Barthian semiotic analysis shows how a 'signifier' and a 'signified' form a meaningful sign. In denotation, the signifier—an 'observable form'—stands for something other than itself while the signified is the something for which the signifier stands.²² Typographic form seems to be particularly arbitrary in the denoted sense. There is no natural relationship between a sound, for example, and the shape that represents it, other than what the society which uses it determines. That is Barthes' point. Denotatively, the letter 'a' has a form unlike other letters and a literate audience can translate that and put it together with other letters to make a word that means something. In a broad sense, it is the graphic expression of text and that is where its meaning lies.²³ The letterform 'a', for example, is the signifier for the signified sound that we understand as 'ay'. The apparent arbitrariness of the attachment between the two breaks down when we say that anyone who understands 'a' as both a sound and part of a linguistic system can read its meaning. To function it must be understood simultaneously as the entity it is (the signifier) and the one it stands for (the signified). We understand this because we work within a conventional societal framework that has agreed that this is so. We do not use signifiers that are random or arbitrary.

Barthes' second challenge to Saussure's structural approach added a further level of signification—connotation—in which words or images signify through cultural, personal or ideological codes. In this order of signification a sign is polysemic; different interpretations are possible depending on attitudes, emotions, gender, class, ethnicity or

any other social or cultural situation of the people using it.²⁴ Connotative decoding requires a ‘trained’ audience that has previously encountered a code and understands its implications. The connotative meaning of a typeface, for example, can only be comprehended fully within specific social situations and practices shared by both its producer and its audience. Connotative meaning operates across both textual and graphic languages, but it is particularly effective in graphic language, especially for audiences that read haltingly or peripherally. The typographic composition of texts can direct reading strategies, for example, by interrupting the flow of a message through graphic differentiation and pointing out where an audience is asked to pay attention.²⁵ Typefaces operate connotatively in two ways. First, they have the capacity to mediate—moderate or enhance—the ‘semantic value’ of a word through emphasis or differentiation.²⁶ Part of this capacity is due to the relationship between the figure and the ground. Typefaces sit on surfaces and are recognisable as forms through the difference between the two. When the figure/ground relationships changes within a communication, it signals that there is something more to be read into the word than might be taken for granted had it not been changed.²⁷

Connotatively, the form of a typeface or font yields to interpretation. Terry Childers and Jeffrey Jass argue that typographic cues trigger memory when a typeface reinforces the language of the text.²⁸ An audience’s ‘attitudinal judgements’ can be affected, for example, by a perceived relationship between the graphic signifier (a heavy, robust typeface) and what it signifies (energy, strength, manliness) in an audience accustomed to its use.²⁹ Since the typefaces and their use are consciously and deliberately determined with a culturally situated audience in mind, their interpretation should be evident in their form.³⁰ Therefore, I analysed the forms and use of the typefaces to explore what, beyond the denoted semantic articulation, is expressed by the form it takes.

As well as Barthes’ work on embedded meanings, a further key shift in the application of semiotic analysis can be found in Theo van Leeuwen’s adaptation of linguistic social semiotics to the analysis of graphic language.³¹ Van Leeuwen understands Barthes’ ‘sign’ as more of a ‘resource’. He sees it as less pre-determined and more situated: ‘actions and artefacts’ that are *dependent on use*.³² A social semiotic analysis works best

when the objects of analysis are situated within both a ‘well-established, dominant...societal framework’ and a ‘moment in time’. I analysed the posters within these ‘specific social situations and practices’ again to ensure that their historical contexts are not by-passed.³³ Social semiotic analysis is a method that also integrates all the available semiotic resources to investigate how they work together multi-modally within given circumstances.³⁴ By analysing the posters through a social semiotic lens I was able to examine all their languages—verbal, textual, graphic and performative, the latter in the sense of how the posters act out their function. I assumed that the textual language, the graphic language and how the posters enacted their purpose in public spaces and within their co-textual and inter-textual discourses contributed equally to what they mean. Consequently, I adopted van Leeuwen’s word ‘resource’ in my analysis of the posters.

Social semiotics is also a flexible tool. It is able to reappraise the links between representation and what is represented as the society in which it operates changes over time.³⁵ I used it to explore how and why the posters changed from the first in 1839 to the last in 1875. While textual language changes slowly over time, graphic language, especially in the form of nineteenth century typefaces, was often subject to fashion and social change. I looked for evidence of this across the lifespan of the poster set, both to be more specific about the reasons for change and to understand if and how the changes in form reflected changes in message delivery.

There is a deeper level of connotation that Barthes calls myth, the language within any society that, because of its historical significance or ubiquity, is ‘*what-goes-without-saying*’.³⁶ Myth comprises the dominant ideology of a society, the stories it tells itself about itself. For example, the foundation of Victorian identity politics in its medieval, Anglo Saxon ancestry influenced how people thought about themselves and their relationship to the rest of the world. It was often used to maintain social divisions and regulate their boundaries. While I looked for the denotations in the multi-modal language, I was more interested in decoding their connotations. Social semiotics looks to discover who made the rules. My examination of the emigration posters is very much about who made them, for whom and for what reasons.³⁷ The Victorians developed textual and graphic language conventions that afforded a particular view of the world that was consciously

constructed from their own history. Thus myth accommodates the social semiotic practice of importing connotations from other domains.³⁸ Both are useful for examining the textual language of these particular posters for evidence of dominant Victorian identity constructs that were imports from their past. I used the concepts of cultural myth and importation to examine the role and impact of historical graphic languages on Victorian type design and typography. These aspects of the analytical tools depended on understanding wider contemporary cultural practices and contexts and their historical antecedents for signification. This allowed me to examine the posters through a social life that extended backwards into their own history. Using this method made it possible to bring much of the social life of the posters into the analytical process.³⁹

Type and typography are not the only signifying elements in graphic communication. Colour can be equally important. There are only nine posters within the set that use colour and they use it different ways. What I looked for is why colour might have been used and what effect its producers might have been expected it to have. Like any other language resource, colour is polysemic. Both the denotations and connotations are culturally constructed, so ascribing particular meaning to it is unwise.⁴⁰ However, differentiation, that is the difference between no colour at one end of the spectrum and a multi-coloured palette at the other, is a key semiotic affordance. Van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress argue that colour signifies exuberance and adventurousness as opposed to the monotony and timidity of the absence of colour.⁴¹ This suggests that the mere presence of colour of any hue fulfils two functions: one is to create active rather than passive feelings and the other to provide emphasis through differentiation.

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century colour presented technological challenges. Printing in colour was a slower, more difficult and more expensive process than printing in black and white. In these circumstances, any decision on the part of a producer to use colour on ephemeral material prompts questions. These are issues I explored through examining how, and more specifically under what circumstances, colour is used on the posters.

The Gestalt principles of Visual Perception

Rudolph Arnheim argues that the ‘psychology of the...eye’ allows our ‘senses’ to tell us something about things we see.⁴² In general, this depends on the form of the thing in question, how it is structured and presented to us.⁴³ The spatial and graphic elements on a poster, the ‘supra-textual’, orient an audience’s perception of the text as well as its rhetorical strength.⁴⁴ A poster has a ‘global’ structure which begins with its edges and moves in to include its graphic elements—hierarchy, typefaces, white space, colour and typographical sorts (the non-alphabetic characters such as punctuation and rules). Gestalt theory posits that people seek patterns in global structures, looking for the ‘simplest, most balanced, most regular organisation available’.⁴⁵ These patterns create order which is easier to remember than disorder which causes confusion.⁴⁶ It also helps to define groups of coherent text and, similar to picked out words, signifies key concepts within the message.⁴⁷ Printers (and designers today) use the global page structure to impose a reading sequence to make sense of the message, direct attention to key concepts and allow the eye to rest in places where engaged thought needs to occur. For example, punctuation functions as a way of regulating the way a text is read. Commas ask a reader to pause and full stops ask them to stop. Empty, or white, space has a similar effect. These devices are designed to give an audience time to consider the message and so I looked for how punctuation and space served to prompt them to pause and think about what the posters propose.⁴⁸ These ‘spatiotemporal’ characteristics of Gestalt principles are useful analytic tools for examining the global communication structure of the posters.

Since the organisation of typefaces on a page is a purposeful and conscious act, I explored how this might have determined the effect they were intended to have.⁴⁹ Hierarchies in texts are inevitably formed graphically. The organisation of words on a page result in some being read as more important than others. Conventional Western reading strategies have dictated that those themes that are important are at, or near, the top, and those less so appear in descending order to the bottom. Communicating the hierarchy of importance is dependent on the composition of the text; it is essentially a typographic function. Nineteenth century posters subverted this hierarchy to some extent by using typefaces or fonts to signify importance.⁵⁰ This meant that words of note

could be placed in locations other than the top and their graphic emphasis was used to direct the audience to those areas of the text. I looked for both the traditional hierarchical structure and its subversion in these posters to reveal what has been privileged as important and how that was accomplished.

Gestalt principles also depend on the human facility for perceiving forms that are similar, or sitting within a given space, as one and the same.⁵¹ I searched for evidence of how typefaces were used to create similarities between discrete pieces of text. Nineteenth century typographic posters used graphic emphasis to highlight key ideas or themes within the larger structure of the sentence. Printers organised semantic groups of words that provided an encapsulated shorthand of the intent of the message. The visual similarity created by typefaces was a way to build relationships between ideas or themes that might otherwise be conceptually disparate, and were often physically distant, by linking like with like.⁵²

Grouping and framing are methods of graphically organising text. Leading (the unprinted space between lines of text), typographic rules and typeface size are typical ways of framing, or separating off, discrete pieces of semantically connected text. Both grouping and framing allow an audience to grasp quickly and easily the concept in the group or inside the frame, within but separate from the overall message on the poster. I identified how this was used to create key concepts and single thoughts from otherwise discrete ideas.

An examination of the graphic languages on the posters through the broad analysis of the typographic page and the detailed analysis of the typefaces offers an opportunity to identify the specific sign-value in each. This, in turn, provides information about what their producers thought was important to both convey and to emphasise. It tells us how printers used the resources at their disposal to do so in a way that was socially and culturally appropriate to the audience.

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CHAPTER TWO

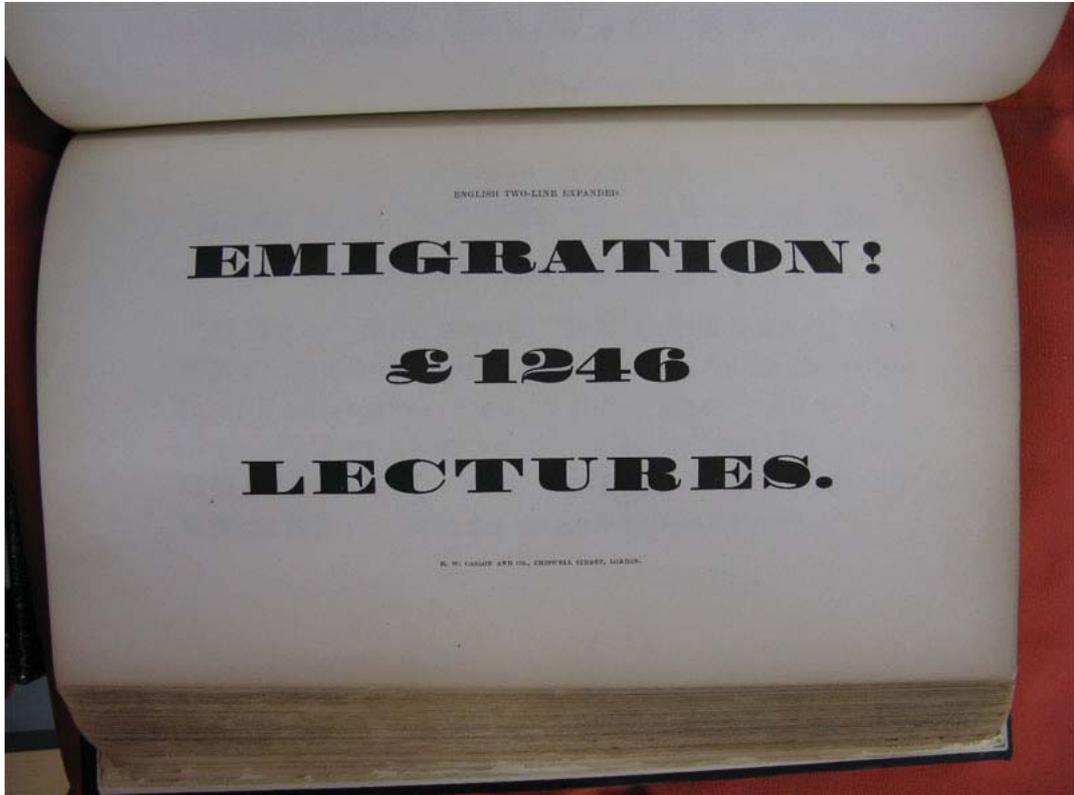


Fig. 7. Typefounders used their specimen books to demonstrate to printers how their typefaces could be used. They set words related to contemporary issues in the typefaces they wished to sell. This page from Caslon's specimen book demonstrates that emigration and lectures on emigration were contemporary topics of interest.

H. W. Caslon & Co., London, c. 1850. St Bride Library, London.

CHAPTER TWO

POSTERS, PRINTING & PROMOTING EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

A number of the posters produced in the twelve years between 1839 and 1851 were designed in part to introduce New Zealand, its settlements, their promotion agencies, and their schemes of systematic emigration (figs. 1, 43, 57, 83 and 87). These posters were produced by or on behalf of the New Zealand Company (NZC; the New Zealand Land Company prior to 1840), the Otago Association (OA) and the Canterbury Association (CA). They include those posters produced by the NZC's local agents and the London-based shipping brokers who provided the emigrant ships. A number of the posters after 1851 were produced by the New Zealand Government (NZG), either on its own behalf or for the Provincial Government of Otago (PGO) and Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC). Some were produced by the agents for the NZG and the Provincial Governments of Auckland, Canterbury and Taranaki. All these agents were either local people who lived and worked in communities of interest to the agencies, or they were peripatetic agents.

The emigration schemes of the NZC and the Associations were systematic forms of emigration in which members of the middle classes prompted and organised the processes both for themselves and for the labouring classes. They were designed to be succinct and tidy solutions to a series of complex problems. In a wider sense, they were fuelled by a sense of destiny, and the perceived inevitability of the duty of the English duty to replenish the earth.¹ Once New Zealand was colonised, successive governments in New Zealand needed a continuous stream of emigrants to maintain the colony. All the promotion agencies designed strategies to meet these objectives.

The first strategy worked to make New Zealand known as an emigration destination and one of the communication channels it utilised to do this was poster advertising. Posters could advertise ‘a thousand things necessary to be publicly known’ within six hours in a city and ‘circulated throughout the kingdom in four or five days’.² Contemporary writer, William Kingston, observed that New Zealand needed to be one of those things made known through advertising. He argued that familiarising emigration to New Zealand required a significant advertising presence in accessible places from which ‘large placards [might be] printed and posted all over the district’.³ This was still relevant twenty years later when the NZG agent Peter Barclay noted the ‘very decided advantage in frequent advertising and posting bills’ to inform people about emigration to New Zealand.⁴

This chapter explores the role the posters played in achieving that objective. It outlines the work of both the producers and the printers of the posters. It examines the rhetorical strategies used to provoke interest in New Zealand and emigration to New Zealand and it explores the power of cultural myths and the sign-value of the graphic language used to articulate them.

EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

As no subject can more appropriately engage the mind of the unemployed labourer and the limited capitalist, than in what corner of the globe the industry of the one and the means of the other may be most advantageously disposed of, we proceed, in furtherance of the announcement in our last

number, to lay before the reader some useful particulars connected with a colony which has of late so much, and we believe we may say deservedly, the public attention, New Zealand.⁵

The rhetoric of emigration to New Zealand developed within a context of a ‘spirit for colonization which exists in the country, and which is spreading wider and wider every day among all classes’.⁶ New Zealand was seen by those who wished to colonise it as a potential commercial centre and market for English industrial production, a source of raw materials and agricultural exports, and as a haven and supply stop for English shipping movements in the Pacific.⁷ There were additional advantages to be gained from its colonisation in ‘cherishing the shipping trade, in consuming our manufactures, and in affording an outlet for our surplus population’.⁸ It was already a base from which whalers and sealers operated as well as a source of kauri trees and flax. In the early years of nineteenth-century promotion of emigration to New Zealand, the word ‘emigration’ on a poster referenced what was by then a fairly well-understood response to uncertain employment, economic and social distress, or simply people’s desire to improve their lives.⁹ It was a word that had meaning within a community for which emigration was a known quantity. The more positive attitude towards emigration in the nineteenth century and the promotion of a range of destinations were a part of the contemporary discourse. But, before the NZC began promoting its scheme of colonisation and emigration in 1839, New Zealand was an unknown quantity in a competitive emigration marketplace, especially to the target market of most of the posters. The NZC agent for Falmouth noted in the early 1840s that, compared with other destinations, few people knew of New Zealand.¹⁰

The phrase ‘emigration to New Zealand’, no matter how it is configured—‘emigration to New Zealand’, ‘emigration’, ‘New Zealand’, and on one poster as ‘colonisation’—is the core message of most of the posters. Its articulation conforms largely to literary and typographic hierarchy conventions which dictate that it appears predominantly in the top portion of the page. The phrase acquires additional emphasis through large fonts of display typefaces. Advertisers used display typefaces to pick out key words or phrases to attract attention or to facilitate comprehension in the semi-literate.¹¹ Marion Minson’s

suggestion that the sheer numbers of words on posters were beyond the illiterate emigrant requires some interrogation as recent scholarship on literacy has over-turned such perceptions.¹²

A literate audience?

Recent re-evaluations suggest that labouring-class literacy was more widespread than previously considered.¹³ Most Victorian labourers were required to function at a much higher level than their parents, for example, and there were mechanisms to enable them to do so. In the early part of the century the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge published articles in non-technical and accessible language for the ‘newly literate’ working classes.¹⁴ The distribution of printed information became part of everyday life which required functional literacy.¹⁵ Reading became compulsory, even if at a purely functional level, as a growing body of diverse printed ephemeral material appeared in the workplace and in the social and cultural landscape.¹⁶ Skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen in the early nineteenth century tended to be more literate than farm labourers, many of whom were minimally literate.¹⁷ Studies have shown that it is likely that up to 70 per cent of the English labouring classes were at least functionally literate by 1840.¹⁸

All classes of New Zealand emigrants were the product of a culture accustomed to reading, an activity sustained by the many Mechanics’ Institutes, circulating libraries, reading rooms and cooperative book societies in England in the early nineteenth century. Many read newspapers regularly.¹⁹ A contemporary English journalist, Henry Massingham, also noted that the penny magazines, for example, were ‘met with in the common lodging house and the worst slums, just as it is in the rural labourer’s cottage’.²⁰ By the 1870s ‘the quiet work of schools [and] chapels’ added to the reading capacities of many of the labouring classes.²¹ On the emigrant ships to New Zealand, the NZG provided ‘Schoolmasters’, and the NZC arranged for emigrants who could read well to instruct those who could not (figs. 67 & 63). The steerage passengers sailing on the survey ship *Whitby* for Nelson in April 1841 were taught to read on the long journey.²² All of these different kinds of evidence indicate some level of literacy among the general group of emigrants.²³ Moreover, evidence from surveys taken in New

Zealand among Canterbury Europeans in 1854 indicates that most of the labouring-class emigrants could at least read.²⁴ Between 1840 and 1874, 263 libraries were founded in New Zealand which was the largest number per head of population in the world at the time.²⁵ Clearly there was a level of literacy among the New Zealand population that would have begun before many of them emigrated. As much of the information and promotion of emigration was presented to the labourer in print, literacy was the key to accessing it. The New Zealand promoters made considerable use of typographic posters which suggests they expected a good level of functional literacy among the people they hoped to attract to New Zealand emigration.

SETTING 'EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND' IN TYPE

The phrase 'New Zealand' is set most often on the posters in large fonts of fat face. It features more frequently than all the other typefaces combined (36 as opposed to 24). The public was not only exposed to repeated interventions of 'New Zealand' into their visual landscape, but it was brought before them most often in fonts of fat face. In contrast to how other dominant words are set on the posters, 'New Zealand' or specific destinations such as 'Otago' continued to be set predominantly in fat face throughout the entire set of posters that are extant.

Fat face developed from a typeface that we now call modern. The roots of both are in the types designed by the Manchester writing master John Baskerville in the mid-eighteenth century. The typeface was unpopular in England but found much favour on the Continent and was subsequently developed by the French Didot brothers.²⁶ In the latter years of the eighteenth century, English typefounders increased the differences between the thick and thin strokes of the Didot modern typeface and expanded the body of the letter to create a bold face typeface. Both the modern and bold face typefaces remained in common usage throughout the nineteenth century. The bold face grew even fatter in the early years of the nineteenth century in response to increasing public advertising which required messages to be highly visible in a crowded visual landscape.²⁷ While the development of what has become known as the fat face typeface may have been progressive, it was among a series of display typefaces that seemed to

spring up ‘suddenly and without warning’ in early nineteenth century advertising posters.²⁸ Fat face was ubiquitous in large-scale advertising, most notably in lottery posters and consumer advertising.²⁹ The national reach and spread of the lottery posters and of printed ephemera in general suggests that public walls throughout early nineteenth century England were covered in these fashionable fat letters and their loud visual voice.³⁰

Recent research into the sign-value of typefaces has argued that they are the voice of printed messages which communicate through their individual visual properties.³¹ These properties allow typefaces to transcend the semantic meaning of the texts they interpret graphically. They do this initially through consistent use in specific situations, for example, in the name of a product or company.³² Rhetorically, the genteel, rotund fat face typeface was the visual text of nineteenth century industrial production and of modern commercial consumption and advertising.³³ It signified modern consumerism, material progress and consumer aspiration in an age of ‘trading up’.³⁴ It was a symbol of the implied promise of some future good such as the social mobility which could be attained through the acquisition of publicly advertised consumer goods.³⁵ Through the emigration posters, the fat face typeface became a part of the modern phenomenon of emigration, the creation of new colonies and the planting of a ‘slip of Britain’ in New Zealand.³⁶

The printers of the two posters in figure 8, the *Reporter* office and Henry Bull respectively, set ‘New Zealand’ in an elongated font of fat face. Pragmatically, this extreme degree of compression gives a printer considerable freedom to set the words in particularly large sizes as they fit easily into a line length. But this font has connotations that go beyond utility. The series of vertical parallel lines of ‘New Zealand’ in these posters signify both a popular contemporary medieval aesthetic *and* the aspirational reach of Victorian middle- and labouring-class ambitions.³⁷ The improving ethos advocated by social reformers such as Samuel Smiles, which encouraged entrepreneurship and applauded the self-made man, is evident in the elongated font that stretches upward.



Fig. 8. The elongated version of the fat face typeface featured in these posters do not retain the generosity of form found in the fonts of the early nineteenth century.

from top:

The *Reporter* Office, Limerick for the NZC agent, Thomas Kelly (detail), c.1842.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Henry Bull, Devizes for the Wiltshire agents of the CA (detail), c.1850.

D1571/X155, Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester.

The elongated form was designed to resonate with the mid-century Victorian audience. Many aspects of visual culture towards the end of the 1840s were stylistically inspired in part by the revival of a Gothic aesthetic. This nostalgic sensibility permeated English cultural production in the form of literature, painting, architecture and typefaces.³⁸ The elongated fat face fonts on the Bull and *Reporter* posters reflect the English nostalgia for the Gothic aesthetic as a symbol of its own medieval, romanticised and mythologised past.³⁹ Part of the attraction of New Zealand was its characterisation as a place set in the past and the past was a romantic and defining preoccupation of nineteenth century consciousness in industrialised England.⁴⁰ For the contemporary architect A. W. N. Pugin, the aesthetic went beyond mere style to reflect England's traditional and specific 'faith, customs and natural traditions'.⁴¹ Reverence for the Gothic was realised in the architectural purity of the medieval cathedral and expressed in the revival of the same type of perpendicular architecture in the nineteenth century. So, the vertical linearity of the perpendicular architecture of the fourteenth century cathedral is reflected as much in the setting of 'New Zealand' in the elongated form of fat face on the posters of Bull and the *Reporter* office as it is in the Palace of Westminster in figure 9.



Fig 9. The neo-Gothic new Palace of Westminster symbolises the Victorian nostalgia for its mythologised medieval past. Architect: Charles Barry; consultant: A. W. N. Pugin, 1858. Vacher & Son, London, 1858. 460mm x 291mm. www.parliament.uk [accessed] 22 March 2013.

Importantly, the elongated typeface Bull and the *Reporter* office printer used to set ‘New Zealand’ on these posters accommodated the idea of emigration as an alternative to Smiles’ self-made man.⁴² Emigration was cast throughout the contemporary discourses as a way for a labouring man to rise from his present condition to one of prosperity and social standing. For those Victorians whose circumstances caused them to fear for the social and economic fate of their children, it also held the promise of future advancement for generations to come.⁴³ The relationship between the graphic and visual properties of the elongated typeface on the posters and the concept of aspiration in contemporary discourses manifests connotative meaning transfer in which New Zealand is being located as a place of aspiration *and* the place where aspirations would be met.

The *Reporter* office’s large and colourful poster would have stood out starkly in the otherwise fairly monochromatic advertising environment (figs. 5, *bottom* and 90). Traces of coloured brushmarks have leaked onto the back of the poster which show that the poster was not printed in colour but rather that the printer brushed a colour wash on it.

This was an inexpensive and technologically simple way to apply colour to single sheet printing. The printer also chose complementary colours which tend to have a greater visual impact than random selections of colour.⁴⁴ The agent Thomas Kelly must have thought a good print run of the colour-washed poster was cost-effective in the circumstances as it was reportedly ‘extensively circulated throughout Ireland’.⁴⁵ Emigration to New Zealand was not as popular with the Irish as the Atlantic destinations were, nor between 1840 and 1852 were the percentage of Irish emigrants (13.5%) as great as those of either England (64.3%) or Scotland (20.6%).⁴⁶ Perhaps Kelly felt the cost was justified due to the difficulty of the task at hand. His was among the very few surviving posters to use colour as a device to enhance the delivery of his message.



Fig. 10. 4 Saint Johns Street, Devizes in 2012. The Bull family businesses were housed in this building, where the extended family and their servants also lived in 1861. Bull’s wife Mary operated her millinery business out of this building as well.

Photo credit: Alan Carter, Devizes Heritage, Devizes, Wiltshire.

Henry Bull's business activities included printing, bookselling and stationery. The business was a family enterprise with his two sons Henry and Edward and daughter Mary involved as printer, compositor and stationer's assistant respectively.⁴⁷ It might have been Edward who set the type for the CA poster. The family was sufficiently well off to employ a number of house servants reflecting their middle-class status. The records do not suggest that Bull inherited his businesses, but that he and his family built them slowly over time. He appears to have been something of an entrepreneur with a diverse printing business that included the relatively new technology of lithography. Bull counted reputable painters among his clients.⁴⁸

The printers Benjamin Hudson of Birmingham (fig. 53), Edward Blackwell of Reading (fig. 33) and Elizabeth Heard of Truro (fig. 47) set 'New Zealand' in large fonts of the robustly formed slab serif. They were the only three printers working for the NZC to do so. These fonts, all upper case, signaled something of the fortitude that the emigrants would require in order to tackle the difficulties inherent in building a new colony in the early 1840s. Hudson's printing of the poster in figure 53 can be viewed as a part of his continuing interest in 'good' works.⁴⁹ He was a socially-engaged printer, a member of the committee of the Spring Hill College and was on the management committee of the Birmingham Homeopathic Hospital.⁵⁰ He printed and published the *Philanthropist*, a weekly Liberal magazine that worked for social change as well as many other liberal tracts by social reformers such as Robert Owen.⁵¹ He also published and printed a good deal of anti-slavery material.⁵²

Heard's social engagement was of a different sort. She was one of a number of women who succeeded to businesses after the deaths of their husbands. John Heard died in 1823 and Elizabeth, who was 35 at the time, ran the business for at least the following 30 years.⁵³ She was well-known and well-respected both within and outside her local community. She held literary and musical 'salons' regularly in her Boscowen Street home and, throughout her widowhood, led Truro society as one of Cornwall's 'most able and amiable business woman'.⁵⁴ Heard was so well known that her obituary appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* a few weeks after her death in 1867.⁵⁵

Her business was located at 32 Boscowen Street, Truro (fig. 11). She lived and worked in the same premises, as did many printers in the nineteenth century. Heard published and printed the *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, a newspaper established by her husband John in 1810. The *West Briton* was a radical Reformist newspaper which was set up to counter the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, considered a ‘Government mouthpiece’. It became the more popular paper, with a readership of 161,000 compared to the *Gazette’s* 70,000.⁵⁶ The editor of the *West Briton* was Isaac Latimer, the agent who produced the poster in figure 47 for the NZC. Latimer and Heard produced and printed a considerable range of emigration promotion material through his role as the South Australian agent.⁵⁷



Fig. 11. 32 Boscowen Street, Truro in 2010. Elizabeth Heard’s printing house would have operated out of the ground floor of this Georgian house and storage was on the first floor. Few buildings were erected specifically as printing houses until the mid-nineteenth century. Most businesses were housed in dwellings. Heard and her son (who never married) lived on the top two floors of this Georgian house.

Photo credit: Patricia Thomas.

Heard operated a thriving business and the collection of posters in the Rosewarne Collection of the Courtney Library is evidence of the scope of her jobbing printing and her wide selection of fashionable, decorative typefaces. She was one of only two women printers of the surviving emigration posters. The other female printer was Ann Eccles who also succeeded her husband George in the Fenchurch Street business on his death in 1838.⁵⁸ Though Hungerford's William Franklin printed the NZC poster in figure 31, his wife Mary took on the printing business after his death in 1865.⁵⁹ In these instances, it was not so much the printing, but the business that these women took on. All three worked with their sons who, along with their employees, were more likely to have been the people who actually operated the presses. Both Heard's and Eccles' sons were active in their businesses, Eccles at least from 1872 onwards.⁶⁰

The fonts that printers used to set the word 'emigration' or its derivations are invariably imposingly large and, as with the phrase 'New Zealand', are mostly set in the top section of advertising posters (figs. 19, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 49, 52-54, 57, 68, 72, 76, 79 *bottom*, 83 & 90). 'Emigration' features predominantly in fat face on posters produced prior to 1850. Printers used fonts of slab serif for 'emigration' throughout the entire poster set that is extant. Conceptually and visually, the nineteenth-century slab serif typeface was a graphic manifestation of a contemporary interest in Egyptian antiquity.⁶¹ The solid weight of the slab serif echoes the massive, rectilinear forms of Egyptian material culture and contemporary English architecture seen notably in the British Museum in figure 12. The museum was built to house the Egyptian collection and both were manifestations of colonial acquisition and expansion. Thus the Museum itself, as a building and as a national repository, was a symbol not just of the cultural sophistication of the English but of the reach and power of their empire.⁶²

However aesthetically and culturally informed the letter was by Egyptian forms, the typeface was English. It was designed in England, probably initially by English lottery printers.⁶³ The connotations of national identity that Steven Galbraith and Emily King suggest are carried within typeface design are evident in the slab serif. This typeface was



Fig. 12. The popularity of antique form of the slab serif typeface, the heavy rectangular pillars and the square solidity of the British Museum building all reflect a contemporary capacity to embrace a range of cultural references. These forms sat happily alongside the equally popular fashion for the English medieval forms that produced elongated fonts of fat face.

Leonard William Collmann, Entrance Hall, British Museum, Watercolour, 1847. Trustees of the British Museum, Object reg. no: TM1902,0129.1, British Museum, London.

certainly a part of the nineteenth century vernacular graphic language as well as ‘all the rage’ in both print and landscape.⁶⁴ As a quintessentially English typeface, the slab serif is the most conceptually appropriate to express the word ‘emigration’ in the English context. The slab serif typeface connects to the myth of the manly and heroic English emigrant whose superior physical and moral rectitude would ‘add a new province to the empire’.⁶⁵

For the Victorians, manliness crossed class boundaries. Middle-class men with beards and ‘colonising mission[s]’ were especially manly.⁶⁶ Such manliness was natural in the English, rather than from qualities or behaviours alone. English schoolboys such as Tom Brown were manliness in the making.⁶⁷ ‘British manhood would bring civilization to the



Fig. 13. *top*: Poster advertising emigrant ships for New Zealand.

centre: Poster advertising for emigrants from Hungerford.

bottom: Poster advertising intermediate berths on the ship *Phoebe*. The slab serif typeface used for 'emigration' and the 'farmers and small capitalists' reinforces the message for this particular audience.

from top:

James Truscott, London for the NZC (detail), 6 May 1840.

CO208/291/71, NZCS, National Archives, London.

William Franklin, Hungerford for the NZC agent James Morris (detail), June 1840.

CO208/291/68, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC (detail), 14 September 1842.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

EMIGRATION
FOR THE
WORKING CLASSES.

EMIGRATION.
CANTERBURY
SETTLEMENT,

EMIGRATION
TO
NEW ZEALAND.
FREE GIFT OF A 40 ACRE FARM.

Fig. 14. *top*: Poster advertising for the ‘working classes’. The damage to this poster has made ‘emigration’ appear a little unsteady but the original would have been as equally sturdy as on the other posters.

centre: Poster advertising for emigrants from Wiltshire.

bottom: Poster advertising the ‘free gift of a 40-acre farm’ in Auckland. A correlation between ‘emigration’ and the ‘free gift’ is made through the slab serif typeface and the red ink. The printer Henry Greenwood has used both black and red to link ideas into single key concepts.

from top:

Ann Eccles, London for the CA (detail), c. 1849.

19XX.2.952, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.

Henry Bull, Devizes for the CA (detail), x. 1850.

D1571/X155 Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester.

Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the Provincial Government of Auckland (PGA) agent Joseph Newman (detail), c. 1858.

7C2024, Auckland City Libraries, Auckland.



Fig. 15. *top*: Poster advertising for Scottish labourers to emigrate to Otago.

centre: Poster advertising for emigrants.

bottom: Poster advertising for emigrants. The latter two posters are among the few printed in colour. A poster printed for the NZG in 1873 was printed in blue. As an alternative to black, blue is point of difference from much printed material in the visual landscape.

from top:

Unknown printer, Edinburgh for the PGO (detail), 1873.

1988/30/1, Toitu Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG (detail), 29 October 1873.

R21164919, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG (detail), 17 March 1873.

R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

hinterlands' and conversely, those same hinterlands would 'save British manhood from civilisation'.⁶⁸ These attitudes were a resistance to both the perceived effeminate and hegemonic aristocratic masculinity of their own country and also the decadence of European manliness.⁶⁹ The aggressively masculine Byron, that 'sturdy peer proud of his bull neck and his boxing' succeeded the beardless, womanish Shelley.⁷⁰ The early nineteenth century Frenchified Regency dandy gave way to the no-nonsense John Bull just as the sturdy slab serif replaced the genial and genteelly rotund fat face.⁷¹ The muscular character of the slab serif reflects those perceptions of moral and physical superiority inherent in English manliness.

The English were also supposedly distinguished for the 'purity and simplicity of their social habits and [they were] capable of [the] firm unbending rectitude' that was needed to build colonies.⁷² Their manifest destiny was to spread Anglo-Saxon habits and institutions throughout the world.⁷³ The British public school system, through which many members of the NZC were educated, instilled within the English of a certain class a sense of duty and responsibility towards those they perceived as less civilised than themselves.⁷⁴ Like their ancestors, the Anglo-Saxons, the English were rational, orderly and patient. Their apparent sense of order was a model for the 'aborigines' whose wastelands they *should* rationalise and whose conditions they *would* improve.⁷⁵ Belich has recently argued against any serious consideration of the Anglo-Saxon myth as an 'historical explanation'.⁷⁶ Yet he acknowledges that the myth was powerful at the time. We can see in contemporary writing that much of this discourse of Anglo-Saxonism described a construction that was mapped in the minds of the middle classes and onto the bodies and behaviours of the labouring classes. This myth of inherent pre-destination prompted the English to think of themselves as exceptional people who descended from other equally exceptional people. Their embodiment of these national characteristics rendered the 'energetic Anglo-Saxon race' fit to appropriate regions of the world that were underpopulated and prepared them for the painstakingly slow business of colony-building.⁷⁷

The slab serif fonts on these posters present the emigration proposition in terms of these perceptions of sturdy Anglo-Saxon manliness and fortitude. The slab serif was highly visible in the contemporary 'John Bullish' lettered landscape; the 'blackest letter

ever printed' in terms of its typographic weight.⁷⁸ These sturdy letters march words like 'emigration' across the page, determined and resolved, letter by sturdy letter. Truscott's 1840 poster in figure 13 (*top*) advertises the NZC's 'emigrant ships' that will eventually take the labourers of Hungerford in figure 13 (*bottom*) to New Zealand. The farmers and small capitalists, themselves set in a small font of slab serif on Eccles poster in figure 13 (*centre*), are the strong stock needed to stride off to do 'a great work for mankind', prepared to turn their hands to 'spade husbandry' in the new colony.⁷⁹ The 'working classes' emigrating to the 'Canterbury settlement' in figure 14 (*top* and *centre*) will need strength, courage and persistence to found the new colony in unknown territory. 'Emigration to Otago' is offered to the stalwart Scots in figure 15 (*top*).⁸⁰ The '*crème-de-la-crème*' of English navvies, farm labourers and shepherds are recruited for the arduous task of nation-building in figure 15 (*centre* and *bottom*).⁸¹ Joseph Newman's poster in figure 15 (*bottom*) recruits the kind of 'industrious men and women' whose determination and fortitude will break in their '40 acre farm[s]' in Auckland. Newman's printer, Henry Greenwood, foregrounded 'emigration' by printing it in red. Traditionally, black was the colour of print. Red (rubrication) was the colour of emphasis, division and punctuation and thus was integral to the meaning of a text and how it was read.⁸² When they used colour at all, printers tended to continue this convention, and they often used it to actively direct attention to a key point. Parry's painting in figure 5 (*bottom*) features a number of posters with key words picked out in red.

The posters saturated the landscape, making the core proposition of emigration to New Zealand known widely and repeatedly in those areas the promoters thought most likely to yield the emigrants they wanted. The NZC agent in Kent, George Whiting, for example, hired billstickers to paste up the 2000 posters he had printed to advertise a series of meetings in villages throughout the county (fig. 73). The printer, Richard Cutbush, charged him a sum of £1.14s and he paid an additional £2.4s for the six billposters to paste them up in villages throughout his catchment in Kent.⁸³

The *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, the newspaper Cutbush co-owned with George Whiting, was Whiggish, pro-reform and endeavoured 'to procure justice for all'.⁸⁴ This editorial policy was reflected in Cutbush's defence of the 1832 Reform Bill, the abolition of the Corn Laws and other issues related to labour, including emigration.⁸⁵ One of

Kent's more important newspapers, the *Maidstone Gazette* was produced at a time of great social unrest and political reform in one of the 'most highly politicized' provincial areas in the country.⁸⁶ As Arnold, Hudson, and Phillips and Hearn note, after London and the West Country, this region was the source of most of the emigrants to New Zealand before, during and after the major agrarian revolts in the early 1870s.⁸⁷ Prior to 1850, when Cutbush retired and their partnership was dissolved, he and Whiting were also proprietors and printers of the *Maidstone and South Eastern Gazette*, a paper which also ran NZC advertisements.⁸⁸

It is not the aim of this thesis to compare the effect of the posters as against that of the four months worth of newspaper advertisements for which Whiting paid £11.4s. Such comparison does, however, demonstrate the relative negligibility of the cost of poster production and distribution. In an analysis of newspaper advertising, Jeremy Black comments that while its effectiveness cannot be gauged without market surveys, he assumes that advertisers thought they were getting some benefit from it.⁸⁹ Knowing how often a labouring-class reader might see a paper is another matter and that presumed infrequency may account for the same advertisement inserted repeatedly over time in the same newspapers.⁹⁰ The NZC, for example, advertised the ship *Ajax* in 45 metropolitan and provincial newspapers between 1 July and 8 September 1848.⁹¹ Twenty five years later the NZG chief agent Charles Carter placed 320 advertisements in 213 newspapers to attract emigrants.⁹² As most provincial newspaper were weeklies, this represents at least a dozen insertions in the same newspaper. Yet when the more privately accessed newspaper advertising did not achieve the results they wanted, promoters who wanted to make emigration to New Zealand known turned to the more publicly visible posters. Posters were usually pasted up in numbers, rather than singly. The repeated presence of these posters in public spaces contributed directly to the growing profile of 'emigration to New Zealand'. Because they advertised not only emigration to New Zealand but events such as Whiting's meetings, they stimulated both a reading and a response.

When Whiting's poster first appeared in villages such as Staplehurst and Brenchley, emigration was a known activity but New Zealand was an unknown geographical entity. Grouping the discrete words together on a poster through font size or spatial position

formed these otherwise disparate words into a composite, a single key concept.⁹³ They qualify each other and become a discrete meaningful message, able to be decoded within their broad contemporary contexts. Once New Zealand was established as an emigration destination, its repeated exposure in conjunction with ‘emigration’ consolidated the concept.⁹⁴ Through the combination of visibility and public display, the posters enhanced and normalised the idea of emigration to New Zealand.⁹⁵

Representative posters from the entire period show how ‘emigration to New Zealand’ was constructed as a single key concept. The communication of this concept was critical given the timing of the production and display of the poster printed by Harrison & Co, (hereafter Harrison’s; fig. 16). On 5 October 1839 when Harrison’s poster was printed, no one had ever emigrated to New Zealand, in the systematic sense. The NZC’s ships had left England no more than 20 days before this date, and they did not arrive in New Zealand until three months later. Conceptually, ‘emigration’ coupled with ‘New Zealand’, especially for the intended audience of ‘agricultural labourers’ towards whom the poster was directed, was meaningless. Part of the task of this poster was to introduce its producers, the NZC and its directors, and Harrison’s printer privileged this by setting it at the top. In order to give similar weight to the proposition, he set that phrase immediately below. He separated the phrase ‘emigration to New Zealand’ from other parts of the poster text by framing it within typographic rules and setting it in large fonts of fat face. He then signalled it as a discrete and key concept on its own by setting a full stop after it. Composing it in this way, Harrison’s printer by-passed the conceptual contradictions inherent in the phrase and transformed it into something meaningful.

The printer of Harrison’s poster was one of many printers used by the NZC. Members of the extended Harrison family had printing houses in London for well over two hundred years. One eighteenth century brother provided the line of printers that became known as Harrison & Co. in the 1840s.⁹⁶ Another source more romantically traces the origin of the company known as Harrison and Sons back to a Richard Harrison in 1557 who was a ‘freeman of the mystery and art of printing’.⁹⁷ In 1838 Thomas Harrison formed a partnership with the publisher and bookseller John W. Parker, who published considerable NZC material from 1839. This partnership became



Fig. 16. Poster advertising emigration to New Zealand. Harrison's printer set the NZC and its directors in a space normally reserved for the topic of a poster. This was probably a strategic decision based on the NZC's recent entry into the emigration marketplace. It left the actual topic in what would have been a compromised position had the printer not gone to such lengths to ensure the phrase 'emigration to New Zealand' was graphically emphasised and visually unavoidable.

Harrison & Co., for the NZC (detail), 5 October 1839.
CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Harrison & Co. and it was this firm that was located in St Martin's Street, the address on the NZC advertisement in figure 16. Harrison's printed John Ward's *Information Relative to New Zealand*, published by Parker in 1839, and its successive editions and reprints.

Harrison's grouping of graphically similar phrases is unusual across the set of extant posters. More often than not 'New Zealand' and 'emigration' are set in different typefaces that retain their cohesion through spatial grouping and/or framing alone. In contrast, Truscott's two posters for the NZC in figure 18 demonstrate how the composite phrase 'emigration to New Zealand' becomes a single key concept through these spatial resources. The posters differ significantly in both their textual and graphic languages. What remains the same is the large font of attention-grabbing sans serif that Truscott used to set 'emigration' at the top of each poster and 'New Zealand' in a font of fat face below it.



Fig. 17. *top*: Fragment of a marble stele recording the decree appointing the Commission to take charge of the unfinished Erechtheum and to resume building operations, 409BCE.
bottom: John Soane, lettering on 'Design for a British Senate House', 1779.
 from top:
 Elgin Collection, British Museum, London.
 Sir John Soane Museum, London.

Beyond its practical use as graphic emphasis for attracting attention, the nineteenth century sans serif typeface was culturally meaningful to its users, both producers and audiences. The design of the typeface was informed by the same contemporary interest in antiquity as the slab serif typeface was. Rather than referencing the monumental slabs of Egyptian antiquity, however, the sans serif manifested the robust antiquity of Greek forms.⁹⁸ The letter is exemplified in the sturdy columns of the Parthenon's Elgin Marbles which were brought to England in the early years of the nineteenth century. They joined the Egyptian artefacts in the collections of the British Museum.⁹⁹ The Greek provenance of the typeface is evident in the lettering on the Marbles. The incised letters on this ancient Greek monumental architecture and in artefacts such as the Attic stele in figure 18 (*top*), do not have serifs. The letterform used in the posters therefore reflected English architects' enthusiasm for Greek antiquity.¹⁰⁰ It was used on many late eighteenth century buildings, particularly those of the architect John Soane. Soane modelled his letter without serifs on the first century BCE Tempio della Sibilla in Tivoli, built in the same century that the Romans conquered Greece. The letter is essentially Greek in origin and predates the development of the seriffed Roman letter of the later first century CE.¹⁰¹ In the nineteenth century, the sans serif typeface was often referred to as Doric, a name which echoes its Greek origins.¹⁰² By the mid-nineteenth century 'letters without serifs' were an integral part of the fashionable built environment, in architecture and sculpture as well as a medium for commercial display in signwriting.¹⁰³ Each of these cultural models contributed to the revival of the letterform as a typeface that was peculiar to English and German printing, though only the English produced and used it in such large sizes.¹⁰⁴ Sans serif was produced as a typeface in England by the typefounder Figgins in 1830. By the end of the 1840s, it was one of the most popular types for advertising work. For printers, its simple monoline form (letters with equal stroke widths) was as capable of retaining its integrity as the sturdy strokes of the slab serif fonts were. This could not be said of the thin strokes of the fat face fonts. The sans serif was designed as a relatively compressed typeface to be used largely in upper case only, which reflects its origins in antiquity. Lower case in any lettering or typeface was unknown prior to the development of the miniscule letter by Alcuin of York in the ninth century CE.¹⁰⁵ All the sans serif typefaces on the posters in the extant set in the set also

indicate the English preference for the bent leg of the vernacular capital letter ‘R’. The ‘R’ in any Continental typeface tended to have a straight leg. This letter is one among a group, including the upper case ‘M’, which is different in English designs from others.¹⁰⁶

The classical provenance of the sans serif typeface also intersected with contemporary discourses on the nature and historical origins of nineteenth century emigration.

Emigration promoters cast the contemporary emigration impulse as the revival of the ‘ancient spirit of colonizing’ remembered in the empirical glories of ‘good Queen Bess’ in which the ‘manly and energetic band[s]...achieved the “heroic work” of planting a New England in the desert’.¹⁰⁷ Anglo-Saxon emigration was more distant and, further back still, were Greek migrations.¹⁰⁸ John Stuart Mill suggested that Wakefield’s ‘rational’ model of emigration was akin to the ‘noble experiments’ of the ancient Greeks.¹⁰⁹ Wakefield himself took for granted the historical antecedents of both emigration and the English, writing in 1834 that the world had not seen emigration conducted systematically since the ancient Greeks.¹¹⁰ ‘Are we not Anglo Saxons?’ he asked in the face of a challenge to the NZC’s operations.¹¹¹ Such confused perceptions of the origins of the emigration impulse were also a symptom of the easy conflation of historical time seen in the simultaneous revival of the medieval and the adoption of both Egyptian and Greek classical forms in nineteenth century cultural production.¹¹²

The practical value of the large upper case font of sans serif in Truscott’s two posters lies in its ‘ponderous’ size and attention-grabbing graphic weight.¹¹³ Sans serif letters can be set very close together due to the absence of these horizontal strokes at their head and foot. This reduces the external space between the letters and transforms the words into the highly visible, thick banner-like lines. However, the letters on Truscott’s posters do not appear to be foundry cut. Their size suggests they were cut in wood. The irregularities in both the form of some of the letters and some spacing peculiarities that would have been impossible with individual metal letters, indicates that Truscott followed the convention of the early lottery printers for cutting whole words for particular purposes.¹¹⁴ Both of Truscott’s posters are examples of how printers

EMIGRATION
to
New Zealand
NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY

EMIGRATION
to
New Zealand

Fig. 18. *top*: Poster introducing emigration to New Zealand by the NZC to both the middle and labouring classes.

bottom: Truscott's 1840 poster advertises for emigrants to sail on the NZC's emigrant ships.

James Truscott, London for the NZC (detail), 29 June 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

James Truscott, London for the NZC (detail), 6 May 1840.

CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London.

circumvented certain contemporary technological constraints. Truscott was both a letterpress and copper-plate printer with a busy London printing house.¹¹⁵ He would have had an iron press with a relatively large bed, or printing surface. Nevertheless, he would still be unable to print posters of these sizes in one sheet. He printed the 1839 poster in four sheets and the 1840 poster in two sheets. These were usually composed by laying the sheets out on the floor and sketching the design out in chalk to indicate what words went on each sheet.¹¹⁶ Bill-stickers would then have assembled the pieces on the walls of buildings.¹¹⁷ In doing this, both Truscott and his client the NZC were able to display the 'large placards' which many contemporary commentators recognised as an important factor in the visibility and resonance of a producer's message.¹¹⁸

Truscott had some experience of working with emigration promoters. He printed at least one extant poster advertising a public meeting to discuss South Australia. This was produced by Daniel Wakefield, Edward Gibbon Wakefield's younger brother and director of the South Australia Association, the first colony to be formed by systematic colonisation and the precursor of the NZC model.¹¹⁹ Truscott continued his association with New Zealand into the 1850s, printing a series of emigration tracts by the same William Kingston who espoused the use of posters to make New Zealand known.¹²⁰

With a few notable exceptions which I detail in chapter 3, the posters do not explicitly list the economic or social benefits of emigration, outline the advantages of New Zealand over other destinations or offer favourable stories of earlier emigrant experience. Rather the co-texts, the idealising literature of pamphlets, lectures and newspaper articles, explicitly elaborated those issues.¹²¹ While the posters operated within those discursive contexts, they imply rather than explicate the benefits to be gained by those choosing to emigrate to New Zealand. The benefits resulting from adopting a positive attitude toward the action proposed are instead activated by the abbreviated messages on the posters, such as 'emigration to New Zealand'.¹²² The implied benefits bridge the conceptual gap between the emigration decision and the cultural myths about colonisation and emigration.¹²³

Myth provides a powerful conduit between the sender and receiver of a message. For messages that are directed towards a particular audience, myth—like the unmistakable second person address, ‘you’—is particularly useful for directly transferring the message from the sender to the receiver.

Barthes explains that

myth has an imperative, buttonholing character: stemming from an historical concept, directly springing from contingency...it is *I* whom it has come to seek. It is turned towards me.¹²⁴

Words on the posters such as emigration and colony evoke an Antipodean myth that taps into deeper, historically-rooted ideas of the ‘perfected version’ of lived experience located elsewhere.¹²⁵ New Zealand figured within a wider landscape of locations colonised by Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (and America in the seventeenth century). These colonies, which included Canada, Australia, and a number of African, East Asian and Caribbean countries, were part of a British empire that was essentially commercial and civil.¹²⁶ New Zealand was at the end of what has been characterised as the second empire, a turning away from the Atlantic colonial system and a concentration on India and the Pacific.¹²⁷ Though the British Government did entertain the idea of formally structuring existing pockets of English people in New Zealand through civil intervention and offering a ‘benign, indirect influence,’ their focus was not on colonisation.¹²⁸ While this interest might eventually have evolved into colonisation, their hand was forced in 1839 by the NZC’s despatch of the barque *Tory*. On board were surveyors and a NZC representative with instructions to buy land from Māori and begin the colonisation of the country.¹²⁹ The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, noted as early as 1837 that the decision was not whether New Zealand should be colonised; he felt that colonisation was already ‘effected in these islands’. The question was whether it take the ‘desultory’ path—‘without law and fatal to the natives’—or the path that was ‘organized and salutary’.¹³⁰ It was the latter which prevailed under the auspices of the NZC.

A civil intervention created with ‘benign’ paternalism necessarily differed from what Wakefield envisaged as

the permanent settlement...on unoccupied land...wholly or partially unoccupied, which receives emigrants from a distance; and it is a colony of the country from which the emigrants proceed, which is therefore called the mother country.¹³¹

The NZC’s promotional rhetoric, in both its advertising and information material, was invariably concerned with the planting of roots in a new and agriculturally felicitous country, in other words, establishing a colony. Wakefield’s colonising intentions went beyond what the British Government meant by ‘indirect influence’. In relation to New Zealand, the word ‘colony’ therefore had a specific resonance.

The *new* England to be transplanted to New Zealand was often referred to as a colony before it actually was one. The use of this word in advance of its realisation was deliberate and natural within a contemporary understanding of the word which had been in use since the sixteenth century.¹³² Emigration to the country called New Zealand began while the colony of New Zealand was still within the realms of the imagination of its promoters, advocates and prospective colonists. In the Victorian imagination, the Antipodes went beyond spatial geography. It became subject to Western ‘gestures of control’.¹³³ Even as an imperfectly understood land mass, its colonisation was seen as pre-ordained, a part of the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race and ripe for the rule of Anglo-Saxon law.¹³⁴

Many popular imaginary voyage stories were mistaken for real, making the idea of the colonisation of the Antipodes both possible and palatable.¹³⁵ The exemplary emigrant would complement such a place and find a congenial and compatible home there. There is both irony and logic in the circularity of the unfolding of events that led to the establishment of colonies in New Zealand. The NZC claimed there was a colony when, in the usual sense, there was not. The emigrant or colonist believed the fiction, acted upon it and thus both constituted and created the colony after it first appeared in NZC rhetoric.

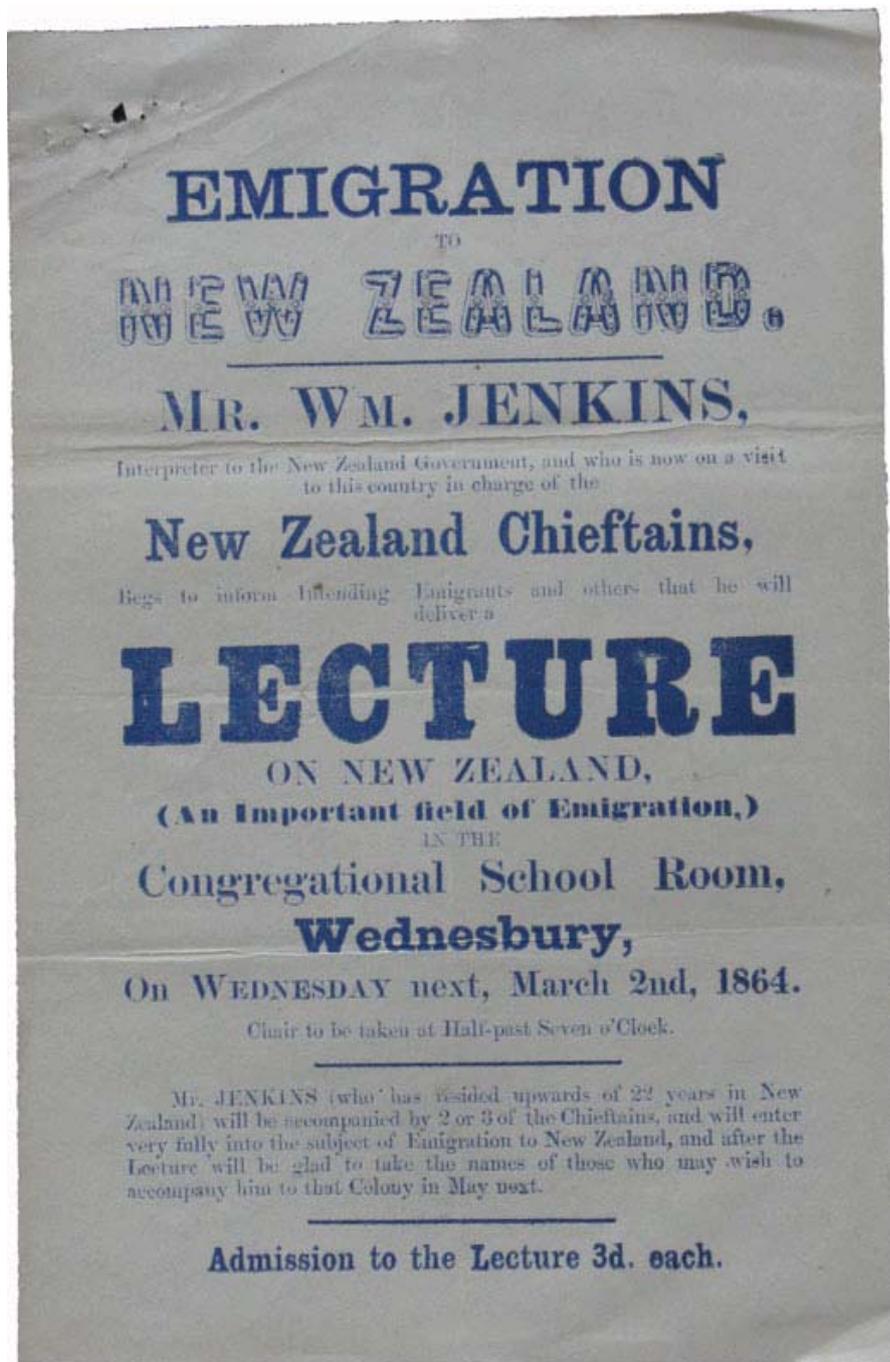


Fig. 19. Poster advertising a lecture to be delivered by William Jenkins. Because he failed to arrange matters before he left New Zealand, Jenkins was not an official agent of the NZG, nor of his province of Nelson. This poster is one of only two examples of its printer's use of decorative type. 'New Zealand' is set here in Ornamented, one of numerous popular typefaces in the latter half of the century. While it seems a little frivolous for the topic, it does convey something of the exotic and so it references the 'chieftains', some of whom undoubtedly were tattooed.

Unknown printer, Wednesbury for William Jenkins, 1863.

NP7/11, 1864/329, Archives New Zealand Wellington. 140mm x 210mm.

Contemporary ways of thinking about the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth century allowed the English to consider their colonisation of ‘wastelands’, such as the one that was eventually realised as the colony of New Zealand, as legitimate.¹³⁶ Their duty, as Belich notes, was to replenish the earth.¹³⁷ A ‘colony’ was already part of an invented cultural landscape by the 1800s and was linked

intimately to the expansion of empire...through repeated stories of successful colonizing schemes...[which] allowed European readers to enjoy farfetched fantasies of colonization well before, and during, the period of actual colonial expansion... [helping] to embed social acceptance of colonial expansion by modeling cultural domination as natural, beneficial, and welcome.¹³⁸

The idea that Māori actively welcomed colonisation as a route to equally anticipated civilisation, and were ‘most desirous to sell’ their surplus land was an important part of the myth.¹³⁹ It needed to be; the colony of New Zealand prior to 22 January 1840, as a geographical site, was already a European social construction with a long history.

A substantial discourse reinforced the myth of an entity in advance of its realisation. It helped to ‘map’ the unknown through its representation as known.¹⁴⁰ It prompted artists to render new, exotic landscapes that looked remarkably like the old ones. This assisted in reinforcing a long-held desire for colonies in far-off lands.¹⁴¹ Some narratives fed an older and trans-historical understanding of the Great South Land as ‘a fourth island part in the south, which is unknown to us...within the bounds of which the Antipodes are fabulously said to dwell’.¹⁴² These narratives inspired countless exploratory voyages. Others were constructed from dreams of Arcadia or visions of utopia.¹⁴³ Every obstacle that was overcome to push closer to the reality of the dream or the vision inspired others to follow. Eventually, the east coast of the imagined land that eventually became New Zealand, was ‘discovered’ by Abel Janszoon Tasman in 1643 and the west coast by James Cook in 1789.

The prevailing view of an Arcadian, utopian or ‘fabulous’ Antipodean land remained more or less intact until first Tasman and then Cook proved them false. This land mass was thought by some to be ‘fertile and habitable’, ‘free from winters and supplying all wants’, replete with mineral wealth, and inhabited by people whose social structures

were such that harmony reigned.¹⁴⁴ Some parts of the vision did not fit well with what people had learned about New Zealand, whether real or imagined. Wakefield held the opinion that, had people not been terrified by the cannibalism of Māori, New Zealand would have been settled considerably earlier.¹⁴⁵ In 1863 an independent emigration promoter, William Jenkins, took a group of fourteen ‘natives...under [his] care’ to England (fig. 19). His intention was to introduce them to English society and their benign presence at meetings was to ‘influence’ emigration and provide credence to the characterisation of Māori as exotic but not fearsome.¹⁴⁶ Both the *Scotsman* and the *Manchester Guardian* reported their visit in such a way as to emphasise both their strangeness to English eyes and their sociability in English company.¹⁴⁷ Presumably Jenkins took some of the ‘New Zealand Chieftains’ to the lecture he advertised on his poster.

As the final addition to the second British Empire, New Zealand was viewed from afar, imagined (at times with trepidation), defined in advance of its realisation and consolidated through its representation in visual and print cultures. Emigration to New Zealand promised the perfected version of the contemporary imperfection that was Victorian England. The rhetoric of ‘colony’ as it is used in a number of the posters reinforces the myth of the version at the same time as it offers accessibility to it. This characterisation of a ‘mythical country’ existed ‘in the minds of the settlers’, much of which derived from NZC rhetoric.¹⁴⁸ The posters repeatedly locate the myth within specific, geographical space.

There are two posters that do not specifically propose emigration, but rather introduce concepts such as ‘colony’ and ‘wasteland’. They position New Zealand as a legitimate field for English emigration and the perfected version of the Englishman’s home. These two ideas are signposted on Truscott’s 1839 poster in figure 43 as the ‘first colony of New Zealand’. Seven months before the first settlers stepped ashore on Petone Beach on 22 January 1840, Truscott’s poster promoted the ‘colony’ of New Zealand. Wakefield conceived of New Zealand as a ‘colony in motion’, that ‘carried its laws and institutions with it’. He pointed out that ‘a body of men assembled with the intention of emigrating to a distant country’ is a ‘colony before their departure’.¹⁴⁹ In Truscott’s poster ‘the first colony of New Zealand’ is set as a sub-heading moderately emphasised in an upper case



Fig. 20. *top*: The first poster to introduce the ‘colony’ of New Zealand. This first colony comprises the sturdy Byronic version of English manhood and its articulation in slab serif is apt. *centre*: A poster produced in Devon which gives more detail about the colony’s intended departure than does Truscott’s. This first ‘colony’ anticipates its own release from penury and want through the generously *fat* font of fat face.

bottom: A poster advertising the impending departure of the Scottish colony which is about to leave behind cramped and constrained hardship through a compressed font of fat face and to arrive in an open and more amenable New Zealand through an upper and lower case, and generously rotund font of the of fat face.

from top:

James Truscott, London for the NZC (detail). 29 June 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Henry Granville, Devonport for the NZC agents Little and Woollcombe (detail), 5 October 1839.

CO208/291, National Archives, London.

John Clark, Glasgow for the NZC agent John Crawford (detail), 5 October 1839.

OG.1961.12, Glasgow Museums Photo Library.

font of slab serif. Beneath it, the 'colony' is explained as a 'society...consisting exclusively of heads of families and others'. So, the colony on this poster was not so much a location as a society formed 'to settle permanently'. The rugged masculine slab serif typeface echoes the body of men who answered the call of this manly colonising mission. The 'committee of the first colony' is set, in upper case italic fat face, a colony in motion propelling itself forward.

The use of the italic font in the 'committee' line illustrates its utility for indicating difference and emphasis.¹⁵⁰ The nineteenth century printer John Johnson notes that it is often ('too often' he thought) used for 'emphatical sentences or words'.¹⁵¹ However, rather than simply expressing difference, or providing emphasis, the italic signifies in a specific way. As a visual metaphor it has an inherent potential for picturing dynamic action. An italic font propels to the right. In Western reading strategies, left to right means *forward*. The bodily experience of running or moving onward in some way is universal. This experience automatically becomes part of a person's cognitive map and can then be transferred to anything that appears to be running or moving towards something.¹⁵² As a resource for metaphorically expressing forward action, the italic font embodies the cognitively recognisable ideas of aspiration, optimism, energy and the future that it then lent to the 'committee of the first colony'.

The colony-to-be is emphasised on two further posters produced in 1839. Henry Granville printed the 'first colony *of* New Zealand' on his poster (figure 20, *centre*; my italics). Unlike the Truscott poster in figure 20, (*top*), his does not describe the body of gentlemen who comprise the colony, rather it simply presents it. The grouping and framing of the phrase at the top of the poster with a typographic rule beneath it, announces the 'first colony'. The upper case slab serif setting of 'first' and the full stop after 'Zealand' serve to make it an address. The phrase hails the first colony in Wakefield's sense of the word. On Granville's poster the colony graphically signifies the perfected version. Here, 'colony' is set in the generous, rotund form of the fat face. It expresses the natural abundance promised in the contemporary rhetoric of the colonisation of the Antipodes and of New Zealand. Its corpulence accentuates the potential for fecundity and plenty in the two 'O's and the 'C' in 'colony'.¹⁵³ Compared with the less generous fonts of fat face on the poster, its promise is almost seductive.

Rather than the ‘first colony *of* New Zealand’ seen on the Granville poster, the Glasgow printer John Clark characterised his Scottish colonists as the ‘first Scottish colony *for* New Zealand’ (figure 20, *bottom*; my italics). As the graphic embodiment of a colony-in-motion, this is more dynamic and implies that the colony is on its way. The image of a ship on the water reinforces the implication. The phrase is a part of a larger progressing statement in which the ‘Scottish colony’ ‘will positively sail [on the *Bengal Merchant* and the image of a ship] from Port-Glasgow’, again ‘*for* New Zealand’, in other words, towards it (my italics). The ‘colony’ in this poster is described as the ‘first body of settlers’ and fonts of slab serif link the two graphically. These settlers are going to New Zealand ‘*from Scotland*’ (italics in original). The typographic rule which might have framed the first phrase in the same way as the Granville poster does, is transgressed in this one by these multiple graphic, textual and imagistic resources. Each singly and together signify movement away from one thing towards another. The setting of the words ‘first Scottish’ and ‘New Zealand’ in fonts of compressed and roman fat face respectively casts the north which the settlers are leaving as pinched and mean, and the south where they are going as open and generous.

