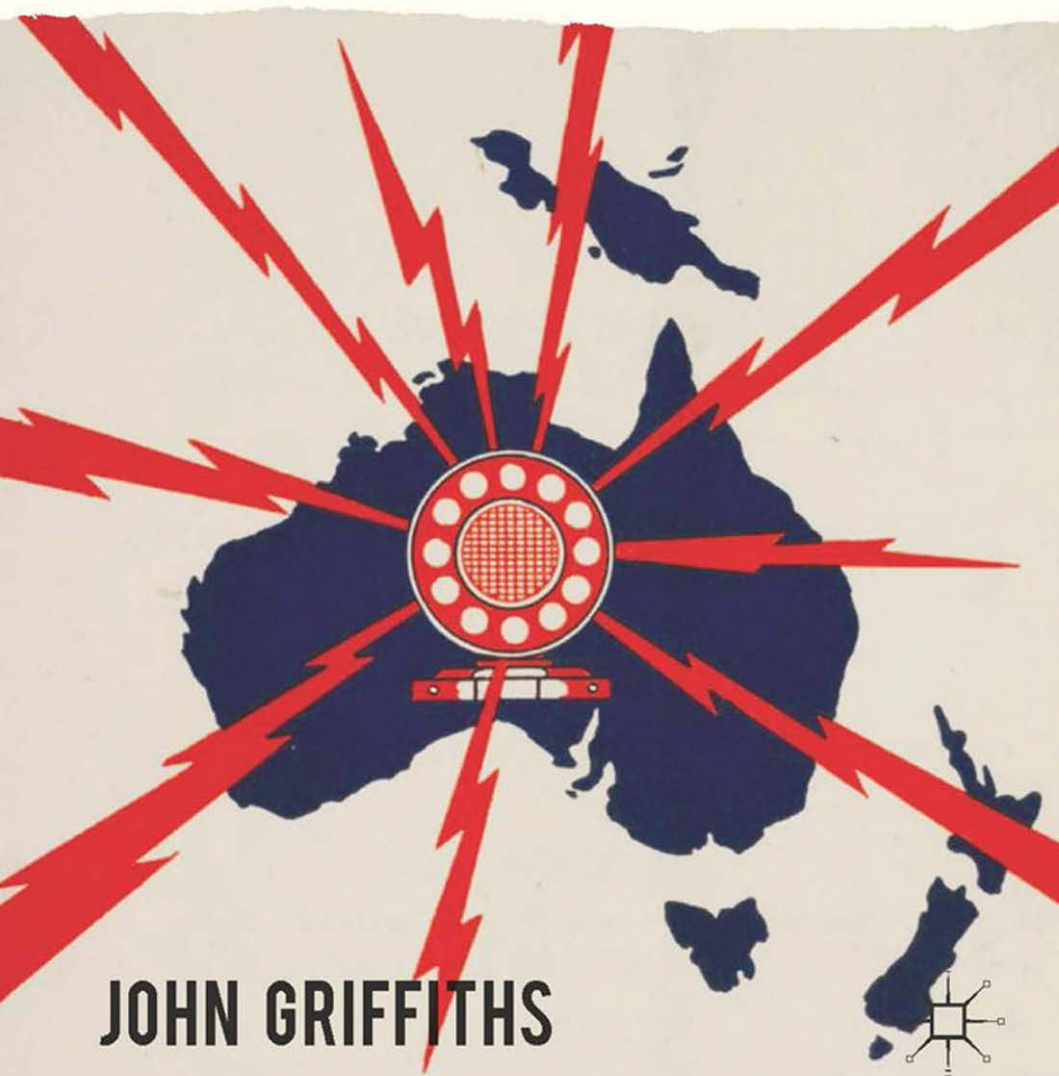


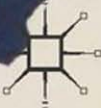
BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

IMPERIAL CULTURE

IN ANTIPODEAN CITIES, 1880-1939



JOHN GRIFFITHS



BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

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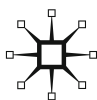
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Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities, 1880–1939

John Griffiths

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-38572-7
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First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-349-48136-1 ISBN 978-1-137-38573-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137385734

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

*This book is dedicated to my Mum
and to the memory of my Dad*

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Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>Editorial Introduction</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction: Imperial Sentiment in the British Empire – Themes and Perspectives	1
1 From Imperial Federation to the Empty Pavilion: Empire Sentiment in British Empire Cities 1880–1914	24
2 Imperial Identity in Antipodean Cities During the First World War and its Aftermath 1914–30	49
3 Empire City or Global City? North American Culture in the Antipodean City c. 1880–1939	73
4 Integration or Separation? Attitudes to Empire in the Antipodean Press c. 1880s–1930s	99
5 Uniform Diversity? Youth Organisations in the Antipodes c. 1880–1939	129
6 Ceremonial Days, Imperial Culture, Schools and Exhibitions c. 1900–35	153
7 The Branch Life of Empire: Imperial Loyalty Leagues in Antipodean Cities c. 1900–39	183
Conclusions	208
<i>Notes</i>	214
<i>Bibliography</i>	269
<i>Index</i>	295

List of Figures

1.1	New Zealand postcard marking the Second Boer War	47
3.1	Eliel Saarinen's entry for the <i>Chicago Tribune</i> Building Competition	81
3.2	Wellington East Post Office Building	82
3.3	Cambridge and Kent Terraces, Wellington, 1931	83
4.1	Zealandia Expectant, <i>Auckland Weekly News</i>	106
4.2	Advertisement in the <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> for Onehunga Woollen Mills	107
6.1	The Boers and the British at Napier Street School, Auckland	165
6.2	Floorplan of the Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880–1	174
6.3	Local manufactures at the Second ANA Australian Manufactures and Products Exhibition held by the Metropolitan Committee	180
7.1	The Victorian branch of the Victoria League at the Inter-State Conference, Sydney, 1922	194
7.2	His Excellency Lord Huntingfield, Governor of Victoria, is entertained by Mrs R. Graham and Mrs Webb Ware in the Early Victorian Exhibition, part of the Melbourne Centenary Exhibition, 1934	195

List of Tables

1	State of Victoria trade patterns: exports 1906–10	3
2	State of Victoria trade patterns: imports 1906–10	4
3	Imports into Victoria 1935–9	4
4	Exports from Victoria 1935–9	5
5	New Zealand exports 1905–9	6
6	New Zealand imports 1905–9	6
7	New Zealand exports 1929–33	7
8	New Zealand imports 1929–33	7
3.1	Films shown in Melbourne cinemas in 1925	95
3.2	Films shown in Christchurch cinemas in 1925	95
3.3	Films shown in Melbourne cinemas in 1935	95
3.4	Films shown in Christchurch cinemas in 1935	95
4.1	Selected Antipodean papers	103
4.2	Selected imperial events taking place across the period 1919–40	104
4.3	Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1895	111
4.4	Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1908	111
4.5	Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1920	111
4.6	Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1935	112
6.1	School log books and Empire Day c. 1903–39	166

Acknowledgements

I have incurred numerous debts whilst undertaking the research for this book. First, I would like to acknowledge Massey University for awarding me a University Research Award to facilitate the writing of the book and the School of History, Philosophy and Classics (as it was then known) for granting me six months' long leave in 2009 to undertake research in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. I would like to acknowledge the support of James Watson and Kerry Taylor (Heads of School 2003–12) who facilitated travel to overseas conferences, and to Basil Poff, Gerald Harrison, Julia Tanner, Peter Meihana, Karen Jillings, Glen Pettigrove, Geoff Troughton, Geoff Watson and particularly Nigel, Emma, Layla and Marama Parsons, and Martin and Amanda Brook for their friendship and kindness over several years. I have benefited from conversations with colleagues across the world and owe a special debt to my long-term friend and colleague Brad Beaven, whose advice and comradeship have been much valued over many years. Andrew May, Graeme Davison and Seamus O'Hanlon and the staff and administrators of University College Melbourne were kind hosts whilst on sabbatical in 'Marvellous Melbourne'. Thanks are also due to Helen Dollery for pointing me in the direction of useful books on Scouting and Guiding in New Zealand. The book draws on a wealth of unpublished knowledge held in MA and PhD theses written by several generations of Antipodean academics, whose work is listed in the bibliography and acknowledged in the footnotes. I would also like to thank the numerous archivists (and gatekeepers to those archives on both sides of the Tasman) who have helped over the last few years to locate source material. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Massey University Library, especially the staff of the document supply section of the Library: Jane Leighton, Anne Hall, Annette Holm, Dawn McKenzie and Janet Grant. Thanks also to Nicola McCarthy, Librarian for the Humanities. Jenny McCall and Holly Tyler at Palgrave Macmillan helped substantially on the path to publication.

Thanks to the various individuals and organisations for allowing me to consult the following archives: Murray Donovan for permission to consult the Boys' Brigade of New Zealand archive held at the Alexander Turnbull Library; Janet McCallum, curator of the Boss Simons Memorial Museum Perth; Jenny Mills, archivist at the Girl Guides Association, Victoria; Aline Thompson, archivist of the Victorian Scout

Association; the archivists and librarians of the National Library and Alexander Turnbull Library, Archives New Zealand and the State Library of Victoria; Lance Gunderson for providing biographical information of the editors of the *Evening Post*; Sarah Whittaker, Deputy Editor of the *Overseas* magazine, for allowing me to consult archived copies of that publication; Doreen Henry, General Manager of the Victoria League, for allowing me to consult the Victoria League archives in London; Vanessa Dhiru, President of the YWCA of Greater Wellington, for permission to look at the Wellington YWCA archives held in the Alexander Turnbull Library; Steph Fink for permission to look at national YWCA archives; Keith Young for his press cuttings regarding the Australian Boys' Brigade; Melanie Pook of lawyers Chapman-Tripp for sending me biographical information regarding the Tripp family; Bruce Petry for kindly allowing me to listen to the oral history interviews he conducted with Auckland architects, which are also stored in the ATL; Helen Sutch for kindly allowing me to consult W.B. Sutch's papers held at the ATL relating to his membership of the Round Table; and David McIntyre and Alex May for also kindly offering advice regarding the Antipodean Round Table members.

My involvement with the British Scholar Society as the book reviews editor of *Britain and the World* has brought me into contact with a group of dynamic scholars. I would like to thank Bryan Glass, Greg Barton and James Onley for their belief in me and enabling me to publish in the *Britain and the World* monograph series. Thanks are also due to Karly Kehoe and Bob Whittaker. I have made two enjoyable trips to Austin to present my research at the British Scholar Society's Annual Conference, and my thanks go to the University of Texas for its hospitality on these occasions.

Editorial Introduction

Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities 1880–1939 is published as the twelfth volume in the British Scholar Society's *Britain and the World* series from Palgrave Macmillan. From the sixteenth century onwards, Britain's influence on the world became progressively more profound and far-reaching, in time touching every continent and subject, from Europe to Australasia and archaeology to zoology. Although the histories of Britain and the world became increasingly intertwined, mainstream British history still neglects the world's influence upon domestic developments and Britain's overseas history remains largely confined to the study of the British Empire. This series takes a broader approach to British history, seeking to investigate the full extent of the world's influence on Britain and Britain's influence on the world.

Rather than gauging the strength of imperial sentiment by reference to the rhetoric of high statesmen, John Griffiths' monograph takes a more innovative approach by studying the ways in which imperial sentiment embedded itself (with varied results) in the Antipodean urban environment across the period 1880–1939. Engaging with recent academic debate as to the strength of imperial sentiment at a popular level, Griffiths demonstrates from a number of perspectives that imperial identity was far from unconditionally accepted, but was invariably either challenged by national and local identities or ignored, as comparatively immature cities struggled to enthuse their citizens. The chapters return to central historical issues such as nationhood versus empire and the role of the USA in offering an alternative 'Pacific New World' identity, particularly through film and popular culture. The implications of this study are significant for understanding when imperial sentiment declined within the British Empire.

Editors, *Britain and the World*:

James Onley, University of Exeter, UK

A.G. Hopkins, Pembroke College, Cambridge, UK

Gregory A. Barton, The Australian National University

Bryan S. Glass, Texas State University, USA

List of Abbreviations

ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
AWMC	Australian War Memorial and Museum, Canberra
AWML	Auckland War Memorial War Museum Library
DNZB	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
MBL	Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury
NA	National Archives, New Zealand
PROV	Public Record Office, Victoria
SLV	State Library of Victoria
UMA	University of Melbourne Archives

Introduction: Imperial Sentiment in the British Empire – Themes and Perspectives

The era 1870–1914 witnessed a significant reconfiguration of the ways in which both Britain regarded its overseas possessions and the way those same territories located within the British Empire regarded it. During the 1870s, in the wake of German and Italian unification, the idea that a more tightly integrated British world could be constructed was voiced. This sentiment had existed well before 1870, but Britain, itself in the midst of economic depression by the mid-1870s, now looked to its colonies as a means of triggering an economic recovery and, by the 1890s, the idea of unity was given further momentum based on defensive considerations in the face of aggressive German militarisation.¹ Increasing admiration of the federal project accomplished in the USA, Canada, Germany and Switzerland also played a significant role in leading some intellectuals to suggest closer political ties between Britain and its far-flung Empire. Indeed, historians have detected a new interest in the Empire emerging in the 1860s, pointing to the formation of the Royal Colonial Institute as early evidence of this rejuvenation, as was the increasing adoption of the term ‘Greater Britain’, used, for example, in the works of Charles Dilke and J.R. Seeley.² It was initially a Greater Britain which included the USA as an ‘English speaking people’, but the latter was subsequently excluded from later discourse concerning ‘Britishness’. Thus, whereas Dilke integrated the USA in his narrative published in the 1860s, J.R. Seeley, in his bestselling *The Expansion of England*, published in 1883, placed discussion of the USA in a chapter entitled ‘Schism in Greater Britain’ and noted that: ‘The American Revolution called into existence a new state, a state inheriting the language and traditions of England, but taking in some respects a line of its own.’³

How best then to tighten links between the component parts of the British world of the later nineteenth century? The project would require

not only political and economic initiatives to be launched, but also a concerted effort to culturally project 'Britishness' around the world. Intellectuals based both in the heart of Empire and the wider British world began to consider the possibility of recasting the British constitution and the Empire. Designating Westminster as the possible heart of imperial politics and the Empire's history as a narrative of growing liberties and freedoms was a project that was more easily achievable in the 'white settler dominions' than in, for example, India, which was designated in Seeley's history as a 'possession'. In a chapter entitled 'How We Govern India', Seeley realised that to project Britishness on the subcontinent was a more difficult task.⁴ The period between 1885 and 1914 witnessed the birth and growth of the imperial federation movement, one aspect of a wider intellectual and cultural movement to instil imperial sentiment among geographically dispersed English-speaking peoples. Both Australia and New Zealand, in addition to Canada and South Africa, would now be asked to increasingly identify with British interests and the 'imperial idea', projected by a clutch of London-based organisations, of which the British Empire League, the League of Empire, the Royal Society of St George, the Overseas League, the British Empire Union and the Victoria League were among the most prominent during the period covered in this book. Notions of 'Greater Britain' were enhanced and enabled by the creation of an imperial press system, formed in the era of mass literacy in the post-1870 British world and based on enabling technological innovations such as undersea cable systems and improved trans-oceanic shipping from the 1870s onwards.⁵ Indeed, British news was syndicated by business organisations such as Reuters throughout the English-speaking world and, as never before, the fortunes of the Empire were disseminated at increasing speed to the breakfast tables of English-speaking peoples.⁶ As one historian has argued, the communications revolution 'fostered a sense of nearness to the colonies which at least did nothing to make unity appear less real'.⁷

The closer political relationship between Britain, Australia and New Zealand could be advocated by Empire enthusiasts in the period under scrutiny by recourse to the strong economic ties that underpinned socio-cultural relationships. By the 1880s, the six Australian colonies and New Zealand were locked into trading patterns of export and import which clearly reflected the imperial connection. The year-books of the colony and post-Federation state of Victoria and the equivalent publications for New Zealand clearly demonstrate trading patterns which tied these areas into the British world system from the mid-nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century. Substantial capital investment was received by Australia and New Zealand from

the City of London, although these ties did begin to weaken over time. In 1891, for example, Britain invested more in New Zealand per head of population 'than any other country on the face of the globe'.⁸ Indeed, it has been noted that during the period under consideration, 'New Zealand was the most dependent of all the Dominions on Britain, and came to think of itself as the "Empire's Dairy Farm". Seventy-five per cent of its exports were sent to Britain'⁹ and its imports were 50 per cent British. This was a pattern which continued into the 1920s and 1930s. Before 1914, this link was also strong in an Australian context. However, as Stuart Macintyre has pointed out, whilst Britain 'bought half of Australia's exports and provided more than half its imports in the early twentieth century',¹⁰ the statistics also show that Australia 'was less reliant [on British trade] than it had been even a generation earlier and as the economic recovery [from the 1890s] took place ... the degree of dependence declined further'.¹¹ Other European countries, he noted, began to 'take more wool and wheat'.¹² In 1881, 94 out of every 100 ships that left Australian ports were British, whilst by 1914, this figure had fallen to 74.¹³ Nevertheless, the link was still obviously very tangible and had by no means evaporated on the eve of the First World War. The following tables demonstrate in statistical format the importance of trade within the British world during the later nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. By the inter-war period, the state of Victoria was diversifying its trade and was now rather more obviously locked into genuinely global trade relationships.

Table 1 State of Victoria trade patterns: exports 1906–10

Country	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Other Australian States	10,379,239	11,097,235	10,074,314	11,618,217	N/A
New Zealand	942,339	852,470	802,847	861,313	925,819
UK	8,617,057	10,294,691	9,345,736	9,946,089	11,648,160
India/Ceylon	903,893	972,123	862,126	980,719	1,358,721
South Africa	6,163	11,609	121,284	16,663	26,114
Other British Possessions	378,158	352,408	482,761	452,736	625,927
Belgium	274,845	342,572	370,293	338,908	418,719
France	110,659	174,106	178,631	152,441	184,207
Germany	1,430,920	1,310,917	1,305,602	1,205,359	1,338,612
USA	1,604,916	2,081,594	2,081,594	1,556,997	2,211,517
Other Foreign Countries	873,220	836,024	882,508	1,020,756	1,264,810

Table 2 State of Victoria trade patterns: imports 1906–10

Country	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Other Australian States	10,807,972	11,622,706	12,031,170	12,053,399	N/A
New Zealand	1,006,466	962,932	773,557	1,117,807	945,019
UK	8,926,300	8,514,274	7,528,932	8,871,161	10,259,719
India/Ceylon	1,546,890	1,038,339	559,027	548,070	334,936
South Africa	807,458	608,755	444,644	643,870	569,055
Other British Possessions	291,142	329,301	215,471	243,136	297,418
Belgium	793,649	871,997	500,007	747,510	809,609
France	1,640,182	2,318,227	1,589,428	1,954,548	2,441,502
Germany	739,052	626,572	2,015,536	872,461	1,071,391
USA	1,056,642	936,982	575,863	1,169,762	473,467
Other Foreign Countries	1,302,329	904,919	962,566	1,674,551	986,120

Source: *Victorian Year-Book 1910–11*, p. 415.

Table 3 Imports into Victoria 1935–9

Country	1935	1936	1938	1939
UK	11,697,297	12,942,494	16,281,394	14,540,751
Canada	1,548,182	2,000,791	2,590,750	2,665,240
Hong Kong	2,847	6,296	7,820	7,251
India/Ceylon	928,889	1,054,425	1,059,210	1,000,808
Malaya	269,645	193,610	551,273	485,251
New Zealand	710,648	1,118,998	991,983	991,983
Pacific Islands	369,393	423,975	671,247	671,247
South Africa	63,902	60,379	84,676	84,676
Other British Possessions	197,535	294,307	487,416	487,416
Belgium	169,486	390,043	353,216	353,216
China	114,709	192,467	140,900	140,900
Czechoslovakia	143,935	294,640	196,669	196,669
Egypt	9,803	11,040	70,436	70,436
France	348,520	389,034	394,105	394,105
Germany	892,655	1,593,185	1,537,847	1,537,847
Italy	286,939	184,680	331,305	257,160
Japan	1,650,491	1,972,675	2,221,183	1,716,486
The Netherlands	212,117	220,592	230,692	209,945
East Indies	988,176	1,110,524	1,932,647	2,044,057
Norway	116,521	145,383	198,642	2,044,057
Persia	267,281	452,337	533,637	382,568
Peru	2,070	123	1,100	1,271
The Philippines	33,326	37,783	56,753	41,002

(continued)

Table 3 Continued

Country	1935	1936	1938	1939
Spain	48,041	49,512	32,555	23,520
Sweden	340,359	434,333	763,847	459,959
Switzerland	208,578	237,209	349,866	406,975
USSR	35,664	59,916	73,630	74,261
USA	3,581,495	4,615,541	5,558,811	4,792,784
Other Foreign Countries	495,892	456,989	613,610	522,880

Source: *Victorian Year-Book 1938-9*, p. 367.

Table 4 Exports from Victoria 1935-9

Country	1935	1936	1938	1939
UK	15,358,112	16,896,085	21,410,481	15,266,925
Canada	418,941	535,974	799,087	492,839
Hong Kong	226,681	265,084	548,485	164,238
India/Ceylon	420,089	519,858	543,723	487,700
Malaya	576,913	537,854	837,589	618,214
New Zealand	1,101,914	1,297,961	2,733,964	1,906,752
Pacific Islands	133,098	270,163	278,502	255,695
South Africa	97,186	100,383	354,538	500,433
Other British Possessions	197,154	404,243	643,274	311,479
Belgium	1,043,417	1,135,288	705,623	654,276
China	218,153	195,836	263,305	576,750
Czechoslovakia	16,802	81,677	151,782	23,763
Egypt	80,486	80,428	136,152	73,572
France	1,107,783	1,558,357	2,521,677	2,167,616
Germany	340,345	480,689	766,314	450,788
Italy	196,822	138,737	768,057	272,391
Japan	3,685,831	6,265,854	2,999,369	1,690,971
The Netherlands	106,880	267,814	144,830	149,454
East Indies (Netherlands)	533,328	627,153	742,288	613,570
Norway	1,836	3,299	4,646	17,963
Persia	153	13	N/A	26
Peru	1,944	2,655	60,958	1,674
The Philippines	52,655	173,182	144,859	96,968
Spain	217,636	65,488	63,904	35
Sweden	70,992	124,284	200,520	171,354
Switzerland	2,178	48,240	10,078	4,002
USSR	52,238	1,993	187,449	N/A
USA	808,165	1,884,110	2,714,274	3,378,036
Other Foreign Countries	1,032,095	1,019,842	784,473	471,529

Source: *Victorian Year-Book 1938-9*, p. 367.

The tables demonstrate the increasingly global trade of Victoria during the inter-war decades, suggesting a growing economic nationalism.

In contrast to Australian trade, New Zealand remained locked into British markets up until the Second World War.

Table 5 New Zealand exports 1905–9

Country	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
UK	12,087,818	14,047,176	16,533,493	13,143,78	16,193,188
New South Wales	1,321,353	1,900,022	1,341,073	1,254,983	1,052,371
Victoria	866,939	891,443	795,883	764,254	783,277
Other Australian States	106,679	91,057	84,304	83,924	82,467
South Africa	176,937	88,674	63,727	86,491	121,962
India/Ceylon	4,610	82,020	117,730	107,146	138,163
Canada	42,709	7,704	17,989	11,242	66,038
USA	716,301	642,792	714,063	326,415	684,810
Germany	38,958	54,952	66,489	40,191	77,969
Other Foreign Countries	212,429	199,265	180,040	380,366	245,388

Source: *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1907*, pp. 338–9; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1908*, pp. 422–3; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1909*, pp. 305–51; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1910*, pp. 283–4.

Table 6 New Zealand imports 1905–9

Country	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
UK	7,795,284	9,003,229	10,278,019	10,441,837	9,287,786
New South Wales	1,047,757	1,462,928	1,776,896	1,658,498	1,275,194
Victoria	652,901	1,178,520	1,142,693	895,257	1,295,194
Other Australian States	115,059	133,864	207,964	287,671	194,013
Canada	74,085	108,237	154,766	156,500	139,151
India/Ceylon	485,382	495,475	604,219	572,037	615,050
USA	1,438,501	1,405,781	1,425,396	1,643,937	1,166,063
Germany	277,467	336,960	351,634	389,531	327,847
Other Foreign Countries	327,075	462,287	469,948	552,893	549,139

Source: *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1907*, pp. 303–4; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1908*, pp. 386–7; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1909*, p. 313; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1910*, p. 203.

Table 7 New Zealand exports 1929–33

Country	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
UK	40,957,043	36,015,303	30,940,654	32,449,231	35,571,509
Germany	1,768,399	401,084	309,847	289,917	376,886
USA	3,653,427	2,116,752	920,931	940,015	1,188,972
Canada	3,353,975	2,539,212	256,890	244,160	560,875
India	386,421	406,878	59,185	53,378	34,326
Australia	2,238,410	1,562,281	1,169,055	1,144,860	1,393,311
France	1,768,399	519,727	419,016	508,960	738,176
Japan	428,577	154,741	267,899	236,799	354,462

Source: *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1934*, p. 211; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1935*, p. 218.

Table 8 New Zealand imports 1929–33

Country	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
UK	22,560,143	20,233,986	12,192,649	11,496,156	11,120,350
Japan	625,714	565,264	304,532	434,746	541,342
USA	9,926,319	7,573,053	3,885,073	3,267,398	2,383,451
Canada	4,792,820	3,802,925	1,224,569	1,007,096	1,012,213
India	766,756	637,832	392,088	354,752	461,532
Australia	3,258,727	3,308,915	2,437,995	2,691,242	2,674,683
France	419,512	608,076	327,646	269,737	198,639
Germany	627,638	975,460	574,500	459,971	378,753

Source: *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1933*, p. 234; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1934*, p. 229; *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1935*, p. 218.

