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FULL TRANSCRIPT

FULL INDEX

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[The Imperial Press Conference of 1909](#)

Organized by Harry Brittain (*The Standard*), the first Imperial Press Conference gathered populist press barons Edward Levy-Lawson (*Daily Telegraph*), Alfred Harmsworth (*Daily Mail*), C. Arthur Pearson (*Daily Express*), and W.T. Stead (*Pall Mall Gazette, Review of Reviews*); 55 press representatives from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Burma, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements of Malaya, and India; and “[s]ix hundred newspapermen from the United Kingdom.”²⁴ It convened Saturday evening, June 5, at the Imperial International Exhibition Halls in Shepherd’s Bush, London, where many of the journalists from around the world received their first direct impressions of the colonial and imperial exhibition movement in Europe of the period 1886–1914.²⁵ British hospitality was at a premium, however, and the newspapermen were treated like foreign dignitaries. In his opening remarks, former prime minister Lord Rosebery instructed that newspapers “should be eternal; and the power of a great newspaper, with the double function of guiding and embodying the public opinion of the province over which it exerts an influence is immeasurably greater than that of any statesmen could be.”²⁶ Much of the rhetoric was directed to impress upon delegates the historic position of the newspapers, their influence on readers, and their responsibility to defend the Empire. According to Rosebery, the conference “stands out by itself, and marks a distinct epoch in the history of our Empire.”²⁷ Stead remarked that it was the first time that, “the keepers of the eyes and ears of King Demos had been gathered together from Britain and from Britain’s dominions overseas.”²⁸



Figure 1.2 Australian and New Zealand Delegates at the Imperial Press Conference; Members in Front of Hollow Tree in Stanley Park (June 4, 1909).

Harmsworth called it “one of the most important gatherings that has ever taken place in England.”²⁹

Over the course of three highly choreographed weeks, they discussed international cable rates, news wire services, improved press communication, and literature and journalism.³⁰ Other “vital topics on the agenda” included Germany’s impending military threat, the Royal Navy, and expectations regarding colonial contributions to the Empire’s defenses.³¹ The representative for the *Halifax Daily Echo*, A.F. MacDonald, claimed that the meeting demonstrated for him “Unity of the Empire, and the solidarity of the race which spreads its roots and branches to the far ends of the earth.”³² Representing *The Times of India*, Stanley Reed claimed that more important work would be accomplished later by the “fifty-one missionaries of empire which will be diffused over the globe.”³³ P.D. Ross of the *Ottawa Evening Journal* reflected on his return to Canada, “every man of us has come back a stronger imperialist than he was before, if he was one—and if he was not, he was probably converted.”³⁴ If these “overseas newspapermen” ever suspected Fleet Street of having less than disinterested motives, public statements from 1909 suggest otherwise.³⁵ Their prestigious reception at the “heart of the Empire” was, for journalists in Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, a source of political capital and brought opportunities for public relations at home.³⁶ For G. Fenwick’s readers of the *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin, NZ): “[I]t was a striking gathering called for memorable reasons, at a portentous time, and held in the place of great associations. It was a strange and significant meeting which, surely, will make history.”³⁷ The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* and *Evening Post* (Wellington, NZ) claimed that it “could not fail to have a far-reaching and time-enduring

influence for good on the overseas Dominions.”³⁸ Lee Thompson suggests that: “[T]here is little doubt that press delegates returned home with a greater awareness of their ties to each other and the mother country.”³⁹ And, as Andrew Thompson notes:

[I]t is impossible not to be struck by the large number who identified their careers with the cause of imperial unity[,] wrote extensively on the reconstruction of the Empire[, and] shared a profound belief in the importance of the press in forming and directing public opinion. ... They were not so much spectators as participators in the drama of imperial politics, and they regarded their papers as instruments.⁴⁰

They arrived as the representatives of 55 home newspapers spread throughout the Empire, and they returned to their separate markets in due course. For many of these journalists, however, the experience had impressed upon them the significance and urgency of their historical moment. In expressions of brotherhood and camaraderie, they were reminded of values and interests they shared. Bound by common language and professional print culture—a theme of talks throughout the conference—and charged to proclaim Imperial interdependence to constituencies back home, the recognized arbiters of public opinion thus became potential nodes in a larger, more powerful print communications network of news, information, and culture.