The compressed font of fat face was as particularised as its parent. From a purely practical point of view, the line length, visual impact and popular appeal of this font of fat face in use allows it to communicate effectively. But these compressed fonts have another characteristic that makes them useful on these particular posters. By the end of the 1830s, when the NZC began its advertising, the character of the fat face typeface altered quite dramatically. As the typeface that most often graphically expresses ‘New Zealand’ or its variants such as ‘New Zealand Company’, fat face has particular visual attributes that work to attract attention. The serif terminals on the upper case letters ‘E’, ‘L’, ‘T’ and ‘Z’ are shard-like and piercingly visible. This effect is very evident in the compressed forms of the face, such as those on the posters of Franklin and Toms in figures 31 and 76. It is particularly striking in the letter ‘Z’ which, relative to other letters of the alphabet, is little used in English. As a consequence it is not seen regularly on the printed page.¹⁵⁴ There is no direct evidence that the printers or anyone in the NZC appreciated the visual value of the ‘Z’. Nevertheless, as fat face was the predominant choice for setting both ‘New Zealand’ and the ‘New Zealand Company’ throughout the

NZC posters, it is possible to infer that someone among those responsible for them appreciated its effect. The letter is even sharper in the posters printed by Granville, Bull and the *Reporter* office (figs. 56, 68 and 90). The combination of size, sharp serifs and extreme verticality are, like the posters upon which they sit, visually unavoidable.

The visual properties of this particular font were also useful as cultural markers because they reference a growing trend towards a less generous typeface which reflected the social and economic hardships of the 1830s and early 1840s. They echo a shift in national mood as the progress of industrialisation began to have negative impacts on the economy and on certain sections of society.¹⁵⁵ The serious project of the 1832 Reform Bill, the growing unemployment of the labouring classes, the diminishing fortunes of many in the middle classes and a climate of evangelical dogmatism subsumed the Regency playfulness that expressed itself in fat letters.¹⁵⁶ Tastes moved away from the ‘generously’ *fat* fat faces of the second decade of the century steadily towards the more ‘earnest’ compressed fonts of the typeface in the third and early fourth decades.¹⁵⁷

There is very little air, or white space, in ‘first Scottish’ and an abundance of it in ‘New Zealand’. Here is the typographic manifestation of Glasgow’s ‘narrow passages’ and ‘houses built back to back...into which wholesome breezes never entered’ compared with the ‘salubrious and invigorating’ conditions in New Zealand that were rehearsed endlessly in the emigration handbooks and pamphlets.¹⁵⁸ The journey into wholesome breezes begins when the colony embarks at ‘Port-Glasgow’, a phrase which Clark set in the open and generous font of fat face.

On these posters the word ‘colony’ in conjunction with ‘New Zealand’, like ‘emigration to New Zealand’, was a previously unconsidered idea that was formed by its display and consolidated by repetition.¹⁵⁹ The word ‘colony’ in association with ‘New Zealand’ is repeatedly articulated in the textual language of the early posters. It also was also spoken of constantly as a realised entity in the co-textual discourses that surrounded the posters. In this way, the posters themselves become part of, and reinforce, those discourses. Their strong graphic language assists in normalising the idea through the eye and into the mind.¹⁶⁰

These posters do not simply propose that would-be emigrants go to New Zealand, but that they go as the ‘first’ colony of New Zealand. This pioneering call adds complexity to the concept of ‘colony’. Importantly, it references Englishness, empire and the intrepid spirit of English manliness. Taken at face value, the first colony denoted the initial settlement of New Zealand under the NZC system of emigration. But it also embodies other meanings that are more complex. Explicit in the adjective ‘first’ is the idea that there was no precursor; implicitly New Zealand was empty. Emptiness connotes a *tabula rasa*, which presented the poster’s audience with opportunities for self-determination outside traditional societal pre-determinations or beyond the status quo in England. Both emigrants and colonists would, *ipso facto*, be free to rewrite themselves. There were some contradictions in this promise. If the English were the only people that were sufficiently heroic to take on such a colonising mission, then it was imperative that they retained their Englishness. In the substantial body of contemporary writing on emigration to New Zealand, colonists and emigrants were assured that they would not forfeit their essential Englishness, the social institutions, the cultural norms, the legal structures and the moral strictures of the country they left behind. The slate would not be entirely clean but contain some provisos. The Granville and Clark posters graphically position the colonising mission as one of colonisation first and emigration second. They imply that those people who choose to depart England (or Scotland) as the ‘first colony’ would not only reaffirm the manifest destiny of the English, but would be those who are chosen to transplant predestined Englishness into New Zealand. In the process they would perform and live out the duty of all Englishmen on behalf of all Englishmen.

The characterisation of this colony as the first one also implies that more will follow and it implicitly acknowledges that New Zealand colonisation will be a successful venture that will see the emigrants thrive and prosper. The colony’s originating nature is supported by its description on the Granville poster as the ‘first and principal settlement’, even if it was at that point both undetermined and unnamed. While other settlements will be founded and other colonists venture forth to them, this one remains ‘principal’ and spoken of as the ‘capital’ in Robins’ poster in figure 26.

The messages with respect to the characterisation of ‘colony’ change in both content and mode in later posters. By 1840 there was a colony: a group of people settled in geographical space. Three posters from this year use the word ‘colony’ liberally. The posters in figures 38, 43, 44, and 76 contain ‘the colony will depart in a body’, labourers were offered ‘a free passage to the colony’ where they were expected to ‘work for wages in the colony’ when they arrived ‘in the colony’. In most cases the word begins with an upper case ‘C’, which, while it is a standard nineteenth century convention, helps to elevate the status of the word and the entity it describes. It is a ‘proper’ noun. The lack of any other typographic emphasis on the word ‘colony’ in posters printed by Toms and Wills in 1840 positions the word as an integral part of the continuous text. While this is not an argument for cause and effect, it is one for a correlation between the need to plant the existence of a colony into contemporary consciousness, implying one where there was not one, and the visual articulation of that implication as seen in the Truscott and Granville posters. In the Toms and Wills posters the word was, semantically and typographically, fully integrated in a sentence which helped to cast it as an existing entity integral to contemporary experience.

We know little about Emanuel Wills other than that he was a Poor Law Guardian and an NZC agent. John Toms was born in 1789 and died in 1873 which makes him rare among nineteenth century printers as few lived that long, due mostly to the effects of working with lead types.¹⁶¹ Like most provincial printers, Toms was also a bookseller, operated a library and traded in general commodities such as groceries and tea.¹⁶² He was the printer of the *Chard Union Gazette*, of which his son George was the editor. His relationship to the NZC was through George who was its local agent. Toms was not new to the emigration trade as he printed at least one poster advertising the advantages of emigration to Eastern Australia and New South Wales. In addition to the poster he printed for the NZC, the newspaper carried advertisements promoting both the company and emigration to New Zealand (fig. 21). The advertisement on the right was also printed as a poster (no longer extant) to advertise emigration to labourers in Kent.¹⁶³



Fig. 21. *left*: NZC advertisement for emigration to New Zealand. The text calling for applications is identical to that on the posters of Truscott and Hudson (figs. 52 & 53).

right: Advertisement for 'young, healthy and industrious, married couples' to emigrate to New Zealand. Note the emphasis on 'married couples'. Note also the comment about droughts. This is slightly more reliable information than Wills provided on his poster in 1839 (fig. 23).

from left:

Chard Union Gazette, 7 September 1840. Somerset Local Studies Library, Taunton.

Chard Union Gazette, 4 January 1841. Somerset Local Studies Library, Taunton.

The word 'colony' is used again in relation to the second colony of Nelson on the poster produced in 1841 for the NZC agent Henry Tiffen in Hythe (fig. 45). Set up ostensibly at the suggestion of Wakefield's friend Bryan Duppa, what became Nelson was probably an idea that Wakefield had suggested as early as 1840. He proposed this second colony in spite of the NZC directors' reluctance to take on another colony because of the difficulties in selling land in the first one.¹⁶⁴ Land order sales in the second colony were also slow and by the middle of 1841 there was still not 'a body of colonists...adequate to found a town'.¹⁶⁵ Nelson was also a colony in advance of its realisation which suggests that the poster was produced to demonstrate that its formation was a *fait accompli* and that matters regarding it were progressing. With this second colony established, the word 'colony' does not appear on any posters after that time. In addition, the word 'settlement' makes an appearance from about 1842, first in conjunction with, and then instead of, the word 'colony'. Belich suggests that there is a distinction between

LECTURE
 ON
COLONIZATION,
 AND IN PARTICULAR
The Colonization of New Zealand.

"Our Colonial Waste Lands are the noble appanage of the Working Men of Great Britain."

LORD DURHAM.

MR. CRAWFORD

**Intends to Deliver a LECTURE on
 the above Subjects, in the**

Exchange Rooms, Moss Street,

On the Evening of **TUESDAY**, the 28th inst., at 8 o'Clock.

SUBJECTS:—Colonization, Ancient and Modern; Wakefield System of Colonization; South Australia; New Zealand; its Climate, Soil, Rivers, Harbours, Indigenous Productions; Native Customs, &c., &c.; New Zealand Company; its Proceedings, Regulations for the Sale of Land, and for Free Passages to Persons belonging to the Labouring Classes; Importance of Emigration and Duty of the Mother Country to Encourage and Promote

Tracts, 2d. each, to be had of all the Booksellers.

PAISLEY, 21st January, 1840.

J. Neilson, Printer.

Fig. 22. Durham's comment on colonial wastelands as the natural place for Britain's surplus workers was generic rather than specific to New Zealand. He used it to describe the wastelands of Canada as well.

John Neilson, Paisley for the NZC agent for the West of Scotland Board, John Crawford, 21 January 1840. CO291/208/47, NZCS, National Archives, London. 225mm x 295mm.

emigrants who go to a country and become part of someone else's society and settlers who reproduce their own society in what they think of as their country.¹⁶⁶

In itself, this conception of migration and settlement reinforces the culturally-embedded perceptions of the exceptionalism of the English. The shift towards the use of the word 'settlement' on the posters reflects its growing contemporary use to describe the migratory impulses of both the middle and labouring classes. In spite of more positive attitudes towards emigration in the nineteenth century, emigrants were often reluctant leavers.¹⁶⁷ The word 'settlers' suggests a body of people who chose their destiny, rather than having it decided for them. The use of this word was associated with the desire of the nineteenth century advocates and promoters of emigration to see and speak of emigration as part of a long continuum of migration that was natural and beneficial. The destiny and duty of the migratory Anglo Saxons, and their descendants, was to be settlers of distant lands, not emigrants in them.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the promoters continue to use 'emigrant' and 'emigration' alongside, and often in conjunction with, 'settlement'. Edward Blackwell's 1840 poster pictured in figure 33 contains both 'emigration' and the 'Company's settlements' and Henry Bull's poster in figure 68 uses 'emigration' and the 'Canterbury settlement'. This double use suggests that the distinctions between settlers and emigrants were not universally employed in the advertising message at this period.

WASTELANDS, EMPTY PLACES AND SETTLERS: 'THE NOBLE APPANNAGE'

In practice, the distinction between settlers and emigrants is specious and based on what is now seen as the kind of false logic that interpreted apparently empty landscapes as unoccupied spaces. Their perceived ripeness for settlement was a combination of cultural arrogance and convenience. Ngatata Love suggests that the English saw as waste any land that was used in ways that were different from the way they used it. As a geographical location New Zealand was for some a site in which to build a new society, but for those who inhabited the land in 1840, it was already a place with a law, a system of governance, and processes of organised land tenure, leadership and inheritance.¹⁶⁹ It was not 'unoccupied' as Wakefield had it, nor was it a 'wasteland' as Brees defined it in his *Pictorial Illustrations*.¹⁷⁰

For the self-reliant and thrifty of any class in Victorian England, ‘waste’ was anathema.¹⁷¹ Lord Durham’s conception of New Zealand as a wasteland was quoted on Neilson’s poster in figure 22 which advertised the Scottish agent John Crawford’s lecture at Paisley. It might well be that a ‘want of room’ in England could be addressed by wastelands in New Zealand.¹⁷² These spatial metaphors ground the conceptualised perfected version within a physical reality. A colonial theme of empty landscapes and recently peopled countries in public discourses and spaces encouraged the planting of colonies in so-called wastelands.¹⁷³

Durham’s statement was not specific to New Zealand as he originally made it when he was serving as Governor-General and Lord High Commissioner in Canada in 1838. Wakefield accompanied him to Canada and acted as his advisor. Crawford’s use of the quotation reinforces the idea that colonisation of the world’s wastelands, wherever they are, was the Englishmen’s duty. This appears to be noted in the missing pieces of the text of this poster. The contemporary nostalgia for an older, agricultural England and through particular, persistent and rational uses of such words as ‘wasteland’, audiences are asked to read ‘waste’ land as a reality that both answers a need and requires a remedy. The indigenous voice is silenced amid the idealising and normalising discourses of the promoters and their supporters.¹⁷⁴ Settlers thus become the only inhabitants of any consequence in *their* settlements, rather than people who join existing, usually indigenous, populations.

The whole notion of colonies and colonisation as places and activities that take place in the absence of pre-existing societies is also a part of the perceptions that the English had about themselves. It was this self-perception which allowed them to think about others in either a binary relationship—the thrifty Englishman *contra* the immoderate Frenchman—or consider them of no consequence at all.¹⁷⁵ For example, Robert Grant suggests that Wakefield’s private view was that indigenous people simply didn’t exist in any appreciable way.¹⁷⁶ In this context, Durham’s use of the word ‘appannage’ [sic] on the Neilson poster was an interesting choice. Appanage was a traditional and well-established system of inheritance and administration that was common in a number of cultures. Its origins in England, France and Scotland are late medieval and, though it can have trivial meanings today, its historical political meaning is very much at work on

this poster.¹⁷⁷ Traditionally, appanages were methods of distributing inheritances to family members. This implies that the distribution is natural and that those distributing it have a right to do so. Further, by making ‘family’ members the beneficiaries of the appanage, control remains within the family. In this way, New Zealand, as the ‘noble appanage’ of the English labouring class, retains its membership in the family that is the British Empire.

NEW ZEALAND AS ARCADIA: ‘LUXURIANT AND FAR SUPERIOR’

Colonies demand traditional subsistence farming for their survival and New Zealand was often discussed in terms of characteristics which positioned it as not only a better England, but an older one.¹⁷⁸ New Zealand was imagined as pre-industrial, not ravaged by unhealthy conditions, unemployment, hunger, disenfranchisement or inequalities.¹⁷⁹ It was cast as a country that offered a ‘better means of rising and going forward in the world’ than could be found in England.¹⁸⁰ It had the potential to be ‘an imaginary historical, often rural, utopia...a society without exploitation or extremes of wealth...where a new nineteenth century yeomanry could prosper by digging allotments under spade husbandry’.¹⁸¹ As the NZC scheme was designed to transplant a specifically rural society in New Zealand, it was both imperative and fortunate, that New Zealand was always imagined as a ‘garden’. While it may have been cast habitually in either the past or elsewhere. It was discussed as conveniently within reach.¹⁸² The use of the word ‘colony’ in the posters sits against the backdrop of these myths, expectations, evocations, imaginings and possibilities. The parallels between the rhetoric of the ‘fertile and habitable’ but inaccessible Great South Land of popular mythology and that of New Zealand is notable. Descriptions of New Zealand in promotional material are invariably suffused with references to the ‘climate, soil [and] natural productions.’¹⁸³ It was compared to England in such a way as to evoke a bucolic English rural landscape while pointing out the superiority of the New Zealand conditions.¹⁸⁴ This superiority was articulated on one NZC poster from 1840, and on two produced by the NZG in 1873. The difference between the two sets of posters was the level of specificity. In 1840 the NZC described New Zealand on Wills’ poster in figure 23 in grand but non-specific language. It claimed that both ‘climate and soil’ are ‘far superior’, the vegetation

‘luxuriant, and verdure almost perpetual’. Droughts were ‘wholly unknown’, an oblique reference to the drier Australian colonies. Like the pictorial images, all the claims for the felicitous nature of New Zealand as an agricultural country tended to ‘distort’ the image of the country by only describing one part of it.¹⁸⁵ The language of the posters states that ‘the soil’ in an unspecified location, for example, ‘is particularly suited to the cultivation of flax’, hence the call for flaxdressers beneath it. This implies that the entire country is suitable for growing flax. The text concerning the land and climate conditions provides information about this particular wasteland that consolidates the notions already held about the perfected version. The poster reinforced what everyone already ‘knew’. The only specific reference to the conditions on the ground was the comment that ‘no instance has occurred to the settlers, as crops having failed for want of rain’. It had only been four months since the arrival of the first settlers. They arrived close to the end of the planting season so it is unlikely that many crops would have been planted in time to grow in the autumn months, much less to have failed. The confidence in stating this so soon after the arrival of the first emigrant ships in January indicates the resonance of both the rhetoric and the myth of this particular perfected version of England.¹⁸⁶ The promoters tapped into that expertly.

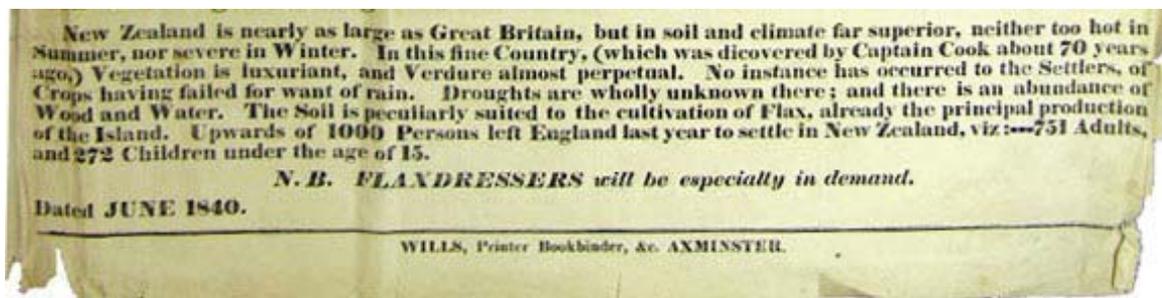


Fig. 23. The foot of the poster produced to recruit the reluctant labourers of east Devon. At this point very little about conditions in the interior of this ‘wasteland’ would have been available which makes this poster rhetorical rather than informative.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for a group of NZC agents (detail), June 1840.
CO108/291/73, National Archives, London.

Thirty-three years after the Wills poster, the governments were able to use more specific, credible information. Posters with this kind of information are designed to engage the intellect and to prompt audiences to stop and consider their message.¹⁸⁷

These posters provide conditions and statistics that were based on experience rather than speculation, though they still tended to supply figures that were not specific to any area of the country. More confident, less imaginative, and probably more accurate descriptions are on the two 1873 posters in figures 24 and 68 that the NZG produced for its own purposes and on behalf of the PGO. New Zealand is compared explicitly to England in terms of its size only. It was thought to be smaller than the British Isles in 1839, but familiarity and better information had reversed that opinion by the 1850s.¹⁸⁸ The two posters read ‘New Zealand is larger than England, Wales and Scotland united, yet the European population in 1871, numbered *only* 256,167 souls’ (my italics). In fact, there is only a difference of just over 2000 square miles between the two countries. Nevertheless, this information casts the larger size and the demonstrably smaller population of New Zealand as a land of open spaces and no overcrowding compared to the ‘dark, close, foetid, unhealthy...houses built back to back...with narrow passages and low staircases’ that characterised nineteenth century urban English cities, at least for the poor.¹⁸⁹

Statistical information about wheat yields supports the claim that New Zealand was ‘well adapted for agricultural and pastoral purposes’ from the beginning of its colonisation.¹⁹⁰ Coupled with the statement that the climate is ‘temperate’, these statistics imply that the disparities in annual wheat production in England, caused ‘overwhelmingly’ by the fluctuations in the weather, would not occur in New Zealand.

Through these simple words, a bad year in the English wheat yield of 1870 could be unfavourably compared to both the yield and its implied continuity in New Zealand.¹⁹¹ The posters’ rhetorical strength is enhanced by the tabular format of the information. By the mid-nineteenth century, tabular setting was an established spatial arrangement used in the communication of official information, such as train timetables.¹⁹² The setting signified that it was information distributed by an entity that had the authority to do so. As such, it demanded to be taken seriously.¹⁹³ The authority of the visual voice presented by the tabular form encourages compliance in people and prompts them to obey through their experience of the benefits of doing so.¹⁹⁴ The information in these tables is easily accessible and as the last section on the poster is what the audience takes away with it. The words provide a way for the audience to transfer those favourable

attributes to themselves. In describing New Zealand as a rich and fertile, splendid, and temperate garden, the posters encourage their audience not only to imagine themselves in that place, but as people of that place.

On his poster in figure 25, the North Lincolnshire agent for the NZG, John White, asks ‘why is New Zealand so much talked about?’ The question asks the audience to assume that New Zealand *is* so much talked about. He uses a number of complex communication strategies to attract and engage prospective emigrants. He asks the poster’s audience to think about the question of New Zealand emigration both peripherally and centrally. The initial peripheral response it evokes is calculated to motivate the audience to see some relevance between its own past and present circumstances and the message on the poster. He offers them an opportunity to discover why New Zealand is the topic of so much conversation by engaging with the text. The response to the question prompts a particular audience—un- or under-employed labourers who want to work—to think, first about New Zealand and then ask why that is important to them.¹⁹⁵

This particular audience would have been able to draw on recollections

derived from past experience, buttressed by accessible memories and behavioral histories, manifest in current experience, and influential in the acquisition or processing of information relevant to dilemmas or problems.¹⁹⁶

While ‘New Zealand’ itself is set in the fat face typeface, the other words in the question are set in a font of Clarendon. Designed and released by typefounder William Thorowgood in 1845, Clarendon is a monoline, similar to the slab serif typeface. The weight of the horizontal and vertical strokes, and the serifs are more or less equal.¹⁹⁷ Robert Besley, Thorowgood’s successor, felt that it had less of the ‘clumsy inelegance’ of the slab serif and this is where its success as a typeface for emphasis lies.¹⁹⁸ Clarendon’s more refined features reflected a growing taste in the latter half of the century among printers and the public alike for less ponderous forms and lighter, more decorative letters.¹⁹⁹ Though it could be described, and was often used, as a display typeface—as it is in the heading of this poster—it was designed to be a ‘related bold’. It was meant to be used in a text block of roman typefaces where only moderate emphasis was desired or

NEW ZEALAND is larger than England, Wales and Scotland united; yet the European population, in 1871, numbered only 256,167 souls.

MOST OF THE LAND IN NEW ZEALAND is well adapted for Agricultural and Pastoral purposes. The total yield of wheat for the year 1870 was 2,349,914 bushels. The number of sheep in the whole Colony at the close of 1871 was about *ten millions*, or nearly forty sheep to each head of the population.

FOR THE YEAR 1870 the produce of the NEW ZEALAND GOLD FIELDS was valued at £2,163,910.

THE CLIMATE OF NEW ZEALAND is temperate and healthy.

MECHANICS AND LABOURERS work 8 hours as a standard day's work.

THE AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES AND PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN NEW ZEALAND FOR THE YEAR 1873, WERE AS UNDER:—

Tradesmen—		Per Day of 8 Hours.	Tradesmen—con.		Per Day of 8 Hours.	Farm Labour—		Per Year (all found).
		s. d.			s. d.			
Carpenters	-	9 to 11	Ropemakers	-	3 .. 10	Married Couples	-	£37 to £60
Bricklayers	-	11 .. 12	Shoemakers	-	3 .. 10	Single Men	-	£38 .. £49
Painters	-	3 .. 10	Brickmakers and Masons	-	9 .. 11	Single Women (Dairy-maids)	-	£24 .. £27
Blacksmiths	-	10 .. 12	General Labourers	-	6 .. 7	Female Domestic Servants—	Per Year.	
Tailors	-	3 .. 3 6				Cooks	-	£31 to £45
						General Servants & Housemaids	-	£23 .. £33

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Bread per 4 lb. loaf	0 6 to 0 7	Butter per lb.	1 0 to 1 3	Coffee per lb.	1 3 to 1 6
Beef per lb.	0 2½ .. 0 5	Tea	2 1 .. 3 2	Potatoes	0 0½
Mutton	0 2½ .. 0 4½	Sugar	0 4½ .. 0 6		

Clothing 22 to 32 per cent. over English prices.

For further particulars and detailed conditions, apply to the Agent-General for New Zealand, 7, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.; or to

LONDON, October 28th, 1873.

Fig. 24. Poster printed for the NZG. The text regarding the advantages of New Zealand is identical to that on the poster produced for the PGO in figure 58. These posters not only gave the prospective emigrant known information regarding crop yields and livestock, but also listed the rate of wages and the cost of provisions.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG (detail), 28 October 1873.
R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

practical.²⁰⁰ It is neither too large nor too heavy to overpower nor so light that it does not emphasise. Though fairly open on this poster, its usual form is relatively compressed which makes it useful for setting a great many more words on the line and yet remain readable. Many of the other display typefaces tend to be too large and when compressed to extremes become a series of virtually unreadable vertical lines. Besley also thought it made a 'striking word or line...in a handbill'.²⁰¹

Having asked the question, White goes on to answer it, in part by describing the land in Taranaki as 'rich and fertile' and the climate as 'so favourable that it is generally known as the "Garden of New Zealand"'. An earlier Lincolnshire emigrant to New Zealand, Mary Jane Hill, testifies to the truth of his claim. Her letter reproduced on his poster claims that 'it is mid-winter now, and excepting for a rainy day now and then, it is like



Fig. 25. Poster printed for the North Lincolnshire agent John Hobson and the NZG's perpatretic agent, William Burton. Clarendon became one of the most popular and useful typefaces after its release in the mid-1840s.

Horace Watson, Laceby near Grimsby for John White and William Burton, agents for the NZG and the Provincial Government of Taranaki (PGT) respectively (detail), c. 1875.

ABN28346858075, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

summer. The weather is as warm as it is with you now. The hedges are in full blossom'. This personal endorsement from an emigrant known to some of the poster's audience reinforces the message that New Zealand in these respects at least, compares favourably with England.

The poster's printer, Horace Watson, had been a NZG agent in the 1860s. He was the very epitome of a Victorian gentleman: hard-working, energetic, compassionate and enterprising.²⁰² His obituary writer described him as a friend to the poor and always keen to join anything that was of benefit to his parish and its inhabitants.²⁰³ As with many nineteenth century entrepreneurial printers, he operated a number of businesses; he was the local druggist, draper, grocer, and after the death of his father in 1840, the sub-postmaster and insurance agent, miller and dentist. In 1846 he took up printing, purchasing a two-horse steam press in 1852. The imprint on White's poster notes that Watson was a printer 'by steam power'. A steam press was a mark of the modern printer and by 1875, most printers would have had one.

We know something of the circumstances of the poster in figure 25 (see also fig. 92) because the Taranaki agent Burton left a full account of his time there. Both he and White were fluent communicators. Each was sympathetic to the Labour League's promotion of emigration to rural workers of Kent and North Lincolnshire. Both men worked with reasonable success and in the face of continuing opposition by the local gentry and clergy and the 'biblical arguments' that were used to confound their efforts.²⁰⁴ The poster was produced to attract potential emigrants. But it was also

designed to counter the opposition from those who were 'alarmed' at the practical effects of losing large numbers of the rural workforce to New Zealand.²⁰⁵ This poster was likely to have been the one that Burton and his wife distributed at the Lincolnshire Agricultural exhibition in 1875. They had 2000 copies printed and Burton 'stood on one side of the road and Mrs Burton on the other, handing bills to all who passed'.²⁰⁶

NEW ZEALAND AS UTOPIA: SELLING THE DREAM

Rich and fertile the land may have been, but the NZC had a considerable lack of success in selling it from the beginning. It sold land through a system of land orders and ballots. But it found it difficult to persuade the 'small capitalists' to see land in New Zealand as a solution to their economic and social distress.²⁰⁷ Speculators were more easily convinced because they were not required to leave England, simply buy land that they could, and did, sell on.²⁰⁸ Selling land to people who actually intended to occupy it was an especially acute problem when the NZC was attempting to sell land that could only be imagined prior to the arrival of the barque *Tory* in New Zealand. Disquiet concerning the acquisition and disposal of land in New Zealand was reported widely which helped to militate against the NZC's efforts. The *Times* newspaper article, 'The New Zealand Bubble' argued that the NZC's system constituted a 'monstrous plunder both in New Zealand and at home'. The plunder was perpetrated first, by 'swindling' the 'savage chiefs' of their land and second, by selling it at an 'enormous profit to the dupes in this country who are infatuated enough to be gulled by them'.²⁰⁹

But gulled or not, some imagined having their own piece of paradise.²¹⁰ A number of scholars cite the role of the imagination, of Arcadian dreams, and the material that encouraged those views of emigration destinations as an important part of the decision to emigrate.²¹¹ Much of this material was pictorial, but the poster in figure 26 evokes the imaginary through words. The London auctioneer George Robins used his considerable rhetorical skills to try and persuade reluctant purchasers to buy land orders and to accept the invitation to proceed to the imaginatively evoked 'land of promise'. Printed by the fashionable London printer Charles Whiting, this poster is typical of Robins' mode of address.²¹² He was considered 'one of the most eloquent auctioneers who ever

wielded an ivory hammer'. He had 'incomparable powers of blarney and soft sawder, [and] wrote poetical and alluring advertisements...which were irresistibly attractive'.²¹³ The poster speaks to its audience in connotative language, appealing to its aspirations rather than hailing it explicitly. The only explicit indication of the audience on this poster is 'little capitalists', which is set in a very small font at the bottom of the poster. The poster proposes instead that the audience imagine a specific future for itself. Calling for the attention of 'those who desire to improve their ways and means at a railway pace', it speaks to people whose uneasy circumstances might well be in need of speedy improving. It references new and progressive modes of travel and communication and alludes to the pretensions of these people who may look to emigration for a modern, metropolitan life. It promises these middle-class aspirants that the sections for their new homes do not 'merely approximate upon, but are actually within the capital'.²¹⁴ These metropolitan homes, the 'future villas' in 'splendid towns' were the *sine qua non* of the respectable Victorian middle classes. Robins' poster tempted those previously forced to live what was later described as 'quietly but miserably on small [country] estates' in England, to imagine the prospect of 'country mansions' and the implicit social status that these implied.²¹⁵ As tangible as all this might appear, in 1840 Robins who 'exhausted the English language' in pursuit of a sale still spoke largely of the imaginary.²¹⁶

The poster was directed towards the body of gentlemen who were also addressed in Truscott's poster in figure 43. These people (which included many women) crowded into the New Zealand Land Company rooms to watch the land order ballots, which were normally held there. The *Spectator* magazine commented that

doubtless...they beheld in their mind's eye splendid towns, with churches, theatres, market-places, docks crowded with argosies, even palaces and parks in the land of promise.²¹⁷

By 1842, visitors to the NZC offices did not need to imagine such scenes. Heaphy's lithographs of Wellington, one of which is pictured in figure 27, were available for them to see for themselves the 'argosies' and at least the beginnings of a town. As Johnston, Minson and Grant point out, these images formed an important part of the promotion of New Zealand.²¹⁸ They are the pictorial co-texts of the posters.

M^r GEO^r ROBINS

Is directed to SELL BY AUCTION, at the M^rT. London,

On THURSDAY, 24th SEPTEMBER,

AT TWELVE O'CLOCK, & LOTS,

AN IMPORTANT

Investment,

To those who desire to improve their ways and means at a railway pace—First, there are

TEN

PRELIMINARY ORDERS

FOR

LANDS

IN

NEW ZEALAND,

Sold in Lots of 100 Acres each, and are denominated the

Suburban Acres

offering sites for future Villas and Country Mansions so tempting as not to be resisted. There are besides the

TOWN ACRE LOTS,

Which do not merely approximate upon, but are actually within the Capital, now entitled the

CITY OF

WELLINGTON

The are sites just published of New Zealand, giving a faint but very accurate representation of the scenery and position of the very spot where these Lots are situated, independent of the vast gain which appears an indispensable condition that it would be a reflection to such as they are situated in a description. There are also

THREE SECTIONS of 50 ACRES EACH

IN

SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

The Information here has been made most faithfully, Nos. 460, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

Robins' Office, Great Garden, London.

Fig. 26. Poster printed to alert prospective speculators and colonists to the impending auction of New Zealand land orders. Whiting printed this poster in separate pieces much as Truscott did for his two posters in figures 43 and 52.

Charles Whiting, London for George Robins on behalf of the NZC, c. September 1840.
CO208/291/90, National Archives, London. 580mm x 870mm.



Fig. 27. A lithograph of a painting by the NZC surveyor, Charles Heaphy. This is one of a series of paintings that were reproduced lithographically to promote New Zealand as a attractive destination for the middle classes. It is the ‘city of Wellington...so romantic and beautiful’ for which Robins advertised the auction of land orders two years earlier. The Union Jack is flying, the hills are rolling, there are ships in the calm harbour, houses on the foreshore and evidence of peaceful relations with the local inhabitants.

Charles Heaphy: Part of Lambton Harbour in Port Nicholson, New Zealand, Comprehending about One Third of the Water Frontage of the Town of Wellington. Lithographed by Thomas Allom; printed by Hulmandel and Walton, London, 1842.

1992-0035-1917, Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington. 522mm x 363mm

Robins waxed lyrical about the ‘climate...so heavenly and the scenery so romantic and beautiful’. He suggested ‘that it would be a reflection to such as this announcement is directed to—to remain in England where the prospect is somewhat clouded when the horizon to which they are invited is splendid beyond the feeble power of description’. The nature of horizons is utopian, not necessarily in the sense of unattainable, but related to some pre-existing perfection that might be replicated elsewhere.²¹⁹ This evokes the equally popular attachment to the Arcadian nature of England’s past.²²⁰

According to Robins' poster, New Zealand is that same 'land of promise' which Fairburn describes as suffusing the 'idealising literature' and casts

The 'horizon' to which these people are 'invited' is a powerful spatial metaphor. It refers not only to the splendid and geographical spaces beyond it, but also evokes perceptions of those spaces that, at the moment of encounter, cannot quite be seen or actualised. As the eye will focus on what lies beyond the horizon in the visual representations such as the one in figure 27, a textual horizon such as the one evoked in Robins' poster beckons the imagination across a conceptualised space to picture a myth that is part of the cognitive map of its audience. Robins' characterisation of this as 'an important investment' suggests that the 'little capitalists' are not simply participating in a financial transaction, but investing in their future.

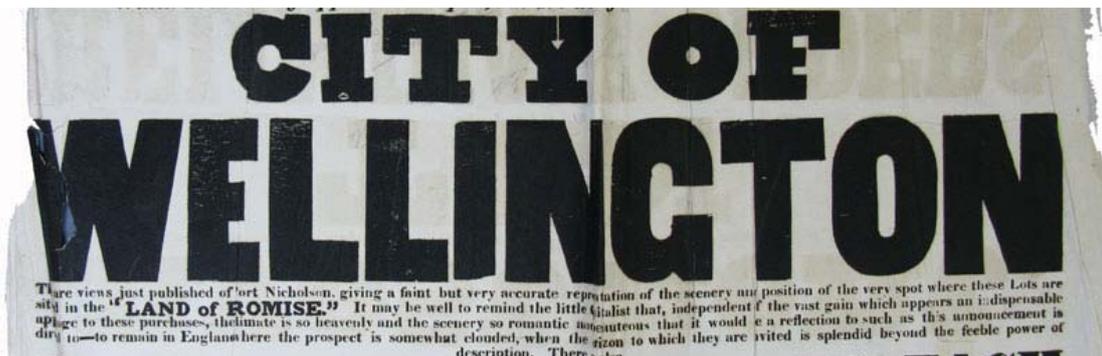


Fig. 28. A graphically emphasised biblical reference to Wellington as the 'land of promise' is included in this poster aimed at 'little capitalists'.

Charles Whiting, London for George Robins (detail), c. September 1840.
CO208/291/90, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Whiting is considered to have been a progressive printer for his time.²²¹ The author of a contemporary printing dictionary, Charles Tipperley, noted that the firm of Whiting and Branston (the former was Charles Whiting's father) was high in 'public favour' for the 'many highly finished specimens' that emerged from his establishment in the Strand.²²² These specimens included the fashionable *London Magazine* and security

printing, such as banknotes.²²³ James Moran notes that they probably had an up-to-date iron press.²²⁴ The younger Whiting continued the high quality and innovative work for which the firm was known. The poster he printed for Robins is large and, like the Truscott poster of the same year, was printed in two sheets (fig. 52). The sizes of the typefaces on the poster Whiting printed to advertise George Robins' auction of NZC land orders suggests that large-scale jobbing printing was also an important part of his business.

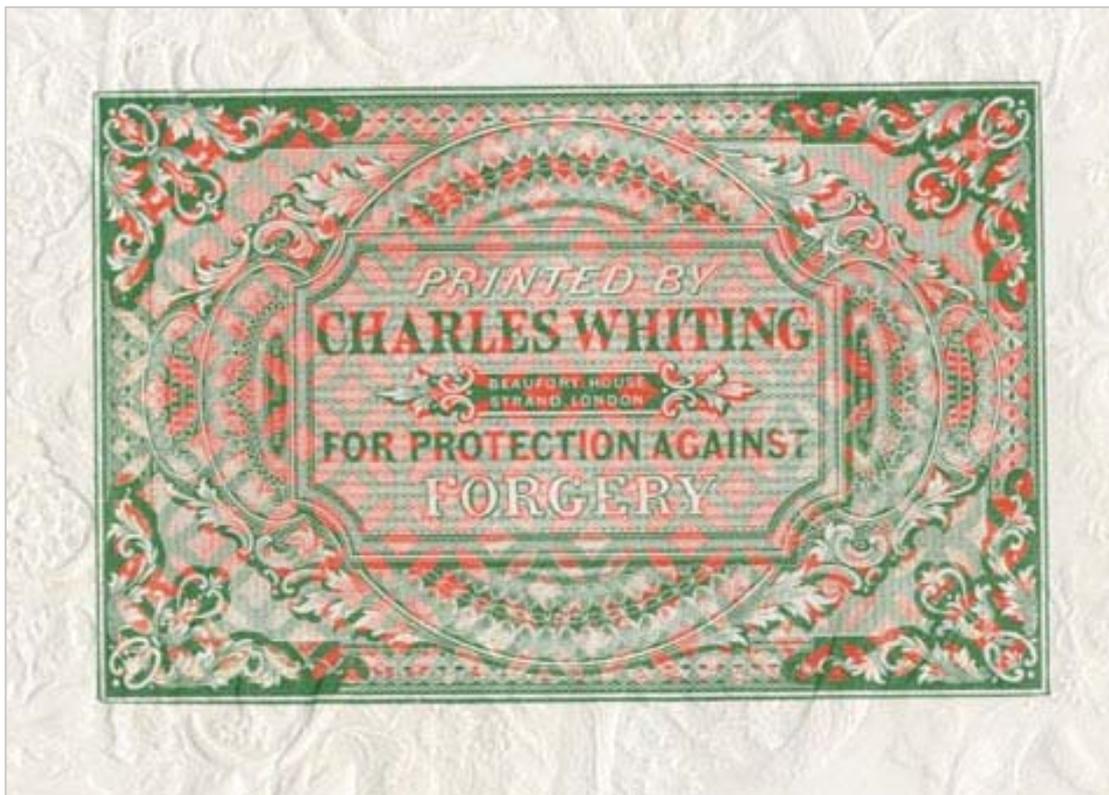


Fig. 29. Charles Whiting's imprint on the reverse of an embossed card, 1847. Whiting and Branston (and later Charles Whiting) were the only firm in London with permission to use the two and three colour printing compound plate process used specifically for security printing. Charles Whiting, London, Whiting imprint on reverse of embossed card, 1847. Lot 5688, Stamp Auction Network <<http://stampauctionnetwork.com/zg/zg6204228.cfm>> [accessed 12 June 2012]

The typefaces Whiting used included a 'reversed' or 'white' slab serif which articulate Robins' name. This style was popular on Regency buildings and fascia signwriting, and used by printers for its novelty and visibility. In 1840 it would still be fashionable among those of his audience to whom he was used to selling Regency and Georgian

houses. The typography of the remainder of the poster is equal to Robins' powerful rhetoric. A variety of fonts of slab serif, pick out the key point: 'an important investment/ten preliminary orders/land/New Zealand'. His setting of 'preliminary orders' in one of only a few examples in this set of a compressed font of slab serif, reflects the more pragmatic use of these contracted forms in order to fit the words on one line and retain their semantic flow. The requirement for emphasis dictated that Whiting use the compressed font. The key points have a robust auctioneer's tone that becomes *sotto voce* in the interstices: 'an important investment/*to those who desire to improve their ways and means at a railway pace – first, there are*/ten preliminary land orders/for/lands/in/New Zealand' (italics in original) (figs. 26 & 30).



Fig. 30. The italic font of 'railway pace' on Robins' poster suggests progression, modernity and an opportunity to move up and away from the present circumstances of the 'little capitalists' to whom the poster is addressed.

Charles Whiting, London for George Robins (detail), c. September 1840.
CO208/291/90, NZCS, National Archives, London.

'Those who desire' are not only the audience for this poster, but are those to whom Robins speaks quietly but empathetically. The '*future villas and country mansions*', on the other hand, are destined for the '*suburban acres*'—in italic—and represent the more elegant use of the font than the robust and masculine slab serif fonts that surround it. In these phrases the italic connotes progress and modernity but also something of the feminine and private sphere of respectable Victorian society.

The essayist Thomas Carlyle remarked that Robins was 'great; but he is not omnipotent. George Robins cannot quite sell Heaven and Earth by auction, excellent though he be at the business'.²²⁵ Whether he had some difficulty in auctioning off the

NZC's land orders at their 'sufficient price' is not known. As one of the more famous auctioneers of land and property at the time, the NZC would have chosen him wisely in the face of their land sale difficulties.

By the mid-1840s the NZC was in financial difficulties from which it seemed unable to extricate itself. The problems in selling land in Nelson, the expenses it outlaid in the colony's infrastructure, an inability to secure loans from the British Government and maladministration of its funds led eventually to insolvency. Some might see in the NZC's use of the fashionable auctioneer Robins and his equally fashionable printer Whiting for their land auctions some of the 'rashness' in behaviour noted by Patricia Burns.²²⁶ Both men's roles were expensive. But equally, both signified the optimism with which the NZC entered into the business of emigration. In 1846 the British Government agreed to lend it sufficient moneys to continue its operations for three years. The NZC's involvement in the development of the Otago and Canterbury settlements continued along with some sales of the promised land. It sent out emigrants on its own account, but never enough of them. Its failure to sell sufficient land in Wellington, New Plymouth and Nelson compromised it to the extent that it surrendered its charter in July 1850.²²⁷ From 1846 to 1850, it continued to send out emigrant ships, but Wakefield had lost interest in the project, preferring to involve himself in the setting up of the CA, the newest colony.

Both Association's activities engendered the same optimism in their supporters, yet they too experienced similar problems in persuading sufficient people to emigrate to New Zealand. When the governments assumed their respective responsibilities for emigration, they inherited a population that was barely sufficient to sustain the colony in the long term. A variety of factors both within and outside New Zealand saw emigration finally accelerate in the mid-1870s, partly because of the availability of reliable information about the country.²²⁸

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined how the emigration promotion agencies used the specific character of poster advertising to attract their audience to the idea of emigration to New Zealand. The agencies ensured their audiences would encounter the advertising message, often over and over again, by presenting it through the medium of publicly displayed posters, rather than having to seek it out. Though the numbers of posters make it difficult to be certain, evidence provided by the surviving ones strongly suggest that the NZC was more adept than the other agencies at employing communication strategies that were cohesive and, with the help of their printers, graphically emphatic and consistent. In the absence of concrete information about New Zealand, the NZC tapped into cultural myths, evoked both contemporary interests *and* concerns, and encouraged their audiences to look for things that were relevant to them in the messages on these early posters. The abbreviated language on the posters encouraged audiences to begin an engagement with its proposition.²²⁹ The proposition prompted audiences to incorporate it into their cognitive map and to imagine what could be gained through emigration to New Zealand.²³⁰ Eventually, and through repeated iterations, the posters assisted in familiarising their audiences with the idea of emigration to New Zealand.²³¹

There is evidence that the majority of the texts on the posters originated with the agencies and were sent to their agents or printers for production. The agents either reproduced the texts verbatim, as was the case in the West Country posters of Toms and Wills, or they reproduced its spirit as Henry Tiffen, the agent for Hythe did. But printers played a crucial role in ensuring that the messages on the posters were understood in particular and preferred ways. An agency may well request that certain words or phrases be stressed in the messages, but it was the printers who determined how that would be done. The nineteenth century printer, T. S. Houghton made it clear in his treatise for apprentices that producer interference in matters of ‘taste and judgement’ was not particularly welcome.²³² Another early printer Arthur Powell noted that some printers sketch out posters in chalk, either on the bed of the press or, if they were large, on the floor.²³³ This suggests that composition decisions were, as Houghton mentions, not interfered with by clients, rather that they were made by printers.

Some printers worked to the override the technological constraints that limited poster sizes. But it was the large display typefaces that lent both visual impact and signifying power to the producers' messages. The capacity of typefaces to mimic bodily form and action caused letters such as the slab serif and the italic fonts to resonate within the energetic colonising rhetoric. Their ability to respond to and connote economic, social and cultural trends made them meaningful to their intended audiences. Printers' compositional strategy of picking out words to construct key concepts made the messages both clear and meaningful to semi-literate audiences. The essence of the message could also be quickly grasped by someone passing by. Today, this would be the work of graphic designers and advertising agencies, neither of which existed in the form as we understand it. In the nineteenth century the printer was the designer and to a great extent also operated as the advertising agency. Though the New Zealand Company, for example, sought out advertising agents to place advertisements in newspapers, they went to printers to compose and distribute their posters.

In the beginning, the distance and the unknown, and an inability to lend specificity to the imagined landscapes or promised opportunities all worked against New Zealand as an emigration destination. By the time the governments began their advertising, the distance had not changed, but New Zealand was better known. These later agencies depended on the efficacy of the posters to provide information to prospective emigrants rather than to evoke their imaginations. They were better able to inform these people about the economic benefits of emigrating to the colony. By that time, too, there were additional promotional triggers, including family and social relationships, that were unavailable to the earlier agencies.

The next chapter will investigate how the agencies and printers used the posters to provoke a deeper engagement between the audience and the proposition. It examines how the offer of a free passage made the idea of emigration to New Zealand realisable for those whose circumstances would otherwise have precluded such action. The chapter also explores the connotative meanings of 'free' in the nineteenth century English context and discusses how the implications of emigration to New Zealand shaped attitudes towards it and provoked a deeper engagement with the proposition.

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CHAPTER THREE

69

FREE PASSAGE. EMIGRATION TO New-Zealand.

Worth the attention of sober and industrious Mechanics and Labourers.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE NEW-ZEALAND COMPANY
Hereby give Notice,

That they are ready to receive applications for a FREE PASSAGE to their Settlements in NEW-ZEALAND, from
Agricultural LABOURERS and Rural MECHANICS, being married, or if single, accompanied by one or more adult sisters.
A GENTLEMAN FROM THE COMPANY'S OFFICE IN LONDON WILL ATTEND

On MONDAY, JUNE 8th, 1840,
AT TWELVE O'CLOCK,
AT THE
WHITE-HART INN, HUNGERFORD.

For the purpose of receiving such applications, Forms of which, together with Copies of the Regulations for Labouring Emigrants,
may be obtained gratis, during the week, from **Mr. MORRIS, Relieving-Officer, Hungerford.**

HUNGERFORD: PRINTED BY W. FRANKLIN, BOOKSELLER, BINDER AND STATIONER.

Fig. 31. William Franklin, Hungerford for the New Zealand Company (NZC) agent James Morris, 1840.

CO208/291/68, NZCS, National Archives, London. 550mm x 450mm.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MANY MEANINGS OF 'FREE'

Having attracted an audience to the proposition of emigration to New Zealand, the next task for the posters was to prompt a deeper engagement. The wider objective of all the promotion agencies was to move a significant number of people from England to New Zealand. If their objective was to be met, they had to find ways to shape the attitudes of their audiences to the point where they adopted those objectives as their own. Furthermore, the agencies needed to ensure that their audiences had the wherewithal to act in accordance with those attitudes. One way of constructing positive attitudes towards emigration and providing the means to act upon them was to extend some significant gesture of goodwill to those people they hoped to persuade.¹ For the labouring poor, the most obvious was the offer of a free passage to make emigration possible. Broadcasting the offer through a medium and in a language that was accessible to this group of people was the most efficient way to ensure they knew of the gesture.

This chapter explores how the agencies used the offer of a free passage to New Zealand to prompt their intended audiences to engage more deeply with their emigration proposition. It examines the ways a number of the agencies used the posters to communicate a variety of explicit and implied inducements beyond free

passages to activate the imaginations of their audience, and to make emigration not only possible but desirable.

THE EXPLICIT BOON: 'FREE PASSAGE TO NEW ZEALAND'S ISLE'

The words 'free passage' (or 'assisted') appears only slightly less frequently than 'emigration to New Zealand' on the posters that promote emigration to the labouring classes. While 'free' is bound to attract attention, it is also the point at which the word on the posters is able to direct an audience to think more positively about their proposition.² The most important function of the posters as advertising was to convert potential emigrants into active emigrants. They were designed to take their audience on a cognitive journey from initial attraction to engaging with its message and then acting on its proposition. If an agricultural labourer or dairymaid is attracted to a proposition that is sufficiently engaging to prompt them to think more attentively about it, most will encounter a barrier that prevents them from acting on it. Therefore, the offer of a free passage presents as a significant factor in the agencies' attempts to both attract and engage their intended audiences to the extent that they are then able to take the desired action. Though such an offer can be seen as a significant gesture of goodwill, it was prompted by pragmatism. It was the only way a labour force that met the agencies' needs was going to get to New Zealand. Nevertheless, despite all the measures each took to remedy the situation, none of the agencies were successful in recruiting sufficient numbers of either emigrants or colonists to meet their needs.

For most of the labouring poor the offer of a free passage was a rational solution to a practical problem.³ Yet the way it is presented graphically on these posters it is not just a solution, but also an attraction. As a device for attracting attention and taken at face value, the offer of what is described as a 'boon' on the poster printed to attract Welsh labourers in figure 40 is a fairly unproblematic premise. There are some who would look for fishhooks in the offer: provisos, exceptions, recompense or insurmountable conditions. The only conditions attached to the offer of a free passage to New Zealand in the 1840s were 'a strict observance on board of the regulations ...and general good

conduct and industrious habits in the colony', a 'good' character, a useful occupation and not too many children, preferably none at all (figs. 43 & 60).

Agents, whether local or peripatetic, were crucial in passing on this message. By 1874, the Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC) agent Andrew Duncan promised that the 'free passages were offered with 'nothing asked back'.⁴ Lincolnshire's John White reiterates on his poster in figure 92, 'the giving of a free passage means that you have nothing to pay for the cost of taking you from London to New Zealand, either now or after you get there'. 'Free', in these circumstances, literally meant 'at no cost' as there was nothing to pay, nothing to pay back. Emigrants were not bound to any conditions other than what was reasonable: that they work at their stated occupation and behave themselves.

There are, however, a few posters which spell out the provisional nature of 'free'. Item 12 of the regulations on Truscott's 1839 poster (fig. 43) requires emigrants to find their own way to the port of embarkation. Item 14 states that they must provide their own bedding, the tools of their trade and sufficient clothing to last a voyage of four months. These requirements highlight the difficulties faced by poor rural families who did chose to emigrate to New Zealand. Finding the wherewithal to pay for extra children outside the New Zealand Company's (NZC) regulations, for their fares to the port of embarkation, the tools of their trade, and the outfit for the voyage was for some an impossible task (fig. 52).⁵ Item 5 of the embarkation order advises that 'on arriving at the depot, the luggage of the emigrants will be inspected to ascertain whether they have provided a sufficient stock of clothing...and unless an emigrant has proper clothes...he will not be allowed to embark' (appendix 1). This was almost the fate of the three East Chinnock families who arrived in London with clothing that was both insufficient and in tatters. They were refused embarkation until adequate raiment arrived from the local Somerset Guardians of the Poor. The *New Zealand Journal*, reporting on a meeting of the New Zealand Society of Paisley of 21 August 1840, recounted the tale of six families who initially had been unable to accept their free passage on the *Blenheim*. The 'generosity of the inhabitants of Paisley' supplied the necessary money to get to the port of Clyde, and the clothes and bedding required for the voyage.⁶ Some of these regulations had changed by 1842. The NZC's Regulation poster in figure 60 advises that mattresses and bolsters were supplied and emigrants

were allowed to keep them on arrival in New Zealand. They were, however, still expected to provide sheets, towels and eating utensils.

While parishes regularly provided the required outfits and monies from the Poor Law Fund, this was not always the case.⁷ In 1839, the Kent agent George Whiting encountered a problem when the Poor Law Commissioners sought a ruling on using their funds to support the emigration of the Staplehurst Workhouse families. The Colonial Secretary noted that, since New Zealand was not a British colony, Poor Law funding for such a purpose would be inappropriate and therefore should not be given.⁸ Some parish authorities such as those in Boxley in Kent refused to assist would-be emigrants as they did not wish to lose their labour force.⁹ White and the peripatetic agent for Taranaki William Burton encountered similar problems in Lincolnshire many years later.¹⁰ White notes on his poster in figure 92 that the passage to New Zealand from London was free, but emigrants were responsible for getting to London. They were also charged £1 per person over twelve years of age and 10s. for those under twelve, which provided them with ‘mattress, bolster, blankets, sheets, counterpane, marine soap and all the various things necessary for eating and drinking’.

Emigrants who could not obtain assistance to travel to the Antipodes invariably went to North America. This was true of Australia and there is no evidence to suggest that New Zealand was any different.¹¹ Phillips and Hearn argue, for example, that the ‘most important’ incentive for directing people towards New Zealand and away from other destinations was the offer of free and assisted passages. Robin Haines comments that this was also true of assisted Australian emigrants. Hudson, however, suggests that the documented differences between the characteristics of people emigrating to the United States and those to New Zealand in 1841 provides evidence that they made choices that suited their qualifications and desires.¹² At times the decision was cost-related. Even if a family had to pay for children that exceeded the limit of two, as the regulations of most of the promotion agencies required, it was still cheaper for a family with four children to go to New Zealand and pay part of the cost, than to pay the full fare for them all to go to New York or to Australia.

In any argument for offering free passages, the economic circumstances of an interested and motivated audience suggest that this group of people did understand the logic of the proposition put to it and would be more likely to respond favourably if offered a way to do so.¹³ At some time during their operations, all the promotion agencies provided free or assisted passages which included provisions and medical comforts.¹⁴ With one exception, the posters of the NZC demonstrate that they consistently offered free passages. When the agencies that followed them withdrew the offers, low applications forced them to reconsider their decision.

The NZC's offer of free passages for labourers who qualified under their regulations was a part of its model of systematic emigration. These passages were funded through the sufficient price paid by colonists or speculators for land in the colony. The offer was as much a part of the ideology as it was a pragmatic move. Consequently it was only withdrawn and reduced to 'assisted' in the final years before the demise of the NZC in 1850 (see appendix 2); the regulations on this 1849 document feature a fare schedule). The offers on all the posters across the set are consistently emphasised typographically by their position in the hierarchy. Hierarchies orient the audience and direct its attention, perceptually and rhetorically, towards the most important parts of the message.¹⁵ They are often constructed spatially through typography: the layout of the page in which top, or first, is paramount. On the NZC posters in figure 32, William Franklin, William Tiffen and the printer at the *Reporter* office set 'free passage' or 'free emigration' as the initial statement on their posters (see also 31, 45 & 90 for context). Franklin set the agent James Morris's offer in a condensed font of fat face similar to most of the other words on the poster. Together they form a visual relationship between a 'free passage', the 'directors of the New-Zealand Company' who make the offer, 'New-Zealand'—the reason for the offer—and the 'Whiteheart Inn, Hungerford' where the NZC representative will hold a meeting to honour it (fig. 31).

A significant difference between the poster that Tiffen printed for his son, the NZC agent Henry Tiffen, and most of the others is Tiffen's use of colour. He printed the



Fig. 32. The three posters utilise the hierarchical tradition of positioning important messages first, or in this case, at the top of the communication.

from top:

William Franklin, Hungerford for the NZC agent James Morris (detail), c May 1840.
CO208/291/68, National Archives, London.

William Tiffen, Hythe for the NZC agent Henry Tiffen (detail), c. February 1841.
CO208/291/99, National Archives, London.

The Reporter office, Limerick for the NZC agent Thomas Kelly (detail), c. 1842.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

poster in red and green. The principle of the mutual enhancement of complementary colours was known by printers at the time. His use of them suggests he had some knowledge of it.¹⁶ This poster illustrates how colour can be used to create textual cohesion by grouping discrete phrases to construct key concepts. Tiffen articulated the key idea of a 'free passage' to 'New Zealand' for 'Emigrants' by printing the phrases in red.¹⁷ The word 'agent' is also picked out in red and provides information about who to contact about the free passage. Tiffen printed the offer in red which enhances the capacity of the phrase to attract attention. While this highlights how any colour attracts attention, red in particular is a primary colour, simple as opposed to sophisticated and dominant rather than recessive.¹⁸ It projects words like 'free passage' into the foreground. What we know of the printer Tiffen suggests that he was a man of some taste and enterprise and this may explain why his poster is so stylistically different from most of the others (fig. 45). As well as being a printer, Tiffen was also a music seller and he ran a circulating library. In 1815, his imprint stated his business activities as 'literary and printing'. The books belonging to his library had an 'attractive' bookplate on which was printed 'W. Tiffen's Hythe Library'.¹⁹

Tiffen's decision to use colour on his poster at all seems to have been based on a NZC strategy. It is possible to see the poster as a pre-emptive move and the use of colour as strategically positioned to ensure that it was neither missed nor ignored. The poster states that Henry Tiffen would be 'proceeding to the settlement about the month of August next' and that the emigrants were scheduled to sail 'at the end of the coming harvest' which would be at roughly the same time. The poster, though undated, is stamped '99' and pasted into the NZC scrapbook immediately after *New Zealand Described* which is stamped '98' and date-stamped 17 February 1841. The next stamped document in the scrapbook, White's Welsh poster, is 105 and dated 8 June 1841, which places the production of Tiffen's poster somewhere between these two dates. Henry Tiffen and, by extension, the NZC used the poster to promote emigration to the second colony of Nelson in advance of its establishment. It was produced before both the call for interest in the expedition and the notice of the sale of 'preliminary allotments' (13 September 1841, appendix 3).²⁰ The use of colour ensures that it will be noticed. This was likely to be the poster that encouraged a

preliminary body of 77 emigrants, 27 cabin passengers and a ‘powerful surveying staff’ to sail for the new colony on 22 April 1841.²¹

The ultra-compressed font of fat face on the *Reporter* office poster printed for the NZC agent Thomas Kelly in 1842 along with the elongated ‘New Zealand’ below it and followed by a full stop creates a self-contained key idea: the offer of a ‘free passage to New Zealand’. Kelly adds to the general notion of ‘free emigration’ with another offer of ‘a free cabin passage’ for land purchasers, and ‘a free passage’ for labourers they chose to nominate provided those labourers are able to produce ‘satisfactory testimonials’. The slab serif fonts in the latter two offers indicate that it is the governor and deputy governor —on behalf of the ‘New Zealand Company’—who offer both the middle and labouring classes free passages.

The printers Richard Cutbush, James Truscott (1840), William Blackwell, John Toms, Emanuel Wills in his second poster (he printed two in quick succession) and Elizabeth Heard placed the offer in the mid-sections of their posters. Each iteration of the phrase has been picked out from a longer sentence in order to capture attention.²² Hierarchically, Cutbush’s poster in figure 73 reads, through the words picked out, as a call for ‘agricultural laborers’ by the ‘New Zealand Company’ who will offer them a ‘free passage to New Zealand’ if they contact the agent ‘George Whiting’ at his address. He set ‘free passage to New Zealand’ in a font of upper case sans serif which is the largest phrase on the poster and bisects the poster horizontally. The producer and the audience are above it, and the practical information needed to activate the offer is below it.

The hierarchy on the posters of Toms (fig. 76), Wills (fig. 38) and Heard (fig. 47) provide a similar reading, although the fonts on Toms’ and Heard’s are less emphatic. Toms set ‘free passage’ in an upper and lower case font of slab serif. Heard used an exclusively upper case font for ‘an early free passage’. Notably, the agent Isaac Latimer did not include the name of the NZC on this poster.

Blackwell’s ‘free passage’ is set in one of three extremely large fonts (fig. 33). There is no reference to an agent on this poster other than a ‘gentleman authorised by the

EMIGRATION

The Directors of the New Zealand Company HEREBY GIVE NOTICE, that they are ready to receive applications from
Rural Mechanics, Agricultural Labourers, and others, for

FREE PASSAGE

To the Town of Wellington,
IN THE COMPANY'S SETTLEMENTS IN
NEW
ZEALAND.

A Gentleman authorised by the Directors to receive such applications, will attend for that purpose

<p><i>On Tuesday, May 26,</i> At OAKINGHAM, at the Bush, from 1 till 3, P.M.</p> <p><i>On Thursday, May 28,</i> At HENLEY, at the Swan, from 12 to 2, P.M. At SWALLOWFIELD, at the Bull, from 5 to 7, P.M. At THEALE, at the Crown, from 8 to 10, P.M.</p>	<p><i>On Friday, May 29,</i> At ALDERMASTON, at the Hind's Head, from 12 to 2, P.M. At STREATLEY, at the Bull, from 5 to 7, P.M. At PANGBOURNE, at the George, from 8 to 10, P.M.</p> <p><i>On Saturday, May 30,</i> At READING, at the Black Horse, from 12 to 4, P.M. At MORTIMER, at the Fox and Horn, from 8 to 10, P.M.</p>	
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E. BLACKWELL, PRINTER AND BOOKSELLER, LONDON STREET, READING.

Fig. 33. Poster printed to recruit emigrants for the NZC's emigrant ships scheduled to depart London on 15 June and 15 July. All three emphasised lines are like black banners across the page. 'Free Passage' to 'New Zealand' is readable as a key idea articulated through the fonts of slab serif.

Edward Blackwell, Reading for the NZC, May 1840.
 CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London. 620mm x 520mm.

**NEW ZEALAND
COMPANY,
EMIGRATION.**

**THE COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
NEW ZEALAND COMPANY**
Are prepared to assist in Emigrating to their Settlements in New Zealand,

**AGRICULTURAL
MECHANICS,
FARM LABORERS,
AND
Domestic Servants**

Of good character, who will assist themselves by defraying a portion of the cost of their passage
The Directors will receive Applications accordingly, until

WEDNESDAY, the 9th AUGUST,
From persons of the above description desirous of proceeding on these terms by the Ship

A J A X

Appointed to Sail from the London Docks on
Monday, the 4th September next.

*Further Particulars and Forms of Application may be obtained at New Zealand House,
By Order of the Court,*

Thomas Cudbert Harington.
*New Zealand House, 9, Broad Street Buildings, London,
24th July, 1848.*

A. ECCLES, Printer, 101, Fenchurch Street, London

Fig. 34. Poster printed to advertise the NZC ship *Ajax*. The NZC's offer to assist those who would assist themselves has nothing like the typographic emphasis given to 'free passages'.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC, 24 July 1848.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 508mm x 743mm.



Fig. 35. Posters printed to advertise the ‘free passages’ offered by the NZC in 1839 and 1840. The dynamism of the italic font is transferred to the words it expresses casting ‘free passage’ as an offer of the way forward.

from top:

Henry Granville, Devonport for the NZC agents Little and Woollcombe (detail), 23 August 1839. CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Harrison & Co., London for the NZC (detail), 5 October 1839. CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for NZC agents (detail), June 1840. CO108.291/72, NZCS, National Archives, London.

directors'. Reading's proximity to London suggests that Blackwell printed the poster on instructions from the NZC's offices. The poster was produced as one of a group to recruit labourers for the 'Company's emigrant ships' advertised on Truscott's poster of 6 May 1840 (fig. 52). The textual similarities between the messages on these two posters and the one printed in Birmingham by Benjamin Hudson points to its generation by a central source. Each offers a 'free passage to the town of Wellington', a phrase not used on any of the other posters. The scheduled meetings with the 'authorised' agent, probably E.H. Mears, outlined on the poster are set for 26 and 28-30 May. This type of duty was a function of Mears' London-based agency.²³ The first NZC ships to sail from ports in the south of England about this time were the *Martha Ridgway* in July and the *London* in August.

Some printers used other typographic resources to draw attention to the offer of a free passage. Henry Granville, Harrison's, and Wills—in his first poster—injected energy into the offers (fig. 35). Each set the phrase in the visually metaphoric italic font of fat face to embody the action of motion away from the old towards the new. Henry White, the printer of the Welsh poster in figure 40, set the agent's offer of a 'free passage' on the ship *Oriental* twice. One of its iterations is picked out in slab serif which links it visually to 'New Zealand Company', 'one hundred and fifty' and 'married persons'. A reading through this typeface suggests that 150 married people had already accepted a free passage from the NZC and implies that more would be welcome.

The financial difficulties of the NZC in the mid- to late 1840s did not prevent it from continuing to send out ships, but only one poster survives from that period. Printed in 1848 by Ann Eccles, and advertising the ship *Ajax*, the poster in figure 34 did not offer free passages, probably because the NZC was not in a position to do so. The NZC does note in small print that it is 'prepared to assist' those who will 'assist themselves in defraying a portion of the cost of their passage'.

The fare schedules on the poster printed for the Otago Association (OA) in figure 57 mentions only the costs involved to take the 'ship from Clyde' for cabin, fore and steerage passengers. The poster recruiting the 'working classes' for Canterbury in figure 83, printed probably in late 1849 or early 1850, makes no reference to costs or

lack of them. However, the poster which Bull appears to have been printed in 1850, offers ‘assisted passages’ to a ‘limited number of the working classes’ of Wiltshire (fig. 68). This reflects the Canterbury Association’s (CA) initial approach to emigrants’ contributions to their passages and the slight amendments it made when necessary. In a letter to Lord Russell, Wakefield explains that

the labouring emigrants have paid nearly £500 of their own money towards the Emigration Fund; considerably more than in the case of the previous ship whose emigrants contributed the most towards their passage. Something more would have been given, but it was necessary to perform promises given long ago for free passages or passages as to which the emigrants were not to contribute the right proportion of their own money. It seems probably that the full proportion will be paid by the *Duke of Bronte* emigrants. The emigration for the *Travancore* has been much more cheaply managed than for previous ships; nearly the whole cost having been the salary of Mr Knowles at the rate of £100 a year. I think it has proved, since the new establishment was set up at the Adelphi, that the Emigration business may be carried on at scarcely any expense for management.²⁴

Clearly, lessons had been learned from the experiences of the NZC and it does seem that those emigrants who actually did emigrate to Canterbury were often willing to pay to do so. The Wiltshire labourers, however, were offered assisted passages.