Both the colony/state of Victoria and New Zealand imposed tariffs on imported goods over the period 1860–1939, although in both contexts a British preferential tariff was also in place. After Federation in 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia agreed to maintain tariffs against external manufactures whilst developing a largely free-trade zone within national borders. A preferential tariff for Britain was introduced by the Australian Deakin administration in 1908 and was made more generous for the British under subsequent revisions to the tariff agreements in 1914, 1921 and 1928.¹⁴ As Pinkstone and Meredith have noted, however, Britain's share of Australian exports had fallen from 75 per cent in the late 1880s to 44 per cent in 1913. Post-1918 efforts to increase

the British figures by increasing the preferential tariff went against the general trend of more diverse trading patterns with countries such as the USA, Germany and Japan.¹⁵

Australians, New Zealanders, Britishness and the city

Who were Australians and who were New Zealanders? What was the constitution of the populations at the beginning of the period under consideration and how did this change over time? The answers to these questions are neatly provided by recourse to the respective year-books, which are particularly useful in yielding statistical data stating proportions of British, Irish and native-born residents. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of migration from the UK in the nineteenth century, as several commentators have noted, is the comparative over-representation of Irish and Scots in settler societies. This observation holds good for the colony and post-Federation state of Victoria. In 1879 the *Victorian Year-Book* demonstrated that 846,383 'British subjects' resided in Victoria and 487,414 of those had been born in the colony. A total of 165,391 of them had been born in England or Wales, 54,270 in Scotland and 96,563 in Ireland.¹⁶ By 1910, the *Victorian Year-Book* illustrated that of the 1,201,341 residents of the state in 1901, those born in Victoria constituted 876,003.¹⁷ A total of 117,108 had been born in England or Wales, 35,751 in Scotland and 61,512 in Ireland. Thus, the potential for tensions which originated in the UK (especially between Protestants and Catholics) to reproduce themselves in the new world context was always present. Moreover, 'Britishness' had the potential to be challenged by a growing native nationalism, since the proportion of Victorian-born to the total population rose from 63 in every 100 persons in 1891 to 73 in every 100 in 1901.¹⁸ It was in Victoria, moreover, that the Australian Natives' Association (ANA) formed and found its strongest foothold. Founded in 1871, its strength grew in the 1880s and 1890s based on the slogan 'Australia for the Australians'.¹⁹ It has been categorised as a movement which, although promoting native industry, largely aligned with British imperial policy before 1914.²⁰ In terms of where people within the colony/state chose to reside, the *Year-Books* also demonstrate that an increasing proportion of the population in the post-gold rush era made for the city, an escalating trend in the early twentieth century. In 1861, 25.89 per cent of the population lived in Melbourne, whilst in 1879 this had risen to 29.83 per cent and went up yet further, so that by the eve of the First World War, nearly half the population (some 47.1 per cent) were concentrated in

the city. Indeed, the *Year-Book* for 1938–9 noted this quite astonishing rate of urbanisation – an increase of some 609 per cent in the population of Greater Melbourne in the years 1861–1933.²¹ Some 991,934 people lived in Greater Melbourne in 1939.²² As far as the religion of the people was concerned, the *Year-Book* demonstrates that in 1891, for example, 219,573 residents were followers of the Church of England, 86,665 were classified as Presbyterians, 78,297 were Methodists, 126,027 were Roman Catholic and 3,540 were Jewish.²³ According to the 1933 census, the numbers following the Church of England stood at 626,172 compared to 315,516 Roman Catholics.²⁴ These figures confirm that across this period, the ‘Irish problem’ had the capacity to appear in the various manifestations in a way that was unlikely to occur in the New Zealand cities, which had far smaller numbers of Irish Catholics. New Zealand’s population originated to a greater extent from the UK, and the Irish presence as a proportion of the population was less substantial. The 1891 census revealed that 58.61 per cent of the population were born in New Zealand, whilst 18.71 per cent were born in England, 8.3 per cent were born in Scotland, whilst only 7.61 per cent were born in Ireland.²⁵ As the *Year-Book* noted, between 1886 and 1891, the New Zealand-born population increased at the rate of 22.16 per cent, ‘but the numbers born in the Mother country, Australian colonies, other British dominions and foreign parts diminished more or less in each case during the quinquennium’.²⁶ The census for 1891 demonstrated that 79.39 per cent of the population followed some form of Protestantism, whilst Roman Catholics constituted 13.93 per cent of the religion of the people.²⁷ Thus, the main religion of the people was largely that of the British mainland, not Ireland. As far as attendances at worship are concerned, it is noted by both Beverly Kingston and Stuart Macintyre that about one-third of citizens attended a place of worship on a Sunday in Australia.²⁸ Hugh Jackson noted that in New Zealand, the percentage of Protestants attending a church service declined from 29.6 per cent in 1886 to 15.2 per cent in 1926.²⁹ The relatively low attendance figures in both contexts suggest that diffusing imperial ideology through the pulpit was a difficult proposition, as demonstrated, for example, in the context of the failure to introduce conscription in Australia, a proposal that the Protestant churches had backed.³⁰

New Zealand’s cities were far smaller than the capital cities of Australia. As the *New Zealand Official Year-Book* noted in 1905:

While New South Wales and Victoria present what is termed by the statistician ... ‘the disquieting spectacle of capital towns growing with

rapidity and embracing in their limits one third of the population of the territory of which they are the centre', New Zealand is saved from this by the configuration of the country, which has resulted in the formation of four chief towns, besides others of secondary importance.³¹

Whilst New Zealand's cities were smaller, they did, however, serve a similar function to their Australian counterparts in that they were commercial entrepôts which served the hinterland around them.³² In 1910, the population of Greater Auckland stood at 97,929, that of Greater Wellington at 76,390 and that of Christchurch at 78,605.³³ The cities were led, as in Britain, by a civic elite defined by Richard Trainor as any individual wielding power in the city.³⁴ This book is chiefly concerned with four cities, which are used as case studies: Melbourne, Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington. I have not undertaken a full-scale prosopography of the elites of these cities, but these men and women were evidently drawn from the Antipodean upper and middle classes. They acted as Lord Mayors or owned city newspapers, they were university professors and educational directors. Many councillors had made their wealth from commercial enterprise before entering public life. The profiles of the city elites published in contemporary encyclopaedias suggest that those serving on the city council were largely drawn from the professions and the merchant classes.³⁵ To take but one example, there were 32 men who acted as Mayor/Lord Mayor of the city of Melbourne between 1880 and 1939, ten of whom were knighted.³⁶ The first Australian-born Mayor was James Burston (1856–1920), an innovative maltster and soldier who was in post for three years (1908–10). Unlike a number of his fellow post-holders, he was not knighted, it was thought because he advocated a utilitarian memorial (a hospital) to honour Edward VII after his death.³⁷ Cornelius Job Ham (Mayor 1881–2) was the Director of the Metropolitan Gas Company, an active temperance worker and President of the Melbourne YMCA, whilst Godfrey Downes Carter (1884–5) was a licensed victualler and opponent of temperance, and was also director of the National Fire Insurance Company.³⁸ William Cain (1886–7) was a businessman and a shareholder in the Squatting Investment Co., whilst Benjamin Benjamin (1887–9) was Jewish; during his tenure, he oversaw the Centennial Exhibition staged in the city in 1888,³⁹ for which he was knighted. Matthew Lang (1889–92) was a wine and spirit merchant and a director of the National Insurance Company who had been born in Scotland, whilst Arthur Snowden was a lawyer by training.⁴⁰ By the time that

Malcolm McEacharn, who had made his fortune in inter-colonial shipping, took up the role in 1903, comments were being made in the press that: 'It has become the rule to pick none but rich men ... Wealth and the occupation of the Mayor's or Lord Mayor's chair have become the easiest passport to a knighthood.'⁴¹ David Valentine Hennessy, a speculator and 'super patriot', was Lord Mayor during the First World War. His wife gave her name to the patriotic war funds committee and he duly received a knighthood.⁴² Lord Mayors were often the figureheads of the numerous imperial loyalty leagues explored in this book. William Cabena, an Ulster businessman and Lord Mayor during the post-war years, refused to allow a permit for the St Patrick's Day parade in 1919, due to the sectarian tension promoted by Archbishop Daniel Mannix the year before in parading the Sinn Féin flag.⁴³ Unlike their British counterparts, shopkeepers were noticeably absent from holding such posts in the Antipodes. Many of the councillors had been born in Britain and Ireland and held considerable commercial interests beyond the local economy.⁴⁴ The very cream of the elite contained aristocratic figures who acted as governor-generals, that is to say, representatives of the crown *in situ*.⁴⁵ David Cannadine, for example, notes that the publication *Colonial Gentry*, an offshoot of *Burke's Peerage*, contained 535 families.⁴⁶ They often took a seat on the executive council of imperial loyalty leagues and the town hall was the focal point of this display of loyalty, particularly Empire Day (24 May) or at the time of royal visits in 1901, 1920, 1926–7 and 1934.⁴⁷

The temper of the times

The accounts of travel writers who visited Australia and New Zealand cast valuable light on the attitudes towards the British link in the later nineteenth century. J.A. Froude's *Oceana*, published in 1886, noted of Melbourne society that 'almost every leading man is professedly loyal to the connection with England and the people I think are really at heart loyal. Any speaker who advocated separation at a public meeting would be hooted down'.⁴⁸ So similar were social manners in Victoria to those in England, Froude discovered, that there was no need for imperial federation because 'they are ourselves' and the colony could only separate 'in the sense that parents and children separate'.⁴⁹ 'Indeed, of native, aggressive radicalism there is very little in Victoria', he believed.⁵⁰ Visiting Sydney, he also detected a strong sentiment of loyalty, arriving at a time when the New South Wales contingent for the Sudan campaign was being raised and concluded that 'if ever England herself were

threatened, or if there was another mutiny in India, they would risk their life. It was a practical demonstration in favour of Imperial Unity'.⁵¹ The situation in the colonies was subsequently portrayed rather differently by Charles Dilke, whose second and third visits to the British world made in the mid-1870s were published as *Problems of Greater Britain* in 1890. This included a lengthy discussion of the social, economic and political conditions in the respective colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia. Dilke recorded rather changed conditions to those he had encountered in his earlier book, *Problems of Greater Britain*, the narrative of which, he admitted, was outdated.⁵² He now contrasted the temperament and outlook of each colony. He first noted, as had Froude, a loyalism in Victoria, despite a significant Irish population who 'are staunch Roman Catholics politically'.⁵³ He noted that in the colony, 'the essentially British nationality of Victoria has survived the experience of the last twenty years'.⁵⁴ He also noted that 'the Scotch and Irish seem to form a larger and more successful portion of the whole than ought to be the case of the various parts'.⁵⁵ 'At the present', he added, 'the Australian-born have come to the front, and provided a large part of the energy, the enterprise and promise of the community'.⁵⁶ However, despite this, he maintained that the native born 'take a pride in the name of Englishmen', although he noted that 'the tendency is to put Australia first and England second. If ever the Australian and British interests should clash, the colonists of the new generation would cast their votes for their own home'.⁵⁷ Without strong causes of dissension, he concluded, 'the Victorians will be inclined to uphold the maintenance of the imperial connection'.⁵⁸ The strong practical and 'businesslike' tendencies of the Melburnians, Dilke maintained, quelled the separatist tendencies more often found in Sydney and Queensland.⁵⁹ Despite the emergence of the ANA, the people were loyal to the British connection, since a general feeling existed 'that the colony derives dignity and importance from its connection with the Empire'.⁶⁰ In subsequent chapters devoted to New South Wales and Queensland, Dilke noted a stronger republican sentiment and a press which advocated separation. In the latter, 'the enthusiastic support of the imperial idea which was strong throughout Australia four years ago is out of fashion there at the recent time'.⁶¹ Thus, Melbourne and the wider colony/state of Victoria could at this point in time be positioned at the 'loyalist end' of a spectrum of opinion in the colonies of pre-Federation Australia.

By 1900, the situation had changed even more. In 1905, Richard Jebb, the Oxford-educated journalist, published the first and arguably most

important of his books, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*.⁶² Perhaps it was somewhat ironic that a man destined for – but ultimately prevented from – joining the Indian Civil Service was to be amongst the first to draw attention to an emerging nationalism which rejected the notion that a tighter parliamentary scheme might stretch across the British Empire. In his book, Jebb revealed a ‘national sentiment’ emerging in the self-governing colonies which ‘either singly or in federal union, possess the potentiality of a separate national career’.⁶³ Jebb had spent the years 1898–1901 travelling within the white settler societies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand – years which took in the creation of the Australian Commonwealth and the dispatch of colonial troops by Australia and New Zealand to the Second Boer War.⁶⁴ Using both these historical events as examples, Jebb began to challenge the notion of Empire sentiment by suggesting that the Federation of Australia in 1901 and the Second Boer War taking place at the same time both represented different aspects of the same phenomenon, namely that the nature of the colonial relationship was changing. Far from demonstrating imperial loyalty, the dispatching of troops from Australia and New Zealand to South Africa could, he argued, be seen as an example both of the emerging nationalism in these countries and of a desire to stand on their own feet and cast off the colonial dependence hitherto shown towards Britain by relying on it for defence in a national emergency. The Australian Federation, he argued, showed an ‘intimate connection’ with the growth of a ‘national consciousness’; he also observed that ‘if Australian nationalism inclines at present to imperial co-operation, the explanation appears to lie mainly in the sense of solid national advantages accruing from the imperial connection’.⁶⁵ Jebb’s wider aim in publishing his observations was to counter claims that the overwhelming sentiment in these youthful nations located within the British Empire was for closer union with the mother country and with each other through some kind of scheme of imperial federation, enthusiasm for which had originated across the Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. The idea of a Federated Empire gained increased momentum in the 1880s and 1890s, partly as a result of the more uneasy political climate that existed between nations in those decades.⁶⁶ What Jebb had observed rather discounted the claims of the imperial federationists:

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand ... the national idea is discernible in different degrees of development, depending upon conditions which vary in each case. Generally speaking, the popular attitude towards the

mother country is becoming different in kind to that which prevailed a generation ago. Colonial loyalty rooted in the past is slowly giving way before national patriotism reaching to the future. As the evolution proceeds, the Empire is valued less for its own sake, and more in proportion as it serves the interests and ideals of separate nationalism.⁶⁷

In later years, Jebb was to follow this up by further undermining the ties of the Empire, questioning the efficacy of the imperial conferences staged at regular intervals since Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887.⁶⁸ If Britain saw the need to draw the Empire politically closer in the decades after 1880, what motivation did Australians and New Zealanders have for identifying with the British Empire? In addition to the economic links identified above, many of course had strong links with the mother country, having been born in Britain or having had British parentage, and this led to a degree of sentimentality about the 'old country'. It is one thing, however, to suggest identification with the mother country in this period and quite another to suggest that Australians and New Zealanders fully engaged with the wider Empire project. It was, for example, self-interested fears relating to Asiatic pollution of the Anglo-Saxon stock that led to tighter immigration policies in the early twentieth century, with explicitly racial credentials demonstrated in both the Australian and New Zealand contexts. Such anxiety also led to a desire to protect native shores from invasion. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 1, defence was largely at the heart of extant enthusiasm for imperial federation; popular support for the project appears to have been negligible and, where demonstrated, was largely based on self-interest. The movement for closer political union never enjoyed popular support and remained the project of a comparatively small cadre of colonial elites.

'Britishness', nationalism and the historians

It is surprising that historians have shown comparatively little interest in the question of the extent to which settler societies identified with the Empire and the nature of Britishness at the popular and institutional level. One explanation for this neglect over the last few decades has perhaps been a general distaste for the colonial link, especially in Australia, where republican sentiments are increasingly voiced. Stuart Macintyre notes that: 'If the transition from colonial to independent nationalism seems to have resulted in an imperial amnesia, the advent of postcolonial nationalism seems to have resulted in a double displacement of the Imperial past.'⁶⁹

However, a number of writers have approached the subject indirectly through a study of an emerging colonial nationalism which by implication broke the once-strong links with Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century and which was first identified by Richard Jebb in the early twentieth century.⁷⁰ Writing in the 1960s, Charles Blackton argued that: 'Prior to 1850, no general popular Australian identity existed. Fifty years later a distinct nationality and nationalism characterised the people of Australia', involving what he described as 'a transfer of loyalties earlier devoted to Britain or to Ireland'.⁷¹ The factors identified as fuelling this nationalism were 'distance from the old world', the birth of a native generation, 'the rise of native bush egalitarianism', the self-centred life of the bush and the city, the work of 'avatars of nationalism' and finally 'emergent native literature'.⁷² These sentiments were counterbalanced, according to the same author, by factors such as 'British cultural, educational and religious forms' which 'smothered native innovation'.⁷³ Australians were dependent on Britain for its 'capital and defence'.⁷⁴ Supporting the 'loyalist school', Douglas Cole subsequently stressed that Australians in the period between 1870 and 1914 assumed 'the unique value of British stock and civilisation, the Britannic ethnocentric strand, the kindred nature of Australians and Britons. Commonality of ancestry, heritage, history, language, and literature were used to confirm the common identity of the British race'.⁷⁵ Elsewhere, Cole went some way towards downplaying colonial nationalism in the White Dominions.⁷⁶ Such conceptions, however, did not exclude the possibility that Australians increasingly saw themselves as, to use Alfred Deakin's phrase, 'independent Australian Britons',⁷⁷ who were free to reinterpret the wider significance of the British Empire for Australians. This was a line pursued by Grimshaw, who noted that: 'Once it became almost universally accepted, as it was by 1900, that Australian nationalism was compatible with continued Empire membership, a form of Empire imperialism became a component of the nationalism of possibly the majority of Australians, and to underestimate this element is to misinterpret Australian nationalism.'⁷⁸

Indeed, the participation in the imperial 'project' by settler societies has been seen in itself as a form of nationalism. This approach was given its fullest exposition in a Canadian context by Carl Berger, who proposed imperialism as a form of nationalism. Imperialism, he noted, 'was one variety of Canadian nationalism – a type of awareness of nationality which rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, and the national mission'.⁷⁹ He concluded, however, that despite identifying with imperialism: 'One of the most arresting

features of Canadian imperialist thought was how seldom praise was lavished upon England.⁸⁰ The increasing lack of deference to Britain was, moreover, a sentiment that can be detected in both Australia and New Zealand before 1914. It could be argued that participation in colonial wars was undertaken as much to prove the ‘colonial character’ as it was to demonstrate sympathy for the wider Empire. A further contributing factor to a growing sense of nationalism which was brewing in the 1890s in both settler societies was the narrative of the ‘social laboratory’, which portrayed these emerging nations as enabling a better quality of national citizenship through such legislation as votes for women, old-age pensions and democratic land ownership.

The prevailing sentiment amongst historians writing in the early 1970s was one which was still really only prepared to concede a dual loyalty existing in the early 1900s amongst Australians. For example, F.K. Crowley, writing in 1973, declared that: ‘Typical Australians were probably best described as Britannic Australians, because of their dual loyalty.’⁸¹ Most of the symbols of loyalty in Australia were British, not Australian.⁸² By the 1980s, however, new directions in Australia’s historiography were taken by historians, with a greater emphasis on the presence of nationalistic sentiment in the ‘Britannic era’. In *The Oxford History of Australia*, published in the mid-1980s, Macintyre pointed to an increasingly awakening of nationality from the 1880s onwards, as popular writing, the emergence of the ANA and indeed the formation of the Commonwealth itself in 1901 all contributed to being ‘Australian’, albeit within a British world. For another group of historians, the temptation by this stage was to overwrite a rampant nationalism into the pre-1940 history of the Commonwealth, anticipating the more virulent anti-Britishness that emerged in the 1960s. Neville Meaney, for example, observed this trend creeping into Australian history and has also argued for the centrality of Britishness in Australia, noting that in the early twentieth century: ‘The evidence that Australians in this nationalist era thought of themselves primarily as British is overwhelming.’⁸³ It has to be said, however, that in a short article, Meaney marshals rather insubstantial evidence in support of such an assertion, pointing to oaths of loyalty in public schools (a ‘top-down’ process), a British-orientated history curriculum (again, evidence of what could rather be seen as manipulation by the ‘state’ in its localised form) and the failure of Wattle Day to match the alleged success of Empire Day.⁸⁴ The fact that Wattle Day appeared at all is surely suggestive of a native sentiment which coexisted with the imperial. It is possible, however, that whilst accepting British identity, Australians did not ever substantially relate

to the notion of empire or the institutions created to bring the Empire alive. To make such a sweeping assessment based on such a small slice of archival evidence is not enough to dismiss an alternative reading of emerging nationalism in settler societies which increasingly only paid lip service to the idea of empire.

The prevailing view of New Zealand's relationship with the Empire has held that the colony proved a more loyal component of the British world, largely due to the absence of significant anti-British elements. Fewer people from Ireland emigrated to the colony, for example. New Zealand's greater vulnerability to Asian aggression has also been cited as a possible reason for loyalty. Historians such as W.P. Morrell writing in the 1930s argued that a loyalist nationalism evolved in the first half of the twentieth century. Morrell outlined what has now become the well-worn myth of Anzac identity forming as a result of participation in the Second Boer War and the First World War, especially in the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign and the Western Front.⁸⁵ A rather different perspective was offered by Keith Sinclair, who argued for a popular nationalism emerging at the end of the nineteenth century, represented in literary, political and social spheres. Sinclair noted that: 'Public sentiment was developing in much the same way in New Zealand as in Australia. A local patriotism had appeared to modify and blend with racial pride.'⁸⁶ Wars, in this account, were perceived in his narrative as provoking a nationalist awakening. New Zealanders, according to this account, realised that they were unlike either the Australians or the British on the battlefield.⁸⁷ However, Sinclair did appear to hedge his bets at certain points in his narrative: 'What was occurring seems very clear. A new nationalism was rising strongly among [the] New Zealand-born. This sentiment was, in the long run, bound to predominate, but earlier British and imperial attitudes persisted and, indeed, in some ways were being reinforced.'⁸⁸

The most notable sustained consideration in recent years of the relationship between New Zealand and Britain is provided by James Belich, who, in *Paradise Reforged*, introduced the concept of 'recolonisation' from the 1880s onwards. It was a process that, he maintains, also played out in other colonial situations such as Australia and Canada. Here, Belich moved against the Sinclair thesis, arguing rather for tighter links between the two societies in the years leading up to 1920.⁸⁹ Thus, the historian approaching the subject of Britishness has at his or her disposal a number of possible theoretical frameworks to the relationship between Britain and its world. Indeed, it is evident that there has never been a consensus on the issue of the extent to which Britishness

was accepted or rejected across time. A significant feature of much of the literature on the imperial link has been a comparative absence of discussion of the ways in which cities projected Britishness or, conversely, how they struggled to project this identity. Urban geographers have shown some interest in this area. Felix Driver and David Gilbert's *Imperial Cities* contained a series of investigations into this dimension – that is, cities were, in their own words, 'hybrid products of the cultural history of modern imperialism'.⁹⁰ This collection, however, largely represented an investigation of European cities rather than those of the British world, but did begin to unveil the ways in which imperial identity was situated within the modern metropolis. 'We surely need', noted John MacKenzie in his contribution to this volume, 'more analysis of cities as imagined communities.'⁹¹

Recent historical controversy: Empire and domestic culture

The question of how far imperial culture infused domestic culture has been the focus of recent historical controversy, particularly relating to Britain, dating from the appearance of Bernard Porter's revisionist monograph *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, which appeared in 2004. In this book, Porter began to challenge historical treatments of Empire sentiment, associated with writers such as John MacKenzie, Catherine Hall and Jeffrey Richards, who in their various treatments of Empire suggested that imperial culture was central to domestic British society.⁹² Porter's research revealed that rather than saturation, British society in fact exhibited a remarkable lack of imperial awareness. After surveying vast swathes of British domestic culture, he noted that: 'There is no direct evidence that this great majority of Britons supported the empire, took an interest in it or were even aware of it for most of the century' and that 'the empire, huge and significant as it was, did not require the involvement of any large section of British society for it to live and even grow'.⁹³ Indeed, Porter was not alone in reaching these conclusions, as similar views were also put forward at approximately the same time by Andrew Thompson in his monograph *The Empire Strikes Back*, which Porter notes had a considerably easier ride on its publication.⁹⁴ Reactions to the publication of Porter's book were varied, but included some scything criticisms. John MacKenzie and Antoinette Burton were unimpressed by it, although for rather different reasons. MacKenzie, while acknowledging that the book was 'powerfully argued' and 'superbly sourced', suggested that the author's evidence was selective and partial, whilst Burton even went so far as to question how the book

came to be published by Oxford University Press in the first place.⁹⁵ It is worth noting, however, that this review, which was amongst the most damning of the book, emanated from a North American post-colonialist, an historical approach that had been a target for Porter in the book. It is also the case that North American academics are less appreciative of Britain's social class pyramid. One of the more thoughtful discussions of the impact of Porter's work was provided by Richard Price, who was well placed to review this book, having worked not only on the reception of the Empire within Britain but also on the reception of Empire in the Empire itself. Price found Porter's book to be thought-provoking and believed that constructions of Empire are intertwined with the structure of the society itself and that perceptions of Empire are specifically created for a domestic purpose.⁹⁶ Taking this line of reasoning, therefore, we should see the Empire presented in a rather different way in settler societies where the social pyramid was considerably flatter and the nation was in a state of comparative immaturity. What is somewhat suspicious about this debate is the level of vitriol directed at Porter, which hints at the fact that he in fact identified a rather uncomfortable phenomenon for some historians, that is, the noticeable absence of enthusiasm for the Empire amongst the broadest sections of the population.

In the ongoing debate about the degree of imperial infusion in British society, the question of how keenly imperial culture implanted itself in the Empire seems to have escaped some historians' attention. Whilst the success of the Empire need not have relied on the imperial enthusiasm of those residing within Britain's national borders, it did need the support of those who lived in the British Empire. The Empire's purpose was to both administer and develop trading links and in some instances repress colonial native sentiment in order to benefit the mother country. It needed to impress on colonial subjects the benefits of being part of the imperial structure, doing so through both ceremonial and practical methods. The most notable survey of the mechanisms by which imperial enthusiasm was generated remains John MacKenzie's *Propaganda and Empire*, but whilst retaining a central place in imperial historiography, it might be said that this book examines the British Empire from the perspective of its core and occasionally looks outward. With its subtitle, *The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880–1960*, MacKenzie was primarily charting the ways in which British society was subjected to imperial sentiment. In his chapter on imperial propaganda organisations, for example, the reader was introduced only to the headquarters of imperial loyalty societies, mostly located in London; there was no analysis as to whether these societies succeeded or failed (culturally,

financially or numerically) and no attempt was made to chart the success or failure of the 'branch life' of these societies within the Empire itself. Moreover, the treatment of imperial exhibitions was also primarily focused on events staged within the UK and British perspectives on these events, with only brief forays into the Empire itself. The way in which the Empire was projected at these exhibitions did not really attract the author's attention. So it is high time that further research looked, metaphorically, from the 'outside in' at the Empire project. Why such a project has not yet been undertaken was partly accounted for by Stuart Macintyre, who has noted in a survey of historical writing on Australia and the Empire that since the 1960s, academic historians have lost interest in Australia's imperial/British heritage as the movement for a republic gained momentum. Studies of Australian history have, he notes, become 'increasingly autochthonous in coverage and treatment'.⁹⁷ A consultation of the mid-1970s collection *A New History of Australia* had no entry for 'Empire Day', but redirects the reader to 'Commonwealth Day', a small indication of the rejection of imperial linkages. In the 1980s and 1990s, a rampant post-colonialist history also had little time for discussion of imperial culture imposed 'from above', and such was its impatience to cast off imperial control that there was no desire to assess how far imperialism had implanted itself in the first place. In post-colonial studies, the ways in which indigenous people reacted against an alien power have been at the forefront of studies, fuelled by Edward Said's seminal text *Orientalism*, which appeared in 1978.⁹⁸ The academic climate, Macintyre concluded in 1999, was not favourable to a study of the Empire in relation to the Australian past and this holds good over a decade later. It is a rather different matter across the Tasman, where the British link has not been overtly challenged as it has in Australia. At the time of writing, some indications of a renewed interest are demonstrated by the publication of *Australia's Empire*, a collection of essays examining aspects of colonialism and imperialism since European discovery. The title, of course, indicates a rather nationalistic 'inside-out' approach. An examination of the content of New Zealand's leading historical journals reveals that there has been relatively little written on imperial culture since 1970. James Belich's *Paradise Reforged*, which covers the history of New Zealand from 1880, contains very little comment on the Empire. Although he does assert that New Zealand was subjected to a phase of British recolonisation after 1880, none of the leading imperial societies appears in the index and imperial celebrations such as Empire Day are ignored. The idea of a New Zealand nationalism emerging in the early twentieth

century, as posited by Keith Sinclair, is given short shrift. Like Australia, the current academic climate is one in which post-colonialism has itself colonised the realm of imperial history.

Research parameters: chronology, themes and structure of the book

In what follows, my intention is to attempt to explore the manifestations of Britishness and sentiment towards various aspects of these values in the urban environment between 1880 and 1939. To accomplish this, I have chosen to explore what I see as being the most salient aspects of urban culture, exploring how far city institutions were influenced by imperial culture. This is an exercise which casts light on the success and failure of British institutions. In Chapter 1, colonial sentiment for Britishness from three perspectives is examined, two of which may be termed imperial 'episodes' and the other an imperial 'saga'. The first, imperial federation, can be designated a 'saga' – an imperial idea which was consistently promoted by factions across the period 1884–1914. It was a movement which largely failed in its attempt to impose a formal constitution on the Empire and instead, for the most part, demonstrated colonial hostility to this face of Britishness before 1914. In the second section of the chapter, I examine the colonial reaction to the death of Charles Gordon in January 1885. This too illustrates that ultimately the aspect of his demise that most agitated Australians and New Zealanders was that it showed a British weakness in Africa, which might place routes to the East in danger. The overwhelming sentiment was one of self-interest and instrumentality. Finally, aspects of the popular colonial reaction to events which occurred in the course of the Second Boer War (1899–1902) are considered. Here too, I argue that celebrations such as those witnessed in the aftermath of the relief of Mafeking in fact show an urban crowd celebrating urban maturity, and progress – or, conversely, simply using imperial victories to recast the urban order, if only for a short period, a phenomenon designated by some historians and anthropologists as liminality. In Chapter 2, I turn to the participation of Antipodeans in the First World War and explore popular reactions to the European conflict from the other side of the world. I endeavour to show that urban culture and soldier experience cannot be seen as 'saturated' with Empire sentiment. By the war's end, for example, there was, in keeping with the sentiment in Europe, a detectable weariness in the popular press. Newspapers had framed 'motives for fighting' in a number of guises: from the urban to

the national and the imperial. These rather diverse ways of seeing the meaning of the conflict complicated the significance of the war. Inter-urban quarrels developed as to which regions were sacrificing men in the heaviest numbers by 1915–16. The relatively low membership totals of the returned services leagues in the 1920s point to the fact that many men wanted to forget the war. The enthusiasm to fight again at the time of the Chanak Crisis in 1922 might be viewed from the perspective of wanting to complete an unfinished job rather than reflecting imperial enthusiasm. Indeed, from a governmental perspective of all the White Dominions, only New Zealand demonstrated enthusiasm to return to the Near East at this time.