Colonial presses had expanded and consolidated operations throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In major cities such as Bombay, Ottawa, and Cape Town, they developed the infrastructures for printing, publishing, and distributing works based on European models. In New Zealand, the number of POs increased 186 percent between 1892 (1,263) and 1912 (2,350). In the same period, the number of books received and dispatched by POs in New Zealand grew 1,760 percent (3,342,781 received in 1891–92; 58,828,436 received in 1911–12) and 1,600 percent (3,827,980 dispatched in 1891–92; 61,364,917 dispatched in 1911–12). Statistics regarding newspapers are much higher, although percentage increases are lower: 448 percent (9,768,226 received in 1891–92; 43,801,719 received in 1911–12) and 498 percent (8,733,686 dispatched in 1891–92; 43,460,016 dispatched in 1911–12).⁴¹ From 1841 to 1911, the number of POs in Australia grew 5,600 percent (from 101 to 5,664),⁴² and the statistics for letters, packets, and newspapers in Australia are astonishing. In 1911, Australian POs handled 139,603,000 newspapers, including newspapers received from (11,691,000) and dispatched to (7,926,000) overseas locations. This is an 11,200 percent increase over the 1,247,099 newspapers handled in 1841.⁴³ In India, the number of printing presses in 1890 (1,465) compared with 1904 (2,139) shows a 146 percent increase, and the growth of newspaper and magazine publishing in that period is 163 percent (1890: 526 newspapers, 302 magazines: 828 total vs. 1904: 709 newspapers, 640 magazines: 1,349 total).⁴⁴ Of course, they were importing and exporting books, magazines, and newspapers as well.

In 1909–10, even the Territory of Papua (British New Guinea, pop. 879) received 52,178 and dispatched 21,104 newspapers for the year⁴⁵ (see [Appendix E](#)).

Although based on exported British and European models, print cultures in English had also diversified, developed independently, and differentiated through the rapid expansion of their markets. Practices of publishers and printers respond to different sets of concerns, and ultimately their fortunes depend on book and periodical buyers' expectations. Although Indian and colonial readers had literary tastes in common, publishers and printers met their demands under a variety of conditions.⁴⁶ By 1909, British journalism had also reached its capacity to expand under current cable rates and regulations across the Empire. The strain this placed on press infrastructures was leading to breakdowns in their communications beyond national borders. With the emergence of a global scope in the operations of colonial publishing, concerns of the Empire were imbricated, shared concerns had become international, and this is certainly a telling portrait of the confluence of print media and Empire in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁷ The first Imperial Press Conference marks an important turning point in the globalization of publishing, and its year, 1909, divides [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) in this chronological study. By 1909, the mobilization of domestic mass markets for newspapers and magazines had virtually run the course. Dramatic leaps in circulation year after year had slowed, and to expand further into foreign markets required some significant shifting, politically and commercially, of the British world. The role of the EPU, a partnership of newspapermen formed at the 1909 conference, was to be a mouthpiece or forum for newspapers throughout the Empire, and, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the EPU conducted regular conferences and lobbied governments and private companies for looser regulations and lower cable rates.⁴⁸ It was at this time that new copyright legislation was passed on both sides of the Atlantic (see [Appendix D](#)).⁴⁹ Further revisions to the postal codes of Great Britain and the US were also enacted. These affected literary authorship, agency, publishing, and the professional business of selling popular fiction to large international readerships in particular.



[Figure 1.3](#) Four Colonial Newspaper Wrappers, Including “The Australian Stamp Collector” (Addressed to Chicago, USA [1895]); and “The Daily Chronicle” (Addressed to Paramaribo, Surinam, Bearing 1889 1c [1890, 12 December printed]).