Wiltshire’s population increase of nearly 20,000 between 1831 and 1841 led inevitably to difficulties in keeping these numbers employed on the land. But it remained an ‘essentially and almost exclusively’ agricultural county.²⁵ It had not been greatly affected by industrial development and its population was committed to rural life.²⁶ So, while they were the right sort for emigration to New Zealand, they were undoubtedly not among those who were sufficiently well off to pay the cost of the passage. Though the ‘parts’ of Wiltshire served by the NZC agent William Adye yielded good results, the county at large contributed only ‘small’ numbers for the CA and the NZC before it.²⁷

Bull set the phrase ‘assisted passages’ on the poster in figure 68 in a large compressed font of fat face and a smaller slab serif. The former echoes the elongated fat face ‘New Zealand’ above it. Graphic similarity allows them to transgress the typographic rule

and the full stop between them which separates the key idea of location—‘Canterbury/settlement/New Zealand’—from the offer to the audience below. The poor Law Fund of the benevolence of local landowners met most of the cost of emigrating families emigrating to Australia under Wiltshire Emigration Society’s scheme. Passages to Australia during the activities of the CA were virtually free which put New Zealand at a disadvantage.²⁸

Free passages were costly, especially when they were not adequately or no longer funded by land sales. The governments, perhaps more mindful of the cost, attempted to withdraw the offers periodically. Such moves caused emigrant numbers to drop. The immigration officer for the Hawkes Bay, George Fannin, noted in 1873 a ‘great deal of dissatisfaction’ regarding the failure of promised ships to leave for the province in April, May and June.²⁹ The low numbers of emigrants in 1871 and 1872, in spite of the widespread advertising undertaken by the Agent-General’s emigration officer Charles Carter, may lie in the New Zealand Government’s (NZG) reluctance to offer free or assisted passages. In 1871 Featherston set up a system that required emigrants who needed assistance to pay a sum of £5. If they were unable to do so, they had to sign a promissory note for £7.³⁰ These measures did not produce the numbers the colony required.

There were other problems that militated against high numbers. Carter found himself in competition with an unlikely group of recruiting agents. The NZG failed to inform the agents of the provincial governments working for their provinces in England, that they no longer had the authority to do so independently. To make matters worse, these agents offered terms which were better than those of the NZG. Rollo Arnold suggests that this ridiculous situation was the prime reason for the disappointing numbers in 1871 and 1872.³¹

In 1871, the situation was remedied by the passing of the Immigration and Public Works Act. Recruiting was put under the central control of the NZG, with special dispensation given to the provinces to recruit on their own account if they required it.³² In 1872, Featherston asked the NZG agent Thomas Birch, the agent recruiting emigrants for Otago, for advice on how to improve emigration numbers. Birch suggested that since the Canadian Government was offering both free grants of land

and free passages, the NZG would need to follow suit if it wished to secure the emigrants. Birch also advised that the offer of free passages the NZG eventually made to single women should be extended to all labourers.³³

Irish recruitment suffered from the same issues. On his arrival in Ireland, the NZG agent Harry Farnall commented that the reason why the labours of previous agents had ‘not been attended with any great success’ was due to the ‘strong counter attractions...and better terms’ offered by other colonies and the United States. He added that another cause was the lack of advertising of New Zealand emigration’.³⁴ Angela McCarthy concurs, noting that very little recruitment occurred in the south of Ireland. The prejudice against Irish Catholics resulted in a restriction of recruitment activity to Ulster.³⁵ The ‘large New Zealand emigration poster’ that Farnall had W. & H. Smith frame and display in railway stations in 1872, was likely to have been the response to the lack of advertising. But its distribution was limited to Ulster. Though Farnall was convinced that ‘this system of advertising is...at once the most economical and the most thorough that could be adopted’, it did not appear to have boosted the numbers of emigrants in that year.³⁶ The Immigration Officer in Wellington, Maurice O’Rorke, pointed out to Featherston that such a bias could not be justified given the circumstances facing New Zealand.³⁷ The situation was not helped by the check on emigration after a series of shipping disasters.³⁸ In response to these mitigating factors and the low recruitment numbers, Featherston reiterated the necessity to grant free passages to entice labourers to New Zealand.³⁹ Yet, this still had not been implemented in early 1873.

The three posters produced by the Agent-General for the NZG (figs. 36, 37 & 54) were all printed in 1873, but they differ considerably in detail. The key points in the textual language remain constant. Each addresses single women, general farm labourers, ploughmen and those occupations that were always needed in the colony. The addition of navvies on these three posters addresses a group of people who had recently been employed on the rail infrastructure of England that now were needed in New Zealand.

of
The New Zealand
Government.



EMIGRATION.

FREE & ASSISTED PASSAGES
TO
NEW ZEALAND.

ASSISTED PASSAGES are granted to
Navvies, General Farm Laborers, Ploughmen,
Gardeners, Shepherds, and a few Country
Mechanics.

FREE PASSAGES ARE GIVEN TO
SINGLE FEMALE DOMESTIC
SERVANTS & DAIRY-MAIDS.

FREE PASSAGES are also granted to
Daughters of Married Couples of Twelve
Years of Age and upwards.

**First-class Ships sail monthly to the
principal Ports in the Colony.**

For Further Particulars, apply to
THE AGENT-GENERAL FOR NEW ZEALAND,
7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, London, S.W.; or to

London, March 17th, 1873.

Fig. 36. In spite of low numbers of emigrants and good advice from agents, the New Zealand Government (NZG) still limits the offer of free passages to single women. This poster and the one in figure 54 perform as nineteenth century advertising posters were designed to do. Their abbreviated texts and robust graphic language easily accommodate the casual encounter.

Unknown printer, London for NZG, 17 March 1873.

R21164918, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. 568mm x 900mm.

GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION

FREE PASSAGES TO NEW ZEALAND.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND having, in course of construction, Railways & other Public Works in various parts of that Colony—and there being also a considerable demand for Agricultural Labourers and Female Servants—are prepared to grant Free Passages to the following classes of Emigrants:—

Navvies, General Farm Labourers, Ploughmen, Gardeners, Shepherds, Mechanics, &c.
Free Passages are also given to Single Female Domestic Servants and Dairy-maids, &c.

I. FREE PASSAGES are granted to Married Agricultural Labourers, Navvies, Shepherds, and Mechanics. They must be sober, industrious, of good moral character, of sound mind, free from bodily deformity, in good health, and must be going to the Colony with the intention to work for wages.

II. The Government will not give free passages to more than three children between one and twelve years of age in each family; but parents who have more than three children, may, however, make their application; and the Agent General will determine, in each case, whether the passage applied for can be granted. Every person above the age of twelve years is reckoned as an adult; children between one and twelve are reckoned as half an adult; and infants under one year are not reckoned.

III. SINGLE WOMEN.—FREE PASSAGES are given to Cooks, Housemaids, General Servants, Dairy-maids, &c., who are not under 15 nor over 35 years of age.

IV. DAUGHTERS OF MARRIED COUPLES, of twelve years of age and upwards, receive **FREE PASSAGES;** and Bots of similar ages, accompanying their parents, will be taken out free.

V. OUTFIT, &c.—The requisite **Mattrasses, Bedclothes, Soap, and Utensils,** will be provided by the Government at the following rates, which sums must be paid by the Emigrants before they can receive their contract tickets, viz.:—For Single Women, Twenty Shillings each; for Single Men, Twenty Shillings each; for Married Couples and Children Twenty Shillings each adult.

Emigrants must find their own towels, and also the following clothing for the voyage, namely:—For MALES—6 Shirts, 6 pairs Stockings, 2 Warm Flannel or Guernsey Shirts, 2 pairs New Shoes, 2 Complete Suits Strong Exterior Clothing. For FEMALES—6 Chemises, 2 Warm and Strong Flannel Petticoats, 6 pairs of Stockings, 2 pairs Strong Shoes, 2 Strong Gowns, one of which must be warm. For CHILDREN—7 Shirts or Chemises, 4 Warm Flannel Waistcoats, 1 Warm Cloak or outside Coat, 6 pairs Stockings, 2 pairs Strong Shoes, 2 Complete Suits of Exterior Clothing. The clothing need not be new, but it must be serviceable.

The quantity of Luggage allowed to each Emigrant, free of charge, is ten cubic feet measurement.

NEW ZEALAND is larger than England, Wales and Scotland united; yet the European population, in 1871, numbered only 256,167 souls.

MOST OF THE LAND IN NEW ZEALAND is well adapted for Agricultural and Pastoral purposes. The total yield of wheat for the year 1870 was 2,349,914 bushels. The number of sheep in the whole Colony at the close of 1871 was about ten millions, or nearly forty sheep to each head of the population.

FOR THE YEAR 1870 the produce of the NEW ZEALAND GOLD FIELDS was valued at £2,163,910.

THE CLIMATE OF NEW ZEALAND is temperate and healthy.

MECHANICS AND LABOURERS work 8 hours as a standard day's work.

THE AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES AND PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN NEW ZEALAND FOR THE YEAR 1873, WERE AS UNDER:—

Tradesmen—	Per Day of 8 Hours	Tradesmen—con.	Per Day of 8 Hours	Farm Labour—	Per Year (all month)
Carpenters	9 to 11 0	Ropemakers	5 10	Married Couples	£57 to £60
Bricklayers	11 12 0	Shoemakers	5 10	Single Men	£35 to £40
Painters	8 10 0	Brickmakers and Masons	9 11	Single Women (Dairy-maids)	£21 to £23
Blacksmiths	10 12 0	General Labourers	6 7	Female Domestic Servants	Per Year
Tailors	5 5 6			Cooks	£11 to £14
				General Servants & Housemaids	£13 to £15

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Bread per 4 lb. loaf	0 6 to 0 7	Butter per lb.	1 0 to 1 3	Coffee per lb.	1 3 to 1 6
Beef per lb.	0 2 1/2 to 0 5	Tea	2 1 3 2	Potatoes	0 0 1/2
Mutton	0 2 1/2 to 0 4 1/2	Sugar	0 4 1/2 to 0 6		

Clothing 22 to 32 per cent. over English prices.

For further particulars and detailed conditions, apply to the Agent-General for New Zealand, 7, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.; or to

LONDON, October 28th, 1873.

Fig. 37. This poster is more like a huge notice with considerably detailed information about New Zealand and emigrating to it. It is not one that can be absorbed all at once.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG, 28 October 1873.

R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. 568mm x 862mm.

The graphic resources on the posters indicate a change of policy that the Agent-General's office appears to have responded to with some urgency. Two of these posters are printed entirely in an energising and attention-seeking red and one in blue.⁴⁰ In spite of Birch's advice, the poster produced on 17 March in figure 36 offers only single women free passages, on their own or as the 'daughters of married couples'. Other members of the class are restricted to assisted passages. As a counterpoint to the Clarendon typeface that calls for these people, 'free passages' and 'assisted passages' are set in a compressed slab serif which emphasises in much the same way as Clarendon itself does: as a related bold.⁴¹

By October of 1873, the NZG had instigated the offer of free passages to the labourers it needed and this is reflected in the posters. On the poster in figure 37 produced on 28 October 'free passage to New Zealand' is set as a heading in an upper case font of Clarendon. Here, the typeface is used as a related bold in the line calling for labourers, just as its designer Thorowgood intended it to be. The printer also set 'free passages to New Zealand' in the two 'striking lines' of the heading.⁴² The poster is printed in blue. In this densely worded poster the recessive colour avoids a conceptual conflict between factual information that requires careful consideration and the loud projection of red. It is a colour that promotes a sense of calm and so provides a cognitive tranquillity in which to take in and reflect upon the messages on the poster.⁴³ The common Clarendon typefaces and the colour blue create a bond between the offer of free passages and the group of labourers to whom it is made. This is supported by the weight of the fonts which darken the blue in comparison to the rest on the poster. The word 'Government' which identifies the source of the largesse, is equally dark, though set in an elongated font of sans serif. The information that requires closer attention is set in fonts of modern which uses less ink and are therefore less striking and the detail easier to read.

The next day, Carter produced another energising red poster. 'Free passages' is the largest phrase and the second iteration of the word 'free' on this poster (fig. 54). It is heavily emphasised in a large font of compressed sans serif. As with the poster printed the previous day, the graphic weight of the font links the boon to the NZG. The phrase 'free emigration' that heads the poster is linked to the group of labourers to whom it is offered through its setting in a font of slab serif and the smaller, finer but

similar form of the font of Clarendon. Each of these three NZG posters is capable of sustaining sizeable typefaces as they are very large themselves. Technological changes in printing equipment allowed printers to produce larger posters with ease.⁴⁴ Unlike Truscott's and Charles Whiting's posters of 30 years earlier, these NZG posters were printed in one piece.

These three posters also indicate how the NZG addressed the issue of the reluctance of single women to emigrate. Since the beginning of English emigration to New Zealand, there had been an imbalance between the sexes. This was not helped by the influx of men to the goldfields in the 1860s; it made the problem more acute. The 'considerable, almost insuperable difficulties' of obtaining single women in the face of the NZG's tightening of resources prompted the Edinburgh agents Crawford and Auld to request permission in 1863 to offer more 'liberal terms'. They suggested that if the NZG wished for the emigration of more single women, it 'must make up its mind to pay for it'.⁴⁵ In 1871, Fannin's efforts to move the NZG resulted in the offer of free passages single women 'of good health and accustomed to domestic service' to the Hawkes Bay.⁴⁶ The poster of 17 March in figure 36 shows that the offer was extended to single women to all the settlements soon after. The NZG also planned to increase the number of single women by encouraging families with daughters to emigrate.⁴⁷ Item 4 on the poster of 28 October 1873 (fig. 37) reiterates the offer of free emigration to 'daughters of married couples of twelve years of age and upwards'. This is moderately emphasised while the same offer for boys of the same age is not. So, while the NZG was willing to pay for boys, it did not make a point of broadcasting it too loudly.

THE IMPLICIT BOON: 'THE ENERGY OF FREEDOM'

I was at Hatcliffe on Tuesday, last, and booked about 20
(for New Zealand), and sure enough, they have reason there,
as in many other places in this land of the free, to go to a
land that is freer; they talk of British freedom, but it cannot
be had in the Old Country; to get it we must go to the Colonies.⁴⁸

Few advertising appeals are either solely rational or solely emotional. Each has elements of the other so that what appears to be a rational proposition of a free

passage that assumes a rational response may also trigger some emotional reaction that is equally affective.⁴⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that the offer of a free passage describes the availability of means to meet a practical end. However, within the nineteenth century English context, 'free' is a word with connotations beyond its simple practical significance.

John White's recollection of his visit to the Lincolnshire village of Hatcliffe to recruit emigrants for New Zealand suggests that 'free' has a more complex meaning.⁵⁰ The more pragmatic issues of poverty and aspiration, and their relationship to emigration, were underwritten by broader discourses of identity. The multiple, connotative meanings of words like 'free' as they related to contemporary myths of Englishness were the lynchpin of English colonisation and its promotion.⁵¹ Englishmen perceived themselves as inherently and exceptionally free. The myth of the self-reliant, self-restrained, thrifty Englishman who had 'the energy of freedom' in his character, cherished his freedom to say what he wished as well as the freedom to improve his conditions was paramount, especially in emigration discourses.⁵² These ideas conceived of Englishness, not as a rational cognitive stance, but an imaginative space that generated a number of myths related to particular issues such as colonisation and that were activated by the proposition of emigration.⁵³ Free, in this case, becomes an extended concept that addresses the individual needs and aspirations of an audience that is directed to think deeply about what it might or could mean.

Set against the various discourses and within both the linguistic conventions and contemporary contexts of Victorian England, a 'free passage' to New Zealand implies a passage to freedom from want, freedom of action, freedom to acquire and freedom to be. These were the connoted benefits offered to prospective emigrants. In general, the emigration posters do not offer explicit detailed information about these or any other benefits of emigration. The NZC secretary, John Ward, commented that 'our notices are necessarily brief and very imperfect; but they may still suffice to afford the requisite preliminary knowledge to those who are desirous of making further inquiry for themselves'.⁵⁴ In this capacity, the posters complement and reinforce the texts that do offer explicit information. They explicitly direct their audience towards the sources of information. At the same time, words such as 'free' direct a motivated audience to

carefully evaluate what the posters propose and to imagine the implications of the proposals.⁵⁵

Some emigrants did imagine their own particular futures. People made decisions based on their perceptions of what countries had to offer their long-term interests. Emigrant labourers with industrial experience tended to emigrate to the United States, whereas those with the more traditional rural skills preferred countries like Australia and New Zealand.⁵⁶ A group of East Chinnock sailmakers, manufactured their futures by misrepresenting their occupations.⁵⁷ As agent for the general area of south Somerset, it was possibly George Toms who recruited them. As sailors and fishermen were specifically excluded as emigrants, sailmakers were also not wanted. These sailmakers declared, and the agent confirmed, that they were agricultural labourers in order to qualify for free passages to New Zealand under the NZC regulations. They were unlikely to have been unique. This subterfuge occurred in spite of the explicitly stated rule in Item 20 of the regulations that neither the applicant nor any member of his family will be allowed to emigrate under a free passage if he is found to be guilty of a 'mis-statement' of his calling (fig. 60). Mears was on hand to receive the applications and presumably agreed to waive the regulations for these people. In the end, ten families emigrated from East Chinnock, more than any other village in 1841-2.⁵⁸ James Dakin notes the discrepancies between occupations on NZC records and the census and local records which indicate that prospective emigrants often falsified their occupations to qualify for a free passage. His examination of the records show 35 instances in 167 cases.⁵⁹ Many shop assistants, clerks, weavers and schoolmasters who were initially rejected ended up in New Zealand as something else.⁶⁰

The middle classes were equally keen to attend to their long-term interests, though just as with the labouring classes, there were never enough of them who wanted to do this in New Zealand. Many of Wakefield's 'children of the highest families and people in the intermediate ranks' did purchase land in New Zealand.⁶¹ But, not all were inevitably prepared to settle there. The second colony of Nelson was a good example of the imbalance between the classes that this could cause. One of the problems was the NZC's failure to regulate the number of labourers it sent out in the face of slow land sales.⁶²

The other problem was land speculation. Of the 1100 allotments available, only 371 were drawn at the lottery in August 1841 and only one quarter of those went to capitalists intending to emigrate.⁶³ Speculation was, in fact, part of the systematic scheme; only through the sale of land as speculative investment would sufficient funds be raised to send out labourers under free passages. However, too many absentee landowners meant too much empty land which was not an attractive proposition for those who wished to establish a cohesive community. This, in turn, meant there was no work for the labourers.⁶⁴ Nelson's problems were just part of the whole 'blindly speculative' system.⁶⁵ More people with capital needed to be excited by the proposition of emigration to the second colony. The NZC had pledged to spend £40,000 on labour emigration before November 1842 and without sufficient capitalists, the situation could only worsen.

In June 1841, one of the NZC directors, Ross Mangles, suggested, among other measures, that the cost to cabin passengers might be reduced to make intermediate passages available to agents of landowners who would go out to manage the allotments. By 1842 the unfortunate situation in Nelson had not changed substantially. In spite of the diminishing 'capital and energies' people were not prepared to spend what they had left of either to emigrate to New Zealand. Some may not have had sufficient capital left to do so.⁶⁶ The poster advertising the ship *Phoebe* in figure 72 seems to have been the result of the NZC having recognised the need for offering further classes of people passages at a price they could afford.⁶⁷ Similar in content to the Welsh poster, the NZC claims through this poster that it had received 'numerous applications' from farmers and small capitalists who might benefit from the cheaper accommodations. The farmers are of the 'industrious classes, who do not fall within the regulations entitling them to a free passage'. On the other hand, the small capitalists are those 'to whom the costly accommodation usually provided for cabin passengers would be unsuitable'. 'Unsuitable' is a polite way of saying they were 'unaffordable' to this fiscally uncomfortable class. This reminds both of these groups of the precariousness of the situation, their immediate fears, and their inability to find a way forward. Then the NZC offers them a remedy. Richard Perloff outlines this process as one in which an advertiser induces fear, which in the case of these middle-class people was implied rather than explicit, and then suggests that they can

chose to alleviate it. Choosing to act on their capacity to do something about their situation should persuade them to actually do something.⁶⁸

While Perloff notes that the 'should' in this process is not guaranteed, it appears to have been successful in this case, as the *Phoebe* sailed only one day later than advertised. The report of the arrival of the *Phoebe* in the *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser* noted the success of the strategy.

The *Phoebe*, with 35 chief cabin and 33 fore cabin passengers, and 107 immigrants, arrived at Nelson on Wednesday, the 29th of March, having left Gravesend on the 15th of November. This is the first vessel sent out by the NZC at the reduced terms of passage; and, if we may judge from the number of passengers she has brought, the thing appears likely to answer. We may now hope to see capital and labour arrive in due relation, particularly as we learn that the accounts received of New Zealand in England are highly favourable.

The *Colonist* reported that the *Mary* was to sail in early January with a 'slight advance...on the cabin fares' as the NZC felt the *Phoebe* fares were a little too generous.⁶⁹

Freedom from want: 'Permanent employment and good wages'

The lack of people in the colony continued and this was addressed but not universally resolved by the promotion agencies, in part, by paying attention to the wants of the people.⁷⁰ In 1838 a bad harvest in England was followed by an economic downturn that lasted for four years. 1842 was 'the hungriest of the hungry forties' with an estimated one-third of the labouring workforce in counties such as Kent either unemployed or underemployed.⁷¹ Security of employment was the most immediate issue for the agricultural labourer. Promises of freedom from the misery of 'the wear and tear of health and strength, and body and soul' induced by unemployment made New Zealand a better choice over countries that were closer but that did not make such offers.⁷² The Otago agent, James Adam advised the NZG in 1857 that his hand would be considerably strengthened if he was able to promise 'immediate work to cautious people'. The promotional material produced by men such as Adam contained endless promises to the labouring poor that their economic security was assured as 'healthy and remunerative employment abound[s] on every hand'.⁷³ The

guarantee of secure employment, and by extension freedom from want, was both explicit and implied on most of the emigration posters.

In 1850 William Kingston advocated that posters should contain ‘attractive words [like] plenty of work [and] high wages’.⁷⁴ Not many do quite so specifically. The NZC must have been aware from the beginning that they would need to address a possible numerical disparity between employees and those who would be available to employ them. Truscott’s 1839 poster in figure 43, printed and distributed months prior to the departure of the first emigrant ships, informs prospective emigrant labourers that the NZC agent will ‘at all times give them employment in the service of the NZC, if from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere’. This reassurance offered freedom from the anxiety of having to find employment in unfamiliar conditions in a strange country.⁷⁵

The three posters produced by Toms and Wills a year later repeat this phrase and the paragraph in which it sits verbatim (figs. 38, 44 & 76). These printers emphasised a part of the sentence—and at all times give them employment in the service of the NZC—by setting it either in italic or upper case. These posters also feature a small but significant gesture of goodwill towards a group of people who had travelled half-way around the world to an unknown destination. A paragraph at the foot of these posters states that ‘on the arrival of the emigrants in the colony they will be received by an officer, who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise with them in case of difficulty’.

It is clear that the NZC generated the text and is likely to have requested the emphasis. It seems that even this was insufficient. When it required more emigrants to fill the ship *London*, the NZC requested that Wills emphasise a particular benefit of emigration to New Zealand. The second Wills’ poster (fig. 38) is more specific and graphically emphatic on the subject of benefits. At the top of the poster, the prime position in the hierarchy, the NZC offers labourers a promise, of ‘permanent employment’ with ‘good wages’. ‘Permanent employment’ is set to full measure in a font of slab serif that is not compressed but is set closely. It creates a black banner across the top of the poster. Below that, but part of the same spatial grouping is ‘good wages’ in upper case italic fat face. The promise of work and wages are graphically

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PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT AND GOOD WAGES.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

GOVERNOR.—THE EARL OF DURHAM. DEPUTY GOVERNOR.—JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

<p>Viscount INGESTRE, M. P. Lord PETRE. Henry A. AGLIONBY, Esq., M. P. Hon. Francis BARING, M. P. John Ellerker BOULCOTT, Esq. John William BUCKLE, Esq. Russell ELLICE, Esq. James Robert GOWEN, Esq.</p>	<p>John HINE, Esq. William HUTT, Esq., M. P. Stewart MAJORIBANKS, Esq. Sir William MOLESWORTH, B. M. P. Alexander NAIRNE, Esq. John PIRIE, Esq., Alderman. Sir George SINCLAIR, Bart., M. P.</p>	<p>John Abel SMITH, Esq., M. P. William THOMPSON, Esq., Alderman, M. P. Hon. Frederick James TOLLEMACHE, M. P. Edward G. WAKEFIELD, Esq. Sir Henry WEBB, Bart. Arthur WILLIS, Esq. George Frederick YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the DIRECTORS of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY are ready to receive applications from rural Mechanics and agricultural Labourers, of sober habits & good characters,
FOR A

FREE PASSAGE TO NEW ZEALAND.

Forms of application and copies of the regulations for Labourers wishing to emigrate, may be obtained by applying to Col. MACALESTER, Axminster; to the Rev. Dr. RUDGE, Rectory, Hawkchurch; Mr. BOND, Solicitor, Axminster; Mr. HASKELL, Relieving Officer of the Axminster Union; Mr. WILLS, Bookseller, Axminster; or to Mr. G. TOMS, Chard.

NO TIME SHOULD BE LOST by Labourers in making application, as the Company's Emigrant Ship,
The LONDON, 700 Tons,
Will sail from England on the 1st of AUGUST next.

On the arrival of the Emigrants in the colony they will be received by an Officer, who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise with them in case of difficulty AND AT ALL TIMES TO GIVE THEM EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE COMPANY, if, from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere. The Emigrants will, however, be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, & will make their own bargain for wages.

New Zealand is nearly as large as Great Britain, but in soil and climate far superior, neither too hot in Summer, nor severe in Winter. In this fine Country, (which was discovered by Captain Cook about 70 years ago) Vegetation is luxuriant, and Verdure almost perpetual. No instance has occurred to the Settlers, of Crops having failed for want of rain. Droughts are wholly unknown there; and there is an abundance of Wood and Water. The Soil is peculiarly suited to the cultivation of Flax, already the principal production of the Island. Upwards of 1000 Persons left England last year to settle in New Zealand, viz:—751 Adults, and 272 Children under the age of 15.

N. B. FLAXDRESSERS will be especially in demand.

Dated JUNE 1840.

WILLS, Printer Bookbinder, &c. AXMINSTER.

Fig. 38. Poster advertising permanent employment and good wages to the rural mechanics and agricultural labourers of Devon. The extra emphasis placed on 'permanent and employment and good wages' communicates the benefits of emigrating to New Zealand unequivocally.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC, June, 1840
CO208/291/73, National Archives, London. 430mm x 555mm.

strong and motivating, but generally non-specific. Some level of specificity is suggested in the final paragraph where prospective emigrants are assured that the soil is 'peculiarly suited to the cultivation of flax'. Immediately below the paragraph, a specific call for flaxdressers is set at the foot of the second Wills poster as the final rhetorical shot.

The graphic emphasis placed by specific typefaces on these key words and those in the body of the poster prompt specific readings. If a labourer wishes to be assured of 'permanent employment', then 'no time should be lost'. A positive response will see him sailing on the 'London' to 'New Zealand' where he will be paid 'good wages'. The italicisation of certain phrases accentuates the benefit and the route to it: go to 'good wages' on the ship 'London' and, if you are a 'flaxdresser', you will be 'especially in demand'. All this bounty the labourer receives through the goodwill of the 'New Zealand Company'. While some of the early NZC posters lack specificity, the calls for individual tradesmen and women imply that there is work available for their particular skills.

The text on Tiffen's NZC poster in figure 45 states that the ships would *leave* after the harvest in England. The mention of the harvest implies two things. One is that the agricultural labourers it calls for are employed to some extent and in a specific set of occupations. But it also suggests that they, and their experience, will be required for a similar harvest which would be ready for them when they arrive in New Zealand. As they were going to Nelson, a colony still 'in motion', this was speculative at best. None of the later agencies needed to make speculative promises as they could make concrete and demonstrable claims based on experience. In later years, the promoters were able to be more precise about who would find work in the colony.

As the colony grew, the nature of the people required becomes more defined on the posters and so the promises of employment, though still implicit, become less vague. The Provincial Government of Otago (PGO) poster of 1873 in figure 58 identifies shepherds and, for the first time, fishermen as those whose skills are needed in the colony. The exclusion of fishermen ended with the development of small fisheries such as the inshore operation in Otago Harbour.⁷⁶ Shepherds had appeared on a number of posters prior to this, including the one produced for the PGC in 1868, but they

were in particular demand at this time and were assured in the literature that was no longer quite so 'idealising' that they would always find farm work (fig. 61).⁷⁷ The NZG agent in Lincolnshire noted on his 1875 poster (fig. 92) that the emigrants would *arrive* in New Zealand 'in time for the summer harvest'. As there had been many harvest by then, the NZG assured those who worked on the land in this capacity that they would find employment.

While there is no reference to the specific kind of work the NZC offered labourers 30 years earlier, the NZG could necessarily be more specific as it was operating in conditions known and understood. Although the NZG did not guarantee employment on an emigrant's arrival in the country, the posters of 1873 do so implicitly, through the lists of occupations sought (figs, 36, 37 & 69). The poster of 17 March and items of ephemeral material associated with it state that the NZG, 'having, in the course of construction, railways and other public works...and there being a considerable demand for agricultural labourers and female servants', seeks people to fill what are quite specific requirements in the colony (appendix 4). The requirement that the emigrants be going to New Zealand 'with the intention to work for wages' reinforces the implication that there is work for them to do in a way that the NZC regulations might state, but cannot provide.

Members of the working classes who complied with Andrew Duncan's request to 'stop and read this bill', found that he had considerable 'good news' to tell them about employment in New Zealand (fig. 39). Duncan was one of the agents permitted by the NZC to recruit on behalf of his province after the passing of the 1871 Act.⁷⁸ Carter considered him the most useful of the peripatetic agents and his regular returns to the Canterbury Superintendent attest to his successes in recruiting emigrants.⁷⁹ The poster he produced was explicit in its descriptions of what New Zealand offered prospective emigrants. He promises them that 'work is plentiful, so much so that they need only spend 'eight hours' on a 'standard day's work' to earn '8s to 10s...per day as wages'. In addition to this boon, 'provisions are cheap'. The printer set most of the benefits of emigrating to Canterbury in a vertical column on the left third of the poster. Each small grouped statement is set in a different typeface than the one above or below it; each statement is sufficiently large to have some salience among the

STOP!
AND
READ
THIS BILL,
IT CONTAINS
Good News
FOR THE
WORKING CLASSES.

AT
CANTERBURY,
NEW ZEALAND,
EIGHT HOURS
ARE A STANDARD
DAY'S WORK,
AND FROM
8s. to 10s.
IS PAID
PER DAY,
AS WAGES.

PROVISIONS
ARE
CHEAP.

THE CLIMATE
IS HEALTHY.

Work is
Plentiful.

Habits & Customs
are English.

*Don't Forget to attend
the Lecture.*

FREE EMIGRATION
TO
CANTERBURY
NEW ZEALAND.

ANDREW DUNCAN, Esq.,
Special Emigration Agent (from Canterbury, N.Z.), will Deliver a
LECTURE
ON THE ABOVE SUBJECT,
IN TOWN HALL, TURRIFF,
On **TUESDAY EVENING, 17th FEBRUARY,**
AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

In the Province of CANTERBURY, New Zealand, the following Tradesmen and Labourers are in GREAT DEMAND, at the undermentioned Wages:—

TRADESMEN.		FARM SERVANTS.	
	PER DAY.		PER ANNUM.
Bricklayers, - - -	10s.	Ploughmen, Married, Fossil &	£35 to 60.
Brickmakers, - - -	7s. to 10s.	" Single, - - -	40 to 50.
Carpenters, - - -	9s. to 10s.	Labourers, Married, - - -	40 to 50.
Colnetmakers, - - -	10s.	" Single, - - -	35 to 45.
Masons, - - -	10s.		
Painters, - - -	10s.	DOMESTIC SERVANTS.	
Plumbers, - - -	10s.	Cooks - - -	£20 to 25
Plasterers, - - -	7s. to 10s.	Housekeepers - - -	£20 to 25
Saddlers, - - -	7s. to 10s.	General Servants - - -	£20 to 25
Sawyers, - - -	9s. to 10s.	Dairy Maids - - -	15 to 20 per week
Tailors, - - -	£2 to £3 per week	Kitchen Maids - - -	£15 to 20
Shoemakers, - - -	6s. to 7s. per day.	Nurses - - -	£25 to 30
General Labourers, - - -	6s. to 7s. per day.	Landwomen - - -	£25

Female Servants are in very great demand, and those who are in need of them should apply to the Agent.

Blacksmiths, Bakers, Butchers, Embers, Coopers, Coach Builders, Coach Smiths, Coach Painters, Engineers, Ironfounders, Wheelwrights, Millers, Malsters, Printers, Rope Makers, Shoeing Smiths, Tinsmen, Watchmakers, &c., are paid Wages varying from 9s. to 15s. per day.

The Lecturer will explain the principle upon which Free Passages are granted, and give some very valuable Statistics, &c. connected with the Colony.

MECHANICS, TOWN AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, AND DOMESTIC SERVANTS,
Are particularly requested to attend.
ADMISSION FREE.

Fig. 39. Poster advising of the good news for the working classes of Aberdeenshire village of Turriff. This poster is specific to Turriff, but Duncan travelled widely throughout Scotland and England, so there were likely to have been many more like it that have since been lost. The font of French Antique used for 'Canterbury' on this poster is replicated on Duncan's poster in figure 79 (bottom) which suggests that both posters were printed in the same place, probably Glasgow.

Unknown printer, Glasgow for the Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC) agent Andrew Duncan, 1874.

CH287 CP143 ICPS772(1)/1874, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. 256mm x 380mm.

groups; and all are framed by typographic rules. This creates a series of key ideas that give the prospective emigrant a variety of things to ponder. Set together in the same space, they form the key concept of New Zealand as a country where wants would be met. James Adam provided similar information under the heading of 'wanted' on the poster advertising his lecture in the Aberdeenshire village of Alford.⁸⁰

White's inducements to Lincolnshire labourers are as explicit as those of Duncan and Adam. He clearly thought that evidence of being well paid and well fed was an important part of a persuasive recruiting strategy. The poster (fig. 92) tells prospective emigrants that, though the NZG had assured them of work on their projects, most had quickly found their own positions and so left it needing even more labour. The Immigration officer in Taranaki, Mr Hulke, advises that 'not a hand is idle looking for work'. On the contrary, the task ahead of the province in opening it up for habitation and cultivation had 'rendered labour scarce'; even NZG cannot get labour so fast as they want it, work is so plentiful. The implication in this statement goes beyond the NZC's offer of employment in its service. On one hand, this promises that the NZG will give work to people. On the other hand, the quantity of work and the labourers' ability to drift off suggests that those who wished to make something more of themselves through hard work would have the resources and opportunities at hand to do so.

The emigrants' letters reproduced on his poster list the advantages of emigrating to a land where food was abundant, chattels could be easily purchased with the ample wages they would receive, and full employment was waiting for any of the 'right sort' who 'want to get on and better their condition'. Elizabeth Fow writes that her family had never again been possessed of only the one crown they had when they arrived in New Zealand as 'wages is very good'. She noted that her father never earned less than '8 to 10 shillings a day' and her brothers Thomas and Charles 'twenty-five shillings a week all found'. At thirteen years old, she herself earned '6s. a week'. White comments that this family of ten children ate meat no more than once a month in England, while Elizabeth notes that, in New Zealand, 'we have as much mutton and beef as we can eat'. Mary Jane Hill writes that 'a man can live here as well as the greatest lord of the land at home'. Duncan, who spent some time recruiting with White in Lincolnshire, advised the agent that he himself ought to emigrate to New Zealand as he would

‘make more at storekeeping here than in Lacey’. White annotated most of the letters to be sure that their points were taken.

Freedom to act: ‘a land that is freer’

Nor are you in any way bound to anything; you are left when there entirely to your own free will, to do as you choose, and so free are you that if you see fit you may return home the next day, the next week, or any time that may suit you.⁸¹

In the quotation above, Duncan promises Scottish labourers that they will be entirely free to make decisions for themselves. It is the same promise given to the NZC emigrants. These earlier posters assure the emigrants that, on their arrival in New Zealand, they ‘will be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to anyone willing to employ them, & will make their own bargain for wages’ (figs. 38, 43, 44 & 76).

In the nineteenth century labourers were on the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder of the landlord who owned the land, the farmer who rented it and landless labourer who worked it.⁸² Until 1834, labourers were legally confined to the parishes of their birth by the Settlement Act of 1601, at least in theory. The Act was designed to ensure that poor relief, which was the responsibility of parishes towards their own, was paid only to those who *were* their own. Though it did not prevent anyone from leaving his or her parish and ‘settling’ in another one, as internal migration demonstrates, resettlement did require some determination and considerable paperwork.⁸³

Wakefield wrongly considered that the condition of misery in which the labouring classes lived had been unchanged for centuries; he assumed the only difference was that, in the nineteenth century, everyone knew it.⁸⁴ Yet the rural labouring class in particular had lost the freedoms it traditionally enjoyed as peasant farmers, before industrial developments enclosed their fields, mechanised their labour, destroyed their cottage industries and emptied their villages as they migrated to the cities. Peasant farmers became dependent labourers.⁸⁵ Rural protests in England such as the Swing riots of the 1830s and the Revolt of the Field in 1872 indicates that, rather than accepting their lot, the labourers were willing to take some degree of control over their own lives.⁸⁶

The Truscott poster in figure 43 signals this transference of agency from those who controlled the lives of the labouring classes to the labourers themselves simply through a subtle change in language. The imperatives in the various items of the regulations which insist that labourers ‘must’ or ‘will’ act in a certain way, becomes in Item 15 ‘emigrants are at liberty’. On this poster and the three posters of Toms and Wills (figs. 38, 44 & 76) emigrants are assured of this freedom of action. This change articulates a considerable shift between what labourers, that is *prospective* emigrants, must adhere to before they are able to leave England and what *actual* emigrants are free to do once they arrive in New Zealand. Connotatively, the poster language indicates that emigration to New Zealand transferred control of their destinies from others to themselves. Playing on the geographical oppositeness of New Zealand to England, these contrasts were part of the rhetoric that sought to persuade suitable people that they would be better off in New Zealand than they were in England.

There are a number of posters that addressed the issue of the liberty of the emigrants on their arrival in New Zealand; it was clearly one the NZC felt needed addressing. The poster its agent produced for the Welsh labourers clearly responds to a specific problem (fig. 40). The extreme graphic emphasis on this poster, compared to the assurances on those of Truscott, Toms and Wills, signifies the urgency of communicating this message. The semantic flow all but disappears among the variety of words picked out within it. Graphically, the paragraph reads ‘labouring emigrants...their own bargains for wages...no man is bound...except of his own free choice’. These central words are framed top and bottom by ‘free passage’ in large fonts of fat face and slab serif respectively. The significance in the spatial arrangement of the large typefaces is that the promise of freedom to act is firmly framed within the context of a free passage.

‘No man is bound’ is graphically dominant within the long sentence that begins ‘the agent deems it right’ and ends ‘except of his own free choice’. Equally implicit in this sentence is the goodwill of the agent and his determination to mitigate any harm done to his mission through the ‘unfounded rumour’. The Welsh language version on the other half of the poster—*nad yw yr un dyn yn rhwym*—is emphasised to the same



Fig. 40. Poster assuring the labourers of Merthyr Tydfil that they are free to do as they will on arrival in New Zealand. Contrary to the Lincolnshire agent White's perception that freedom is only fully attainable outside England, this poster notes, and emphasises through an italic font, that 'labouring emigrants' have the same freedoms as they enjoy in England.

Henry W. White, Merthyr Tydfil for the NZC agent (detail), 1841.
CO208/291/105, NZCS, National Archives, London.

degree as the English. The italic font is used in both languages for assuring the labourers that they will be 'just as free in all respects, as they are in England' and that they may make 'their own bargain for wages', communicates the key ideas in the message of the poster. The language is different, the typefaces also differ, but the graphic emphasis remains the same.

Freedom to acquire: a '40 acre farm' and a 'smart little clock'

[New Zealand is a] delightful country where the labourer is thought worthy of his hire and where his hire will soon enable him to sit under his own vine in his own cottage watching the playfulness of his merry children in happiness and plenty.⁸⁷

The Kent agent Whiting published the quotation above in his newspaper, the *Maidstone Gazette* in June 1839. For some members of the labouring classes, being

better off went beyond economic security and held promises of at least the limited acquisition of the comforts out of their reach in England, including land ownership. Contemporary rhetoric about New Zealand echoes the views of middle-class promoters, colonists and others like John Lane, the friend to the labourer in *New Zealand Described* (appendix 5). According to Lane, there was nothing to prevent a labourer from becoming a land-owner, if he worked hard and saved his money. He held out the inducement of a 'freehold of...10 to 50 acres' where the labouring emigrant can become 'his own master, landowner or farmer'. Throughout the entire period of this study the rhetoric surrounding prospects of land ownership in New Zealand promised that 'those who want to settle on their own land, and be their own master in five or six years without any capital could do so there'.⁸⁸

Yet, while land ownership may have been the great 'desideratum' of the middle classes it was not necessarily sacred to labouring-class aspirations. Independence achieved through self-agency did not automatically translate as freehold land, but more often as self-sufficiency. Land tenancy and the time and funds to improve on it were an acceptable compromise for some. For most, tenancy was a move up the hierarchy from the bottom rung of the ladder that they occupied in England. For others, it fitted comfortably in the interim between wages and freehold. Moreover, self-sufficiency was not always dependent on land but could be had equally through the ownership of a business.⁸⁹ Andrew Duncan's experience is salutary in this matter. He emigrated with his family from Dumbarton in the west of Scotland in 1858. He worked as a gardener, one of the occupations called for on most of the posters. He soon opened his own nursery and seed business and became a prominent member of the business community. This is information he was able to share with those labourers he sought on his posters in figures 39 and 79 when he returned to the 'old country' in 1874.⁹⁰

There are only two posters in the set that directly raise the issue of land ownership. The NZC and the NZG actively excluded independent land ownership for the labouring classes by insisting that free passage labourers intentions were to work for wages for an unspecified but nonetheless considerable time after their arrival. Ngatata Love suggests that Wakefield really only paid 'lip-service' to the possibility that labourers would eventually settle on their own land. It was never part of his agenda,

even if he was sufficiently astute to make it appear so.⁹¹ Eventually, the NZG offered prospective labourers and navvies the incentive of ‘sufficient blocks of land in the vicinity of the lines of the roads and railways’.⁹²

Conversely, Auckland had early established the practice of granting land. It was not one of the NZC’s instant townships but was an established town by 1840 because of in the migration of both Māori and Pākehā from the Far North, Sydney business interests and the establishment of government there.⁹³ In 1840, the newly appointed Governor Hobson selected Auckland as the capital, much against the wishes of the NZC and its settlers in Wellington. It grew quickly and in a less organised and more organic manner than the NZC settlements. The top of the North Island had the greatest concentration of Māori which made the area the one most likely to experience conflicts as the Pākehā population increased. As a consequence, the Auckland region hosted a considerable military presence in the 1840s. Retired soldiers were granted an acre of land in what was known as ‘pensioner villages’ which formed a light defensive ring around the perimeter.⁹⁴ In 1858 the Provincial Government of Auckland (PGA) instituted a scheme that offered the ‘free gift of forty acres of good land’ to those ‘agricultural labourers...servants...mechanics...[and]... farmers and others with capital’ who were able and prepared to make their own way to New Zealand. The cost of the voyage at that time was £16. Phillips and Hearn note that in the ten years that this scheme existed, it attracted over twenty per cent of the net immigration to the country.⁹⁵

Through its agent, Joseph Newman, the PGA offered ‘industrious men and women of good character’ a ‘free gift of a 40 acre farm’ on the poster in figure 41. Newman was an Auckland sharebroker and land agent who had emigrated to New Zealand in 1840, so he was well qualified for the task set him by the PGA. This poster made a concrete offer of a farm to those who chose ‘emigration to New Zealand’, specifically Auckland.

The poster is printed in black and red. Each part of this poster is linked to every other part through three separate graphic resources. These colours, along with the similarity of the typefaces and the spatial composition, mediate the text in such a way that it directs its audience to read it in particular ways. Red groups single key ideas within a

EMIGRATION
TO
NEW ZEALAND.

FREE GIFT OF A 40 ACRE FARM.

JOSEPH NEWMAN,
AGENT TO THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF AUCKLAND,
 Is authorized to give the following Notice—

Every industrious Man or Woman, of good character, and not, through age, infirmity, or other cause, unlikely to form a useful Colonist, will, on approval, receive a **FREE GIFT OF FORTY ACRES OF GOOD LAND**, in the Province of **AUCKLAND**, New Zealand, together with Forty Acres **MORE** for each Person above 18 years, and Twenty Acres for each Child above 5 and under 18 years of age, whom he may take with him to the Colony.

The Order for this Land, which will be chosen by the Emigrant himself, will be delivered to all eligible applicants, by **JOSEPH NEWMAN**, at his Office, **10, DRURY BUILDINGS, 23, WATER STREET, LIVERPOOL**, on payment of a Fee of 10s. for each 40 Acre Grant, and 5s. for each 20 Acre Grant. The only condition is, that the party shall have engaged to find his own way to the Colony, and this he can do, at an expense of about £16 for Passage, on applying to some respectable Ship Broker, in Liverpool, engaged in the New Zealand Trade.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS and **SERVANTS**, **MECHANICS** of various kinds, **DOMESTIC SERVANTS** (Male and Female), and **FARMERS**, and others with Capital (although small Capital), are more especially eligible; but **Young Men** in the rank of **GENTLEMEN**, who have not been brought up to any profession or business, or who are without sufficient Capital to establish themselves in the Province, and to employ labour, are not generally desirable as Emigrants, and will, under existing arrangements, not receive these Grants.

Where a considerable number of persons may desire to **EMIGRATE IN A BODY**, and form a small Community in the Province, the Provincial Government will favour such a Community, by endeavouring to provide **SUPERIOR LANDS** and an advantageous Location.

All communications to be made to
JOSEPH NEWMAN,
10, DRURY BUILDINGS, 23, WATER STREET, LIVERPOOL.

For sixteen years resident in the Colony, and Member of the Provincial Council of Auckland.

HAY & GREENWOOD, STEAM PRINTERS, 10, WATER STREET, LIVERPOOL.

Fig. 41. Poster advertising free gifts of land in Auckland.

Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the Provincial Government of Auckland (PGA) agent, Joseph Newman, c. 1858.

7C2024, Auckland City Libraries, Auckland. 507mm x 765mm.

larger key concept. 'Emigration', a 'free gift of a 40 acre farm' and 'Joseph Newman' at his address in Liverpool are printed in red. This tells its audience that within the proposition of emigration lies the explicit prospect of land ownership. It also connects the proposition and its prospects to the agent Newman and indicates the way to begin the process of gleaning further information from him. Fonts of slab serif reinforce the connection between emigration and the free gift. The repetition of his name and its colour connection to New Zealand reminds the audience of Newman's role in emigration to New Zealand. Printed in black 'New Zealand' and Newman who is accredited on the top section of the poster as the 'agent to the Provincial Government of Auckland' become visually, and therefore conceptually, key. At the bottom of the poster, Newman's name printed in red is bonded to 'New Zealand' printed in black by their common sans serif typeface.

The Lincolnshire agent White raises the possibility of land ownership on his poster (fig. 42), though not by the same means as Newman. He informs prospective emigrants to Taranaki that they will be offered the 'chance of buying sections of land...so that a man may become possessor of a fifty acre freehold in ten years by the saving of 6d. or 9d. a day'. An earlier emigrant H. Tomlinson writes in a letter reproduced in the poster that he is glad to hear that White is still

riddling out those honest, industrious, hard working men of old England, who are crying 'why should we be idle when there are millions upon millions of acres of land lying dormant in New Zealand ...waiting for such men as us...go and multiply and replenish the earth?' (fig. 42).

In fact, such availability of 'fertile land lying idle...for want of industrious people to cultivate it' was the reason why the NZ G was prepared to grant free passages to the 'right sort'. Land ownership was implied in a country of 'permanent employment and good wages' as it was articulated on the 1840 Wills poster (fig. 38). White made it explicit on his poster. The steady income combined with sufficient funds and time in hand—the poster advises the industrious labourer that the 'hours of labour are short'—means a labourer is free to attend to his own pursuits, be they rural or urban.

Another great advantage to Working Men with families offered by the Province of Taranaki is the chance of Buying Sections of Land, to be paid for by ten yearly instalments, so that a man may become possessor of a Fifty Acre Freehold in ten years by the saving of 6d. or 9d. a day, an easy thing out of New Zealand wages. For further particulars about this Province, write to Mr. BURTON, Laceby, near Grimsby.

Fig. 42. The poster from which this detail is taken is packed with information about New Zealand and the Taranaki region in particular. White ensured a labourer considering whether or not to emigrate to New Zealand found anything he wished to know on this poster.

Horace Watson, Laceby near Grimsby for the NZG agent John White (detail), 1875. ABN28346858075, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

The promise assumes that a man *could* save ‘6d. or 9d. a day’. Similar rates of wages are on Duncan and Adam’s posters: 8s to 10s and 8s respectively (fig. 39).⁹⁶ These wages would also allow for minor, but equally important, acquisitions. A letter reproduced on White’s poster in figure 92 from Elizabeth Fow noted that her family had ‘seven hens and two cockerels and eggs of our own’. They also have an oven (£1 6s), a tea-kettle at 11s 6d, bought chairs for 7s 6d each and a ‘smart little clock’ for 18s.

Freedom to be: ‘an Englishman’s birthright’

Class boundaries were perceived as more porous in New Zealand than they were in England. Those at the bottom were encouraged to believe that emigration to New Zealand provided opportunities to improve their situations through ‘labour and exertion’.⁹⁷ The labouring classes could hope that by emigrating they might ‘rise’ and the middle classes that they would not ‘fall’.⁹⁸ The improving ethos that drove the aspirations of Victorian middle and labouring classes was chief among a raft of English values, qualities and characteristics. It introduced the possibility of social mobility, of ‘trading up’ and depended broadly on soberness, industriousness and thrift.⁹⁹ Samuel Smiles’ *Self Help* encouraged the working people of England to raise themselves up claiming that ‘what some men are, all without difficulty might be’. He promised that the ‘healthy spirit of self help’ would ‘serve to raise them as a class’.¹⁰⁰ This was a demonstrable myth for many whose more immediate aspirations were sufficient food and secure shelter, but it appeared possible, and therefore attractive, to some ambitious labouring-class men and women.¹⁰¹

Cornish radical Methodists viewed emigration as a way to improve economic *and* social status as well as find civic and religious freedom. It would give some the freedom to marry. Labouring-class poverty and middle-class penury often prevented people from marrying and worsening their circumstances by having children they could not afford.¹⁰² The agencies' preference for young, married people was unambiguously articulated on the posters addressed to the rural labouring class. Emigration to New Zealand did not only mean that emigrants must be married; the requirement to be married freed them from spinster- or bachelorhood.

For the middle classes, emigration was cast as a way to maintain the 'social influence' that was being eroded in England, being responsible for 'the preservation of all the higher elements of civilisation', and having the 'time and opportunity' to indulge in activities suitable to gentlemen. It meant having an income to support this position within society because investments in New Zealand realised a better return than in England.¹⁰³

For some, it could mean political power. Political power in England was dependent on owned or rented property. This had been denied to the labourers targeted by the emigration promoters, even after the moderately liberalising 1832 Reform Bill. Political participation was out of the question for the unpropertied for whom it was limited to the 'vicarious' freedom of protest action.¹⁰⁴ Some were politicised to some extent by movements such as Chartism which provoked disturbances in Newport and Bath.¹⁰⁵ The growth of rural unionism, among them the influential labourers' union of Joseph Arch, brought industrial action to the countryside.¹⁰⁶ This activity indicated a shift in labouring-class attitudes to political agency. In the nineteenth century many actively adopted the somewhat vague notions of 'independence...and the Englishman's birthright' which was loosely thought of as liberty.¹⁰⁷ Emigration rhetoric encouraged disenfranchised people to believe that they would achieve independence in New Zealand. It was a country where the 'poor man's vote' was equal to anyone else's and no one could be told how to vote.¹⁰⁸ After the institution of the Parliamentary system in 1852 New Zealand was considered politically liberal. Most male British citizens in New Zealand of voting age, barring criminals or paupers, were free to cast their ballot at general and provincial elections.¹⁰⁹ In the later years many emigrants were able to relate how through improving their economic

and social position by emigrating to New Zealand, they become active in local and national politics. The wide-ranging message was that, whether participation through the ballot box or in the more active role of local or national representation, the agricultural labourer could expect to enjoy freedom on a much wider scale than simple personal agency. The man who ate meat once a month and required paperwork to leave his parish in England had the freedom in New Zealand to become, not just a voter, but a politician like Duncan—Dumbarton ploughman to the Mayor of Christchurch—and Adam—Aberdeen carpenter to member of the Provincial and Executive Councils of Otago.¹¹⁰

A labouring emigrant may eventually buy or lease land; he may become a prosperous tenant or an even more prosperous farmer or storekeeper. He may set up a business, become politically important or socially influential. He may simply become someone who no longer feared or experienced unemployment and hunger. Against the background of general discourses of emigration, self-improvement and Victorian values, the posters imply that any of these conditions of want were mutable. For impoverished people a ‘free passage’ becomes not just a promise of a sea voyage to New Zealand with no monetary payment, but implies a passage to all the advantages that economic security might bring: opportunity, personal agency, social mobility and political power. New Zealand would give them what England did not.

But emigrants would remain English. A Victorian imaginative cognitive map of what ‘English’ meant was constructed through the medium of print which situated, imagined, modeled and transmitted the ideas that were manifest in literature and in the visual arts.¹¹¹ Graphically, materially and conceptually, the posters were integral to the contemporary visual culture of urban and rural England. The rhetoric of English emigration through all the communication channels suggests that retaining Englishness was crucial to persuading people to go so far away from England. Conscious constructions of Englishness as essentially Anglo-Saxon were particularly useful for building and maintaining the connection between their Anglo-Saxon past and Anglo-centric present among diasporic communities.¹¹² It provided the cultural bedrock for transplantation from the Britain of the North to the Britain of the South and allowed the English to think of England and New Zealand as parts of the same whole.

Peter Sinnema suggests that the Victorian English character was about a performance of Englishness.¹¹³ In this construction, living in England was not a pre-requisite for being English. Reinforced by contemporary media and visual cultures, the English character was transferable to people and countries where new Englands were to be made. Duncan assures his working class audience that habits in New Zealand ‘are English’ (fig. 39). On the other hand, all the posters are quintessentially English. They conform to or reference the rules, traditions, protocols, styles and arrangements recognisable in the English visual landscape. As soon as the ‘town of Wellington’ at Lambton Harbour, in Cooks’ Strait’ was determined upon as the ‘first and principle settlement’, it appeared on the posters (figs. 33, 52 & 53; for other reference to Wellington see figs. 26, 98 & 99). Each of these names of the towns belonged to recognisable names of people: Wellington the war hero, Lambton the respected aristocrat, and Cook the intrepid explorer. Another other war hero was commemorated in the name of the second colony of Nelson, appearing on the posters in figures 72 & 90). The CA choose the name for its settlement well to resonate with any Englishman or woman who knew Kent, Shakespeare, Becket, Chaucer or even understood something of the hierarchy of the Church of England. ‘Canterbury’ is blazoned across all six of the CA’s posters and late in 1874, on Duncan’s two posters. The only posters to offer a destination that had no English counterpart are those produced for emigration to Otago. ‘Otago’ was a derivation of the Māori name Otakou which the surveyors felt was sufficiently easy for the English tongue. In spite of its name, the NZC itself was an English company, based in London and graphically associated with its directors who were predominantly Englishmen. There are many other recognisable English references. While unemployed flaxdressers from Devon would find flax to dress in New Zealand (fig. 38), all the occupations called for are traditionally English. The exceptional qualities of the English are articulated freely in language that was in common and accustomed usage, sober and industrious the most articulated among them. The posters provide evidence that emigration to New Zealand would not mean a loss of natural English respectability. As such soberness, industriousness and good character were the hallmarks of New Zealand emigrants, they could expect to find the colony equally English-like.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined how the offer of free and assisted passage were used by the promotion agencies to attract and engage their intended audiences. Once the posters had attracted some attention by the proposition of emigration to New Zealand, their next task was to hold that attention and move potential emigrants closer towards becoming actual emigrants. The offers of free passages assisted in doing that as they were inevitably emphasised. This was usually effected through large display typefaces, though occasionally some printers used colour to foreground the offer for graphic effect and to serve some strategic purpose of the producer. At times, the text includes more than one iteration of the offer, a resource that is more likely to have been determined by its producer than its printer. But further than that, the implications inherent in the offer were intended to engage the audience in thinking more deeply about the proposition.¹¹⁴ They encouraged the audience to consider what ‘free’ meant beyond its utility for making the voyage possible and into imagining what it could mean for its social and economic well-being.

Free passages for suitable labourers were integral to the NZC systematic scheme from the beginning and making it publicly known was the logical next step. Considerable graphic emphasis on the words ‘free passage’ on the NZC posters shows that it considered the offer to be an important recruiting tool. For example and in contrast, most of its posters yelled ‘free passage’ and whispered ‘assisted’ on the only poster that did not offer the better boon. The CA said nothing about the lack of assistance on one of its posters and yelled ‘assisted’ on the other. This indicates a recognition by both agencies of the need to emphasise their best offer. The importance placed on free passages by the NZG is evident in both its correspondence and on its posters. The urgings of its agents to offer free passages to all labouring emigrants is evident on the three posters from 1873 which begin with graphically moderate ‘assisted passages’ and end with immoderate ‘free passages’. Such an offer to a motivated but un- or underemployed labourer was clearly designed to make him or her more positively disposed towards both the proposition and those agencies that made it.

A number of the fonts used on the posters reflect the more aspirational qualities evoked by the word ‘free’. Whether fat face or sans serif, their extreme degree of compression—at times elongation—emulates the upward reach of those whom

Wakefield believed were the people who were ‘most disposed to hope’.¹¹⁵ The agencies calculated that they would imagine the social and economic benefits that might accrue from the ‘free passage to New Zealand’ offered on the posters such as Richard Cutbush and George Toms produced (figs. 73 & 76). Fonts such as the italic assisted in casting the passage as active, part of the now/future rather than of the now/past. This deeper engagement with the offer was dependent on the contemporary co- and inter-textual discourses in a variety of printed material on the relationship between emigration and Englishness, New Zealand and self-improvement. In contrast to the discourses, the agencies used the posters to evoke, rather than discuss, these issues.

Emigration to the colonies, and to New Zealand in particular according to the discourses, would provide labourers with opportunities for employment at a level of remuneration not offered in England. This possibility is often only implied on the NZC posters. As time went on and more became known about conditions in New Zealand, the agencies were able to communicate specific information on their posters about real, existing jobs and current rates of pay. The implications in either the speculative or actual situation in New Zealand were that the condition of want in which many of the labouring classes lived would be alleviated.

The NZC used a few of the early posters to reassure prospective emigrants of their freedom of action. While the NZC and the NZG demonstrably demand, through their posters, that labourers going out on a free passage work for wages, none other than the first NZC poster suggests that they work for a particular employer. Implicitly, this left the emigrant free to seek his or her own fortune.

The printers often grouped the ‘free’ phrase, either spatially or typographically, with other words that helped to build a picture of the opportunities to be had. The texts of some posters provided either imaginative or statistical information that prompted thought, but most agencies used words such as ‘emigration’, ‘New Zealand’ and ‘free’ to begin the process. In doing so, they exposed at least one area that contradicted most of the circulating discourses on one of the benefits of emigration: the acquisition of land. Other than the posters of the PGA agent Joseph Newman and Lincolnshire’s John White, there is no evidence on any of existing posters that their producers

thought this inducement was important to their audiences nor did the language encourage any to infer that emigration would give them their own '10 to 50 acres'.¹¹⁶

There is evidence on some of the posters of language that misleads by omission. What the offer of a free passage actually meant to a prospective emigrant was that, though he or she was not liable for the voyage from England to New Zealand, there were costs attached to accepting the offer. Providing themselves and their families with suitable effects for the voyage (or paying for them) and for use in New Zealand and getting to the port of embarkation were often beyond many of them. There is evidence that some were assisted by local charity mechanisms, but there must have been many who were either unable to be assisted or for whom such assistance was not forthcoming. 'Free', in this sense, was vague and provisional. Equally vague was the '40 acre farm' offered to emigrants to the Auckland Province. It was not a farm as such. It was land that needed to be extensively cleared before it might even come near to being described as a farm.

It is equally clear that the offers of free passages did not induce sufficient numbers of labourers to consider emigration to New Zealand more attractive than either staying at home or going somewhere closer. It removed the barrier that confronted many of the labouring poor by providing the means for them to emigrate, but did not overcome the equally high barrier of their reluctance to do so. Michael Dahl and Olav Sorenson argue that even today people will compare the advantages and disadvantages of migrating and choose the option that gives them the best net gain.¹¹⁷ People faced with the same decision well over one hundred years ago had considerably more to weigh up, more to lose. Strong social integration within a community was an important militating factor in emigration. For many, the gain was either insufficient or too speculative. The implications of the Englishness of the enterprise of emigration to New Zealand and its reflection in the design of the posters was not enough to tempt the numbers of emigrants wanted by all the agencies to leave what they knew for what they did not know.

The next chapter examines how the agencies use to posters to indicate exactly who it was they wanted as emigrants to New Zealand. It explores how textual and graphic

languages are used to speak to the discrete social classes, whether this changes over time and, if so, how.

ENDNOTES

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⁴ Andrew Duncan, quoted in Anon, *All about New Zealand*, p. 13.

⁵ New Zealand Company, *Instructions to Agents*, 1840; Henry Alston to McEwen and Miller, 1840; Henry Alston to Flanagan, 24 August 1840.

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⁸ *Maidstone Union Poor Law Records 1838-1840*, in King, 'A Better Class of Pauper?', 1991.

⁹ Dakin, 'Pioneers: Background; Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villages, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press/Price Milburn, 1971).

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- ²¹ 'Second Colony', *New Zealand Journal*, p. 218.
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CHAPTER FOUR

EMIGRATION

TO

New Zealand

NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY

Governor--The EARL OF DURHAM.
Deputy Governor--**JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.**

DIRECTORS.

<p>LORD PETRE Hon. FRANCIS BARING, M.P. JOHN ELLERKER BOULCOTT, Esq. JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq. RUSSELL ELIACE, Esq. JAMES BRODIE GORDON, Esq. THOMAS ALERS HANKEY, Esq. WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P. STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq.</p>	<p>ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq. JOHN PIRIE, Esq. Alderman. SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart. M.P. JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq. M.P. WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq. Ald. M.P. SIR HENRY WEBB, Bart. ARTHUR WILLIS, Esq. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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The Directors of the New Zealand Land Company hereby give Notice, That Purchasers of Land Orders desiring to claim from the Emigration Fund, a free passage for themselves, their families, and servants, to the extent of seventy-five per cent. of their purchase monies respectively, are to make their applications in writing, to the Secretary, on or before

The 15th of JULY next

Or their claims will be considered waived. Persons intending to Emigrate with the First Colony on

The 15th of AUGUST

Are advised, that in consequence of the very rapid sale of the land (nearly four-fifths of the selected acres being already disposed of), immediate application will be necessary, in order to secure *Town Sections in the first and principal settlement.*

FIRST COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND,

Under this designation a Society has been formed, consisting exclusively of heads of families and others, about to settle permanently in New Zealand, on lands purchased from the Company. The Society already numbers a considerable body of gentlemen. Others, who may entertain similar views, are invited to join them. Qualification of a member of the Society, the purchase of one hundred acres of land; of a member of the committee, five hundred acres; including, in both cases, part of the first town. Members admitted by ballot only.

COMMITTEE OF THE FIRST COLONY;
WITH POWER TO ADD TO THEIR NUMBER.

<p>GEORGE SAMUEL EVANS D.C.L., Chairman. HON. HENRY PETRE CAPTAIN DANIEL DUDLEY SINCLAIR, Esq. FRANCIS MOLESWORTH, Esq.</p>	<p>EDWARD BETTS HOPPER, Esq. GEORGE BUFF, Esq. WILLIAM SWAINSON, Esq. F.R.S. ROBERT HENRY WOOD, Esq.</p>
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The Colony will depart in a body on

The 15th of AUGUST next

so as to reach their destination about Midsummer (southern hemisphere), when the site of the first town will have been determined and prepared for their reception by a preliminary expedition now on its way to New Zealand.

The Committee meets daily at the Offices of the **NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY, No. 1, Adam Street Adelphi**, where further information may be obtained, on application (if by letter, post paid), to the Chairman of the Society.

Regulations for Labourers wishing to Emigrate to New Zealand.

1. By the terms of purchase for Lands in the Company's first and principal settlement, dated 1st June, 1839, the Company has engaged to lay out 75 per cent. of the monies received from purchasers, in defraying the Cost of Emigration to the Settlement. According to those terms, purchasers and others may submit labouring persons, of the class hereafter described, for a free passage, for the approval of the Company. In the selection of Labouring Emigrants, the Company has undertaken to give a preference to applicants who shall be under engagement to work for capitalists intending to emigrate.
2. The Company therefore offers a free Passage to the Colony (including provisions and medical attendance during the voyage) to persons of the following description:
3. **Agricultural Labourers, Shepherds, Bakers, Blacksmiths, Braziers and Timmen, Smiths, Shipwrights, Boat-builders, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Cabinet-makers, Carpenters, Coopers, Curriers, Farriers, Millwrights, Harness Makers, Boot and Shoe-makers, Tailors, Fanners, Brickmakers, Lime-burners, and all Persons engaged in the Erection of Buildings.**
4. Persons engaged in the above occupations who may apply for a free passage to New Zealand, must transmit to the Office of the Company, free of expense, the most satisfactory testimonials as to their qualifications, character, and health.
5. They must be labourers going out to work for wages in the Colony, of sound mind and body, not less than 15, nor more than 40 years of age, & married. The marriage certificate must be produced. The rule as to Age will be occasionally departed from in favour of persons having large families, whose qualifications are in other respects satisfactory.
6. To the wives of labourers thus sent out, the Company offers a free passage with their husbands.
7. To single women a free passage will be granted, provided they go out under the protection of their parents, or near relatives, or under actual engagement as servants to ladies going out as Cabin Passengers on Board the same Vessel. The preference will be given to those accustomed to Farm and Dairy-work, to Semstresses, Straw-plaiters, and Domestic servants.
8. The Children of Parents sent out by the Company will receive a free passage, if they are under one, or full fifteen years of age at the time of embarkation. For all other children three pounds each must be paid, in full, before embarkation by the Parents or Friends, or by the Parish. It will be useless to apply for a relaxation of this Rule.
9. Persons not strictly entitled to be conveyed out by the Emigration Fund, if not disqualified on account of character, will, in the discretion of the Directors, be allowed to accompany the Free Emigrants, on paying to the Company the bare contract price of passage, for the time being. The charges for children are as follows: Under one year of Age, no charge; one year and under nine, one-third of the charge for Adults; nine years of age and under fourteen, one-half the charge for Adults; but if the parents be of the labouring class, the children will be taken out on the terms stated in Regulation 8.
10. All Emigrants, adults as well as children, must have been vaccinated, or have had the small-pox.
11. Emigrants will be for the most part embarked at the Port of London, but the Directors will occasionally appoint other ports of embarkation, as circumstances may require.
12. The expense of reaching the port of embarkation must be borne by the Emigrants; but on the day appointed for their embarkation, they will be received, even though the departure of the ship should be delayed, and will be put to no further expense.
13. Every adult Emigrant is allowed to take half a ton weight, or twenty cubic feet, of baggage. Extra baggage is liable to charge at the ordinary rate of freight per ton.
14. The Emigrants must provide the bedding for themselves and children, and the necessary tools of their own trades; the other articles most useful for Emigrants to take with them, are strong plain clothing, or the materials for making clothes upon the passage. In providing clothing, it should be remembered that the usual length of the voyage is four months.
15. On the arrival of the Emigrants in the Colony, they will be received by an officer who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise with them in case of difficulty, and at all times to give them employment in the service of the Company, if from any cause, they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere. The Emigrants will, however, be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and will make their own bargain for wages.