In Chapter 3, I explore the challenge posed to the British link by American style in the context of Antipodean cities from the 1880s to the 1930s. By examining aspects of the topography of the city, from street and district naming to architectural style, the arrival of American dance styles in the 1920s and the gangster phenomenon of the 1930s, it can be seen that on many levels, British values were significantly challenged in the urban context by 1940. The cinema was also, of course, heavily dominated by the US producers, and imperial loyalty leagues provoked concern that the English language would be affected by patronage of the picture palace. Chapter 4 moves on to examine the popular daily and weekly newspapers of the Antipodean city and the argument is made by recourse to content analysis that as much international news as British news was published in these papers. British news that appeared in the papers was invariably that which had a resonance in the colonies and Dominions, be it the visits of leading Antipodean political or society figures to Britain or trade figures and business statistics relating to Antipodean markets and products. In the course of the chapter, a series of imperial events that took place between the two World Wars are studied in order to gauge popular reaction to them, from the Irish settlement of the early 1920s to the Ottawa economic treaty struck between the Dominions in the early 1930s, to the abdication of 1936 and the outbreak of the Second World War. Chapter 5 explores youth organisations in order to gauge how far these can be seen to have been incorporated within a British world system. In their early guises, some of the organisations significantly diverged from the metropolitian 'model', perhaps most significantly the emergence of the Girl Peace Scouts in New Zealand in 1910. The chapter explores the demise of the peace scouts as it was eventually pressured into taking the form of guiding promoted in Britain. Whilst there was more conformity displayed in the context of other youth movements such

as the Scouts, the cost of interacting with the movement at the heart of the Empire prohibited large numbers of boys from participating in international jamborees during the 1920s and 1930s. The Young Australia League occupied a more ambiguous position in relation to imperial values, its founder J.J. Simons promoting localised sports such as Australian rules football and making numerous visits to the USA with the League – indeed, as many as it made to Britain. In Chapter 6, the success of imperial days such as Empire Day and Trafalgar Day is studied, the argument being made that such days did not capture the popular imagination for a variety of reasons and were in decline well before the Second World War. The final section of the chapter explores international exhibitions as imperial events, but there is some doubt as to whether the majority of patrons saw these events as anything other than fun. In the final chapter, the performance of the imperial loyalty leagues from their establishment in the 1890s to the end of the 1930s is discussed. Characterised by some imperial historians as propaganda societies for the Empire, I question how successfully they embedded themselves in urban culture and whether they can be seen to have vigorously occupied public space over this time period. Ultimately, many citizens saw these leagues as elitist and were evidently unaware of their work in the imperial realm. Those leagues which worked with schools found it increasingly difficult to do so by the 1930s as the school curricula was increasingly embracing internationalism and the pre-war Edwardian imperial culture with which many had been associated ran counter to the temper of the times.

1

From Imperial Federation to the Empty Pavilion: Empire Sentiment in British Empire Cities 1880–1914

This chapter begins with London's imperial pageant, staged at a point approximately halfway through the period which is under scrutiny in this book. The narrative will then journey from the 'heart' of the Empire to what has been designated by some imperial historians as the far-flung 'periphery' and to earlier points in time in an attempt to gauge imperial sentiment before 1914.¹ The Festival of Empire was staged belatedly (due to the death of Edward VII in 1910) at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, south London in 1911. Due to the King's passing, fate dictated that the Festival would mark the early stages of the reign of George V and, in his symbolic role within the imperial domain, it also implicitly heralded a new phase in the history of the British Empire. This was neither the first nor the last time that London had, or would, stage a gathering of the 'family' of Empire, having most recently hosted the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of 1897. Indeed, the celebrations had represented one important way in which the British monarchy was being 'recast' to increasingly link it with the fortunes of the Empire.² This recasting had begun in the 1870s, as Disraeli awarded Queen Victoria the title 'Empress of India'.³

As an international exhibition, the Festival replicated familiar features of that phenomenon, as it had evolved since the Great Exhibition of 1851, with a series of pavilions demonstrating the raw materials available in each component of the Empire and providing an impression of the general environment of the British 'Dominions' and colonial possessions. Celebrating the 'All-Red Tour' of Empire, the Festival of Empire took visitors on a mile-and-a-half trip by electric railway through British territories, starting in Newfoundland and ending in South Africa via Canada, Jamaica, Malaya, India, Australia and New Zealand, each represented by a pavilion cloaked in the form of their respective parliamentary building.

On this occasion, however, the Festival was also to be remembered for the inclusion of an historical pageant in four parts, orchestrated by ceremonial 'impresario' Frank Lascelles.⁴ The pageant was staged over three days and drew on the services of 15,000 volunteers. In its final form, the pageant's culmination was marked by a parade denoted as the 'Masque Imperial', an allegory of the advantages of Empire devised by Francis Hartman Markoe, and with musical accompaniment by Frederic Corder demonstrating the unity of the Empire.⁵ As a souvenir programme published for the pageant noted, the finale was designed to show, 'in dignified symbolical manner, the mother who welcomes her children'.⁶ It was staged within a classically inspired amphitheatre designed by Aston Webb, who played a key role as architect of Imperial London in the Edwardian era.⁷ Whilst pageants were staged primarily for their 'ornamentalism', often symbolically inverting class structures and giving an opportunity for role play, they also had a practical objective, functioning as a means of celebrating both civic and imperial citizenship in an era of increasing European tensions. What is sometimes overlooked, as far as the staging of the Festival is concerned, is that despite being cloaked in imperial garb, it was an event which had only been recast in such terms two years before. It was originally to be called the 'Festival of London' as, indeed, some souvenir publications continued to describe it even while it was in progress. The accompanying pageant, which eventually became known as the 'Pageant of Empire', had initially included only three phases and was similarly titled the 'Pageant of London', restaging pageants initially undertaken by London boroughs in 1909. Masked behind the celebratory discourse was the fact that the imperial dimension to the pageant had only been added at a comparatively late stage in the Festival's organisation and that a more 'localised' city patriotism had been the original aim of the event.⁸

As Deborah Ryan has noted of this particular pageant, it was a failed attempt to instil enthusiasm for the Empire amongst Londoners. She notes that recollections of the pageant, left in the form of a participant's diary, do not point to identification with the event's loftier aims.⁹ Moreover, a closer look at this festival demonstrates that it was not just Londoners who lacked imperial sentiment; even more pronounced were the Empire representatives. Rather than cementing the bonds of Empire or conveying the sense of a 'happy family', it instead proved to demonstrate that there existed a feud in the family of Empire. Whilst New Zealand, South Africa and Canada all appeared to be enthusiastic about participating in the Festival, in the months leading up to it, it became evident that one of the pavilions would remain empty. The pavilion in question

had been allocated to Australia. In January 1911, the Agents-General of the various Australian states formerly notified Lascelles 'that Australia would not be represented', a stance which had been overseen by Andrew Fisher's newly incumbent Labor ministry.¹⁰ It also refused to fund the construction of a coronation arch that would adorn the coronation route of George V, which was scheduled to take place in the summer of 1911.¹¹ The staging of the Festival during the summer months of 1911 has been adequately described elsewhere and it is not necessary to give a narrative of the proceedings here. An investigation of the debates that were conducted in the months preceding the Festival does, however, begin to cast light on the various stances that could be taken in relation to the celebration of the Empire by its component territories. Evidently, the opinions encompassed a wide range of viewpoints. Melbourne's conservative and largely Empire-supporting morning daily *The Argus*, for example, noted with some regret that: 'While the six states of Australia question the desirability of spending £10,000 to £12,000 upon a first class exhibit, the Government of Canada is spending £10,000 in making part of the Festival of Empire worthy of the Dominion. The promoters ... feel that a hole and corner display will be better than the total exclusion of the Commonwealth from what has come to be an imperial undertaking.'¹² Indeed, as the staging of the Festival approached, the pavilion allocated to Australia remained empty until the Festival director, the Earl of Plymouth, took steps to fill it.

In the wake of the Festival, members of Australia's Commonwealth Parliament reflected on the implications of the decision to leave the pavilion unfilled. One member, a Mr Poyton, did not know what right the company concerned had 'to give an imitation of Australia such as that at the Festival of Empire'.¹³ The All-Red route railway, Poyton believed, was constructed so as to 'wreak their vengeance upon this Government for refusing assistance'.¹⁴ Others who entered this debate believed that the impression of Australia given to the Festival visitors was one of 'a land full of bushrangers and thirst-perishers'.¹⁵ A further faction felt that an opportunity had been lost and that, as one MP put it, 'New Zealand took advantage of that magnificent opportunity for advertising [and as a consequence] was greatly talked about'.¹⁶ Others who attended the Festival noted that 'Canada was always first mentioned by the people at Home, South Africa next, New Zealand third and Australia was nowhere'.¹⁷ 'Our methods of advertising abroad are an absolute farce', noted Poynton in the same parliamentary debate.¹⁸ What is interesting about this parliamentary debate is that as a 'discourse' held within the 'public' sphere, sentiment for the Empire was relatively

muted. One speaker did feel that 'a false impression was created that we in Australia were not too strong in the Empire sentiment', but others saw the issue as one of simply national boosterism and a lost marketing opportunity. As the debate drew to a close, one contributor did suggest that: 'Seeing that each part of the Empire wishes to rival its neighbour, we ought to enter into that friendly rivalry ourselves.'¹⁹

In what follows, I will attempt to show that such a stance was in fact no interlude in the otherwise enthusiastic support of the Empire, but rather was an example of a somewhat more instrumental approach to the concept of Empire and the imperial project, which was consistently demonstrated across the period 1880–1940. Whilst class discourse must be used with care in the context of both Australia and New Zealand, it can be argued that the formation of urban elites was a phenomenon of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The elite, who were most closely identified with the British middle classes, exercised power by recourse to the British link and, indeed, representations of Britishness promoted by branches of what were largely London-based imperial institutions. The energy of this merchant class had more in common with Britain's provincial cities of the north. A new world city provided the opportunity to blend elements of regional British identity. This middle-class elite found itself increasingly at odds with popular working-class feeling, which rejected the frippery of the Empire and only accepted the imperial project when it offered scope for colonial development. As a more urbanised component of the Empire, this stance was most easily found in Australia, with the majority of states boasting a vigorous Labor movement. It can be argued, however, that the larger centres as they grew in New Zealand also followed a pattern of instrumentalism, here too adopting the imperial project only when tangible gains could be made by the emerging nation. Stephen Alonso has usefully depicted divisions in Australian society, pitching a middle-class elite who were metropolitan, British, loyal, responsible and cultured against a provincial, disloyal, irresponsible and raffish working class.²⁰ A survey of the contemporary press and the records of British Empire loyalty leagues demonstrate at best an instrumentalism and at worse indifference to many imperial initiatives. In some rather obvious instances, anti-imperialism was always visible. Thus, the Melbourne publication *The Socialist* asked of its Melbourne readers: 'Who can have looked on the miserable display of loyalty in the streets of Melbourne on Coronation Day, without understanding that the days of subserviency to the dear old country were numbered? As for the throne itself there are nine-tenths of Australians who would have been irresistibly reminded

of that old Jacobite song “An who have ye gotten for a King but a wee German laddie”. We may thank God that we are rid of that pitiful puking business.²¹

If a Labor government in Australia was choosing to reject aspects of Britishness, surely a rather different stance was being adopted across the Tasman? Here there was no Labour administration to strain the bonds of Empire. Initially it may seem that there was. In the same column in *The Times* that announced the Australian government’s decision not to fund anything more than a cadet representation at the coronation ceremony, the departure of Joseph Ward, who headed a Liberal ministry in New Zealand, was described in terms of the utmost loyalty to the Empire.²² Ward was heading to London to also attend the Imperial Conference of 1911 – the latest in a series of meetings which had been staged at regular intervals since the Golden Jubilee of 1887 – and, at this meeting, would argue for a version of imperial federation to tighten the bonds of Empire. As James Belich has noted, ‘you could not get more Anglophile than Joseph Ward’.²³ However, other evidence begins to point to a withering of interest in the Empire as one moved down the ‘pyramid’ of governance. When invitations were sent to members of New Zealand’s House of Representatives, only one member expressed an interest in attending.²⁴ Indeed, even an imperially enthusiastic journal like *The Round Table* doubted whether any popular enthusiasm existed in New Zealand when it published the anonymous comment that New Zealanders ‘feel that we are far from the heart of the old Empire and we believe that its destinies are guided by other hands than ours. The minds of the people are sunk in the apathy which accompanies prosperity ... The strain of Parliamentary life ... seem[s] to leave our politicians little time for Imperial thought. A General Election ... marks the most intense concentration upon purely local issues’.²⁵ Popular opinion for the imperial project at this stage seemed confused, if not indifferent. Why should city populations be enthusiastic? When a contingent of the South African Soldiers’ Association waited on the Lord Mayor of Melbourne in May 1911 to request that a second memorial to the 228 soldiers of Victoria who had been killed in the Second Boer War be constructed, they were met with the response that ‘it had been 12 years since the contingent went away. It was his [the Lord Mayor’s] opinion that if they went to the public to collect money for the movement it would be an absolute failure’.²⁶ At the same time, even the conservative and usually imperially minded daily *The Argus* pondered in its leading editorial that in order: ‘To live for the Empire ... one must have a definite conception of what the Empire means to oneself and it is the absence, or vagueness,

of the conception that is mainly responsible for the cant which makes many just a little tired of hearing or reading anything about the imperial idea.¹²⁷ Was the 'empty pavilion' of 1911 an aberration? Had the Empire ever meant much to those who lived within it? In order to explore this issue, it is necessary to look at the historical evolution of the British world from the 1880s in order to examine what conceptions of Britishness were ever acceptable to those living half a world away and in what ways enthusiasm for the Empire was generated.

Britishness and Empire sentiment: imperial federation 1880–1914

As the Introduction to this book established, by the 1880s the notion of closer links between the components of the British Empire was embraced by politicians located both at Westminster and across the wider British Empire. The Imperial Federation Movement and the British monarchy arguably represented the two most notable aspects of 'Britishness' transmitted to the British Empire before 1914. The first was a tangible programme of integration, however vaguely conceived, while the second was an appeal to a less tangible, more irrational sentiment. As Ged Martin has noted, the idea of federation had an historical pedigree dating back to at least the 1650s, so it was certainly not a new idea in the later nineteenth century. In the era designated as 'free trade imperialism' (c. 1830–70), the idea fell out of favour, but in the more competitive economic environment of the 1880s, tighter bonds seemed a way to strengthen Britain's global position.²⁸ The establishing of the Imperial Federation League (IFL) in London in the autumn of 1884 represented a key moment in the rejuvenation of the idea, but as Martin also notes, from its inception, the movement was plagued by doubts as fundamental as the choice of the name for the organisation and, no less fundamentally, what exactly constituted imperial federation. 'The movement', Martin noted, 'survived for a decade by the simple expedient of avoiding any definite commitment and confining itself to unexceptional generalities.'²⁹ The journal it launched contained 'little more than useful news summaries from the colonies, verbatim reports ... pregnant with supposed significance'.³⁰ The demise of the IFL was swift; in fact, so rapid was its decline that it did not even bother to tell its colonial branches that it was intending to cease operations.³¹ Its cessation left a few extant colonial branches to go it alone and these ran on into the Edwardian age. Yet, whilst the story of federation from a metropolitan perspective is one of well-documented failure, the colonial

perspective has been less closely scrutinised. What appealed to British world cities as far as federation was concerned and who indeed promoted federation?

In the months following the establishment of the IFL in London, the British world press began to devote columns both to the appearance of the League and its relevance for British new world cities. As outposts of the Empire, cities such as Melbourne, Auckland and Wellington were all coastal ports which serviced their immediate hinterlands and were strategic nodes in the trading networks of Empire. As imperial tensions escalated in the 1880s, their sense of vulnerability to attack as a result of a potential conflict involving the Empire became evident in the pages of the cities' press. The First Boer War, the Sudan conflict and, most importantly, the Anglo-Russian tensions in central Asia increasingly drew comment in the columns of the press on both sides of the Tasman. Indeed, where imperial federation was considered a possibility, it was almost exclusively cast 'instrumentally' as a means of enhancing defence. From the earliest stages at which the idea of federation took hold, however, there was a significant note of doubt in many editorials on the project. Thus, the Auckland daily the *New Zealand Herald* noted:

How completely that policy depends on the cabinet of the day ... in the ambition to enlarge the colonial possessions of the Empire, the last Government in Downing Street annexed the Transvaal at the cost of two wars on behalf of the State, namely with Cetewayo and with Secocen and finally a third war with the double-dealing Transvaal men themselves, nor is that trouble yet ended. The present Government in Downing Street blunder in an exactly opposite way. It seems to be their ambition not to enlarge but to confine – possibly diminish – England's colonial possessions. They look on with indifference while we are being hedged round by a line of foreign flags hoisted on the bordering islands, and they grudge the expense of naval stations necessary to protect imperial commerce. They do not understand colonial matters in the old country and imperial federation cannot be carried out, because it cannot rest on a practical basis.³²

Indeed, the launch of the imperial federation project could hardly have taken place in more inauspicious circumstances. The perception that William Gladstone's third ministry was abandoning the Empire seemed justified, as Imperial Germany annexed parts of New Guinea. This tarnished Empire relations at exactly the point when the reinvigorated

federation scheme made its appearance. For the *New Zealand Herald*, it was clear that:

the feeling, or irritation which has arisen in the colonies over the annexation by Germany of a portion of New Guinea, is due to the fact that the Imperial Government has not sufficiently deferred to the expressed wishes of the colonies and has exercised its authority in an arbitrary fashion.³³

It was also noted that there were no naval stations in Australasian waters. In Melbourne, the imperial federation movement was also given a rather lukewarm reception by the local press. As a paper advocating protection, *The Age* objected to federation primarily on economic and political grounds:

Neither we think is it quite certain that England would gain in the long run by fusing the representatives of Australia and Canada and the Cape into the same parliament with members for Great Britain and Ireland. No doubt Manchester and Birmingham manufacturers would get a start if Victorian manufacturers were extinguished and a Chancellor of the Exchequer would look with a lighter heart upon war, if he could assess an income tax upon the owners of property in Australia ... She [Britain] ought to treasure Australia as she would Kent or Sussex and to hold Canada and the Cape by so light a tie that their severance should involve the least possible loss of prestige.³⁴

To this objection was also added the fear that Victorians would be 'subjected to the power of the British governing classes, embroilment in European or imperial wars, and finally the extinction of nationalism'.³⁵ In the later 1880s, *The Age* continued this anti-federationist line, arguing that a looser relationship between Britain and its colonies, what it called a 'free and easy' relationship, was preferable to hard-and-fast rules. In many respects, of course, the British Empire was in this period being cast as a friend of freedom and this did not sit easily alongside a federation scheme which could be perceived as a straitjacket for the components of the Empire. At best, the federation movement was seen as having vague objectives, which also did not impress what *The Age* called a 'practical people'.³⁶ In England, it noted, feudalism had a 'strong hold over the minds of a considerable section of the people, [but] the early colonists were men who repudiated the feudal theory'.³⁷ Whilst Melbourne's daily press generally showed little enthusiasm for

federalism after its initial appearance in the metropole, there were individuals who were prepared to back the project. Who were they and why did they do so? The hub of imperial enthusiasm proved to be Melbourne Town Hall and it was at this venue that the first meeting of the Victorian branch of the IFL met on 5 June 1885, convened by Godfrey Downes-Carter, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne.³⁸ The Mayor had taken the initiative because there had not been any substantial public enthusiasm demonstrated for a locally based branch. Membership of the branch in Victoria was set at one shilling per annum ‘in order to appeal to all classes of the community entering the League’, but evidently even this price could not entice members; by the early 1890s, the membership was moribund.³⁹ Those who backed the IFL tended to be conservative professionals and, in the case of Victoria, a substantial section of military elites who were uneasy that Australian naval forces were based in Sydney rather than Melbourne. Defence was therefore at the forefront of the concerns of the Melbourne branch. As an historian of the IFL has noted, the conclusion to be drawn from this is that there was ‘a lack of general interest in imperial and external relations ... and more concern with domestic issues’.⁴⁰ A public lecture staged at the Town Hall in August 1885 by E.E. Morris, Professor of English at the University of Melbourne, attracted an audience of 200. Morris believed that: ‘I would undertake in an English town to gather a larger audience to hear a lecture upon Australia than in an Australian town to hear a lecture upon any part of the United Kingdom.’⁴¹ In responding, the Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Moorhouse, suggested that closer links were wise, primarily in order to strengthen the colonies’ voice in imperial matters: ‘If the prejudices of English statesmen be allowed to keep these great and growing colonies out in the cold, and give them less than their proper voice in the decision of imperial questions, the time must come when we shall separate. I want Englishmen by which name I refer to the people of Ireland, Scotland, England, Canada, Australia and so on – to stick together for the purposes of defence (cheers).’⁴² Others at the meeting opposed the motion to accept federation. As one objector argued: ‘As soon as Australian federation comes on board, imperial federation will be drawn across it as a red herring. English statesmen can see that there is a glorious nation rising in the south with many grand institutions, many of which they have not had the pleasure of enjoying yet. We have many liberties which the men of the old country still have to enjoy.’⁴³

In an effort to boost the IFL’s project in Australia and New Zealand, the leading Canadian imperial federalist G.R. Parkin gave a series of lectures in 1889.⁴⁴ By the time of his Empire tour, Canada had embraced

the movement to the extent that 23 branches were in existence by 1890.⁴⁵ Their emergence was in some respects due to the fear of greater economic union with the USA. They were also popular because they were based on 'pure national self-interest'.⁴⁶ Parkin's experiences were subsequently published as *Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity* in 1892, but glossed over the fact that his tour had provoked little more than scepticism from the Australian press and many of the audiences to which he spoke. *The Age*, for example, was always ready to criticise imperial federation on the basis of the project's vagueness and noted in the wake of Parkin's visit to Melbourne that: 'It is more than doubted whether the Imperial Federation League did a wise thing in sending Mr Parkin out here ... the league has nothing but a vague sentiment to submit.'⁴⁷ Furthermore, when Parkin spoke in Sydney, he faced a motion which denounced the movement.⁴⁸ It was apparent that some amongst his audience thought that imperial federation aimed at racial equality. It gave the impression 'that he [the Australian] is to the Hindoo and the Chinese as a man and a brother'.⁴⁹ Even the usually pro-imperial daily *The Argus* noted at this time that in Sydney: 'The confederation of the Empire, which is from time to time brought up for discussion, does not make much progress in public opinion.'⁵⁰ In Sydney, it was the British Empire League (BEL) which established itself, an organisation which had the objective of Empire free trade rather than political integration, a branch being formed there in 1902.⁵¹ The League fared little better across the Tasman, with only one short-lived branch formed in Christchurch.⁵² W.P. Reeves, who had formed the group, admitted after its demise that the public were torpid concerning imperial federation.⁵³ Sinclair notes that opinion grew no stronger over the next 15 years.⁵⁴ In introducing Parkin before his lecture in Auckland, the Lord Mayor noted that 'the people of New Zealand took but a languid interest, chiefly because they did not know its bearing on the relation of the colonies to the mother country'.⁵⁵

Britishness, Empire, sentiment and instrumentality: the death of Gordon and the Russian scare

Having considered the 'rational' but ultimately doomed imperial project which failed to rally imperial sentiment, we may now turn to the 'irrational' romance of Empire. Reaction by the British world press to the death of Charles Gordon during his defence of Khartoum in January 1885, followed by the latest in what by the mid-1880s had become a series of 'Russian' scares, are the focus of this part of the chapter. What

I hope to demonstrate here is that in both instances, an ‘instrumental’ attitude to Empire was also displayed by the cities under consideration in relation to these imperial events. The death of Gordon, no less than imperial federation, was turned into an exercise for the furtherance of Australasian objectives in gaining greater recognition from Britain, and the Russian scare which followed soon after revealed an even greater degree of colonial self-interest in relation to the question of defence. Indeed, there was invariably an overlap in the editorial columns of the Melbourne’s daily press, where discussion of Gordon’s death, the ‘Russian scare’ and ‘imperial federation’ were all underpinned by defensive concerns for the colony. Gordon’s death, occurring as it did two years before the first major celebration of Queen Victoria’s reign in 1887 and not long after the IFL appeared, certainly cast Westminster, from a British world city perspective, in a negative light, demonstrating as it did at best a lack of judgment and at worst the abandonment of commitment to the Empire by the Gladstone administration of the mid-1880s. The saga of Gordon’s Sudan campaign and his ultimate demise at the hands of the Mahdi’s forces have been given covered elsewhere and so will not be discussed here once more. What will be examined here are the following questions: why did the death of Gordon provoke such outrage and emotion in a colonial context and why did this emotion come to an abrupt halt in the face of renewed threats from Russia? The interest in this war is partly explained by the fact that, as Ken Inglis notes, this was for Australia (and New Zealand) the first ‘telegraph and newspaper war’, where readers were regularly updated about the unfolding events.⁵⁶ Thus, in February 1885, the *New Zealand Herald* noted an ‘eager anxiety of all classes of our citizens ... to learn further particulars concerning the disaster. Our publishing office was besieged by groups of eager enquirers’.⁵⁷ Working-class volunteers in the New South Wales contingent appeared to be economically as much as imperially motivated and anti-jingoists believed that this was a war that Australia had no need to participate in. Somewhat ironically, it was those British-born Australians who objected to participation; native Australians were rather keener, perhaps more evidence of a nationalistic spirit in evidence within an imperial framework.⁵⁸

In the weeks following Gordon’s death, the editorials of the Antipodean press devoted considerable space to his demise. Did press reaction reflect a deep emotional bond with the Empire? Or, conversely, did the editorials reflect a rather more ambiguous attitude towards the Empire? The British campaign in the Sudan was one of a cluster of colonial skirmishes that befell the Empire in the later 1870s and 1880s.

As a number of historians have noted, the British appetite for Empire had taken a new direction as a result of the new Conservative policy, launched by Disraeli at the Crystal Palace in the early 1870s. Colonial conquest continued under both Liberal and Conservative ministries until the end of the century, despite Gladstonian rhetoric that further involvement overseas was distasteful to Liberal sensibilities. Gordon rapidly became a martyr figure for many in both Britain and the British world in January 1885. Gladstone, the 'Grand Old Man' of British politics, was recast as the 'Murderer of Gordon'. Indeed, five months after Gordon's death, the Liberal ministry fell, to be replaced by a new Conservative government under the guidance of Lord Salisbury. The colonial press almost exclusively lamented Gordon's loss. Moreover, in the weeks following the cabled news reaching both Australia and New Zealand, the Antipodean press reflected on his life and the implications of his death for the future of the Empire. What does this imperial saga tell the historian about Empire sentiment at a point at which the 'second British Empire' was reaching maturity?

For *The Argus*, the most conservative and elite-orientated of the Melbourne dailies, the first fortnight of February 1885 'had witnessed an outburst of loyal and patriotic feeling in these colonies, which has had all the force and all the discharge of electricity'.⁵⁹ It also observed that: 'Never since the days of the Indian mutiny has the national fibre in our natures vibrated in such quick response to a noble emotion as on the present occasion and never has the fervour and sincerity of our attachment to the mother country been exhibited under circumstances better calculated to test its strength and tenacity.'⁶⁰ In the country towns of Victoria, indignation was registered in the pages of the press. At Inglewood, so strong was this feeling that it was proposed that the county of Gladstone be renamed 'Gordon', whilst at Sandhurst, a petition was prepared to be presented to the Mayor, requesting an 'indignation' meeting.⁶¹ Joy Damousi has noted that the Sudan expedition, to which New South Wales had sent a contingent, 'was unambiguously located within the imperial martial tradition'.⁶² *The Argus* suggested that memorial cards for Gordon should be printed and distributed amongst schoolchildren, and that a memorial to Gordon should be constructed, funds for which were duly solicited.⁶³ Rather than his imperial adventures, however, it was instead Gordon's character and religious beliefs that seemed to particularly captivate Antipodean citizens, which casts doubt on how far Australasians saw him as an 'imperial' figure. Others were evidently simply curious about the unfolding drama, imperial or otherwise, as a mission to rescue Gordon in Khartoum unfolded.