Alfred Harmsworth's production of the *Daily Mail* in 1896 was a milestone in the history of popular British journalism. The paper achieved sales of nearly 1 million by 1900 and ushered in an unprecedented era of national mass-circulation dailies based in London, "involving a vast increase in readership, but a considerable reduction in the number of titles."⁵⁰ Although this was "genuinely innovative," the *Daily Mail* "did not spring from nothing." As John Feather notes, its "immediate predecessors included several magazines ... notably *Tit-bits*. ... Indeed, it was the success of *Tit-bits*, and his own similar magazine *Answers*, which persuaded Harmsworth that there was a gap in the market."⁵¹ In terms of relative numbers, enormous leaps in the circulations of British and American periodicals had also been characteristic of many titles in the middle of the nineteenth century. The introduction of popular shilling monthlies, most notably *Macmillan's* (1859) and *The Cornhill Magazine* (1860), had brought a high degree of intellectual, literary, and cultural entertainment within the economic reach of hundreds of thousands of readers,⁵² and the penny bloods, and other fiction papers of the penny press, had phenomenally higher circulations than these.⁵³

As with any complex social and historical event, the factors contributing to the industry's material expansion at the end of the nineteenth century were numerous, accumulative, and often contradictory. Literacy rates for Victorian men and women certainly rose in the wake of Forster's Education Act (1870),⁵⁴ for instance, but that does not acknowledge the critical distinction—one recognized by the Victorians themselves—between literacy, or an ability to read, and Literacy, as an ability to not only read but also appreciate certain forms of approved and uplifting material—as in the Bible, religious tracts, and other forms of "wholesome reading" promoted by "evangelical and utilitarian literary reformers."⁵⁵ As Richard D.

Altick, Jonathan Rose, and others argue,⁵⁶ the facts are more complicated, as Victorian educators did not posit a simple relationship between reading and literacy education. Taking into account contemporary definitions of literacy, nearly 90 percent of Victorian men and women were already literate by the mid-century. Education, in the fullest Victorian sense, signified more than that. It was both instruction in elementary skills, such as basic reading and writing, and instruction in the proper use of those skills, intended to form character.⁵⁷ It was not sufficient to read: reading had to involve the proper texts.

In R.W. Rawson's report on British and Welsh prison inmates in 1841, the men who were recorded as having at least the basic ability to read and write still "had not received that amount of instruction which would be worthy of the title of education."⁵⁸ And, as Brantlinger suggests, the question of adult literacy rates in the nineteenth century becomes "not one of literacy versus illiteracy, but of two kinds of literacy,

FOOTNOTES

²⁴ Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880–1932*, London: Routledge, 2014, p. 76.

²⁵ The location chosen for the conference's opening reception had also been the site of the Franco-British Exhibition the summer before. Eight times larger than the Great Exhibition of 1851, its grounds encompassed 140 acres, 20 palaces, and eight exhibition halls. There were French and British Palaces of Industry, a 3,000-seat open-air Indian Arena, and Irish and French Senegalese villages arranged around spaces with names such as the Court of Honour, Court of Arts, Court of Progress, and Elite Garden. Constructed as an Empire in miniature, the Great White City—so-called because of its brightly painted stucco walls—was advertised by *The Times* as an “Oriental fantasy” and “a veritable City of Pleasure” that would be “the most popular and delightful Pleasure Resort in the United Kingdom.” In 1908, Britain had also staged the third Olympic Games here, with a stadium added to the exhibition complex. For more on imperial exhibitions, see Alexander Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010; Daniel Stephen, *The Empire of Progress: West Africans, Indians, and Britons at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924–25*, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013; and David Cannadine, *Orientalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000. In contemporary accounts, see “The Franco-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, W. to Be Opened on May 14th by T.R.H. The Prince and Princess of Wales,” *The Times*, May 8, 1908, p. 20; “The Franco-British Exhibition,” *The Times*, November 16, 1908,

p. 12; *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to London and the Franco-British Exhibition*, London: Ward Lock, 1908; and *The Franco-British Exhibition Illustrated Review*, Ed. F.G. Dumas, London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.