By order of the Board,
JOHN WARD, Secretary.

NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY'S OFFICE,
1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Fig. 43. This was likely to have been the first poster produced by the New Zealand Company (NZC). It was used to introduce the NZC and the colony, and to specify the individual nature of its prospective inhabitants.

James Truscott, London for NZC, 29 June 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 796mm x 1557mm.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHO SHOULD GO AND WHO CAN GO?

*Those placards soon raise great discuss
In minds of those who them beheld,
And o'er them pondered, as if seal'd
By magic to the spot; while all,
Felt something pressing, as to call
For their decision, on a point
Of great import.¹*

The emigrant William Golder suggested that the posters advertising emigration to New Zealand produced audiences who felt compelled to engage with the actions they proposed and that they discussed it with others. The posters urged them to take the important step ‘of great import’ that they offered. This was how Golder himself responded to the poster that he saw pasted onto a wall in Glasgow. The ‘placard of emigration to New Zealand’ in figure 43 is addressed to a socially diverse and geographically dispersed audience. It was distributed throughout the ‘town and environs’ of London by the New Zealand Land Company in 1839. The print run of 4000 suggests it was distributed beyond London’s environs as only 2800 were put up in the metropolitan area.² It was most likely the first produced to promote emigration to New Zealand.

The New Zealand Company (NZC) had two target audiences: largely rural labouring-class emigrants and middle-class colonists.³ It had a long-term goal to establish a viable and socially diverse agricultural colony that would benefit a group of shareholders and commercial interests, and the settlers themselves. Frederick Jerningham pointed out that the NZC was also keen to ensure that the settler population quickly outnumbered the ‘natives’.⁴ In the short-term—between 1839 and 1842—it needed to transfer sufficient people to the colony to proclaim its establishment as a *fait accompli* in the face of considerable official, institutional and media opposition. The majority of the extant posters were produced during these four years. While the contraction of emigration after 1843 would suggest that few posters were produced, New Zealand was settled, if rather sparsely, and had become a Crown Colony. The Associations each had much the same ideologically-based remit as the NZC in their desire to plant colonies.⁵ The governments that followed them oversaw an established colony and were more interested in the immigration of sufficient people to sustain it in the face of an ongoing deficit of working people.

Douglas Pike suggests that Wakefield’s overriding concern was for the “‘uneasy classes’ who needed a little encouragement’ to regain what they had lost in the fluctuations of economic fortune.”⁶ If NZC emigration was driven by Wakefield’s concern for the distress of his own class, it was also a means of alleviating the distress of the classes below it. The relatively wide reach and more general introductory approach of the NZC poster (fig. 43) printed by James Truscott in 1839 was an anomaly, at least among those that survive. Most of the extant posters directed their messages towards the labouring classes, specifically the rural labouring class. Moreover, they hailed discrete audiences and were often produced for purposes that were of immediate interest and intended to prompt immediate attention. This chapter examines how the emigration promoters exploited the medium of the posters to speak to different audiences. It analyses both the explicit and implied addresses that were designed, first to attract these audiences’ attention to the posters and then to engage them in thinking more deeply about their situation and the proposition.

THE LABOURING-CLASS AUDIENCE

This then is the class of people, that could be most easily attracted to a colony...the class which it is most expedient to select, would be the most easily persuaded to avail themselves of a preference in their favour.⁷

The class of people in the quotation from Wakefield's *Art of Colonization* were not the paupers targeted by Wilmot-Horton in the 1820s.⁸ Rather, Wakefield considered that his audience would adopt a positive attitude towards emigration as a way of dramatically improving their lives which would, in turn, motivate them to act.⁹ The NZC expected its ideal emigrant to recognise that accepting the proposition of emigration was in his or her own best interests. This was not an habitually unemployed person, but one who was 'adventurous, enterprising and intelligent' and who chose to emigrate rather than being forced to do so.¹⁰ A prospective New Zealand emigrant was one with a mind 'most disposed to hope', with ambitions that required 'energy of purpose' along with some anxiety for the future.¹¹ This made some of the labouring classes 'earnestly intent upon emigration' as a way to make something more of their lives than they could in England.¹²

Confident that emigration was an activity already embedded within the minds of these people, the NZC orchestrated its promotion of New Zealand with equal confidence, as Belich notes, that it would reach ears open to the tunes it played.¹³ Wakefield's quotation underscores this connection between audience and message.¹⁴ It encapsulates his neatly conceived recognition of the symbiotic relationship between the NZC's message, its objective, and those most suited and likely to respond to the first and so fulfil the second. Using a shared 'vocabulary of [cultural] references', the NZC's advertising was able to precisely target an audience whose concerns it appeared to address.¹⁵ The message prompted the audience to become active participants in the communication process: to evaluate the merits of its proposition, form a particular attitude towards it and incorporate it within their existing cognitive maps.¹⁶

For much of the nineteenth century, England produced a surplus of labourers for hire, people who depended for their existence on wages.¹⁷ The country had developed from an agricultural and rural economy in the mid-1700s to one that was heavily

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EMIGRATION.

Labourers Wanted.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the **DIRECTORS** of the **NEW ZEALAND COMPANY** are ready to receive applications from rural Mechanics and agricultural Labourers, of sober habits and good characters, for a

FREE PASSAGE

TO

NEW ZEALAND.

Forms of application and copies of the regulations for Labourers wishing to emigrate, may be obtained by applying to Col. MACALESTER, Axminster; to the Rev. Dr. RUDGE, Rectory, Hawkechurch; or to Mr. HASKELL, Relieving Officer of the Axminster Union.

A GENTLEMAN WILL ATTEND

On FRIDAY, JUNE the 12th, 1840,

At the BELL INN, Axminster,

from 10 till 2 o'Clock, for the purpose of receiving such applications.

THE COMPANY'S FIRST EMIGRANT SHIP, THE

MARTHA RIDGWAY, 620 TONS,

WILL SAIL FROM ENGLAND ON THE FIRST OF JULY,

AND THE SECOND,

The LONDON, 700 Tons,

on the 1st of AUGUST next.

On the arrival of the Emigrants in the Colony they will be received by an Officer, who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise with them in case of difficulty AND AT ALL TIMES TO GIVE THEM EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE COMPANY, if, from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere. The Emigrants will, however, be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, & will make their own bargain for wages.

Dated JUNE 1840.

WILLS, Printer &c. AXMINSTER.

Fig. 44. Poster advertising for labourers to sail on the ships *Martha Ridgway* and *London*. The similarities in the textual language of this poster and Toms' poster in figure 76 indicates their common source: the NZC. Certain parts of the texts of both are also evident on the original 1839 NZC poster printed by Truscott (fig. 43). The poster also reflects the cooperation of the agents in their pursuit of a common goal. Rev. Rudge's name is on both of these posters and the agent George Toms is listed on another poster printed by Wills (fig. 38).

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for a variety of NZC agents in the West Country, June 1840.
CO208/291/72, NZCS, National Archives, London. 430mm x 555mm.

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FREE PASSAGE,

WITH
Provisions and Medical Attendance,
FOR

LABOURERS, & RURAL MECHANICS,

THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN;
To sail at the end of the coming Harvest, for the ~~and~~ second Colony of

NEW ZEALAND.

General Particulars may be obtained of
H. S. TIFFEN, Land Surveyor, and Civil Engineer, Hythe, Kent,
who is appointed, by the Directors of the New Zealand Company, **AGENT** for selecting

EMIGRANTS,

and is himself proceeding to the Settlement about the month of August next.

WILLIAM TIFFEN, PRINTER, LIBRARY, HYTHE.

Fig. 45. Poster advertising for emigrants for the second colony of Nelson. Tiffen's poster stands out against the majority of the others in this set for both the typefaces he uses and his use of colour to bring together the key points in the text. This poster reflects a care for design that many printers had but seldom used on jobbing work.

William Tiffen, Hythe for the NZC agent Henry Tiffen, c. 1841.
CO208/291/90, NZCS, National Archives, London. 410mm x 330mm.

industrialised and urbanised by the early nineteenth century. The population of England, increased from 5.8 million in 1750 to 8.7 million in 1801 and 21.5 million in 1871.¹⁸ The contraction of English agriculture due to the introduction of ‘scientific’ farming practices, the movement of large numbers of domestic migrants to the cities, and the impact of further industrial advances in manufacturing left millions of labouring people either unemployed or underemployed, and in great hardship.¹⁹ Ongoing fluctuating economic conditions affected all but the most wealthy.²⁰ Catastrophic events such as the civil war in the United States in the 1860s caused a severe downturn in the production of the Lancashire cotton mills as they lost their prime source of cotton.²¹

Emigration was perceived by many social reformers and politicians as the solution to the issues both of, and produced by, the surplus of labour.²² Numerically, these people constituted the majority of the so-called problem. Fortunately, it would seem emigration was also indispensable for the successful establishment of a systematically planned colony that required people who were fit for subsistence farming and colony-building.²³ The motivations of the promoters changed over the years, but the need for labourers of all kinds remained consistent. New Zealand suffered from the very beginning of its colonisation from a ‘want of people’ and this did not change substantially over the years.²⁴ Newspaper advertisements, lectures, articles, pamphlets and posters continued to call for them from beginning to end.

Hailing the Labouring-class Emigrant

Agricultural labourers formed the largest body of the unemployed well before the full potential of New Zealand as an agricultural country was understood. Explicit calls for rural emigrants contributed to a consolidation of the implicit understanding of New Zealand as an agricultural country. The success of these calls relied on the audience understanding and embracing that assumption in their encounters with the posters.

The posters as a set do not provide any evidence that the detailed decisions regarding their graphic presentation were made outside the printing houses. It may seem self-evident that the promoters would require their printers to place some degree of emphasis on the audience as the addressee of the posters. While this is quite marked on

New Zealand Land Company.

Governor, THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Deputy-Governor, JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

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EMIGRATION

TO

NEW ZEALAND.

FREE PASSAGE

FOR

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS ONLY.

The Directors of the *New Zealand Land Company* hereby give Notice, that they are ready to receive Applications for a **FREE PASSAGE** from **AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS ONLY**, being married, and under **30 Years of Age**, to sail by the Ship **BOLTON**, which will leave the West India Docks on the **1st of November**.

Further Particulars, and Printed Forms, may be obtained on Application at the Company's Offices, No. 1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI; or to
Agent at

By Order of the Board,

JOHN WARD, Secretary.

OCTOBER 5, 1839.

Fig. 46. Poster calling for 'agricultural labourers only'. As this poster was produced and displayed in London, the call required this specificity.

Harrison & Co., London for the New Zealand Land Company, October 1839.
CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London. 420mm x 680mm.

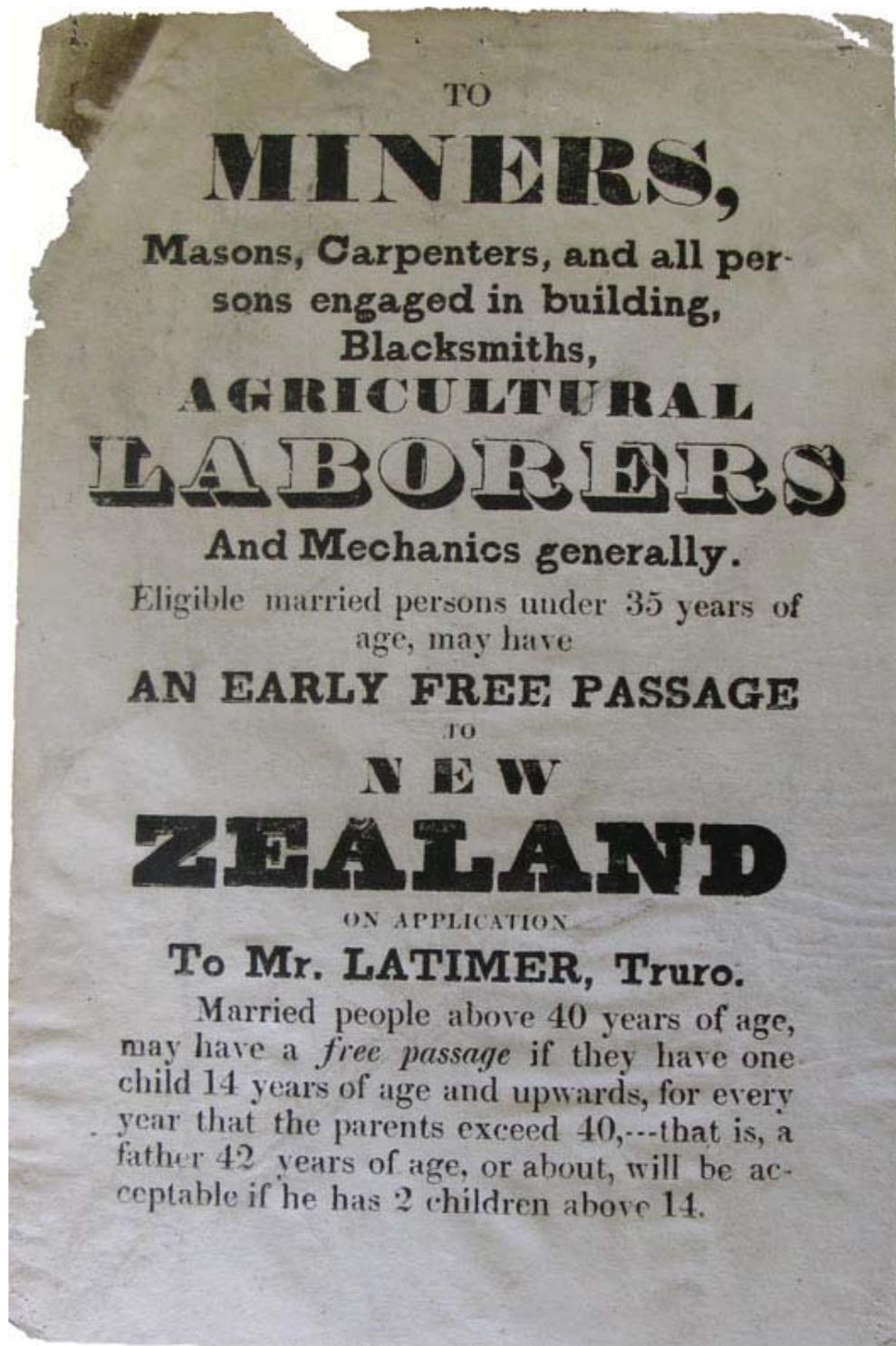


Fig. 47. The typeface used to set 'Mr Latimer' dates this poster at around 1842. There is no reference to the NZC, but Latimer was its agent and Heard's newspaper, *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* produced a series of NZC advertisements in the 1840s.

Elizabeth Heard, Truro for the NZC agent Isaac Latimer, c. 1842.

Rosewarne Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Cornwall Institute, Truro. 147mm x 222mm.

many of them, it is not the case on over half those posters that specifically promote emigration. There is little graphic coherence among the posters. Most textually and graphically echo the standard contemporary advertisements for labourers. This does suggest that printers took the initiative and used contemporary conventional practices which included using the typefaces they had in their type cases.

The most common way that promoters hailed labourers was by naming them. Many of the calls for the labouring classes are at the top of the hierarchical structure of the posters. The complexities involved in conveying information to the hurried passer-by or those of limited literacy makes the typographic structure of these posters critical.²⁵ The printers Richard Cutbush, John Toms, Emanuel Wills and William Tiffen set the audience call at or near the top of their posters (figs. 73, 76, 44 & 45 respectively). By far the most common method of emphasising the call for labourers is through the picking out of the words that describe them from the surrounding text.²⁶ Harrison's printer, Elizabeth Heard, Henry White and Ann Eccles (1848) set the calls in the centre section (fig. 46, 47, 49 & 34 respectively). The calls on these four posters gain their hierarchical status solely from typographic emphasis.

The labourers addressed in these eight posters are highlighted through the picking out process. The fonts are always larger and the typefaces are predominantly, but not exclusively, fat face, slab serif or sans serif. Generally, each tends simply to be different from the surrounding text. The agent Isaac Latimer called for a number of specifically named labourers and Heard used a selection of typefaces to differentiate one from the other (fig. 34).

More specifically, Cutbush picked out 'agricultural labourers' in an italic font of fat face on the poster in figure 73 that he printed for the agent George Whiting. Additional text in italic makes connections between this audience and the primary source of the largesse of a free passage, the 'Governor', 'Deputy Governor' and the two important dates that indicate when meetings will take place. Franklin also used an italic font for his 'mechanics and labourers' (fig. 31). The connotations of the italic font in these posters signify agricultural labourers as enterprising people ready to move forward into their futures in New Zealand. Likewise in figure 48, the printers Charles Skipper and East set

20

**FOR THE SHIPMENT
OF
MERCHANTIZE,
Baggage and Stores.**

EMIGRANTS
ARE REQUESTED TO APPLY TO
J. STAYNER,
Ship and Insurance Broker,
WATER LANE, TOWER STREET,
(BY APPOINTMENT)
TO THE
**NEW ZEALAND
COMPANY.**

Charles Skipper & East, Printers, St. Dunstan's Hill.

Fig. 48. Poster advertising space on a ship for emigrants' excess baggage. The energetic 'emigrants' are linked to the dynamic 'New Zealand' and Stayner, the equally forward thinking 'ship and insurance broker' through the large italic font of fat face.

Charles Skipper & East, London for Joseph Stayner, c. 1840.

CO208/291/26, NZCS, National Archives, London. 330mm x 420mm.

the ‘emigrants’ on Stayner’s poster of 1840 in a large italic font of fat face. These particular emigrants have already committed to making their way forward to New Zealand and may just require extra space for their ‘merchandize, baggage and stores’. The nature of the advertisement suggests that these ‘emigrants’ are in fact colonists, but they too are characterised on the poster as energetic people.

As was the case for many of these posters printed between 1839 and 1842, the immediate purpose of Cutbush’s poster was to announce meetings that Whiting was to hold in rural villages. Its aim was to assemble an audience of labouring people to listen to his lecture, ten and eleven days hence. The poster informs this prospective audience that Whiting would be accompanied by a ‘gentleman’ from the London office, possibly Mears. Mears was to take applications for emigrants who wished to sail to New Zealand on the ship *Bolton* due to depart on 1 November. It advises that Whiting could supply ‘forms of application’ and ‘information’ ahead of the meetings. The poster was unequivocally directed ‘to agricultural labourers’. It is a specific second-person address that begins with the word ‘to’. On this and the Heard poster in figure 34 the word ‘to’ personalises the address, identifying the audience as discrete and particular. It is the textual equivalent of pointing to someone and saying ‘you, pay attention’.²⁷ Another version of this is on the poster in figure 31 printed by Franklin, which notes that its message is ‘worth the attention of...mechanics and labourers’. The poster hails them at the same time as it suggests that there will be some value in heeding its message.²⁸

The slightly earlier poster in figure 46, produced to recruit a discrete group of labourers for the ship *Bolton* was printed for the NZC in London by Harrison’s. The poster specifically calls for ‘agricultural labourers only’ in a large font of fat face set centrally below ‘free emigration’. The point is reiterated in the body text below the call. It bore repeating because London was not a natural recruiting ground for agricultural labourers. In their instructions to agents, the NZC noted that recruitment should be limited to rural areas as ‘the residents of large towns rarely prove desirable emigrants’.²⁹ The qualification ‘only’ refers to the fact that though these labourers were urban dwellers, they might loosely be regarded as ‘agricultural’ as their fathers had emigrated from the country to the city.³⁰ Unemployed Londoners continued to be recruited after

1839 because they were near to hand.³¹ In 1842, William and Arthur Wakefield, by then resident in Nelson, requested that recruiting in London stop because the labourers were unsuitable for the work that needed doing in the still-new second colony.³² By that time, the NZC had moved further afield, not only out of London, but into a hitherto untapped area: Wales.

Phillips and Hearn note that Welsh emigrants were numerically insignificant throughout the entire period of this study.³³ It is difficult to understand why the NZC might have thought Wales, and Merthyr Tydfil in particular, would produce suitable emigrants for an essentially agricultural colony. Wales was not seen by any of the agencies as fertile ground for recruiting emigrants.³⁴ But the NZC did so, at least once. The bi-lingual poster printed by Henry White (fig. 49, see also appendix 6) was produced and displayed in 1841 in Merthyr Tydfil. Merthyr was a mining town that had experienced ‘tremendous industrial advance’ from the early 1800s, a situation that only began to deteriorate from the late 1840s. Even should its citizens wish to emigrate, they were more likely to go to the United States or Canada, countries that were more suitable for industrial workers.³⁵ The poster was produced in a hurried response to a meeting held by the NZC agent at which ‘nearly one hundred and fifty persons [had] applied here this evening’ for a free passage. The agent, possibly Mears as there are no Welsh agents listed in Ward’s *Information Relative to New Zealand*, felt that there were more people ‘equally anxious’ to apply. He decided to ‘postpone his departure’ by two days to allow more time for others to apply. The ‘one hundred and fifty’, set in a larger font of slab serif than the surrounding body copy, is a visual manifestation of the optimism that runs through many of the NZC’s public communication. If all the 150 Welsh emigrants honoured their applications, the ship *Oriental* would need only another 40 to reach her full capacity. Since she was scheduled to leave from Plymouth ‘Monday next, at farthest’ (only six days after the poster was produced), it is likely that some emigrants from the south-west of England had been signed up already. Phillips conflates the English and Welsh in his statistics for emigration in 1842, so it is difficult to know for certain whether this poster was useful. He does note, however, that the emigration numbers for the countries taken together dropped.³⁶

Emigration.

New Zealand Company.

Governor.—JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.
Deputy Governor.—HON. FRANCIS BARING, M. P.

<p>VISCOUNT INGESTRE, M. P. LORD PETRE HENRY A. AGLIONBY, Esq., M. P. JOHN ELLERKER BOULLCOTT, Esq. JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq. W. TAYLOR COPELAND, Esq., M. P. RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq. JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq.</p>	<p>JOHN HINE, Esq. WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., M. P. STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart., M. P. ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq. JOHN PIRIE, Esq., Alderman. SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart., M. P.</p>	<p>JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M. P. WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq., Alderman, M. P. HON. FREDERICK J. TOLLEMACHE, M. P. EDWARD G. WAKEFIELD, Esq. SIR HENRY WEBB, Bart. ARTHUR WILLIS, Esq. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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Castle Inn, Merthyr-Tydfil, Tuesday 11 P.M., June 8th, 1841.

Nearly **ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY** Persons having applied here this Evening for a Free Passage to New Zealand, and it being understood that many more are equally anxious on the subject, the Agent for the Company has postponed his departure till **FRIDAY MORNING**, in order to afford a little more time to those who may wish to take the present chance of obtaining the boon of a

FREE PASSAGE.

A most unfounded rumour appearing to have spread among the Inhabitants of this Town, respecting the terms on which a passage is granted to

LABOURING EMIGRANTS,

The Agent deems it right to state that Emigrants, on arriving in New Zealand, are *just as free, in all respects, as they are in England*: that they can make

Their own Bargains for Wages,

And always obtain employment under the Company, if they cannot get it elsewhere, but that

No Man is Bound

To serve any Employer,
Except of his own Free Choice.

A limited number of Persons may now obtain

A FREE PASSAGE,

BY THE

Oriental, 600 Tons,

WHICH WILL

Sail from Plymouth on Tuesday next, the 15th Inst.

And in order to save unnecessary trouble, **Notice is hereby given**, that none need apply, except

Married Persons

of Good Character, who are prepared to be in Plymouth by

MONDAY NEXT, at FARTHEST.

The Boon will only be bestowed upon the

MOST DESERVING.

No applications will be received after 7 o'Clock on Thursday Evening.

H. W. WHITE, PRINTER AND STATIONER, MERTHYR-TYDFIL.

Fig. 49. Poster produced to recruit emigrants for Nelson from Wales. (English text only). This poster is one half of a bilingual advertisement for labouring emigrants. Cognisant of the need to ensure his message could be read and understood, the agent produced this poster in Welsh and English. The full poster is in appendix 6.

Henry White, Merthyr Tydfil for the NZC, 6 June 1841.
CO208.291/105, NZCS, National Archives, London. 285mm x 450mm

The phrase 'labouring emigrants' itself, like those on Toms' poster produced two years previously (fig. 76), is set in upper case sans serif and, though by no means the largest on the page, is the only one set in this typeface. 'Labourers wanted' is also the only occasion that Toms uses sans serif on the poster he printed for his son, the NZC agent George Toms. The phrase is advantaged both by its high position in the hierarchy of the page and this heavy font of boldly black sans serif. In each case, the font differentiates the call from other phrases on the posters. This is a plain workmanlike typeface that connotes grounded stability, and therefore is appropriate to the words it articulates.³⁷

The typeface used by William Tiffen in 1841 to call for labourers in figure 45 is nothing like it. 'Labourers and rural mechanic' is set in an upper case 'reversed' slab serif, one more likely to be seen in advertisements for fashionable commodities on Regency houses. Being printed in green groups it with 'provisions and medical attendance for 'labourers & rural mechanics/their wives and children' who may find more information from 'H.S. Tiffen', all of which forms a key concept.

There seems to have been no problem recruiting the number of emigrants needed to work for capitalists in the new colony of Nelson. The considerable difficulty the NZC had in selling its land allotments resulted in too many labourers and too few people to employ them.³⁸ As delay could only be disappointing for those who were ready to go at the end of the harvest, the NZC simply sent them.³⁹ This was not only a cause of dissatisfaction among other colonists and labourers in Nelson, but it raised a difficult issue for the NZC. It had made the same promise to employ them should they be unable to find work elsewhere to those who went to Wellington. Since many did not find work elsewhere, the NZC was forced to employ them, to the detriment of their finances.

There are only two Canterbury Association (CA) posters that advertise for emigrants, the remaining four being the brokers' shipping advertisements. The first poster (fig. 83) lists the 'Committee of Management' and so has something of the introductory nature of

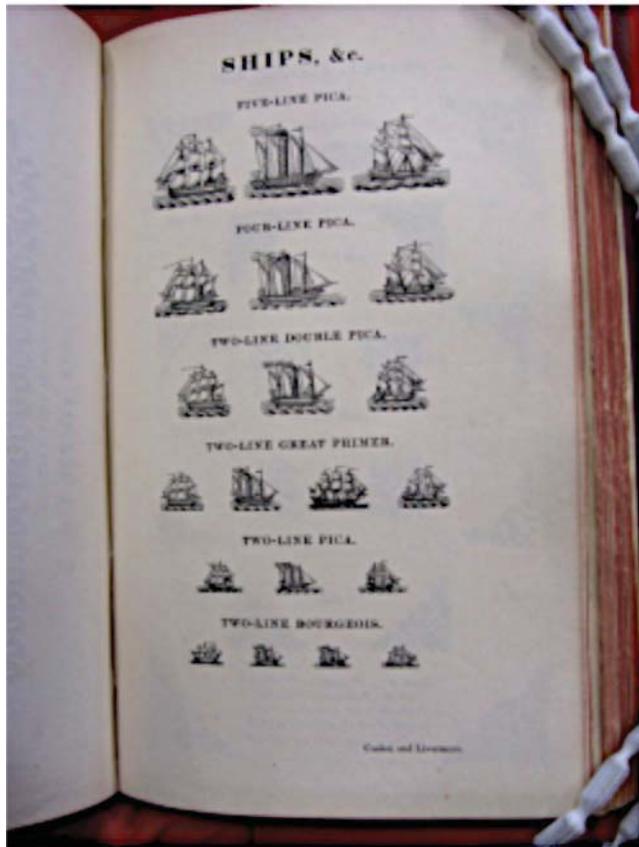


Fig. 50. *top*: Page of Caslon and Livermore's type specimen book showing the 'cuts' of ships. *bottom*: Newspaper advertisement for the ship *Essex*, to sail for Wellington and New Plymouth, The small cuts of generic ships were used in advertisements for emigrants, transatlantic or coastal shipping. As with the Eccles poster, they contributed to the nineteenth century world picture.

from top:

Caslon and Livermore, n.d. St Bride Library, London.

West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser, 5 August 1842. Courtney Library, Royal Cornwall Institute, Truro.

the initial NZC poster of 1839. However, this one recruits the ‘working classes’, specifically the ‘gardeners, shepherds, farm servants and country mechanics’ needed to establish the new colony. Set in a large font of compressed fat face, the phrase sits as part of a group at the top which proposes ‘emigration for the working classes’.

It is the only emigration promotion poster to use an image. The woodcut of a ship set below the heading is the same one used on the posters advertising the ship *Dominion*. It is not clear why Eccles, who printed them both, used the image. Perhaps their presence was designed to represent the adventurous nature of the enterprise and its connotations might then transfer to the audience. She is an anonymous, but sturdy looking ship, so Eccles might equally have used it to allay fears. What we do know is that small woodcuts of ships were a part of a printer’s typecase and that they appear almost inevitably in newspaper shipping advertisements like that in figure 50.

The call for labourers on the second poster, printed by Henry Bull of Devizes, has some of the same text but Bull has not emphasised it (fig. 68). Eccle’s and Bull’s posters are two of only three to use the term ‘working classes’ (the other is the agent Andrew Duncan on his 1874 Turriff poster in figure 39). The use of the plural indicates that nineteenth-century conceptions of this ‘class’ of people was of a number of social and economic levels, rather than one homogeneous group, as Thompson suggests.⁴⁰ The phrases ‘labouring class’ or ‘labouring classes’ do not appear at all on the posters. It would seem that, apart from these CA poster in figure 83, it was not a class as such that was wanted by the agencies but specific member of that class. The use of ‘working’ as opposed to the word ‘labouring’ which is commonly found in the pamphlets is possibly a metropolitan phrase. Though other derivations of ‘labour’ such as ‘labourer’ continued to be used throughout the posters, it was often subsumed in the co-textual literature as ‘working’, indicating some change over time.

Vogel’s scheme to provide the country with a coherent physical infrastructure triggered an intensive recruiting programme in the 1870s. Posters formed a part of the comprehensive advertising produced by the Agent-General’s principle agent Charles

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND having, in course of construction, Railways & other Public Works in various parts of that Colony—and there being also a considerable demand for Agricultural Labourers and Female Servants—are prepared to grant Free Passages to the following classes of Emigrants:—

Navvies, General Farm Labourers, Ploughmen, Gardeners, Shepherds, Mechanics, &c.
Free Passages are also given to Single Female Domestic Servants and Dairy-maids, &c.

I. FREE PASSAGES are granted to Married Agricultural Labourers, Navvies, Shepherds, and Mechanics. They must be sober, industrious, of good moral character, of sound mind, free from bodily deformity, in good health, and must be going to the Colony with the intention to work for wages.

II. The Government will not give free passages to more than *three* children between one and twelve years of age in each family; but parents who have more than three children, may, however, make their application; and the Agent General will determine, in each case, whether the passage applied for can be granted. Every person above the age of twelve years is reckoned as an adult; children between one and twelve are reckoned as half an adult; and infants under one year are not reckoned.

ASSISTED PASSAGES are granted to
Navvies, General Farm Laborers, Ploughmen,
Gardeners, Shepherds, and a few Country
Mechanics.

FREE PASSAGES ARE GIVEN TO
SINGLE FEMALE DOMESTIC
SERVANTS & DAIRY-MAIDS.

FREE PASSAGES are also granted to
Daughters of Married Couples of Twelve
Years of Age and upwards.

Fig. 51. *top*: Each of these four paragraphs outline the nature of the emigrants preferred by the New Zealand Government (NZG). Those who were especially wanted were emphasised by two lines of Clarendon.

bottom: The printer of both this and the poster in figure 54 have used the Clarendon typeface as the body text, rather than for emphasis with extra stress on the ‘single female domestic servants & dairy-maids’.

from top:

Unknown printer, London for the NZG (detail), 28 October 1873.

R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG (detail), 17 March 1873.

R21164918, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

Carter in 1871, 1872 and 1873.⁴¹ The Agent-General's office forwarded these posters to its agents and 'others concerned with introducing emigrants to this office' throughout England, Scotland and Ireland.⁴² By this time, poster advertising in railway stations was a part of the distribution and display system that, unlike Dicken's 'adhesive heap', were paid for and controlled through a number of parliamentary acts.⁴³ Peter Barclay, who conducted a series of meetings in Scotland, advised that railway stations were 'in most places placarded with the "Allan Line", "Anchor Line", &c, &c, keeping America ever before the eyes of the people'. He advised the Agent-General that New Zealand needed to follow this model of advertising.⁴⁴

In 1873 the New Zealand Government (NZG) advised the Agent-General that some 13,000 emigrants were 'much wanted'.⁴⁵ Emigration at that time was 'slack' and there was only a 'miserable' response to the promotions of the Canterbury and Otago provinces.⁴⁶ It is likely that the three posters in figures 36, 37 & 54 which advertised for emigrants stem from this request. The NZG was as specific about the need for labourers with agricultural backgrounds as the agencies that preceded them. Among the occupations called for on the posters were the navvies that were required to build the railway and roading systems in the colony. However, on instructions from the colony, Carter specifically targeted men who were 'labourers brought up on farm work', so he could be sure they would stay beyond the duration of the public works schemes.⁴⁷ Many navvies were also recruited independently by Brogden and Sons.⁴⁸

A stylistic trend evident on the three NZG posters is in the use of the Clarendon typeface. While the other three typefaces (fat face, slab serif and sans serif) dominated the emphasised text on most of the posters in the entire set, Clarendon is used extensively on those produced in the latter years. On the poster in figure 37 dated 28 October 1873, a small font of Clarendon provides the 'striking line' of labouring occupations, sufficiently bold to stand out yet not so bold as to overwhelm or overcrowd the other words.⁴⁹ This poster is very densely worded and a heavily compressed fat face or sans serif might save space, but equally would hinder readability. The line of Clarendon identifies and emphasises the audience without such compromise. The intent of this typeface as a related bold is overridden in the posters of 17 March and 29

October 1873 (figs. 36 & 54). Rather than using it for emphasis, the unknown printer set the body copy—‘navvies, general farm laborers, ploughmen, gardeners, shepherds, and a few country mechanics’ as well as ‘daughters of married couples of twelve years of age and upwards’—in Clarendon and used other typefaces for emphasis.

Some posters spoke in a particular tone of voice, at times imperative. Nineteenth century labouring-class audiences were accustomed to the imperative through their reading of biblical texts which used it liberally.⁵⁰ Even if their religious observance may not have been quite as assiduous as some suggest, the Bible was still the most common text that was read *to* people. It was a device in emigration rhetoric used to encourage so-called surplus populations to ‘replenish the earth, and subdue it’.⁵¹ It was not so much as an order, rather it was an exhortation. ‘Away, then, farm workers, away’, exhorted the *Labourers Union Chronicle* in encouraging unemployed rural labourers to emigrate.⁵²

The Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC) agent Andrew Duncan uses it with some degree of force on the poster in figure 39 which he produced in 1874. It commands the ‘working classes’ to ‘stop and read this bill’. As with ‘to’ and ‘worth the attention of’, the poster employs a second person address that points to the named and intended audience and demands ‘you, stop and read this bill’. The force of the textual demand to stop is emphasised through its heavy upper case font of sans serif set in the top left hand corner and reinforced by an exclamation mark. The poster requires the audience to *do* something, to take some action in response to its imperative tone. It does this first, through transferring agency of action (you do this; I will do this/I will not do this). Second, it utilises the granting of some benefit from compliance which speaks to aspirations that are already a part of the audience’s cognitive map. The value of stopping and reading the bill is the ‘good news’ which unfolds in the list of benefits outlined in chapter three. At the bottom of the list, Duncan reminds the audience, ‘don’t forget to attend the lecture’, equally imperative but less graphically forceful. On the right hand column of the poster Duncan lists those occupations sought by his province but extends a personal invitation to his lecture towards a particular group: ‘mechanics, town and agricultural labourers and domestic servants’. Duncan informs them that they are in ‘great demand’ in upper case italic. Domestic servants on Duncan’s poster form a

discrete group on their own as they tended to be single women. They were consistently difficult to find and they were specifically targeted by all the agencies.

Targeting a specific audience: single women

The difficulty in recruiting single women was a continuous and pressing problem facing all the promotion agencies. Whatever reasons there may have been for these women to resist emigration, they were among the group who are consistently singled out specifically through appeals to their sex rather than their occupation from the beginning to the end.

It was clear early that women who were both suitable and willing were hard to find and generally 'not obtainable'.⁵³ Persistent attempts to remedy the situation are in NZC records, the archives of the Associations and the New Zealand parliamentary papers. In spite of the calls that went out specifically for them from the first posters in 1839 to those in 1873, single men greatly outnumbered single women.⁵⁴ For example, there were 23 single men and only six single women on board the *Bengal Merchant*, in spite of the specific call for them on the John Clark's Scottish poster (fig. 1).⁵⁵ Agents advised aggressive recruiting.⁵⁶ Even though they advertised widely in 'various newspapers' in 1861, Otago's Edinburgh agents Crawford and Auld reported that they did not feel 'sanguine of success' in their efforts throughout the 1860s.⁵⁷ In 1871, the Undersecretary for Emigration, J.E. March, advised Featherston that he would welcome 'any number of single women'.⁵⁸

But, life in a colony held little appeal for many women. Even married women were more reluctant to emigrate than their husbands were. In 1848, the agent James Adam's wife enlisted the help of their minister in opposing his decision to emigrate to Otago.⁵⁹ In 1875, William Burton found wives the most difficult to convince and their reluctance to 'venture' a powerful obstacle to recruitment.⁶⁰ William Kingston's tale of a potential emigrant's frustration illustrates the problem. 'But my missus, sir, I can't get she to move'.⁶¹ John White's Lincolnshire poster in figure 92 addresses this problem by reproducing letters from women satisfied at having emigrated (Mary Jane Hill and Elizabeth Fow). James Rickells notes that his wife's 'health is better', and Matthew

Cook, comments that his wife ‘does not rue coming. She is more comfortable here than ever she was in Aylesbury’.

The drive for equal numbers of men and women was central to NZC philosophy. Without it, there was a perception that New Zealand would descend into the moral degeneracy perceived in America where colonisation was haphazard and undertaken largely by ‘ignorant, dirty [and] unsocial’ men.⁶² Women were crucial to the colonial enterprise. ‘Good’ women provided ‘moral currency’ which would mitigate the bad behaviours of a men left to their own devices and other male company. The Canterbury agent Duncan told single women who could not find husbands at home that they would contract ‘a very speedy marriage’ in New Zealand in the men-abundant colony.⁶³ Women were essential as domestic servants. As vessels for the natural growth of colonial populations, they diminished the cost of increasing the population through extended emigration.⁶⁴ Statistics of natural population growth in the 1840s bear out the inadvisability of a surplus of single men.⁶⁵ Such an imbalance brought problems of the division of labour. Men who had to look after themselves would use their time less profitably.⁶⁶ A lack of domestic help also made middle-class pretensions to ‘elevate and purify the tone of society’ difficult.⁶⁷

It was important for the promoters be seen to be addressing the issue, as such a deficit did not make emigration attractive.⁶⁸ The call for single women in the posters of Franklin in figure 31, and Truscott and Hudson (figs. 52 & 53) is typographically moderate, but emphasised nonetheless. They were also advertised as the means by which single men, if ‘accompanied by one or more adult sisters’, would be accepted as emigrants. Presumably it was up to the men to persuade their sisters to accompany them.

When the NZC explicitly calls for domestic servants on Eccles’ 1848 poster in figure 55, it implicitly asks for single women. ‘Domestic servants’ is set in a slender upper and lower case fat face, the soft lines suggests the indoors and the feminine. This is especially evident when compared with the manly outdoor pursuits of ‘agricultural mechanics and farm laborers’ who appear in slab serif and sans serif, and a rotund font of fat face.



Fig. 52. This poster advertises a passage to the NZC's first settlement of Wellington. The unnamed 'emigrant ships' were likely to have been the *London*, the *Martha Ridgway* and the *Resource*. The first two ships are advertised in the June posters of Wills and Toms in figures 38 & 76. Like Truscott's earlier poster, this one was printed in pieces and put together on the wall by the billstickers.

James Truscott for the NZC, 6 May 1840.

CO208/291/71, NZCS, National Archives, London. 780mm x 1330mm.

63

EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND.

The Directors of the New Zealand Company, do hereby give notice that they are ready to receive Applications for a **FREE PASSAGE** to the

TOWN OF WELLINGTON,
AT LAMBTON HARBOUR,
PORT NICHOLSON, COOK'S STRAITS,
NEW ZEALAND,

From Agricultural Laborers, Shepherds, Miners, Gardeners, Brickmakers, Mechanics, Handicraftsmen, and Domestic Servants, **BEING MARRIED**, and not exceeding Forty years of age; also from **SINGLE FEMALES**, under the care of near relatives, and **SINGLE MEN**, accompanied by one or more **ADULT SISTERS**, not exceeding, in either case, the age of Thirty years. Strict inquiry will be made as to qualifications and character.

Apply on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, to Mr. **JOSEPH PHIPSON**, 11, Union Passage, Birmingham,
AGENT TO THE COMPANY.

TOWN and COUNTRY SECTIONS of LAND on sale, full particulars of which may be had on application as above.

HUDSON, PRINTER, BIRMINGHAM.

Fig. 53. If the stamps are a reliable measure of the order of production, Hudson's poster was printed before Truscott's which suggests that this poster produced an unsatisfactory response to the call for 'single females' in Birmingham.

Benjamin Hudson, Birmingham for the NZC, c. May 1840.

CO208/291/63, NZCS, National Archives, London. 172mm x 255mm.



Fig. 54. One of three posters produced by the Agent-General in response to a NZG request for 13,000 emigrants.

Unknown printer for the NZG, 29 October 1873.

R21161949, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. 568mm x 890mm.



Fig. 55. Poster advertising for a variety of labouring-class people to sail on the ship *Ajax*.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC, (detail), 1848.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

In 1868, the PGC advertised on the poster in figure 61 for labouring emigrants generally and called especially for ‘single women as cooks, general servant, dairy maids, &c.’. The printer framed this line with extra space top and bottom to emphasise it by keeping it separate. On the 1873 poster of the Provincial Government of Otago (PGO) in figure 58, ‘single female domestic servants’ is set in upper case Clarendon, centred and on a line above the less emphasised information regarding children and single men. The calls for single women on these posters are not overly emphatic, yet each differs graphically from the text that surrounds it. The use of the Clarendon typeface for ‘single women’, ‘emigration to Otago’ and ‘free passages’ prompts a reading that groups the three separate thoughts together to construct a proposition which is realisable and for these women only.

The red letters of the two NZG posters initially directs the eyes of passers-by towards the poster itself. Then the typographic resources invite engagement with the message. A moderately sized upper case font of Clarendon picks out ‘single female domestic servants and dairy-maids’ from the more conventionally set upper and lower case on the NZG poster of 17 March 1873 (fig. 36). The Agent-General produced a further poster on 29 October 1873 which calls for them in quite immoderate tones. All three of the

NZG's posters hail 'single female domestic servants' (figs. 36, 37 & 54). But on the poster in figure 54 it is set in a large font of elongated sans serif mid-way through a body of text. Above it set in Clarendon the poster hails a variety of labouring men and below are its qualifiers: 'cooks, housemaids, nurses, general servants, dairy maids &c.'. In the context of the entire poster, the line forms a group with 'New Zealand', 'free passages' and the 'Government of New Zealand' through the collective setting in fonts of sans serif. The practical value of the large upper case sans serif in this poster is its 'ponderous' size and graphic weight.⁶⁹ It had the graphic presence to grab the attention of a single women with even a limited 'command of the ABC'.⁷⁰ It was a practical solution to two problems. The printer used this font to ensure that the phrase would attract attention and the font retained the key address intact on one line.

Targeting a specific audience: The Scots

The Scots were another group of people specifically targeted by most of the agencies. The posters often hailed Scottish audiences implicitly rather than explicitly. The production, distribution and display of the posters responded to specifically Scottish concerns. The NZC initially intended that 'emigrants will be for the most part embarked at the port of London' (fig. 43). They departed from Gravesend and Plymouth as these were relatively close to London. Yet the number of ships that left ports other than London in the early 1840s suggests that this quickly became unrealistic. A poster produced in 1840 advertised a public meeting in Glasgow notes that the port of embarkation is the Clyde (fig. 3, *bottom right*).⁷¹ Many labouring families found it impossible to raise sufficient funds to travel to London. Highlanders were also suspicious of any encouragement to emigrate as many remembered the land clearances which forced them out of their homes and to America.⁷² The caution of the Scots was 'well-known'.⁷³ Two NZC posters reflect both this caution and a preference for embarking in Glasgow. The first poster (fig. 56) was produced by the NZC's Devon agents, Little and Woollcombe. There is no contextual evidence that this poster was distributed anywhere other than the wider Devon area. It was produced in Devonport by the local agents and printed by a Devonport printer to recruit labourers to sail on the ship *Duke of Roxburgh*

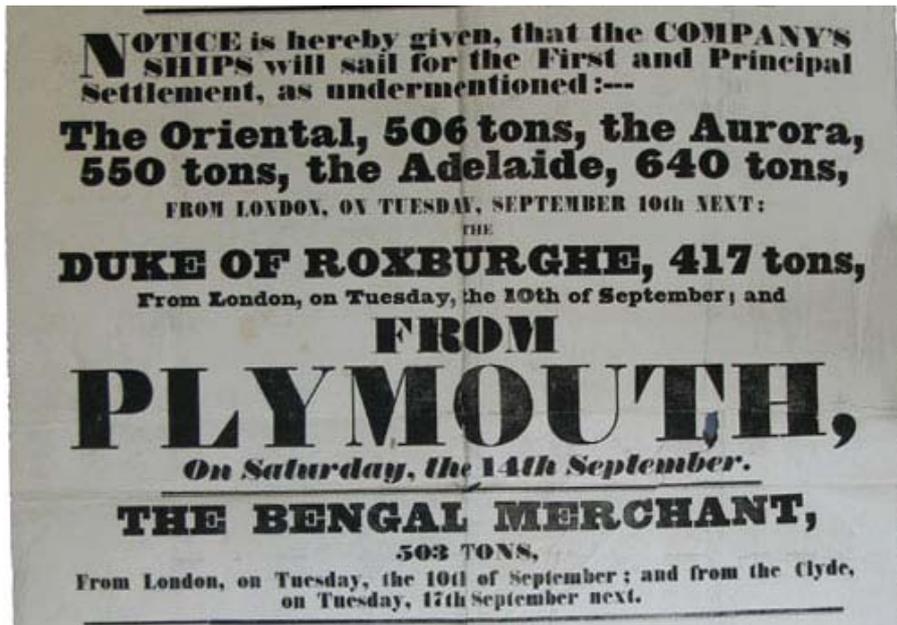


Fig. 56. The emphasis on 'Plymouth' as the embarkation port reflects the poster's production in Devon for Devonians. The *Bengal Merchant* is emphasised in a different way to reflect the ship's departure from the Clyde.

Henry Granville, Devonport for the NZC (detail), 23 August 1839
CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London. 405mm x 670mm.

from Plymouth. The poster also indicates that other ships will depart from London and the *Bengal Merchant* from Glasgow.

The three different embarkation ports suggest that it was displayed in all those locations. The printer, Henry Granville, used both typographic composition and typefaces as devices to ensure the expedition to New Zealand was understood as a coherent and comprehensive affair and to also alert Devonians and the Scots to the parts of the message that was relevant to them. All the ships—the '*Oriental*', '*Aurora*', '*Adelaide*', '*Duke of Roxburgh*' and '*Bengal Merchant*'—are identified as such by their setting in fonts of slab serif. However, the different fonts Granville used create a specifically directed message within a larger message.⁷⁴ The *Oriental*, *Aurora*, and *Adelaide* sail from London and are set in upper and lower case. The *Duke of Roxburgh* and the *Bengal Merchant* also sail from Plymouth and Glasgow respectively. They are set in an upper case font of slab serif. Compositionally, the first three are grouped together in two lines of running text while

the other two are set separately. The *Bengal Merchant*, is discretely framed. The ship's grouping within the frame with 'from the Clyde' also helps to counter the heavy emphasis on 'Plymouth' just above it, which is itself a directed message to Devonian labourers. The poster was produced on 23 August 1839 with an expectation that the *Bengal Merchant* would depart from Glasgow on 17 September.

On 5 October, the poster in figure 1 was printed by the Glasgow printer John Clark under the heading of 'first Scottish colony for New Zealand'. The textual language on the poster is explicitly Scottish in tone. It begins with a characterisation of the proposed 'colony' as expressly 'Scottish' and continues with the information that the ship will sail from 'Port-Glasgow for New Zealand'. It was a single purpose poster and did not mention that the ship also departed from London, as the Granville poster did. 'Sail from Port-Glasgow' is emphasised graphically by a moderately large font of upper case fat face. Following this, the phrase 'with the first body of settlers' is set in a larger and typographically darker font of slab serif. Such heavy emphasis on these words implies that this is, indeed, the first body of settlers bound for their own colony, rather than the first body of Scottish settlers. The English settlers, who were also 'first' and were to travel to New Zealand on the *Bengal Merchant*, are not mentioned.

Ten years later, the poster in figure 57 advertised a 'ship from Clyde' which was intended to take a body of specifically Scottish settlers to their own colony. A font of compressed fat face makes this connection between the 'emigrants' and 'Otago'. An unusually compressed font of slab serif forges a relationship between the 'ship from Clyde', information about the 'rates of passage' and the secretary of the Otago Association (OA), 'J. M'Glashan'.

In 1875, Vogel suggested that all applications *from* Scotland be lodged *in* Scotland 'so as to meet the prejudice of Scotch people against communications with a London office,

IMPORTANT
TO
EMIGRANTS

SHIP FROM CLYDE
TO
OTAGO.

A Ship will be despatched from the Clyde to Otago, on the 4th of September 1849, provided a sufficient number of LAND PURCHASERS, and of Persons PAYING their own passages, desirous of sailing from the Clyde to Otago, at that date, come forward and give satisfactory assurance to the above effect. With the view to complete the arrangements for this purpose, it is necessary, and particularly requested, that all parties wishing to avail themselves of them, make application before the 9th of July 1849: On which day, the Otago Association will proceed to consider whether the applicants are sufficiently numerous to warrant a recommendation to the New Zealand Company, to lay on such a Ship in addition to those which are to proceed from London, and will immediately thereafter intimate to the applicants, the decision of the Company.

RATES OF PASSAGE, PROVISIONS INCLUDED,

FOR EACH PERSON	Chief Cabin.	Fore Cabin.	Steerage.
	GUINEAS	GUINEAS	GUINEAS
14 Years old and upwards, - - - - -	45	25	18
7 Years old, and under 14 - - - - -	27	15	10
1 Year and under 7 - - - - -	18	10	8
Under 1 Year old, - - - - -	0	0	0

The Company will appoint an experienced Surgeon, and provide Medicines, Medical Comforts, and an ample Dietary for each Class of Passengers.
 For further particulars apply at the Head Office of the Association No. 27 Hanover Street, Edinburgh, or to Messrs ROXBURGH & RICHARDSON, Ship and Insurance Brokers, No. 1 Royal Bank Place, Glasgow.

BY ORDER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

J. M'GLASHAN, Secretary

Fig. 57. A poster with the very specific reference to the embarkation port of Clyde. Unknown printer, Glasgow, for the Otago Association (OA), c August 1849. Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 515mm x 797mm.

and sailing from that port'.⁷⁵ The Agent-General had earlier decided to make London the port of embarkation for the Scots, an action which 'interrupted' Scottish emigration to New Zealand.⁷⁶ John Auld, the Otago agent in Scotland noted that withdrawal of the Clyde embarkation was the 'chief cause' of complaint among those who would otherwise be prepared to emigrate.⁷⁷ Part of their objection was the cost incurred in joining the ship in London.⁷⁸ On 4 November 1872, the New Zealand Premier, George Waterhouse, ordered Featherston by telegram to 'consider following instructions absolute...send Scotch emigrants from Glasgow'.⁷⁹ As a result, the immigration officer in Wellington suggested that both newspaper advertisements and 'placards' be widely distributed in the most promising areas to advertise a resumption of Scottish emigration from Glasgow.⁸⁰ In the end, the NZG authorised Auld to make his own arrangements to procure ships to depart from Glasgow once a month.⁸¹ The NZG agent James Seaton immediately had posters and handbills circulated in Ayr, Lanark, Perth and Fife. The ship *Otago*, advertised on the poster in figure 58 produced for the PGO in 1873, reflects the resumption of Scottish emigration from the Clyde. As well as displaying his posters on Stornaway street corners, Seaton enterprisingly had one hoisted up the mast of the steamer that transported local fishermen home from their fishing grounds. They would thus have 'ample notice' of his presence in the area and his willingness to speak to them about New Zealand.⁸² Unfortunately, such ingenuity was to no avail as Seaton was unable to secure any emigrants at all. He put this down partly to the rumour of 'sickness' on board the ship *Hydaspes* but mostly to the ongoing presence of a Canadian agent who was equally set on procuring suitable emigrants and who offered better incentives.⁸³

The qualities of the English labouring-class emigrant

New Zealand as an emigration destination was not promoted as a 'haven for all comers', nor a dumping ground for England's 'worthless poor'.⁸⁴ While many of the labouring classes who emigrated to New Zealand in the nineteenth century suffered varying degrees of poverty, paupers were not wanted.⁸⁵ One of the NZC's regulations state that those 'resident in a workhouse or in the habitual receipt of parish relief' will be unsuitable as emigrants. (fig. 60, item 6). Desirable emigrants were not those 'driven

from their birth-place [push]...but attracted to a new place [pull]'.⁸⁶ The travel writer, Samuel Laing characterised the enterprising English working man as superior to all others.

It is no exaggeration to say that one million of our working men do more work in a twelvemonth, act more, think more, get through more, produce more, live more, as active beings, in this world than any three millions in Europe, in the same space of time; and in this sense, I hold it to be no vulgar exaggeration, that the Englishman is equal to three or four of the men of any other country.⁸⁷

This view was part of a contemporary self-reflection that links directly with emigration, the colonising project, and Anglo-Saxon/English 'perpetual motion and bustling energy'.⁸⁸ The idle, profligate, improvident and thriftless labourer was the exception, rather than the rule.⁸⁹ Middle-class reformers—post-enlightenment ideologues, pragmatic politicians and zealous churchmen, often, but by no means exclusively, Methodist—ostensibly had good clay to work with in the manly English working man. Methodist support of emigration was particularly strong in Cornwall.⁹⁰ Most of the migrating poor were conceived of as the deserving poor who possessed the natural English qualities of good character in all its permutations, as it was defined by the emigration promoters. Compared to the whimsical Irish (who were also considered to be 'turbulent and dangerous'), the immoderate French and the bookish and effeminate English aristocrats, the manly English labourer was described through a set of stock phrases as industrious, sober, moral, energetic, frugal, self-reliant, respectable and independent.⁹¹ Working people were as equally wedded to moral concepts of respectability as the middle classes.⁹² Industry itself was considered a natural English quality. Those who succeeded through industry tended to be either English or English-like while those who failed were something other, usually Irish.⁹³ This was a circular argument, but an important part of the myth of Englishness that permeated all levels of Victorian society. Industriousness, for example, was the embodiment of Englishness and being English was to be, *ergo*, industrious. Englishness was also conflated with the overarching Victorian qualitative concept of respectability which included 'innately moderate appetites', moral fastidiousness and the virtues of family life, and manliness.⁹⁴

The only use of the word ‘deserving’ is on the English version of Henry White’s Welsh poster (fig. 59). The word is set in Tuscan, a decorative Regency typeface designed in 1817 and ‘enormously enjoyed’ by the Victorians.⁹⁵ As a letterform it had been in the English visual landscape for centuries.⁹⁶ There seems to be no conceptual reason why the printer White chose the typeface. Unlike the italic font, it had no bodily connotations that linked with emigration or progress. But, the Tuscan typeface did emphasise the words ‘most deserving’ which had specific connotations in the context of contemporary discourses.⁹⁷

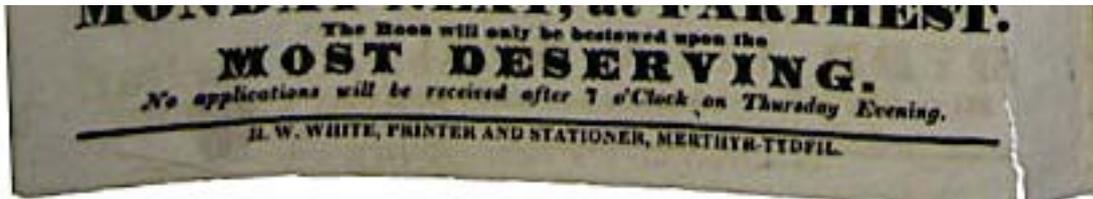


Fig. 59. *top*: The so-called Tuscan letterform was part of both the built and print landscape. It was used in architectural lettering on English medieval churches to eighteenth century English buildings.

bottom: The Tuscan typeface used to articulate ‘most deserving’ on the poster printed by R. W. White n Merthyr Tydfil.

from top:

Inscription on the main doors of Bath Abbey, Bath, sixteenth century.

Photo credit: Patricia Thomas.

Henry White, Merthyr Tydfil, for the NZC (detail), 6 June 1841.

CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London.

The deserving were those who were temporarily unemployed or poor through no fault of their own. There was little room in Victorian charity for people to be both deserving and yet consistently impoverished. Habitually unemployed able-bodied people were felt

by some to be the authors of their own misfortune and therefore not automatically deserving of assistance.⁹⁸ In theory, the undeserving included those who refused employment opportunities or became involved in strikes. In practice, many of those involved in the union unrest in the 1870s were accepted for emigration.⁹⁹

While many aspects of the discourse of the perceived natural qualities of the English need to be viewed in terms of particular rhetorical strategies on the part of social reformers and emigration promoters alike, they nevertheless affected the lives of those they addressed. There was a 'cold-hearted' puritanism in nineteenth century charity that was conditional on whether its recipient was seen as deserving of it or not.¹⁰⁰ This allowed people to use terms such as 'worthless poor' to divide a whole category of people into those who deserved the bounty of charity and those who did not. The workhouse is perhaps the most potent example of this harsh attitude. It was a mechanism of regulation, supervision and punishment rather than refuge. It was a way to remove from society the typical behaviours of 'dissipation and idleness' among the 'lower classes' as fears that the growing numbers of delinquent urban poor would lead to their own and the country's ruin.¹⁰¹ The contradictions in Victorian society are evident in these binary perceptions of the manly and energetic Anglo-Saxon and the undeserving drunk. It seems that the labouring classes were at once respectable *and* incapable of self-control.

On the face of it, the regulations against recruiting from the workhouses makes good sense in the light of perceptions of the 'indolence, vice and revelry' of some among the labouring classes.¹⁰² In practice, workhouse inmates were encouraged to emigrate to New Zealand and some did so, as the regulation was circumvented on at least one occasion. Whiting found recruiting the rural poor difficult. As the end of September was probably the latest that ships could leave England to ensure a relatively storm-free voyage to New Zealand, recruiting in October was likely to be difficult.¹⁰³ But there were other problems. The incongruities between what the NZC required and what agents such as himself were able to secure was difficult to reconcile. He recruited a number of families who came from the Staplehurst workhouse to depart on the ship *Bolton*.¹⁰⁴ Whiting's selections were overseen and approved by a NZC representative,

probably Mears. In spite of any agency the labouring classes had and exercised over their own lives, there were some activities that could not be realised without the endorsement of those above them.¹⁰⁵

The spirit of a scheme, such as that of the NZC, in which emigration was conducted along rational lines assumed that the ‘moral sentiments’ of rational people working towards an ordered society in a new, untainted country would remedy the ills that beset England.¹⁰⁶ The directors of the NZC understood that if the colony was to be attractive to such people, they needed to take measures to ensure that ‘the attributes of society and civilization’ were preserved.¹⁰⁷ Such aspirations required some measure of control.¹⁰⁸ Most of the posters that are addressed to the labouring classes evidence attempts at administering that control.

Regulating the labouring-class emigrant

A considerable number of the posters detail the required qualities of the prospective emigrant and these terms implicitly excluded others without those qualities. Hudson suggests that those who thought they might not fit the criteria would simply not apply.¹⁰⁹ This does not account for the cases of so-called unsuitable people who either misrepresented their suitability or knew that if they applied, they would be accepted, in spite of their apparent unsuitability. For various reasons and in a number of circumstances, the regulations were often either by-passed or waived. Nevertheless, however the posters were phrased and whether or not they succeeded, they sought to both attract the suitable emigrants and deter the unsuitable. No assumptions of good character were made about the labouring classes.

Labouring-class emigration throughout the period addressed in this thesis was hedged with regulations. Such ‘order and regimentation’ was pivotal to systematic colonisation. It was both morally and economically crucial for the development of a successful colony.¹¹⁰ The spirit, if not the letter, of the Regulations is evident on most of the posters

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

GOVERNOR.

JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.

DEPUTY-GOVERNOR.

HON. FRANCIS BARING.

DIRECTORS.

VISCOUNT INGESTRE, M.P.
LORD PETRE.
HENRY A. AGLIONBY, Esq. M.P.
JOHN ELLERKER BOULCOTT, Esq.
JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq.
CHARLES BULLER, Esq., M.P.
WILLIAM TAYLOR COPELAND, Esq. AD. M.P.
RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq.
JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq.
JOHN HINE, Esq.
WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P.

WILLIAM KING, Esq.
ROSS DONNELLY MANGLES, Esq. M.P.
STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. M.P.
SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart.
ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq.
THE LORD MAYOR.
JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq. M.P.
WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq. Alderman, M.P.
HON. FREDERICK JA^S TOLLEMACHE, M.P.
ARTHUR WILLIS, Esq.
GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.

NEW ZEALAND HOUSE, Broad Street Buildings.

London, 7th March, 1842.

REGULATIONS

To be observed in the selection of LABOURERS for a FREE PASSAGE, (including Provisions and Medical Attendance during the voyage) to NEW ZEALAND; and also the CONDITIONS on which the passage, when granted, must be understood to be accepted.

TRADE OR CALLING.

1. The Emigrants must belong to the class of Mechanics and Handicraftsmen, Agricultural Labourers, or Domestic Servants.

2. The classes most in demand may be described as follows:—Shepherds and Farm Servants; the trades employed in building, such as Carpenters, Sawyers, Joiners, Plasterers, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Quarrymen, and Limeburners; country Blacksmiths, who can shoe horses; Wheelwrights; Harness makers; and a moderate number of Tailors and Shoemakers.

3. All the Adults must be capable of labour, and must emigrate with the intention of working for wages after their arrival, and of remaining in the Settlement to which a free passage may be granted to them.

4. Persons who are intending to buy Land in the Colony, or invest a small capital in trade, are not eligible for a free passage, nor are their families.

5. Persons resident in a Workhouse, or in the habitual receipt of parish relief, are not considered eligible for a free passage.

DESCRIPTION OF FAMILY, AND AGE.

6. The Emigrants must consist principally of married couples, who will be required to produce their marriage certificates.

The Candidates most acceptable are young couples who have no children; and no family can be accepted which includes more than two children under seven years of age.

7. The separation of parents from children who are not grown up, will in no case be allowed.

8. Single women, without their parents, are not admissible, unless they are emigrating under the immediate care of some near married relatives, or are under engagement as domestic servants to ladies going out as cabin passengers in the same ship. The preference will be given to those accustomed to Farm and Dairy-work, Sempstresses, Straw-platters, and Domestic Servants.

9. Single men cannot be allowed, except in a number not exceeding that of the single women in the same ship. If named by a Land Purchaser, they can only be accepted in case the same party has named an equal number of single women who conform to Regulation 8.

10. The age of persons accepted as Adults is to be not less than 14, nor generally speaking, more than 35; but in the case of parents of children above fourteen, this limit will be extended, and for each such adult son or daughter, one year will be added to forty, in computing the admissibility of each of the parents.

11. All Emigrants, Adults as well as Children, must have been vaccinated, or have had the Small Pox.

12. Persons who are ineligible to be conveyed out by the Emigration Fund, if not disqualified on account of character, will in the discretion of the Court of Directors, be allowed to accompany the free Emigrants, on paying to the Company the bare contract price of passage, which is usually between £17, and £20, for each person of the age of fourteen and upwards.

CHARACTER.

13. Good Character is indispensable, and decisive certificates will be required both to this point, and to competence in the professed trade or calling of the proposed Emigrant.

FORM OF APPLICATION.

14. All applications must be made in the form hereto annexed, which must be duly filled up and attested, as explained in the form itself, and then forwarded to this office.

15. The nomination of Labourers for a free passage by Land Purchasers, will be subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, whose answer must be received before the Emigrants are led to make any preparation.

16. Should it be found that the signatures attached to the certificate are not genuine, or that any other deception is attempted, the application will be rejected.

PROCEEDINGS SUBSEQUENT TO APPLICATION AND APPROVAL.

17. If approved of the Emigrants will receive a free passage as soon as the arrangements of the Company will admit. But due notice will be given to them of the ship by which they are to sail, and of the time appointed for sailing; and, unless they receive such notice, they must,

on no account, withdraw from their employment, or make any preparation for departure.

18. The expense of reaching the port of embarkation must be paid by the Emigrants.

19. Before the Embarkation Order, entitling them to a passage, is issued, each head of a family, and each single man or woman whose parents are not going out in the same ship, will be required to pay a deposit of £1. to ensure their coming forward to embark, which deposit will be forfeited if they do not proceed, but otherwise will be returned on their reaching the Colony.

20. Provisions, Mattresses and Bolsters, and Cooking Utensils will be found; but Blankets, Sheets, and Coverlets are not supplied, and of these the Emigrants must provide a sufficient stock for themselves and their families. They should also bring their own Towels, and their own Knives and Forks, with Tin or Pewter Plates, Spoons, and Drinking Mugs. The Emigrants will be allowed to retain their Mattresses and Bolsters on arrival in the Colony, if they conduct themselves well during the voyage.

21. The Emigrants must bring their own Clothing, which will be inspected at the Port by an Officer of the Company; and all parties are particularly desired to observe that they will not be allowed to embark, unless they provide themselves with a sufficient supply for their health during the voyage. The lowest quantity that can be admitted for each person is as follows:—

For Males.

Six Shirts,
Six pairs of Stockings,
Two pairs of Shoes,
Two complete Suits of Exterior Clothing.

For Females.

Six Shifts,
Two Flannel Petticoats,
Six pairs of Stockings,
Two pairs of Shoes,
Two Gowns.

As a general rule, it may be stated, that the more abundant the stock of Clothing, the better for health and comfort during the passage. The usual length of the voyage to New Zealand is about four months, and at whatever season of the year it may be made, the Emigrants have to pass through both very hot and very cold weather, and should therefore, be prepared for both.

22. Each family should furnish itself with two canvass Clothes' Bags, as the heavy Boxes and Chests will be put away in the hold, and there will only be access to them once in every three or four weeks.

23. It is desirable that Emigrants should take out with them the necessary tools of their trades; bulky Agricultural Implements, however cannot be admitted, on account of their inconvenient size and weight; neither can Furniture be received on board; Mattresses especially, and Feather Beds, are strictly prohibited.