Gordon's character seemed to have particularly captivated the clergy, who saw him as a model of the middle-class Victorian citizen. *The Argus* reported a meeting held in the Melbourne suburb of Prahran at which 100 persons were present.⁶⁴ Here the Reverend H.A. Langley noted that Gordon's 'peculiar idiosyncrasy of his mind was that he undertook deeds that no one else would have thought of ... He was a man in whom truth, uprightness and a desire to do what was just and right at any hazard constituted the first thoughts in his heart. He was unselfish'.⁶⁵ Yet even here, a note of self-interest was sounded soon after by Mr Harris MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly), who, whilst seconding the resolution for a picture of Gordon to be purchased and hung in the local library, noted that 'it was well that Victorian troops had not been allowed to go to the Sudan, as within a few months we might want every volunteer we could get to defend our own coasts'.⁶⁶

After New South Wales offered to send a contingent to the Sudan, *The Argus* was glad to find 'a [British] disposition to pay more attention to colonial opinion, colonial wants and colonial interests ... We shall rejoice [it continued] if the demonstration initiated by New South Wales puts an end to the regime of chilling indifference, to end unacquaintance with the real sentiment of these colonies'.⁶⁷ The real sentiment, however, as was revealed over the ensuing weeks, was invariably one which prioritised the benefits accruing to the colonies as a result of imperial loyalty, for it was evident that anger was directed at Gladstone not simply for his actions (or rather inaction in the Sudan), but for a general abandonment of imperial security on a global scale, which would leave both Australia and New Zealand vulnerable to Britain's enemies. In a lengthy castigation of Gladstone for his handling of the Gordon saga, *The Argus* believed that the Prime Minister had surrounded himself with men who were not loyal to the Empire and that this was 'one of the grounds for urging forward the federation of the colonies. The citizen of Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales or of Queensland is likely to be a non-entity but we must enter upon imperial federation on equal terms'.⁶⁸ Moreover, the paper put the Sudan war into a wider context of the recent offer of the New Hebrides to France, seeing both events as 'part and parcel of one policy'.⁶⁹ *The Press* of Christchurch also viewed Gordon's death from a local perspective, noting that: 'This great disaster will inflict not only a severe blow upon the Gladstone ministry, but may have the effect of lowering British prestige in the East, where it is of vital importance that it should be maintained.'⁷⁰ When the notion that a New Zealand contingent be sent to the Sudan, it provoked one correspondent to ask and plea in the *New Zealand Herald*: 'Does anyone

in the colonies think the stability of the British throne and Empire is in the least danger from these Arabs? Stay at home Volunteers! What have the Arabs done to you that you should go to cut their throats? They are no trouble to us. Have you seen one of them? You cannot call it self-defence.⁷¹ By March 1885, moreover, the latest of the Russian scares in Afghanistan overrode the grief of Gordon's death, events in Africa took centre stage in the city papers and concerns arose that both Australia and New Zealand ports might find themselves vulnerable to a Russian attack.⁷² The *New Zealand Herald* noted that: 'The thoughts of our citizens were yesterday sharply turned from the contest in the Sudan to the threatened war with Russia, which would be far more likely to affect us closely. One prominent thought in the public mind was that at the earliest possible moment the city and port should be put in a position of defence.'⁷³ In the context of such anxiety, Empire patriotism subsequently gave way to a more localised patriotism which had the defence of the Antipodean ports as its chief priority. A memorial to Gordon was created as a result of a campaign by *The Argus*, but its appearance only provoked scorn from Labour papers such as *The Bulletin*, which noted that it had been 'built in a burst of hysterics by old women of both sexes in Melbourne [and] will be sold for old metal when the raving crank of Khartoum is estimated at his true value as a bloodthirsty fanatic'.⁷⁴

Britishness and Empire sentiment: city populations and the Second Boer War 1899–1902

Troop departures, relief funds and patriotic sentiment

Historiography relating to the participation of both Australia and New Zealand has taken two rather different approaches to this Empire war that straddled the centuries. The first approach has been to suggest that participation in the conflict clearly demonstrated an enthusiasm for and loyalty to the British Empire on the part of its White Dominions, whilst a second viewpoint has suggested that this war marked an embryonic nationalism, as both nations tried to prove that they were equal to or even better than the British. More recently, a third viewpoint has been offered, suggesting that enthusiasm for the war was demonstrated only in the first few months of the conflict from approximately the Black Week to the relief of Mafeking; thereafter, in the third phase of the conflict known as the 'commando war', which had developed by September 1900 and lasted through to the conclusion of the war in May 1902, popular enthusiasm waned. Thus, in an Australian context, Craig Wilcox has argued that there was initially a popular indifference

to the imperial war that Britain had undertaken, until the crisis of the Black Week made Australians fear for their own safety.⁷⁵ December 1900 saw the creation of volunteer citizen armies to protect Australia's shores. Enlistment to the defensive forces was significant. There was a keener response from New Zealand's statesmen, who attempted to be the first colony to have troops at the Cape. It has been noted, however, that a growing spirit of militarism had already been evident in New Zealand in the years leading up to the war. A call had been made from some quarters to send contingents to the Spanish-American conflict of 1898 – a conflict that did not directly involve the British Empire.⁷⁶ The departure of the first contingent therefore took place in the context of a militarised nation wishing to prove itself in battle. The first contingent was given a notable send-off by thousands at Wellington. However, the reasons why so many citizens wanted to attend a contingent departure are multifarious. Some, of course, wanted to see their kinfolk on their way. For youngsters, the carnival atmosphere of a departure was clearly an attraction. Therefore, it would be quite wrong to see these events simply in imperial terms. One must also bear in mind that later in 1907, somewhat similar scenes occurred to welcome the arrival of the US fleet on its tour of Australia and New Zealand.

There also was much talk in the press at the time of departure of 'Our Boys', which implied a rather more national and localised perspective on imperial affairs.⁷⁷ This sense of difference was also to make itself felt when Antipodean troops met British Tommies on the battlefield, which developed a sense of their being 'better Britons'.⁷⁸ In Melbourne, the departure of the first contingent was given substantial coverage in the daily press and journalists observed the onlookers at the first departure. However, *The Argus* suggested that spectators attended these farewells for reasons other than to simply demonstrate their allegiance to the Empire. Quite simply, a contingent's departure was also an 'historical event'. For example, one old woman who attended the first Victorian contingent's departure, when interviewed, told the paper that she had witnessed the return of troops after Waterloo. As the paper then noted, 'the feeling that the event is a historic one animates all and parents who are linked in memory with some outstanding events of the past wish to give their children a landmark of national importance on which to fix their backward gaze. Hence the city is early astir, and trains and trams pour all the life of the suburbs into it'.⁷⁹ Moreover, *The Age* linked the 'imperial' with the 'local' when it noted the immense transformation that Melbourne had undergone over the previous half-century, now being a city which could proclaim itself a true city of

the Empire. As well as being an important ingredient in participation in the war, this sense of local 'civic pride' also came through in other centres. In Dunedin, for example, an observer noted that: 'On Monday the 9th I formed one of the perhaps two or three thousand who massed in front of the Garrison Hall. But I didn't feel at all proud of Dunedin. Why wasn't there a public ceremonial to commemorate what is really an historical landmark in the colony and of the Empire?'⁸⁰ Localised patriotism is evident in the comparison of the departure of home city troops with those who had arrived from other centres. Thus, as the *Otago Witness* noted of the departure of Christchurch troops from their home city:

The southern contingent for the Transvaal were in town yesterday ... Immense excitement prevailed here yesterday when the last of the Canterbury contingent left, for Wellington. Early in the evening the College Rifles entertained their comrades who were leaving at dinner. When the contingent paraded at the drill shed the grounds were crowded, and so thick were the people in the streets that with difficulty the men could march to the railway station, headed by the Cycle Corps to clear the way, and the Garrison Band. The officer commanding the district declined to call out the garrison, and the result was that nearly all the volunteers went down independently, but in uniform. So great was the crowd outside the station that with great difficulty the band and contingent got on to the platform, and as the crowd rushed the gates there was a lot of screaming from women and children, who were crushed, and several hurt. The scene on the station was most enthusiastic. Patriotic airs were played by the band and sung by the immense crowd, and cheers given for the Queen and the contingent, and groans for Kruger and T.E. Taylor.⁸¹

Yet, when Otago troops left Christchurch, the reaction did not evidently engender such wild celebration:

The Press states that the crowd which assembled at the Christchurch railway station to witness the departure of Lieutenant Stronach and the members of the Otago contingent was smaller than on Saturday.⁸²

The smaller attendance would perhaps suggest that enthusiasm was largely reserved for locally raised troops. Over time and with the departure of further contingents, it is also evident that departures were largely 'orchestrated' by national and local elites so as to engender patriotic

fervour – a fact noted in the press. The departure of the second contingent in January 1900, for example, was noted as outdoing that of the first by some margin.

In New Zealand, departures were also ‘awarded’ to other centres such as Canterbury, which saw off the third contingent to scenes of crowd of enthusiasm. The mustering of the fourth contingent was largely raised due to ‘a strong clamour’ in Otago and also triggered celebrations described by the *Otago Daily Times*, which noted that: ‘Never before, not even when we celebrated the jubilees of the provinces two years ago, have so many people from northern and southern towns, from the country districts, visited Dunedin at one time.’⁸³ However, we can notice here too that descriptions often mention the ‘historical nature’ of the moment and the role of the ‘local’ in national and imperial events. Thus, the notion of imperial enthusiasm needs to be qualified by reference to a sentiment based on a locally generated patriotism. Moreover, as the war progressed and it became evident that no speedy victory would occur, it is evident that the ‘jingoist’ crowds dissipated. In describing the departure of the seventh contingent from Wellington in April 1901, for example, it was noted by the *Evening Post* that: ‘Although the scene in front of the band rotunda on Jervois Quay was not as animated as on previous occasions when troops have embarked, yet, before the conclusion of the official ceremony there was a large gathering of onlookers.’⁸⁴ The use of the word ‘onlookers’ suggests a more passive engagement with departure than had been seen at the outbreak of war. Another facet of the ‘local’ dimension to the Empire which could be seen during this conflict was the raising of funds for local troops. Indeed, something of an inter-urban rivalry developed in the early stages of the conflict between Melbourne and Sydney and between New Zealand’s provinces to establish colonial fundraising efforts.⁸⁵ This was an activity in which women played a particularly important role. However, it is evident that fundraising was organised under the guidance of elite women.⁸⁶ These funds were supplied to families of wounded soldiers and helped support those injured soldiers who returned.⁸⁷ As Melanie Oppenheimer has demonstrated in her study of volunteerism during the Second Boer War and the First and Second World Wars, whilst the notion of contributing funds for the Empire was marked at the outbreak of the war, this declined over time as the war entered its ‘guerrilla phase’; news of the British internment of Boer women and children and of farm burning was published and war weariness, if not explicit distaste for news about it, set in. As a result, contributions notably declined. By 1902: ‘Other events such as Federation, and ongoing tragedies such

as the Mount Kembla mine disaster ... drew people's attentions away from the increasingly distant war in South Africa.⁸⁸ Newspaper articles about the funds also disappeared.⁸⁹ In addition to the role of national and local elites in orchestrating popular sentiment in the war, there was the role of the press, which also needs to be considered in terms of its maintenance of the public interest. In the opening phase of the war, the *Evening Post* noted in its leading editorial that: 'Never were men and women so impatiently curious to know what is going on in different parts of the world. Formerly it was only the so-called cultured classes that troubled about the editorials of public events and the great body of the people was content to receive but the faintest echo of the world-strife. Today the democracy imperatively demands the same information as is given to Kings and rulers.'⁹⁰ The paper added that the amount of news given to the populace had gone from one extreme to another, leading to 'over sensitiveness'.⁹¹ To this end, however, the papers largely pandered to their readers by providing daily updates on the progress of the war, also printing maps detailing where the fighting was taking place. Particular emphasis was placed on the contribution of New Zealand's troops to the war, the first major success of these troops coming in January 1900. The site of battle was named 'New Zealand Hill' in honour of this contribution. The press therefore increasingly 'narrated' the war for their readers: each issue became a chapter of an unfolding story, concentrating on the major battles taking place, which in turn heightened reader interest in the next issue. However, it became increasingly difficult to keep readers informed (or interested) as the war changed its nature and became a more static affair. In some instances, papers increasingly devoted space to other domestic headlines, for example, the contemporaneous topic of the Federation of the Australian colonies which took place in 1901 and the royal tour which was timed to coincide with this event. What is suggested here is that a substantial factor underpinning much of the jingoism demonstrated during this war was manufactured by institutions which had a vested interest in arousing enthusiasm.

Mafeking celebrations: May 1900

The end of the first phase of the Second Boer War was marked by the relief of the settlement of Mafeking, an event which is seen by historians as marking the zenith of enthusiasm for the British Empire amongst the domestic British population. It was indeed marked by exuberant demonstrations of patriotism by sections of city populations, which

then degenerated in some instances into riots with associated damage to property. The most influential study of the Mafeking riots in the British context has been provided by Richard Price in a much-cited study.⁹² Here, Price argued that it was the lower middle class rather than the working class who were most infused with enthusiasm for the Empire and that the best examples of the ‘jingo crowd’ were actually found not in the May 1900 celebrations, but in the context of the interruption to peace meetings staged during the conflict. In the context of Mafeking celebrations in Antipodean cities, it is also questionable whether the working class took the leading role in terms of jingoistic behaviour. Melbourne witnessed its own Mafeking celebrations similar to those that took place across Britain. Like the British experience, the most boisterous of the participants were from two distinct groups. The first were lower middle-class office workers and the second were larrikin youth. On 23 May 1900, *The Age* described the demonstration by employees of the Metropolitan Board of Works against pro-Boer sympathisers, and further disturbances were noted by ‘Various Government Departments’, such as the Shipping Office.⁹³ On 24 May, *The Age* also noted that ‘the people were in a wild delirium, a frenzy of jubilation ... knots of youths would get hold of bugles or whistles or toy drums and have processions on their own’.⁹⁴ That evening, the celebrations continued and it was noted that:

Every class of individual and every type of emotion were represented. Elderly gentlemen of irreproachable appearance rushed into the melée ... children in arms ... were hoisted shoulder high, with perhaps the idea of fixing on their baby consciousness some memorial of an epoch making event in the history of the Empire ... But presumably and particularly it was a day out for the youth of Melbourne.⁹⁵

The young man who ‘works in an office and plays football on Saturday afternoons’ was the central figure of the occasion. Medical students were noted as ‘wild and boisterous as of old’.⁹⁶ A patriotic concert staged at the Royal Exhibition Building was interrupted by university students ‘in academic robes and various quaint costumes, [who] made an unceremonious entry ... the singer paused in her song while the students, mounting chairs and beating tin cans improved the shining hour by chanting the university anthem’.⁹⁷

These largely middle-class participants were supplemented by a working-class larrikin element, who evidently saw Mafeking night not as a celebration of Empire, but as more of a ‘carnival’, the immediate

opportunity of which was to claim the streets for themselves. As *The Age* noted on 24 May: 'You could do what you liked in the way of extravagance of dress, antic or vocal demonstration.'⁹⁸ This behaviour included the lighting and throwing of fire-crackers, turning tram cars over, 'lying them on their side like stranded ships' and the surrounding of a tram driver on Bourke Street by a mob who 'on the plea that he was a Boer, evidently intended to give him a rough handling'.⁹⁹ Thus, as the paper noted, it was larrikins who 'took advantage of the prevailing excitement and toleration to satisfy their mischievous instincts'.¹⁰⁰ Mafeking was therefore clearly a more complex event than 'simply' the demonstration of imperial enthusiasm. Descriptions of participation are suggestive of middle-class 'liminality' at this point in the war. It is interesting to note that descriptions of excessive behaviour do not identify working-class adults as significant participants in the evening revelry. This is important for what it reveals about imperial enthusiasm on the part of the Antipodean working class.

The Second Boer War in popular culture

John MacKenzie has argued in his book *Propaganda and Empire* that 'Empire' was ubiquitous as far as popular theatre and the music hall was concerned in Britain at the turn of the century. Yet how far did the war infuse popular culture in the Antipodean cities?¹⁰¹ It is evident that Australians and New Zealanders had a taste for both British and North American forms of entertainment well before 1900 and it is inaccurate to say that the popular stage was 'saturated' with imperial themes during the war, although there was a notable escalation of patriotism in its early stages. During the 1890s, there had always been a comparatively short interval between imperial plays and dramas being shown in London and then appearing on the Antipodean stage. Productions like *Morocco Bound*, *Cheer Boys Cheer* and *The Yeoman of the Guard*, all documented by MacKenzie as examples of imperial entertainment, enjoyed runs in Melbourne and cities in New Zealand shortly after they had played to London audiences.¹⁰² Throughout the conflict, however, as had been the case well before it, there was also a keen interest in American as well as British productions and the former had very little or no imperial dimension to their offerings. It was the shorter journey for those acts arriving from the USA across the Pacific (three weeks compared to six from Britain) which encouraged Antipodean theatre managers to book them. Music hall did not thrive in either Australia or New Zealand; according to one historian of the stage, this was due to the 'colonists'

sub-conscious sensitivity to vulgarity'.¹⁰³ Vaudeville and variety halls were more acceptable to southern tastes and were inhabited by a range of artists from Britain, the USA and continental Europe both before 1900 and after. In the opening phase of the war, imperial sentiment was visible. As Richard Waterhouse notes, despite music hall being largely absent from Antipodean cities, the songs were popular in a vaudevillian context and: 'The Australian involvement in the Boer War engendered an initial wave of imperial patriotism, especially among the middle class ... local songwriters adapted the English material to emphasise the particular Australian contribution to Britain's defence.'¹⁰⁴ South African war plays such as *A Tale of the Transvaal* by Edwin Lewis Scott opened in Sydney on 23 December 1899 and *Britain and Boer* by Alfred Dampier (originally called *Jess*) began a run at the beginning of January 1900 in Melbourne.¹⁰⁵ The Town Hall became synonymous with patriotic sentiment as it provided the forum for imperialistic demonstrations during December 1899 and January 1900.¹⁰⁶ It was the setting for Empire-orientated entertainment, including a military band which played 'Soldiers of the Queen', 'Sons of the Sea' and Kipling's 'The Absent-Minded Beggar' set to music by Arthur Sullivan.¹⁰⁷ In Wellington in March 1900, the Brough Company staged a matinee performance of the play *Dandy Dick* in aid of the city's 'More Men Fund', which included a song written by New Zealander Alfred Hill entitled 'When the Empire Calls'.¹⁰⁸ Later in 1900, Bland Holt staged *The Absent-Minded Beggar* as a theatrical musical, which he then took across the Tasman.¹⁰⁹ The Wellington Opera House varied its offerings and appeared to alternate between imperial and non-imperial entertainment. It was occupied by the Lyceum Dramatic Company in February 1900, where it offered two plays. The first was *The British Flag* (chiming with the war) and the second was *The Double Event*, a sporting drama set in Melbourne.¹¹⁰ Later in the year, the Opera House offered the opportunity to view 'Four thousand feet of Living Pictures of the Transvaal War' in July 1900, but by October of the same year was then home to *The Belle of New York*. In November, it then returned to the imperial theme, offering a new medium, 'The only genuine biography in Australasia showing actual incidents of the Transvaal War', alongside which it also showed *A Royal Spanish Bull Fight!* Fuller's Variety Theatre showed some interest in the imperial theme and performances such as 'The Relief of Lucknow' were witnessed in July 1901, although these appeared well down a bill topped by the gymnasts Faust and Walhalla.¹¹¹ Yet, these imperial performances were only ever part of a much more varied billing on offer to those seeking entertainment at city venues and many of the offerings had no obvious imperial links, even at

the height of the war. Indeed, Maurice Hurst noted in his history of the New Zealand stage that the 'life of the colony was only slightly affected' by the war.¹¹² The most popular entertainers listed by Hurst for 1900 were: the Brough Comedy with *The Liars*, *The Gay Lord Quex* and *The Physician*; the Charles Arnold Company with two farces, *What Happened to Jones?* and *Why Smith Left Home*; the Lyceum Dramatic Company with *The British Flag* and *The Double Event*; and the Pollard Company's *The Belle of New York*. There were also popular tours by American companies.¹¹³ Hoyt and McKee's *A Trip to Chinatown*, originally staged on Broadway and containing a plot that was set in San Francisco, evidently played well and incorporated a rendition of *The Absent-Minded Beggar* for fundraising purposes.¹¹⁴ The Crane Power Company performed *The Sign of the Cross*, a play about the Roman Empire, and also *Trilby* and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*.¹¹⁵

In Australia, as the war progressed and in the wake of federation, popular songs and plays notably shifted in their tone and outlook, providing a more national and in some instances localised take on the conflict. Bland Holt, who had toured melodramas across Australia and New Zealand since the 1880s, produced a more localised take on the Boer War in his four-act melodrama *Riding to Win*, which opened in Melbourne in September 1901 and contained, according to *The Argus*, 'references to recent stirring events in the national history – the Boer War and the trouble in China. Its chief element, however, is intended to be sporting'.¹¹⁶ Scenes included a bicycle race in Melbourne's exhibition grounds and at one point in the play Holt presented himself as 'an Australian soldier returned from South Africa who lit a barbecue on the stage and cooks steaks using his bayonet as a skewer'.¹¹⁷ Indeed, as the war degenerated from a noble conflict into a more ignoble guerrilla war, it is apparent that the popular appetite for imperially themed drama and music waned, an aspect of what can be termed 'war weariness'. By January 1901, the entertainment on offer in Wellington included the pantomime *Babes in the Wood* performed at the Theatre Royal, the comedy *Whatever Happened to Jones?* followed by *An Empty Stocking* performed at the Opera House, and *Irish Strategy* at the Federal Theatre, whilst in August the young Belgian cellist Jean Gerardy played the Opera House. None of these performances engaged with imperial themes. In other aspects of popular culture, it does appear that in the years following the end of the war in 1902, the conflict was used by novelists as a backdrop for their fiction. In its review of fiction published in June 1904, for example, it was noted by *The Argus* that: 'Since the Boer War, stories dealing with the domestic difficulties of residents in the Transvaal before and during the struggle have been

plentiful; and F. E. Young's "A Dangerous Guest" adds another to the number.¹¹⁸ It is evident, however, that books like these were effectively romances. Thus, in this example, 'the love affairs of a young Englishman and a Boer girl' were set against the background of war and so in a sense were only tangentially about the war.¹¹⁹

The Second Boer War is also of interest as a period which saw the writing and publication of songs composed about the war from an Antipodean perspective. In her work on patriotic music published in the early twentieth century, Georgina Binns notes a cluster of 30 songs which 'expressed a peculiarly Australian view of the involvement'.¹²⁰ These included 'Songs of the Bush, Awake! Awake! Australia', 'Australia Will Be There', 'Sons of Our Empire', 'Onward Australia', 'Sons of the Southern Seas' and 'The Bushmen's Corp'.¹²¹ In the last, words such as 'cockie', 'damper', 'swag', 'snags' and 'tucker-bag' were evident. Binns also noted that 'The forthcoming act of federation inspired numerous national anthems', such as 'Maker of the Earth and Sea'.¹²² Moreover, by surveying the music published in the *Commonwealth School Paper*, Binns commented that in 1899 the ratio of British music to Australian was 5:1, which by 1902 had reversed to a ratio of 5:4 in Australia's favour. In New Zealand over 20 songs were composed relating to the Boer War which also incorporated a new perspective within the general sentiment of loyalty to the Empire.¹²³ The song 'The Absent-Minded Beggar of the South' demonstrated a regional, if not nationalistic sentiment. Others included 'Sons of the Colonies' and 'Boys of the Southern Cross'. The latter's chorus read as follows:

We are the boys of the Southern Cross
 Our stars shine on our flags
 Emblazoned with the Union Jack
 To show We're Empire lads.

These songs of course were written for the purposes of propaganda; it is somewhat difficult to establish if they reflected the sentiment of working-class New Zealanders. Postcards exchanged between the home front and the war front also demonstrated a combination of indigenous and imperial sentiment (see Figure 1.1).

War weariness and peace

Whilst contingents continued to be sent to South Africa by both Australia and New Zealand in 1902, a fact which was taken to be a sign



Figure 1.1 New Zealand postcard marking the Second Boer War: A.F. Batchelar Papers

Source: courtesy of the Palmerston North City Archive.

of 'glowing patriotism', it was nevertheless evident that by the closing stages of 1901, a notable popular feeling of lethargy was evident in relation to the war.¹²⁴ This was reflected at both a parliamentary level, with petitions to withdraw from the war submitted on the grounds that it was not a 'defensive' war of Empire put before representatives, and at a popular level, with war weariness voiced in the daily press. At the beginning of 1901, *The Herald* noted in its headlines that the 'War Horror Continues' and expressed 'regret at the turn of events in South Africa',¹²⁵ whilst by the end of the year, looking back on the early stages of the war, the paper commented that: 'After Colenso, ministers were carried willy-nilly to triumph on the wave of public and imperial resolve. It was different today ... the interest flagged. The war had ceased to be a supreme cause. It had become an unmitigated nuisance.'¹²⁶ It also reproduced criticism of the Second Boer War, which originally appeared in *The Times* in the same month to the effect that 'civilians cannot to a man understand what 250,000 men are doing with some 10,000 Boers at the outside in the field'.¹²⁷ The paper questioned the virtue of the war at frequent intervals at this stage of the conflict.¹²⁸ When peace finally arrived in May-June 1902, it is noticeable that the news was received with fairly muted acknowledgment of its conclusion; as *The Herald*

noted, the arrival of peace was received with ‘no noise, no shouting, no wild and whirling whooping demonstration of delight’:

The trains and trams coming from all suburbs into the city last night were crowded with people who apparently anticipated that there would be a demonstration in the streets as on Mafeking night. Although the city was full of life and activity and there was much earnest congratulation, patriotic singing and jubilant ebullitions of varied character the demonstrations of joy were much more subdued than at the Mafeking demonstration. By 11pm the streets had resumed their usual appearance.¹²⁹

A similar sentiment was also noted in Auckland, as the crowds in Queen Street were described as ‘a pleased throng. Red white and blue the only wear. There was none of the exuberance about the scene that gave the English language a new verb “to Maffick”’.¹³⁰ Similarly, returning troops were not greeted back by gatherings of large and enthusiastic crowds as they had encountered when they left. It is evident that the Boer War did not captivate popular sentiment in Antipodean cities for the entire duration of the war. Indeed, after the initial outbreak lasting until approximately mid-1900, there was a comparative lull in interest in the conflict. The earlier sections of this chapter have suggested that for Australian and New Zealand city dwellers, the Empire only took on importance at certain moments and in certain contexts.¹³¹ Defence was key to imperial enthusiasm and Antipodeans were considerably less impressed by vague notions of imperial unity that were presented in the form of imperial federation. Grief at the death of General Gordon quickly turned to considerations of the Russian threat, and once it became clear that the Boer threat had receded and the Empire was not endangered, it became difficult to retain popular enthusiasm for the Second Boer War.

2

Imperial Identity in Antipodean Cities During the First World War and its Aftermath 1914–30

In a lecture delivered in the aftermath of the First World War, entitled 'Manhood of the Nation', Chas Chilton, Professor of Biology at Canterbury College, addressed the issue of the wartime spirit in New Zealand. His verdict on the behaviour of many New Zealanders was damning. Whilst he noted that there were:

many brilliant examples of the sacrifice of self-interest to those of the country ... taking the nation as a whole, and judging from what happened in New Zealand itself, I must confess that I do not see much of the great changes in the spirit and purpose of the nation that we have been told so often has resulted from the war; many things have happened that almost makes one despair. 'Business as usual' was perhaps a legitimate cry in the very early days of the war ... but it soon seemed as if people took business as usual to mean that they could go on with their money-getting and money spending for their individual interests just as they had done before the war ... in many instances it was not a case of 'business as usual' but of 'business much better than usual'.¹

In the rest of his lecture, Chilton castigated his fellow New Zealanders for continuing their lives as if no war was in progress:

They crowded to the races, to motor carnivals, to the picture shows; and in this city [Christchurch] on one occasion tram cars, crowded mostly with men going to the races on their way passed motor cars bringing back our wounded soldiers ... The ignorance of the great mass of the people about the war was profound ... On more than one occasion, at critical times in the war, crowds were seen apparently

eagerly reading the latest war news from the newspaper placards, but a closer approach showed that they were really devouring the results of the latest Parengarenga Races or the Takitimu Trots.²

No lasting Antipodean Burgfrieden or Union sacrée had evidently been forged in the nation at war, despite early hopes voiced in August 1914. Indeed, the awareness of the war amongst the population was, according to Chilton, minimal.

Chilton's post-war lecture provides a useful starting point to consider how far Antipodean cities embraced imperial sentiment during the war or, conversely, whether a more nationalistic outlook was developing across the war and immediate post-war years. Indeed, did Australians or New Zealanders care about either identity? Historical opinion has been divided on this issue, with at least three viewpoints being taken. Some believe that this was an Empire war and that loyalty to the Empire (demonstrated from the top to the bottom of society) underpinned the actions of both Australians and New Zealanders throughout the period 1914–18. A second position is that Anzac nationalistic sentiment began to eclipse the imperial sentiment at this time. Others believe that a balance of national and imperial interest was visible in these years,³ while a fourth viewpoint – and the one which is argued for here – is that whilst loyalty to the Empire was proclaimed and demonstrated by city elites, the wider populace demonstrated a much greater degree of ambiguity toward the conflict over the years 1914–18.