[26](#) J. Lee Thompson, “Selling the Mother Country to the Empire: The Imperial Press Conference of June 1909,” *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, Ed. Julie F. Codell, Cranbury, NJ and London: Associated University Presses, 2003, p. 113.

[27](#) Thomas Hardman, *A Parliament of the Press: The First Imperial Press Conference*, with preface by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, London: Constable, 1909.

[28](#) W.T. Stead, “The Editors of the Empire at Home,” *The Contemporary Review* (July 1909), p. 48. The phrase “His Majesty King Demos” was often used by Stead in reference to modern democracy’s mass public, as in “the people.” For context, see Stead’s article “The Wasted Wealth of King Demos,” *Review of Reviews* (July 15, 1893), pp. 83–87.

[29](#) Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, London: Cassell, 1959, p. 369.

[30](#) J. Lee Thompson, pp. 109–24.

[31](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15.

[32](#) *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[33](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21.

[34](#) Ibid., p. 121.

[35](#) P.D. Ross, “Some Deductions from the Imperial Press Conference: An Address by Mr. P.D. Ross, Chief Editor of the *Ottawa Journal*, before the Empire Club of Canada,” *The Empire Club of Canada Addresses* (Toronto, Canada), February 17, 1910, p. 149–60.

[36](#) For a complete listing of the names of the delegates and publications represented at the Imperial Press Conference, see Hardman, pp. 4–5.

[37](#) “The Press Conference,” *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 14570 (July 8, 1909), p. 7.

[38](#) “Imperial Press Conference,” *Evening Post*, LXXVIII, Issue 58 (September 6, 1909), p. 7.

[39](#) J. Lee Thompson, p. 120.

[40](#) Andrew S. Thompson, p. 76.

[41](#) *The New Zealand Official Year-Book*, Vols. 2, 22. Wellington, NZ: John Mackay Government Printer, 1893, 1913.

[42](#) *The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901–1912*, No. 6, Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1913, p. 746.

[43](#) *The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901–07, –1912)*, No. 1, 6. Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1908, 1913; pp. 601, 747. See also “The Number of Letters, Packets, and Newspapers Despatched and Received by the Various Ocean Mail Routes during the Year 1897, as Compared with Similar Information for the Year 1896,” *The Annual Report*

of the Post-master General for the Year 1897, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, 1898, p. 12; and “The Number of Letters, Packets, and Newspapers Despatched and Received by the Various Ocean Mail Routes during the Year 1900, as Compared with Similar Information for the Year 1899,” *The Annual Report of the Post-master General for the Year 1900*, Legislative Council, New South Wales. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, 1901, p. 13.

[44](#) “Number of Printing Presses at Work, and Number of Newspapers, Periodicals, and Books Published,” *East India Statistical Abstract: Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*, Vols. 41–44, London: India Office, 1907–10.

[45](#) “Postal Statistics of Papua, 1905–06 and 1909–10,” *The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 4, Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1911, p. 1110.

[46](#) See *Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in New Zealand*, Penny Griffith, Keith Maslen, and Ross Harvey, Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press, 1997, especially Harvey’s essay, “Newspapers,” where he cites the difference in the British and colonial press regarding their relationship to the book: “unlike the situation in Britain where book publishers were established well over a century before newspapers were produced, in its New Zealand colony, newspapers came first” (128). Cryle confirms that, “Harvey’s observation applies equally to colonial Australia” (9).