24. The whole quantity of Baggage for each Adult Emigrant must not measure more than 20 cubic or solid feet, nor exceed half a ton weight. It must be divided into two or three boxes of not more than 2½ or 3 feet long, by about 20 inches wide and 18 inches high. People should not crowd the ship with boxes only half-filled, and must pack their effects close. Large packages and extra baggage will not be taken unless paid for, and only in case there be room in the ship.

25. Only the luggage really belonging to each family of passengers is intended to be taken under the foregoing allowance. If any one should attempt to impose on the Company by letting the baggage of other persons, not members of his family, go under his name, he will forfeit his passage, and not be suffered to proceed.

26. The Emigrants will be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and to make their own bargain for wages. No re-payment is required from them for the free passage out. The only return expected is a strict observance on board of the Regulations framed with a view to their health and comfort during the voyage, and general good conduct and industrious habits in the Colony.

27. Letters and applications should be addressed, post paid, to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, Broad Street Buildings, London.

By Order of the Court of Directors,

JOHN WARD, Secretary.

Fig. 60. This set of regulations is attached to the offer of free passages. Any emigrant or colonist, who pays the fare, was not subject to the rules.

Unknown printer, London for the NZC, 7 March 1842.

Eph C IMMIGRATION1842,

National Library of New Zealand, Wellington. 261mm x 419mm.

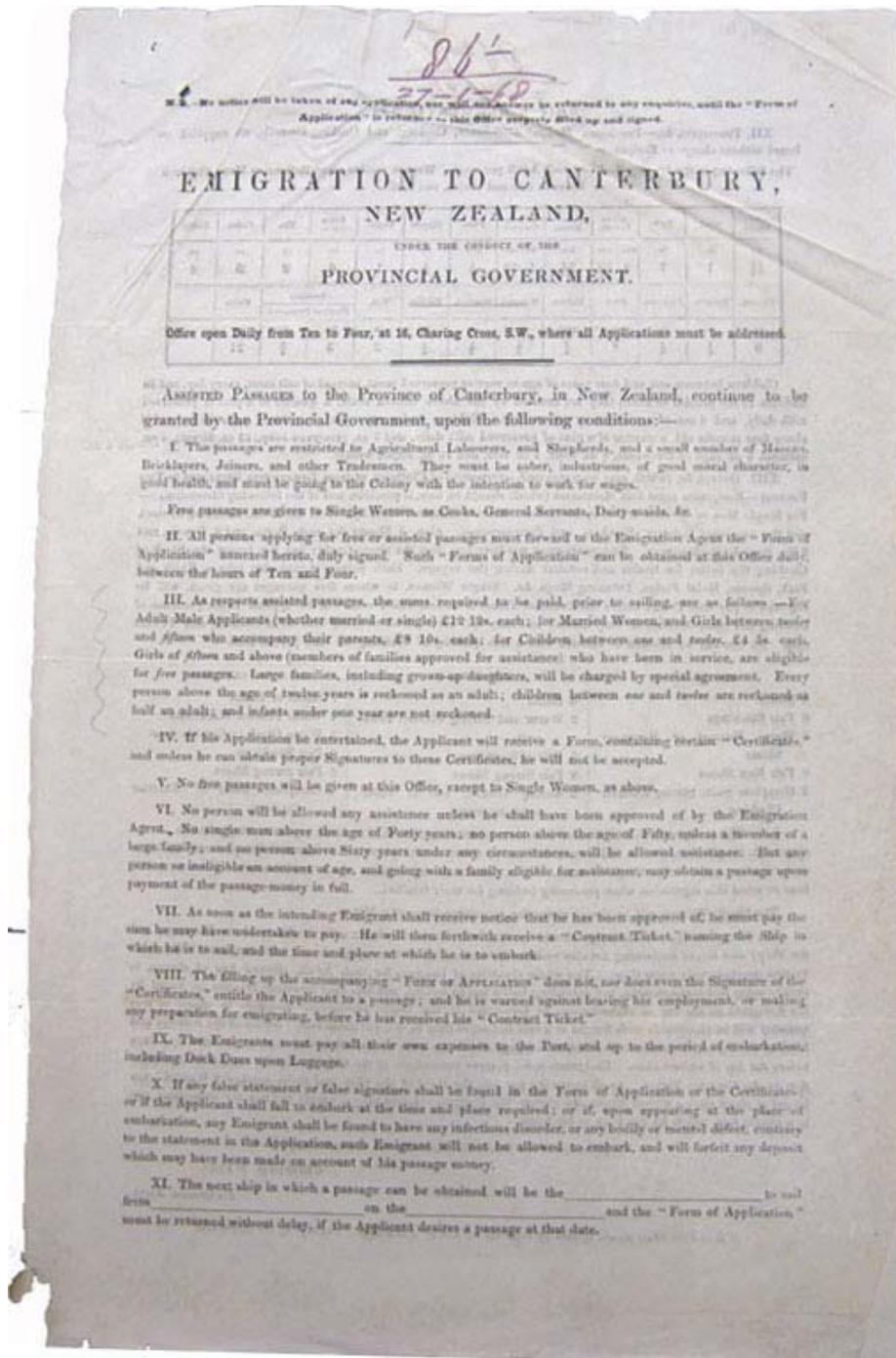


Fig. 61. Though more properly a handbill as it is printed back and front, this nevertheless reads like a poster in its textual language, similar to the posters of the PGO and the NZC in figures 37 & 58. Item 5 advises that 'no free passages will be given except to single women as above'.

Unknown printer, London for the Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC), 27 January 1868.
 CH287 CP94 ICPS, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. 260mm x 420mm.

that call for labouring emigrants. The rules are spelled out more fully in publications such as the NZC handbook *Information Relative to New Zealand* and on a number of posters dedicated to outlining the regulations.¹¹¹

The regulations are printed in a slightly abbreviated form on Truscott's 1839 poster in figure 43. There is another poster which is one of a series of Regulations posters which sets out in full what is expected of a prospective emigrant (fig. 60). In the preamble under the word 'regulations', the words 'labourers', 'free passage', 'New Zealand' and 'conditions' are picked out in upper case. This is a succinct signpost of the long list of conditions to come. Generally, the regulations include a list of standard and pragmatic requirements regarding the occupations, ages and state of health and numbers of very young dependent children. This is both logical and necessary for a group of people whose task it would be to build the physical infrastructure of the new colony. Items 1 and 7 on the respective posters advise that 'a preference [would be given] to applicants who shall be under engagement to work for capitalists intending to emigrate'. This inevitably meant that many of the preferred applicants would be those who had worked at some time for people who were invited to endorse them and submit their names to the NZC. (fig. 62, item 1; fig. 60, item 16). Though it was not stated in such terms on the posters, this particular regulation conformed to that part of the NZC's scheme designed to ensure that labourers worked for capitalists for a number of years.

Theoretically this would prevent the 'hurtful dispersion' seen in other colonies and allow time for the colony to be developed.¹¹² This regulation limited labourers' ability to acquire their own land until they had worked off their passage and saved the requisite funds. The regulation is reinforced by another rule which stipulates that labourers must be going to the colony 'to work for wages' (fig. 60, item 3; fig. 62, item 5). They must remain in the 'settlement to which a free passage may be granted them' (item 3, fig. 60). These regulations are also included on the poster in figure 61 produced by the PGC in 1868.

Graphically, most of the requirements stated on the Regulations posters concerning rules and regulations, including those on the 1839 Truscott poster, are part of the body

text. The printer of the NZC's 1842 Regulations poster in figure 60 set the subheadings of the tabular lists in a small font of slab serif above the text but that is the extent of discrete emphasis. The graphic similarity formed by the font of slab serif between these group headings, the word 'regulations' above it and, above that, 'governor', 'deputy-governor' and 'directors' connects the broad set of regulations to the men who had the authority to enforce them.

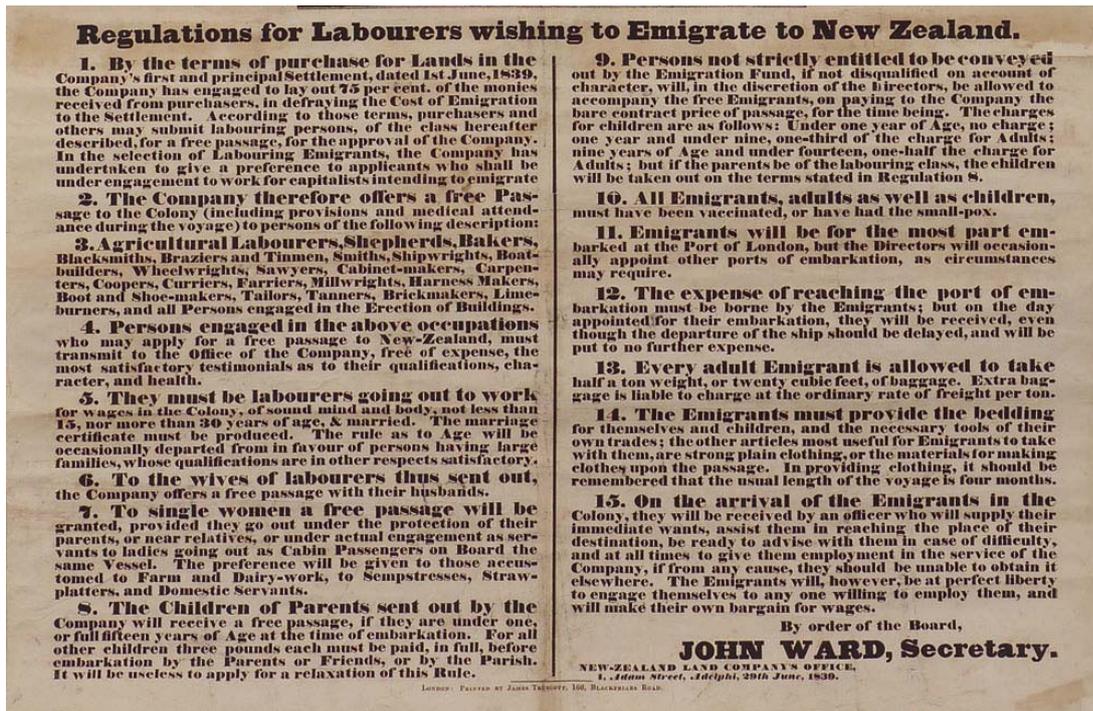


Fig. 62. Truscott emphasised the topic sentences at the beginning of each item by setting them in a larger and bolder font of fat face than the full regulations that followed them.

James Truscott, London for the NZC, 29 June 1839 (detail).
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

By early 1840, the difficulties in recruiting suitable emigrants saw the NZC relax many of its rules.¹¹³ The NZC broke its own rules by recruiting the London labourers who so disappointed the Wakefield brothers in Nelson and the Staplehurst Workhouse families. In practice, agents' assessments of emigrants and their adherence to the regulations was variable. Some did not follow the rule that asked for testimonials, usually from a clergyman who knew the prospective emigrant. Joseph Phipson of Birmingham and William Roberts of Sherborne were threatened with the loss of their agency because

To be hung up in a conspicuous place in each of the Divisions severally occupied by the Married Persons, Single Men, and Single Women.



REGULATIONS

TO BE OBSERVED ON BOARD THE

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY'S EMIGRANT SHIPS.

<i>Surgeon Superintendent in his cabin or on deck</i>	1. The Surgeon Superintendent has the entire charge of the Emigrants on board, and it is required that every one will implicitly obey his orders, and cheerfully acquiesce in any arrangements he may see fit to make, which conform to the Regulations, and which may not be provided for by the following Regulations. The Surgeon Superintendent has full power, in case of any infringement of the following Regulations, or of general misconduct by withhold any indulgence, or to stop any portion of an Emigrant's rations; and, in extreme cases, and in conjunction with the Commandant, to inflict severe punishments of the nature of the offence require it. All disputes are to be referred to the decision of the Surgeon Superintendent.	
<i>Assistant Superintendent, Marine</i>	2. An Assistant Superintendent is appointed from amongst the Married Emigrants, to act under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent; under whose orders the Assistant Superintendent's wife will be required to act as Matron.	
<i>Constables</i>	3. For the general enforcement of the present regulations, and of cleanliness and good order, the Surgeon Superintendent will appoint from two to four Constables.	
<i>Hospital Assistant</i>	4. One or more Emigrants, of either sex, will be appointed to attend any sick in the hospital.	
<i>School</i>	5. All Emigrants, whether adults or children, who are able to read well, are to be employed daily in instructing those who cannot read well, under the direction of the Schoolmaster when one is appointed, otherwise under that of the Surgeon Superintendent and his Assistant. It is to be understood that all, except the very young children, must be taught daily either as Teachers or Pupils.	
<i>Arrangement of Berths</i>	6. The Sleeping Berths are arranged in three divisions entirely separate from each other, - one division for the Single Women, one for the Married Persons and Children - one for the Married Men, and one for the Single Men - Married Men will, under certain circumstances to be decided by the Surgeon Superintendent, be allowed to enter the division belonging to the Single Men; the Married Women having a similar privilege of entering that belonging to the Single Women; but, with these exceptions, all are expressly directed not to enter any division in which they do not sleep.	
<i>Masses</i>	7. The Emigrants are to be divided into Masses, consisting as nearly as may be of the adults. The Masses are to be numbered.	
<i>Headman of Masses</i>	8. Every Mass is to have a Headman (to be appointed by the Surgeon Superintendent), who will be responsible for its order and regularity; and whose duty it will be to report to the Surgeon or Assistant Superintendent at the evening roll of names; at which the Surgeon or Assistant Superintendent and two of the Constables in rotation must also be present.	
<i>Part of Children</i>	9. The Male Adults of each Mass, or of two or more Masses (according to the number of Emigrants, and as the Surgeon Superintendent may direct), shall in rotation, under the Headman or Headmen, act as Chorus and Singers, in their respective divisions for the day. The Single Women are to close their own division. The Assistant Superintendent, the Hospital Assistant, and the Constables, are to be exempted from this duty.	
<i>Exemption from Chorus</i>	10. All are to be out of bed, and washed and dressed, by seven in the morning; the women and children washing between decks in their respective divisions, and the men on Deck, or in case of bad weather, in the single men's division.	
<i>Rolls to go on Deck</i>	11. If severe, the beds are, weather permitting, to be carried on deck, and covered afterwards to be rolled up and stowed away.	
<i>Hotly Washed</i>	12. At half past seven, all, except the children, are to enter in Masses to be inspected, under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent, by the Headman, and by Families appointed for the purpose, as he shall direct. Whichever the weather will permit, his number must take place upon deck, where all are to remain until breakfast time.	
<i>Prohibited</i>	13. In the mess-room, the Hatchways, and weather permitting, the berths also, are to be kept well open, so as to admit as much air as possible; and the Yarns Decks (including the spaces under the lower berths, the lower long berths, the Emigrants being in the mess room on deck, it is to be carefully observed (whenever the weather will permit) for at least half an hour before and after each meal throughout the day, and at all times the Emigrants should pass as much time as possible on deck, and everything possible done to admit the fresh air below.	
<i>Inspected</i>	14. Breakfast at half past eight; but to be delayed until the Resolutions contained in Articles 15, 12, and 13 have been fully complied with.	
<i>Cleaning Decks, &c.</i>	15. At half past nine, when the decks, hold-ways, hatchways, and water-closets, sprinkling them with chloride of lime. The decks are to be cleaned by dry brushing or scraping, and to be swept after every meal.	
<i>Cleaning Berths, &c.</i>	16. The bottom boards of the berths must be removed, dry-scraped, and taken on deck, every Monday and Thursday morning.	
<i>Coppers to be inspected</i>	17. The Coppers are to be cleaned daily; and the Constables are to inspect them every morning, and report thereon to the Surgeon Superintendent.	
<i>School</i>	18. From Eleven till Twelve o'Clock School. (See Art. 5.)	
<i>Dinner</i>	19. Dinner at one. Half an hour's thorough ventilation before dinner, and the mess, with sweeping out Yarns Decks, after dinner.	
	20. From three till four o'Clock, school.	<i>School</i>
	21. Tea at six, and the pull-down to be immediately extinguished. Half an hour's thorough ventilation before tea, and the mess, with sweeping out Yarns Decks, after tea.	<i>Tea</i>
	22. Children to go to bed by eight, all to be in bed by ten. No one to be allowed to sleep on deck.	<i>Bed-time</i>
	23. A well-secured lamp (to be placed at sunset, and extinguished at day-break) is to be kept burning all night at each of the three hatchways, and, when required, in each Hospital. These lights are not to be removed, and some others are to be allowed.	<i>Lights</i>
	24. The married men, in rotation, must keep a watch in their part of the Yarns Decks during the night. There must be at least two in each watch, and the night must be divided into three watches, the first from eight o'clock to midnight, the second from midnight till four o'clock, and the third from four to seven a.m. The business of the watch will be, to prevent irregularities - to make any persons taken ill - to attend to the fire, lamp, hatchways, deck-ventilators, and scuttles, seeing that they are open or shut according to the weather and the Surgeon's directions - and to make any complaint that may be necessary to the Surgeon Superintendent.	<i>Watch of Night</i>
	25. On every Sunday, at ten, the Emigrants are to be mustered in messes, the Surgeon Superintendent passing along and inspecting them, to see that they are properly dressed, and have on clean linen, and clean and decent apparel. These Regulations are then to be read aloud by the Surgeon Superintendent, and the Headman of each mass is to question the members of the mess thereon in order to ascertain that the Regulations are understood. Afterwards Divine Service is to be performed.	<i>Sunday Muster</i>
	26. Washing clothes will be allowed every Monday and Friday, or on such other days as the Surgeon Superintendent may appoint, having regard to weather and other circumstances; but no washing or drying of wet clothes is, on any pretence whatever, to be suffered between decks.	<i>Washing Clothes</i>
	27. The heavy baggage is to be kept in the hold, but the Emigrants are to have access to it every third week if practicable, or at least every fourth week. As stated in their Emigration Orders, they ought to secure on board furnished with Canvas Bags, in which to hold the week's supply of linen. No baggage is to be allowed to remain in the space between the berths, which must always be kept clear.	<i>Luggage</i>
	28. The water-closets in the sick lays are to be used by the sick in the hospital only.	<i>Water-Closets</i>
	29. No smoking is permitted between decks; and the Emigrants, when smoking on deck, must keep in the lee side of the ship.	<i>No Smoking</i>
	30. No Gambling of any description is allowed.	<i>No Gambling</i>
	31. No one is allowed to have either spirits or gunpowder in his possession. If either of these articles is discovered it will be thrown overboard.	<i>No Spirits, No Gunpowder</i>
	32. Copies of the Scale of Victualling will be affixed in conspicuous parts of the ship, for the information of all.	<i>Diets</i>
	33. No Emigrant must leave the ship after embarkation, without a written permission from the Surgeon Superintendent, counter-signed by the Commandant.	<i>No Emigrant to leave the ship without permission</i>
	34. The above Regulations have been drawn up with the view of promoting the comfort, health, and safety of the Emigrants; and it will be the interest as well as the duty of every one, and only to observe them carefully and cheerfully on his own part, but to do his best to influence others to act in the same manner. If cleanliness and airiness be neglected by any, some infectious disorder will probably break out; such disorders are generally much more serious of men than of women; the number of young children who have died has sometimes been very great indeed.	<i>Cleaning berths, &c.</i>
	These Remarks are more particularly directed to Parents, in the hope that they will set their children a good example by carefully observing the regulations themselves; and that they will see that their children obey them also. The want of fresh food makes it very difficult to preserve the health of young Children during a long voyage; and, in ships in which cleanliness and airiness have been neglected, the number of young children who have died has sometimes been very great indeed.	
	On arrival at New Zealand, the Surgeon Superintendent will report to the Company's principal Agent what has been the conduct of each Emigrant on the passage; those who shall have conducted themselves well, most of course, except the best officers of employment, while any one who shall have been careless, disobedient, or quarrelsome, will naturally be avoided.	
	By order of the Court, JOHN WARD, Secretary.	
	New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings, London, 25th April, 1842.	

Fig. 63. The tabulated list of information on this poster and those in figures 64 & 65 is both reinforced and interpreted by marginalia printed in red. This device allows for easy access of information in the densely worded poster. These regulations were displayed on board the emigrant ships. The request that it be put up in a place that was accessible for all to read is printed on an extant fragment of another Regulations poster (insert).

Stewart & Murray, London for the NZC, 28 April 1842.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 365mm x 465mm.

REGULATIONS

TO BE OBSERVED ON BOARD THE

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY'S EMIGRANT SHIPS.

Surgeon Superintendent to have entire control over Emigrants.

1. The Surgeon Superintendent has the entire charge of the Emigrants on board, and it is expected that every one will implicitly obey his orders, and cheerfully acquiesce in any arrangements he may see fit to make, which circumstances may require, and which may not be provided for by the following Regulations. The Surgeon Superintendent has full power, in case of any infringement of the following Regulations, or of general misconduct, to withhold any indulgence, or to stop any portion of an Emigrant's rations; and, in extreme cases, and in conjunction with the Master, to inflict severe punishment of the nature of the offence, or to refer the same to the discretion of the Surgeon Superintendent.

Assistant Superintendent to see that the Married Emigrants, and under whose orders also the Assistant Superintendent's wife will be required to act as Matrons.

2. An Assistant Superintendent is appointed, from amongst the Married Emigrants, to act under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent; and, in absence of the Surgeon Superintendent, to act as Matron.

General.

3. For the general enforcement of the present regulations, and of cleanliness and good order, the Surgeon Superintendent will appoint from two to four Constables.

Hospital Assistants.

4. One or more Emigrants, of either sex, will be appointed to attend any sick in the hospital.

School.

5. All Emigrants, whether adults or children, who are able to read well, are to be employed daily in instructing those who cannot read well, under the direction of the Schoolmaster when one is appointed, otherwise under that of the Surgeon Superintendent and his Assistant. It is to be understood that all, except the very young children, must be engaged daily either as Teachers or Pupils.

Arrangement of Berths.

6. The Sleeping Berths are arranged in three divisions entirely separate from each other, viz., one division for the Single Women only, one for the Married Partners and Children under fourteen in number, and one for the Single Men Forward. The Married Men will, under certain circumstances to be decided by the Surgeon Superintendent, be allowed to occupy the division belonging to the Single Men; the Married Women having a similar privilege of entering that belonging to the Single Women; but, with these exceptions, all are expressly directed not to enter any division in which they do not sleep.

Meals.

7. The Emigrants are to be divided into Messes, consisting as nearly as may be of six adults. The Messes are to be numbered.

Division of Messes.

8. Every Mess is to have a Headman (to be appointed by the Surgeon Superintendent), who will be responsible for its order and regularity; and who duty it will be to report to the Surgeon any misconduct or neglect, and to attend to the serving out of rations, at which the Surgeon or Assistant Superintendent and two of the Constables in rotation must also be present.

Part of Children.

9. The Male Adults of each Mess, or of two or more Messes, according to the number of Emigrants, and as the Surgeon Superintendent may direct, shall in rotation, under the Headman or Headmen, act as Choicemen and Sweepers, at their respective divisions for the day. The Single Women are to clean their own division. The Assistant Superintendent, the Hospital Assistants, and the Constables, are to be exempted from this duty.

Employed from Children.

10. All are to be out of bed, and washed and dressed, by seven in the morning; the women and children washing between decks in their respective divisions; and the men on deck, or in case of bad weather, in the single men's division.

Wash between Decks.

11. At seven, the beds are, whether permitting to be carried on deck, and laid; afterwards to be rolled up and stowed away.

Daily Awns.

12. At half past seven, all, except the choicemen, are to assist in Messes to be inspected, under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent, by the Headman, and by Females approved for the purpose, as to cleanliness. Whenever the weather will permit, the master must take place upon deck, where all are to remain until breakfast time.

Evolution.

13. In the morning, the Hatchways, and whether permitting, the Scuttles also, are to be kept wide open, so as to admit as much air as possible, and the lower decks (including the space under the lower berths, the boards being removed, for that purpose) is to be well swept. This practice of ventilating the lower decks, that purpose is to be well swept. This practice of ventilating the lower decks, the Emigrants lying in the messes, is to be carefully observed, whenever the weather will permit, for at least half an hour before and after each wind throughout the day; and at all times the Emigrants should pass on each side as possible on deck, and every thing possible done to admit the fresh air below.

Breakfast.

14. Breakfast at half past eight, but to be delayed until the directions mentioned in Articles 10, 11, 12, and 13 have been fully complied with.

Cleaning Decks &c.

15. At half past nine, clean the decks, ladders, benches, and water closets, sprinkling them with chloride of lime. The decks are to be cleaned by dry brushing or scraping, and to be swept after every mess.

Cleaning Berths, &c.

16. The bottom berths of the berths must be removed, dry scrubbed, and taken on deck, every Monday and Tuesday morning.

Opport to be Reported.

17. The Choicemen are to be cleaned daily; and the Constables are to inspect them every morning, and report thereon to the Surgeon Superintendent.

School.

18. From eleven till Twelve of each School. (See Art. 5.)

Dinner.

19. Dinner at one. Half-an-hour's thorough ventilation before dinner, and the mess, with sweeping out lower decks, after dinner.

20. From three till four o'clock, School.

School.

21. Tea at six, and the galley-fire to be immediately extinguished. Half-an-hour's thorough ventilation before tea, and the mess, with sweeping out lower decks, after tea.

Tea.

22. Children to go to bed by eight, all to be in bed by ten. No one to be allowed to sleep on deck.

Children.

23. A well-covered lamp (to be lighted at sunset, and extinguished at day-break) is to be kept burning all night at each of the three hospitals, and, when required, in each Hospital. These lights are not to be removed, and some others are to be allowed.

Lights.

24. The married men, in rotation, must keep a watch in their part of the lower decks during the night. There must be of least two in each watch, and the night must be divided into three watches; the first from eight p.m. to midnight, the second from midnight till four o'clock; and the third from four to seven a.m. When all are allowed to the lounge, hatchways, deck ventilators, and scuttles, seeing that they are open or shut according to the weather and the Surgeon's directions—and to make any complaint that may be necessary to the Surgeon Superintendent.

Watch or Night.

25. On every Sunday, at ten, the Emigrants are to be assisted in washing, the Surgeon Superintendent passing along and supervising them, to see that they are personally clean, and have on clean linen, and clean and decent apparel. These Regulations are then to be read aloud by the Surgeon Superintendent, and the Headman of each mess is to question the members of the mess thereon, in order to ascertain that the Regulations are understood. Afterwards Divine Service is to be performed.

Sunday School.

26. Washing clothes will be allowed every Monday and Friday, or on such other days as the Surgeon Superintendent may appoint, having regard to weather and other circumstances; but no washing or drying of wet clothes is, on any pretence whatever, to be suffered between decks.

Washing Clothes.

27. The heavy baggage is to be kept in the hold; but the Emigrants are to have access to it every third week if practicable, or at least every fourth week. As stated in their Emigration Orders, they ought to come on board furnished with Curran bags, in which to hold the month's supply of linen. No baggage is to be allowed to remain on the space between the berths, which must always be kept clear.

Baggage.

28. The water-buckets in the sick boys are to be used by the sick in the hospitals only.

Water Buckets.

29. No smoking is permitted between decks; and the Emigrants, when smoking on deck must keep to the lee side of the ship.

No Smoking.

30. No Gambling of any description is allowed.

No Gambling.

31. No one is allowed to have other spirits or gunpowder in his possession. If either of these articles is discovered it will be thrown overboard.

No Spirits or Gunpowder.

32. Copies of the Rules of Yacht-club will be affixed in conspicuous parts of the ship, for the information of all.

Yacht-club.

33. No Emigrant must leave the ship after embarkation, without a written permission from the Surgeon Superintendent, countersigned by the Master.

No Emigrant to leave ship without written permission.

34. The above Regulations have been drawn up with the view of promoting the comfort, health, and safety of the Emigrants; and it will be the interest as well as the duty of every one, not only to observe them carefully and cheerfully on his own part, but to do his best to influence others to act in the same manner. If cleanliness and order are neglected by any, some infectious disease will probably break out; such diseases are generally much more serious at sea than on land, and all will be exposed to the risk. The possession of Gunpowder, tea, or confectionery in the use of lighters, or in smoking, may endanger the lives of all on board.

Cautionary Remarks.

These Remarks are more particularly directed to Parents, in the hope that they will set their children a good example by carefully observing the regulations themselves, and that they will see that their children obey them also. The want of fresh food makes it very difficult to preserve the health of young children during a long voyage; and in those in which cleanliness and order have been neglected, the number of young children who have died has sometimes been very great indeed.

On arrival at New Zealand, the Surgeon Superintendent will report to the Company's principal Agent what has been the conduct of each Emigrant on the passage; those who shall have conducted themselves well, may of course expect the best offers of employment, while any one who shall have been careless, disobedient, or quarrelsome, will naturally be avoided.

By order of the Court,
JOHN WARD,
Secretary.

New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings,
London, 26th April, 1842.

JOHNSTON & BARRETT, PRINTERS, 13, MARK LANE.

Fig. 64. The material on these three Regulations posters is substantially the same textually and graphically (figs 63, 64 & 65).

Johnston & Barrett, London for the NZC, 26 April 1842.
CO108/291 NZCS, National Archives, London. 370mm x 450mm.

These regulations are published in every ship's muster book, and are to be read by every Emigrant on board.

Wm. Hocken.

REGULATIONS

TO BE OBSERVED ON BOARD

THE EMIGRANT SHIPS

OF

THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

Surgeon Superintendent
1. The Surgeon Superintendent has the entire charge of the Emigrants on board, and it is expected that every one will implicitly obey his orders, and cheerfully acquiesce in any arrangements he may see fit to make, not provided for by the following Regulations. The Surgeon Superintendent has full power, in case of disobedience, to strip any portion of an Emigrant's Belongings; and, in extreme cases, in conjunction with the Master, to inflict severe punishment. It is proper to state explicitly, the powers which the Officers have to enforce obedience to Regulations framed for the general welfare, but the Directors have found that the best stimulus to propriety of conduct, is an appeal to the self respect and good feeling of the Emigrants themselves. All disputes are to be referred to the decision of the Surgeon-Superintendent.

Assistant-Surgeon Superintendent
2. An Assistant Superintendent and Schoolmaster is appointed, to act under the Surgeon Superintendent, the Assistant's wife being required to act as Matron; and one or more Emigrants, of either sex, will be taken, in rotation, to attend the sick.

Constables
3. The Surgeon Superintendent will appoint from two to four Constables.

Committee
4. A Committee of six is appointed, two of whom will retire every second Wednesday, their places being filled up either by re-election of the retiring Members, or from the other male Emigrants. Every male Emigrant in the storage, above 21, is eligible to act on, and vote for, the Committee, but five out of the six must be married men.

Duties of Officers
5. The Constables and Committee are to assist the Surgeon Superintendent to enforce the Regulations, and preserve order and decorum. They will, it is presumed, possess the confidence and respect of their fellow-passengers; it is therefore expected that they will set an example of good conduct to those who elect them. If any internal Regulations, not here specified, are in their opinion required, the same are to be prepared by these Officers, for the consideration and approval of the Surgeon Superintendent.

Watch at Night
6. Two, at least, of the Married Men, in rotation, must keep a Watch in their division during the night. The night must be divided into three Watches—the first from Eight, P.M. to Midnight; the second from Midnight till Four o'Clock; and the third from Four to Seven, A.M. The business of the Watch will be to prevent irregularities—to assist any person taken ill—to attend to the Lamps, Hatchways, Deck-Ventilators, and Scuttles, seeing that they are open or shut, according to the weather and the Surgeon's directions—and to make any complaint that may be necessary to the Surgeon Superintendent.

Part of Cleaners
7. The male Adults of each Mess, or two or more Messes, (as the Surgeon Superintendent may direct) shall, in rotation, under the Constables, act as Cleaners and Sweepers, in their respective divisions, for the day. The Single Women are to clean their own division. The Assistant Superintendent, Constables, Hospital Assistants, and Cooks are exempted from this duty.

Washing Clothes
8. Washing Clothes will be allowed every Tuesday and Friday, weather and other circumstances permitting; but no Washing or Drying of Clothes is, on any pretence, to be suffered between Decks.

Loggins
9. The heavy Loggins is to be kept in the hold, but the Emigrants will have access to it every fourth week. No Loggins is to be allowed in the space between the Berths, which must always be kept clear.

No Smoking
10. No Smoking is permitted between Decks, and the Emigrants, when smoking on Deck, must keep the lee side of the ship.

No Gambling
11. No Gambling of any description is allowed.

No Spirits
12. No one is to have either spirits or gunpowder in his possession. If either of these Articles is discovered, it will be thrown overboard.

No Company
13. No Emigrant must leave the ship after embarkation, without a written permission from the Surgeon Superintendent, countersigned by the Master.

ARRANGEMENT OF BERTHS AND MESSES.

14. The Sleeping Berths are separately arranged; the Single Women, all; the Married Women and Children, under foremast, in 'Middleships; and one for the Single Men, forward. The Married Men are allowed to enter the division of the single Men; the Married Women having a similar privilege with respect to the single Women. But all Males are strictly

prohibited from entering the Sleeping Apartment of the Single Women, and Single Men are to confine themselves to their own division and the upper deck.

15. The Emigrants are divided into Messes, each of which is to have a Headman, who will be responsible for its order and regularity, and whose duty it will be to report to the Surgeon any misconduct, and to attend at the serving out of rations, at which the Surgeon or Assistant Superintendent, and two of the Constables or Committee, in rotation, must also be present.

LIBRARY AND EDUCATION.

16. The Emigrants' Library is placed under the charge of the Surgeon's Assistant, who will issue books as required, keeping an account of the delivery and return of each book. At the end of the voyage all books are to be deposited in the General Library for the Working Classes.

17. School Classes are to be formed, under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent and Schoolmaster, and such classes are to be attended daily from eleven to twelve at noon, and from three to four in the afternoon.

DIVISION OF THE DAY.

18. All are to be out of bed and washed and dressed, by Seven in the morning; the women and children washing between decks, in their respective divisions; and the Men on deck, or in case of bad weather, in the Single Men's division.

19. At Seven, the Beds are, weather permitting, to be carried on deck and aired; afterwards to be rolled up and stowed away.

20. At Half-past Seven, all except the Cleaners are to muster in Messes to be inspected, as to cleanliness, under the direction of the Surgeon Superintendent, by the Committee and by Females appointed for the purpose. Whenever the weather will permit this muster must take place on Deck, where all are to remain until Breakfast time.

21. In the mean time, the Hatchways, and Scuttles are to be kept wide open. THIS PRACTICE OF VENTILATING THE 'TWELVE DECKS, IS TO BE CAREFULLY OBSERVED, (WHENEVER THE WEATHER WILL PERMIT) THE DAY.

22. Breakfast at Half-past Eight; but to be delayed until the directions contained in Articles 18, 19, 20, and 21, have been fully complied with.

23. At Half-past Nine, clean the Decks, Hospitals, and Water-closets, sprinkling them with Chloride of Lime. The Decks are not to be washed, but to be cleaned by dry holly-toning, scraping, or scrubbing with hot sand, and to be swept after every meal.

24. The bottom boards of the Berths must be removed, dry-scrubbed, and taken on deck, every Monday and Thursday morning.

25. Dinner at One, but to be delayed till the previous regulations have been complied with.

26. Tea at Six, and the galley-fire immediately extinguished.

27. Children to go to bed by Eight; all to be in bed by Ten. No one to be allowed to sleep on deck.

28. A well-scenced Lamp (to be lighted at Sunset, and extinguished at Daybreak) is to be kept burning all night at each of the three Hatchways, and when required, in each Hospital. These lights are not to be removed, and none others are to be allowed.

29. The Coppers are to be cleaned daily by the Cooks; and the Constables are to inspect them every morning, reporting thereon to the Surgeon Superintendent.

30. Every Sunday at Ten, the Emigrants are to be mustered in Messes, the Surgeon Superintendent inspecting them, to see that they are personally clean. Afterwards Divine Service is to be performed.

On arrival in New Zealand, the Surgeon Superintendent will report to the Company's principal Agent what has been the conduct of each Emigrant on the passage; those who shall have conducted themselves well, may of course, expect the best offers of employment, while any who shall have been careless, disobedient, or quarrelsome, will naturally be avoided.

Given at Plymouth this 28th day of October, 1841.

BY ORDER OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND BOARD.
W. BRIDGES, SECRETARY.

W. BYERS, Printer and Bookbinder, (Devonport Independent Office) 22, Fane Street, Devonport.

Fig. 65. The rewards for good behaviour are emphasised typographically on this poster. It also differs from the other two NZC posters detailing emigrant ship regulations in the divisions into topic areas with headings set in upper case fat face. The sections are divided into 'General government', 'Arrangement of berths and messes', 'Library and education', and 'Division of the day'. Hocken's annotation at the tope of the poster notes this.

William Byers, Devonport, for the West of England Board, 28 October 1841
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 370mm x 467mm.

they did not properly check such details.¹¹⁴ According to the NZG agent Carter, the testimonials required by the Agent-General ‘had to be, and were, scrutinized by officers at the London Agency, and if not properly filled up, they were rejected.’¹¹⁵

The regulations stated that, after acceptance, applicants must strictly observe the regulations on board the ships which are ‘framed with a view to their health and comfort’. Three of the posters that address the regulations on board the ships were produced by the NZC, one for the PGC and one by the NZG. Each poster is headed ‘regulations’. In all but one (fig. 63), this is set in a large font of slab serif (including the application Regulations poster in figure 60), which lends the word an appropriate firmness of purpose. Beneath each is ‘to be observed on board the New Zealand Company’s emigrant ships’, or the ‘emigrant ships of the Government of New Zealand’ or ‘the Provincial Government of Canterbury’ (figs. 63 to 67). The agencies featured on the posters are set in comparatively large fonts of fat face or slab serif.

A comprehensive list of regulations on the NZC posters addresses three issues: the expedient use of systems and maintenance, mechanisms for maintaining and improving the quality of the emigrants and the regulation of personal behaviours. Life in steerage required regulations to avoid or at least mitigated the dangers, difficulties and discomforts of large numbers of people existing for months in a small space.¹¹⁶

Each of the NZC emigrant ship regulations is set out in two columns and itemised. The item numbers on the posters differ slightly, but those discussed here are taken from the poster in figure 65 printed by William Byers in Devonport. The three posters contain marginal notes set in red alongside each item. The notes offer shorthand versions of the text. Such rubrication of the notes is very much in the tradition of its use for emphasis and for helping the audience to identify the content of the longer and more complex text.¹¹⁷

Every hour of the day was taken up with tasks, duties and the regular meals. The emigrants needed to be up, washed and dressed at a certain time and would not have breakfast until designated chores were performed. These chores generally relate to hygiene and ventilation (items 18 to 21). The emigrants were subjected to daily

inspections for cleanliness by those appointed by the Surgeon Superintendent, and by this gentleman himself every Sunday. This last inspection looked for both personal cleanliness and 'clean and decent apparel', after which the emigrants were required to attend 'Divine Service'. There was a ban on smoking below decks and the possession of gunpowder. The strictures against gambling, alcohol and the mixing of single men and women relate to Victorian middle- and labouring-class views of respectability.

Yet evidence on the posters points to the consumption of alcohol and social mingling in inns as the norm for nineteenth century labourers: single, married, men and women. A group of 'married people' on board the ship *Woodlark* in 1873 took the position that, as they were accustomed to such 'necessaries' they should not be subjected to the 'discomfort' and 'privation' of a 'daily small quantity of spirits or beer'.¹¹⁸ The posters tell their own story on this matter. Many of the meetings and lectures in various provincial towns and villages were held in local inns. Yet a sober emigrant remained the ideal emigrant.

To ensure that emigrants to New Zealand landed as educated and useful citizens, emigrant children and presumably anyone who could not read or read well, were to attend school classes from eleven to twelve o'clock and from two to four o'clock. A library was made available to the emigrants which would then be left in the colony for the 'working classes' after the voyage (items 16 and 17). This reinforces the notion that the NZC expected their emigrants to be at least semi-literate when they responded to the advertisements and more fully so by the time they became part of the new colony.

The posters also address the behaviour of emigrants on board the ships. Item 1 in all the Regulation posters state that the Surgeon Superintendent is entirely 'in charge of' the emigrants who are expected to 'implicitly obey' him and to 'cheerfully acquiesce' in his arrangements. This has a tone that is not reflected in the marginal note. The note informs the emigrants that 'Surgeon Superintendent has entire *'control over'* them (italics in original). The difference is subtle, but significant. Should any emigrant transgress the rules of general conduct, he or she faces the possibility of shortened rations, among other punishments, including 'severer', but unnamed, 'punishment...should the nature of the offence require it' (fig. 65, item 1). The sleeping arrangements are strictly

REGULATIONS

TO BE
OBSERVED ON BOARD EMIGRANT SHIPS
OF THE
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF CANTERBURY, NEW ZEALAND.

The object of the following Regulations is to secure the Health and welfare of the Steerage Passengers. It is obvious that where a large number of persons are compelled to live together for several weeks in a small space, cleanliness must be observed, and regularity and order maintained, if discomfort and disease are to be avoided. On the other hand, experience shows that when those points are attended to, the Passengers are as healthy on the average as the same number of people on shore. It is the wish of the Agents of the Government to make everyone as comfortable as the circumstances will admit of, to exact no unnecessary duty, and to impose no unnecessary restrictions. It is hoped then that these Rules will be responded to in the spirit in which they are framed, and that the requirements and directions of the Officers charged with administering them will be met with cheerful acquiescence and submission.

There may be found very occasionally among the Passengers some person who is not amenable to an appeal to good sense and proper feeling, and in respect to such a one it may be observed that the law invests the Surgeon-Superintendent and Captain of the Ship with the powers necessary for the repression of misconduct, and the maintenance of order and discipline, and they will not hesitate to use them if an occasion for doing so should unhappily arise; and the Captain is further instructed to prosecute any case of wilful misconduct, immediately on the arrival of the Ship at Canterbury.

The Emigrants are under the immediate charge of the Surgeon-Superintendent. They are to respect his authority and give effect to his directions. He will hear any objections or complaints they may desire to make, and determine any differences or disputes which may arise amongst them.

The Emigrants will be divided into Messes, and one of each Mess will be selected to be its Captain or head Messman. He will receive from the Purser the Provisions for the Mess, will take such portions as require cooking to the Galley, and receive them again when cooked. He will see that the Messes are fairly divided between all the Members of the Mess, and will report to the Surgeon any misconduct or neglect which may arise amongst them. This rule applies to the Single Men's and Married Compartments of the Ship. One man out of the Male Emigrants above fourteen years of age may be taken daily, if necessary, to act as assistant to the Passenger's Cook.

The Married Men will, in rotation, keep a watch in their part of the Ship during the night. Two men will be put into each watch. The night will be divided into three Watches, viz., from 8 p.m. to midnight, from midnight to 4 a.m., and from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. The duties of the Watch will be to prevent impetuosity, to see that any person takes ill, and to see that the hatchways, deck ventilators or scuttles are kept open or otherwise, as may be directed by the Captain or Officer of the Watch, to whom they will report whatever may be necessary.

The Surgeon will name, every morning, the Cook's-Assistant for the day, and make a list of the Watchmen for the following night. He will also make a list of those whose turn it is to become sweepers and cleaners for the day, according to the 11th section of the "Queen's Order in Council."

Constables will be appointed for the Single Men's and Married Compartments of the Ship. They are to take their instructions from the Surgeon. They are to see that the Sweepers do their work efficiently, that the Watch is properly kept, that the "Orders in Council" and these Regulations are observed in their respective compartments, and they are to report to the Surgeon any misconduct that may occur, and especially any violation of the 20th and 21st sections of the "Order in Council." The Crew are forbidden to go into the Mess decks except on the Ship's Duty, and the Single Men are forbidden to enter the Forecastle. The Constables are to see that this Rule is observed. One of the Constables will also attend at the airing out of the Provision daily, to see that such Mess gets its proper allowance.

One or more Constables will be appointed to attend to the Single Women's Compartment. They will show their provisions, take them to the Galley when they have been prepared for cooking, deliver them at the Single Women's Compartment when they have been cooked, and perform any other service in connection with the Single Women's Compartment which the Surgeon may direct. Each of the Constables will be entitled to receive from the Captain a gratuity of £2 at the end of the voyage if their duties have been efficiently done.

A Special Constable will be appointed to keep the Water-Closets clean and in good order. He will be similarly entitled to a gratuity of £2.

The Constables are exempt from the Duties of Sweepers and Cleaners.

The arrangements for the division of the food amongst the several members of each Mess, and the Rules with respect to Sweeping and Cleaning, apply equally to the Single Women's Compartment. The Messmen will name daily in rotation those whose duty it is to set fire to the pipes, and see that the work is done. A report will be made to the Surgeon of any instance of refusal or neglect.

The Married people and their children must, when on deck, remain on the midship part of the maindeck, and the Single Men forward. The Single Women are to be in the poop, and upon no pretext whatever will they be permitted to go to any other part of the Ship. The Messmen are instructed to permit no communication with the Single Women on the part of the Ship's Company, or the other passengers. It is hoped that a sense of propriety on their part will prevent any attempt to violate this rule.

All the Children between the ages of five and fourteen years are to attend School daily, unless permission to the contrary shall have been given to their parents by the Surgeon or the Captain.

The Schoolmaster is instructed to form an Adult Class among the Single Men if there should be a sufficient number who desire to receive instruction.

Every Sunday morning a general muster and inspection will be held on deck, weather permitting, by the Captain and the Surgeon, as provided by the 17th section of the "Order in Council, and after this inspection Divine Service will be read. It is not absolutely required that everyone should attend it, but it is hoped that all who are not prevented by illness will do so.

In addition to the Provisions named in the Dietary Scale, certain extras will be put on board to be used at the Surgeon's discretion. The Emigrants are not entitled to have, as a matter of right, but they will be distributed among the sick and others whose health may require them. These extras and indulgences will be withheld from any person who may refuse to abide by these Regulations, or who may otherwise misconduct himself.

Luggage will be put into the Hold. The Emigrants will have access to their boxes once in every three or four weeks, as the Captain may direct.

Copies of the "Queen's Order in Council," and of these Regulations will be posted in each Compartment of the Ship, and all persons are requested to make themselves acquainted with their provisions.

16, Charing Cross, London, S.W.
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Emigration Agent of Canterbury.

Fig. 66. In accordance with the production of much of the material for the provincial governments, this poster was produced by the NZG for use by the PGC.

Unknown printer for the PGC, c.1870s.

CH287 CP119 ICPS 717/1871, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. 335mm x 213mm.

copy



REGULATIONS

TO BE
OBSERVED ON BOARD EMIGRANT SHIPS
OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND.

The object of the following Regulations is to secure the Health and Welfare of the Steerage Passengers. It is obvious that where a large number of persons are compelled to live together for several weeks in a small space, cleanliness must be observed, and regularity and order maintained, if discomfort and disease are to be avoided. On the other hand, experience shows that when those points are attended to, the Passengers are as healthy on the average as the same number of people on shore. It is the wish of the Agent-General to make everyone as comfortable as the circumstances will admit of, to exact no unnecessary duty, and to impose no unnecessary restrictions. It is hoped then that these Rules will be responded to in the spirit in which they are framed, and that the requirements and directions of the Officers charged with administering them will be met with cheerful acquiescence and submission.

There may be found very occasionally among the Passengers some person who is not amenable to an appeal to good sense and proper feeling, and in respect to such a one, it may be observed that the law invests the Surgeon-Superintendent and Captain of the Ship with the powers necessary for the repression of misconduct, and the maintenance of order and discipline, and they will not hesitate to use them if an occasion for doing so should unhappily arise; and the Captain is further instructed to prosecute any case of wilful misconduct, immediately on the arrival of the Ship at its destination.

The Emigrants are under the immediate charge of the Surgeon-Superintendent. They are to respect his authority and give effect to his directions. He will hear any objections or complaints they may desire to make, and determine any differences or disputes which may arise amongst them.

The Emigrants will be divided into Messes, and one of each Mess will be selected to be its Captain or head Mess-man. He will receive from the Porter the Provisions for the Mess, will take such portions as require Cooking to the Galley, and receive these again when cooked. He will see that the Houses are fairly divided between all the Members of the Mess, and will report to the Surgeon any misconduct or neglect which may arise amongst them. This rule applies to the Single Men's and Married Compartments of the Ship. One mess out of the Male Emigrants above fourteen years of age may be taken daily, if necessary, to act as assistant to the Passenger's Cook.

The Married Men will, in rotation, keep a watch in their part of the Ship during the night. Two Mess will be put into each watch. The night will be divided into three watches, viz. from 8 p.m. to midnight, from midnight to 4 a.m., and from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. The duties of the Watch will be to prevent any person taking ill, and to see that the hatchways, deck cushions or scuttles are kept open or otherwise, as may be directed by the Captain or Officer of the Watch, to whom they will report whatever may be necessary.

The Surgeon will name, every morning, the Cook's-Assistant for the day, and make a list of the Watchmen for the following night. He will also make a list of those whose turn it is to become sweepers and cleaners for the day, according to the 10th section of the "Queen's Order in Council."

Constables will be appointed for the Single Men's and Married Compartments of the Ship. They are to take their instructions from the Surgeon. They are to see that the Sweepers do their work efficiently, that the Watch is properly kept, that the "Order in Council" and these Regulations are observed in their respective compartments, and they are to report to the Surgeon any misconduct that may occur, and especially any violation of the 20th and 21st sections of the "Order in Council." The Crew are forbidden to go into the lower decks except on the Ship's Duty, and the Single Men are forbidden to enter the Passacais. The Constables are to see that this Rule is observed. One of the Constables will also attend at the serving out of the Provisions daily, to see that each Mess gets its proper allowance.

One or more Constables will be appointed to attend to the Single Women's Compartment. They will draw their provisions, take them to the Galley when they have been prepared for cooking, deliver them at the Single Women's Compartment when they have been cooked, and perform any other service in connection with the Single Women's Compartment which the Surgeon may direct. Each of the Constables will be entitled to receive a gratuity of £2 at the end of the voyage if their duties have been efficiently done.

A Special Constable will be appointed to keep the Water-Closets clean and in good order. He will be similarly entitled to a gratuity of £2.

The Constables are exempt from the Duties of Sweepers and Cleaners.

The arrangements for the division of the Food amongst the several members of each Mess, and the Rules with respect to Sweeping and Cleaning, apply equally to the Single Women's Compartment. The Matron will assume daily in rotation those whose duty it is to act for the purpose, and see that the work is done. A report will be made to the Surgeon of any instance of refusal or neglect.

The Married people and their children must, when on deck, remain on the midship part of the main deck, and the Single Men forward. The Single Women are to be on the poop, and upon no pretext whatever will they be permitted to go to any other part of the Ship. The Matron is instructed to permit no communication with the Single Women on the part of the Ship's Company, or the other passengers. It is hoped that a sense of propriety on their part will prevent any attempt to infringe this Rule.

All the Children between the ages of five and fourteen years are to attend School daily, unless permission to the contrary shall have been given to their parents by the Surgeon or the Captain.

The Schoolmaster is instructed to form an Adult Class among the Single Men if there should be a sufficient number who desire to receive instruction.

Every Sunday morning a general muster and inspection will be held on deck, weather permitting, by the Captain and the Surgeon, as provided by the 17th section of the "Order in Council," and after this inspection, Divine Service will be read. It is not absolutely required that everyone should attend it, but it is hoped that all who are not prevented by illness will do so.

In addition to the Provisions issued in the Dietary Scale, certain extras will be put on board to be used at the Surgeon's discretion. The Emigrants are not entitled to these as a matter of right, but they will be distributed among the sick and others whose health may require them. These extras and indulgences will be withheld from any person who may refuse to abide by these Regulations, or who may otherwise misconduct himself.

Luggage will be put into the Hold. The Emigrants will have access to their boxes once in every three or four weeks, as the Captain may direct.

Copies of the "Queen's Order in Council," and of these Regulations will be posted in each Compartment of the Ship, and all persons are requested to make themselves acquainted with their provisions.

7, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W.
7 Nov. 1873.

J. J. E. Robertson
Agent-General.

Fig. 67. In this and the poster in figure 66, emigrants are asked to 'respect' the authority of the Surgeon Superintendent.

Unknown printer, London for the NZG, 1873.

Eph-D-SHIP-1873-01, National Library of New Zealand. 600mm x 570mm.

controlled with single women's quarters aft, single men's forward and married couples' in between (item 14). In the spirit of assuming the superiority of these English emigrants, the directors 'have found that the best stimulus to propriety of conduct, is an appeal to the self-respect and good feeling of the emigrants themselves' (item 1).

Good behaviour accrues beneficial outcomes according to these Regulation posters.¹¹⁹ Each indicates that punishment for bad behaviour and reward for good behaviour will be continued on arrival in New Zealand. The Surgeon Superintendent was to separate emigrants into two categories and convey this information to the NZC's principle agent in the port of debarkation. The first category consists of those whose conduct throughout the voyage was good and they will 'of course' be offered the best employment opportunities. The second category, whose behaviour was 'careless, disobedient or quarrelsome' will 'naturally' be passed over for these opportunities. This information is set as the last paragraph on two of the posters in figures 63 and 64. In figure 65, Byers has removed the entire phrase from the list and set it along the bottom in a font of modern that is larger and bolder than the itemised list above it.

The regulations to be observed on board the ships chartered by the NZG in 1873 (one of which was on behalf of the PGC) in figures 66 and 67 are shorter, less punitive and more conciliatory. Neither are itemised but set out in paragraphs. The intentions are the same but the language used to communicate them is less hectoring. For example, rather than simply demanding compliance with the regulations, the reasons for some of them are explained.

It is obvious that where a large number of persons are compelled to live together for several weeks in a small space, cleanliness must be observed, and regularity and order maintained.

Both posters, while they make the need for these rules clear, assure the emigrants that 'unnecessary duty' will not be extracted nor 'unnecessary restrictions' imposed. In that spirit, smoking, gambling and alcohol are not mentioned on these posters. Rather than point out the punishments for not following the rules, the posters express the hope that the regulations will be responded to 'in the spirit in which they are framed'. However, they do note the expectation that this will occur with 'cheerful acquiescence and

submission'. They also point out that that there will always be those who are not 'amenable to good sense and proper feeling' and these sorts will be punished. Unlike the earlier regulations, these punishments are not specified.

The schoolmaster is 'instructed to form an adult class among the single men' which does beg the question as to whether married couples and single women were already literate, exempt or simply omitted. Lastly, the mandatory Sunday inspection becomes voluntary.

Yet the language differs significantly depending on the intended audience. The NZC 1839 poster is addressed to both 'gentlemen...*about to settle permanently*', and 'labourers *wishing to emigrate*' (fig. 43; my italics). These phrases tell the labouring-class audience that it must pay attention to what the poster has to say if it expects to realise that wish. This linguistic distinction immediately separates those who have control over their own actions and those who do not, at least in the matter of emigration. The word 'must' appears liberally on this poster, dictating the terms with which a labourer is to conform. Labourers 'must...produce marriage certificates...be vaccinated...embark at the port of London...provide their own bedding and the tools of their own trade' and make their own way to the port. Though 'a free passage will be granted' each emigrant 'must pay down a deposit' which indicates largesse with a catch (fig. 56). Labourers must not 'exceed' age limits or numbers of children and are subject to constraining behavioural descriptions.

The regulations regarding single men were similarly constraining. Item 9 of the 1842 Regulations poster in figure 60 states that single men must not exceed the number of single women, even if they were recommended by a land purchaser. The regulation is played out in the advertising posters in different ways. The 'adult sisters' proviso on the NZC posters in figures 52 and 53 is one. Another was financial. The PGO poster in figure 58 notes that single men who wish to emigrate and are 'accompanied by their parents will pay £2' and if not, they will be 'required to pay £4'.

Of all the posters that advertise free passages for labouring emigrants, the majority ask for emigrants with specific character attributes: most of these are NZC posters. The posters that address these classes but do not include character attributes are mostly those

that did not offer free or assisted passages. This points to some ambivalence regarding the perceived superiority of the English working man or woman and their fitness for the receipt of a boon. As with marriage certificates, good character attributes required ‘satisfactory’, ‘most satisfactory’ or ‘unexceptionable’ testimonials from suitable persons authorised to give them. Two posters advise that ‘strict inquiry will be made as to qualifications and character’ (figs. 52 & 53). The NZC noted explicitly that testimonials were not to be signed by ‘publicans or dealers in beer or spirits’ (appendix 2). Item 4 of the poster in figure 61 produced for the PGC advises that unless an applicant can obtain ‘proper’ signatures on the certificate, he will not be accepted for an assisted passage. The Lincolnshire agent White required ‘Certificate of Character’ to be signed by ‘two neighbours who are householders and ratepayers, also a doctor, and last by a clergyman, minister or magistrate’ (fig. 92). Ratepayers, it seems, are not only those who were deemed sufficiently qualified to vote after the Reform Bill of 1832, but also to exercise some control over deciding who was and was not deserving of a free passage to New Zealand.

Contemporary inter-textual and co-textual discourses on behaviour in general and emigration in particular were clear on the subject of who was specifically unfit to go.¹²⁰ All classes of ‘convicts and madmen’, and young men of the middle classes and upwards whose behaviour and habits were in any way licentious were among those advised by contemporary writers against emigration.¹²¹ Though the posters that addressed the labouring classes concerned themselves with spelling out who was fit to go, they were not entirely silent on the matter of who was not. The producer of the Welsh poster in figure 49 states explicitly that ‘none need apply except married persons of good character’. This was prefaced by the advice that prospective emigrants should ‘save’ themselves ‘unnecessary trouble’ by not applying if they do not fit the criteria laid down in the many versions of the regulations.

Newman rejected those who, ‘due to age or infirmity’ or other unspecified causes were ‘unlikely to form a useful colonist’ (fig. 41). Counteracting this was his more positive address to ‘every industrious man or woman, of good character’. Contemporary stock phrases such as ‘industrious’ and ‘good character’ had considerable currency in

EMIGRATION.
CANTERBURY
SETTLEMENT,
NEW ZEALAND.
ASSISTED
PASSAGES
TO
PORT LYTTTELTON
IN THE CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT,

Will be granted in the Ships chartered by the Canterbury Association, and from time to time appointed to sail from LONDON, to a limited number of the Working Classes, being GARDENERS, SHEPHERDS, FARM SERVANTS, AND COUNTRY MECHANICS.

The Emigrants must be under 40 years of age, of the highest character for Sobriety, Steadiness, and Respectability, as certified by the Clergymen of their Parish. Young Married couples will be preferred.

The next Ship will sail from LONDON on the 21st October, and two Ships will sail in the month of November; and other Ships will follow according to future announcements.

Full particulars, with Forms of application, may be obtained at Devizes, of the REV. EDWARD J. PHIPPS and MR. MORRIS; and in London, either personally or by letter addressed to the Emigration Department, Canterbury Association, 20, Cockspur Street.

H. BULL, PRINTER, DEVIZES.

Fig. 68. Poster produced to recruit emigrants for Canterbury from Wiltshire. Bull placed emphasis on the preferred characteristics by setting them in a paragraph separate from the other text.

Henry Bull, Devizes for the CA, c. 1850.

D1571/X155, Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester. 250mm x 400mm.



Fig. 69. This poster is printed in blue which, while it would give it a point of difference in the visual landscape of poster advertising, retained its gravitas through the sober, recessive colour. The printer's use of Clarendon to articulate the occupations wanted by the Government darkens the blue and sets the lines apart from the rest of the text. The required characteristics are downplayed by the small font of modern type as compared to the larger font and the font of Clarendon.

Unknown printer, London for the Agent-General of the NZG (detail), 28 October 1873. R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

nineteenth century labour advertising and appear regularly throughout the poster set. The words 'sober and industrious' was a particularly common phrase in emigration rhetoric. Versions of it appear on most of the posters that offer free passages to the labouring classes. 'Sober and industrious' qualifies the dynamic italicised 'agricultural labourers'. Set in upper case bold face, it has a character that is itself sober and industrial-like. At the same time, both phrases are grouped and framed to form one single key concept (sober and industrious agricultural labourers). While the qualifying phrase excludes those who do not fit that description, the concept can be seen as an assumption that labourers are naturally sober and industrious. As such, it is a visual manifestation of the circular argument that conflates Englishness and industriousness. The complete phrase both warns the Kentish labourer that he must conform to these criteria at the same time as it confirms his eligibility to accept the proposition directed particularly to him. The selection of the Staplehurst workhouse families would account for the emphasis on 'sober and industrious'.

None of the remaining posters stipulate versions of these personal attributes quite so forcefully. West Country labourers are expected to have ‘sober habits and good characters (figs. 38 & 76). The ‘working classes’ addressed in the CA posters in figures 68 and 83 ‘must be...of the highest character for sobriety, steadfastness and respectability’. This would not be an unusual stipulation from a body which insisted elsewhere that its emigrants be ‘*bona fide* members of the English Church’.¹²² Given this stipulation, it is interesting to note that neither of the posters advertising for emigrants mention church membership. In the end, it was also one of those requirements that was overridden to compensate for an insufficient number of applications.¹²³

The NZG wanted the cream of England’s working men and women, ‘shipped and landed in New Zealand with spotless characters and in perfect health’.¹²⁴ Consequently, the two posters of 1868 (fig. 61) and 28 October 1873 (fig. 69) call for agricultural labourers who are ‘sober, industrious and of good moral character’. The latter continued with ‘of sound mind, free from bodily deformity, [and] in good health’.

The Lincolnshire agent John White sets out to assist his audience through reason and argument in identifying themselves as the ‘right sort’. The language on his poster in figure 70 is engaging, inclusive and empathetic. The initial, peripheral response to the question of why New Zealand is so much talked about propels his audience towards a deeper, more cognitively central engagement. The question and answer format asks them to give the poster’s message their ‘diligent consideration’. In these situations, if the argument is strong and the audience is motivated, it is more likely to accept the message.¹²⁵ The poster text explicitly engages them in a rational dialogue which encourages them to evaluate their own attitude towards the proposition and to strengthen the argument themselves.¹²⁶

‘Who can [go] then?’, the poster seems to ask. The response is ‘Those who are sober. Those who are honest. Those who are industrious.’ The response conforms to all the prevailing discourses on Englishness, industry and sobriety. It simply requires the audience to ask itself if it is eligible according to the response. ‘Can everybody get free passages?’ ‘NO!!’ The implication is similar to the Cutbush poster 36 years earlier, that only *you*, the sober, industrious and honest English labourer is entitled to go (fig. 73).¹²⁷

Those who could not go, at least under the conditions of a free passage, were those that did not deserve to go.

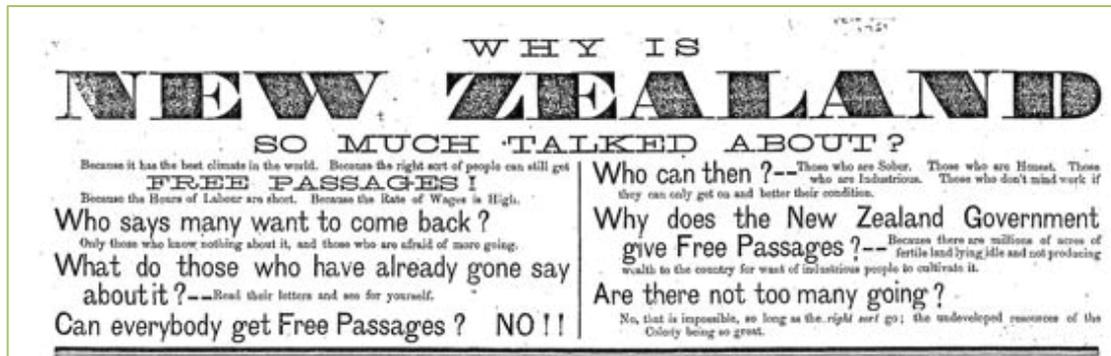


Fig. 70. White's poster is one of the most complex in the set. It employs the testimonials of emigrants' letters to attest to the benefits of emigration; it demonstrates the goodwill of two producers who are on the one hand, known and on the other, knowledgeable about the colony; and it uses communication techniques that require a personally addressed audience to become actively involved in its proposition.

Horace Watson, Laceby near Grimsby for John White and William Burton, agents for the NZG and the PGT respectively (detail), c. 1875.

ABN28346858075, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Such rational arguments are driven by 'sound reasoning and the quality of evidence that is offered in support of the conclusion'.¹²⁸ Having prompted the audience to think carefully about and assess the soundness of the argument it presents, White then provides 'sufficient confirmation of the truth' through the testimonials printed on the poster (fig. 92).¹²⁹

THE MIDDLE-CLASS AUDIENCE

There are four posters that address a middle-class audience. They were all produced by the NZC or its agents or affiliations: James Truscott's poster of 29 June 1839 (which addresses both classes), Thomas Kelly's Irish poster of 1842, the poster advertising the ship *Phoebe* also of 1842 and the 1849 OA poster (figs 43, 90, 72 & 57 respectively).

These classes comprised many of those engaged in the competitive trades and professions. The first three posters are densely worded and graphically less emphatic than those addressed to the labouring classes. The OA poster is graphically loud and has

a short paragraph of body copy. The same economic conditions that produced a surplus of waged workers also saw an increase in competition for business opportunities as well as smaller returns on investments. Many members of the middle classes who had earlier secured influential situations in society through shrewd investments were severely compromised in an economic climate affected by market-driven fluctuations. This was a group of people who were 'newly middle class' and had lifted itself up, but in an unstable economy it was unprotected either by significant wealth or long-held status.¹³⁰ Many of its members faced the 'haunting fear of submersion into the working classes'.¹³¹ Other consequences would include a failure to provide their children with an education and a place in society.¹³² Daughters were especially vulnerable when money became scarce as most were raised to do little but marry well. Daughters without dowries often did not marry at all. The professions into which many sons were expected to enter were overcrowded with no 'openings for their energies'.¹³³ The NZC targeted this class of 'ambitious, educated gentlemen of modest fortune', with an aim to persuade them to emigrate before their funds were completely depleted.¹³⁴ The vast amount of rhetoric surrounding the promotion of New Zealand as an escape from the 'agricultural distress, manufacturing distress, commercial distress and distress of shipping interests and many more kinds of distress' offers emigration as a release from such penury and panic.¹³⁵

The prospective middle-class colonist was the other half of the colonial equation. It was their capital that would turn the wheels of commerce in the colony and provide employment for the emigrant labourer. Wakefield's sympathy for the middle classes had a positive effect on the NZC's communications. Radzevicius points out that Wakefield saw middle-class 'uneasiness' as a novel phenomenon that had not been addressed.¹³⁶ As an 'ambitious, educated gentleman' of the middle class himself, his concern for the problems of his class expressed itself in his attempts to persuade them to emigrate.¹³⁷ The NZC and their prospective colonists shared values and attitudes which facilitated the easy transfer of the emigration message from one to the other.¹³⁸ Unlike the power imbalance between the NZC and the labouring classes, each of the participants in this arrangement was 'genteel and respectable' and was addressed as such.¹³⁹

Hailing the middle-class colonist

The four posters work to persuade the middle-class audience to consider carefully what the agencies propose. The significant difference between the proposals made to the labouring classes and the middle classes lies in how they do that. The words are different.¹⁴⁰ There are few ‘musts’ in the middle-class addresses, and where there are imperatives, they are politely stated. The producers of the posters assume a sensibility and a self-regard in their audience and they communicate that through particular, and at times coded, constructions of language they know will be understood and appreciated. In some sense, the NZC flatters its audience by speaking to it on equal ground. On the other hand, the NZC uses the signifying power of semiotic resources to take advantage of the vulnerabilities and anxieties of this particular audience.