For John Darwin, the First World War was the 'War for Empire' and evidence which might suggest otherwise is given rather short shrift in his recent overview of the evolution of the British Empire, especially the question of why the question of conscription proved so controversial.⁴ Whilst the readiness of Australia and New Zealand to send troops in 1914 is noted, the subsequent struggle to maintain their contribution by the end of 1915 is less fully examined, as is the disappointing response to the call to arms issued on both sides of the Tasman in early 1916. The vote against conscription in Australia for Darwin was not a 'repudiation of empire', but a rejection of an 'open-ended commitment to the war on the Western Front'. Conscription, he argues, also jeopardised 'White Australia'.⁵ The affair is noted as being 'much less controversial in New Zealand'.⁶ The question of why compulsion was in fact needed is not, however, explored. Part of the problem here is that high statesman such as Joseph Cook, Billy Hughes, William Massey and James Allen are seen in this context to 'speak for the people', as dangerous an assumption to make in war as in peacetime. Jock Phillips, reflecting on the war's impact

on New Zealand, suggests that national sentiment developed within an imperial framework.⁷ A different perspective is put forward by Stevan Eldred-Grigg, who suggests that the First World War was a war that New Zealand should have stood aside from.⁸ The argument presented below suggests that it is unconvincing to remove the Empire completely from the equation when explaining why Australia and New Zealand sent troops to Europe in 1914, but it is evident that in order to maintain public belief in the war across four years of the conflict, it became necessary to increasingly 'personalise' the war. The 'personalisation' was seen to develop in the light of recruitment shortages by the closing months of 1915 through to the final phases of the war in 1918.

In the following section of this chapter, an examination is made of what has been called the 'spirit of 1914' and subsequent troop departures in order to assess how far Empire sentiment was demonstrated in this phase of the war. Diaries and oral histories left to the historian by those who travelled to Europe to participate in the conflict are also analysed and an attempt is made to assess how far soldiers identified with 'Empire' as a motive for enlisting. In the subsequent section, imperial identity is examined in relation to the home front between the end of 1915 and mid-1916, that is, during the period in which a manpower shortage was first recognised, using Melbourne and Christchurch as examples. A consideration is then given to the notion of war weariness in 1917–18 which saw the commitment to the Empire wane, whilst in the final section concludes by examining the question of how far 'Empire' was commemorated in the 1920s or had been usurped by national myths and legends, drawing evidence from all of the four cities under consideration in this book.

'War enthusiasm' in the city and troop departures: July–October 1914

It is well known that at the outbreak of war, the respective Prime Ministers of both Australia and New Zealand, Joseph Cook and William Massey, pledged their support to the Empire and expeditionary forces were duly mustered to travel to Europe in order to play a supporting role in the defence of the Empire. Statements issued by the political establishment should not, however, be automatically taken as evidence of a more widespread enthusiasm amongst city populations for war in the 'name of Empire'. This has become evident as more research has been undertaken on national and regional reactions to the outbreak of war.⁹ How far was war 'enthusiasm' demonstrated in the August days and what role

did Empire identity play? Was the Empire at the forefront in the civic ceremonies staged when Antipodean troops subsequently left for Europe in October 1914? If so, who were the main actors in these ‘city dramas’?

The July crisis which developed in 1914 has been comparatively neglected in terms of the Antipodean reaction to it.¹⁰ Significantly, many of the daily newspapers, such as Christchurch’s evening daily *The Sun* and Melbourne’s morning dailies *The Age* and *The Argus*, only began to report the escalating European crisis from around 27 July, perhaps reflecting the fact that the crisis had up until this point been seen as a distant affair with no significant implications for the southern hemisphere.¹¹ This attitude quickly evaporated thereafter. Indeed, both the morning and evening papers were important, and provided the first news for public consumption. Editors of the evening papers in particular realised that their publication time gave them an advantage at this point, promising the latest news from Europe that their morning counterparts had missed.¹² It was, as a result of this capacity to be ‘first with the news’, that crowds began gathering at the offices of the daily papers. Indeed, the mechanism of obtaining news by cable from Europe was a news feature in its own right.¹³ By 30 July, *The Sun* ran a more nationally toned lead column which tried to assess the effect that the war might have on New Zealand, reassuring its readers that ‘New Zealand should not come to much harm’.¹⁴ By 6 August, it even thought that a decline in the country’s ability to import goods would be beneficial as it would provoke national industry to fill the void.¹⁵ It is evident that, like their European counterparts, most editors and journalists could only speculate as to the nature of the ensuing war. *The Sun* pondered that a European war might witness a decisive battle within a month, but could not go on through the northern winter. Only in the event of this latter scenario would Dominion troops be needed.¹⁶ The city newspaper *The Press* took the liberty of speaking for the people when it observed in a column entitled ‘Patriotic New Zealand’ that:

The heart of the country will thrill with enthusiasm this morning when the public read of the scene which took place in the House of Representatives last evening ... should occasion arise the Government of New Zealand would ask Parliament and the people to do their duty by offering the services of an Expeditionary Force to co-operate with the forces of the motherland. The difficulty will be not to get the required number, but to make a selection from the thousands who will come forward eager to do their part in maintaining the safety and honour of the Empire.¹⁷

By 4 August, *The Press* had tempered this sentiment somewhat. It noted that the 'days of jingoism are so completely over and the spirit of jingoism so completely dead ... every sober colonial hopes that Britain may even now honourably keep out of the European crisis'.¹⁸ On 7 August, the paper began to project a nationalism within the imperial outlook by proudly asserting that 'no one ever doubted that New Zealanders would be only too eager to offer their services to the defence of the Empire should the occasion present itself ... it will add fresh lustre to the reputation which New Zealanders have gained throughout the whole world for their pluck and prowess in the field'.¹⁹ Whilst contemplating the effects of the war on New Zealand, *The Sun* also laid out a narrative of imperial duty and duly celebrated the 'bonds of Empire', noting a 'Wave of Imperialism' in which 'political and domestic and industrial differences have been sunk deep'.²⁰ Here, the paper, which harboured conservative proclivities, evidently hoped for a reduction in tension between capital and labour in the Dominion.

In the accounts of the reactions to the announcement of the outbreak of war displayed in the cities of New Zealand, particularly prominent were young New Zealanders and Australians who constituted the 'jingoistic' crowd, which appeared in public spaces during the early days of August in the wake of the declaration of war.²¹ In this respect, these scenes bear some resemblance to those that had been witnessed at the outbreak of the Second Boer War in October 1899. In Christchurch, the anticipation of war was marked on 4 August when around 200 youths, most of whom were thought to be in the Territorial Force, staged a patriotic demonstration in front of the Queen's statue. Both a 'large Union Jack and New Zealand's Ensign' were flown aloft.²² It is of course significant that youth had been the focus of the most explicit efforts to inculcate imperial sentiment before 1914, particularly in an urban context, in the years before the First World War began. Such enthusiasm was often lacking in older adults. In its description of the crowd which gathered outside Parliament at the declaration of war, for example, *The Press* noted that despite escalating cheers, 'there were many people in the crowd who were visibly affected by the gravity of the announcement. A few people – some old men – were seen with tears trickling down their cheek while several women had their handkerchiefs applied to their weeping eyes'.²³ On 6 August, *The Press* noted the reaction in several of the larger New Zealand centres and assessed the mood in Christchurch as being one of a 'feeling of relief that the decisive step was taken'.²⁴

In Melbourne, both *The Argus* and *The Herald* noted that on the morning of 5 August, 'strained expectancy rather than enthusiasm was the

keynote of the people's feelings', whilst by the evening: 'At a time of crisis the city underworld takes form and shape, assembles in crowds and if not held in leash may play the wild beast ... Last night the hoodlum duly appeared, animated by a hybrid mixture of patriotic sentiment and violence.'²⁵ Indeed, *The Herald* argued for the prevention of crowds gathering 'where they are tantalised into gaping for news'.²⁶ *The Argus* noted that larrikins had run riot after the announcement of war. Up until 9 pm, it had noted 'genuine enthusiasm' amongst the crowd, but this was followed by a crowd of 200 youths aged 13–20 marching through the major thoroughfares, a trooper horse being stabbed in what the paper deemed 'violent ruffianism'.²⁷ Kerosene tins were thrown at troopers. Judith Smart notes that these attacks had 'little to do with patriotism'.²⁸ This press report chimes with Jeffrey Verhey's observation that the 'spirit of 1914' witnessed the 'suspension of certain norms and prohibitions and allowed the group to set forth its own rules of behavior (*sic*)'.²⁹ *The Star* in Christchurch also noted the capacity of the crowd to indulge in 'pranks' at this early stage of the conflict.³⁰

The other significant group which demonstrated 'war enthusiasm' in the 'August days' were city elites. Mayors, their wives, councillors and civic leaders were at the forefront of efforts to establish city funds to assist the departure of expeditionary forces and, after the Gallipoli retreat, to help returning soldiers and their families. These efforts were complimented by the imperial loyalty leagues, such as the Overseas Club and the Victoria League branches. As Gwen Parsons notes:

Participation was therefore generally only possible for the wealthy who were not obliged to work regular hours and who could afford to employ others to deal with their domestic duties ... Within Christchurch the executives of the major patriotic organisations were dominated by wealthy men and women, many of whom already had national standing, but all of whom were able to enhance their standing through their participation ... These groups were prominent exponents of pro-war discourse.³¹

The 'Great Patriotic Demonstration' staged in Christchurch on 24 August, for example, in order to help the Mayor's fund was declared a half-holiday. Notably absent from the parade, however, was any working-class representation, despite the initial hope that there might have been union representation.³² The large public attendance may have been linked to the declaration of a public holiday for this event and the fact that at the demonstration, as the paper noted, 'amusements

will be supreme', which included leisure rides in motor-vehicles round the city.³³

Localised war enthusiasm was demonstrated in the context of the formation of a Citizens' Committee in Christchurch, organised by the Mayor, Harry Holland. The object of the Committee was initially to provide 'auxiliary assistance to the government'. Subsequently, patriotic committees established by either the Mayor or the Mayoress formed in all the cities under consideration. A significant difference between the funds established in the First World War compared with the Second Boer War 15 years earlier was that those established in 1914 were focused more explicitly on providing assistance to local troops rather than those of the wider Empire. As Melanie Oppenheimer notes of the First World War funds established in Australia, 'much of the fund raising was channelled to Australian forces'.³⁴ In the context of Christchurch, *The Sun* asked in April 1915 'What has been Done for Belgium by Canterbury?', noting that: 'The credit for suggesting that New Zealand should do something for the Belgians belongs to Dr. E. Levinge of Christchurch'.³⁵ This 'localised' patriotism became increasingly evident later in the war when there was speculation that patriotic funds were to be coordinated and controlled by national government.³⁶ There was also considerable inter-urban rivalry over the issue of the supply of volunteers by the middle years of the conflict.³⁷ It is important to note, therefore, that funds were also collected to ostensibly fund 'our boys', especially in the wake of the Gallipoli campaign, which began in April 1915. As Simon Morgan notes, it was the Dominions' 'own men' who provided the basis for 'the most elaborate fund-raising ventures, since it was they who embodied New Zealand's commitment to stamping out Prussian militarism'.³⁸ Megan Woods has also noted that women's patriotic work during the First World War in New Zealand shifted distinctly from Empire-orientated endeavours to nationally directed fundraising at an early stage in the war.³⁹ Initially effort was given to the Queen Mary Appeal, but within months it was declared by Lady Liverpool, wife of the Governor-General, that comforts produced by women should be devoted 'entirely to the New Zealand troops on active service'.⁴⁰

How far was a 'sentiment' for Empire demonstrated when troops left for Europe? Here too, the evidence suggests that war enthusiasm was distinctly lacking when men departed for the theatres of war. The official farewell of the first detachment which left Wellington on 14 August was cloaked in rhetoric which emphasised a strong Empire sentiment, with speeches given by both past and present Prime Ministers William Massey and Joseph Ward. By contrast, the scenes in the city

were quite muted, the *Evening Post* noting that ‘no assembling of the whole city’s populace, no massed bands and no waving of flags’.⁴¹ As in the case of the Second Boer War, the initial departure was evidently hurried compared to subsequent departures, which were substantially more ‘orchestrated’ and were dominated by prime ministers, ministers of defence and city mayors, who explained participation in war in terms of loyalty to the Empire. Wellington’s *Evening Post* described the official farewell of the Wellington contingent to the main expeditionary force as ‘quiet, dignified and solemn’ and it was ‘without the slightest touch of jingoism in it’.⁴² After a news blackout, the city press was allowed to publish the news of the departure of the expeditionary force on 20 November 1914. Here too, the paper noted: ‘There was some cheering from the shore, but it was of a rather solemn sober sort.’⁴³ Melbourne’s *The Argus* suggested that the relatively low numbers who turned out to bid farewell to the imperial forces in October was due to the secrecy of the event and that, had it been a public occasion, the ‘numbers would have greater’.⁴⁴ As the troop ship disappeared, the paper noted that the crowd consisted chiefly of ‘weeping women and their consolers’.⁴⁵

In larger Antipodean cities such as Melbourne, class was an important variable which influenced the extent of enthusiasm for the Empire. As Anne-Marie Condé has noted, ‘for most men about to go overseas, their status as citizens of Empire, nation or state would probably have seemed remote compared to local loyalties’.⁴⁶ Farewells in working-class districts of cities like Melbourne, such as Footscray and Richmond:

were loud and at times unruly gatherings, times for optimism and pride in the ‘local boys’ often, as if they were members of the local football team. In contrast there were farewells such as the one at predominantly middle-class Prahran at which the State Governor and various federal and state members of parliament were present, who had less interest in local pride and who tended to speak blandly about the integrity of the Empire and the credit the volunteers were doing for their country. The motives of working-class recruits to enlist were often at variance with notions of duty, honour and sacrifice that fitted so comfortably with middle-class motives.⁴⁷

The citizen-soldier goes to war: 1914–15

During the war, J.L. Skeeman of the Imperial General Staff assessed the character of a sample of New Zealand’s newly recruited soldiers arriving at training camps in 1917.⁴⁸ Fragments of this assessment have survived.

In a document headed 'Appreciation of the Average New Zealand Man on First Arrival in Expedition Force Training Camps 1917', 17 soldiers were assessed in relation to 22 aspects of their character. Of most pertinence to the ideas discussed here was the first heading, 'Patriotism'. The soldiers were assessed on both the national and imperial dimensions to this identity. What was the verdict on this aspect of the recruits' character? Of the 17, ten of the soldiers were noted to have, at best, a rather indifferent attitude towards Empire identity. Indeed, against some of the men's names, for example, H.T. Pest, a Methodist chaplain, Major P.H. Johnston and Captain W.P. Johnston, the comments made of their Empire patriotism were 'Not so great, the average man is not an imperialist', 'Vague indifference regarding Empire' and 'Shows little interest in Empire'.⁴⁹ This admittedly small sample of soldiers who were preparing to enter the cauldron of war does, however, cause the historian to reconsider how important Empire identity was to soldiers participating in the First World War. Did their enthusiasm for the Empire wane over the four years of the conflict or, conversely, had they never had a sentiment for the Empire even at the beginning of the war?

Up until the late 1960s, historians were still working within a framework which put the citizen-soldier at the heart of the Empire. For example, L.L. Robson's monograph *The First A.I.F. A Study of its Recruitment 1914-1918* published in 1970 maintained that soldiers rushed to enlist in 1914 because they had been indoctrinated in the ideology of Empire through their schooling and the work of the imperial loyalty leagues.⁵⁰ Yet, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, the effectiveness of both Empire Day in schools and the work of the leagues can be easily over-estimated. Many school-children saw the day as a holiday rather than taking in the more sombre message of loyalty to the Empire. Indeed, in a subsequent collection entitled *Citizen to Soldier: Australia before the Great War: Recollections of Members of the First A.I.F.* (1977), Dawes and Robson went some considerable distance towards undermining Robson's earlier argument by considering a wider range of motivations for enlisting. Not only were 'patriotism' and a 'sense of duty' noted, but so were 'social pressure', a 'spirit of adventure' and 'self-interest'.⁵¹ Since then, historians have begun to scrutinise the evidence contained in soldiers' diaries and letters donated by family members to public archives.

During the 1970s, there was also a concerted effort to interview soldiers in their closing years about the war, one of the most notable attempts being Patsy Adam-Smith's oral history project conducted in the 1970s on which her subsequent monograph *The Anzacs* (1978) was

based.⁵² As a result of these oral histories, it became evident that men had a variety of reasons for enlisting, of which ‘Empire’ ranked well down the list.⁵³ Among the other earliest studies of First World War testimonies was Bill Gammage’s *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (1974), in which the author argued that ‘Through the commotion ran the affections of nation and Empire’, but that Australia went to war because she ‘feared for her own safety’.⁵⁴ Of the later years of the war, Gammage noted that war films such as *Sons of Empire* ‘could no longer recover their expenses’ and that films of this nature were abandoned by November 1917.⁵⁵ Of Australian soldiers, he noted that: ‘Though they continued to admire much in the imperial system, during the war, Australian soldiers learnt their own worth, which formerly they had doubted, and saw faults and cankers at the heart of the Empire, which once they had imagined great above every imperfection. The war dealt the affection of Empire a mortal blow, and men never returned to the adulation of 1914.’⁵⁶ Did men ever adulate the wider Empire?

In the 1980s in a New Zealand context, Nicholas Boyack similarly asserted in the opening section of his book *Behind the Lines: The Lives of New Zealand Soldiers in the First World War* (1989) that: ‘For the average New Zealand soldier. World War One was not, especially after Gallipoli, a war fought for reasons of patriotism or pride in the British Empire. It was for many either an adventure gone hideously wrong, or an experience forced upon them by circumstances they could neither control nor understand.’⁵⁷ Meanwhile, on the other side of the Tasman, an important study of Empire sentiment was published by E.M. Andrews in 1994 entitled *The Anzac Illusion*. Here, Andrews further debunked many of the assumptions made of Australia’s commitment to the Empire. Among the most important observations made in this treatment were that war enthusiasm only emerged after the declaration of war and that, as far as reasons for enlistment were concerned: ‘The soldiers themselves rarely mentioned motives for enlistment, either at the time or afterwards. Talk about “self-sacrifice” and “Empire”, imperial relations and foreign and defence policy, belonged to politicians and preachers – men who did not expect to have to go themselves. Such language was not used by the men who enlisted; they sometimes played down their action by talking of the desire for adventure and travel ... as in England much of the enthusiasm was deliberately manipulated in crowd situations.’⁵⁸ Andrews also notes that motives may have been class-dependent, as middle-class men would have a greater sense of Empire duty and sacrifice, whilst working-class men would enlist for either steady employment (Anzacs were paid more than the British Tommies) or the ‘desire to break out of

unhappy personal relationships'.⁵⁹ He also notes that although 52,561 Australian men had enlisted by the end of 1914, this represented only 6.4 per cent of the total eligible population. A total of 93.6 per cent did not enlist – hardly evidence of an overwhelming identification with an Empire facing a crisis.⁶⁰

Most recently, in a collection of essays which focus on New Zealand's experience in the First World War, Gary Sheffield attempts to revive the notion of soldier identification with the Empire, arguing that in 1914 'the overwhelming majority of New Zealanders, Australians and Anglophone Canadians and South Africans regarded themselves as in some sense British, as loyal subjects of King George V and citizens of Empire'.⁶¹ However, Sheffield uses as evidence an extract from Stan Stanfield's wartime recollections to the effect that 'this British Empire business was at the zenith, the peak of its power and popularity'.⁶² What is interesting about this remark is that it actually puts distance between Stanfield and the concept of Empire. Stanfield does not say that he enlisted because of the Empire; indeed, a fuller extract of his recollections which Sheffield does not choose to cite is that: 'Public opinion then was a tremendous thing. People were wildly enthusiastic over the war at that period, up till perhaps well on in the war, up to perhaps Passchendaele, 1917. The pressure on young men to go was tremendous.'⁶³ Moreover, in the essay that immediately follows this in the same collection, Ian McGibbon partly undermines Sheffield's comments by suggesting that: 'On a small scale, then, New Zealanders replicated the evident enthusiasms with which many Europeans went to war in 1914, though such displays may not have reflected the feelings of the general population.'⁶⁴ He notes that beneath the notion of Empire was 'a bedrock of self-interest ... It is difficult to judge how many New Zealanders were ambivalent about or even hostile to supporting the empire'.⁶⁵ Among the most recent of the studies to consider the participation of Australia and New Zealand along with Canada in the First World War is M.D. Sheftall's *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada*. Here, Sheftall argues that the effect of Dominion participation in the war was a 'review and re-evaluation of their political relationship to Britain and of their status within the Empire, that was unprecedented in its scope and intensity ... war encouraged colonial citizens to articulate and celebrate, to an extent that was truly novel in its scale and in its appeal across social boundaries, ideals of Australian, Canadian and New Zealand national character that were defined by their opposition to certain qualities that were associated with "Old" Britain'.⁶⁶

One of the historians who has done the most to demolish the 'King and Country' enlistment myth is Richard White.⁶⁷ In two significant articles published in the mid-1980s, White first argued that motivations for enlisting varied according to class background and that many Antipodean soldiers saw the war through the lens of the 'war tourist'. As he noted of Robert Antill, a working-class pommie immigrant and Melbourne-based recruit to the Australian Imperial Force (AIF): 'Why did [Antill] join up? Eulogies about heroes who have fought and died for love of Empire would seem to have little relevance to Antill.'⁶⁸ His father's talk of 'self sacrifice and 'Empire' found 'no echo in Antill's own understanding of his motives' and 'there was a gulf between his private and public motives – the thrill, the money, unemployment, the chance to travel home – and the more respectable, pontifical calls to duty, love of country and the crimson thread of kinship'.⁶⁹ A wider survey of extant Anzac diaries and letters on both sides of the Tasman demonstrates that the Empire invariably meant 'travel' as much as 'loyalty' for many men. Indeed, if men had been indoctrinated in Empire sentiment before 1914, should we not expect to hear such sentiments expressed in the early entries of a diary, for example? Moreover, would soldiers observe the imperial calendar by noting their activities on Empire Day (24 May)? Of the diaries, letters and post-war recollections of Anzacs surveyed for this book, the level of Empire awareness has to be considered very low or, at least, rank-and-file soldiers held it in low esteem. Only a small fraction of the sample mentioned any observance of Empire Day in their diary entries, for example. The recent collection edited by Glyn Harper, *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home*, is interesting for the comparative absence of any sense of Empire awareness amongst the New Zealand soldiers who wrote from the Turkish peninsula. Indeed, in only one of the letters in that collection does a Corporal, Mostyn Price Jones, talk about the Empire, viewing the gathering of troopships before the start of the Gallipoli campaign as bringing home to him the strength of 'Our Empire'. He felt that he was 'a part of (if a very insignificant one of) this vast and magnificent brotherhood of people'.⁷⁰ Perhaps this low level of awareness is not surprising. Much of these soldiers' schooling had taken place largely before the implementation of Empire Day celebrations in schools (that is, before 1905) and, of course, in some instances Empire Day had not yet embedded itself in the calendar of local communities subsequently. A failure to be aware of Empire Day could be attributed to one of a cluster of factors, perhaps

the most important of them being the immediate life-threatening issues overshadowing remembrance of this day and a war front which did not easily accommodate ceremony. These factors, however, were overridden by the usurpation after 1915 of a more localised Anzac identity marked in April.

Some members of the expeditionary force did note other anniversary days. The diary of Lieutenant Colvin Algie, for example, records Trafalgar Day on 21 October 1914.⁷¹ This may have been because the soldiers were in transit to the theatre of war at this point and it was a day which was most strongly marked in the navy. It also seems that this particular soldier was well aware of anniversary days, as he noted in his diary that: 'We seem to have a knack of striking anniversary days. We left Auckland on the anniversary of the declaration of war with South Africa and today we reach Hobart.'⁷² It is of course noteworthy that Algie was of the 'officer class' and had been employed as a teacher before enlisting. Significantly, he also noted that although his send-off from Auckland was a 'good one' compared to the departure of troops to the Second Boer War years earlier, there 'did not seem to be the same wild state of enthusiasm' shown by the crowds.⁷³ Where Empire Day was noted, it was often to draw a rather bleak comparison between that of 1914 and 1915 as troops remembered life before the war began. Empire Day in 1915, for example, found Walter Carruthers in the Gallipoli peninsula and writing to his relatives. He noted that: 'Last Empire Day was very different to this one I can assure you. There was no war on then.'⁷⁴ The diary of AIF volunteer Grenville Bennett is interesting in that Empire Day of 1916 is noted: 'We had a very good concert amongst ourselves in camp.' The first anniversary of Nurse Edith Cavell's execution on 12 October was also recorded: 'After a raid, many of our men left cards with "remember Nurse Cavell" in the trenches.'⁷⁵ One of the additional factors in the low awareness of Empire Day was that the diaries of neither the Australian nor the New Zealand soldiers had 24 May as Empire Day marked in them, so they were not even prompted to observe any kind of ceremony. It appears that only when Empire Day was orchestrated by senior officers were rank-and-file soldiers aware of this day in the calendar. Thus, the Reverend T.P. Bennett's diary records Empire Day 1915 as observed onboard ship: 'Cheer after cheer seemed to roll round and round the ship as Colonel Linton requested "three cheers for the King".'⁷⁶

Whilst Empire Day does not largely figure in the diaries of rank-and-file soldiers, it is also evident that motives for enlistment in the first

instance ranged considerably and invariably did not revolve around defence of the Empire.⁷⁷ Frustratingly, many diaries do not include any reflections on why a man had decided to enlist. A few, however, do. The diary of C.L. Comyns, for example, reflects a range of motivational factors, which he recorded whilst onboard ship heading to the theatres of war in late 1914. On 16 October 1914 he wrote that ‘it is now evident that we shall have [the] opportunity of assisting the Empire in its great struggle with a mighty antagonist’, but he also fantasised as to ‘what adventures we shall have in strange and distant lands!’. Moreover, in an entry dated 31 December 1914, he noted the following: ‘that we shall add to the good name of New Zealand is my earnest wish and ambition’.⁷⁸ Recollecting his war experiences in the early 1950s, AIF volunteer Mawer Cowtan noted that in 1914:

the ‘war’ was an unknown thing to the average Australian – one of those things which took place at the other end of the world, but to the immigrants it was something we had always known was coming – recruits for the first division came from the adventurous type of young Australians looking for something new, unknown and exciting (the bulk from the outback) with a very large proportion of pommies, the general natural born Australians came flocking into the recruiting office when the news of Anzac came back and then it became ‘our war’.⁷⁹

In letters to his brother, New Zealander Captain S.D. Rogers stated that the chief reason for his enlistment was employer pressure, since ‘the Boss sent for me this morning and told me I had again been lent on loan from the Railway Department to the Defence Department’.⁸⁰ Edward Pilling’s recollections of enlistment, published as *An Anzac Memory*, noted that: ‘I believe that the Empire to which I belong stands on God’s side in the cause of Righteousness and Justice in this world; and that His servants must array themselves against the power and evil influences and ambitions of a nation like Germany.’ Of the average New Zealander’s motivation, however, Pilling believed that ‘the war was not, as we have come to believe, a war fought for reasons of patriotism or pride, in the British Empire. It was, for most New Zealand soldiers, either an adventure gone hideously wrong, or an experience forced upon them by force they could not control’.⁸¹ However, subsequent entries in his diary do not mention the observance of Empire Day, but Anzac Day was marked in the diary during the last two years of the war. Thus, on 25 April 1917, he noted that a ‘big Anzac dinner at night was interrupted

by the calling away of all Company commanders'.⁸² For other soldiers in the AIF, the chief motivation was to fight for their country rather than because of the wider conception of Empire. James Bamford recorded in his diary asking a 'Fellow Aussie what he was fighting for if it wasn't for King and Country. He put more effort into the fighting than anyone. "I don't give a monkeys earole about the King, he said, "But after this wars over we'll have a country". "What Germany?" Mick asked. "No" says Andy, "Australia". We didn't understand this. "We already got Australia" Mick said. "Not so as you'd notice", Andy said'.⁸³

Moreover, in their experiences in Egypt, Gallipoli, France and Britain, it could be argued that Anzacs became not *more* imperially minded but *less* so as they noted difference, not similarity. This sense of difference had been felt by Australians who had visited the 'heart of Empire' in the previous century. As Andrew Hassan notes in his exploration of Australian visitors to Britain in the nineteenth century: 'Visitors to Britain ... came to realise that being Australian and being British were not necessarily the same thing.'⁸⁴ In Richard White's subsequent work on Anzacs in the First World War, he emphasises the point that 'a desire to see the world – not just a search for adventure – was probably a much more significant motive for enlistment than is often recognised'.⁸⁵ The phenomenon of the 'soldier tourist' was undoubtedly an important motivational factor for enlistment, especially where working-class men undertook monotonous tasks in the workshop or factory from which they wished to escape. Thus, where soldiers came face to face with royalty behind the lines, their enthusiasm could be interpreted not as 'Empire loyalty' so much as a rare opportunity to tell relatives on the home front of their close encounter with a world-famous figure. This is probably the best way to interpret Robert Harpley's AIF diary entry which recorded a visit by the Prince of Wales in the following way: 'Our boys lined the road for about two miles and each battalion greeted him with three hearty Australian cheers. I picked a good position and took a snap of him as he was passing. I'm envious to see how it turns out.'⁸⁶ Evidence contained in soldiers' letters and diaries tends to reveal that the experience of spending time on leave in the UK made Anzac soldiers feel less, not more a part of the Empire. Boyack's survey of the relationship between New Zealanders, Britain and the British notes that: 'On the whole New Zealanders did not have a very positive opinion of Britain. Although it appears to have been every New Zealander's aim to get a trip to blighty, once there, complaints were the rule rather than the exception.'⁸⁷ New Zealanders also disliked Australians, who, Boyack suggests, were seen as 'wild colonial boys'. Attitudes towards

the Australians softened as those towards the British hardened after the Gallipoli fiasco. Yet, based at Sling Camp on Salisbury Plain at the end of 1916, Gerald Beattie's diary noted that 'our camp is quite apart from the Tommies and is run chiefly by New Zealand officers trained here. The Australian camp is several miles away'.⁸⁸ On a tour of Britain in 1917, Beattie visited the Scottish cities of Dundee, 'a rather dirty town', Perth 'not finding it to my liking', and Glasgow, where the shipyards were 'not up to my expectations'. He added that: 'The scenery viewed from the train was fine, but it is not so rugged or impressive as New Zealand scenery.'⁸⁹ For many Anzacs, the physical reality of the heart of Empire was invariably a disappointment. Moreover, dislike of 'those miserable Tommies', as Dale Blair has noted, became part of the 'Anzac mythology' and 'an anti-British sentiment was, and continues to be, incorporated to a significant degree into national consciousness'.⁹⁰

The crisis of voluntarism in the city: October 1915–May 1916

In the closing months of 1915, increasing concerns began to be voiced on the home front that the demand for reinforcements at the Western Front was becoming problematic and that the support that both Australia and New Zealand had hitherto provided to the European conflict was in danger of withering in the face of men's recalcitrance to heed the call for enlistment.⁹¹ The manpower crisis as it unfolded over the next eight months was the final stage of voluntarism for New Zealanders and saw the beginning of a conscription debate in Australia that would cause severe fractures to appear in the social and political structure of that nation. Elites increasingly seemed embarrassed at the prospect that the reputation of New Zealanders and Australians as lynchpins of the Empire was in danger of being tarnished and that this in turn reflected badly on the national image. It was in the ensuing phases of the war, when efforts were made to enlist men who had hitherto been reluctant to volunteer – that is, the 'call to arms' period lasting from January to April 1916 on both sides of the Tasman – that it became evident that Empire identity was comparatively weak when placed alongside personal relationships.