[47](#) On the relationship between empire and modern print media, Cryle, J. Hartley, and Chandrika Kaul note that rule by force gave way increasingly to rule by information, at a time when concentration of ownership was becoming a feature of the English-speaking daily press and modern media organizations were assuming their recognizable form. See Hartley, *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity and Popular Culture*, London: Arnold, 1996; and Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880–1922*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003. Also see G. Osborne, and G. Lewis, *Communication Traditions in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Melbourne, VIC, and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[48](#) The stated purpose of the Empire Press Union was “bringing a vast and scattered Commonwealth closer together by providing cheaper, quicker, and better means of communication.” According to Robert Donald, Chairman of the EPU in 1920: “Although much has already been done in this direction, the union considers that its work has only begun. Distant parts of the Empire must be brought into yet closer contact with the centre by quicker and cheaper cables, and what is of equal importance, all the dominions and overseas territories must have improved means of communication with each other. A complete system of rapid communication is the surest bond of Empire” (Robert Donald, “Story of the First Imperial Press Conference,” *Vancouver Daily World* (August 23, 1920), p. 9. See also Cryle,

“A British Legacy? The Empire Press Union and Freedom of the Press, 1940–1950,” *History of Intellectual Culture* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2004), p. 1.

[49](#) This was a significant period of evolution for international copyright law. In 1908, the Berne Convention had been revised for the second time. This Berlin Act of the Convention introduced broad prohibitions against “formalities” concerning the “exercise and enjoyment” of copyright. The U.S. Copyright Act (first introduced in 1906) was ratified in 1909, just 1 year before a new copyright bill was brought before the British parliament. The Imperial Copyright Act of 1911 (in effect as of July 1, 1912) greatly influenced laws in many countries of the British Empire, including Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, Nigeria, and South Africa. See Daniel J. Gervais, “The 1909 Copyright Act in International Context,” *Vanderbilt Public Law Research Paper No. 10–23*: 2010.

[50](#) “Daily Mail (1896–),” *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, Eds., Ghent, Belgium: Academia Press, 2009, pp. 157–58; and Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, “The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press,” *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day*, G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate, Eds., London: Constable, 1978, p. 130.

[51](#) Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, p. 149.

[52](#) Laurel Brake records sales of the two journals at “120,000 for early numbers of *Cornhill* and 8,000 to 9,000 for early issues of *Macmillan’s*.” See Brake, “Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and the New Journalism,” *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition 1805–1930*, Ed. David Finkelstein, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 184–211.

[53](#) See Reed, pp. 81–86.

END

TRANSCRIPTION

The Imperial Press Conference of 1909

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Harmsworth called it "one of the most important gatherings that has ever taken place in England." [29]

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twentieth century.[47] The first Imperial Press Conference [1909] marks an important turning point in the globalization of publishing, and its Year, 1909, divides Chapters 3 and 4 in this chronological study. By 1909, the mobilization of domestic mass markets for newspapers and magazines had virtually run the court. Dramatic leaps in circulation Year after Year had slowed, and to expand further into foreign markets required some significant shifting, politically and commercially, of the British world. The role of the EPU [Empire Press Union], a partnership of newspapermen formed at the 1909 conference, was to be a mouthpiece or forum for newspapers throughout the Empire, and, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the EPU conducted regular conferences and lobbied governments and private companies for looser regulations and lower cable rates.[48] It was at this time that new copyright legislations was passed on both sides of the Atlantic (see Appendix D).[49] Further revisions to the postal codes of Great Britain and the US were also enacted. These affected literary authorship, agency, publishing, and the professional business of selling popular fiction to large international readerships in particular.

PHOTO

Figure 1.3 Four Colonial Newspaper Wrappers, Including "The Australian Stamp Collector" (Addressed to Chicago, USA [1895]); and "The Daily Chronical" (Addressed to Paramaribo, Surinam, Bearing 1889 Ic [1890, 12 December printed]).