Sections of the NZC poster in figure 43, printed by Truscott in 1839, contain information for the middle-class capitalist with sufficient funds to ‘secure town sections in the first and principle settlement’. In contrast to the way in which this poster addresses the labouring classes, it does not dictate terms for the middle-class land purchasers, but directs their attention to a pressing issue. Those ‘desiring to make a claim on the Emigration Fund’ are *advised* to ‘make their applications in writing...on or before the 15th July or their claims will be considered waived’. The claim will not be waived by the NZC, but it will *consider*, that by not claiming in the requisite time, the would-be colonist had waived it. Speaking to prospective land owners who had not yet bought land orders, it *recommends* that, due to the ‘very rapid sale of land’ others who may wish to purchase land orders *should* do so immediately. The poster also *notes* that the qualification to become a member of the ‘first colony of New Zealand’ is the purchase of land. The poster makes the consequences of not acting quickly in this matter obvious (my italics).

These imperatives are cast as advice rather than orders. They were made against a backdrop of the rhetoric of systematic colonisation which positioned Wellington as the ‘commercial capital of New Zealand, and, therefore, the situation where land will soonest acquire the highest value by means of colonization’.¹⁴¹ The purchase of land comes with an opportunity to nominate labourers to work it. This would put into effect

the NZC's intentions of creating a complete colony. The systematic scheme posits these labourers as the means through which the middle classes will escape from their own distress.¹⁴² This is where Wakefield's concern for people like himself was addressed. As a persuasive resource, this poster addresses its audience as potential men of property and employers of labour, not as victims of circumstances. Land, the great middle-class 'desideratum' articulated on the poster as 'the purchase of one hundred acres', is a prerequisite for inclusion. Because status and power were inextricably linked to ownership of land in the English consciousness, acquisition through simple, and relatively inexpensive, purchase would appear as a smooth road to both. As Patricia Burns points out though, at this stage the sections were 'imaginary'. They had not been sited, much less purchased, as the *Tory* had not reached New Zealand's shores.¹⁴³ Yet, the imperatives are strong and the consequences of ignoring them explicit. The land orders were sold and the auctions that succeeded them were held while the *Tory* was still on the water.

The poster speaks to those who wished to be included among a society of 'gentlemen' who are exclusively 'heads of families' and have formed what they pre-emptively called the 'first colony of New Zealand'. These gentleman have the 'power to add to their number' any who wish to join them by purchasing '100 acres of land'. A small font of upper case slab serif emphasises the 'first colony of New Zealand'. Its masculine qualities pitch the project of colonisation and the party that undertakes it as an Englishman's manly duty. The John Bull stereotype that made manliness a 'dominant moral construct' in Victorian England is evident in both the heroic notion of the 'first' colony and the rugged typeface.¹⁴⁴ 'Settl[ing] permanently' in the first colony allows the audience to imagine a future in which it could maintaining its place within the social system. The phrase 'first colony' signifies exclusivity. Such exclusivity expresses an understanding that this is the class whose role it is to give 'tone and character' to the new society. The language associated them with the 'considerable body of gentlemen' that has already signalled its intentions to form the first colony. This 'body' included men whose influence in society stemmed, like Henry Petre, second son of Baron Petre, from their family associations or, like Francis Molesworth, from considerable family

Governor--The EARL OF DURHAM.
Deputy Governor--JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

<p>LORD PETRE Hon. FRANCIS BARING, M.P. JOHN ELLERKER BOULCOTT, Esq. JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq. RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq. JAMES BRODIE GORDON, Esq. THOMAS ALERS HANKEY, Esq. WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P. STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq.</p>	<p>ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq. JOHN PIRIE, Esq. Alderman. SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart. M.P. JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq. M.P. WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq. Ald. M.P. SIR HENRY WEBB, Bart. ARTHUR WILLIS, Esq. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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The Directors of the New Zealand Land Company hereby give Notice,
That Purchasers of Land Orders desiring to claim from the Emigration Fund, a free passage for
themselves, their families, and servants, to the extent of seventy-five per cent. of their purchase
monies respectively, are to make their applications in writing, to the Secretary, on or before

The 15th of JULY next
Or their claims will be considered waved. Persons intending to Emigrate with the First Colony on
The 15th of AUGUST

Are advised, that in consequence of the very rapid sale of the land (nearly four-fifths of the
selected acres being already disposed of), immediate application will be necessary, in order to
secure *Town Sections in the first and principal settlement.*

FIRST COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND,

*Under this designation a Society has been formed, consisting exclusively of heads of families and others,
about to settle permanently in New Zealand, on lands purchased from the Company. The Society
already numbers a considerable body of gentlemen. Others, who may entertain similar
views, are invited to join them. Qualification, of a member of the Society, the purchase
of one hundred acres of land; of a member of the committee, five hundred acres; including,
in both cases, part of the first town. Members admitted by ballot only.*

COMMITTEE OF THE FIRST COLONY;
WITH POWER TO ADD TO THEIR NUMBER.

<p>GEORGE SAMUEL EVANS D.C.L., <i>Chairman.</i> HON. HENRY PETRE CAPTAIN DANIEL DUDLEY SINCLAIR, Esq. FRANCIS MOLESWORTH, Esq.</p>	<p>EDWARD BETTS HOPPER, Esq. GEORGE DUFFA, Esq. WILLIAM SWAINSON, Esq. F.R.S. ROBERT HENRY WOOD, Esq.</p>
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Fix. 71. The fonts of slab serif used to articulate both the ‘Earl of Durham’ and the ‘first colony of New Zealand’ in this poster link the august gentleman of the peerage with the predominantly middle-class colony of gentlemen, actual and prospective. In the same way, the members of the ‘Committee of the first colony’ (who may be joined by anyone prepared to purchase five hundred acres of land) are graphically connected to the high-status directors of the NZC.

James Truscott, London for the New Zealand Land Company (detail), 29 June 1839.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

wealth. These words reinforce the idea that these uneasy people can continue to belong to the ‘better stock’ which will see ‘England replicated’ and themselves as the ‘leading citizens’ of the new colony.¹⁴⁵ And, unlike the labouring classes, these middle-class gentlemen were not required to remain in the settlement to which they originally went. Henry Tiffen, for example, states explicitly that he was to be a member of the second ‘colony’ of New Zealand (Nelson), but chose instead to remain in Wellington and then go, first to the Wairarapa, then to the Hawkes Bay.¹⁴⁶ An associated document reinforces again the exclusivity and gentility of the audience. The formation of ‘literary, scientific and philanthropic institutions’ establishes credibility for the colony in both its

EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

**Important to Farmers and small
Capitalists.**

The Court of Directors of the *New Zealand Company* having received numerous applications for passages from persons of the above description, and being desirous of facilitating the emigration to *New Zealand* of persons of the industrious classes, who do not fall within the regulations entitling them to a *Free Passage*, and also small Capitalists to whom the costly Accommodation usually provided for Cabin passages would be unsuitable, *Notice is hereby given*, that Cabin Passages to *Auckland* and *Nelson* may be obtained in the splendid new Ship,

PHOEBE,

Burthen 500 Tons, lying in the West India Docks,

Chartered by the Company to Sail from the PORT OF LONDON positively on the 15th of November next, on the following terms:--

The price of a Chief-Cabin Passage, with a liberal dietary, will be 50 guineas for a married couple, & 30 Guineas for a single adult person; and that of a Fore-Cabin Passage will be £20 per adult. The prices for children will be in the proportions fixed by the Passengers' Act, or as the Directors may fix in the case of large families.

Families who may desire it, may have extra space for their Accommodation upon payment of a proportionate additional Sum. One Ton Freight will be allowed to Chief Cabin and Half a Ton to Fore-cabin Passengers, FREE OF CHARGE; EXTRA FREIGHT will be allowed by the Directors in their discretion, at the rate of 45s. per Ton measurement, and 25s. per Ton dead weight.

The Company will appoint an experienced Surgeon, and will provide Medicines and Medical Comforts.

Applications for Passage or Freight, to be addressed to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, *Broad Street Buildings*; or to J. STAYNER, SHIP & INSURANCE BROKER, 110, *Fenchurch Street*, London, on or before SATURDAY, 15th OCTOBER next.

A Deposit of £10 will be required for every Chief-Cabin Passage, and of £5 for every Fore-Cabin Passage, which must be paid to the Company, or to J. STAYNER, on or before the 15th October, and the remainder of the Passage-Monies previous to Embarkation.

By Order of the Court,

JOHN WARD, Sec.

New Zealand House, Broad Street Buildings,
September 14th, 1842.

A. ECCLES, Printer, 101, Fenchurch Street

Fig. 72. The shipping broker who appears on this poster is Joseph Stayner. While the NZC used a number of printers for its London posters, Stayner appears to have worked consistently with Eccles during his relationship with the NZC.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC, 14 September 1842.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin. 498mm x 745mm.

meanings of a particular place and a group of people. This also took its institutions from the old England to the new, validating its place within an established and recognisable set of traditions, laws and habits.¹⁴⁷

As with many members of the labouring classes, those of the middle classes were not universally eager to take themselves, their money and their energies halfway across the world. A year after the formation of the second colony at Nelson, when it was clear that insufficient numbers of these middle-class people were prepared to emigrate, the NZC devised strategies to address the issue. Early in 1842 it looked first to Ireland, a country which habitually sent people across the Atlantic rather than to the Pacific. The Irish labouring classes were not the natural target market for the NZC which preferred the English or English-like emigrant. When it did recruit the Irish, it preferred the Protestant Anglo-Irish.¹⁴⁸ But, it did hope to attract an ‘expedition’ of middle-class Irishmen and their labourers through at least the one poster in figure 90.

The poster advertises an ‘expedition from Dublin’ which is set in the same proto-Clarendon typeface used on Heard’s poster. Though it uses the term ‘emigrants’ rather than colonists, it implies a middle-class audience in a number of ways. The most obvious point is the reference to them as ‘purchasers of land’. The phrase is set in upper case within a group of paragraphs of normal body text. Second, following the model of the first colony, members of the second one ‘may’ nominate as many labourers as they choose, ‘provided’ the labourers conform to the NZC’s regulations. The last reference is more evident in the polite and solicitous language. Those ‘desirous of joining the expedition are *requested* to enrol themselves immediately, so that adequate preparations can be made for the voyage’ (my italics). Enrolment is an activity that suggests automatic acceptance; application (as labourers must submit) implies contingency and carries within it the possibility of rejection. Since the poster addresses fare-paying passengers the promoters use language carefully to appreciate the difference. While preparations were always made for emigrant voyages, the ‘adequate preparations’ mentioned here suggest something a little more elaborate. The poster offers the reassurance of the ‘highly influential’ people who will see the expedition off in Dublin. Like the Scots, the Irish resisted embarking in London as much as possible.¹⁴⁹ The polite address to this

audience reinforces a commitment that it already holds towards its own sufficiency and place in the world.¹⁵⁰ In this way the poster mediates the message in order to reflect the attitude an audience might take towards it.¹⁵¹

Later in the year, the NZC produced the poster in figure 72 to advertise the ‘setting on’ of the ship *Phoebe*. She was to take ‘farmers and small capitalists’ to Wellington and Nelson as a result of an apparent overflow of ‘persons of [that] description’. Ann Eccles’ signature style is seen here in the framing of the address with rules top and bottom a small font of slab serif between them. The address, similar to the signalling device of ‘you’, alerts the audience to the importance of the message to them personally. The slab serif groups the phrase ‘important to farmers and small capitalists’ with the proposition of ‘emigration’ above it, the means to do so—the ship ‘*Phoebe*’ below—and the point of contact with the NZC, ‘John Ward’ at the bottom.

The language on the poster is constructed carefully. It alludes to a set of social and economic circumstances that affected both the farmer and the small capitalist. Though it explicitly conflates the two through the single descriptive address, each is referred to in such a way as to imply slight differences in their social status. The word ‘also’ between the descriptions of the farmers and capitalists ensures that the poster is constructed in such a way as to distinguish the difference within the class. Such personally tailored appeals encourage both the farmers and the small capitalists to further engage with the message and to accept the validity of the recommended action of improving their circumstances through emigration. The poster is designed to enact the positive effect of the congruence of attitudes, opinions and values between the message that addresses the farmer as ‘industrious’ and the farmer who sees himself as such. The language in the text alludes to him as someone whose circumstances are not so straightened that he has need of a charity. It groups him, conceptually and literally, on the poster with a slightly elevated class of capitalist. The poster, dated 14 September, indicates that the ship is due to leave on 15 November. This gave these middle-class people two months to make up their minds and settle their affairs. The labouring classes had fewer affairs to settle and they were habitually given no more than, and often considerably less than, three weeks notice of a ship’s sailing.

The OA poster in figure 57 which announces a ‘ship from Clyde’ also signals that the information on it is ‘important to emigrants’. Like the NZC’s Irish poster, this too is directed towards ‘land purchasers’. The poster has considerable graphic impact with over half of it taken up with heavy typefaces. Apart from the whole thoughts formed through similar fonts of the same typeface (‘Otago’/‘Emigrants’, for example), the first word, though not large, is established actually and conceptually as ‘important’ through its position in the hierarchy of the page. It also signifies through difference as it is the only word in the group of large words set in a font of sans serif. But it links these large words with the ‘land purchasers’ set in sans serif within the body copy block set in a small font of modern. In case the point is missed, the word ‘paying’ is also set in sans serif within this block.

Regulating the middle-class colonist

None of the posters indicate any intent to regulate any aspect of middle-class emigration nor do they indicate what qualities, beyond capital, a middle-class colonist should possess. Colonists were not selected, rather they selected themselves through their land purchase. The word ‘select’, such as in the selection of suitable labouring-class emigrant, is only used on NZC documents for the middle classes, for example, in the ‘selection’ of ‘eligible districts...as respects fertility, river frontage, and vicinity to the town’ for settlement. Anyone could travel to New Zealand with an intention to settle.¹⁵² All that was needed was the desire to do so and sufficient funds to pay the fare or buy land, which might have entitled them to a free passage. Many did both. There were minor regulations attached to those NZC land purchasers who wished to claim the free passages that went with such transactions, either for their families or their servants.¹⁵³ Unlike the labouring-class directive that stated they should not leave their homes until they received a notice of embarkation, these land purchasers were requested to advise the NZC when they would be ‘prepared to leave England’. The board would then ‘comply with the wishes of the parties in respect of the ship, and time of sailing, so far as is practicable’. This document also reminds these people that ‘persons of the labouring classes nominated by purchasers can only be accepted provided they fall within the regulations’.

Contemporary emigration rhetoric did, however, exclude some middle-class people. Realistically, lawyers, engineers, and shopkeepers, and those who lacked professional or business qualifications or manual skills were unlikely to find employment if they could not adapt to the circumstance of colonial life.¹⁵⁴ Henry Selfe, the English agent for the PGC quipped that ‘a colony is still thought of sometimes for young men who have distinguished themselves for tastes and qualities, which lead their relatives to desire their absence’.¹⁵⁵ There were also no opportunities for poor gentlemen.¹⁵⁶ In the only poster to comment on the characteristics not wanted in an intending colonist, Joseph Newman singled out

young men in the rank of Gentleman who have not been brought up to any profession or business, or who are without sufficient capital to establish themselves in the Province, or to employ labour are not generally desirable as emigrants. (fig. 41)

In 1867, an emigration supporter James Baird was more specific about the nature of persons not wanted in the colony.

The “Fast” Gent, the would-be Howling Swell the Ne’er-do-well. The *Town* type who has lived fast and gone early to seed; he is known to tailors, and has heard of County Courts; he illustrates casinos, and is loud at the Cider-cellars and the Pit; he haunts night billiard-tables with other small birds of prey, and knows a thing or two at cards; he is far above work, and far beneath it, and lazy as the dog who leaned against the wall to bark.¹⁵⁷

But useless and impecunious young gentlemen or the howling swell were only undesirable, not prohibited.

For Wakefield, the economically and socially compromised middle-class man was ‘the citizen who worked hard, lived frugally, saved his money and invested it wisely’.¹⁵⁸ Though personal or professional suitability in the middle classes was equally important to the colonising enterprise generally, few promoters explicitly interrogated it. The good character of the middle-class small capitalist was largely taken for granted and the posters are silent on the matter. Overall, the only requirement apart from the financial ability to emigrate to New Zealand was that of the CA which specified that its colonists

and emigrants belong to the Church of England. The most difficult task was to persuade them, middle or labouring, to go at all.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined both how the agencies hailed their respective audiences and how they differentiated between them. Close reading of the posters has provided insight into how their producers singled out and hailed specific intended audiences across the years. As casualties of periodic economic decline in English agriculture and industry, some members of both the labouring and middle classes were targeted by the promotion agencies to people New Zealand with labour and capital. The mode of addressing the labouring classes remained constant throughout the poster group though the tone changed over the years. There was a different mode and tone of language used to address the middle classes. It is clear that nineteenth century class distinctions were as defined in the language used on ephemeral posters and in advertising, as they were in other forms of printed texts. The posters demonstrate that this was as true of the textual language as it was of the graphic language.

Differentiation by class is especially evident at specific points in time. The posters addressed to the labouring classes do not simply hail them through their occupations or, in the case of women, through their sex. Labourers are almost invariably expected to have certain personal qualities that were articulated on the posters. Twyman points out that it may be fruitless to read too much into differences between posters that were produced over 30 years apart given the incompleteness of the data. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that roughly 80% of the extant posters associated with the NZC feature the qualities expected of a free passage emigrant. Only 50% of the posters produced by the governments do so. These qualities were not applied to the calls for the middle classes. Generally, the text on the NZC posters speak to the labouring-class emigrants in tones that are either admonishing or regulatory. On the other hand, the text and choice of graphic language is sympathetic, toned down and polite for the middle-class colonists. The governments' posters articulate much the same bifurcation in terms of regulation but the tone is more conciliatory. Colonisation was not meant to

break up the systems that held English economic and social structures in place, but once established, colonies began to build their own systems. The change in tone reflects a more democratic colonial perspective on class relations. It is equally possible that the governments had become more desperate to attract emigrants and sought to appease them by not insisting on 'unnecessary' regulations. Perhaps ironically, the project of emigration which was set up, organised and championed by members of both the ruling and middle classes, was the instrument of freedom from the kind of governance and dependence for those who did choose to emigrate.

Wakefield's sympathy for his own kind meant that the systematic scheme was one in which labourers became the means through which the middle classes could escape from their own distress.¹⁵⁹ Ratios were crucial; a colonist could retain a certain number of labourers. Hence the proliferation of posters addressed to them. The graphically abbreviated messages on the posters were understood to be useful for a labouring-class audience whose literacy skills may have been lacking. A deficit of the middle classes, such as was seen in Nelson, equally threatened the viability of the colony. The NZC used poster advertising to address this as well, but both the textual and graphic languages they used differed markedly from the others.

All the agencies were explicit about who they wanted, but how they called for them was couched in language that they knew their audiences would understand as directed towards them specifically. The audiences themselves were specific. For example, the labouring classes were targeted, often by occupation, on most of the posters. Within that, discrete groups, such as women and the Scots were targeted in more specific ways, as the occasion demanded. These two sub-groups either had specific 'prejudices' or were particularly resistant to emigration.¹⁶⁰ The difficulties caused by the attitudes of the two groups, and the measures taken to address them, are evident on the posters throughout the entire period. Both the textual and graphic languages used to hail them were calculated to ensure that it was they, specifically, to whom the agencies spoke. The NZC clearly expected the classes of people who would benefit most by emigrating would wish to do so and proceeded on that assumption. They regulated those to whom

they would offer a free passage and quickly discovered that either inertia or resistance required them to relax the rules.

While the NZC assumed that it could offer both the explicit boon of a free passage and the implicit benefits of emigration to a country like New Zealand, it did not take account labouring-class resistance. In spite of middle-class perceptions of the dependent state of the labouring classes, these people had considerable agency over their own destiny, the construction of their own values and an ability to respond to changing conditions. The incidence of internal migration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is evidence of this agency. Availing themselves of the preference held out to them through the posters meant that they could choose not to accept the proposition offered. The fact that the effort on the part of both producers and printer did not produce the desired results had as much to do with outside the production and display of the posters. As far as New Zealand was concerned, the English of both classes were found to be ‘reluctant leavers’.¹⁶¹

The next chapter investigates how the agencies and their agents used the posters to position themselves as credible facilitators of emigration. It will discuss the strategies used to reassure these reluctant leavers of the credibility of the agencies and their expertise in transporting large numbers of people across the world.

ENDNOTES

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- ⁸ H.J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Belich, *Replenishing*.
- ⁹ Edward G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire; in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist* (London: Parker, 1849); Robin Haines, 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia 1831-1860', *Population Studies*, 48.2 (1994), 223-47; Richard E. Petty & John E. Cacioppo, *The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion* (New York: Academic, 1986).
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- ¹¹ Wakefield, *Colonization*, p. 409
- ¹² Hudson, 'English Emigration: Information', p. 692.
- ¹³ Belich, *Replenishing*.
- ¹⁴ Richard M. Perloff, *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st century* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003).
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CHAPTER FIVE

TO SOBER AND INDUSTRIOUS 28
Agricultural Laborers.

THE NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY,
Governor, The Earl of Durham,
Deputy-Governor, Joseph Somes, Esq.

DIRECTORS,

Lord Petre
Hon. Francis Baring, M.P.
J. Ellerker Boulcott, Esq.
John William Buckle, Esq.
Russell Ellice, Esq.
J. Brodie Gordon, Esq.

T. Alers Hankey, Esq.
William Hutt, Esq., M.P.
Stewart Marjoribanks, Esq.
Sir W. Molesworth, Bt. M.P.
Alexander Nairne, Esq.
John Pirie, Esq., Alderman

Sir G. Sinclair, Bt. M.P.
J. Abel Smith, Esq. M.P.
W. Thompson, Esq., Ald. M.P.
Sir Henry Webb, Bart.
Arthur Willis, Esq.
George Frederick Young, Esq.

HEREBY GIVE NOTICE, That a Gentleman from their Office in London will attend, to receive applications for a

FREE PASSAGE TO NEW ZEALAND

(to Sail on or about the 1st of November, by the Ship *Bolton*), from Country Laborers only, at the following times and places:—

Tuesday, Oct. 22,

Harrietsham 9 o'Clock, A.M.
Headcorn . 11
Staplehurst . 1 P.M.
Goudhurst . 4

Wednesday, Oct. 23,

Horsmonden 9 o'Clock, A.M.
Brenchley . 11
Yalding . . . 1 P.M.
Wateringbury 3
Town Malling 5

In the interim, Printed Forms of Application may be obtained, together with information respecting New Zealand, at the Company's Office, No. 1, Adam Street, Adelphi; or from Mr. G. WHITING, Agent to the New Zealand Company, No. 3, Marsham Place, Maidstone.

OCTOBER 12, 1839.

JOHN WARD, *Secretary.*

PRINTED BY R. J. CUTBUSH AND SON, WEEK STREET, MAIDSTONE.

Fig. 73. The New Zealand Company (NZC) agent George Whiting's catchment was larger than the villages indicated on this poster, so it is likely there were other posters that have not survived.

Richard Cutbush, Maidstone for NZC agent George Whiting, 12 October 1839.

CO208/291/28, NZCS, National Archives, London. 180mm x 225mm.

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHING CREDIBILITY, ENABLING ACTION, RESPONDING TO CRISES

The posters took the potential emigrant on a cognitive journey, initially by attracting attention, then by prompting deeper engagement with the proposition, ending with a desired action. Should a prospective emigrant decide to accept the proposition and seriously consider emigrating to New Zealand, there were two additional steps to take. The first was to seek assurance that the promotion agencies who proposed such a commitment were sufficiently competent carry it out. Second, the prospective emigrant needed a source of further information about what to do next. Getting people who had shown interest in the proposition to a point where they could take action on it was the a core task of the posters. The New Zealand Company (NZC) agent Matthew O'Brien, for example, suggested in 1840 that 'large placards' be distributed and displayed throughout the local area in order to attract people to his agency in Falmouth.¹

One major theme exposed through the content analysis of the posters is the emphasis placed on the agency that produced the poster and that was responsible for its messages. This supports communication theory that sees the producer or the source of the message

as key to an audience's response to it.² This chapter introduces each of those producers: the various promoting agencies and their agents. It assesses the ways in which the agencies used the posters specifically to position themselves in the emigration marketplace and to communicate to the audience their credibility as emigration facilitators.³ In doing so, it explores some of the circumstances and motivations that led people to support the project of the colonisation of, and emigration to, New Zealand.

POSITIONING AGENCIES IN THE EMIGRATION MARKETPLACE

The promotion agencies formed an integral part of the narrative on the emigration posters. This was especially true in the case of the NZC, a new player in the emigration market-place. It had no mandate, little wide-spread support and, initially, no government sanction for its colonisation intentions and activities. At the start of its operations it was an unknown company among the labouring classes it was hoping to attract and it needed to create positive attitudes towards itself as *the* facilitator of emigration to New Zealand, an imperfectly known country. Raising its profile and establishing itself in the emigration market-place was crucial for the success of its operations. It then needed to maintain its profile, entrench its position, secure the operation from rivals and gain approbation from its intended audiences. The NZC made extensive use of the available communication channels, including poster advertising, to achieve those goals.

In 1842 the NZC director and British MP, Ross Mangles made the following statement:

The public is further secured, in the case of a Company, by the identity of its own interests with those of the body which it employs as an agent of colonization; for the Company cannot realise any great and lasting profit, otherwise than by carrying forward with rapidity and success the work in which the community have so deep a stake. The larger the gain of the Company, the greater the benefits reaped by the public; because the former must necessarily be the effect of the latter, and cannot possibly accrue otherwise. It is the object of England to people New Zealand with her children as quickly and completely as possible; it is the interest of the New Zealand Company to exert itself to the uttermost to effectuate that end.⁴

In the matter of exerting itself to the uttermost, the captain of the emigration ship, *Aurora*, Theophilus Heale, suggested that the NZC had been ‘but too fortunate’ in presenting to its audience an image of itself as the only provider of emigration to New Zealand.⁵ This was not due to good fortune but through constant public display and sophisticated communication strategies. Many of the advertising strategies of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century commodity producers focused on self-representation above product representation as an assurance of authenticity and credibility.⁶ A recognisable name facilitates an easy transfer of a message from its source to its audience through a peripheral cognitive route, quickly taken in and filed.⁷ Wakefield was an accomplished publicist and he ensured that the NZC and its business of colonisation and emigration would become known through constantly placing it in the public eye. The NZC aimed to establish itself as the only agency competent to facilitate emigration to New Zealand. Its relentless and repeated presentation of itself in public included expert mediation of the messages it communicated on the posters. Many of them identify the NZC as the source of the message by ‘strategic repetitions’ of its name.⁸ It appears multiple times on Truscott’s 1839 densely worded poster in figure 43. Even in the context of the poster with considerably fewer words such as that printed by Harrison’s, the NZC name appears three times and on a number of others twice (fig. 46). On most posters, the NZC name is emphasised by large fonts of type. Though the posters exhibit little graphic coherence in other aspects, more often than not, the NZC’s printers used the same typeface to articulate ‘New Zealand [Land] Company’.

Overall, 80 per cent of the emphasised iterations of ‘New Zealand Company’ on the posters are set in a compressed font of fat face. The consistent use of a common typeface reflects the premise that typographic cues, such as typefaces or fonts, can be used by printers to affect an audience’s cognitive responses.⁹ This makes these cues amenable to particular interpretations and so they are useful for producers who wish to direct an audience towards a preferred way of thinking about something.¹⁰ The fonts are almost identical in size and measure relative to their individual poster sizes (to view them in context see figs, 31, 34, 38, 43, 73 & 76). The compression of the letters alludes to the constrained social and economic environment within which the NZC operated. It reinforces the notion of emigration as a remedy for social and economic ills. Consistent



Fig 74. Each of the iterations of 'New Zealand [Land] Company' is set in a font of compressed fat face across the full measure of its respective page, regardless of the size of the poster upon which it sits. The posters display a consistent typographic style that transcends their geographical spread and the whims of their printers.

from top:

James Truscott, London for the New Zealand Land Company (detail), June 1839.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Richard Cutbush, Maidstone for the NZC agent George Whiting (detail), 12 October 1839.
CO208.291/28, New Zealand Company Scrapbook (NZCS), National Archives, London.

William Franklin, Hungerford for the NZC (detail), June 1840.
CO208/291/68, NZCS, National Archives, London.

John Toms, Chard for the NZC agent George Toms (detail), 7 June 1840. CO208.291/75, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC agents (detail), June 1840.
CO208/291/73, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC (detail), 24 July 1848.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

EMIGRATION LABOURERS WANTED. NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

Governor.—THE EARL OF DURHAM. Deputy-Governor.—JOSEPH SOMES, ESQ.

DIRECTORS.

Viscount INGERSBIE, M. P.
Lord PETERB.
Henry A. AGTONBY, Esq. M. P.
Hon. Francis ARKING, M. P.
John Elkerholme LECOTE, Esq.
John William HUCKLE, Esq.
Russell ELLIOT, Esq.
James Robert GOWEN, Esq.

John HISE, Esq.
William HITT, Esq. M. P.
Stewart MAJORIBANKS, Esq.
Sir William MOLENWORTH, Bart. M. P.
Alexander SAUNDY, Esq.
John PIRIE, Esq. Alderman.
Sir George SINCLAIR, Bart. M. P.

John Abel SMITH, Esq. M. P.
William THOMPSON, Esq. Alderman, M. P.
Hon. Frederick James COLTHERACE, M. P.
Edward G. WAKEFIELD, Esq.
Sir Henry WELLS, Bart.
Arthur WILLIS, Esq.
George Frederick YOUNG, Esq.

The DIRECTORS of the NEW ZEALAND COMPANY hereby give Notice that they are ready to receive applications from *Rural Mechanics, and Agricultural Labourers*, of sober habits and good character, for a

Free Passage to New Zealand.

Forms of Application, and Copies of the Regulations for Labourers wishing to Emigrate, may be obtained by applying (between the hours of 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening,) to

Mr. George TOMS, Chard, or to the Rev. Dr. RUDGE, Hawkchurch.

A Gentleman from the Company's Office, will attend on Friday, 12th JUNE, 1840

At the GERGE INN, CHARD, at SIX o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of receiving such applications.

The Company's first Emigrant Ship the *MARTHA RIDGWAY*, 620 Tons, will sail from England on the 1st of JULY, and the second, the *LONDON*, 700 Tons, on the 1st of AUGUST.

On the arrival of the Emigrants in the Colonies, they will be received by an officer who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise with them in case of difficulty, and at all times to give them employment in the service of the Company, if from any cause, they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere. The Emigrants will, however, be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and still make their own bargain for wages.

Dated, 4th June 1840.—TOMS, PRINTER, GAZETTE OFFICE, CHARD.

Fig. 75. John Toms, Chard for the NZC agent George Toms, June 1840.

CO208/291/67, NZCS, National Archives, London. 530mm x 470mm.

use of the typeface in all its forms on these posters associates condensed fonts of fat face with the 'New Zealand Company'.

The fonts of fat face that articulate the 'New Zealand Company' in figure 74 are echoed in those of modern or old face in the many iterations of the name in the printed material associated with the posters (fig. 75). Yet any attempt on the part of the NZC to use the medium of the posters to present a coherent identity to a geographically diverse audience would have been futile. Because the posters were printed, distributed and displayed in disparate parts of the country, they would not have been available for viewing as a group by a single person. This geographical spread would not preclude the NZC from determining how it presented itself in public. Most of the associated documents such as those in figure 75 were printed in London by a range of printers and then sent out to local agents in the provinces.

It would have been relatively easy for the NZC to control the details of style, such as the use of a set of common typefaces. NZC material points to some 'interference' in printing matters, at least in the matter of the typeface.¹¹ Wakefield 'drew up an advertisement' in 1839 calling for a captain of the *Tory* which suggests that he did more than compose its text.¹² He understood typographic mark-up conventions. On an extant document in his hand, he indicated words to be set in upper case by underlining them three times.¹³ The fact that he *could* make such decisions suggests that, in the choice of typeface for the NZC's name, he did so.

There are a handful of posters that do not emphasise the NZC name, or they use a typeface other than fat face. These posters were printed outside of England or produced by local boards of the parent NZC. The Welsh printer Henry White and the Irish *Reporter* office printer (figs. 49 & 90) both set 'New Zealand Company' in a font of slab serif. William Byers of Devonport, who printed a set of regulations for emigrants on board the NZC ships, (fig. 65) also set the NZC name in this sturdy typeface. Associated NZC material followed the model. For example, the phrase 'New Zealand Company' is set in a typeface that derived from slab serif on a prospectus issued by the West of England Board of the NZC. More unusually, the poster printed by the Glasgow printer, John Clark, for John Crawford, the agent for the West of Scotland Board did not

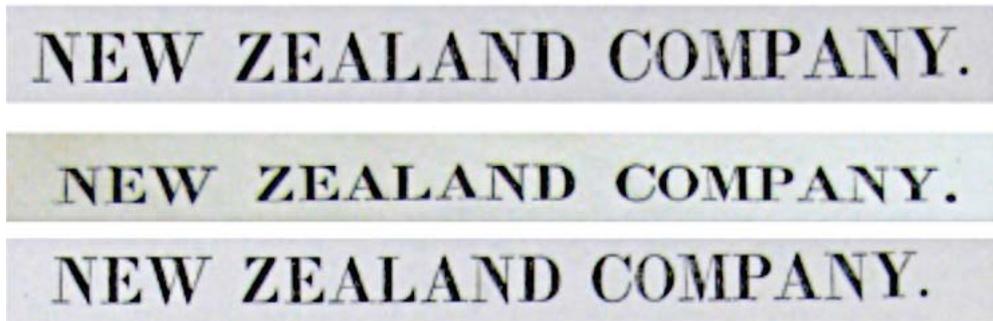


Fig. 76. These are set in compressed (top and bottom) and regular (centre) fonts of bold face, a typeface that has the same stylistic root as fat face.

from top:

Notice of sales of lands in New Plymouth, unknown printer, London for the NZC (detail), c. 1840.
CO208/291/9, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Notice of sale of preliminary lands in Nelson, unknown printer, London for the NZC (detail), 13
September 1841.

CO208/291/11, National Archives, London.

Charter of Incorporation, unknown printer, London for the NZC (detail), c. 1841.
Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

emphasise ‘New Zealand Land Company’ at all (fig. 1). Nor did Henry Granville do so on his Devonport poster for Little and Woollcombe (fig. 87).

In these ways—consistent use, reference to contemporary moods and the connotations implicit in those moods, and its visual properties—the fat face typeface and its compressed font helped to communicate what today would be seen as the graphic voice of the NZC, or its brand.¹⁴ The literature suggests that by the nineteenth century the concept and practice of symbolic branding, the strategies used to construct them and to decode them, were known mostly in the areas of publishing and of some commodities.¹⁵ It was relatively unknown in service industries such as emigration. An examination of emigration poster for other countries does not produce any evidence of branded facilitators.¹⁶ The cues provided by the consistent typeface mediates an audience’s perception of the NZC brand. Used in this way, individual typefaces become forms independent from their denoted or semantic meaning. They are able to convey the expanded meaning to audiences who can then add them to their store of mental resources on emigration.¹⁷ Once this has happened it becomes easier to think about it and there is good evidence that says that thinking matters in persuasion.¹⁸

There are too few posters produced for the Otago Association (OA) and the Canterbury Association (CA) in the later 1840s and 1850s to draw conclusions about how they might have mediated their public presence. The most significant difference between the design of those posters that have survived and those of the NZC is an absence of emphasis on the primary source of the message, the agency itself. The one extant OA poster in figure 77 shows that both ‘Otago Association’ as the governing body and ‘New Zealand Company’ as the provider of ‘a ship’ are set without emphasis within a longer paragraph. This indicates that neither the unknown printer nor John M’Glashen, the OA’s secretary, thought the information sufficiently important to warrant emphasis (see also fig. 57 for context).

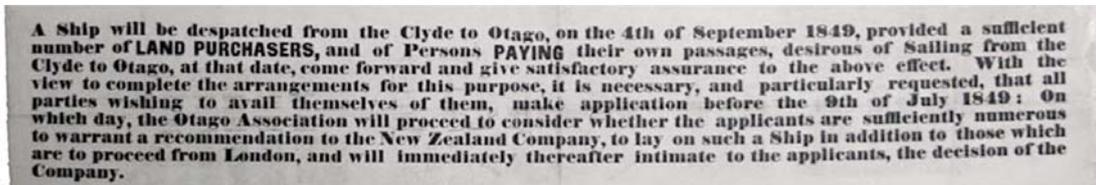


Fig. 77. This poster indicates one of the functions that the NZC fulfilled for the Otago Association (OA), the chartering of ships. The poster may have resulted in sufficient interest for the NZC to have chartered the ship *Mooltan*, which sailed from Greenock on 12 September 1849, eight days after the stated deadline.

Unknown printer, Edinburgh for the OA (detail), c. 1849.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

The CA posters survive in larger numbers but they are of two kinds. Those that the Association or its agent produced (figs. 68 & 83) do not display any hint of a graphic system for establishing its name in the public mind. Nor is its name emphasised on any of the posters. With one exception (fig. 104), those that were produced by the shipping brokers Joseph Stayner and Filby & Co., and printed by Ann Eccles, are singularly consistent (figs. 101-103).

The posters produced by the provincial governments of New Zealand on the other hand tended to emphasise their agents, rather than the agencies. With the exception of the Provincial Government of Auckland (PGA) for their agent Joseph Newman, the governments make an appearance. Emphasis on ‘Provincial Government of Otago in



Fig. 78. *from top*: The fonts used on these posters are, from the top, compressed slab serif, elongated sans serif, compressed sans serif and compressed fat face. The second poster from the top does not indicate which government is offering the 'free passages to New Zealand' that it advertises under its name. In context, it is possible to conclude that it was the New Zealand Government (NZG), but this is not immediately manifest on the poster. The bottom is a poster produced to outline the regulations on board the Government ships.

from top:

Unknown printer, London, for the Agent-General of the NZG (detail), 17 March 1873.

R21164918, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Unknown printer, London, for the Agent-General of the NZG (detail), 28 October 1873. R21164920, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Unknown printer, London, for the Agent-General of the NZG (detail), 29 October 1873. R21164919, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Unknown printer, London for the Agent-General of the NZG, (detail), 19 November 1873. Eph-D-SHIP-1873-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

JOSEPH NEWMAN,
AGENT TO THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF AUCKLAND,

FREE PASSAGES
Presented by the Agent of the Provincial Government of Otago to MARSHED AGRICULTURAL LABORERS and THEIR WIVES, CHILDREN, FISHERMEN, and their FAMILIES.

CANTERBURY, NEW ZEALAND.
FREE EMIGRATION.
A LECTURE
WILL BE DELIVERED IN THE
ODDFELLOWS' HALL, 14 Forrest Road,
ON SATURDAY EVENING, 14TH FEB.,
AT HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK, BY
MR. ANDREW DUNCAN,
THE SPECIAL EMIGRATION AGENT, FROM CANTERBURY, N.Z.
COUNCILLOR JAS. GOWAN IN THE CHAIR

Fig. 79. *top*: Greenwood's poster one of a number that graphically emphasises the agent over the agency he represents.

centre: On the other hand, the printer of this poster set the phrase, 'Provincial Government of Otago' without emphasis and part of the body text.

bottom: The poster produced by Andrew Duncan is different again. It does not feature the Provincial Government of Canterbury, *per se*, at all.

from top:

Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the Provincial Government of Auckland (PGA) agent Joseph Newman (detail), c.1858. 7C2024, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

Unknown printer, Edinburgh for the Provincial Government of Otago (PGO); probably commissioned by the NZG (detail), June 1873.

1988/30/1, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Unknown printer, Glasgow for the Provincial Government of Canterbury (PGC) agent, Andrew Duncan, 1874. CH287 CP143 ICPS772(2)/1874, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. 570mm x 451mm.

figure 79 (*bottom*) is so understated it could be said to have a negative presence in relation to the other words in the sentence.

Andrew Duncan's posters, while they emphasise 'Canterbury', do not explicitly exhibit the words 'provincial government' in relation to it (figs. 39 & 79). John White mentions, but does not emphasise, either his own name or that of the New Zealand Government (NZG) which he represents. The three surviving posters that represent the 'widespread advertising' undertaken by the chief emigration agent of the Agent-General are textually inconsistent.¹⁹ The typefaces on these posters (figs 36, 37 & 54) are bold, but demonstrate little coherent graphic system beyond the use of two different fonts of sans serif. While these posters demonstrate that the NZC was the only agency to use graphic resources to create something that was recognisable as the graphic manifestation of a brand, the notion of how such a brand could be built and communicated needs to be interrogated.

CREDIBLE FACILITATORS OF EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND?

If a message is to provoke deeper engagement it needs to rely in part on the credibility of the source of the message: its producer. This helps an audience to establish the truth-value of what the producer is proposing in the message.²⁰ While the emigration posters clearly identify the 'product' of New Zealand, their producers used them strategically to communicate to their audiences that they were credible: trustworthy, with appropriate expertise and demonstrable goodwill.²¹ We have already seen that some of that goodwill came by way of the offers of free passages.

There are three separate but associated methods used by the agencies to establish their credibility. Each of these methods deploys graphic resources to make its point. First, is the way that the agencies associated themselves with their core business, New Zealand. Then, there is the association of the agency name with people or entities seen to be credible in their own right. Finally, the shipping brokers used codes specific to their industry to establish their credibility as operators of safe and efficient transport systems.

Agencies and New Zealand

Emigration to New Zealand was quite a specific ‘product’ and, while the NZC built its business in part on known conditions—unemployment and its remedies, the alleviation of overcrowding, as well as opportunities for social and economic advancement—its brand and its product were initially unknown. Little personal contact between the NZC and its audiences meant that it had to use other means to establish its reputation as a facilitator of emigration, specifically to New Zealand. It was particularly adept at using public communication to align itself with emigration to New Zealand in such a way that the two were seen as synonymous. Heale commented that by 1842 the NZC had so successfully and publicly identified itself with emigration to New Zealand that it ‘taught the public’ to consider the colony exclusively in its own terms.²² The multi-modal articulation of the ‘New Zealand Company’ and ‘New Zealand’ on the posters produced between 1839 and 1842 makes the relationship clear. These posters raise the issue of how a company communicates the relationship between itself and its business through language. It was not usual for an entity involved in emigration in the nineteenth century to name itself after (or before) the colony it promoted. Beyond the obvious eponymous colonial governments, the NZC is one of the few exceptions. It was designed to be colony-specific and in this it was distinguishable from private societies, individual benefactors, or companies which recruited emigrants for a number of destinations.²³ The NZC was not simply recruiting emigrants, but establishing a new colony. It was a useful distinction and one the NZC took advantage of in its promotional material. Heale’s word ‘taught’ is particularly relevant to the posters.²⁴ As long as the NZC existed, it and New Zealand were always associated and the posters inevitably graphically reinforced the association.

The posters represent this relationship in two ways. The first and most obvious is textual in the commonality of the names of the NZC and the country. Every poster which carries the name of the NZC also bears ‘New Zealand’. But how each is articulated typographically on many of the posters strengthens the association. This occurs either through the grouping of each phrase in the same space, or by the use of similar typefaces. The most complex visual relationship between the textual and graphic elements is on the poster in figure 34, printed by Ann Eccles in 1848. This poster was

produced at a time when emigration to New Zealand from England was being reinvigorated after languishing in the mid-1840s.²⁵ The graphic language of the poster represents a public re-assertion of the colony in the English mind. The densely packed typographic composition groups and frames discrete areas of the text which enhance the relationship between the country, the NZC and its business of emigration.

Grouped at the head of this poster and framed by the top of the page and a typographic rule is 'New Zealand/company/emigration'. The country New Zealand is not specifically part of the textual language. However, it is graphically expressed in a font of type that differs from what it arguably qualifies, that is, 'company'. The graphic presentation, in this instance, has overridden a single semantic meaning and creates two meanings: New Zealand and the NZC. But, it can also be read this way through the similarity of typefaces. 'New Zealand', 'emigration'; and 'New Zealand Company' which sits just outside the frame but within a general grouped space, are each set in the same font of upper case fat face. This similarity prompts a reading in which the NZC offers emigration to New Zealand. Further, 'Company' in the grouping above the typographic rule and the 'court of directors' below it are also set in a common font of upper case slab serif which reinforces the notion that this is a NZC operation. The textual relationships and graphic similarities allow 'New Zealand Company emigration' above the typographic rule and 'the court of directors of the New Zealand Company' below it, to transgress the rule to form a whole and reiterative message. The complex typographic structure of all these phrases reinforces the idea that this is not just emigration to New Zealand, but NZC emigration.

The Eccles poster is exceptional in its capacity for multiple readings of this issue and its construction of a relationship between the NZC and the country on the one hand, and on the other, the relationship of both to emigration. Nevertheless, the posters in figure 80 demonstrate how printers make the association between the two in less complex ways. In June 1840, the Axminster printer, Emanuel Wills, set 'New Zealand Company' and 'New Zealand' in spatially separate parts of his poster. However, the similarity in the upper case fonts of fat face override the distance to secure an association between the two. As with the effect of particular visual cues such as the 'Z', recall is especially likely when typefaces are repeated throughout the poster as is the case with New



Fig. 80. *top*: In the top poster, the two slightly different fonts, one compressed and one not, are sufficiently similar to maintain the visual relationship between the NZC and the country.

centre & bottom: In the centre and bottom posters, the characteristically diverse line widths of the letters and the effects of the sharp terminals override the differences between the upper and lower case 'New Zealand' and the upper case 'New Zealand (Land) Company'.

from top:

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC (detail), June 1840.

CO208/291/73, NZCS, National Archives, London.

James Truscott, London for the New Zealand Land Company, (detail), 29 June 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

William Franklin, Hungerford for the NZC, (detail), c. June 1840.

CO208/291/68, NZCS, National Archives, London.



Fig. 81. Unlike the NZC whose posters all show evidence of attempts to align itself with New Zealand, the governments appear not to have concerned themselves with constructing the relationship beyond these two posters.

from top:

top: Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for Joseph Newman, agent of the PGA (detail), c.1858.
7-C2024, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

bottom: Unknown printer, London for the Agent-General of the NZG (detail),
29 October 1873. R21164919, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Zealand and the NZC in Wills' poster.²⁶ The printers James Truscott and William Franklin set both phrases on or near successive lines and in fonts of fat face in their posters of 1839 and 1840 respectively. Though one setting is in upper and lower case and the other entirely in upper case, the letter 'Z', seldom seen in English, appears twice on these posters and cements the relationship. It was a useful resource to trigger a perception of the inextricable relationship between the NZC and New Zealand.

The two government posters in figure 81 make the association between the agency and the country evident. In each, fonts of upper case sans serif link 'New Zealand' with both the 'Provincial Government of Auckland' and the 'Government of New Zealand'. Henry Greenwood set 'New Zealand' and 'agent of the Provincial Government of Auckland' in two fonts of sans serif, though removed a little from each other. However, he reinforced the association through printing both in black on the two-colour poster. The poster for the NZG is similar in that its fonts of sans serif moderate the spatial distance between the two phrases.

Exploiting inherent credibility

The association between the NZC and New Zealand is only one of the relationships evident on the posters. In the quotation on page 272, Mangles argued that each stakeholder in the NZC project of emigration stood to benefit from it in some way. Significantly, he emphasised the dependence of community gain on the realisation of company profit, rather than the other way around. This pointed quite clearly to profit as a significant driver for the NZC. Its original characterisation as a 'land' company, evident on the early posters, reinforces the nature of its operations and intentions. As a company whose investors and principles were entrenched in London and international business and who expected profits to accrue from their involvement, it was indispensable that the NZC succeed at the business of emigration.²⁷ Had investors not supported the venture with some expectation of profit, it would not have gone beyond Wakefield's theorising on colonisation in Newgate Prison where he was incarcerated in 1827 for abducting an heiress.²⁸

Both the New Zealand Association and the NZC were private initiatives and the demonstrable support of public men was useful to them. The NZC made particularly

good use of some of these inherently credible people. It appointed to its board of directors men who could give ‘the influence of their names’ to the venture.²⁹ It then broadcast that information on the posters.

As a part of its general criticism of the NZC (a ‘band of “gentlemen,” whose passion for money has unhappily superseded their love of honest fame’), *The Times* newspaper appeared to grant this strategy a degree of grudging admiration.

that any rational person can be induced to negotiate for a single acre... might be a matter of infinite surprise, were it not for the imposing array of Lords, Aldermen and M. P.’s [sic] emblazoned on the list of directors.³⁰

The credibility of the directors on the list derived from a number of sources. Some were motivated by philanthropy, some by the profits to be had and others still by an ideological attachment to colonisation *per se*. For most, all three factors were involved in varying degrees. That some of the directors had been involved in the 1825 New Zealand Company and had long promoted the colonisation of New Zealand may well have worked in favour of the 1839 NZC.³¹

Many of the directors were, and were perceived to be, trustworthy and capable. Wakefield’s understanding of the value of favourable publicity led him to seek out those men to lend their credibility to the New Zealand Association, and later the NZC. The Earl of Durham, one of England’s wealthiest landlords and the NZC’s original Governor, the colonisation of New Zealand both as an opportunity to civilise ‘savage people’ and to provide employment for the industrious, but unemployed, English labourer.³² ‘Radical Jack’, as he was known, was esteemed by radical politicians and the labouring classes alike.³³ Wakefield was assiduous in his attempts to secure Durham’s support.³⁴ He then counted on Durham’s involvement to establish a ‘highly respectable’ provisional committee in London, and ‘respectable’ local committees.³⁵ William Molesworth, governor of the NZC West of England Board was well known for his support, financial and vocal, of radical social reform.³⁶ These men embodied both the authority and credibility that were likely to influence the audiences and moderate their attitudes towards what they were, by their association with the NZC, proposing.³⁷ Durham died in July 1840 and the NZC lost what was perhaps its most valuable director.³⁸

The NZC used the posters to allude to the expertise it could call upon. Men such as George Frederick Young, John Pirie and Joseph Somes, knowledgeable of the world and intimately involved in the emigration enterprise through their shipping interests, were critical to communicating the NZC's capabilities. A valuable contribution of these men was the local knowledge they had through their business interests in the South Pacific and in New Zealand. Their advice and understanding of the requirements of shipping large numbers of people to the other side of the globe was a valuable asset to the NZC. The self-interest of the directors listed on the posters was a positive attribute which communication theory suggests would allow prospective emigrants to adopt equally positive attitudes towards emigration.³⁹

A specific selection of its posters featured the association between the NZC and its directors. The list on Truscott's poster of 29 June 1839 in figure 82 (*top*), for example, includes one earl, one lord, one 'hon.,' one alderman, one baronet, two knights of the realm and three members of parliament. As this was likely to have been the first poster produced by the NZC, it introduces the association between the promoting agency and its august supporters. The list of directors only appears subsequently in 1839 on the posters of Harrison's and Cutbush from London and Kent, and in 1840 on those of Toms in Somerset and Wills in Devon. As both Toms' and Wills' posters (fig. 82, *centre & second from bottom*) indicate that the ships they advertise—the *Martha Ridgway* and the *London*—were the 'Company's first (and second] emigrant ships', it is safe to assume that these were the first posters produced by these agents in the West Country. The list did not appear on the posters of either Blackwell of Reading or Franklin of Hungerford. These Berkshire villages were close enough to London to have received and displayed the first Truscott poster. Significantly, Wakefield is also listed as a director on Wills' poster, which appears to be the first time he is linked in print with either the NZC or the New Zealand Association before it. The list of directors next appears on the poster in figure 82 (*bottom*) printed by Henry White for the NZC agent in Wales. The directors are not listed on the remaining twelve NZC posters that promote emigration and nor any of the shipping posters that indicate that ships are 'under engagement' to the NZC. Apart

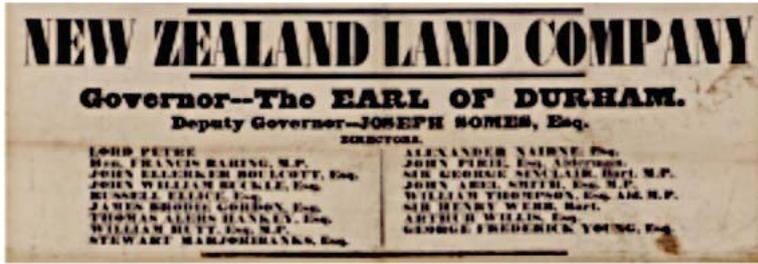


Fig. 82. Between July 1839 and June 1841 the directors increased from seventeen to 22 with the addition of yet more worthy gentlemen.

from top: James Truscott, London for the NZC (detail), 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Richard Cutbush, Maidstone for the NZC (detail), 1839.

CO208/291/28, NZCS, National Archives, London.

John Toms, Chard for the NZC (detail), 1840.

CO208/291/63, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC (detail), 1840.

CO208/291/73, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Henry White, Merthyr Tydfil for the NZC (detail), 1841.

CO208/291/105, NZCS, National Archives, London.

from the Regulations poster related to the offer of free passages, the directors' names do not appear on the posters outlining the NZC regulations for labouring classes.

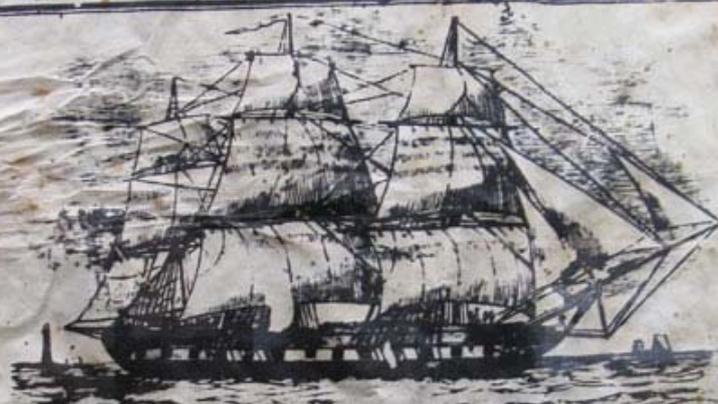
The directors' names are listed in tabular form on each of the posters. The posters in figure 82 show that the list always sits within the same space occupied by the NZC which strengthens the relationship between them. The NZC name (either the 'New Zealand Company' or the 'New Zealand Land Company') has the strongest emphasis, followed by the titles and names of the governor and deputy governor and finally by the names of the directors in lists. A familiarity with the tabular list device indicates here that compliance with the authority it wields will secure some benefit.

The NZC's involvement in some of the CA's recruitment strategies is not evident on any of its posters.⁴⁰ The only sign of the relationship that did in fact exist between the two entities is implicit. Henry Alston, who oversaw prospective emigrants' applications for the NZC, appears on the poster in figure 83 as the secretary of the CA.⁴¹ On four of the posters, the most immediate reason for the lack of a NZC presence or graphic emphasis on 'Canterbury Association' is that neither was the producer of the posters. These are shipping, rather than recruitment, posters. The graphic emphasis is on the names of the shipping brokers (fig. 84). The reason for the absence of any mention of the NZC and the graphic diminishment of the CA can only be inferred. It concerns some disquiet about how the CA was governed.⁴² Resident chief agent, John Godley, was an authority on colonial matters and he was held in high esteem.⁴³ It was for these reasons, and for his High Church connections that Wakefield had 'fastened on' to him in the early stages of the development of the CA, much as he did to Durham.⁴⁴ But the CA's credibility did suffer from its association with the NZC, and with Wakefield in particular. While Wakefield's name did not appear on any documents, a replay of the NZC's early years, he was busy behind the scenes.⁴⁵ A contemporary writer suggested that the CA was not as independent from the NZC as it seemed to be. He observed that 'Mr. E.G. Wakefield was the board, doing what he liked with moneys, papers, persons, and everything else, altogether uncontrolled by other members of the board'.⁴⁶ NZC 'rashness and maladministration' was seen to have been the cause of its ongoing financial losses and diminishing credibility throughout the 1840s.⁴⁷ For the CA, the sensible course of action was to make sure there was no obvious or visual connection between the two bodies.

EMIGRATION

FOR THE

WORKING CLASSES.



The Canterbury Association, Incorporated by Royal Charter, 13th November 1849.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

<p>THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUREN, THE DUKE OF BUCKLEIGH, &c. THE MARQUIS OF CHOLMONDELEY, CARL OF ELLENBORO, CARL OF HERTFORD, CARL OF LINCOLN, M.P. MONTMANTON, M.P. BISHOP OF BATHON, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, BISHOP OF EXETER, BISHOP OF RIPON, BISHOP OF ST. DAVIDS, BISHOP OF OXFORD, BISHOP OF NORWICH, LIEUTENANT ALFORD, M.P. LANCASTON, LYTELTON, NORSHORE, ADDICT, M.P. SMOKE, M.P. CURTESY.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PRESIDENT.</p> <p>LORD ALFRED HERVEY, M.P. LORD JOHN MANNERS, M.P. MRS WALTER FARQUHAR, BART, M.P. MRS WALTER JAMES, BART, M.P. MRS WILSON-GIBBY JONES, BART. Right Hon. H. GUILFURN, M.P. Right Hon. SIDNEY HERBERT, M.P. Right Hon. EDWARD CUST, E.T.H. THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, THE HON. JAMES ADDINGTON, M.P. THE HON. COLONEL ARCHER, Hon. FRANCIS BARKING, M.P. W. H. VOLK, CAREW, Esq., M.P. Hon. RICHARD CAVENDISH, Hon. THOMAS CAMPBELL, M.P. THOMAS DENNIS FOSCO, Esq., M.P. MRS. EDWARD COLERIDGE, WILLIAM BENTLEY, Esq. MRS. J. G. SHERBURN, EDWARD LAWRENCE, REV. JOHN LESTER,</p>	<p>REV. ERNEST HAWKINS, REV. DR. HOOK, EDWARD HULME, Esq., JOHN HUTT, Esq., SAMUEL LITTLE, Esq., REV. HENRY WM. SANDOZ, W. ALLESTREE MCGRATH, Esq., W. KITTLEBY RICKARDS, Esq., JOHN SIMON, Esq., M.P. W. SPEARS SIMON, HENRY NEWELL, Esq., ALFRED STAFFORD, Esq., M.P. JON. JOHN TALKOTT, REV. CHARLES MARTIN RUSSELL, REV. RICHARD CHERNEY'S TRUSTEE, W. S. W. VALLIS, Esq., REV. GEORGE WARD, FREDERICK RICHARD VINE, Esq., M.P. REV. ARCHDEACON WILFORD, CHARLES WYNN, Esq., REV. JAMES CECIL VIGNY,</p>
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MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

The Association will grant Assisted Passages

PORT LYTELTON in the Canterbury Settlement, in
 Ships to Sail during February and March, to a limited
 number of the Working Classes, being Gardeners, Shop-
 men, Farm Servants, Labourers, and Country Mechanics.
 The Emigrants must be of the highest Character for
 Industry, Steadiness, and Respectability, as certified by the
 Clergyman of their Parish.

Full Particulars and Forms of Application may be obtained at the Office of the Canterbury Association,
 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

By Order of the Committee of Management,
H. ALSTON, Secretary.

Fig. 83. Poster produced to introduce the scheme of emigration of the Canterbury Association (CA) The Association built its credibility on this poster through visual evidence of the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a list of men, many of whom were church luminaries, and with its Royal Charter status. Alston's relationships with both the NZC and the CA, the latter evident on this poster, gives a visual hint of the NZC's involvement in the Canterbury scheme.

Ann Eccles, London for the CA, c.1850.
 19XX.2.952, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. 552mm x 835mm.

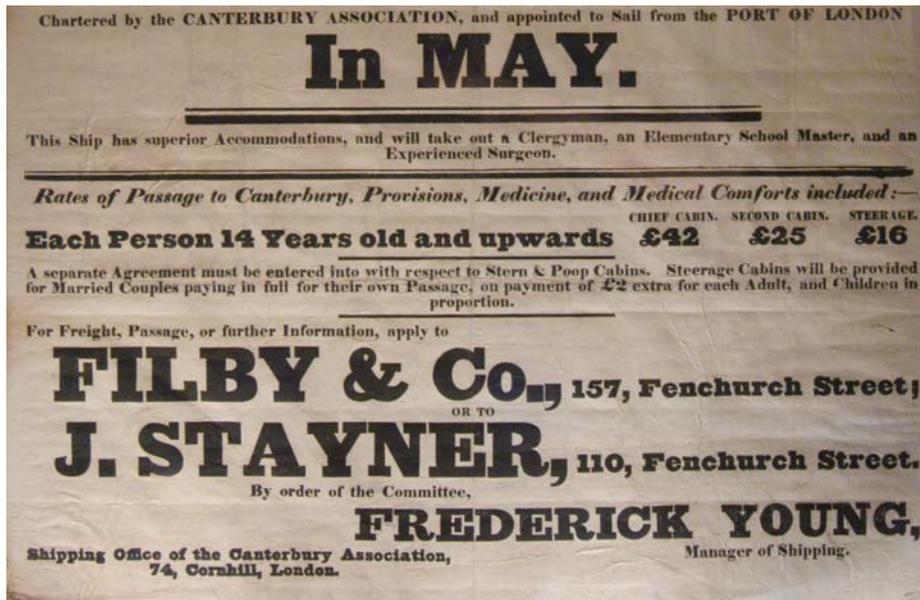


Fig. 84. Poster advertising the CA ship *Lady Nugent*. The *Dominion* and *Bangalore* posters in figures 101 and 102 are identical in their graphic representation of the CA and the brokers, Filby and Stayner.

Ann Eccles, London for Filby & Co. and Joseph Stayner (detail), 1851.
19XX.2.556, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.

The CA poster in figure 83 features the names of a group of men associated with the Anglican church. The names assist in constructing the perception of trustworthiness and in overriding the perceived disadvantages of the CA's relationship with the NZC. The 'members of the committee of management' are articulated in the same textual, typographic and spatial manner as the NZC directors. The names signal to the audience that men they could trust were implicitly endorsing the proposition put forward by the CA. In this way the posters of both agencies exploited an authority/benefit relationship and sought to prompt compliance.⁴⁸ The names of all of the men printed on the posters—directors or churchmen—suggests that they were among a group of people who had a particular attitude towards emigration to New Zealand. This might prompt a motivated audience to 'internalise' that attitude and recognise that, while their motivations may differ, their interests are aligned; everyone is working towards alleviating the distress of the 'working classes'.⁴⁹

Another visual sign of credibility on this poster are the words 'incorporated by Royal Charter'. The possession of the prestigious Royal Charter indicates state approval of

those bodies that have it.⁵⁰ Though this appears on many of its associated documents it is on only one NZC poster (fig. 90; see also appendix 2). The NZC was granted the charter in 1841 and there are at least three, and possibly five, posters produced after that.⁵¹ It is difficult to know why it did not use this seal of approval; the poster that does bear it was produced in Ireland where some official evidence of royal sanction of an English company may have been thought advisable.

None of the government agencies used this method to establish their credibility. Even if they had chosen to do so, the names they could have appended to the posters would have been meaningless to their audiences. These agencies were governments of an established colony rather than companies or associations trying to establish one. They were inherently credible in themselves. In spite of this, and of a general graphic inconsistency in its presentation, the NZG possessed a semiotic resource that spoke of its credibility. A coat of arms appears consistently on the posters and represents demonstrable official sanction (figs. 36, 37, 54, 67 & 94). It is a part of the trappings of authority which lends legitimacy to an enterprise.⁵² It explicitly expresses official approval of the messages delivered under its auspices. This coat of arms belonged to the British Government, an institution with long-established and recognisable credibility in colony founding.⁵³ In this way, the British Government offers in its coat of arms a visible sign of the credibility of emigration to New Zealand under the NZG system.

The NZC had a coat of arms but it does not appear on its advertising posters. It was reserved for official documents such as the Regulations poster in figure 60 where the NZC's Royal Charter status also appears. In this particular instance, the coat of arms attached to the poster which set out a list of regulations was a symbol of the authority of the NZC as the source of the message and so of the message itself.

Exploiting borrowed credibility

While the NZC in particular gained much of its credibility from those with whom it associated, it also underlined its credibility by aligning itself in a small but significant way with an existing trustworthy entity. There is a minor change in the textual language on the posters detailed below which indicates a purposeful action taken by the NZC regarding its presentation to the world (fig. 86). The NZC began its operations under a

'Board of Directors' which became a 'Court of Directors' in 1840. Other than the elevation of Somes to Governor on Durham's death in mid-1840, and the addition of new directors to the list, little else changed in the NZC structure or its operations.



Fig. 85. The typeface is a compressed font of modern like most of the other NZC ephemera. People rather than animals appear on the coat of arms; rough renditions of a Māori and a middle-class colonist, both standing *contraposto* and as mirror images. This pose gives each an air that is at once dynamic and relaxed, signifying the energy of the Englishman and a convivial relationship between the coloniser and the colonised.

The NZC coat of arms on a copy of the NZC 'Regulations', 1 August 1849. NZC34.17, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Burns suggests that the move to designate a 'court' of directors was prompted by the NZC's wish to associate itself in the minds of the public with the 'mighty East India Company' which was governed by a court of directors.⁵⁴ Wakefield's goal of making the

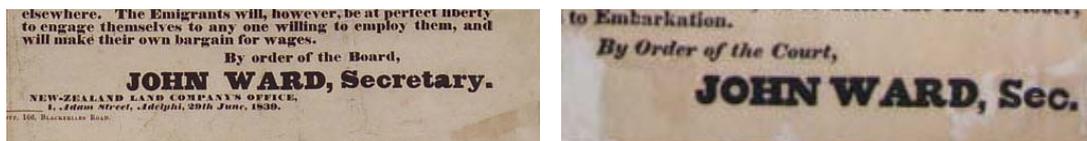


Fig. 86. *left*: When the NZC began its project of colonising New Zealand, it convened a board of directors.

right: The board featured as a court as early as August 1840 in newspaper advertisements, though this is its first iteration on the posters.

from left:

James Truscott, London for the New Zealand Land Company (detail), 29 June 1839.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Ann Eccles, London for the NZC (detail), 11 September 1842.

Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

NZC the ‘most powerful company ever formed’ suggests an intention to emulate the older company.⁵⁵ There were existing relationships between the two companies through their common directors. Pirie, who became a NZC director in 1840, and Alexander Nairne were directors of both companies.⁵⁶ George Lyall became president of the East India Company in 1841 while remaining a director of the NZC.⁵⁷ Parallels could be drawn between the two companies and the adoption of the nomenclature suggests that the younger NZC found the name change useful. The East India Company was granted a Royal Charter in the 1600s which virtually allowed it to monopolise English trade in Asia. This activity evolved into virtual English rule over much of the subcontinent in the late eighteenth century. In other words, India functioned like an appanage territory tied firmly to parental authority and remained so until the twentieth century. Even the so-called mutinies of the 1850s did not effectively alter the status quo in the governance and control of the country.⁵⁸ India was also the source of many of the raw materials—cotton, silk, dyes and sugar—that fed British industry.⁵⁹ Evidence of the dominance of the East India Company over both geographical spaces and commercial enterprises were there for the NZC directors to see. Their commercial interests in New Zealand depended for success on maintaining some control over the colony, its peopling and its subsequent development. In 1840, they were hoping for the NZC to be granted of a Royal Charter of its own.⁶⁰ The small gesture of the name change, and its graphic expression on the posters, signals an alignment of interests between the two companies that enabled the NZC to borrow and bask in a little of the reflected light of the East India Company.