Before exploring the factors which acted as a deterrent to enlist, however, we may notice the ways in which press discourse shifted in this period – a shift which may be described as the 'turn to the personal' amongst city citizens in order to align the papers' values with those of

its readership. Whilst in the early phases of the war it had been noticeable that the papers had reported war casualties under columns headed 'For King and Empire', a description used, for example, by papers such as Melbourne's evening daily *The Herald* and Christchurch's *The Sun*, by mid-1915, this way of describing war casualties was being used alongside headlines such as 'Australians Make Sacrifices at Empire's Call', a small indication that the city papers were less sure that their readers were sympathetic to the idea of a war for Empire. Identity shifted again in later 1915, with appeals for volunteering playing more significantly on the memory of those who had fallen at Gallipoli. Thus, war casualties were now reported under the headline 'For the Sake of those that Went Before, We Follow with the Flag' (October 1915) and 'Anzac Dead Appeal to Australians', a headline from *The Herald* on 17 January 1916.

Members of the Round Table such as William Harrison Moore and Archibald Strong Berry, and Empire loyalists such as *The Herald's* owner Theodore Fink used the paper to both showcase the *Round Table*, the journal of the organisation of the same name, and give their own thoughts on the direction in which the Empire was travelling. Strong Berry argued in his columns of *The Herald* that whilst earlier Australians had volunteered because of a 'sporting spirit', the issue was now of a deeper nature, in which Australians were fighting for 'life and freedom' in the face of Prussian despotism. 'Lest Australians had any doubt what would befall them if the Germans were victorious', he suggested they read *The Submerged Nationalities of the German Empire* by Ernest Barker. He also argued that workers had too much to lose. Australia was 'coveted by the Foe'.⁹² The *New Zealand Herald* also increasingly began to adopt this perspective on the war, noting in September 1915 that: 'If Germany emerges victorious, "Kultur" will rule the world ... New Zealand will become an "appanage" of Prussia', whilst failing to resist, the paper argued, 'must bring upon us the fate of Belgium without Belgium's hope of redemption'.⁹³

Thus, in the context of the decline in volunteering, self-interest entered into public discourse to a much greater extent than it had done in the opening months of the war, a factor which only grew in the shadow of conscription. As Bart Ziino has shown, of those who responded to a postal canvass sent out to eligible male citizens in Australia in early 1916, some three-quarters declined to enlist. Ziino notes that by this point of the twentieth century, 'duty' had at least two meanings for men: one to one's country or Empire and the other to one's family. A personal masculinity made choices based on the effect

that enlistment might have on a mother, wife, sister, brother or father. These factors may have been related to the emotional (love, impact of bereavement) or the economic – the worry that leaving a family business might place burdens on siblings, for example, a significant factor in farming families, but one that was not completely absent in the context of the city too. Ziino also points to the issue of soldiers' pay and the increasing cost of living on the home front. Indeed, such rising costs prompted delegations to Parliament in Wellington and, more seriously, riots in Melbourne in late 1917.⁹⁴ A similar reconfiguration of the voluntary system of enlistment was suggested in New Zealand in the closing months of 1915, influenced by the fact that Britain had implemented the Derby Scheme. Prime Minister William Massey called for men to enlist at the beginning of 1916, but papers such as *The Sun* were sceptical that the call would be heeded: 'We are doubtful whether such appeals possess any great drawing value in these days ... These people have had impressed on their notice repeatedly the needs of Empire and their own obligation to meet those needs, but have not responded.'⁹⁵ As part of the new move, local councils were now asked to play a more significant role in recruiting men for service to the Empire and were asked to canvass eligible men to see if they would enlist immediately or at some specific future date. Yet, this project only served to prove that civic commitment to the conflict had severely declined from a high point at the start of the war. For example, in Christchurch it was noted that: 'Attempts to secure canvassers have proved a dismal failure ... only two members of the city council which is supposed to be the official representative of the Government attended.'⁹⁶ Moreover, Auckland and Wellington City Councils also received criticism at this point in the war, as James Allen, the Minister for Defence, noted that neither city was attempting to enact a personal canvass, divide its cities into 'recruitment areas' or create a list of eligible men.⁹⁷ What the call instead provoked was the development of a rather more localised patriotism, largely peddled by the city papers, which began celebrating their own city's commitment to supplying troops and failure of other cities to provide men. This rivalry was most pronounced between Auckland and Christchurch in 1916.⁹⁸ This inter-urban rivalry in relation to war patriotism manifested itself in other ways. In a report published in *The Sun* in November 1916, two returned soldiers attempted to sell the Countess of Liverpool's *Gift Book* and the *Red Cross Story Book* at the Rangiora Patriotic Show. They were prevented from doing so by the Show's organisers on the grounds that the event was a fundraising

for the city of Christchurch. Mr Johns, the Show's organiser, justified his decision by noting that: 'As the show was being held in aid of the local fund, and the proceeds were to go to supplement the local committee's efforts, the committee decided that it would not allow any outsiders to compete with the local effort.'⁹⁹ In Melbourne, *The Herald* reported in May 1917 an initiative taken by South Melbourne Council 'for some time' to award city certificates to those who volunteered as 'appreciation of the men's work in the interests of Empire'. The certificate was embossed with the city's municipal seal.¹⁰⁰ These examples are evidence that appeals to fight in the name of 'Empire' were not having the desired effect on recruitment statistics and a turn to the 'local' and 'personal' was taken in order to reverse the decline. In the final two years of the conflict, moreover, even the most staunchly conservative daily papers began to question whether the Dominions had contributed more than their fair share of troops and that too much was being asked of each nation by 1918. Christchurch's *The Sun*, for example, balked at the renewed call for more men at the time of the German spring offensive of March 1918. In April it suggested that sending more men would constitute 'reckless patriotism', since 'the few extra soldiers we could send overseas would not make much difference in a struggle where millions are engaged'. David Lloyd George's call, the paper believed, was made in relation to Australia and South Africa.¹⁰¹

Returning, remembering and commemorating

If a sense of Empire had failed to take hold during the war amongst rank-and-file soldiers, how far was the Empire embedded within the memorial culture of the 1920s and 1930s? An assessment of this can be achieved by focusing on three tangible aspects of remembrance that ran through the inter-war years. First, we might ask, how far was the Empire an identity that returning soldiers related to and used in their publications of the 1920s? Had they fought a war for Empire from their perspective? Second, we might investigate Anzac parades staged before 1939 in order to assess how far imperial or conversely national sentiment was demonstrated. Finally, the following question can be posed: how far were war memorials laid out in the name of 'Empire' or, conversely, erected to mark a more localised contribution to the conflict? A survey of the Victorian Returned Services League journals such as *For the Flag*, *The Bayonet* and *The Duckboard*, the journals of the Melbourne branch of the Returned and Services League of Australia

(RSL) and the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's journal *Quick March* and its successors tends to confirm that imperial sentiment remained strong. As Sekules and Rees note: 'Returned men and Australians generally saw national identity flowering within the borders of the Empire.'¹⁰² Indeed, during the inter-war period, the Australian organisation was known as the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, reflecting its place in the wider culture of British Empire returning soldiers.¹⁰³

That the RSL was a conservative force is evident in the fact that it largely 'tamed' unruly soldiers who were involved in rioting and law breaking immediately after the war. This unruliness was sometimes provoked by Bolshevik demonstrations. The Victorian Branch of the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia might therefore be perceived as conservative, imperial, loyalist associations. As one historian of the Victorian Returned Services' Association (RSA) has noted, whilst declaring itself a 'non-political' organisation, that the League did take a stance on national issues such as immigration and defence (it voted in favour of conscription, for example).¹⁰⁴ However, it has been noted that in relation to the question of practical patriotism – that is, imperial emigration – there was 'Considerable difference of opinion'.¹⁰⁵ A motion to allow unrestricted immigration from Britain in the post-war era was rejected. Martin Crotty has nevertheless stressed that the RSL claimed that servicemen deserved to have their interests prioritised in the 1920s precisely because they had demonstrated citizenship in both its national and imperial dimensions.¹⁰⁶ Comments made in *The Bayonet*, however, suggest that service to the Empire was not appreciated by the wider Melbourne community. It noted in January 1919 and December 1920, for example, that the aims of the League and the notion of offering preference for employment to returned soldiers had received only lukewarm support from the press.¹⁰⁷ Anzac Days staged in the 1920s saw the journal *The Duckboard* note that the lessons to be taken from the anniversary were first 'the saving of the Empire', second, 'the immediate rise to the full status of nationhood of a people' and, third, that Australia had earned the right 'to a seat at the council table of the Empire'.¹⁰⁸ It repeated this mantra in the Anzac Day issue every year.

At the time of the British Empire Exhibition, which was staged in 1924, *The Duckboard* declared that 'such an imperial gathering would not have been possible but for war' and that 'It will be recognised therefore to what degree the fighting men of 1914–1918 are responsible for that which is symbolical of a new awakening to the responsibilities of

Empire'.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, the same journal was confident that: 'Sixty thousand Australians were alive who fought and died for the preservation of the Empire and the British race.'¹¹⁰ Within both Australian and New Zealand Returned Associations, there was also a marked nationalistic sentiment existing alongside imperial identity. As an issue of *Quick March* noted: 'Teachers, look carefully through any special copy of *Quick March*, you will see how it is encouraging New Zealand literature, how it is helping in the making of that real "sense of country". The articles cover New Zealand life and colour. New Zealand history, New Zealand ideals.'¹¹¹ The RSA also took another small step in a more nationalistic direction in the 1930s by renaming its journal *Fernleaf*. Yet, despite a resurgence in the early 1930s (probably caused by the Depression and the need for work), as had been noted, there were many returned soldiers who did not join returned servicemen's organisations and simply wanted to forget the war.

Many of the veterans interviewed by Boyack and Tolerton in the 1980s had not joined the New Zealand RSA, as they thought they were simply drinking dens or, as one veteran recalled, were inhabited by scroungers.¹¹² This attitude prevailed amongst Australian returned soldiers as well. Even *The Duckboard* admitted that 'most of the branches (in Melbourne) are becoming more social gatherings ... the time is ripe for a clean up'.¹¹³ Other men who joined only went to the RSA clubs on Anzac Day as a drink could be bought whilst the pubs were shut. For other veterans, it is evident that the imperial culture that the RSA represented was off-putting. Stephen Alomes notes the RSL's 'imperial conservatism and its hierarchy of officers put off any returned soldiers; in 1925 the League had only 24,000 members, less than 9 per cent of those eligible to join'.¹¹⁴ This alienation was increasingly noted by the RSL itself. C.W. Chingford, writing in *The Duckboard* in 1925, complained that: 'The average Digger associates the League with incessant squabbling and, in the absence of any paper news to the contrary, believes that there its activities end. The men do not know ... They simply do not regard the League at all. They are indifferent and uninterested.'¹¹⁵ Well into the 1930s, *The Duckboard* regretted that the 'fact remains that here in Melbourne, the very heart of Australia, there exist ex-servicemen who have never bothered to join the League and numerous others who have dropped out'.¹¹⁶

Anzac Day, which was to become the most significant day for the remembrance of the First World War, was similarly shaped within a notion of imperial duty. However, the day took some time to embed

itself in the national consciousness. For example, Mary Wilson noted of Melbourne's Anzac Day that: 'The daily press gave consistent, though in the early twenties, rather despairing – attention to Anzac Day. Business interests in general militated against Anzac ... The Churches gave their steady support. The politicians established Anzac Day.'¹¹⁷ 'For a time', adds Alistair Thomson, it seemed as if Anzac Day 'would simply die away.'¹¹⁸ It is certainly evident that even during its revival towards the end of the 1920s, Anzac Day was heavily orchestrated by national and civic elites who, it has been noted, saw it as a disciplining mechanism to be used against the political Left. This alienated a considerable cohort of returned soldiers. By the 1930s, it was also noted that Anzac Day had widened from an essentially militaristic anniversary to one which represented what *The Argus* termed a 'national tradition'.¹¹⁹ On Anzac Day in Melbourne, for example, Lieutenant Governor William Irvine suggested that Melburnians could best serve the dead by 'resolving that neither temptation of prosperity, nor the seduction of pleasure will make you forget that for which your brothers died; by resolving that this country, this dear country, this Australia of ours shall not be allowed to become prey to faction or spoilt by greed'.¹²⁰ It is evident that the meaning of Anzac Day could and did shift across the inter-war period. In the economic depression of the early 1930s, for example, the *New Zealand Herald* used its editorial column to suggest that the spirit of Anzac Day could be directed inwards as much as outwards to the wider Empire. Thus, at the time of Anzac Day 1932, it advocated that New Zealanders should: 'Pull together at a time of national difficulty ... To subordinate self-considerations for the general good manifests a spirit of wholesome citizenship. It is self-sacrifice carried into the workaday affairs of this time of economic crisis.'¹²¹

Commemorating the First World War also gave rise to a memorial movement which was divided over the issue of symbolism versus utility. Jock Phillips notes that in a New Zealand context, symbolism was far more commonly adopted for a memorial than utilitarian structures such as halls or bridges. It is his view that 'war memorials tell us that the nationalism which found permanent expression in stone was a peculiarly limited form of nationalism ... It was a nationalism of Britons of the South no less', yet he does add that 'one should not assume that this form of national feeling was shared by everyone in New Zealand'.¹²² He noted that images of Empire were 'slightly less frequently used than in the Boer War memorials'.¹²³ The lion was used less in the memorials to those lost in the First World War too. The word 'Empire' is written on 31 of New Zealand's memorials, which

equates to 7.7 per cent of all memorials.¹²⁴ Of course, the extent to which the community influenced the final form and wording on the memorial varied greatly. Often the structure was the work of a small committee of the town's elite. Relatives of the dead, Phillips notes, 'did not play as big a part as one might imagine in the organisation of memorials'.¹²⁵ The memorials have a strong parochial quality reflecting pride in the town and the fact that local men had served their country.

In her work on the memorialisation of Edith Cavell in New Zealand, Katie Pickles also notes this parochialism. Whilst Nurse Cavell has three streets, two rest homes and a bridge named after her in New Zealand, her name did not figure, as perhaps it might have, in the Nurses' Memorial Chapel in Christchurch, which instead remembered ten nurses and 19 men of the New Zealand medical corps who were drowned when the *Marquette* was sunk in the Aegean Sea in October 1915.¹²⁶ Pickles argues that most memorialisation was 'predominantly at the local scale'.¹²⁷ In Melbourne, a fierce debate unfolded during the 1920s as to the form that the city's war memorial would take. Middle-class opinion favoured a symbolic memorial, whilst working-class opinion, as canvassed by *The Herald*, appeared to want a utilitarian structure. Bruce Scates has charted the uncertain course that eventually saw the unveiling of the Shrine of Remembrance in 1934, the year of Melbourne's centenary celebrations, after receiving the backing of Australian war commander John Monash. Other options favoured by the public included a cenotaph or a carillon. Fundraising saw the largest donations from middle-class suburbs and less from the working-class districts of the city.¹²⁸ The completed Shrine was opened in 1934 by the Duke of Gloucester. The memorial was inspired by the 'Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, eighteenth century French academic designs and contemporary American architecture'.¹²⁹ Whilst the Shrine does bear on its east wall the words 'To the Honoured Men and Women of Victoria who served the Empire in the Great War 1914-1918', in its construction it adopted global architectural styles from both antiquity and the more recent past, and drew on the labour of local workers. Indeed, memorialisation of the war dead was largely led by civic elites, who oversaw the design of the structures and evidently perceived them as reflecting civic cultural grandeur as much as imperial sentiment. Ken Inglis notes that the idea of a vast shrine appealed to civic leaders, as it would stand as a symbol of the 'city's recovery' from depression 30 years earlier.¹³⁰ However, *The Herald's* canvassing of working-class opinion in the 1920s revealed that alternative visions as to what form the memorial should take also existed. Indeed,

they held opinions that could well have seen imperial identity omitted from the final design had they been given due consideration. Yet, as Scates notes, it was Melbourne's establishment, which wanted the Shrine, which carried the day.¹³¹ When the Shrine was declared open in 1934, there were clearly a variety of meanings that were projected upon it, of which imperial duty was but one.

3

Empire City or Global City? North American Culture in the Antipodean City c. 1880–1939

How far were Antipodean cities ‘imperial’ spaces? In 1948, F.L. Irvine-Smith published her book *The Streets of My City*, which was declared the ‘first book of its kind in New Zealand’.¹ In its examination of the origins of street names, the author effectively charted the early appropriation of public space by the British, whose administrators, governors and politicians, and the ships that brought colonisers to New Zealand were commemorated in the process of street-naming. Many of Wellington’s streets were named after New Zealand company directors and administrators. Irvine-Smith noted that ‘very few Maori names trickled into the nomenclature of the early city streets’, despite the native population being ‘fairly numerous’.² It tended to be only those tribal leaders who had cooperated with the imperial authorities that merited recognition. With hindsight, it can be seen that a key influence on nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century street-naming was what David Cannadine has characterised as ‘Ornamentalism’, reflected in the appetite to name streets after imperial figureheads, early colonisers and, most significantly, governors general, senior statesmen, the monarch and her family.³ In this way the Antipodean city’s British and imperial heritage was confirmed. By 1900, most Antipodean cities boasted at least one street named after Victoria and often a parallel road taking the name of her husband. Indeed, Wellington went to something of an extreme here. There were seven thoroughfares named after Victoria in the city at one stage, far too many for a confused fire service, pressure from which led to their renaming over time.⁴ At around the time of the Diamond Jubilee and after her death in 1901, statues of Victoria also appeared around the British world, and Antipodean cities were no exception in this respect. A memorial to Victoria was constructed on Wellington’s Kent Terrace in 1905 by London sculptor Alfred Drury, who had also

designed a very similar one erected two years earlier in Portsmouth's Guildhall Square.⁵ Her name also appeared in the naming of the city's university, which opened in 1899, and of Mount Victoria, a vantage point from which the entire city could be overlooked. Melbourne, although the capital city of a colony named after the monarch, was in fact one of the few large British world cities to have failed to create a statue honouring Victoria during her lifetime, although it did name its market after her and also laid out gardens bearing her name.⁶ It eventually unveiled its tribute, funded by public subscription, on Empire Day 1907 and was the last British world city to do so. However, a survey of the inventory of what might be called Melbourne's public 'street furniture' reveals that 1914 was something of a high point for imperial sentiment. Memorials to General Gordon, created after his death in the Sudan (erected in 1887) and Victoria (unveiled in 1907) were testament to imperial awareness, although neither of them had set foot in the colony. However, Gordon's statue had fallen into a state of disrepair by 1912.⁷ A water fountain commemorated the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901, and Lord Linlithgow, the former Earl of Hopetoun and a quasi-imperial figure, was commemorated in a statue unveiled in 1911. Hopetoun had been an admired Governor of Victoria between 1889 and 1895 and was subsequently appointed the first Governor-General of the Federated Australia in 1901. His tenure in this role was less happy and he might be seen as a good example of the rejection of 'Ornamentalism' by the Australian public in the early twentieth century, resigning after only a year over the question of his expenses accrued in the position. Edward VII was commemorated in 1920 (the memorial being delayed by the outbreak of the First World War) and a memorial to Edith Cavell was unveiled in 1926. A memorial was also erected before 1914 to commemorate the Second Boer War (1904).

During the 1920s and 1930s, however, the city tended to memorialise figures linked to the nation's history. Coastal explorer Captain Matthew Flinders was commemorated in a statue unveiled in 1923 (his name was already commemorated in the Hoddle Grid and the railway station) and the nineteenth-century Australian poet Adam Lindsay Gordon was commemorated in 1931.⁸ The Shrine of Remembrance to the fallen of the First World War, unveiled in 1934, functioned both as a national and an imperial monument, but was the focus of an Anzac identity, which had become much more established by the mid-1930s.⁹ If imperial enthusiasm was waning after 1920, it is arguable that American culture was filling the vacuum. Before examining some of the ways in which Americanism emerged in the public space after 1880, it is worth

pausing to note that from the moment of European colonisation, North American characteristics were built into the Antipodean city. For example, the central grid on which cities were laid out (the most notable being Melbourne's Hoddle's Grid) was a familiar feature of the eighteenth-century North American city. Admittedly, none of Melbourne's streets (nor any of those in Antipodean cities) was referred to in terms of grid references as in the USA, but nevertheless there was an affinity with the North American model of city development. Moreover, as a number of urban geographers and historians have noted, Antipodean cities were part of a 'Pacific' urban system, which included amongst their rank Auckland, San Francisco, Vancouver and Wellington.¹⁰ Both economically and socially, the USA had a significant impact on both New Zealand and Australia from the earliest time of European settlement. There were trading links between Australasia and North America in the nineteenth century. Exchanges were made in relation to exhibitions and American unions such as the Knights of Labor played a notable role on both sides of the Tasman after 1885. In terms of high culture, the figure of Andrew Carnegie was significant in establishing libraries in Antipodean cities.¹¹ Phillip Bell notes that in Australia, 'a rising tide of nationalism and demands for federation and social reform gradually brought the US into sharper Antipodean focus. By the 1890s America had assumed a much larger role on the world stage and had emerged as a powerful challenge to that of the imperial states of Europe'.¹² By the 1920s and 1930s, moreover, the USA was shaping Antipodean popular culture to a degree that concerned those who wished to maintain the 'imperial link'. In the next section of this chapter, I examine how far Antipodean cities became more American in their 'look', that is, their public architecture. I then move on to consider the role of the USA in relation to popular culture, examining the dance hall and the cinema as key institutions which tended to undermine imperial values.