Alfred Harmsworth's [Lord Northcliffe] production of the Daily Mail in 1896 was a milestone in the history of popular British journalism. The paper achieved sales of nearly 1 million by 1900 and ushered in an unprecedented era of national mass-circulation dailies based in London, "involving a vast increase in readership, but a considerable reduction in the number of titles." [50] Although this was "genuinely innovative," the Daily Mail "did not spring from nothing." As John Feather notes, its "immediate predecessors included several magazines ... notably Tit-bits. ... Indeed, it was the success of Tit-bits, and his own similar magazine Answers, which persuaded Harmsworth that there was a gap in the market." [51] In terms of relative numbers, enormous leaps in the circulations of British and American periodicals had also been characteristic of many titles in the middle of the nineteenth century. The introduction of the popular shilling monthlies, most notably Macmillan's (1859) and The Cornhill Magazine (1860), had brought a high degree of intellectual, literary, and cultural entertainment within the economic

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FOOTNOTES

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28 W.T. Stead, "The Editors of the Empire at Home," *The Contemporary Review* (Jul 1909), p. 48. The phrase "His Majesty King Demos" was often used by Stead in reference to modern democracy's mass public, as in "the people." For context, see Stead's article "The Wasted Wealth of King Demos," *Review of Reviews* (Jul 15, 1893), pp. 83-87.

29 Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, London: Cassell, 1959, p. 369.

30 J. Lee Thompson, pp. 109-24.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-15.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21

34 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

35 P.D. Ross, "Some Deductions from the Imperial Press Conference: An Address by Mr. P.D. Ross, Chief Editor of the Ottawa Journal, before the Empire Club of Canada," *The Empire Club of Canada Addresses* (Toronto, Canada), February 17, 1910, p. 149-60.

36 For a complete listing of the names of the delegates and publications represented at the Imperial Press Conference, see Hardman, pp. 4-5.

37 "The Press Conference," *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 14570 (July 8, 1909), p. 7.

38 "Imperial Press Conference," *Evening Post*, LXXVIII, Issue 58 (September 6, 1909), p. 7.

39 J. Lee Thompson, p. 120.

40 Andrews S. Thompson, p. 76.

41 The New Zealand Official Year-Book, Vols. 2, 22. Wellington, NZ: John Mackay Government Printer, 1893, 1913.

42 The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901-1912, No. 6, Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1913, p. 746.

43 The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901-07, -1912), No. 1, 6. Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1908, 1913; pp. 601, 747. See also "The Number of Letters, Packets, and Newspapers Despatched and Received by the Various Ocean Mail Routes during the Year 1897, as Compared with Similar Informaiton for the Year 1896," The Annual Report of the Post-master General for the Year 1897, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, 1989, p. 12; and "The Number of Letters, Packets, and Newspapers Despatched and REceived by the Various Ocean Mail Routes during the Year 1900, as Compared with Similar Informaiton for the Year 1899," The Annual Report of the Post-master General for the Year 1900, Legislative Council, New South Wales. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, 1901, p. 13.

44 "Number of Printing Presses at Work, and Number of Newspapers, Periodicals, and Books Published," East India Statistical Abstract: Statistical Abstract RELating to British India, Vols. 41-44, London: India Office, 1907-10.

45 "Postal Statistics of Papua, 1905-06 and 1909-10," The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, No. 4, Melbourne, VIC: McCarron, Bird, 1911, p. 110.

46 See Book & Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in New Zealand, Penny Griffith, Keith Maslen, and Ross Harvey, Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press, 1997, especially Harvey's essay, "Newspapers," where he cites the difference in the British and colonial Press regarding their relationship to the book: "unlike the situtation in Britain where book publishes were established well over a centure before newspapers were produced, in its New Zealand colony, newspapers came first" (128). Cryle confirms that, "Harvey's observation applies equally to colonial Australia" (9).

47 On the relationship between empire and modern print media, Cryle, J. Hartley, and Chandricka Kaul note that rule by force gave way increasingly to rule by informaiton, at a time when concentration of ownership was becoming a feature of the English-speaking

daily Press and modern media organizations were assuming their recognizable form. See Hartley, *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity and Popular Culture*, Londong: Arnold, 1996; and Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880-1922*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003. Also see G. Osborne, and G. Lewis, *Communication Traditions in Twentieth-Centure Australia*, Melbourne, VIC, and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