All the promotion agencies capitalised on the credibility of the agents they appointed to work on their behalf. Naming someone on the poster who was known personally to the audience and who lent his name to what the poster proposed, was strategically important. A significant part of the agents’ value was their understanding of their communities.⁶¹ Involvement in business activities, social reform, church affairs and charitable works gave them local influence. Most were men of some standing in their communities and their association with the emigration schemes through the medium of the posters helped to establish the credibility of the emigration agencies within that local

area.⁶² Their credibility could be both communicated and transferred easily. Agents also had practical uses.

Hudson and Dennis Mills argue that access to information was crucial in helping people to determine whether they should emigrate, where the best place for them to go was and the best way to get there.⁶³ Agents were instrumental in disseminating information about emigration to New Zealand. Their names on every locally produced poster made clear the source of information and advice. In the early years, agents were important in introducing and reinforcing the role of the NZC.⁶⁴ This was especially so in the early years when the idea of emigration to New Zealand was a novel one. Whiting of Kent, Toms of Chard, Rudge of Hawkechurch, Phipson of Birmingham and many others were assiduous in their representations to prospective emigrants and they toured their catchment areas numerous times.⁶⁵ Newspaper proprietors, editors, and printers such as Toms and Whiting, were ideal agents as they were socially connected to people interested in promoting the emigration of poor families, and they had the facilities and networks to broadcast emigration to the wider public.⁶⁶ There were also many business people who were interested in being part of the emigration trade. Local and national governments, the church and shipping interests (including ship-builders) also lent their energies to the enterprise. Agents' duties included delivering lectures and ensuring, through various means of public promotion, that New Zealand became known. The NZC agents distributed pamphlets and many produced and displayed posters assiduously.⁶⁷ Most used the posters to advertise their public lectures or meetings. Each of the posters featured the name of the agent that produced it, and was used to inform an interested audience the way to procure 'further particulars' and 'forms of application'. These names and the men to whom they belonged, also served as a guarantee of the trustworthiness and goodwill behind their posters' messages.

Among the most graphically prominent words on the poster in figure 87 are the names of 'Messrs. Little and Woollcombe'. Thomas Woollcombe's philanthropy made him a well-known and trusted member of his community. If a Devonport labourer was sufficiently interested in the NZC proposal displayed on Woollcombe's poster, it directed him to seek 'further particulars' from this respected man. The degree of extreme compression of the elongated font of fat face allowed the printer Henry

**FIRST
COLONY
OF
NEW ZEALAND.**

NOTICE is hereby given, that the **COMPANY'S SHIPS** will sail for the **First and Principal Settlement**, as undermentioned:---

The Oriental, 506 tons, the Aurora, 550 tons, the Adelaide, 640 tons,
FROM LONDON, ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th NEXT;

THE
DUKE OF ROXBURGHE, 417 tons,
From London, on Tuesday, the 10th of September; and

**FROM
PLYMOUTH,**
On Saturday, the 14th September.

THE BENGAL MERCHANT,
503 TONS,

From London, on Tuesday, the 10th of September; and from the Clyde, on Tuesday, 17th September next.

A Free Passage

Will be granted to **MECHANICS, GARDENERS, and AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS**, being Married, and producing unexceptionable testimonials as to Character.

Each Emigrant who is accepted must pay down a Deposit of 10s. per head for each Adult, and 5s. per head for each Child under fifteen; which will be returned on Embarkation.

Further particulars, and printed Forms of application, may be obtained of

MESSRS. LITTLE AND WOOLLCOMBE,
Agents to the New Zealand Land Company.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE POST-PAID.

Ker-street, Devonport, August 23rd, 1839.

HENRY GRANVILLE, Printer in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 99, FORE-STREET, DEVONPORT.

Fig. 87. Little & Woollcombe worked on behalf of the NZC through the company's West of England board. This is among those posters that did not comply completely with what appears to have been the NZC 'brand'. Like the poster printed for John Crawford in Glasgow, the NZC's name is graphically minimal.

Henry Granville, Devonport for the NZC, 23 August 1839.
CO208/291, National Archives, London. 405mm x 670mm.

In the interim, Printed Forms of Application may be obtained, together with information respecting New Zealand, at the Company's Office, No. 1, Adam Street, Adelphi; or from Mr. G. WHITING, Agent to the New Zealand Company, No. 3, Marsham Place, Maidstone.

OCTOBER 12, 1839. JOHN WARD, *Secretary.*

PRINTED BY R. J. CUTBUSH AND SON, WEEK STREET, MAIDSTONE.

WHITEHART INN, HUNGERFORD.

For the purpose of receiving applications, Forms of which, together with Copies of the Regulations for Labouring Emigrants, may be obtained gratis, during the week, from Mr. MORRIS, Relieving-Officer, Hungerford.

HUNGERFORD, PRINTED BY W. FRANKLIN, BOOKSELLER, BINDER AND STATIONER.

Free Passage to New Zealand.

Forms of Application, and Copies of the Regulations for Labourers wishing to Emigrate, may be obtained by applying (between the hours of 6 and 5 o'clock in the evening,) to Mr. George TOMS, Chard, or to the Rev. Dr. RUDGE, Hawkchurch.

Forms of application and copies of the regulations for Labourers wishing to emigrate, may be obtained by applying to Col. MACALESTER, Axminster; to the Rev. Dr. RUDGE, Rectory, Hawkchurch; or to Mr. HASKELL, Reliving Officer of the Axminster Union.

A GENTLEMAN WILL ATTEND
On FRIDAY, JUNE the 12th, 1840,
At the BELL INN, Axminster,

Fig. 88. Fonts of upper case, bold or a larger size than the copy surrounding them are the usual methods of emphasising the agents' names. Rev. Rudge was a particularly active supporter of emigration to New Zealand. He worked throughout the West Country to facilitate the emigration of labouring families. In October 1840 he accompanied a group who were due to depart on the *Lady Nugent* to the NZC emigration depot in Deptford to ensure their well-being. The posters of Wills and Franklin indicate that the meetings between NZC representatives and prospective emigrants were to take place in local inns. Elsewhere on Toms' poster, the meeting in Chard was advertised to be held in the 'George Inn'.

from top:

Richard Cutbush, Maidstone for the NZC agent George Whiting (detail), 12 October 1839.

CO208/291/28, NZCS, National Archives, London.

William Franklin, Hungerford for the NZC agent James Morris (detail), 23 August 1839.

CO208/291/68, NZCS, National Archives, London.

John Toms, Chard for the NZC agent George Toms (detail), 4 June 1840.

CO208/291/67, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC agents Col. Macalester, Rev. Rudge and Edward Haskell (detail), 23 August 1839.

CO208/291/72, NZCS, National Archives, London.

Granville to set the relatively long phrase in a point size that was large enough to emphasise it and yet remain semantically intact on one line. Visual emphasis of the Devon operation at the expense of the London company is typical of these outlying bodies. The 'New Zealand Land Company' is articulated with a minimum of emphasis created only through its separation from other elements on the page. In any case, Woollcombe's local standing coupled with his name on the poster visibly transfers his credibility to the NZC. Most of the names of the local agents are more moderately emphasised than those of Little and Woollcombe, as the posters in figure 88 illustrate. Nevertheless, each had something to offer in establishing or maintaining the credibility of the agencies they represented.

Agents such as Whiting were among those who also represented the South Australian Commissioners and so had demonstrable expertise in the emigration process. Isaac Latimer, the editor of Truro's *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, and a man active in local social and educational issues, also brought existing expertise to the project of emigration as the principal agent for the South Australian Commissioners in Cornwall (fig. 89, *bottom*). He was 'an enthusiastic advocate of the spirit of colonial enterprise, which induced many to emigrate to Australia and New Zealand'.⁶⁸

Henry Stokes Tiffen of Hythe demonstrated ultimate confidence in the venture as he was not only the NZC agent but a prospective emigrant who was 'himself proceeding to the settlement' (fig. 89, *top*). His father, William Tiffen, printed the poster on which this information appeared and would, presumably be held to account for his son's recommendations. Agents worked in a similar manner for the OA, but there are no extant posters to indicate how their credibility was communicated. The CA continued to use local agents to promote emigration to their newly established colony in the South Island, then called the Middle Island. Only the poster in figure 68 printed by Henry Bull of Devizes for the Rev J. Phipps and Mr Morris remains. Both names are moderately emphasised.

The substantial correspondence related to the recruitment of emigrants for the Provincial Government of Otago (PGO) by agents James Crawford and John Auld in Edinburgh mentions the production of 'bills' or 'placards', yet none have survived.⁶⁹



Fig. 89. Both of these agents appear more prominently on their posters than those in figure 88. Heard's Cornish poster privileges the agent over the NZC and the NZC is not mentioned at all. The agent Tiffen's qualifications are likely to have been emphasised on his poster because he was hired by the NZC as a surveyor who was going out to establish the second colony of Nelson. It also makes very clear where further information might be had.

from top

Elizabeth Heard, Truro for the NZC agent Isaac Latimer (detail), c. 1840.

Rosewarne Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Cornwall Institute, Truro.

William Tiffen, Hythe for the NZC agent Henry Tiffen (detail), c. 1842.

CO208/291/99, NZCS, National Archives, London.

A hint of their communication mode is in a newspaper report of a lecture delivered by one of the NZG's peripatetic agents, James Adam who worked, in this his second trip back 'home', on behalf of the Otago Province.

A large poster distributed by Mr Adam sets forth in big letters 'free emigration to Otago, New Zealand. A lecture will be delivered in the public hall, Alford, on Monday first, at half-past 7 p.m., by Mr James Adam, farmer for the past 26 years in New Zealand'.⁷⁰

The characterisation of Adam as having been a farmer for 26 years attests to his 'experience in colonial affairs'.⁷¹ As a demonstrably prosperous farmer and standing in front of an audience in a small Aberdeenshire town, Adam was speaking from experience and so was a trustworthy source of information. An extant poster was produced for Otago Province, probably by the NZG, but while the agent George Andrew's name is moderately highlighted, it gets lost in the sheer bulk of the densely-worded poster (fig. 58).

The Lincolnshire agent White's poster (fig. 92) is equally wordy, but tells a complex tale of trustworthiness, expertise and goodwill. White was well known locally as he owned a

corner shop and ‘had the confidence of the people all about’.⁷² He took the opportunity of the poster’s broadcast capabilities to reproduce a number of so-called testimonials to New Zealand and to himself as its promoter. While scholars have acknowledged the dangers in using letters out of context and published for the purposes of promotion to understand historical phenomena, the fact is that all the agencies used these letters to further their own ends.⁷³ They are therefore useful for understanding specifically *how* they were employed for advertising purposes. Among the letters on White’s poster was one by Mr H. Tomlinson who commended White for ‘doing great and good work’, a commendation that was transferable to the NZG for whom the work was being done. White uses his poster to be quite specific about the goodwill of the emigration agencies, even to the extent of reproducing an advertisement issued by the New Plymouth Immigration Office calling for tenders for what appears to be quite generous rations for the incoming emigrants. He informs them that the Taranaki immigration agent had ‘built 20 houses’ for them. On their arrival, ‘board and lodging’ would be made available to them until they had made their own arrangements.

Whether these agents were local or peripatetic, their credibility in terms of the expertise they lent to the enterprise varied. While local agents may have been known and trusted members of their communities, they did operate in something of a knowledge void. The agent James Adam emigrated to New Zealand in the 1850s. He had been particularly impressed by Thomas Burns, an Edinburgh agent speaking in Aberdeen. Burns was the nephew of the poet Robert Burns, which Adam felt might have influenced some. He also thought that Burns’ decision to ‘cast his lot in with the emigrants’ instilled confidence in the prospective emigrants. But he noted that ‘the information [was] of a very limited kind, for they were speaking of a country they had never seen, and of a life to which they were utter strangers’.⁷⁴ Few of the early agents had any knowledge of the country and so were hardly credible on the subject of New Zealand as they knew little about it, beyond what they were told by people who were unlikely to know much more.

To be inserted.

FREE EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY,
INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.
**JOSEPH SOMES, Esq., GOVERNOR, HON. F. BARING, M.P.,
DEPUTY GOVERNOR.**

IT IS INTENDED THAT SO SOON AS A CERTAIN NUMBER OF SECTIONS OF LAND ARE DISPOSED OF, AN

EXPEDITION FROM DUBLIN

Will be despatched to the Second Settlement of Nelson; and all persons desirous of joining this Expedition, are requested to enrol themselves immediately, so that adequate preparations be made for the Voyage.

A First Class Ship will be immediately chartered; and as it is intended that DUBLIN shall be made the Principal Shipping Port of Ireland for New Zealand, Emigrants may rely on everything being done, and the strictest regulations enforced to ensure their protection, safety, and comfort, on the Voyage, a Local Committee of highly influential persons being formed at Dublin to superintend their Embarkation.

PURCHASERS of LAND joining in this Expedition, will be entitled to have a sum, not exceeding 25 per cent. on the Purchase Money, applied in providing

A FREE CABIN PASSAGE

For themselves and Families; and they may also nominate as many Labourers as they choose; and provided such Labourers come within the Company's Regulations, and there be room for them, they shall have a FREE PASSAGE.
A limited number of Agricultural Labourers, Shepherds, Mechanics, and Female Domestic and Farm Servants will receive

A FREE PASSAGE

including Provisions and Medical Attendance, on producing satisfactory Testimonials, as to character, health, &c., provided they are not less than 14, nor, generally speaking, more than 55 years of age, and married.
Applications for Land Orders and for Free Passage, and every other requisite information, to be made (if by letter, Post-paid) to N. ARMSTRONG, Esq., Agent for Ireland, 72, Dame-street, Dublin, &c.

THOMAS H. KELLY, Esq.,
New Zealand Land and Emigration Office,
No. 1, LOWER HENRY-STREET, LIMERICK.

N.B.—Mr. KELLY having had a short time since resided in that Country, after several years' residence in New Zealand, is enabled, from personal knowledge, to supply the most authentic information on every subject connected with that rapidly progressing Colony.

Printed at the Reporter Office, 13, FRANCIS-STREET, LIMERICK.

Fig. 90. Thomas Kelly's poster brought a note of expertise to the promotion of New Zealand as an emigration destination. The description of him as an agent able to deliver 'authentic' information at a time when the possibilities of the country were not well known, positioned him as a trustworthy and competent representative of the NZC. The poster also notes that the NZC was incorporated by Royal Charter.

The Reporter office, Limerick for Thomas Kelly, agent for the NZC, c. 1842.
Poster Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

This was one of the criticisms levelled against the emigration promoters throughout the period.

In contrast, the NZC agent in Ireland produced the poster in figure 90 to publicly broadcast the expertise that he did have. Produced in 1842, this poster explicitly notes that Thomas Kelly, having ‘but a short time since returned to this Country, after several years’ residence in New Zealand, is enabled, from personal knowledge, to supply the most authentic information on every subject connected with that rapidly progressing Colony’. His knowledge of the country made him a more credible witness to its possibilities for emigrants.⁷⁵ The ability to broadcast such reliable testimony at an early stage of the emigration enterprise made this poster an important tool in the NZC’s communication strategy to the Irish.

Thomas Hocken observed that, in spite of evidence on the poster that the expedition was supported by an ‘influential committee’ including the Lord Mayor, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Provost of Trinity College, most emigrants chose to go to America. Nor was Kelly’s ability to speak of New Zealand with authority sufficient to turn the Irish gaze away from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Less than 5 percent of the total emigration from the United Kingdom came from Ireland in 1842, the year the poster was produced and displayed ‘extensively’ throughout the country.⁷⁶

As the years went by and New Zealand developed as a settled country, it became better known, partly due to the expatriate agents who returned to recruit emigrants. The peripatetic agents that worked on behalf of the governments were chosen carefully to offer first-hand and reliable information about New Zealand. For example, when the Provincial Government of Taranaki advertised for an agent to represent it, it specified a man who was ‘thoroughly conversant with the present state and future prospects of the province’.⁷⁷ The agents all told favourable stories of their own demonstrable successes in the colony and even had these been exaggerated, their experiences did give them intimate knowledge of the country and its opportunities. They had, after all, returned to recruit others who could join them in the colony where they had clearly fared well. The details on the posters in figure 91 imply an agent’s qualification to speak about New Zealand by noting the length of time he had spent there. Joseph Newman was ‘for



Fig. 91. Each of these posters demonstrates that the names of the peripatetic agents were set in fonts equivalent in size to the rest of the emphasised information on the page. The printer of Newman's poster privileged his name over that of his employer, the PGA, both by repeating it and setting it in a larger font.

top left: Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the PGA agent Joseph Newman (detail) ,12 October 1839. 7C2024 Auckland City Libraries, Auckland.

from top:

right: Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the PGA agent Joseph Newman (detail), 12 October 1839. 7C2024 Auckland City Libraries, Auckland.

left: Henry Greenwood, Liverpool for the PGA agent Joseph Newman (detail), 12 October 1839. 7C2024 Auckland City Libraries, Auckland.

Unknown printer, Wednesbury for the NZG agent William Jenkins (detail), c. 1873. Archives New Zealand, Wellington

Unknown printer, Glasgow for the PGC agent Andrew Duncan (detail), 1874. CH287 CP143 ICPS772(2)/1874, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.

sixteen years resident in the colony'. Duncan also had lived in New Zealand for 16 years and made an extensive tour of England and Scotland in 1874 at the request of the PGA.

The report of Adam's lost poster attests that, having farmed in New Zealand for 26 years, he was thoroughly conversant in New Zealand matters. Once the lectures that the posters advertised were delivered, they were invariably reported in local newspapers. The posters, newspaper advertisements, the lectures and the ensuing reports all became part of an expanding circulating discourse on emigration to New Zealand.

One of Duncan's posters outlined the many benefits that he knew from experience awaited labouring emigrants to New Zealand. Newspaper reports of the lecture advertised in the poster supported the promises of these benefits. He called upon emigrants to 'look him up' if they had 'emigrated on his advice and found things not to be as he said' as he planned to 'eat his next Christmas dinner in Christchurch'.⁷⁸

William Jenkins was '22 years in New Zealand'. He had been one of Phipson's Birmingham recruits and sailed to New Zealand on the *London* in 1842. Jenkins' poster (fig. 19) provides an explicit sign of confidence in New Zealand. It signals his intention to return and offers to 'take the names of those who may wish to accompany him to that colony in May next'.

Expertise was what these agents had to offer, and they ensured their names were visibly out and about in public spaces. They exploited graphic emphasis to establish their names in the minds of their audiences. Kelly's earlier poster prefigures the practice of privileging the agent's name over that of the promoting agency on the governments' posters. The agents are featured on the posters as the primary sources of the message. It was their credibility that required communicating. Newspaper advertisements identical to Newman's poster and inserted by other agents indicate that the text was likely to have been written centrally by the PGA and distributed to its agents.⁷⁹ However, Newman was the person who delivered the message through the medium of his poster and the one to whom interested parties could apply for further information. The 'Provincial Government of Auckland', like all the agencies based in New Zealand, was a distant and realistically unreachable source of information.

Two agents used their posters to counteract the negative response towards emigration that they received on their tours and to rehabilitate their credibility in the face of opposition. In some of the villages they toured, White and Burton were prevented from using venues controlled either by local farmers or the clergy who did not want their labourers to emigrate.⁸⁰ In the small Lincolnshire village of Hatcliffe they were forced to hold a meeting ‘in the open air with a dirty street below, a leaden sky above, a freezing air around, and a washtub bottom up for a platform’, and with a ‘halfpenny dip for a light’.⁸¹ The threat of reprisals often prevented many labourers from attending meetings in these areas. These conditions gave rise to White’s feeling that freedom could not be had in Britain.⁸² Local newspapers also kept up a barrage of negative comments about both New Zealand and the agents, pointing out the discrepancies between the accounts of White and Burton and suggesting that Burton had never been to New Zealand.⁸³ It was crucial that both men establish their credibility, in particular their competence to speak of New Zealand, and to find ways to express goodwill towards their audience. The poster worked in several ways to effect this (fig. 92). A number of favourable letters from earlier emigrants are printed on it. Duncan, who had worked with White twelve months prior to Burton’s visit, and who had since returned to New Zealand, added his voice of support noting that ‘the soil and climate of the province he represents are both excellent’. Burton distributed these posters at a Lincolnshire agricultural exhibition with the aim of refuting the accusations of ignorance of the country. Sections of the poster demonstrate White and Burton’s sincerity and goodwill. One reports the arrangements made for the emigrants’ reception in New Zealand as ‘evidence of the kindly and liberal care’. A letter to the emigrants from White expresses his sympathy with their plight, urges them to take the opportunity to ‘better their conditions’ and signs off as ‘your sincere friend’.

Duncan encountered resistance to his proposals of emigration to Scottish labourers and used his posters to counteract it. He noted that resistance was particularly strong among the ruling classes in the West of Scotland town of Dumbarton who, like their Lincolnshire counterparts, wished their labour force to remain in the area rather than emigrate. Ironically, Duncan left Dumbarton to emigrate to New Zealand in 1858. In 1874 he produced one of the few posters (fig. 39) which offers explicit knowledge of the

country from someone who was competent to do so. The positive portrayals of New Zealand as ‘good news for the working classes’ of Turriff was likely to be little different from those he used to persuade the Dumbarton labourers during his comprehensive tour of Scotland. His correspondence with the Canterbury Superintendent indicates that the Turriff poster was typical in that he communicated all that he knew of New Zealand as an emigration destination and all that he wished his audiences across the country to know.⁸⁴

All the promotion agencies and agents could only attract and engage the attention of an audience that believed that what was proposed was in its own best interests. The trustworthiness of those who made the proposals, their competence in carrying them out and the demonstration of goodwill towards their audience are all based on perceptions of their credibility, rather than on the inherent characteristics of the promoters. The publicly displayed posters were spatially, linguistically and graphically positioned to mediate these perceptions.⁸⁵ One other group of posters addresses the credibility of those who were to transport the emigrants who had resolved to go.

COMMUNICATING EXPERTISE: SHIPPING BROKERS

Once the posters engaged a prospective emigrant sufficiently to persuade him or her to take action, a prospective action becomes real and the emigrant encounters what for most of them, until then, had been unthinkable: the voyage.⁸⁶ Long sea voyages were outside the experience of most people in the nineteenth century. This made it vital that the shipping brokers communicated their competence to transfer large groups of people from one side of the globe to the other. As emigration to New Zealand involved the longest, most costly, burdensome and hazardous sea voyage to any colony, it had a considerable disadvantage in the emigration marketplace. A few examples of many references indicate the fear that people had about the voyage. The NZC agent in Farringdon, Alfred Ludlam, reported that one of the issues prospective emigrants were most concerned about was the distance they needed to travel by sea.⁸⁷ James Fuller, a labourer from London who emigrated in the 1870s, noted that many people did not go to New Zealand because they feared the long voyage.⁸⁸ Rather than allay those fears

SHIP FOR NEW ZEALAND WANTED.

The Court of Directors of the New-Zealand Company hereby give notice that they will be ready on the day of at o'clock precisely, to receive Tenders for the conveyance of about Steerage Passengers, in a Ship of not less than tons, old register, from the Port of to in New-Zealand, to sail on the day of next.

The Tenders to be made according to a Form which may be had on application at the Company's House.

The Directors do not pledge themselves to accept the lowest Tender.

Dated at the House of the New-Zealand Company in Broad-Street-Buildings, the day of 184

By order of the Court,

Fig. 93. Poster calling for tenders for ships to convey steerage passengers to New Zealand. In keeping with the NZC style, the heading which contains 'New Zealand' is set in a font of compressed fat face and the text in modern. Unlike the poster in figure 94, this one does not specify any requirements relating to the good order of the ships. This and the poster in figure 94 are just the sort of posters that were displayed in coffee houses where men of business conducted their business. They are small compared to those that hail emigrants as they were addressed to people who were actively looking for them.

Unknown printer for the NZC, c. 1840.

CO208/291, NZCS, National Archives, London. 195mm x 300mm.



EMIGRATION SHIPS WANTED.

The **AGENT-GENERAL** for **NEW ZEALAND** will, on the **24th of March**, at **4 o'Clock p.m.**, receive **TENDERS FOR TWO SHIPS** to convey **Passengers** to **NEW ZEALAND**, and to be ready on such days, between the **15th and 22nd April**, both days inclusive, as the **AGENT-GENERAL** may name.

No Ship will be accepted of which the Master and First Officer do not hold "Certificates of Competency," or which, if classed at Lloyd's, stands lower than "A 1."

If either of the Ships be taken up to sail from Plymouth, it must be moored in the Catwater, if required by the Officer of the Agent-General.

The Ships are to be fitted either with the berths along the sides, or in midships, or on the block plan, as the Agent-General may elect.

Hatch-houses to be provided for the Hatchways if required by the Agent-General.

If the Ships be fitted in the Thames, there must be produced to the Agent-General's Officer Certificates from the Superintendent of the Proving House of Lloyd's Committee, that their Anchors and Chains have been duly tested at that Establishment and found efficient.

Forms of Tender and List of Mess Utensils, Small Stores, &c., may be had at the office of the Agent-General.

The Agent-General does not pledge himself to accept the lowest or any Tender.

I. E. FEATHERSTON,

*Office of the Agent-General for New Zealand,
7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, Westminster.*

Agent-General for New Zealand.

MARCH 17th, 1873.

Fig. 94. Poster calling for tenders for emigration ships to convey passengers to New Zealand. In contrast to the NZC poster, this NZG poster makes no mention of the class of passenger. It is more explicit in its requirements of the suitability of both the ships and its crew to convey emigrants.

Unknown printer for the NZG, 17 March 1873.

R21164923, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. 190mm x 250mm.

through addressing the negative aspects of such journeys, shipping brokers used positive reinforcement to demonstrate their capabilities in making the journey safely.⁸⁹ Their posters included information about the strength, safety and comfort of their ships, the competency of their crew, the provision of medical care, and the arrangements made for the supply of food.

There are a number of posters produced by shipping brokers (some were also owners) advertising ships chartered by the NZC and the CA, a model that was continued throughout the period of this study. They advertised for ships in the same way and had similar expectations of their safety and comfort. But there are no extant posters that can be clearly identified as having been chartered by any of them. All that has survived is the poster in figure 94 that advertises for the ships themselves. This poster does, however, give us a clear idea of what they expected concerning safety.

The brokers established their names within the public mind much as the NZC, the NZG and the agents did: through graphic emphasis. Seven of the ten NZC shipping posters were produced by Joseph Stayner. In addition, he produced the four CA shipping posters in conjunction with Filby & Co. Stayner's name appears most often in a font of slab serif, partly because he is the one that appears most often across the set of shipping posters printed by Ann Eccles, whose style favoured the typeface.

The names of the ships on the shipping posters are set invariably in robust graphic language. Fourteen of the significantly emphasised ships' names are set in slab serif fonts. Three are set in fonts of sans serif, a similarly robust typeface, and five in fat face. Slab serif fonts are used to articulate the names of the five ships of the 'first colony' advertised on Henry Granville's 1839 poster in figure 56. The typeface is also used on Ann Eccles' 1842 advertisement for the ship *Phoebe* and the *Ajax* of 1848 in figures 72 and 34 respectively, and on the CA's 1851 posters for the ships *Dominion* and *Bangalore* (figs. 101 & 102). All the coded descriptions that testified to a ship's safety—'A1', construction materials, coppered and size—were set on the posters with moderate graphic emphasis (figs. 95 -100). While the fonts used are small compared with those of either the destination or the name of the ship, their relative isolation in space on the posters directs attention to the codes and what they signify.

Under engagement to leave the Docks on the 20th November.

FOR

SYDNEY

AND

NEW ZEALAND

The beautiful Passenger and well-known Ship,

COROMANDEL

A 1.

662 Tons Register, Coppered and Copper-fastened,

EDWARD FRENCH, Commander,

Lying in the St. Katharine's Dock.

This splendid Ship has a very spacious poop, with upwards of eight feet height betwixt decks, with scuttles throughout; the Ship will carry an experienced Surgeon, and has just returned from New Zealand. The Captain will be happy to give any information to Emigrants respecting the New Colony. This Ship will only remain a few days at Sydney to obtain information respecting New Zealand, and affords a good opportunity for Emigrants to take in their supply at that Port. For the accommodation of Passengers, this Ship will call at Portsmouth, and sail thence on the 25th November.—Messrs. GARRATT & GIBBON, Agents there.

For Terms of Freight or Passage, apply to the Commander on board; at the Jerusalem Coffee-House; or to

Phillipps & Tiplady

3, George Yard, Lombard Street.

Eccles, Printer 101 Fenchurch Street.

Fig. 95. Advertising poster for the ship *Coromandel*. This ship was not expressly chartered by the NZC, but passengers were offered the usual NZC allowances to anyone sailing on this ship. Her master, Edward French offers to meet with those who require further information at the 'Jerusalem Coffee-House', in the long tradition of commercial transactions conducted in coffee houses.

Ann Eccles, London for Phillipps & Tiplady, c. November 1839.

CO208/291/20, NZCS, National Archives, London. 340mm x 435mm.

Under engagement to leave the Docks on the 20th November.

FOR 31

SYDNEY & NEW ZEALAND,
The beautiful passenger and well-known Ship,
COROMANDEL, A 1.
662 Tons Register—Coppered & Copper-fastened,
EDWARD FRENCH, COMMANDER,
Lying in the St. Katharine's Dock.

This splendid Ship has a very spacious poop, with upwards of eight feet height betwixt decks, and Air-ports throughout; she will carry an experienced Surgeon. Has just returned from New Zealand; about which Colony the Captain will be happy to give any information. The Ship will only remain a few days in Sydney; and the DIRECTORS OF THE NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY having resolved to make the usual allowance towards Cabin, Intermediate, or Steerage Passage, to any Purchasers of their Land, who may proceed in this Vessel, will render her equally eligible as any of their Chartered Ships. She is intended to leave Portsmouth on the 25th November—Agents there, Messrs. GARRATT & GIBBON.

For Terms of Freight or Passage, apply to the Commander, on board; at the Jerusalem Coffee-House; or to
PHILLIPPS & TIPLADY,
3, George Yard, Lombard Street.

Ann Eccles, Printer, 101, Fenchurch Street.

FOR 55

NEW ZEALAND,
CALLING AT
LAUNCESTON,
The fine first-class fast-sailing Brig,
PATRIOT,
BURTHEN 250 TONS,
, Commander,
Lying at the Jetty, London Docks.

This Ship has excellent Cabin Accommodations; and having a raised Quarter Deck, and 7-ft. height in the 'twixt decks, affords an excellent medium for the conveyance of a limited number of Intermediate Passengers.

For terms of Freight or Passage, apply to
JOSEPH STAYNER,
SWORN BROKER,
8, Water Lane, Tower Street.

Ann Eccles, Printer, 101, Fenchurch Street

Fig. 96. *top*: Advertising card for the *Coromandel*. According to the card, the NZC's endorsement of the *Coromandel* rendered 'her equally eligible as any of their chartered ships'.

bottom: Advertising card for the *Patriot*. These are not posters, but I have included them to illustrate something of the spread of ephemeral material that the shipping brokers used to advertise their ships and to demonstrate Eccles' consistent use of slab serif typefaces in material for Stayner related to ships.

Ann Eccles, London for Phillipps and Tiplady, c. November 1839.
CO208/291/31, NZCS, National Archives, London. 120mm x 90mm.

Ann Eccles, London for Joseph Stayner, c. 1840.
CO208/291/55, NZCS, National Archives, London. 120mm x 90mm

49
CHARTERED BY THE
New Zealand Land Company,
And will meet with immediate Dispatch.

FOR

NEW ZEALAND

The fine first-class Ship,

PLATINA

A 1.

BURTHEN 350 TONS,

~~THOMAS WELLBANK,~~

COMMANDER,

Lying in the London Docks.

For Freight or Passage, apply at 1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI;
or to

J. STAYNER,

SWORN BROKER,

8, Water, Lane, Tower Street.

A. H. Fenchurch Street.

Fig. 97. Advertising poster for the ship *Platina*. Wellbank was replaced as master by Michael Wycherley. The *Platina* carried only two passengers out to New Zealand.

Ann Eccles, London for Joseph Stayner, c. November 1839.

CO208/491/49,NZCS, National Archives, London. 430mm x 440mm.

76

*Under Engagement with the New Zealand Company,
to Sail on the 0th of September,*

DIR:CT FOR

WELLINGTON,

NEW ZEALAND,

The fine River-built Ship,

Slains Castle,

A 1, COPPERED. BURTHEN 500 TONS,

JAMES PETRIE,
COMMANDER.

Lying in the London Docks.

This Ship has splendid accommodations for Passengers, and will carry an
Experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to

JOHN PIRIE & Co.,
3, Freemans Court, Cornhill.

Johnston & Barrett Printers, 13, Mark Lane

Fig. 98. Advertising poster for the ship *Slains Castle*. Pirie was one of the wealthiest and most influential London business operators, the owner of the *Slains Castle*, and a member of the board of directors of the NZC.

Johnston & Barrett, London for John Pirie & Co., c. late August 1840.
CO208/291/76, NZCS, National Archives, London. 370mm x 450mm.

FOR

78

WELLINGTON, AND THE OTHER SETTLEMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND.

The fast-sailing First Class Bermudian-built Brigantine,

HARRINGTON,

250 TONS BURTHEN,

COPPERED AND COPPER FASTENED,

Com.

Lying at the Jetty, London Docks.

This very superior Vessel has been fitted expressly for the conveyance of Passengers, every attention having been paid to the accommodation of parties desirous of availing themselves of the Intermediate and Steerage Cabins; and as a limited number of Passengers only will be engaged, immediate application for Freight or Passage is requested to be made to the Commander, on board, or to

CAPPER AND GOLE,

151 FENCHURCH STREET,

AND

11 PARK STREET,

WESTMINSTER.

Teape and Son, Printers, Tower-Hill.

Fig. 99. Advertising poster for ship *Harrington*. The *Harrington* left London on 20 January 1841, so the poster was likely to have been produced in late 1840. The comment related to the fitting of the ship 'expressly for the conveyance of passengers' points to the possibility of a former life as a freight carrier. Teape & Son, London for Capper & Gole, c. late 1840.

CO208/291/78, NZCS, National Archives, London. 415mm x 550mm.

53

CHARTERED BY THE
New Zealand Company,
And will sail in 10 days.
Has room for a few tons of Measurement Goods only.

FOR
NEW ZEALAND

The very fast-sailing first-class Teak-built Barque,

BROUGHAM

Burthen 250 Tons.

GEORGE KETTLEWELL,
COMMANDER,

Lying in the London Dock.

For Freight or Passage, apply at No. 1, ADAM STREET,
ADELPHI; or to

J. STAYNER,
SWORN BROKER,

8, Water Lane, Tower Street.

Ann Eccles, Printer, 101, Fenchurch Street.

Fig. 100. Advertising poster for the *Brougham*. This ship was set on to convey the merchandise and baggage. This was necessary to accommodate what could not be accommodated on the *Platina*, whose baggage space was taken up with a prefabricated house destined for Governor Grey.

Ann Eccles, London for Joseph Stayner, c. January 1840.

CO208/291/53, NZCS, National Archives, London. 340mm x 430mm.

The chartering of ships was occasionally contentious. In 1872, the NZG instructed the Agent-General Featherston to seek tenders from companies other than Shaw Saville (sometimes referred to in the records as Shaw Savill). It felt that the monopoly the company had on the emigrant trade to New Zealand would not serve the 'interests of the colony'.⁹⁰ Featherston found the request difficult because other firms were reluctant to tender due to the requirement that ships were not to sail until they were full. This gave them little experience in the New Zealand run. Featherston was concerned that the lives of 'thousands' of emigrants would be imperilled by putting their emigration in inexperienced hands.⁹¹ The very specific requirements regarding berths and the condition of anchors and chains in the poster in figure 94 indicate that these comfort and safety measures could not be assumed. The Canterbury agent Duncan raised another issue. He found it 'difficult to get shipowners willing to have their ships' decks cut up for proper ventilation but such is necessary for the health and comfort of the emigrants and the Agent-General is acting rightly in insisting on it being done'.⁹² Eventually Shaw Saville ships were reinstated, but the episode underlines the wider concerns about safety and comfort.

Much of the fear of long sea voyages was associated with accidents, which included shipwrecks and fire. Fires were inevitable, but seldom catastrophic. Shipwrecks in the nineteenth century were atypical but their statistical rarity did not completely allay all the anxieties of those who perceived the voyage to the Antipodes as perilous.⁹³ Shipwrecks were events that often could neither be prepared for nor guarded against. However unforeseen they might have been, when accidents at sea did occur, they had a detrimental effect on emigration generally. In 1873, the Agent-General telegraphed Vogel and William Reynolds, the Colonial Secretary of New Zealand, advising each that disasters were well-known and a seriously 'check' on emigration. He noted that emigrants would not leave when they felt the weather made it most dangerous to do so.⁹⁴ In spite of occasional disasters and of exaggerations, voyages were predominantly uneventful and tedious rather than inevitably 'miserable and dangerous'.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the brokers each addressed the issue of safety on the posters.

The 'Emigration ships wanted' poster in figure 94 produced by the NZG notes that, 'if the ships be fitted in the Thames', certificates from Lloyds Proving House are to be supplied attesting to the efficiency of the anchors and chains. It also required that ships rated by Lloyds must 'stand no lower than A1'. This is an insurance classification rating that describes a ship so designated through the codes 'A'—new or restored—and '1'—'well and sufficiently found'.⁹⁶ The masters and first officers must hold 'Certificates of Competency'. The NZC did not ask for similar assurances on the poster in figure 93 it produced calling for tenders for ships. However, all the agencies required every ship they chartered to be inspected in drydock before they were able to carry passengers. The inspection appraised its facilities, strength and condition of repair, and its suitability for carrying passengers safely and comfortably on long voyages. Many of these ships were converted freight carriers and each was fitted out according to strict specifications which included spatial dimensions for various purposes, ventilation and fixed equipment such as tables and bunks.⁹⁷ The posters produced by the shipping brokers offer much of this information to prospective passengers. All the requisite specifications used to describe the ships were conventional and coded, but accessible.

The posters attest to the safety of the ships in a number of ways. Some bear the rating 'A1' (figs 95, 96 (*top*) & 97). Many indicate where they were built and the material used to build them. This was information that had connoted the overall strength of the ships. Wooden ships are susceptible to both rot and damage. Teak, used to build the *Bengal Merchant* for example, is a very hard wood and not inclined to rot (fig. 1). Its strength stood the 'handy little *Brougham*' in good stead in 1842 when the barque was swept onto a shoal in French Pass and then 'bumped a rock' in the Astrolabe Road, neither of which caused her any injury (fig. 100).⁹⁸ The term 'river-built' that describes ships like the *Stains Castle* in figure 98 connotes a particularly strong ship. Fresh water rots timber more easily; ships built in rivers or constructed for use in rivers require timber that exceeds the specifications for salt water.

The posters for the ships *Coromandel*, *Stains Castle* and *Harrington* in figures 95, 98 and 99 use other conventional terms that connoted safety: 'coppered' and/or 'copper-fastened'. Copper-plating protected the undersides of ships to protect them from shipworm and made them faster and more manoeuvrable. If copper bottoms were fastened with iron

nails and immersed in water they were eventually destroyed through electrolysis which compromised a ship's integrity. 'Copper-fastened' describes the more secure use of copper nails or bolts to attach the copper bottoms to the wooden ships.⁹⁹ While these descriptions of a ship's qualities are purely pragmatic indications of its construction, their relevance lies in what those qualities signified to a specific audience in the particular circumstances of nineteenth century sea voyages.

It was equally important to convey the integrity of those who controlled the ships at sea. The commanders of the ships are identified on the shipping posters with considerable graphic emphasis (figs. 95, 96 (*top*), 97, 98 & 100 - 104). Naming them shows that the company or broker is satisfied with their competency and wants to communicate that to prospective passengers. Whether or not these men were known before the voyages is difficult to tell. Advertisements for ships of the Black Ball Line claimed in the 1850s that their ships were captained by men 'who had already rendered themselves famous' and 'obtained the approbation of numerous passengers'.¹⁰⁰ The ships of this line were ordinary merchant ships, not chartered by the provincial governments and perhaps had to work harder to attract individual and independent passengers. However, the Black Ball advertisements indicate that there was some interest in and knowledge of the reputations of the captains of emigrant ships. The producers of the shipping posters clearly felt that this was sufficiently important information to convey forcefully.

Notations on the shipping posters also demonstrate a concern for safety of a different kind. Most advise that an 'experienced surgeon' would accompany the emigrants to New Zealand. This provided assurances of medical care on board the ships. As most of them were emigrants themselves (or more properly, colonists) it implied that medical facilities would be equally available in New Zealand. Surgeon-Superintendents were crucial to the operation of a well-run emigrant ship. These men were qualified doctors hired to attend to the passengers on board the ships and were a requirement of the Passenger Vessel Acts.¹⁰¹ The 'Regulations on board' the ships from the NZC to the NZG in figures 63 – 67 set out the responsibilities they carried for the health of the emigrants. The communication of infectious disease, particularly among children, was well understood in the nineteenth century and the notification of the presence of a doctor on board was designed to reassure. In addition, the NZC indicated its pre-

emption of outbreaks of disease during the journey by insisting in the regulations that ‘all emigrants, adults as well as children, must have been vaccinated, or have had the small-pox’ (fig. 43).¹⁰²

While the dangers of sea voyages may have been exaggerated, for steerage passengers the voyage could be cramped and uncomfortable. All the shipping posters state the weight of the ships they advertise. The size of these ships could make a considerable difference to how comfortable the journey was. The sizes are indicated on all the posters but one in terms of their ‘tons’. This does not describe weight, but the total displacement or volume of space within a ship.¹⁰³ Larger ships were also better able to weather stormy seas.

The records of the NZG detail how seriously they took the issue of passenger comfort. In spite of the Agent-General’s protestations, one of the problems the NZG had with Shaw Saville was the condition of some of their ships. Two long and detailed reports to the acting Minister of Immigration, outline the many shortcomings of one of their ships, the *Bebington*. Some of the issues raised were the lack of ventilation, badly constructed hatchways, narrow hatchway ladders, small galleys, inaccessible water closets and poor lighting. The inspecting Commissioners felt that she was ‘not a fit and proper vessel for the transport of emigrants’.¹⁰⁴ The Immigration officer in Wellington, Maurice O’Rorke, made it clear that bad publicity about such issues had a deleterious effect on emigration. Rumours of sickness at sea such as those that surrounded the *Hydaspes* were difficult to overcome.¹⁰⁵ O’Rorke noted, that

letters written home by immigrants who have been made miserable throughout the passage by causes entirely remediable, do more to retard emigration than all the costly advertisements, peripatetic lecturers, and highly paid agents do to advance it.¹⁰⁶

The agencies attempted to use emigrants’ letters to manage such perceptions. White printed a letter from Mary Jane Hill, the Taranaki emigrant from Lincolnshire on his poster in figure 92 to counteract such unfavourable reports about the voyage. Her letter assured prospective Lincolnshire emigrants that the

voyage was nothing. There was a ship that came in a few days ago that had not a single case of sickness aboard, excepting one person who had the gout ...why you have no idea how beautiful it is being on the water. It is so pure, and nice, and healthy.

Those contemplating emigration throughout this period were clearly aware of some of the discomforts of a long sea voyage. Rudge, who saw a group of his parishoners to the emigration depot at Deptford, offered the 1840 *Lady Nugent* emigrants the metaphor of 'the voyage of life' which he noted 'has its discomforts and inconveniences, and most of you know that the haven is not to be entered without baffling winds and tempestuous waves being encountered'.¹⁰⁷ At times the ships' passengers were very uncomfortable, though reports often attempted to gloss over the fact. The recommendation of Filby and Stayner in the *Lyttelton Times*, for example, acknowledged the non-specific 'attention they have invariably paid to...the comfort and convenience of the passengers on board their ships'.¹⁰⁸ When speed was important, ships sailed as far into the rough waters of the Southern Ocean as they dared in attempts to catch stronger winds.¹⁰⁹ The *Charlotte Jane*, one of the CA's first four ships, sailed as far south as 52° 36', making the journey miserable for her passengers. While this was an exception and the practice was not condoned, storms at sea were inevitable and unavoidable. The *Lyttelton Times* newspaper later criticised the master's 'highly injudicious' decision to venture so far into the Southern Ocean. Ironically, the *Charlotte Jane* carried the printing equipment destined to set up the newspaper.¹¹⁰

The language on some posters used to reassure prospective passengers of a ship's comfort was vague, but appeared to be measurable. All the posters sought to attract and engage the attention of an audience who could afford to pay for their voyage to New Zealand, whether cabin or steerage. The brokers offer prospective passengers specific reasons to choose the ships they represent. For example, ships such as the *Bengal Merchant*, *Harrington* and *Brougham* in figures 1, 99 and 100 were advertised as 'fast-sailing' which signals their distinct advantage in a competitive emigration market where every other destination was closer and the voyage shorter. The *Brougham* was probably set on to carry excess 'merchandise, baggage and stores' advertised in figure 48 that could not be accommodated on other ships.

The *Coromandel* in figure 95 is advertised as having ‘a very spacious poop [cabins at the stern and above the main deck], with upwards of eight feet height between decks, with scuttles [openings in the decks or sides similar to trap-doors] throughout’. The broker Stayner claimed it was ‘fast-sailing, first-class and teak-built’, those qualities that were relevant to its speed, integrity and strength.¹¹¹

On the other hand, some descriptive terms are much more subjective. The *Coromandel* is described as ‘beautiful and well-known’ which probably refers to her previous voyages to Australia from 1836. Many of the posters describe the ships as loosely as ‘first class’ which usually refers to both the integrity of the ship and the quality of its accommodation. Others are ‘superior’, ‘fine’ and ‘splendid’. In figures 97 and 98, Stayner defines the *Platina* as a ‘fine first class ship’ and Pirie describes the *Stains Castle*, at 500 tons, as offering ‘splendid accommodation for passengers’. The 1842 NZC poster in figure 72 advertises the ship *Phoebe*, as ‘the splendid new ship’, an important point to convey. Both the *Phoebe* and the *Martha Ridgway*, which is featured on three emigration posters from 1840 (figs. 38, 44 & 76), were built as passenger ships. They therefore would be understood as purpose-built, unlike the *Bebington* 30 years later which was clearly not.¹¹² The posters in figures 101 to 103 which advertise the CA ships *Dominion*, *Bangalore* and *Lady Nugent*, each claim these ships have ‘superior accommodation’. These terms were neither large nor bold, but their spatial position made them stand out in the relatively empty spaces of each poster.

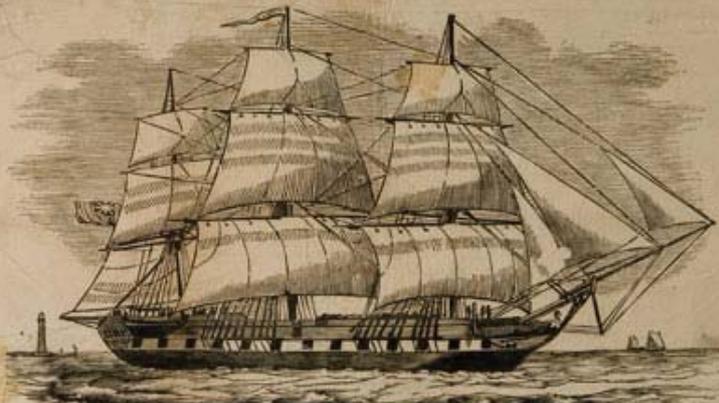
These three CA shipping posters exhibit the signature style of the London printer Ann Eccles, although none of them bear her name. The names of the ships on the posters, and on the poster of 1848 which advertises the ship *Ajax*, are set in large, bold typefaces and framed by typographic rules top and bottom on all four of these posters. This is a personal style not seen on the other extant posters. The names of the ships on all the posters except for the *Lady Nugent* are graphically emphasised in slab serif, a more uniform and heavy typeface than fat face. Slab serif has a graphic weight that no other typeface possesses. This makes it less amenable to extreme compression so its individual letters tend to retain the weight that the fat face lost when it grew thinner. The solidity of the slab serif typeface lends its robustness to the names of the ships, endowing them with a perception of strength, reliability and safety.¹¹³

FOR

CANTERBURY

And other Ports in

NEW ZEALAND.



The first-class Passenger Ship.

DOMINION

584 Tons Register. Lying in the EAST INDIA DOCKS.
William Leonard Darke, Commander
 Chartered by the CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION, and appointed to Sail from the PORT OF LONDON
On Thursday, 8th MAY.

This Ship has superior Accommodations, and will take out a Clergyman, an Elementary School Master, and an Experienced Surgeon.

Rates of Passage to Canterbury, Provisions, Medicine, and Medical Comforts included:—

	<small>CHIEF CABIN.</small>	<small>SECOND CABIN.</small>	<small>STEEERAGE.</small>
Each Person 14 Years old and upwards	£42	£25	£16

A separate Agreement must be entered into with respect to Stern & Poop Cabins. Steerage Cabins will be provided for Married Couples paying in full for their own Passage, on payment of £2 extra for each Adult, and Children in proportion.

For Freight, Passage, or further Information, apply to

FILBY & Co., 157, Fenchurch Street;
OR TO
J. STAYNER, 110, Fenchurch Street.
By order of the Committee.

FREDERICK YOUNG,
Shipping Office of the Canterbury Association, 74, Cornhill, London. Manager of Shipping.

Fig. 101. Advertising poster for the ship *Dominion*. This and the following two posters are likely to have been printed by Ann Eccles. The typographic style is the same as the NZC poster which bears her name and advertises the ship *Ajax* in figure 34. None of the posters from other printing houses display her robust style. In these three posters, Eccles has used colour to ‘rubricate’ the names of the ships.

Ann Eccles, London for Filby & Co and Joseph Stayner, c. 1851.
 19XX.2.2100, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. 560mm x 880mm.

CANTERBURY
Wellington & New Plymouth,
NEW ZEALAND,
The first-class Passenger Ship.

BANGALORE

877 Tons Register,
LYING IN THE EAST INDIA DOCKS.
WILLIAM MORGAN,
COMMANDER,
Chartered by the CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION, and appointed to Sail from the PORT OF LONDON on
Thursday, 8th MAY.
1851 1851

This Ship has superior Accommodations, and will take out a Clergyman, an Elementary School Master, and an Experienced Surgeon.

Rates of Passage to Canterbury, Provisions, Medicine, and Medical Comforts included:

	CHIEF CABIN.	SECOND CABIN.	STEEERAGE.
Each Person 14 Years old and upwards	£42	£25	£16

A separate Agreement must be entered into with respect to Stern & Poop Cabins. Steerage Cabins will be provided for Married Couples paying in full for their own Passage, on payment of £2 extra for each Adult, and Children in proportion.

For Freight, Passage, or further information, apply to
J. STAYNER, 10, Fenchurch Street
OR TO
FILBY & Co., 157, Fenchurch Street
By order of the Committee
FREDRICK YOUNG

Fig. 102. Advertising poster for the ship *Bangalore*. Eccles' use of colour to print the names of the ships is a traditional technique employed in predominantly monochrome printed material (and manuscripts) to signify difference and importance. In these three typographically strong posters, it both draws extra attention to the ships.

Ann Eccles, London for Filby & Co and Joseph Stayner, 1851. 1949.148.167, Canterbury Pilgrims and Early Settlers Association Inc. Collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. 560mm x 880mm.

FOR

CANTERBURY. NEW ZEALAND.

The Fast-class Passenger Ships.

S^R GEORGE SEYMOUR

850 TONS,

Thomas Goodson, Commander,

AND THE

CHARLOTTE JANE

730 TONS,

Alexander Lawrence, Command^r.

OF THE

THE EAST INDIA DOCKS.

Chartered by the CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION, and appointed to sail from the Port of London

On THURSDAY, 29th AUGUST,

Calling at Plymouth for Passengers.
Each Ship will carry an Experienced Surgeon.

Rates of Passage, Provisions, Medicines, and Medical Comforts included:-

<small>Each Person 14 Years old and upwards</small>	<small>STEERAGE</small> £45	<small>SECOND CLASS</small> £35	<small>BERNARD</small> £15
<small>Children under 14, in proportion</small>			

A separate Agreement must be entered into with respect to Stow and Pooj Cabins.
Stowage Cabins will be provided for Married Couples paying in full for their own Passage in the Stowage, on payment of £2 extra for each Adult, and Children in proportion.

For Freight, Passage, or further Information, apply to

FILBY & Co., 157, Fenchurch Street;
OR TO
J. STAYNER, 110, Fenchurch Street.

By order of the Committee of Management,
WILLIAM BOWLER,
Superintendent of Shipping.

Shipping Office of the Canterbury Association,
15, Millhar Street, London.

Fig. 104. This poster has some of the hallmarks of Ann Eccles signature style but lacks her robust composition and her use of fonts of slab serif. If it is a part of the posters printed for the shipping brokers on behalf of the Canterbury Association a year later, its dimensions are likely to be similar to those detailed below. It has been taken from Judith Johnston's doctoral thesis.

Unknown printer, London for Filby & Co and Joseph Stayner, 1851. c. 560mm x 880mm.

The poster's present whereabouts is unknown.

The similarity between the NZC poster and the three CA posters is likely to have been the result of a shift in Eccles' practice as she responded to the contemporary fashion in

typefaces. She inclined more towards fonts of fat face in the early 1840s, but used the slab serif typeface in the latter years. She also set ‘Filby & Co.’ and ‘Joseph Stayner’, along with ‘Frederick Young’, the CA’s manager of shipping, in upper case slab serif which lends them the solidity which might be expected of them in the conduct of their business. Whether or not she intended to use the typeface to construct an identity for Stayner is moot; it appears that she did on these posters Eccles also applied colour to emphasise the names of these ships. She printed their names in red which foregrounded them by lifting them out of the surrounding black text.

CRISES: ‘HURRIEDLY’ FILLING SHIPS

Until the more successful NZG schemes of 1873, for every William Golder who stood as if sealed ‘by magic’ to the spot in front of one of the agencies’ advertising posters, there were many more who rejected their proposition.¹¹⁴ A number of scholars note that a lack of applications caused an urgent rush to fill ships scheduled and waiting to sail.¹¹⁵ Many factors made emigration attractive—free passages, high wages, permanent employment, opportunities for success, and credible facilitators—but none was sufficient to persuade rural people to leave their homes. Studies have shown that in the trade-off between the emotional bond to place, friends and family, and economic benefit, the latter most often loses. Even significant economic benefits will not make most people move so far away that the distance creates a rupture in their social interactions.¹¹⁶ The NZC agent Whiting commented that the rural poor generally did not wish to emigrate and if they did, they often chose destinations that were closer and better known than New Zealand.¹¹⁷ Thirty years later, the NZG chief agent Carter always kept people in reserve to cover those who initially signed up to emigrate but did not turn up to actually do so. Twenty-five per cent of a group of labourers from Lutterworth failed to report on the departure date. They had either been dissuaded by friends, were able to find work, or bargained with their employers for higher wages.¹¹⁸

NZC ships were chartered when sufficient land to pay for them was sold. The agencies then needed to fill them quickly as either delayed or half-full ships were costly. There were also wider urgent issues. By May 1840, the NZC directors felt that the best

bulwark against criticisms leveled against them would be the number of settlers already ‘possessing themselves of the soil’.¹¹⁹ The publication dates printed on the posters, the advertised and actual sailing dates of the ships, and the nature of some of the emigrants suggest that these posters address this issue of insufficient applications. Newspapers advertised free passages and sailing dates months ahead of the scheduled departure and well before the posters were produced.¹²⁰ Those posters that featured ships’ sailing dates were regularly produced within three weeks of the scheduled departure which again indicates that they were not full. The Welsh poster in figure 49 was produced a mere six days before the *Oriental* was due to depart. This gives some indication of the realities of life for the nineteenth century labourer. Should labourers decide to emigrate after first encountering the proposition through a poster and then a meeting, they often had only a few weeks to settle their affairs before departure.

Philip Temple claims that all of the NZC’s first five ships ‘had been filled’ by late August 1839.¹²¹ Had this been the case, there would seem not have been any need to advertise in Scotland on 5 October, nearly three weeks after the ship was due to sail from the Clyde. Yet Clark’s poster in figure 1 did just that, focusing on that particularly difficult group to persuade: single women. The heavy emphasis on Cutbush’s ‘agricultural labourers’ and Harrison’s ‘agricultural labourers only’ on their 1839 poster in figures 73 and 46 points to a need to hail labourers forcefully. Harrison’s poster recruiting London labourers for the scheduled sailing on 1 November of the ship *Bolton* is dated 5 October. It was clearly insufficient because, on 12 October Whiting’s poster advertised meetings on 22 and 23 October to fill the same ship. The most graphically emphasised call for labourers is on this poster (fig. 73). In the end, six of the families from Kent came from the Staplehurst Workhouse. Even this took more time than the NZC anticipated as the *Bolton* left Gravesend on 19 November, eighteen days late. A comparison of the posters and shipping lists indicate that none of the ships sailed on time. Interestingly, meetings appear to have been held only in rural village rather than in the larger centres such as London or Birmingham. This is evident throughout the period of this study in both the posters and in the surrounding documents and accounts of agents.

The following year showed little improvement. Truscott’s 6 May 1840 poster (fig. 52) signposts the impending departure of the ‘Company’s emigrant ships’ on 15 June and

15 July. These unspecified ships are heavily emphasised through a font of compressed upper case slab serif. This phrase is not on the posters of Edward Blackwell and Benjamin Hudson (figs. 33 & 53), also produced in May 1840. But the language is otherwise the same and it is clear that they too signal these same unspecified departures. No NZC ships departed in June. A hint of why that might have been is on Hudson's Birmingham poster which also advertises 'town and country sections of land'. The land sales needed to finance the ships were insufficient to do so until very soon after this call for purchasers went out.

The ship *Martha Ridgway* departed in July and the *London* in August. The *Martha Ridgway* had been advertised in the *New Zealand Journal* for over a month before the posters were produced.¹²² By June, neither ship was filled. Two West Country posters were produced (figs. 44 & 76) advertising both these two ships and meetings that were to be held at the George Inn in Chard and the Bell Inn in Axminster. The ships were advertised to sail on 1 June and 1 July respectively. The calls for labourers in large fonts of type on these posters appear to have been effective as the *Martha Ridgway* departed on 5 June.

The *London* did not sail on 1 August because she was not full. Either she would have to sail without sufficient people on board to make it worth the money spent on her charter or she would wait until she had them.¹²³ She waited. The Toms poster was redistributed and a further poster printed by Wills emphasised the benefits of employment and wages to be had by emigrating to New Zealand. This poster introduces a sense of urgency by demanding an immediate response to a specific and immediate event: the urgent need to fill the ship *London*.

A small, but visually significant upper case of slab serif urges this audience to consider that 'no time should be lost'. It is the only explicit textual indication of urgency evident on the NZC posters. The poster also features the list of directors, lending the proposition its persuasive power to attract emigrants to the *London*. The ship eventually sailed on 13 August 1840 with 228 passengers of which 192 were from the labouring classes. The 500 ton ship *Stains Castle* sailed a month later with 224 passengers. The *London* was a 700 ton ship which suggests that she sailed without her full complement of passengers. The NZC scrapbook gives some indication of the sequence of these posters. While I acknowledge that the stamps record the sequence of the posters' arrival in London

rather than of their production, it appears that the labourers in London, Birmingham, Reading and Hungerford were targeted first, followed by those in Somerset and Devon which were likely to have been the first approach into the West Country. The second Wills poster and the Toms reprint were a further last minute attempt to attract and recruit emigrants and to ensure the ships sailed at full capacity.



Fig. 105. The phrase ‘no time should be lost’ suggests that labourers should hurry to secure their passage on the ship *London*. This poster was produced to do everything it could to persuade these reluctant rural leavers to apply.

Emanuel Wills, Axminster for the NZC (detail), June 1840.
CO208/291/73, NZCS, National Archives, London.

The problem of filling ships continued when the CA began recruiting for assisted emigrants. Carolyn Schwarz argues that the cabins were full but steerage only ‘sparsely’ so.¹²⁴ The CA found the processes for recruiting emigrants ‘wholly inadequate’ and 300 were still needed to fill the initial five ships.¹²⁵ It was only when Caroline Chisholm’s Family Colonization Loan Society stepped in to recruit the requisite number of emigrants that the regulations were eased. Neither emigrants nor colonists were any longer required to belong to the Church of England. Chisholm found the 300 emigrants.¹²⁶

After some initial resistance, labour unions became a ‘major force’ in encouraging their members to emigrate.¹²⁷ Arnold points out that this was a ‘rather improvised business’ as the circumstances of the emigrants required a ‘good deal of give and take’.¹²⁸ The spirit of compromise accorded only to the middle classes in the 1840s appears to have extended a little further by the 1870s.

Other unofficial but interested parties also helped to fill emigrant ships to New Zealand. Two unofficial agents of the NZG who had taken ‘warm interest in promoting emigration to this Colony’ held meetings that were announced by ‘posters, hand bills, “sandwich men”, newspaper advertisements, town criers, and a New Zealand banner’ positioned outside the meeting venue. Drawings of New Zealand scenes caused an ‘electrical’ effect in encouraging prospective emigrants to contact the Agent-General in London. To the end of June 1874 they had held fifty meetings sometimes attracting as many as 2000 people.¹²⁹

Overall, pragmatism triumphed over intent as filling ships became more important than strict adherence to self-imposed regulations. Regulations were relaxed, though probably reluctantly. Wakefield acknowledged the problem and its less than optimum solution—selecting unsuitable emigrants—when, in 1850, the CA ship *Duke of Bronte* was filled before its scheduled sailing date. This ship was advertised early and ‘quietly, without hurry. Thus the CA was able to take ‘more usual care in the selection of the people’.¹³⁰

In the first few years of emigration to the country the rigidity of the NZC selection policies meant that many applicants were rejected. The Staplehurst Workhouse families were only able to sail due to Mear’s waiving of the regulations. There must have been other similar incidences, as the NZC agent in New Zealand William Wakefield complained of the quality of some of the early emigrants, suggesting that the workhouses were being scoured to fill the ships.¹³¹ William Golder was refused a free passage as he was a teacher, but when he made it clear he had an agricultural background, his application for a free passage was accepted. Mears’ approval of the East Chinnock families points to a similar expediency.

Although recruiting emigrants continued to be difficult in the 1850s-70s, none of the posters indicate a similar urgent need to fill chartered ships. Agents like Seaton and Smales continued to use posters to attract people to their meetings.¹³² The Lincolnshire agent White alerted labourers of his impending arrival in their villages by displaying his posters, one of which caused a ‘great stir’ in the village of Immingham.¹³³

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined how each of the agencies used the posters to establish its presence in the emigration marketplace. As the final move in the process of attracting and engaging its audiences, each agency developed strategies to mediate the perception of itself as a credible facilitator of emigration. The chapter investigated the ways each agency used the posters both textually and graphically to achieve that goal.

The chapter focused first on the NZC's strategies for positioning itself as the sole facilitator of emigration. The NZC's representation of itself through the application of a consistent graphic system points to an understanding of how to do this. For a company that expected to operate in locations throughout Britain, it could not afford to be seen as a generic facilitator. It required a brand that was identifiable to anyone who saw it more than once.¹³⁴

The producers of the posters used the medium in part to shape the attitudes of their intended audiences towards themselves and their ability to facilitate emigration to New Zealand. They followed the convention of appending their name to the posters. For purely practical reasons it would be counter-productive for the source of a message not to do so. But there were other reasons as well. The NZC made substantial use of their posters to raise its profile in the emigration marketplace by ensuring that its name appeared on all printed material in a consistent typeface: fat face or its precursors, modern and bold face. The NZC appears to have been singular among the promotion agencies in constructing a 'brand' for itself. Branding, in this sense and at this time was not unknown, but the NZC model is an early example of its use in a company that was not dealing with commodities.¹³⁵ This strategy points to Wakefield's sophisticated understanding of promotion and of how to communicate to audiences. While a consistent style was certainly something that publishers established quite early, printers seldom sought to consolidate their clients' brands through consistency of presentation.¹³⁶

'New Zealand' also featured on the posters most often in similar fonts and this helped to position the emigration to New Zealand as exclusively the domain of the NZC. Graphic

deviations from this model of presentation occurred in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, areas that were sufficiently distant that the NZC failed to exert control.

Though consistency helps to develop and maintain the profile of a company, it does not automatically bestow credibility upon it. Since the variety of commercial, humanitarian and ideological motivations for colonising and promoting emigration to New Zealand was wide-ranging and not always altruistic, the NZC in particular needed to exert some measure of control over how it was perceived. As communication theorists have argued, a name that is perceived to be credible is key to an audiences' acceptance of its messages.¹³⁷ Evidence on the extant posters show that the NZC at least exercised some control over the perception of its credibility. They also show that the company used this as a critical part of the transmission of its messages in a number of ways. First, it ensured that its audiences perceived it as trustworthy by introducing itself on the posters in the conjunction with its directors, a group of men whose reputations ostensibly were above reproach when it first entered into new territory. The presence of the names of these particular men on the posters also indicated that the NZC had considerable expertise on which to call. The list of directors always appears on the posters in the same space as the NZC name which links them inextricably.

The NZC borrowed credibility from the local agents it hired to sell land and promote emigration. These agents were known and trusted in their own communities, but realistically, they had little verifiable information beyond how to emigrate. The posters they produced invariably bore both their names and that of the NZC. The information that the agents provided came directly from the NZC and privileging its name typographically over that of the agent, indicates that it was the initial source of the message. Later, when emigration to the colony was no longer quite such an unknown quantity, the governments in New Zealand used the expertise of peripatetic agents to provide their prospective emigrants with credible information regarding the opportunities open to them. In contrast to the graphic relationship between the NZC and its agents, the government agents featured on the posters as the sources of information in large fonts of display type. The governments are set invariably smaller fonts. The NZC also traded on the name of a well-respected and established operation, the East India Company, by using a similar linguistic resource.¹³⁸

The posters produced by the shipping brokers feature information that was calculated to reassure prospective passengers of the comfort and safety of the ships. The only posters to feature colour for emphasis are those printed by Eccles which advertised the CA ships in red.