The built environment: Anglo-American influences 1880–1939

It is arguable that the Antipodean city in the period from 1880 to 1940 was shaped just as much by North American design as it was by British design. The reason for this lies in the increased opportunities for architects and civic administrators to travel to both North America and Europe in order to assess the style and technologies that might work in an Antipodean context. Even if this were not possible, Ann McEwen has noted that architectural qualifications were attainable

before the development of university courses in the subject, taken by correspondence with American institutions such as the International Correspondence School based in Pennsylvania and the American School of Correspondence of Chicago from the early twentieth century.¹³ In addition, a range of journals and magazines which featured American design as much as British design were available for subscription, such as the *Architectural Record*, published in New York from 1891, the *Architectural Review*, published in Boston from 1899, the *Architects' Journal*, published in London from 1919, and the *Architectural Forum*, published in New York from 1917, to name but four. In previous work I have detailed the trips made by Antipodean civic managers to both North American and British cities in the early twentieth century, and it is evident that as the architectural profession became more established, opportunities arose for students to spend time training in both countries before returning to either Australia or New Zealand to begin their professional careers.¹⁴ Indeed, overseas experience was increasingly seen as essential for the architect intending to practice. One of the most significant architects of inter-war New Zealand, for example, was William Henry Gummer, who had spent time both in Britain working under Edwin Lutyens in London and in the USA with Daniel Burnham in Chicago.¹⁵

Even in the years before 1900, when physical visits were rather rarer, it is evident that a hybrid Anglo-American style had taken hold in cities like Melbourne.¹⁶ As a result of the economic boom of the 1880s, provoked by the infusion of British capital, Melbourne's city centre witnessed the creation of a first generation of 'skyscrapers'. Most were, by later standards, still comparatively low rise, but they were a break with the past, being eight to ten storeys high and most using the Queen Anne revival style then popular in Britain.¹⁷ Indeed, Miles Lewis suggests that these decades saw Melbourne become a 'Queen Anne Chicago'.¹⁸ The highest of the buildings erected in this period was the 12-storey Australian Provincial Assurance (Australia) (APA) Building, which was as high as any of the North American skyscrapers built at that time.¹⁹ Other examples of the period were Finks Building (1888), located on Flinders Street, a ten-storey building which pre-dated the APA by a year, and the New York Permanent Building Society, located on Collins Street, which also dated from 1888 and was designed in the Second Republic style.²⁰ A total of 11 skyscrapers were located in Melbourne's financial sector in this period and from this point onwards the city looked very much less like a low-rise provincial British city, to which it had hitherto been compared.²¹ In the 1890s, an economic downturn

in Australia led to a notably more restrained style of architecture, yet one which was still influenced by the USA. The preferred style shifted to a more conservative 'American Romanesque', largely influenced by the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–86).²² His influence was perhaps most notable in the subsequent work of Louis Sullivan and Dankmar Adler, whose 'Chicago style' was also to have an impact on the Antipodean city in the Edwardian era and beyond. Their Auditorium Building of 1889 was to be highly influential within the architectural profession. By 1913, in a common example of copycat syndrome, Melbourne had its own version of the building, designed by Nahum Barnet.²³ The Chicago style was also evident in the context of the Snider and Abrahams Building on Melbourne's Drewery Lane (1908).²⁴ It was the second example of American C.A.P. Turner's flat-plate system of reinforced concrete construction to be built and was begun in the same year as Turner's Lindeke-Warner Building in Minnesota.²⁵

The American influence was also being felt across the Tasman by the Edwardian period. High-rise buildings were a more risky venture in an earthquake zone and most buildings constructed before 1900 did not rise to more than three or four levels in New Zealand. As Stuart Gardyne notes of Wellington's architecture, up until the First World War, it 'was to say the least, confusing and not at all unified in style or intention. Foreign influences especially English had a strong impact upon the architectural profession'.²⁶ Yet, on closer inspection, other commentators have noted that there were signs of a creeping Americanism in the style of public buildings before 1914. The influence was at first rather subtle; it was the technology used to reinforce ostensibly British-influenced buildings where it first made its impact. In 1897, John Belcher had won the competition to design Colchester Town Hall, which was designed in Queen Anne revival style. It proved to be highly influential around the British world, clearly influencing the style of John Campbell's Public Trust Building in Wellington, which was constructed 11 years later in 1908. The Wellington construction was, for its time, a high five storeys. Significantly, it was American technology which enabled this height to be achieved, as experts were brought in from San Francisco to advise on its strengthening against disaster.²⁷ As a consequence, it is seen by some architectural historians as an Anglo-American building.²⁸ In other examples of Campbell's work, such as the Wellington Customs House (built in 1905), the American influence was more explicit, incorporating American-influenced arcades, which he had viewed on his tour of the USA in 1902. Indeed, as one architectural historian

has noted: 'The Custom House is a precursor of the American-inspired buildings erected in New Zealand by the Luttrell Brothers, such as the New Zealand Express Company Buildings in Christchurch and Dunedin, 1906–10', New Zealand's first 'skyscrapers'.²⁹ Steel technology was first used in Melbourne and Sydney before 1914. A feature article published in *The Argus* in 1912, for example, noted that Melbourne was being rebuilt and 'modernised' after a considerable period of inertia due to the economic downturn. The Centreway, a new arcade which was designed in the Edwardian Baroque style, linking Collins Street and Flinders Street, was 'constructed on the American steel-frame system' and it was contended that it was 'the first of its kind in Australia'.³⁰ As J.M. Freeland noted in his study: 'Australian eyes increasingly turned eastward ... in all fields. Australians saw their country as similar in size and potential to the burgeoning republic whose origins, background and history were so like their own.'³¹

Another American style that became increasingly visible in an Antipodean context was the Californian Spanish colonial style, used in the design of buildings such as Auckland Grammar School (1913) and, more publicly still, Henry White's Midland Hotel (1917) located on Lambton Quay in Wellington.³² The style also took off in relation to upper-class domestic architecture, acting as an alternative to the Californian bungalow style which was prevalent amongst lower middle-class suburbs in the 1920s.³³ American hotels had long been admired in the Antipodes as being amongst the most comfortable in the world. During the 1920s and 1930s, a further two new hotels, the Hotel Waterloo and the Hotel St George, were constructed and, whilst bearing 'Anglo' names, were clearly influenced by American design.³⁴ In fact, by the 1920s, there were a number of architectural styles that could be used by architects, but it is significant that very few of these had emerged from Britain. Thus, whilst the 'Wrenaissance' and Georgian revival style still had their advocates, Beaux-Arts (French), Commercial Palazzo (American), Art Deco (French/American) and the associated streamlined Moderne all found increasing favour in Antipodean building design in the 1920s and 1930s. Moreover, American architects increasingly made a name for themselves in the inter-war period. Walter Burley Griffin and R.A. Lippencott, for example, had arrived in Melbourne from America to set up in practice just before the war and their careers reached fruition after 1918. Burley Griffin's commissions included the design of the combined Capitol Theatre and Capitol House, which opened in 1924, again demonstrating the influence of the 'Chicagoesque' school.³⁵ Lippencott (Burley Griffin's brother-in-law) had been involved in

designing the new Australian capital of Canberra and subsequently relocated with Griffin to Sydney and then Melbourne, before moving again with his family to New Zealand in 1921. This last move was largely due to his winning of the commission to design the arts building of the University of Auckland. Lippencott had submitted a late and ultimately unsuccessful entry for the *Chicago Tribune* Building Competition.³⁶ As an American-trained architect (he attended Cornell University from 1905 to 1909), his ideas were, like Griffin's, influenced by the Sullivan-Chicago school and also Frank Lloyd Wright. This influence was seen, for example, in his design for Smith & Caughey's department store in Auckland (1927). As Peter Shaw has noted of this building, 'in essence the building is designed according to Sullivan's principles, being treated as [a] monolithic mass and given vertical emphasis'.³⁷ Other features were 'plucked from emerging Art Deco skyscraper vocabulary in America'.³⁸ Another type of building influenced by American design were the railway terminals constructed in Auckland and Wellington during the 1930s. Both owed a debt to New York's Grand Central Station and Pennsylvania Station. Auckland's terminal was designed by W.H. Gummer, while that in Wellington was designed by the architectural firm Gray, Young, Morton & Young. The latter's design for the Wellington terminal was described by the *Architectural Review* as being in the 'American neo-classical manner'.³⁹

As land values increased in the central space of Antipodean cities in the mid-1920s, the high-rise movement became ever more pronounced. One of its leading advocates in the context of Melbourne was the architect Marcus Barlow, who argued in the mid-1920s that height restrictions on buildings in Melbourne were too severe and that buildings could be safely taken up to 300 feet in height.⁴⁰ The city fire brigade was, in fact, happy to see buildings taken up to 1,000 feet as long as modern fire prevention techniques were installed. Later in the 1920s, Barlow explained on a business visit to Perth that:

Land in picked spots in the heart of Melbourne is now worth £3,000 a foot and the result is that new city buildings soar to a great height. It is the only possible way in which to get an adequate return for invested capital. We no longer build office blocks of less than 12 storeys and some of the facilities nowadays provided in such buildings would have amazed an older generation ... Take for instance Temple Court, a fairly new building in Collins Street. It is worth £500,000, goes up twelve storeys, has seven electric lifts and a continuous hot water lavatory service throughout.⁴¹

Turning to domestic architecture, Barlow noted that:

Australians are developing an aesthetic sense, thanks to the increasing wealth of the country, and a great deal of literature dealing with domestic architectural problems has reached this country in recent years. The Americans being magnificent advertisers, this literature portrays the very best of their work.⁴²

Moreover, in the early 1930s, Barlow began to advocate that the American ‘Rush Building system’ be adopted.⁴³ Speaking after the completed construction of the Manchester Unity Building, he noted that it had been constructed far more quickly than was typical for a building of that size, due to the adoption of methods used in the context of Chicago skyscrapers.⁴⁴ New Zealand’s urban buildings also gained height during the 1920s. Indeed, in an article entitled ‘Wellington’s New and Notable Buildings’ published in the *New Zealand Building Progress* journal in 1923, the author contemplated the ‘Prospects of the Sky-Scraper’ appearing in the capital. The article noted that: ‘Although the area is subject to mild earthquakes, New Zealand architects have shown a capacity to design buildings adapted to meet these special strains ... there are indications of the coming of the more modest form of sky-scraper.’⁴⁵ This prediction proved to be accurate of the inter-war years, as Ben Schrader notes: ‘Downtown Wellington was transformed as one- and two-storey Victorian structures gave way to impressive seven- or eight-storey office blocks and hotels.’⁴⁶ Among the most significant of the inter-war constructions was a phase of buildings constructed in the second half of the 1920s and another in the later 1930s after the Great Depression subsided.⁴⁷ Among the best examples of the new high-rise buildings constructed in the 1920s were the Temperance and General Building, the DIC Building and the State Insurance Building, and in the later 1930s, the MLC Building, the South British Building and the Commercial Bank of Australia Building.⁴⁸ The *Chicago Tribune* Building Competition staged in the early 1920s had created an important blueprint for Antipodean cities, as the winning entry by John Mead and Raymond Hood was subsequently used as a template by Barlow for his Manchester Unity Building (1929–32, a Gothic skyscraper located on Swanston Street), and Eliel Saarinen’s second-placed entry influenced Wellington East Post Office on Cambridge Terrace, imitating ‘the stepped set-back form of the New York Skyscraper’.⁴⁹ In Auckland, Wellington and Melbourne, a similar template was adopted for the premises of another of the significant inter-war assurance firms, the Australian Temperance and General Mutual Life Assurance buildings,



Figure 3.1 Eliel Saarinen's entry for the *Chicago Tribune* Building Competition (awarded second place). It was influential in the Antipodes; elements of it were used in both Barlow's Manchester Unity Building in Melbourne (1933) and Wellington East, Post Office (drawing plans shown in Figure 3.2) and built in 1931. I am indebted to Jeffery Howe, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston College for letting me have this image of the proposed construction

Source: www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/fnart/fa267

which were erected in the 1920s and 1930s; all owed much to the Chicago style. The architect of these buildings was Melbourne-based A & H Henderson, which utilised the commercial palazzo style adapted

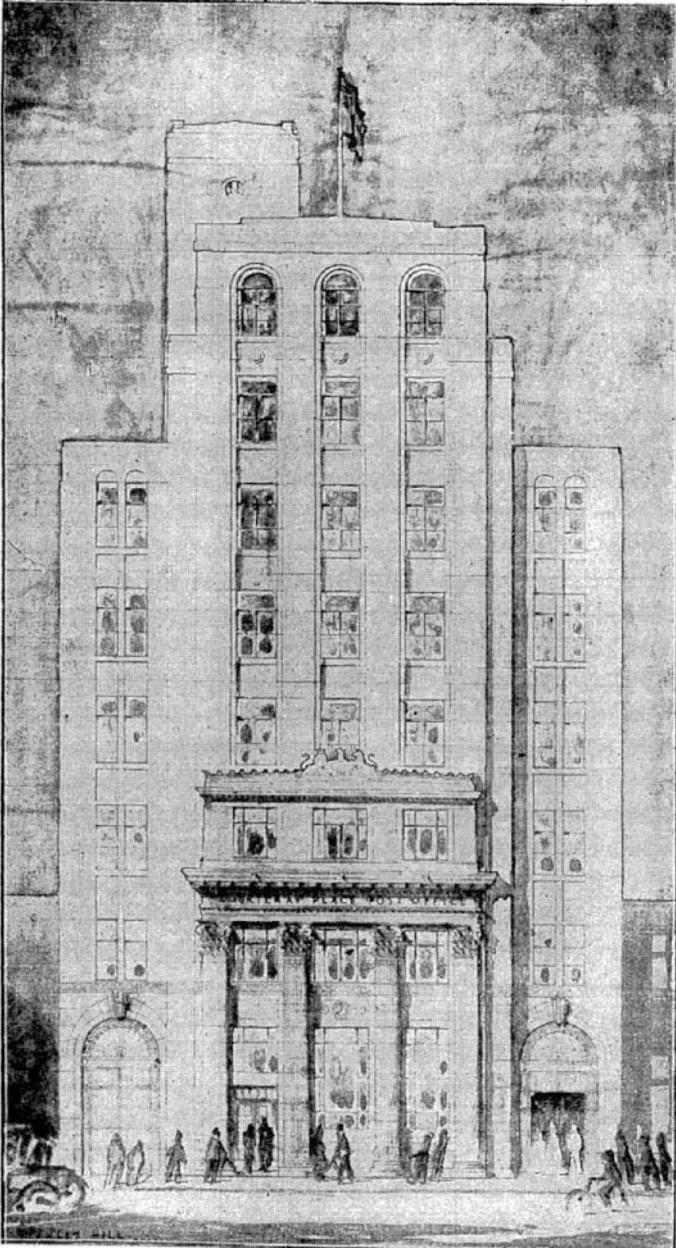


Figure 3.2 Wellington East Post Office Building

Source: ATL Wellington (*Evening Post*, 2 November 1929), <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/19374215>



Figure 3.3 Cambridge and Kent Terraces, Wellington, 1931. The Wellington East Post Office Building is shown here completed – it tended to dwarf low-rise buildings around it, such as the Cambridge Hotel to the left of it

Source: ATL Wellington. PA Coll-5932-26, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22752471>

from a North American context.⁵⁰ This style, as McEwan points out, associated businesses with a civic style of architecture, which enhanced the appearance of their solidity.⁵¹

In addition to the architectural form of the inter-war city, the technology used in the buildings, such as lighting, was invariably taken from the USA. It is evident from a reading of one of the most significant Antipodean journals of the time, *New Zealand Building Progress*, that visits were being made to the USA and that American styles and practices in building construction and city lighting were being imitated. In 1917 the journal contained articles on topics such as the 'Progressive Electric Lighting of American Cities' and 'Electrified Railways, an American Example', whilst in 1923 it reported on the American tour of Reginald Ford, a former President of the New Zealand Institute of Architects.⁵² Ford, on his return, extolled the hotels and domestic architecture of California. In the same year the journal featured 'City Manager Government in America'.⁵³ The *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects*, which was first published on the eve of the First World War,

similarly contemplated American city development at regular intervals. In one of the early issues of the proceedings of the Institute, William Crichton, a member of the Wellington branch, described his 'travelling experiences', during which he had visited the US cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles and subsequently those of the central and eastern boards. Chicago (with special mention of the city's skyscrapers), New York (whose railway terminals were thought to be very impressive) and Washington DC had all evidently made a big impression on him. Whilst he found a building strike in progress on his arrival in Britain, Crichton subsequently noted that an 'American spirit seems to have invaded London'.⁵⁴ In the 1920s, C.L. Cummings, who had studied architecture at both the University of Melbourne and Columbia University, also reported on his travels in the USA: 'He found that American architecture was advancing rapidly while other countries appeared to be falling back or making very little progress. The finest modern buildings ... were those of America.' Such reports continued into the 1930s.⁵⁵ Perhaps one of the most notable endorsements of American modernism, with due acknowledgment of Frank Lloyd Wright's influence, came from C.R. Knight, appointed to a Chair in Architecture at the University of Auckland in 1925. As McEwen notes: 'As a consequence of Knight's position within the architectural community it must be assumed that such American references in his writing ... had considerable impact upon the direction architectural education was to take in New Zealand.'⁵⁶

However, despite the clear evidence that American and American-influenced architects were adopting US style in the Antipodean city, it is also evident that a significant section of the architectural profession was not impressed with either American or European design and continued to believe that the best architecture originated in the Empire. The International Architectural Exhibition, staged in both Sydney and Melbourne in 1927, was a significant moment for the comparison of international styles. Prime Minister Stanley Bruce, who opened the Exhibition, was glad that 'the exhibition was international, because architecture, more than any art, knew no boundaries'.⁵⁷ The Exhibition was staged on a number of floors of the Allied Societies Trust building in Melbourne, the top floor being devoted to American architecture, those below staging German examples, Australasian architecture following and then finally British architecture. Visitors were encouraged to begin at the top as this was 'of especial interest to Australians as a lately developed style. It is chiefly the product of outside influences notably the restricted city area of New York and the necessity of building

upwards ... This style is seen in its most artistic form'.⁵⁸ The American and European exhibits evidently did not impress everyone. *The Age* noted on its pages under the headline 'Empire Architects Lead the Way' that: 'The outstanding moral to be drawn from the International Architectural Exhibition is the aesthetic superiority of Great Britain.'⁵⁹ It compared the Empire style of architecture with examples displayed from the USA, Germany and Czechoslovakia, and noted that: 'The strained daring of the American and the robot-like mechanism of the German schools do not show up well beside it.'⁶⁰ The main credit that architectural journals were prepared to give the Americans in the 1920s was in relation to their technological achievements. The journal *Architecture* suggested that: 'There is no doubt we can learn from America the better organisation of the builders; and architects' businesses, the mechanical equipment and perfection of all services ... We could learn from America a broader habit of mind, but we must work out for ourselves our national architectural expression.'⁶¹ A dichotomy, which was noted in the New Zealand context by McEwen, therefore existed at this time. Whilst public buildings were increasingly Americanised, the rhetoric produced by the architectural profession tended to be quite dismissive of American style. Journals such as *Progress* (later renamed *New Zealand Building Progress*) and the *Proceedings of the Institute of New Zealand Architects* contained both admiration and disdain for the American influence. The reason for these attitudes, as suggested by McEwen, was an upper-class profession wishing to distance itself from American values that were seen as working class. Architects desired 'to establish their architectural and social pedigree in a country that considered itself (at least as far as "elite" perspectives were concerned) to be "the cream of the British Empire"'.⁶² Yet, by 1940, something of a sea-change had taken place, as even *The Age*, which had paid neither American nor German architecture many compliments in the 1920s, now noted that: 'Melbourne [was] graced with a number of strikingly designed and well constructed buildings, which have been erected during recent months. Varied styles of architecture show evidence of British, Continental and American treatment.'⁶³

From dance halls to gangs and gangsters c. 1910–39

Developing a synergetic relationship with the cinema as a chief site for popular entertainment in the inter-war years and the second aspect of the Americanisation of cities was the dance hall.⁶⁴ Dances had been a feature of colonial life in the nineteenth century, usually taking place

in multi-purpose venues such as the Town Hall, Masonic Lodges or club-rooms. The dances performed in the nineteenth century were largely those brought by European settlers such as waltzes or schottisches. Their staging before the war was usually for the purposes of fundraising for clubs or simply the affirmation of a sense of community on a regular basis. The arrival of the American fleet in 1908, however, marked a significant moment in the changing orientation of dance culture, interest in popular culture emanating from the USA escalating from that point onwards. Dance styles such as the One-Step, the Foxtrot and the Tango initially gained popularity, followed by dance ‘crazes’ that emerged around 1910, collectively known as the ‘animal dances’, such as the Bunny Hug and the Turkey Trot, which made their impact in the Antipodes just after the war ended. These ‘bastardised’ dance styles were followed in the 1920s by jazz dances such as the Black Bottom and the Charleston. Indeed, by the mid-1920s, daily and weekly newspapers devoted pages to keeping up with each season’s dance and fashion trends. To cater for this surge in interest, new dance venues were opened just before the First World War and through the 1920s. A ‘palais de danse’ was established in the seaside suburb of St Kilda (known as ‘Melbourne’s playground’) in 1913, despite considerable protests from residents that it would attract the wrong sort of person to the district.⁶⁵ The venue was subsequently redeveloped shortly after the war so that it could accommodate 1,800 patrons. During the 1920s, further Melbourne venues for dancing were opened, including Leggett’s Ballroom, located in Prahran (opened in 1920), the Palais Royal at the Exhibition Building (1923) and the Trocadero (1926).⁶⁶ Antipodean cities initially lacked purpose-built dance halls (the ‘palais de danse’) and the name was initially projected onto existing multi-purpose venues. In Auckland a clutch of venues opened in the 1920s. The Dixieland Cabaret (1922) was initially located on Upper Queen Street, but relocated to the suburb of Point Chevalier in the mid-1920s.⁶⁷ Despite charging high admission fees to encourage more sophisticated patrons, the Dixieland’s relocation was resisted by local residents and churches. The Click Clack Cabaret opened in the suburb of Newmarket in 1926 and the Crystal Palace opened in Mount Eden in 1928, the latter located in the basement of a picture theatre. A purpose-built palais de danse, the Gaiety, was also opened in Wellington by the late 1920s.

From the moment of their opening, it was evident that the dance halls were perceived as a rather unsettling presence in cities by older residents. Criticisms of the patrons of the halls were often founded on the perceived immorality surrounding the halls and the corrupting

influence of jazz. Before the war, social purity groups, the churches and, indeed, the state in both its national and local guises had taken measures to curb dancing in public. Under the terms of the 1881 Licensing Act in New Zealand, for example, dancing girls were prohibited from working in hotels and publicans were forbidden from staging dances on the premises.⁶⁸ The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union viewed dancing with suspicion, particularly dancing that involved body contact.⁶⁹ The rise of the urban dance hall threatened to dismantle much of this restraint. It is evident that the pre-war generation believed that the rather conservative imperial values which had underpinned society before 1914 were now being eroded by a more carefree Americanism. As Melanie Tebbutt notes of the British experience, the new dance style 'assailed the popular imagination ... subverting middle-class expectations of discipline and order and contesting the emotional equilibrium which many of the older generation sought to re-establish after the war'.⁷⁰ In 1905, the Imperial Society of Dance Teachers had formed with the intention of instilling better dance standards across the British world. One of its aims was to eradicate the baser animal dances and by the 1920s to introduce slower dances. Renamed the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dance, one of its leading lights was Victor Silvester, who 'played an important part in promoting the so-called English style of ballroom dancing which avoided vulgar movements, standardised how the male held his partner and was "less rhythmic, creative, and musically responsive than American dancing"'.⁷¹ Jazz challenged this intention. The most popular dance music of the 1920s had its origins in the southern American states and its links to black culture was an unsettling aspect in cities based up to that point on white 'Anglo' exclusivity. A symposium held by the Society during the 1920s condemned the 'freak dances' of the USA.⁷²

During the First World War, Antipodean society had seen another form of Americanism introduced in the shape of quasi-prohibition. This was introduced in the form of the six o'clock swill, whereby hotels and pubs had to stop serving liquor at the relatively early time of 6 pm. In the light of the introduction of this rather draconian law, many of the younger generation evidently saw in both the picture palace and the dance hall the chance to escape from the moral strictures of their parents. It is perhaps not surprising that one of the biggest problems for city authorities to deal with in the 1920s and 1930s was the presence of alcohol in the dance venues. The increase in car ownership in the 1920s was also a contributory factor to the increased levels of concern about

the halls.⁷³ These could be used to stash alcohol and were in themselves a noisy presence in the late-night city. Dance halls were also blamed for a decline in pre-war musical and literary pursuits such as operatic societies, choral societies, and literary and debating societies. Thus, whilst one strand of Americanism (prohibition) reinforced what has been seen as the great tightening of Antipodean inter-war society, the dance hall appeared to be playing a significant role as a lever which could release citizens from its grip.⁷⁴ Society commentator Katherine Carr noted in the pages of the *Auckland Weekly News* in the late 1920s ‘that the standards of conduct in the ballroom have been completely revolutionised during the past few years is undeniable and the date of the change probably synchronizes with the passing of the chaperone ... The War obliterated them completely. Out of the war came jazz and, cheated of four years of our youth, we whirled into it’.⁷⁵ Indeed, *The Truth* (Melbourne) noted in 1922 that: ‘Dancing has enjoyed such a boom during the last year or two that hundreds of new assemblies have been established.’⁷⁶ Patrons of the urban dancehalls in the 1920s were generally younger than they had been before 1914 and, in the inter-war years, dance halls became as much an arena for pleasure seeking and liberation through the meeting of strangers as an affirmation of community, which had tended to be the function of rural dances. Another significant change to the dance culture of the 1920s was that women increasingly went to the halls unchaperoned. A further feature of the scene and one that was possibly linked to drink was increased violence in and around the dance halls. A frequent feature of press reports in the 1920s and 1930s was the recording of incidents that had occurred at or near these venues. Both *The Truth* (Melbourne) and the *New Zealand Truth* celebrated and condemned dances in the inter-war years, offering both the latest news of fashion and styles emanating from the halls, but simultaneously railing against what they perceived to be degeneracy caused by the Americanisation of society in this period.

Whilst they had never espoused an imperial cause, many of the features of 1920s and 1930s society to which *The Truth* (Melbourne) and the *New Zealand Truth* objected were linked to imported North American culture, which implied the undermining of Britishness. It is undeniable that in the 1920s and 1930s, both Australians and New Zealanders, like their British counterparts, were fascinated by American culture. Indeed, to be modern in the 1920s was invariably to imitate the styles, habits and fashions projected from US cities. In presenting itself as the defender of the nation’s morals, *The Truth* (Melbourne) and the *New Zealand Truth* consistently ran articles which targeted the USA as the site of

moral degeneration. This process arguably started in the context of the Fatty Arbuckle scandal of the early 1920s and from this point onwards, American urban culture, Hollywood and jazz all represented aspects of American culture that *The Truth* (Melbourne) and the *New Zealand Truth* consistently targeted. The flapper had first been seen in an American context and the Antipodean version also became a target for the newspaper. As Jill Matthews has noted, this independent young woman was the 'cash register for jazz entrepreneurs'.⁷⁷

From the early 1920s onwards, the paper's journalists consistently presented America as a source of depravity that was undermining Melbourne society. As this woman reached maturity, new journals such as *Woman's Weekly* played on the notion of modernity and the modern woman, who was still enthralled by Hollywood glamour. Thus, in July 1923, *The Truth* (Melbourne) noted the 'Yankee Crazes' and asked: 'Is Australia to be overrun?'⁷⁸ In 1924 it declared 'war on the flapper' and demanded the return of the 'old fashioned girl'.⁷⁹ As the 1920s wore on, it went further and suggested that Melbourne society was replicating the vices of the American city. For example, it suggested that the beachside suburb of St Kilda was effectively Melbourne's version of Los Angeles, because a:

Dreadful growth of American vice-stunts and traps for Australian girlhood has literally leaped ahead during the last twelve months. Because the discoveries made at St Kilda were amongst the worst 'Truth' presents these first. But unwatched, unguarded the Metropolitan lure of this favoured seaside resort suburb's growing amusements has attracted a type of drunken blackguard and lustful woman who behind closed doors and drawn blinds permit themselves indulgence in forms of degradation and lust so frightful that it may be said that Los Angles has nothing on St Kilda.⁸⁰

The publication subsequently reported 'Yankee orgies at St Kilda' and asked whether the Australian man on the street 'had a conscience' before exploring 'the American way'.⁸¹ When the US fleet arrived in Melbourne in the mid-1920s, *The Truth* (Melbourne) took the opportunity to run a series of lurid headlines aimed at the American presence. This anti-Americanism showed no signs of letting up throughout the rest of the decade.⁸² Dance competitions were condemned as events that 'disintegrated society'.⁸³ Moreover, the dance halls were the venues at which an American-style underworld also first came to prominence. The possibility of Melbourne resembling not only Los Angeles but also perhaps Chicago was raised in the 1920s.