48 The stated purpose of the Empire Press Union was "bringing a vast and scattered Commonwealth closer together by providing cheaper, quicker, and better means of communication." According to Robert Donald, Chairman of the EPU in 1920: "Although much has already been done in this direction, the union considers that its work has only begun. Distant parts of the Empire must be brought into yet closer contact with the centre by quicker and cheaper cables, and what is of equal importance, all the domininions and overseas territories must have improved means of communication with each other. A complete system of rapid communications is the surest bond of Empire" (Robert Donald, "Story of the First Imperial Press Conference," *Vancouver Daily World* (August 23, 1920), p. 9. See also Cryle, "A British Legacy? The Empire Press Union and Freedom of the Press, 1940-1950," *History of Intellectual Culture* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2004), p. 1.

49 This was a significant period of evolution for international copyright law. In 1908, the Berne Convention had been revised for the second time. This Berlin Act of the Convention introduced broad prohibition against "formalities" concerning the "exercise and enjoyment" of copyright. The U.S. Copyright Act (first introduced in 1906) was ratified in 1909 [July 1, 1909], just 1 Year before a new copyright bill was brought before the British parliament. The Imperial Copyright Act of 1911 (in effect as of July 1, 1912) greatly influenced laws in many countries of the British Empire, including Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, Nigeria, and South Africa. See Daniel J. Gervais, "The 1909 Copyright Act in International Context," *Vanderbilt Public Law REsearch Paper* No. 10-23: 2010.

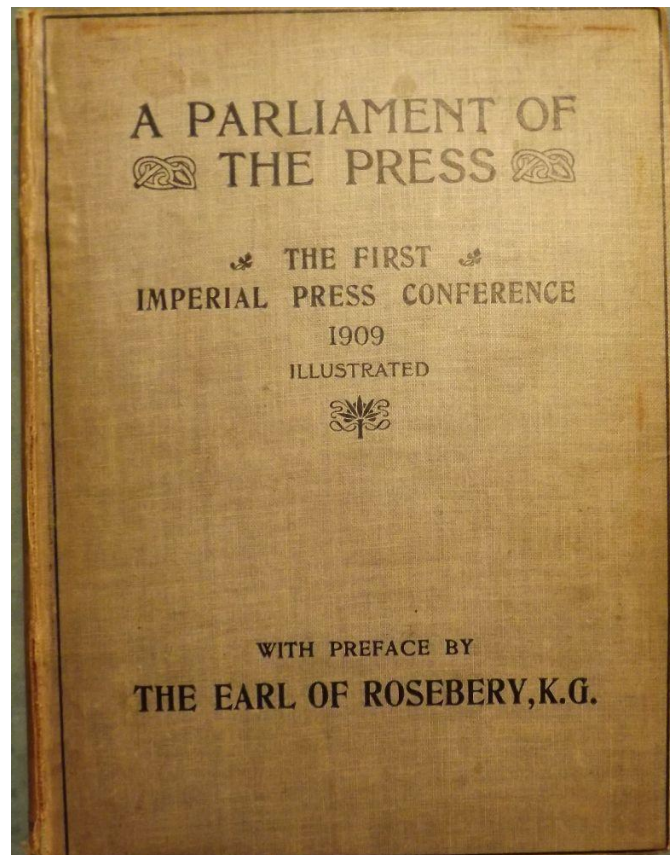
50 "Daily Mail (1896-)," *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoore, Eds., Ghent, Belgium: Academia Press, 2009, pp. 157-58; and Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, "The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press," *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the PResent Day*, G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate, Eds., London: Constable, 1978, p. 130.

51 Feature, *A History of British Publishing*, p. 149.

52 Laurel Brake records sales of the two journals at "120,000 for early numbers of *Cornhill* and 8,000 to 9,000 for early issues of *Macmillan's*." See Brake, "Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and the New Journalism," *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition 1805-1930*, Ed. David Finkelstein, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 184-211.

53 See Reed, pp. 81-86.

See also: *The First Imperial Press Conference, 1909 – A PARLIAMENT OF THE THE PRESS*, preface by Earl of Rosebery, K.G.



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