Though the agencies presented their credentials to their intended audiences and made it possible for them to take the next step towards emigrating to New Zealand, a thread that has run through all these chapters has been the difficulty that all the agencies had in recruiting sufficient numbers of suitable emigrants. Colonists were equally difficult, but most of the posters are more relevant to emigrants' reluctance. This chapter has argued that a great many of the posters were used specifically for the purpose of getting people to attend meetings where the agents could then persuade them to apply to sail on the advertised ships. Getting sufficient emigrants on specific ships appears, then, to be the purpose of a selection of the NZC posters. As newspaper advertising which occurred for months prior to the production of the posters clearly did not produce the requisite numbers of emigrants, the function these posters was to do so. Whether or not the agencies that came after the NZC used posters for the same purpose is moot as no ships are indicated on them. Those posters that remain extant are for more general recruitment purposes and in the case of the Associations' and some of the provincial governments' posters, they are advertisements for fare-paying passengers. But the colony continued to need more people that it could recruit, the labouring classes continued to resist emigration, and the cost of either half-empty or delayed ships remained an issue for all the agencies. In these circumstances, it is reasonable to expect that the conditions for using the posters as part of a last-minute recruitment strategy were the same throughout the entire period of this study.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹¹ T.S. Houghton, *The Printer's Practical Every-Day-Book Calculated to Assist the Young Printer to Work with Ease and Expedition* (London: Simkin, Marshall & Co., 1841), p. 35.
- ¹² Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company*, ed by Henry Richardson (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1989), p. 85.
- ¹³ 'A photostat copy of a draft advertisement by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, 15 April, 1853, for the sale of land on terms.' - insert in folder. Wakefield was not unique in doing this; Matthew Boulton, button-maker for instance, was precise in his requirements in newspaper advertisements in both their form and their timing. Robinson, 'Matthew Boulton'.

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- ²⁰ Richard M. Perloff & Timothy C. Brock, 'And Thinking Makes it So: Cognitive Responses to Persuasion', in *Persuasion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, ed. by Michael E. Roloff & Gerald R. Miller (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), pp. 67-99; J. Anthony Blair, 'The Rhetoric of Visual Arguments', in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, ed. by Charles A. Hill & Marguerite Helmers (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005), 41-61.
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- ²² Heale, *New Zealand*, p. 9.
- ²³ Examples are the many state-sanctioned programmes in the United States, Vere Foster's Irish emigration schemes, Earl Bruce's Wiltshire Association, John Brogden & Sons, various church-related associations and Maria Rye's Female Middle Class Emigration Society.
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- ²⁵ Jock Phillips & Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008).
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- ³³ Manning, 'Lord Durham', p. 1.
- ³⁴ Edward G. Wakefield to Lord Durham, 2 September 1837.
- ³⁵ Edward G. Wakefield, to Lord John Russell, 18 February 1851.
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- ³⁷ Perloff, *Dynamics*, p. 152.
- ³⁸ Manning, 'Lord Durham'.
- ³⁹ Petty, and others, 'Think', p. 3.
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- ⁹⁹ *The Phrase Finder* <<http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/copper-bottomed.html>> [accessed 18 November 2011]
- ¹⁰⁰ Advertisements, Black Ball Line of British and Australian Royal Mail Packets, 1850s.
- ¹⁰¹ Robin Haines, *Doctors at Sea: Emigrant Voyages to Colonial Australia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- ¹⁰² Haines, *Life*, p. 82.
- ¹⁰³ D. Steel, 'Of Finding the Tonnage or Burthen of Ships &c.', *The Shipwright's Vade-Mecum: A Clear and Familiar Introduction to the Principles and Practice of Ship-building Including the More Complex Rules of Arithmetic Made Use of that Art; With so Much of the Principles of Geometry and Mensuration as are Required in the Practice thereof; Also a Description of the Sliding Rule; Rules for the Admeasurement of Timber; with Several Useful Tables and Tables of Dimensions &c.* (London: Navigation Warehouse, 1805). Prior to 1836 when the 'tons register' system was developed, 'burthen' was calculated on similar lines but with less accuracy. The size of the ships advertised on the posters before 1850 tended to be described as 'burthen' and those afterwards as 'tons register', the exception being the *Bengal Merchant* of 1839 at '501 tons register' (fig. 1).
- ¹⁰⁴ 'Report of Immigration Commissioners on the ship *Bebington*', 25 November 1872, p. 13; 'Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into certain matters connected with the immigrants by the ship *Bebington*', 20 November 1872.
- ¹⁰⁵ James Seaton to Isaac Featherston, 18 September 1872, p. 26.
- ¹⁰⁶ Maurice O'Rorke to Isaac Featherston, 21 January 1873, p. 91.
- ¹⁰⁷ *New Zealand Journal* 'Dr. Rudge's address to the emigrants at the New Zealand Company's depot, 24 October 1840.

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- ¹⁰⁸ Canterbury Association, 'Extract from the proceedings of the Committee of Management of the Canterbury Association, held on the 24th day of September, 1852', reprinted in the *Lyttelton Times*, 30 September 1852.
- ¹⁰⁹ Haines, *Doctors*.
- ¹¹⁰ *Heritage*, 'James Edward Fitzgerald' <<http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/heritage/earlychristchurch/jamesedwardfitzgerald.asp>> [accessed 18 April 2011] (para. 5 of 7)
- ¹¹¹ Henry Brett, *White Wings: Founding of the Provinces and Old-time Shipping. Passenger Ships from 1840 to 1885*, 2 vols (Auckland: Brett Publishing Company, 1928), I.
- ¹¹² *Bebington*, 25 November 1872.
- ¹¹³ Michael S. McCarthy & David L. Mothersbaugh, 'Effects of Typographic Factors in Advertising-based Persuasion: A General Model and Initial Empirical Tests', *Psychology & Marketing*, 19.7-8 (2002), 663-91.
- ¹¹⁴ William Golder, *The Pigeons' Parliament: A Poem of the Year 1845. In Four Cantos, with Notes. To which is Added, Thoughts on the Wairarapa and Other Stanzas, Canto IV* (Wellington: Lyon, 1854), p. 63 <<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-GolPig.html>> [accessed 2 September 2011].
- ¹¹⁵ James C. Dakin, 'The Working Class Pioneers: The Background of the Earliest Emigrants from the British Isles to the Central Districts of New Zealand, 1839-43; Michael Turnbull, *The New Zealand Bubble: The Wakefield Theory in Practice*, (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1959); Burns, *Fatal Success*; Francis King, 'A Better Class of Pauper? From Kent to Port Nicholson', *Stout Centre Review*, 1.3 (1991), 18-21; Temple, *Wakefields*; Belich, *Replenishing*; Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society 1850 to 1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).
- ¹¹⁶ Michael S. Dahl & Olav Sorenson, 'The Social Attachment to Place', *Social Forces*, 89.2 (2010), 633-58.
- ¹¹⁷ King, 'Pauper'.
- ¹¹⁸ Charles Carter to Isaac Featherston, 29 January 1873.
- ¹¹⁹ Burns, *Fatal Success*, p. 145.
- ¹²⁰ Hudson, 'English Emigration: Information'.
- ¹²¹ Temple, *Wakefields*.
- ¹²² *New Zealand Journal*, 'Under Engagement to the New Zealand Company to Sail in June', May 16, 23, June 6 & 20, 1840.
- ¹²³ Hudson, 'English Emigration: Information'.
- ¹²⁴ Schwarz, 'Female Emigrants', p. 58.
- ¹²⁵ Canterbury Association, 'Minutes'.
- ¹²⁶ Schwarz, 'Female Emigrants'.
- ¹²⁷ Arnold, *Promised Land*; R. V. Clemens, 'Trade Unions and Emigration 1840-1880', *Population Studies*, 9.2 (1955), 167-80; Charlotte Erickson, 'The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions 1850-1900', *Population Studies*, 3.3 (1949), 248-73.
- ¹²⁸ Arnold, *Promised Land*, p. 72.
- ¹²⁹ Arnold, *Promised Land*, p. 72.
- ¹³⁰ E.G. Wakefield to John Russell, 28 November 1850.

¹³¹ William Wakefield to Henry Alston, 25 February 1841.

¹³² James Seaton to Isaac Featherston, 3 June 1872; Gideon Smales to Isaac Featherston, 16 October 1872.

¹³³ John White, quoted in Arnold, *Promised Land*, p. 162.

¹³⁴ Mason, 'Brand Byron'.

¹³⁵ Mason, 'Brand Byron'; Duguid, 'Brand'; Stern, 'Brand'.

¹³⁶ Guy and Balne, for instance, printed thousands of theatre posters for the Vauxhall Gardens in many different styles with no consistency among them. Rob Banham, 'Nineteenth Century Jobbing Printing: The Printing Methods of Guy and Balne', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, n.s., 11 (2008), 25-64.

¹³⁷ McCroskey, *Rhetorical Communication*; Stiff & Mongeau, *Persuasive Communication*; Perloff, *Dynamics*; Hahn, Harris & Corner, 'Argument Content'.

¹³⁸ Burns, *Fatal Success*.

CONCLUSION

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This thesis is the first academic study to systematically focus on the role of posters in the promotion of emigration to New Zealand in the nineteenth century. A few scholars have been interested in the details of emigration promotion but none in advertising posters. Advertising posters were the most visible, up-to-date and accessible new media of the nineteenth century. Ironically, until now they have been a visible omission from the scholarship. Because few scholars use ephemeral advertising material as the focus of their study, its role in the processes of emigration promotion has not been explained. This thesis proposed that an examination of the practices of the producers of the posters, through analysis of the posters they produced, would re-evaluate and re-present the narratives of emigration promotion to New Zealand that are missing from existing accounts. Broadening the scope of source material to include advertising posters allowed for analysis of the textual and graphic languages. This thesis put into practice the results of a number of empirical studies on typeface design and typography that have occupied scholars since the beginning of the millennium. It offered another angle of vision on the promotion of emigration to New Zealand as did the enquiry into the contribution of the printing trade. In doing so, the thesis has contributed further to understandings of nineteenth-century advertising and printing practices and the emerging discourse on the importance of these practices in the middle years of the century. It did not attempt to prove cause and effect, but to examine the role of the ephemeral advertising posters in a persuasive, quotidian context and the ways they contributed to the discourses of emigration and its promotion.

This chapter draws together the conclusions from the research and analysis. It evaluates the methods of analysis which could be useful for the study of similar material in the future. It defines the role of the posters within the context of their social, visual and media cultures. It outlines the original contribution the thesis makes to an understanding of nineteenth-century communication and emigration. It suggests a number of areas for further research.

Methodological contribution

New Zealand emigration posters had not been gathered together to form a viably analysable set prior to this study. Their identification and collection has therefore provided a body of material that is new and additional to existing sources of information on emigration to New Zealand. Analysis of the posters has allowed for a closer focus on the immediate intended function of the posters and brought a clearer understanding of the specific circumstances that led to their production. By using the evidential value embodied in ephemeral material that is relevant only to a particular time, place and circumstance, this study has added a new and different voice to the emigration discourse. It has found evidence on the posters of their producers' attitudes and intentions towards aspects of the emigration process that are not documented elsewhere. Examination of the posters has also revealed early examples of a sophisticated understanding and use of communication strategies and tactics.

The methodology used to examine the multi-modal posters is novel in the sense that the individual methods have not been used together as a cross-disciplinary framework for understanding an historical phenomenon such as emigration. Because the posters document their producers' efforts to meet specific objectives at a quotidian level, close analysis of their textual language adds to an understanding of the circumstances and events surrounding those objectives. Analysis of the graphic language reveals the issues that most concerned the producers as well as those the producers thought most concerned their audiences.

The results of analysis

To establish and maintain a new colony within a crowded emigration market-place, the promotion agencies needed a communication mechanism that could broadcast the proposition of emigration to targeted audiences at specific times and with relative ease. The purpose of poster advertising within this context was to convert what the agencies considered to be prospective emigrants into actual emigrants. They utilised the advantages of the high visibility and multiple display of poster advertising for producing quick and inexpensive messages of immediate interest for public scrutiny. As the years of emigration promotion proceeded, technological developments allowed the agencies

to easily produce and display posters that were larger, more colourful and able to broadcast the emigration message more effectively. In this way, the posters and their messages became embedded in the public's mental encyclopedia of the circulating discourses of colonisation, and the economic and social benefits of emigration.

The broader, pragmatic functions of the posters were to broadcast the proposition of emigration to New Zealand, to make known what the agencies offered prospective emigrants to induce them to consider the proposition, to identify who those prospective emigrants were, and to provide both an assurance of the credibility of both the agency and the enterprise. The New Zealand Company was adept at this, developing strategies that borrowed credibility when it was most needed and ceasing to do so when it was no longer necessary. The posters also provided the crucial conduit for procuring further information and furthering the process towards actual emigration. At the beginning and the end of this study of the promotion of New Zealand, the NZC and the New Zealand Government (NZG) ensured that the proposition (emigration to New Zealand), the inducements (almost exclusively free passages), and themselves as facilitators were featured prominently on the posters. With the exception of the proposition itself, those agencies in between were less assiduous in these respects.

All the agencies utilised multi-modal language that evoked propositions beyond simple emigration. The textual and graphic languages were designed to prompt audiences to engage in deeper consideration of the personal implications of the proposition. The posters' producers utilised contemporary social and economic conditions to ensure such language resonated with each specific audience. For example, the offers of free passages on the posters of those who gave them, presented concrete ways to realise the proposition. For many, the greatest perceived barrier to emigration to New Zealand was thus overcome. For others, the more implicit suggestions of either social maintenance or even mobility made the proposition—already realisable through their purchase of land—tempting. Whether they were labouring emigrants seeking to secure their futures with reliable employment, or middle-class colonists hoping to become the new landed gentry with all the economic and social benefits that brought with it, the agencies designed the language on the posters to imply that this was possible in New Zealand.

Some language was necessarily implicit because little was known of the possibilities of New Zealand as a destination. The later agencies were able to apply statistical information and anecdotal testimony to the imaginings of prospective emigrants and colonists. The words and the tone of the language were also audience-specific. The use of the word 'emigrants' for the labouring classes and 'colonists' for the middle classes was in itself a linguistic distinction that indicated class difference. The middle-class committees of the early agencies spoke to their middle-class audience in ways that were convivial and empathetic. They spoke to the labouring classes in emphatic tones that conformed to contemporary perceptions of these people as those which needed regulating and, if necessary, punishing. This included graphic emphasis which conformed equally to contemporary abbreviated advertising language to the oft-times semi-literate. The later agencies comprised a group of newly middle-class New Zealand people. The regulations they set remained the same but the tone they took towards their prospective immigrants was conciliatory and polite.

Beyond these wider functions, the agencies used the posters to perform issue-specific tasks. The shipping brokers, for example, had quite specific information to communicate to prospective passengers regarding the safety and comfort of their ships. The agencies themselves produced posters that addressed the resistance of Scottish people to emigrate from anywhere but a Scottish port, and the difficulty in persuading women to emigrate at all. But should these issues not have been resolved it would simply mean that there would be fewer Scots and an imbalance of the sexes in New Zealand society. Each would militate against the ordered society envisaged by the early agencies, but New Zealand would have been a society nonetheless. A more general resistance, however, caused the urgent problem of both building and maintaining a society at all. A final decision in 1873 to offer free passages to all labourers, and the assiduous work of the contract company Brogden and Sons, addressed the problem for the NZG. But thirty years earlier, because of the lack of people prepared to emigrate, the NZC faced the threat of the collapse of its enterprise, and the real possibility of the failure of the fledgling colonies. Both classes demonstrated considerable reluctance to leave their homes and ignored continual calls for them in other media such as newspapers. Notwithstanding the free passages and the evocation of better and brighter

futures, there were not enough people who wished to accept either the proposition or the boon to make New Zealand viable as a British colony. The social attachment to their home was stronger than the driver to improve their conditions, which many recognised would improve anyway in the normal course of events. Some would not have seen the newspaper advertisements. Others could ignore them as they did not enter the public arena as easily as posters did.

The need to act quickly to address such issues as inertia, indifference or ignorance suggests that the agencies assumed an eagerness for emigration in their audiences that was not justified. The commercial imperatives for a southern colony beyond Australia and the ideological origins of the schemes of the NZC and the Associations required all sectors of the distressed and uneasy public to cooperate, embrace the schemes and their ideals, and then to emigrate. As it turned out, such an ideal was difficult to realise. Those people the promoters assumed would be the most easily persuaded to emigrate were too few to either fill ships or found alternative colonies without a great deal more persuasion. Nothing like the market surveys of today were available to advise these agencies about how to understand their audience and its propensity to read their messages according to its own agenda. Since the schemes of the NZC and the Associations were based so strongly on a theory, they did not fully take account of the individual decision-making processes which led to disappointing results, hurried recruitment and a great deal of bending of the regulations.

When it became clear to the NZC that the ships it had hired were in danger of sailing without their full complement, it used the posters in specific rural areas where it knew there were numbers of prospective emigrants who might respond positively to the emigration proposition. It targeted these people in ways that were particular and at times different from the other posters, ensuring they knew they were being addressed, advising them of the very great benefits of emigrating to New Zealand, and offering them a relatively immediate opportunity to act by scheduling meetings at which further information would be available. These posters, shipping lists and sailing dates indicate that the ships that were inadequately filled before the production of the posters which heralded the meetings, were soon filled after them. The NZC was able to use the posters' ability to appear quickly, and to broadcast publicly and widely this issue which

was of immediate concern and required a swift solution. If, as in most of its other strategies for promotion, the other agencies followed this model, there are no posters that demonstrate this. But since all the agencies largely did follow the general model unless there was good reason not to do so, it is likely that they targeted their reluctant leavers with similar tools and in similar ways.

Beyond the texts, the way each agency communicated its messages to its intended audience was integral to the process. Nineteenth-century printers' use of typefaces and typography in poster advertising was fundamental to audience-appropriate communication. Key ideas could be extracted from the broader message and highlighted typographically. Picking out such ideas simplified them, making them easily accessible to virtually anyone who encountered them. Printers then capitalised on the capacities of human visual perception to feature clusters of key ideas as larger key concepts. In this way, an agency's complete communication could be reduced to a few simple words that abbreviated the message yet retained its meaning.

Emphasis on key ideas was, however, based on a printers' understanding of the cultural effect of typographic form. There are sufficient posters in the set which feature specific fonts of selected typefaces to be confident that their printers chose them to convey the spirit of the words, rather than simply to facilitate the texts. Nineteenth century typefaces were not just different from those of the previous century. Certainly, they were larger and new forms were designed, informed by contemporary interests within the culture generally; the Greek-inspired sans serif typeface is a good example. But, typefaces and fonts also altered as conditions changed. The dimensions of existing typefaces contracted as economic pressures drew in; new typefaces were designed to replace the old according to the changes in cultural mood. The printers' response to these changes in mood is evident in the typefaces and fonts featured on the posters. Yet at the same time, these printers seldom lost sight of the gravitas of the project. The printers of the emigration posters made sparing use of the decorative typefaces that more properly belonged to commodity advertising. Most never used them on the posters even though printers such as Elizabeth Heard, for example, had them at their disposal.

There can be little doubt that, as the producers of the posters, the agencies directed their printers to identify certain words and phrases as key ideas through emphasising them in some way. For example, all of the agencies used variations of the phrase ‘emigration to New Zealand’ on their posters: in the early years to introduce the idea, and later to remind people of it. As the topic of the advertisement—the product that the agencies sought to sell—it was consistently picked out typographically for emphasis across the years. How these words were set, however, reflected a combination of strategic moves and appropriateness. The NZC in particular managed its communication strategies carefully, ensuring that it was presented in ways that were consistent and instantly recognisable in the marketplace. This care also reflected the NZC’s desire to monopolise emigration to New Zealand by capitalising on its ability to visually conflate itself and the country in the public mind through the use of fonts of fat face to articulate both. This not only had the effect of raising its own profile, but it also linked it appropriately with its product, New Zealand. While there were a few publishers and some commodity suppliers who branded themselves through graphic consistency at this time, the evidence suggests that emigration promoters did not. As the NZC had a very sophisticated communicator in Wakefield, care over the details of representation appears to be the result of a strategic management which was unusual for its time. This evidence of such management indicates that, in addition to the decision-making process that inevitably went on in the printing house, the NZC retained a degree of control over parts of the presentation of its communications. In retrospect, the analysis of the posters reveal that the advertising and typographic strategies of the NZC, evident on both the posters and the associated material were early examples of a consistent and integrated campaign. It may look different, but the linguistic and stylistic coherence and attention to strategy development and strategic consistency would be recognisable in today’s campaigns of brand positioning.

None of the other agencies were quite as successful at presenting themselves, either consistently or, in the case of the Associations, emphatically. For some, such as the Canterbury Association (CA), this may have been a strategic decision made to avoid a perception of association with the NZC. For others, such as the provincial governments, the agents that represented them were the immediate source of

information and thus it was their names that featured prominently on the posters. Nor did any of the government agencies associate themselves graphically, and therefore visibly, with New Zealand. Neither the NZG nor its printer took advantage of the communication possibilities in the semantic congruence of 'New Zealand' and the 'New Zealand Government'. This suggests that in Charles Carter, who controlled the advertising, the NZG did not have quite the talent for strategic publicity that the NZC had in Wakefield.

Equally appropriate was the way in which printers took advantage of the physical features of typefaces. The predominance of fonts of slab serif to set the word 'emigration', for example, was most noticeable though not exclusive after 1850. While this conformed to the prevailing fashion for monumental Egyptian forms, its sturdiness also reflected the trend from about the 1850s for the display of robust masculinity. While these typefaces were part of popular typographic and advertising culture, it is clear from an analysis of the posters that each was used to perform quite specific tasks. Their use for certain words was designed not only to be recognisable at a glance, but also to resonate with an audience that lived in the same cultural space. Each typeface or font was intended to prompt the audience to think about the relationship between the words, how they were articulated and how that was personally relevant to it and its perceptions of itself.

The role of printers in the promotion of emigration to New Zealand raises additional two issues: one of identification on the posters and the other of the social and political nature of these particular printers. The imprint of their printers is a feature of all of the NZC posters, including those produced by the shipping companies and brokers from whom they chartered their ships. Those posters produced by the shipping brokers for the CA do not indicate who their printer was, but the signature style of Anne Eccles identifies them as having come out of her printing house. The stylistic consistency that various printers maintained for the NZC, Eccles did for the shipping broker Joseph Stayner by setting his name predominantly in an upper case font of slab serif. None of the posters produced for or on behalf of the governments identify the printer, apart from Henry Greenwood for the Provincial Government of Auckland's agent Joseph Newman and Horace Watson for the NZG's agent John White. It is difficult to know

why this would be. There are no records such as the extant NZC invoices that show who printed material for the governments. Even Andrew Duncan's extensive records do not mention who he employed to print his two posters in 1874. Most of the anonymously printed posters were produced in either London, Glasgow or Edinburgh, each of which were large metropolitan areas in terms of their printing communities. The sheer volume of jobbing work by the 1860s and '70s may have resulted in printers being less inclined to waste time applying their imprint to such ephemeral material. Whatever the cause, only a careful study of many known practices would reveal their identity.

Most of the printers of the emigration posters were progressive, socially reformist and politically Whiggish. Many, like Horace Watson and Benjamin Hudson, were men whose concern for their fellows was demonstrated by the work they did outside of the posters. Those about whom I have been able to find information were almost invariably connected in ways that went beyond printing posters related to the emigration of their distressed countrymen. This is not unexpected as printers were, for the most part, middle class and like those involved in the agencies, took similar ideological stances towards the emigration of England's so-called surplus population. This raises the question of whether men like Watson, Hudson and Richard Cutbush were chosen in part because of their sympathy with the cause. More research into their practices would help to answer the question and might thus reveal these printers' contribution to emigration as even more significant than this thesis has done.

Opportunities for further study

I have identified a gap in the study of one particular historical phenomenon which could be applied equally to any other. Posters have never gone out of fashion as a communication medium. One medium does not tend to replace another, but simply becomes part of the pile of delivery mechanisms. Now that it is becoming a little easier to identify and access ephemeral material, there are more opportunities to examine it and add its narratives to the existing sources. There are a number of poster collections held by The Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa and in the National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa of which only a few have

been examined by scholars. There are also poster collections not related to emigration in those repositories which held the emigration posters. None have been analysed through the framework designed for this study. Examination of ephemeral material, including but not limited to print, could bring another voice to existing histories of war, suffrage, race relations and of advertising and print, to mention just a few examples.

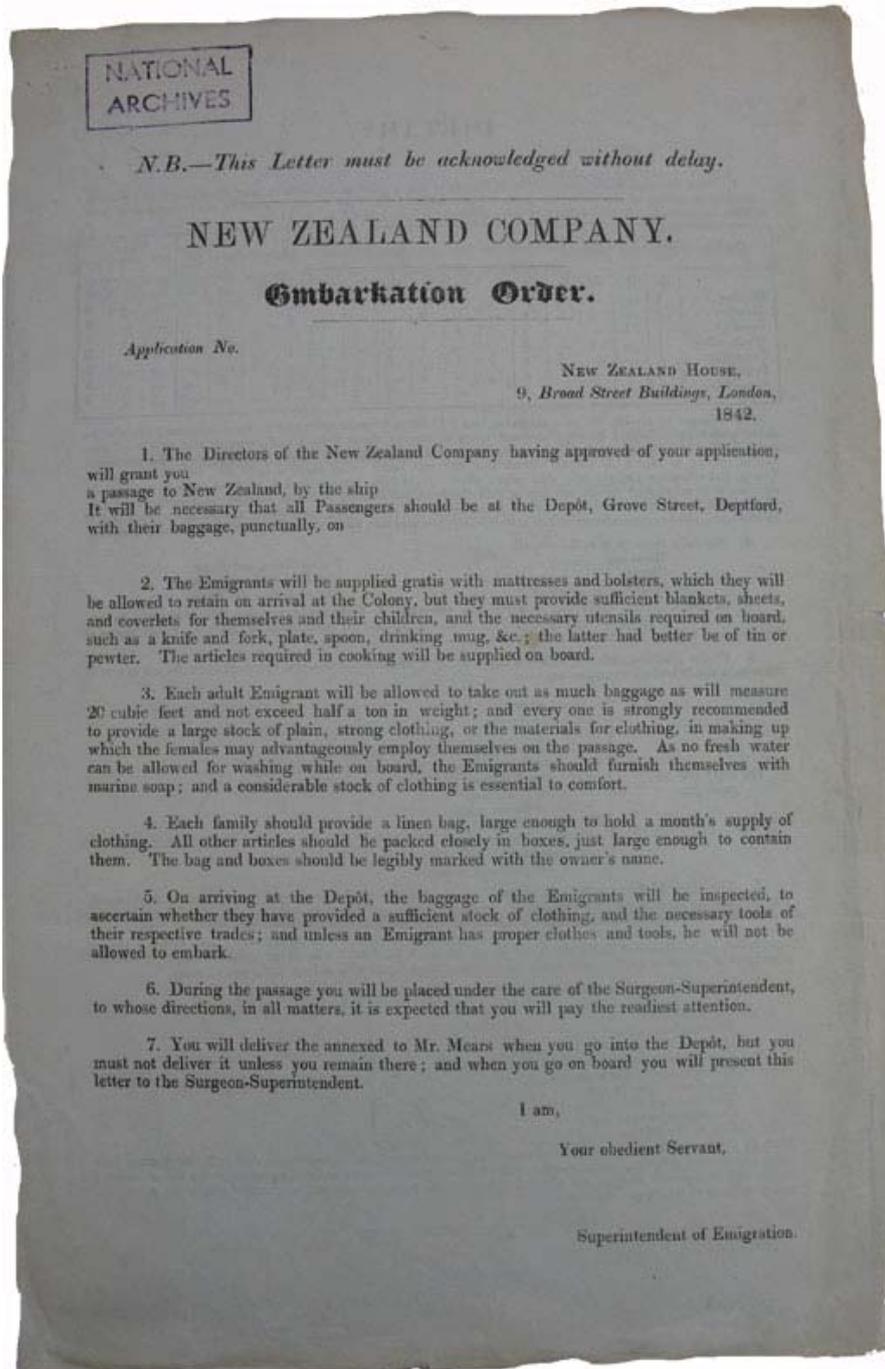
The thesis aimed to explore and define the role of posters in the promotion of emigration to New Zealand. Because posters were uniquely capable of public display, they were the perfect vehicle for drawing attention to the emigration message to a wide range of people. Agencies used this advertising material to promote their specific proposition of emigration, point to sources of information, advise important dates, identify their audience and offer inducements. What is more interesting, and probably more important for studies of ephemera; advertising material, was how the one agency in particular, the NZC, employed them strategically to address critical issues at specific points in the promotion process. Critical to the entire process were the practices of printers whose understanding of their craft, materials and tools contributed to the posters as key mechanisms of communication in the promotion of emigration to New Zealand.

In examining the role of the posters in the processes of emigration to New Zealand, this thesis has demonstrated the intrinsic documentary value of ephemeral, visual cultural material when it is used to enquire into a specific historical phenomenon. It has shown that the contemporary focus and intent of such material provides a new and unedited view of historical events. The thesis has established that the typographic properties of language, as complex sign systems, are as significant to the communication of advertising messages as the textual language they articulate. Thus the examination of the posters has explicitly demonstrated that multi-modal analysis of printed texts is necessary for a full understanding of their meaning and significance. In the specific historical context of emigration to New Zealand, the examination of the posters has determined their crucial role in its promotional processes from the beginning of the colonisation of the country. Because they had graphic and material capacities to perform in ways unavailable to other media, the posters were integral to the systematic building of a new colony for the empire. Their 'large letter'd thundering' shouts drew

immediate public attention to the proposition of emigration to New Zealand and ultimately contributed to the beginning of the process of the establishment of New Zealand as a nation-state.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES



Appendix 1. New Zealand Company (NZC) Embarkation Order (blank). The blackletter typeface on this document reflects its official nature. Blackletter was often used on legal documents in nineteenth-century England and it is scattered among the quasi-official NZC documents. Clause 5 advises emigrants that they will not be allowed to embark without 'proper clothes or tools'.

Unknown printer, London for the NZC, 1842. CO108/291 NZCS, National Archives, London.



NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER, A.D. 1841.

Directors.

THE HON. FRANCIS BARRING, M.P.
 Deputy-Chairman.
 HENRY AGLEADBY AGLADBY, Esq., M.P.
 Esq.

SIR RALPH HOWARD, Esq., M.P.
 WILLIAM HUTE, Esq., M.P.
 GEORGE USALL, Esq., M.P.
 JOHN DONNELLY HANLEY, Esq., M.P.
 GEORGE ROBERT MARTEN, Esq.
 WILLIAM MONSELL, Esq., M.P.
 ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq.
 H. M. COMMISSIONER—CHARLES COOK, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PETER.
 JEREMIAH PILCHER, Esq.
 ALDERMAN GEORGE PELLE, Esq.
 JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M.P.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL YALLOTT.
 ALDERMAN WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq., M.P.
 GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.

ROBERT BAYNES ARMISTEAD, Esq., M.P.
 JOHN BLAKELEY BUCKLEY, Esq.
 THE LORD COCCESTON.
 ALEXANDER CURRIE, Esq., M.P.
 JOHN ROBERT GODLEY, Esq.
 THE BARON DE GOLDSMID.
 JAMES ROBERT GOWAN, Esq.
 ARCHIBALD HARTER, Esq., M.P.

REGULATIONS

To be observed in the selection of LABORERS applying for an ASSISTED PASSAGE to the SOUTHERN PROVINCE of NEW ZEALAND; and CONDITIONS on which such Passage, if granted, must be understood to be accepted.

TRADE OR CALLING.

1. The Applicants, save General Bachelors, must belong to the Class of Manual Laborers working for Wages: Farm Servants, Shepherds, Gardeners, Domestic Servants, or, in moderate numbers, Country Mechanics and Handicraftsmen.
2. All the Adults must be capable of labor, and must declare their intention of remaining in the Settlement to which the Passage may be granted to them, and working there for Wages.
3. Persons who are in a position to buy Land in the Colony, or to invest Capital in Trade, are not eligible for a Passage on these terms.

DESCRIPTION OF FAMILY AND AGE.

4. The Applicants must consist principally of Married Couples, who will be required to produce their Marriage-Certificates. The Candidates not acceptable are Young Couples who have no Children; and as a general rule, no Family can be accepted which includes more than Two Children under Seven Years of age.
5. The separation of Children from their Parents will in no case be allowed.
6. Single Women, without their Parents, are not admissible, unless they are emigrating under the immediate care of some near Married Relative, or are under engagement as Domestic Servants to Ladies going out as Cabin Passengers in the same Ship. The preference will be given to those accustomed to Farm and Dairy-work, and Domestic Servants.
7. As a general rule, Single Men cannot be allowed, except in a number not exceeding that of the Single Women in the same Ship.
8. The Age of persons accepted as Adults is to be not less than 14, nor, generally speaking, more than 60.
9. All Emigrants, Adults as well as Children, must have been Vaccinated, or have had the Small-Pox.

CHARACTER.

10. Good Character is indispensable, and desirable Certificates will be required both to this point, and to Competence in the professed Trade or Calling of the proposed Emigrant.

FORM OF APPLICATION, AND TERMS.

11. Letters and Applications are to be addressed, Pre-paid, to The Secretary of the New Zealand Company, 9 Broad Street Buildings, London.
12. All Applications must be made in the Form hereto annexed, and must be duly filled up and attested, as explained in the Form itself; or they will be sent back.
13. In each Application must be distinctly stated the Sum which the Applicant is prepared to pay immediately towards defraying the expense of the Passage of himself and his Family. This Sum must be not less than One-Tenth of the full Passage-Money, at the Rates mentioned below in Regulation 14; and preference will be given to those who pay the largest proportion, provided that in all other respects they are equally eligible.

14. The Rates of Storage Passage, Provisions Medicines and Medical Case included, are at present these, viz.—
 Each Person 14 years old and upwards . . . £18 18 0
 Each Child 7 years old and under 14 10 10 0
 Each Child 1 year old and under 7 8 8 0
 Infants under one year old 0 0 0

15. The Recommendation of Laborers for Assisted Passages, by Land-Purchasers, will be subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, whose answer must be received before the Applicants are led to make any preparation.

16. If it be found that any of the Signatures attached to the Certificates are not genuine, or that any other deception is attempted, the Applicant will not be permitted to proceed in the Ship, and the portion of Passage-Money previously paid by him will be forfeited.
17. No Fee or Gratuity is to be given to any Officer or Agent of the Company, on any account, or under any plea whatever.

PROCEEDINGS SUBSEQUENT TO APPLICATION AND APPROVAL.

18. If approved of as Emigrants, the Applicants will receive a Passage as soon as the arrangements of the Company will admit. But due notice will be given to them of the Ship by which they are to sail, and of the time appointed for sailing; and, unless they receive such notice, they must on no account withdraw from their employment, or make any preparation for departure.

19. Before the issue of an Emigration-Order, entitling an approved Applicant to a Passage, he will be required to pay the Sum he may have engaged to pay, as mentioned above in Regulation 13, which Sum will be forfeited if he and his Family do not proceed in the Ship appointed.

20. The said Sum will also be forfeited, and neither the Applicant nor his Family will be permitted to proceed in the Ship, if it shall be discovered, on personal examination at the Port of Emigration, that he has made any Mis-statement whatever with regard to Age, Calling, &c., or that he or any of his Family have any infectious disorder, or do not correspond in every respect with the Certificate of the Surgeon as to health and fitness for labor.

21. The Expense of reaching the Port of Emigration must be paid by the Emigrants.

22. Provisions, Cooking Utensils, Mattresses and Bedders, will be found by the Company; but Blankets, Sheets, and Coverlets are not supplied, and of these the Emigrants must provide a sufficient stock for themselves and their Families. They must also bring their own Towels, Soap, Knives and Forks, Tin or Pewter Plates, Spoons, and Drinking Mugs. The Emigrants will be allowed to retain the Mattresses and Bedders on arrival in the Colony, if they conduct themselves well during the Voyage.

23. The Emigrants must bring their own Clothing, which will be inspected at the Port by an Officer of the Company; and all parties are particularly desired to observe that they will not be permitted to embark, unless they provide themselves with a sufficient supply for their health during the Voyage. The lowest quantity that can be admitted for each person is as follows:—

For Males.	For Females.
Six Shirts.	Six Shifts.
Six pairs of Stockings.	Two Flannel Petticoats.
Two pairs of Shoes.	Six pairs of Stockings.
Two complete suits of Exterior Clothing.	Two pairs of Shoes.
	Two Gowns.

- As a general rule, it may be stated, that the more abundant the stock of Clothing, the better for health and comfort. The usual length of the Voyage to New Zealand is about four months, or 120 days, and at whatever season of the year it may be made, the Emigrants have to pass through both very hot and very cold weather, and should therefore be prepared for both.

24. Each Family should furnish itself with two canvas Carthy-Bags, as the heavy Boxes and Chests will be put away in the Hold, and there will only be access to them once in every three or four weeks.

25. It is desirable that Emigrants take out with them the necessary Tools of their Trades; bulky Agricultural Implements, however, cannot be admitted, on account of their inconvenient size and weight, nor any Article intended for Sale; neither can Furniture be received on board; Mattresses especially, and Dyestuff-Bags, are strictly prohibited.

26. The whole quantity of Luggage for each Adult Emigrant must not measure more than 20 cubic or solid feet. It must be divided into two or three boxes of not more than 21 or 3 feet long, by about 20 inches wide and 18 inches high. These must be packed close, to avoid crowding the Ship with boxes only half-filled. Large packages and extra Luggage will not be taken unless paid for, and then only in case fourteen days' notice be given, and there be room in the Ship.

27. Only the Luggage really belonging to each Family of Emigrants is intended to be taken under the foregoing Allowance. If any one shall attempt to impose on the Company by letting the luggage of other persons, not members of his Family, go under his name, he will forfeit his Passage, and not be permitted to proceed.

28. The Emigrants will be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and to make their own bargain for Wages. After arriving in the Colony, no farther payment is required from them for the Passage out. The only return expected for the Assistance granted to them is a strict observance, on board, of the Regulations framed with a view to their health and comfort during the voyage, and general good conduct and industrious habits in the Colony.

By Order of the Court of Directors,
 THOMAS CUDBERT BARRINGTON,
 Secretary.

New Zealand House, 9, Broad Street Buildings,
 London, 1st August 1849.

Appendix 2. By 1849, the NZC was requesting that prospective emigrants pay something towards the cost of their passage with preference given to those 'who pay the largest proportion'. This, along with the note that publicans are not suitable guarantors of character, is printed on the second page of this regulations document. These more official documents also feature the NZC's coat of arms and its Royal Charter status.

Unknown printer, London for the NZC, 1 August 1849.
 NZ34/17, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

Preliminary Lands

IN THE

SETTLEMENT OF NELSON,
NEW ZEALAND.

GOVERNOR

JOSEPH SOMES, Esq.

DEPUTY-GOVERNOR

HON. FRANCIS BARING.

DIRECTORS

LORD PETRE.
VISCOUNT INGESTRE, M.P.
HENRY A. AGLONBY, Esq. M.P.
JOHN ELLERKER ROULCOTT, Esq.
JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq.
WILLIAM TAYLOR COPELAND, Esq. M.P.
RUSSELL ELLICE, Esq.
JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq.
JOHN HINT, Esq.
WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P.
ROSS DONNELLY MANGLES, Esq. M.P.

STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. M.P.
SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart.
ALEXANDER NAIRNE, Esq.
JOHN PIRIE, Esq. Alderman.
SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart.
JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq. M.P.
WILLIAM THOMPSON, Esq. Alderman, M.P.
HON. FREDERICK JAMES TOLLEMACHE, M.P.
EDWARD G. WAKEFIELD, Esq.
ARTHUR WILLIS, Esq.
GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.

1. The Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company hereby give notice, that a limited number of allotments of preliminary lands, each of which consists of three sections, viz. one acre of Town Land, fifty acres of Suburban Land, and one hundred and fifty acres of Country Land, are still open for sale in their second Settlement of Nelson. The price of each allotment is £300.

2. These allotments were unsold when the general ballot for priority of choice was held on the 30th August last; nevertheless the numbers which represent them in the original Registry of applications were placed in the wheel with all the other numbers, and the unsold numbers were drawn promiscuously with those which had been previously disposed of; consequently to each of the unsold numbers definite rights of priority of choice (distinct in respect to each of the sections above described) have been attached by the ballot.

3. Until further notice, any party, or his Agent, attending at the New Zealand House on any Thursday at three o'clock, *v. z.* and producing the receipt of the Company's Bankers, Messrs. Smith Payne and Smiths, for £300, will be entitled to draw in the presence of the Court of Directors, from a wheel in which the registry numbers of all unsold allotments have been deposited, with special precautions for their security and for the fairness of the proceeding. The register of the original ballot will then shew to the party drawing any number, to what rights of priority of choice he is entitled.

4. Applicants therefore will obtain preliminary allotments, on precisely the same terms, with respect to price and the chances of priority of choice, as original purchasers.

5. A list of the registry numbers with the rights of choice which were attached to each by the original ballot, may be seen at the New Zealand House, on application to the Secretary.

6. Present purchasers will be entitled to the same privileges, in respect to an allowance for cabin passages, (not exceeding 25 per cent. on the purchase money) as those who bought allotments before the general ballot.

7. Purchasers not proceeding to New Zealand will be entitled to delegate their rights of choice to any Agent whom they may nominate; or, if they should prefer it, such choice will be exercised on their behalf by the officers of the Company.

By order of the Court,

F. DILLON BELL,

Secretary *pro tem.*

New Zealand House,
London, 13th September, 1841.

Appendix 3. Preliminary land order document for the NZC's second settlement at Nelson.

Unknown printer, London for the NZC, 13 September 1841.

CO208/291, National Archives, London. Foolscape.



1874/52

GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION.

Free Passages to New Zealand.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND having, in course of construction, Railways and other Public Works in various parts of that Colony—and there being also a considerable demand for Agricultural Labourers and Female Servants—are prepared to grant free passages to the following classes of Emigrants:—

Navvies, General Farm Labourers, Ploughmen, Gardeners, Shepherds and Mechanics, &c.
Free Passages are also given to Single Female Domestic Servants and Dairy-maids, &c.

I. FREE PASSAGES are granted to Married Agricultural Labourers, Navvies, Shepherds and Mechanics. They must be sober, industrious, of good moral character, of sound mind, free from bodily deformity, in good health, and must be going to the Colony with the intention to work for wages.

II. The Government will not give free passages to more than three children between one and twelve years of age in each family; but parents who have more than three children, may, however, make their application; and the Agent General will determine in each case, whether the passage applied for, can be granted. Every person above the age of twelve years is reckoned as an adult; children between one and twelve are reckoned as half an adult; and infants under one year are not reckoned.

III. SINGLE WOMEN.—FREE PASSAGES are given to Cooks, Housemaids, General Servants, Dairy-maids, &c., who are not under 15 nor over 35 years of age.

IV. DAUGHTERS OF MARRIED COUPLES, of twelve years of age and upwards, receive FREE PASSAGES; and Boys of similar ages, accompanying their parents, will be taken out free.

V. OUTFIT, &c.—The requisite Mattresses, Bedclothes, Soap, and Utensils, will be provided by the Government at the following rates, which sums must be paid by the Emigrants before they can receive their contract tickets, viz. 1.—For Single Women, Twenty Shillings each; for Single Men, Twenty Shillings each; for Married Couples and Children, Twenty Shillings each Adult.

Emigrants must find their own towels, and also the following clothing for the voyage, namely:—For Males—6 Shirts, 6 pairs Stockings, 2 Warm Flannel or Guernsey Shirts, 2 pairs New Shoes, 2 Complete Suits Strong Exterior Clothing. For FEMALES—6 Chemises, 2 Warm and Strong Flannel Petticoats, 6 pairs of Stockings, 2 pairs Strong Shoes, 2 Strong Gowns, one of which must be warm. For CHILDREN—7 Shirts or Chemises, 4 Warm Flannel Waists etc., 1 Warm Cloak or Outside Coat, 6 pairs Stockings, 2 pairs Strong Shoes, 2 Complete Suits of Exterior Clothing. The clothing need not be new, but it must be serviceable.

The quantity of Luggage allowed to each Emigrant, free of charge, is ten cubic feet measurement.

NEW ZEALAND is larger than England, Wales and Scotland united; yet the European population, in 1871, numbered only 256,167 souls.

MOST OF THE LAND IN NEW ZEALAND is well adapted for Agricultural and Pastoral purposes. The total yield of wheat for the year 1870, was 2,342,914 bushels. The number of sheep in the whole Colony at the close of 1871 was about ten millions, or nearly forty sheep to each head of the population.

FOR THE YEAR 1870 the produce of the NEW ZEALAND GOLD FIELDS was valued at £2,163,910.

THE CLIMATE OF NEW ZEALAND is temperate and healthy.

MECHANIC AND LABOURERS work 8 hours as a standard day's work.

The average rates of Wages and prices of Provisions in New Zealand for the year 1873, were as under:—

TRADESMEN—	For Day of 8 Hours.	FARM LABOUR—	Per Year (all found).
Carpenters	9/ to 11/	Married Couples	£57 to £68
Bricklayers	11/ " 12/	Single Men	£38 " £49
Painters	8/ " 10/	Single Women (Dairy-maids)	£24 " £32
Blacksmiths	10/ " 12/		
Tailors	8/ " 8/6	FEMALE DOMESTIC SERVANTS—	
Boymakers	8/ " 10/	Cooks	per year £31 to £43
Shoemakers	8/ " 10/	General Servants and	
Brickmakers and Masons	9/ " 11/	Housemaids	" £23 " £33
GENERAL LABOURERS	6/ " 7/		

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Breadper 4 lb. loaf	/6 to /7	Butter	per lb. 1/ to 1/3	Coffee	per lb. 1/3 to 1/6
Beef	per lb. /2½ " /5	Tea	" 2/1 " 3/2	Potatoes	" ½d.
Mutton	" /2½ " /4½	Sugar	" /4½ " /6		

Clothing 22 to 32 per cent. over English prices.

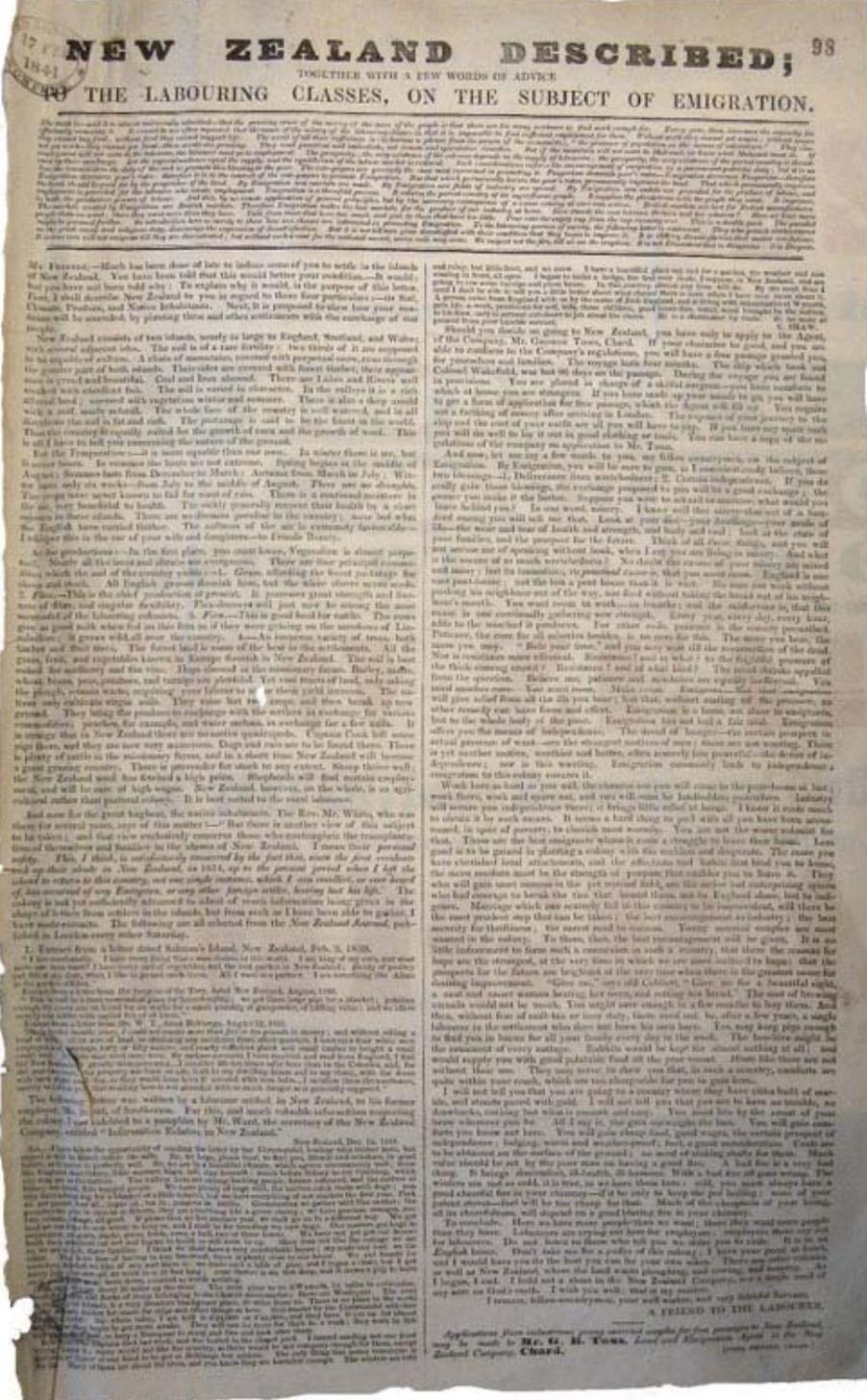
For further particulars and detailed conditions, apply to the Agent-General for New Zealand, 7, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.; or to

LONDON, October 28th, 1873.

Appendix 4. This handbill is virtually identical to the blue printed poster of the same date (fig. 38). It was designed, as the name suggests, to be handed out and taken away for closer scrutiny. It is about six times smaller than the poster.

Unknown printer, London for the New Zealand Government (NZG), 28 October 1873.

Archives New Zealand, Wellington. 240mm x 260mm.



Appendix 5. John Dunmore Lane was a Methodist minister who worked to persuade the labouring-class emigrant that his efforts would be better rewarded in New Zealand than they were in England. He suggested, as did many of the authors of pamphlets and articles emigration, hard work and thrift would set a labourer on his own land within a few years. The NZC agent George Toms is cited as the source of further information. John Toms, Clerk for John Dunmore Lane, (undated but stamped 17 February 1841). CO208/291/98, National Archives, London. 225mm x 285mm.

Emigration.
New Zealand Company.

Governor.—JOSEPH BAKER, Esq.
Deputy Governor.—HON. FRANCIS BARRING, M.P.

<p>Directors.—</p> <p>VINCENT INGESTRE, M.P. LOED PETER HENRY A. ALLISON, Esq., M.P. JOHN ELLERKER BOULCOTT, Esq. JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq. W. TAYLOR COPPLAND, Esq., M.P. KINSELL KELICE, Esq. JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq.</p>	<p>JOHN HUNT, Esq. WILLIAM BUTT, Esq., M.P. STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart., M.P. ALEXANDER BAIRD, Esq. JOHN FRIZLE, Esq., Advocate SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart., M.P.</p>	<p>JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M.P. WILLIAM FRIDMANN, Esq., Advocate, M.P. HON. FREDERICK TOLLEMACHE, M.P. EDWARD G. WAKEFIELD, Esq. SIR HENRY WEBB, Bart. ARTHUR WILKIN, Esq. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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Castle Inn, Merthyr-Tydfil, Tuesday 11 P.M., June 8th, 1841.

Nearly **ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY** Persons having applied here this Evening for a Free Passage to New Zealand, and it being understood that many more are equally anxious on the subject, the Agent for the Company has postponed his departure till **FRIDAY MORNING**, in order to afford a little more time to those who may wish to take the present chance of obtaining the boon of a

FREE PASSAGE.

A most unfounded rumour appearing to have spread among the Inhabitants of this Town, respecting the terms on which a passage is granted to

LABOURING EMIGRANTS,

The Agent deems it right to state that Emigrants, on arriving in New Zealand, are just as free, in all respects, as they are in England; that they can make

Their own Bargains for Wages,

And always obtain employment under the Company, if they cannot get it elsewhere, but that

No Man is Bound

To serve any Employer,
Except of his own Free Choice.

A limited number of Persons may now obtain

A FREE PASSAGE,

BY THE

Oriental, 600 Tons,

WHICH WILL

Sail from Plymouth on Tuesday next, the 15th Inst.

And in order to save unnecessary trouble, Notice is hereby given, that none

Married Persons

Of Good Character, who are prepared to be in Plymouth by

MONDAY NEXT, at FARTHEST.

The Boon will only be bestowed upon the

MOST DESERVING.

No applications will be received after 7 o'Clock on Thursday Evening.

H. W. WHITE, PRINTER AND STATIONER, MERTHYR-TYDFIL.

Symudoliad.
CWMPINI ZEALAND NEWYDD.

Llywodraethwr.—JOSEPH BAKER, Esq.
Islywodraethwr.—HON. FRANCIS BARRING, M.P.

<p>Cyfarwyddwyr.—</p> <p>VINCENT INGESTRE, A.S. IRGENYDD PETER HENRY A. ALLISON, Esq., M.P. JOHN ELLERKER BOULCOTT, Esq. JOHN WILLIAM BUCKLE, Esq. W. TAYLOR COPPLAND, Esq., M.P. KINSELL KELICE, Esq. JAMES ROBERT GOWEN, Esq.</p>	<p>JOHN HUNT, Esq. WILLIAM BUTT, Esq., M.P. STEWART MARJORIBANKS, Esq. SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart., M.P. ALEXANDER BAIRD, Esq. JOHN FRIZLE, Esq., Advocate SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, Bart., M.P.</p>	<p>JOHN ABEL SMITH, Esq., M.P. WILLIAM FRIDMANN, Esq., Advocate, M.P. HON. FREDERICK TOLLEMACHE, M.P. EDWARD G. WAKEFIELD, Esq. SIR HENRY WEBB, Bart. ARTHUR WILKIN, Esq. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG, Esq.</p>
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Castle Inn, 11 Nos Fawrth, Maelwa 8, 1841.

Gan fod yn agos i **GANT A HANER** o Bersonau wedi ymgaisio yma y prydawen hwn am drosglwyddiad rhydd i Zealand Newydd, a chan y deallir fod llawer yn rhagor mor awyddus a hwythau yn yr achos, y mac Gorchwyliwr y Cwmpini wedi oedi ei ymadawiad hyd foreu dydd Gwener, i'r dyben o roddi ychydig ragor o amser i'r rhai hyn a ewyllysiant gymeryd y cyngw presennol am gael y frain o

DROSGLWYDDIAD RHYDD.

Gan yr ymddedys fod y gŵel ffrwyddiad wedi eoli ei chwara yn mhellh Trigonell y daf hon, mewn perthynas i'r telerau ar hys o'r ymddedys trosglwyddiad i'r

SYMUDOLION GWEITHGAR,

Ystyrir y Gorchwyliwr yn lawr lloddi ddywyddyd fod Symudolion ar ol cyrsodd Zealand Newydd mwr rhydd yn mhell ystyrir ag yn Llwyng. I gallat weydd eu

Cytundeb eu hunain am gyflogau,

A phob amser gael gweith dda y Cwmpini, os na allant ei gael mewn lle arall, ond

NAD YW YR UN DYN YN RHWYM

I wasaradu unrhyw Festr

On d o'i ddeuwisiad rhydd ei hunan.

Gall ailer teryfod o Bersonau yn awr gael

TROSGLWYDDIAD RHYDD

Yn y Llwyng

ORIENTAL, 600 TUNELL,

I'r hon a hwythia o Plymouth ar ddydd Mawrth nesaf,
y 15fed o'r mis hwn.

Ac i'r dyben o arbed traforth afreiddiol RHODDER RHYBUDD DRWY HYN YMA,
and oes uchis i neb fwyd rhyng.

Personau Priod

O gwasiaid da, ag yddi yn hawl i fod yn Plymouth arbyn

DYDD LLUN NESAF, o bellaf.

Ni roddir y frain hon ond i'r rhai MWYAF TEIWLWNG.

Ni ddarhynir ceisiadau ar ol 7 o'r gloch prydawen ddydd Isaw.

ARGRAFFWYD GAN H. W. WHITE, MERTHYR-TYDFIL.

Appendix 6. The same phrases are emphasised in similar ways but with different typefaces in the two languages on this poster which is printed in English and Welsh. A nineteenth century printer's typecase would be unlikely to accommodate a sufficient number of large display type to print such a poster in identical faces and fonts.

Henry White, Merthyr Tydfil for the New Zealand Company, 8 June 1841.
CO108/291/105, National Archives, London. 450mm x 570mm.

NEW ZEALAND
THE
NEW ZEALAND
LAND
BUBBLE!

From "THE TIMES," July 27th, 1840.

A band of "gentlemen," whose passion for money has unhappily superseded their love of honest fame, have for some time been prosecuting a system of monstrous plunder both in New Zealand and at home—first, by such pretended land bargains with the savage chiefs as the Court of Chancery (if practised upon any of its wards) would pronounce to be absolute swindling, and then, by selling these pretended purchases at an enormous profit to the dupes in this country who are infatuated enough to be gulled by them. To these transactions the Colonial-office, *graciously* to its credit, has refused to give the smallest countenance; and yet, such is the miserably low character of His Majesty's Government, that in a Parliamentary division, staking their general repute against that of the New Zealand jobbers, a decided preference was given to the latter, and accordingly they obtained their committee in spite of the Ministry's opposition. To a certain extent, therefore, the superintendance of New Zealand affairs has, for the present at least, been wrenched from the hands of the Whigs, exactly in the same way as they have been relieved of the management of almost every important measure of the session.

And who are the parties that have gained this triumph over the Whigs, and what are their pretensions! The despicable character and resources of a conqueror frequently afford a good criterion of the feebleness and ignominy of the vanquished. The New Zealand jobbers have carried the field against the Government. What, then, are their peculiar claims to public confidence and respect? Apart from their nefarious connivings and circumventions practised upon the simplicity of the native chiefs, whereby they have set up a colourable right to certain enormous tracts of land, we know not how this question can be better answered than by quoting the following *saves* from their printed circular, advertising the terms on which they do business:—

"The land-orders are to be received as sufficient conveyances and conclusive evidence of the company's title: and the company are not to be considered as GUARANTEEING the title, except as against their own acts, and the acts of those deriving title under or in trust for them."

Now, any imputation of dishonesty which this declaration may seem to bear, is more than counterbalanced by the plausible confidence whereby they assume the validity of their titles, and persist in inveigling inexperienced purchasers on such a loose and perilous tenure. The company will sell and give titles to land; but, as they themselves have no indefeasible right to the said land, they decline giving any warranty that the buyer shall not be ousted from his duped purchase; in short, they guarantee nothing but their own monstrous assurance, and the consummate folly of their victims. That any rational person *could* be induced to negotiate for a single acre on such terms (to talk of purchasing is supremely ridiculous,) might be matter of infinite surprise, were it not for the imposing array of Lords, Aldermen, and M.P.'s, whose names are emblazoned in the list of directors. How men of good private character can undertake the equivocal responsibility of fingering the money of bedoped emigrants, of ensuring their families into a hazardous exile that may involve utter ruin, and of neither guaranteeing the security of their confiding investments nor engaging to reimburse them in case of ejection—all this, we confess, is beyond our comprehension. However, as our countrymen are now apprized by the foregoing *saves*, that the New Zealand Land Company have no confidence in the validity of their pretended sales, we would fondly trust that those transactions will henceforth be few; nor can we do otherwise than declare our conviction, that although the company have shown remarkable industry in shipping off immense cargoes of emigrants, in the hope that the pitiable consequences of not ratifying their purchases may induce the Government to sanction the entire enterprise, His Majesty's Ministers have not only exhibited a becoming hostility to their pretensions, but will doubtless persevere in resisting their plans of plunder. The Whigs, we repeat, as far as concerns New Zealand, have heretofore acquitted themselves well. Yet on this very point, the British Parliament (skeletonized no doubt by the advanced period of the session) have boldly declined to support them.

RICHARDS, Printer, 49, Fore-Street, Devonport.

Appendix 7. This poster reproduced a *Times* newspaper article that was highly critical of the NZC's scheme and its operations.

Richards, Devonport for an unknown person, c. 1840.

CO208/291, National Archives, London.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

bed: in letterpress printing on an iron press, the flat metal piece upon which an inked **forme** is placed ready for printing.¹

blackletter: a typeface based on manuscript hand. In the early years of printing in England, it was known as 'English' because English printers tended to use it long after Continental printers moved towards roman type faces. It was a letter used by the English to connote official and quasi-official documents. There were many versions of **blackletter** as national moods changed. The 'M' below is set in Lucida Blackletter, a twentieth century design. **Blackletter, fat face, slab serif** and **sans serif** are generic twentieth century names given to those typefaces designed by a variety of nineteenth century typefounders who gave them discrete names or identified them by numbers. Though they were all similar according to their style, they differed in detail.

body copy: text set within the body of a page. This is usually set in small **fonts** and reads as a solid block of type.

bold face: (above) a swelled version of the **fat face** typeface, designed in England by Thomas Cottrell.

chase: the metal frame into which letters are placed and then locked up for printing.

Clarendon: (above) a typographic form attributed to the Fann Street typefoundry of William Thorowgood, but probably designed by Robert Besley during his employment there. It was cut in 1845 and was instantly popular as a form that was sufficiently light to accompany text types, yet bold enough for emphasis within a text. Clarendons established the practice of using a bolded typeface instead of **italics** for emphasis within body text. The name may have derived from the Clarendon Press at Oxford University.

compositor: the term used to describe the person who set the type into the **chase** (see above). Rather than use this somewhat out-dated term, I have simplified my description by referring to this operation as the job of the printer.

cut: a term for illustrations in the text. In the nineteenth century, these were often standard woodcuts found in most printers' type cases.

display type: large typefaces used for headings in the emigration posters. They are used to pick out, or emphasise, key words or phrases. As their name suggests, these typeface—which include **fat face**, **slab serif** and **sans serif**—were developed for advertising display purposes in the early nineteenth century.

ephemera: as it is used in this thesis, the documents of everyday life; those printed pieces which are produced to address a single issue at a specific time, beyond which they become redundant to their original purpose.



fat face: (above) swollen version of the **modern** typeface. This letter was the ultimate extensions of the earlier **bold face** types of Thomas Cottrell in the eighteenth century. It first appeared in the type specimen book of Robert Thorne in 1803.

font: sometimes referred to as fount. A complete set of any typeface. For example, the letters, figures and punctuation marks of a specific size of upper case **italic fat face** is a **font** of **fat face**. **Lower case roman** of a different size of **fat face** is a different **font**.

forme: all the elements— **chase**, **type**, **cuts** and **furniture**—to be printed locked up and ready to be placed on the **bed** of the press.

furniture: pieces of wood or metal used to fill up spaces in the forme which is not taken up with typographical **sorts**.

imprint: in the case of the emigration posters, the name and address of their printer. After 1869 a printers' imprint was required on 'any paper or book whatsoever which shall be meant to be published or dispersed' if it comprises either words grouped together in a manner calculated to convey a message, or a drawing, illustration or other picture. Hence it is required on most books and printed publications'. (British Printing Industries Federation Imprint Requirements). This does not explain why the earlier posters featured a printers' imprint when it was not required and those after 1869 did not, when it was required.

italic: fonts of any type that slope to the right.

jobbing: the printing work regularly carried out by printers which included everything but book printing. Some printers were almost exclusively **jobbing** printers, Others mixed their printing work much as they did their wider business interests.

lamp-black: a pigment made from soot. It was used in this context to affix the names of products such as Warren's Boot Blacking to almost any surface upon which it would stick.

letterpress: a relief process of printing from raised letters. These letters (**typeface**) are made from either metal or wood.

lithography: a planographic process of printing from a stone.

lower-case: this refers to the letters of any given **typeface** that are not **upper case**. This miniscule letter was originally designed by Aluin of York in the eighth century. Prior to this, all letters were written as majuscules, or, upper case. Its name refers to the place in a printer's type case in which these **sorts** are kept.

Māori: tangata whenua, or people of the land; the original inhabitants of what is now known as New Zealand.

marginal notes: these are notes that sit within the margins of a page that is otherwise left as **white space**. In the emigration posters, they are used to present an abbreviated version of **body copy**.

measure: describes the width of the printed area of the page. A **chase** needs to be full and locked up tightly before it could be used on the press. The **sorts** would otherwise move around in it. Letterpress printers tried as much as possible to choose fonts of type that would stretch a word or words to the full **measure** of a page to avoid having to insert extraneous non-printing material.



modern: (above) **typeface** derived originally from John Baskerville's types through those of the Didot brothers. **Modern** is the **typeface** that swelled to become, first **bold face** and then **fat face**. This thesis is set in Baskerville.

monoline: letters in which all the stokes are of an even width and weight. These are most marked in fonts of **sans serif** and **slab serif**.

Pākehā: historically, Pākehā was the **Māori** word used to distinguish between **Māori** and European. Nowadays, the meaning has shifted slightly to mean those New Zealanders who are not **Māori**.

platen: in **letterpress** printing on an iron press, the flat piece of metal that lowers to press the paper onto the inked **forme**.

point sizes: a system of measurement used to describe the size of **typefaces**. In general, a 72point **font** measures one inch in height. I have not described the size of **fonts** according to their **point sizes**, as the precise sizes are not relevant.

register/registration: the placing of one colour in the correct relation to another so they neither overlap nor fall short. This is a time-consuming operation in **letterpress** printing which resulted in the domination of one colour printing (usually black) for the 400 years after the development of the printing press.

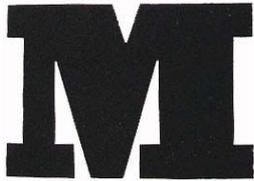


sans serif: (above) a letter without **serifs**. It has an ancient Greek provenance and was popular in the built environment in the eighteenth century. First designed in a small **font** in 1816, it was ignored until the typefounder Vincent Figgins re-introduced it in larger sizes in 1832.

serif: that part of the letters in certain **typefaces** which have strokes that finish the top and bottom of letters.

set: n. the inherent lateral space between letters. Some letters, for example the compressed **fat face**, have a narrow **set** and others, such as the rotund **fat face** have a wide **set**.

v. another term for composing type. In **letterpress** printing this involves composing words into a line of text on a composing stick before laying it down on the **chase** ready for printing.



slab serif: (above) a **typeface** in which the **serifs** are roughly the same width and weight as the vertical strokes.

sort: each individual type character.

standing type: this is a **forme** that has been set up and not distributed back into the type case after printing. This usually happens when there is an expectation that the job would need to be reprinted.



Tuscan: (above) a **typeface** with either bifurcated or trifurcated stems. As a form, it is very old, originally drawn in the fourth century by the Roman scribe, Filocalus. These letterforms appeared regularly in English medieval manuscripts and ecclesiastical carvings.

typeface: a **font** family which comprises all the variations of the style or design.

typographic colour or colour: refers to the density of typographic forms on a page; the less white space on a page, the darker is its 'colour'. As the blackest letter ever printed, the **slab serif** typeface has a dark **typographic colour** that is unaffected no matter what its chromatic 'colour'.

typographic rules: strips of metal, sometimes decorative, that sit type-high for printing. They are used on the emigration posters to frame key ideas.

upper-case: refers to the majuscule, or capital, letters of any given typeface. Its name refers to the place in a printer's type case in which these **sorts** are kept. It refers as well to the small capitals which are letters which are smaller than full upper case letters.

white space: that part of a page that is not printed.

ⁱ Most of the information in this glossary has come from Oliver Simon, *Introduction to Typography*, rev edn (London: Pelican, 1954).

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