A notable feature of both Melbourne and Sydney urban life by the mid-1920s was the formation of rival gangs and their possession of both razors and firearms. Indeed, Melbourne's gangs appear to have moved closer to the real meaning of the term 'gangster' than was found by Andrew Davies, who examined the usage of the term in the city of Glasgow between the wars.⁸⁴ Gangs such as the Wanderers (a gang formed in the inner-north suburb of Carlton), the Riley Rats (a Collingwood gang) and the Hawkeyes, also a north Melbourne gang, frequented dance halls and often brandished firearms at members of rival gangs outside the venues.⁸⁵ Quarrels were often provoked between gang members over love rivalries. By the early 1930s, gangs were part of an escalating underworld which drew comparisons with the gangster city of Chicago. An article published in *The Truth* (Melbourne) noted in 1930 that shots had been fired in the early morning in a city venue: 'Any Chicago visitors who might have been supping at the Broadway cafe, one of Melbourne's all-night restaurants on the evening of September 7 or early morning of the following day would have felt perfectly at home.'⁸⁶ The rise of Melbourne's underworld in the inter-war decades awaits further systematic treatment, but it is evident from a perusal of the popular press that gangs and gangsters were operating in the city by the early 1930s. Racketeering and extortion was apparently rife, with one newspaper noting that the retail of tobacco 'is at the mercy of criminal gangsters. Theft and distribution of stolen tobacco is a highly organised and profitable business of a type which would do credit to any Chicago gang'.⁸⁷ Other press reports also drew parallels between Melbourne and the US gangster capital. In 1934, Otto Kafka Inc. of New York, an American company, wrote to state premier Stanley Argyle offering to sell armaments to combat gangsters. The communication was sent on the belief that 'gang warfare, violent crime, lynching and other civil disorders are as common here [Melbourne] as they are in the United States'.⁸⁸ *The Truth* (Melbourne) also ran stories that suggested that a returned serviceman had been approached to offer instruction in the use of machine guns.⁸⁹ In the 1930s the paper noted that 'Gangster Girls' had descended on Melbourne. The Victorian police department, it noted, was watching the activities in Melbourne of a 'bunch of the most notorious characters to ever emerge from Sydney's gangland and settle uncertainly in another state'.⁹⁰ The gangster problem did not disappear; indeed, it thrived during the Second World War to reach a point in the early 1950s where *The Argus* ran the following headline: 'You Don't Have to Go to America to Meet a Crime Boss: Gangsters' Guns Will Blaze in Melbourne.'⁹¹

Empire and the Americanisation of the Antipodean cinema c. 1919–39

For historians such as John MacKenzie and Jeffrey Richards, films played an important role in emphasising imperial values and making audiences aware of the Empire in Britain through the re-creation of imperial wars on film and the projection of imperial heroes and their adventures on the silver screen.⁹² If Empire was, as they suggest, central to British identity before 1940, how far can it be argued that imperial values were similarly to the fore in an Antipodean context? There is some strength to the MacKenzie–Richards thesis when we examine cinema culture before 1914. We have already seen that at the time of the Second Boer War, Antipodean citizens were offered the chance to see moving images of the conflict (many of which, as Diane Collins notes, were reconstructions) and other imperial occasions such as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. However, imperial themes were by no means the only ones offered to Antipodean audiences. Scenic films were also a popular type of film before 1914 and provided a 'tangible link between this new British society [Australia] and landscapes and lifestyles left behind in the UK'.⁹³ An examination of the kind of films shown in Melbourne's picture houses in 1909 demonstrates a similar balance between the imperial and the international. Among the films that West's Pictures (one the significant players in the pre-war Australian cinema industry) offered at its venue Wirth's Olympia in January 1909 were as follows: *Shakespeare's Tempest* (a drama), *Industrial South Africa* (a factual film), *Venice from a Gondola* (a factual film), *The South Tyrol by Moonlight* (a factual film), *Nick Carter and the Bank Robbery* (a thriller), *An Obstinate Umbrella* (a comedy) and *Father Gets in the Game* (a comedy). These films were thought to be 'absorbing in interest from start to finish' by the Adelaide daily paper *The Advertiser*.⁹⁴ By the outbreak of war in 1914, newsreels preceded the showing of the main film, which also gave audiences a sense of the wider Empire.⁹⁵ Even before the war, however, the USA was establishing itself as a leader in film production. The war years curtailed European production and, as Ross Cooper notes, from this point forward, 'England was never to regain her market in Australia, and for the next fifty years Australia was to be a leading customer of America, devoting during the twenties an average 90% of programme-time to Hollywood production'.⁹⁶ The dominance was helped by the culture of the industry, which featured the 'block-booking' system, whereby Antipodean distributors agreed to buy the entire output of a year from an agency.⁹⁷ They in turn block-booked

from US production studios.⁹⁸ By these means, the British film industry was effectively marginalised during the inter-war period, only enjoying a resurgence to some extent in the mid-1930s. This trend towards American dominance was also notable in New Zealand, where of the seven distributors operating in the country in 1921, four handled US films only, representing some 64,000 feet of film imported weekly, compared to 15,000 feet per week of European films.⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, then, Harrison concludes that ‘American predominance of the films screened in New Zealand was overwhelming’.¹⁰⁰ In figures compiled in one study in the mid-1920s, it was estimated that the total number of British films imported to Australia in 1925 amounted to 8 per cent, whilst in New Zealand the figure was 8.9 per cent.¹⁰¹ The staple themes of the films emanating from the USA during the 1920s were Westerns and films which projected ‘sex and sensation’. These films tended, in the words of Patricia Harrison, to question the ‘responsibilities until now conceded to be necessary to family life’.¹⁰² As talkies were introduced in the late 1920s, the effect of American English was also feared by both imperial loyalty leagues and the Council of Public Education.¹⁰³

The MacKenzie–Richards ‘thesis’ argues for the comparative success of British (imperial) film in the 1920s and 1930s, but it is difficult to claim that imperial themes saturated Antipodean markets in either the 1920s or the 1930s. For example, the official British war films made by Bruce Wolfe, which were made and distributed throughout the 1920s, are judged by MacKenzie to have been ‘good box office’ in the UK, yet this view appears to be wide of the mark as far as their reception in the Antipodes was concerned. Speaking in the House of Lords in the mid-1920s, Lord Newton noted the failure of the war films in Australia and the fact that the films had to be shown in town halls as the cinemas were all booked up with American productions. This *The Argus* declared to be untrue, stating that the films had been shown at Melbourne’s Auditorium cinema and the suburban circuit, but ‘without much success’. The editorial also noted that: ‘War pictures are no longer popular and though in *Armageddon* many of the pictures of the Palestine campaign were well produced, attendances were very unsatisfactory.’ Moreover, it was claimed by the *Daily Express* that *Armageddon*, *Zeebrugge*, *Mons* and *Mademoiselle from Armentieres* had all been fully or partially boycotted by Australian cinemas.¹⁰⁴

The other crop of imperial films of the 1920s that MacKenzie draws attention to as evidence of imperial ‘saturation’ are ‘Expedition and Ethnographic Films’, which he admits had a small following. Some enjoyed brief runs in Australian and New Zealand cinemas, but a number

of those identified do not appear to have been shown on the Antipodean circuit. *Crossing the Great Sahara* (1924) was shown in Melbourne cinemas, but *Cobham to the Cape* (1926), a film depicting the exploits of Sir Alan Cobham, was not shown in that city. It was, however, shown at the Grand Opera House in Auckland (three afternoon showings only) and the De Luxe in Wellington. *Wonderland of Big Game* (1923) was also shown in Wellington (again for just three nights) and Christchurch, accompanied by an explanatory lecture. In Melbourne, the film was shown at the Auditorium in support of the film *Salambo*.¹⁰⁵ Judging by the lack of press advertisements, *Wildest Africa* (1924), *Kilimanjaro* (1924), *Toto's Wife* (1924), *Pearls to Savages* (1924), *Lhasa in Disguise* (1924), *From Red Sea to Blue* (1925), *Stampede* (1930) and *The Vast Sudan* (1924) do not appear to have been shown in the Antipodes, but the last of these, in book form by A.R. Dugmore, was listed as a 'Book in Demand' on the pages of Wellington's *Evening Post* in the late 1920s.¹⁰⁶ *Palaver*, another British film released in 1926, was hailed in some of the Antipodean dailies as one of the films which would signal the improvement of the British film industry.¹⁰⁷ Before the introduction of the quota system, however, such films faced severe difficulties in terms of being shown on overseas cinema screens. *Livingstone*, for example, released in 1925 and noted by MacKenzie as popular in Britain, appears to have been a victim of the block-booking system which prevented its release in the USA and, by implication, its distribution to Antipodean cinema owners. The most popular films in 1926, the year in which the imperial film *Nelson* was released, were listed by *The Argus* as the following: *He Who Gets Slapped* (US drama/thriller), *The Iron Horse* (US Western), *Broken Laws* (US drama), *The Sea Beast* (US adventure), *Beau Geste* (perhaps the nearest to an imperial film, but produced in the USA and about the French), *The Vanishing Race* (US Western), *College Days* (US sports comedy), *The Gold Rush* (US Charlie Chaplin comedy), *The Phantom of the Opera* (US horror), *Stella Dallas* (US drama), *Cobra* (US drama/romance) and *The Man on the Box* (US comedy).¹⁰⁸ *The Argus* argued that there was no conspiracy against British films in the Antipodes, but that it was simply a case that films made in Britain were of inferior quality to those made in the USA. The American-made film *The Iron Horse* illustrated how backward the British film industry was, since the railways were a British invention, yet no British producer had shown any interest in making a film about it.¹⁰⁹ It has been argued by some post-colonial historians that Westerns were implicitly linked to imperialism; as Boyd has argued: 'The Indians served as proxies for the different native peoples within the British Empire.'¹¹⁰ Peter Limbrick also argues that Australian Westerns

offered viewers a visual argument for the importance of the wool trade to Australian industry, thus joining nationalistic expression (pride in the Australian wool industry) with imperial context (the importance of Britain as an export market), while grounding themselves in the virtues of the local (the bush, which is usually privileged in these films against the spoiled or exploitative city).¹¹¹ It is, of course, the case that such films were small in number compared to the US Westerns that were popular in the 1920s. Here too, a white settler narrative was prominent and invariably justified colonisation and the expansion of the Anglo race. Research undertaken by Kuhn has shown that children did not, of course, take the ideological dimensions of these films on board, but rather play-acted the roles of cowboys and Indians after attending films of this genre.¹¹² However, whilst films within this genre did account for a high proportion of those shown, it might equally be possible to see them as simply escapism on the part of the audience. Westerns were especially popular amongst juvenile patrons. Moreover, as David Fowler has noted of younger filmgoers in the inter-war period in Britain, cinemas served several purposes and it was not always the film that was the chief draw. Gangs frequented them, as did courting couples. One contemporary observer noted the continuous chatter amongst the patrons, which would hardly have been conducive to absorbing the more subtle implications of a film. These conditions were not unique to Britain as they were witnessed in an Antipodean context too.¹¹³ Some observers argued that American films tended to erode British imperial control by projecting anti-British sentiment to native races.¹¹⁴ What is rather more certain is that Westerns had ceased to attract audiences by 1930 and were replaced by genres such as musicals, gangster, crime and mysteries, which suggests that audiences had become tired of the same plot acted out so many times.¹¹⁵ The rise of the gangster film subsequently became a further cause for concern; an inquiry into their effect on juveniles was launched in Sydney in 1934, the leader of the Good Film League in Sydney noting that it was 'difficult to inculcate Empire ideals in the minds of children when they were continually being fed on foreign publicity'.¹¹⁶

During the silent film era of the 1920s, therefore, imperially themed films were largely absent from the Antipodean theatres before a resurgence in the mid- to late 1930s. Assessing an audience 'appetite' for particular film genres of the period is difficult, not least because there was a policy of replacing the programme of an inner-city cinema every six days and every three days in suburban venues, whether the film was popular with audiences or not.¹¹⁷ With the arrival of talkies in the

late 1920s, there was evidently a change of policy as some of the films shown in inner-city venues enjoyed much longer runs, some lasting months. Again, however, the question as to whether a film's long run was due to the cinema owner or to popular demand is difficult to establish. In the 1920s, to judge by the sample years of 1925 and 1935 in both Melbourne and Christchurch city-centre venues, it is clear that the vast majority of the films had originated in the USA. In Christchurch, the introduction of the quota system and the 'All-British' policy of some cinemas increased the share of British films by the mid-1930s. The most popular genres of film that were offered to audiences are shown in Tables 3.1–3.4 below.

Such was the failure of the British film industry compared to its US rival that by the mid-1920s, it was considered important enough to be discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1926. In its wake, an Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry was established in the following year, which drew evidence from every interested party in the cinema industry: distributors, cinema owners and patrons. One of the

Table 3.1 Films shown in Melbourne cinemas in 1925

Genre	Adventure/Drama	Romance	Western	Comedy	Other
Number	169	40	28	64	31

Table 3.2 Films shown in Christchurch cinemas in 1925

Genre	Adventure/Drama	Romance	Western	Comedy	Other
Number	203	45	60	81	32

Table 3.3 Films shown in Melbourne cinemas in 1935

Genre	Adventure/Drama	Romance	Western	Comedy	Other
Number	99	45	2	65	97

Table 3.4 Films shown in Christchurch cinemas in 1935

Genre	Adventure/Drama	Romance	Western	Comedy	Other
Number	198	106	14	158	160

key themes which underpinned the Commission's investigation was the dominance of US producers and distributors.¹¹⁸ Speaking against the criticisms made of the Australian cinema culture, Stuart Doyle, Director of Australian Films Limited and Managing Director of Union Theatres, denied the claim that as a result of American dominance in the Australian market, most of the profits made on films were taken out of the country and sent to the USA. Doyle also emphasised that the relative lack of British films being shown in Australia in the mid-1920s was on account of their quality.¹¹⁹ He did not believe that Australia was being 'Americanised' and thought the only Australian city that had an American outlook was Sydney, which he attributed to the presence of Americans in the port rather than the influence of films.¹²⁰ To further emphasise this point, he listed numerous works of literature produced by British authors which had been bought by American film makers with the intention of transferring them to the big screen.¹²¹ Other witnesses who were called to give evidence to the Commission had a rather different perspective. Joseph Coman, the Sub-Inspector of Police, was of the opinion that Americanisms and American slang were having a negative effect on youth and thought that the playing of the national anthem before a picture was shown would be a good idea. William O'Brien, Vice-President of the Brisbane sub-branch of the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League, argued for a quota in order that Australian national sentiment be promoted, since American dramas 'constitute pretty well 75 per cent of every programme, and they strike at the tap-root of the Australian character'.¹²² At one point in the proceedings, the film rentier W.J.C. Barr was called forward to outline the problems he had had in placing the official British war film *Ypres*. It was alleged that the difficulty arose from the reluctance of cinema managers to antagonise the US film industry.¹²³ Within parliamentary circles in New Zealand, there was also debate as to the extent to which Antipodean citizens should be exposed to American films. The Prime Minister Gordon Coates argued on the occasion of the introduction of the Cinematograph Bill that films depicting episodes from the history of the Empire were better produced by 'our own people'.¹²⁴ Others argued that the cinema industry had no more influence than literature, for which no quota was contemplated. Despite Coates' wish, when Empire films came into vogue in the mid- to late 1930s, many were indeed of American origin.¹²⁵

Whilst this problem was partly rectified as a result of the quota system's implementation, it became clear that moving to the other extreme was also problematic. Cinemas which introduced an 'All-British' policy

often regretted their decision to do so as audiences withdrew their patronage.¹²⁶ The outcome of the Royal Commission's inquiry was to encourage the introduction of a degree of protection (British films were already allowed into Australia duty free) and a quota system similar to that imposed in Britain in 1927. New Zealand also introduced a quota at this time.¹²⁷ However, initially at least, protectionism did not solve the problem of production quality. Indeed, the quota tended to have the opposite effect. The phenomenon of the 'quota quicky' developed after 1928. These were rapidly made films costing no more than around £5,000 each. These films were produced on what film critic Gordon Mirams called a 'shoestring budget'.¹²⁸ Mirams also noted that during the 1920s and early 1930s, New Zealand's loyalty to British films was 'difficult to maintain'.¹²⁹ An example of the problems that were faced by All-British cinemas was Melbourne's Majestic, which opened in April 1936 with an All-British programme, but which by August 1937 was intending to revert to screening US productions due to 'so little encouragement' being given by film patrons.¹³⁰ Mirams notes that there 'were not enough outstanding British films to keep the All-British theatres open'.¹³¹ Among the British imperial titles dating from the mid-1930s were *Sanders of the River* (1935), *The Drum* (1938), *Rhodes of Africa* (1936) and *Kings Solomon's Mines* (1936) and, from the USA, *Clive of India* (1935), *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1936) and *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939). These films were, on the whole, favourably reviewed in the columns of the daily press.¹³² *Sanders of the River*, for example, was described as 'one of the most remarkable and in many respects the most notable films ever produced by British industry', while Korda's *The Drum* was noted as being a 'good answer to those who critically compare British productions with American films'.¹³³ Other Korda films such as *Fire over England* were not successful at the box office.¹³⁴ However, it is likely that audiences enjoyed these films as historical adventures as much as imperial propaganda – a nostalgia for a bygone era as the European crisis of the later 1930s unfolded. There was also amongst older audiences a sentiment of 'anti-modernity which these films provided'.¹³⁵ The films of the mid-1930s largely focused on late nineteenth-century imperial events with varying degrees of success. As Jeffrey Richards has noted, 'none of the films tackled contemporary issues. There is no reflection of the fact that the Empire was in a constant state of flux in the interwar years, the Commonwealth, the concept of a world-wide community of nations in free and voluntary association'.¹³⁶ Yet Mirams noted in this regard that as far as New Zealand audiences were concerned: 'Monarchy and Imperialism are still glamorous and sell a lot of tickets'.¹³⁷ Of the

American films that used the British Empire as their focus, one critic described *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* as ‘good stuff’ and *Clive of India* as ‘wearing a little thin’, while of *Gunga Din*, the critic thought that the ‘comment [was] best left to the ghost of Kipling, poor fellow’.¹³⁸ The review suggested that American depictions of the Empire gave it ‘the works’ and that ‘all the tried and trusted tricks of Hollywood’ were employed, such as ‘alarums, excursions, love, danger, chicanery and courage all set in a remote and glamorous location’, suggesting that the films were primarily being viewed for the purposes of entertainment rather than education. The review concluded by pondering: ‘That the fates should have conspired to produce an atmosphere so sympathetic to Empire epics as the present is a happy – or, according to the point of view unhappy – chance.’¹³⁹ Despite the cluster of imperial films that were circulated in Antipodean cinemas at this point, when *The Argus* asked its readers to vote for their ten favourite films of 1939, only nine of the 50 that the paper selected were British films, just one more than those made in France that appeared on this list.¹⁴⁰

4

Integration or Separation? Attitudes to Empire in the Antipodean Press c. 1880s–1930s

In May 1920, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to the Antipodes, Wellington's *Evening Post* took the opportunity to reflect on the nature of the relationship between the Dominion press and the Empire. It noted that it had played a significant role in 'binding the Empire together and promoting good understanding between the many and most varied parts of the King's Dominion [and that] the best traditions [of the British press] are followed as closely as possible here, having regard to local circumstances'.¹ It concluded that: 'As there is but one language, so there is but one great press ideal – the welfare of the British Empire and its peoples as a whole, even though different papers may express themselves in different terms.'² Whilst the paper boasted the strength of imperial unity at the time of a royal visit, it nevertheless was capable of demonstrating a rather different attitude towards the Empire, which was founded on more instrumental factors, such as defence and race. In 1908, for example, a year when there was neither a royal visit nor an evident imperial crisis, the paper contemplated both dimensions. In May 1908, for example, it had considered a series of articles issued by the British Board of Trade. In its articles, it noted the absence of what it called the 'Imperial Idea', since the prevailing sentiment appeared to be 'the main chance of improving British business and increasing British profits'. This, it stated, 'we conceive to be a true basis of Imperial relationship ... a sensible gospel of selfishness'.³ Rather than castigate the British, the paper thought this an admirable attitude and believed that it should be adopted by New Zealanders: 'We can apply the principle from our own point of view; New Zealand first and best; and the second best for the Empire.'⁴ Later in the same year, the paper reflected on the visit of the American fleet to the shores of New Zealand and noted the common bond that Australia, the USA and

New Zealand all shared in combating what it called the ‘yellow peril’. It suggested that: ‘Instead of inspiring us with the enthusiasm which it aroused in the Mother Country, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been received here with not a little suspicion and unease.’ It also stated that: ‘As a champion of a White ascendancy in the Pacific, America therefore represents the ideals of Australia and New Zealand far better than Britain.’⁵ These comments clearly voiced a rather different Empire sentiment from that expressed at the time of the royal visit.

The extent to which the Dominion press acted as a force for either ‘imperial integration’ or, conversely, ‘colonial nationalism’ has been the subject of historical controversy for some time. In one of the most recent considerations of this topic, Simon Potter has argued for imperial integration, since from the later nineteenth century onwards, a press network was forged based on the sharing of the cable system for news transmitted from London and the exchange of journalists across the Empire.⁶ Editors of the Antipodean press had often spent time on Fleet Street, although by the 1920s, the first generation of Australian and New Zealand-born journalists were increasing their presence on editorial boards. The emergence of the Imperial Press Conference, the first meeting of which was staged in London 1909, with further meetings held in Ottawa and Melbourne in 1920 and 1925 respectively, could also be seen as part of an increasingly integrated Empire press system.

Potter’s thesis rests, it has to be stressed, on a study of the ‘medium’ more than the ‘message’. His argument that ‘the emergence of London as a centre from which the rest of the British world drew its news helped to ensure that papers in each of the Dominions would continue to share the same basic perspective on international events’ is qualified by the observation that ‘editorial opinion varied’.⁷ The imperial press system, he argues, grew stronger in the years up to the First World War and beyond. *News and the British World* takes its narrative down to 1922, but it is evident that by the mid-1920s, much work was still required in order to ensure a genuinely integrated Empire. At the Imperial Press Conferences staged in Ottawa and Melbourne, for example, it was clear from reports of the discussions held that the mechanisms used for imperial communication could be more efficient. At Ottawa it was noted that, from an Australian perspective: ‘A reduction of the cable rates, particularly of the charges upon messages between Britain and the various divisions of the far flung British Empire, is urgently required.’⁸ It was further observed that the imperial cable system was in the same condition in which the British postal service had been before Rowland Hill embarked on his reforms. In Melbourne five years later, a debate

took place between press representatives of Britain and Australia over the issue of how little coverage was given on the pages of the British press to Australian news. This debate was broadened by a Canadian representative who suggested that a much greater circulation of imperial news was now taking place around the British world than had hitherto been demonstrated.⁹ This, indeed, was the lesson drawn by some of the city dailies. In a lead column published in the wake of the conference, Melbourne's morning daily *The Argus* considered the benefits of the meeting and noted that one positive legacy of it had been to leave Australia's people:

a vivid reality of the diversity in which the unity of the Empire is sought ... When men envisage the Empire for themselves, too often their thought is limited to Great Britain and the Dominions, the colony, or the dependency in which they are domiciled. We need to enlarge the ambit of our imperial vision ... The course of Empire has by no means been directed exclusively by events in Great Britain or even Europe ... The need then is that every part of the British Empire should better know every other part.¹⁰

The role of the press in explaining for city populaces the nature, dimensions and appearance of the British world was certainly crucial in forging attitudes (whether enthusiasm or indifference) towards the Empire. Moreover, as has been noted by at least one historian, journalists often write the first draft of history.¹¹ Stephen Vella has observed that: 'Far from simply reflecting contemporary events or public wants in objective, mirror-like fashion, newspapers often shaped the news and views of their readers by employing a particular framework for understanding events and institutions.'¹² Anthony Smith similarly notes that 'journalism was the art of structuring reality rather than recording it'.¹³ Potter's monograph concludes by conceding that many people in the Dominions 'did not all read one national newspaper ... Most read regional or local publications, which often encouraged complex identities'.¹⁴

This chapter aims to ask and provide answers to some key questions that have yet to be asked of the Antipodean press in relation to the wider Empire. First, how much coverage did the British Empire in reality achieve on the pages of the Antipodean daily papers? Was Empire news increasingly balanced in the 1920s and 1930s or, indeed, before by international news? Did news of events which took place in the wider Empire sell newspapers? If so, which versions of the press – city morning dailies or evening dailies – showed the most interest?

Editorial decisions regarding which stories to cover were clearly influenced by the implications that publishing them had on circulation. Would city populations prefer to read 'Home', 'Empire' or 'International' news? As yet, no systematic study of the Antipodean press has been undertaken in order to gauge how interested Australians and New Zealanders were in the Empire of which they were a part. Indeed, as John MacKenzie has observed:

the surprising fact is that until recently, study of the press in the anglophone world had been limited. This is particularly true of the British Empire, where one would think that press studies ought to be legion. This is the case both in terms of the treatment of imperial issues in the British press and in respect of the colonial press in the many territories of empire.¹⁵

He also notes that, from a metropolitan perspective: 'While we have strong indications of the pervasive nature of the imperial ideology in the press, the fact is that this has never been properly analysed or quantified ... few historians look beyond the pages of *The Times* for evidence of attitudes towards empire, and some shun even this limited source.'¹⁶ There is therefore considerable scope for further empirical verification. We know, of course, that in the context of the colonial Antipodean papers, 'news from the Motherland' was a staple for most papers from their first appearance, especially in the early years of settlement, when new world cities had not largely created any kind of sophisticated 'civic' culture or, indeed, integrated nationhood. This was invariably still the case by 1900, although the news was considerably less dated by the time it arrived in the colonies due to the improving telegraph system.¹⁷ Whether 'news from Britain' declined over the decades is yet to be confirmed and another significant line of inquiry is how far news from the other constituent parts of the Empire was included in daily newspapers. One study of Australia's attitudes to Europe in the 1930s suggests that there were very low levels of interest in anything that happened outside of the national boundaries at that time.¹⁸ Studying newspapers as a way of judging the attitudes of a city population is, of course, not without its issues. As Bingham notes, a study of the press has its problems, but also its possibilities:

Newspapers had their own agendas, and each made their own selections of what to report, and what they judged to be significant, out of an almost limitless set of social happenings. The final product was

the outcome of a complex series of decisions which balanced what proprietors, editors, journalists and outside contributors wanted to produce, what they assumed the target audience wanted to read and what was (perceived to be) required for commercial and financial success (namely securing advertising contracts and maximizing circulation). The journalist did not necessarily believe what he or she wrote, just as the reader did not necessarily believe what he or she read ... Yet if these newspapers cannot offer an unproblematic guide to the attitudes of individuals, they remain of immense historical value for the contribution they made to the public and political discourse of the period.¹⁹

Studying the press

In order to make a study of coverage of 'Empire' in the Antipodean press feasible, 11 papers have been selected. Despite confining the study to a relatively small sample, it is clearly still far too big a task to read all issues of these publications across the time period covered in this book. In order to make a study manageable, each publication's coverage of a series of imperial events across the period 1880–1940 has been examined (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2). In addition, a quantitative content analysis of imperial coverage in five of the papers selected also uncovers the extent of the interest in the Empire over time. The papers chosen for qualitative study include the *New Zealand Truth* and its stablemate Melbourne and Sydney versions (the first of the Antipodean *Truth* papers to appear), a weekly sensationalist paper, and the daily morning papers, *The Press* of Christchurch, the *New Zealand Herald* of Auckland and *The Argus* of Melbourne, papers which were read by the city's

Table 4.1 Selected Antipodean papers

<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	Daily Morning
<i>The Press</i> (Christchurch)	Daily Morning
<i>New Zealand Truth</i> , <i>The Truth</i> (Melbourne) and <i>The Truth</i> (Sydney)	Weekly
<i>Auckland Star</i>	Daily Evening
<i>The Age</i> (Melbourne)	Daily Morning
<i>The Argus</i> (Melbourne)	Daily Morning
<i>Evening News</i> (Wellington)	Daily Evening
<i>Sun News-Pictorial</i> (Melbourne)	Morning Daily
<i>The Sun</i> (Christchurch) (<i>The Star-Sun</i> after 1934)	Evening Daily
<i>The Herald</i> (Melbourne)	Evening Daily
<i>Auckland Weekly News</i>	Weekly

Table 4.2 Selected imperial events taking place across the period 1919–40

December 1921	The Irish Settlement
September–October 1922	The Chanak Crisis
19 October–22 November 1926	The Ninth Imperial Conference
June 1930	The Simon Commission's Report on the Governance of India published
21 July–20 August 1932	The Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference
November–December 1936	Edward VIII, Mrs Simpson and the Abdication Crisis
September 1938	The Sudetenland Crisis
September 1939	Outbreak of the Second World War

middle class. *The Age*, whilst a morning daily, had long since titled itself the 'working man's paper' (dating back to its mid-nineteenth-century radical stance), but this was becoming increasingly anachronistic by the 1920s.²⁰ The *Sun News* or *The Herald* probably had a better claim to this title by the inter-war years. The evening press sampled here is comprised of Wellington's *Evening Post*, the *Auckland Star*, published from 1870, Christchurch's *The Sun* from 1914 and Melbourne's *The Herald*, all of which would have been read by the working class who, unable to find time to read in the workplace like their employers, took a paper home to read at the end of the working day. As the *Auckland Star* noted of comments made about it by the Sydney publication *Labour Daily* in its editorial published at the time of its sixtieth birthday: 'New Zealand has no daily Labour newspaper, but the "Star" has ever been the journal of democracy in that country and staunchly fought the case of the workers in many a vital issue.'²¹ Moreover, as Mayer noted in his study of the Australian press, 'very few of the "masses" read the quality press, but a high percentage of the "elite" read the popular press'.²² Melbourne's *Sun News-Pictorial*, which appeared for the first time in 1922, adopted a new format for a morning daily, using bolder headlines and photographs, including more sporting news. It was 'ultra modern' and looked more like an evening newspaper.²³ Evening papers were invariably more critical of London, more orientated towards Labour if not politically then culturally and less interested in news of the wider Empire.

By analysing a series of imperial events across time and the nature and extent of the papers' coverage, we can begin to assess how far the information given to the city elite differed from that given to the working class and, in the case of the illustrated papers, how much interest the British Empire generated on their pages and how it was depicted. The

socialist/Labour press is not explicitly considered here as it demonstrated a consistent hostility to the Empire and imperial events across the period. For the most part, the Left's publications represented a combination of a newspaper and a journal. Whilst its views were undoubtedly supported by and reflected the opinions of sections of the working class, it is more appropriate to focus on papers which had wider appeal.

The historical evolution of the Antipodean press

As Bingham notes, the turn of the century witnessed significant changes in the format of daily newspapers as they responded in turn to changes in wider society, most notably shifting gender roles and the appearance of a more genuinely democratic society. In Britain, changes accelerated after 1919 and the author argues for a 'feminisation' of the press in the 1920s as newspaper barons saw the financial benefits of embracing the 'modern woman'. As in Britain, the Antipodean press, which had presented news in a rather staid and conservative manner up to 1900, began to respond to rising working-class literacy and a concomitant appetite for more lively journalism, although it would be inaccurate to say that the Dominion press changed as radically as its British counterpart. The colonial and Dominion daily press of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was, until 1914 at the very earliest, unwilling to innovate in terms of its appearance.²⁴ The dailies were complemented by livelier weekly and weekly illustrated papers which were aimed at a country-based readership, as city dailies took too long to get out to the remoter areas and the news was necessarily dated by the time it arrived, making them effectively redundant. An example of such a weekly (the *Auckland Weekly News*) is studied here in order to see if these papers, which increasingly had the characteristics of a news 'supplement', included more imperial news than their daily stablemates.


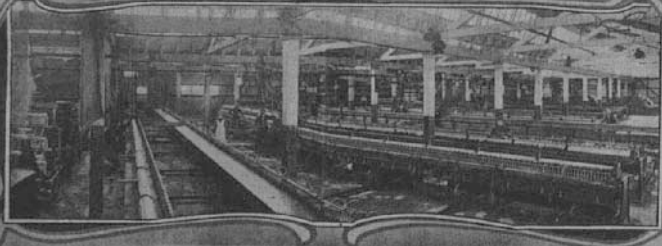
Leading city dailies like Auckland's *New Zealand Herald* and Christchurch's *The Press* developed their format as a result of new technologies and new competition by the 1890s. Founded in 1863, the *New Zealand Herald* had played a leading role in the establishment of a constitutional government in the colony and declared itself politically independent. After the introduction of compulsory education in 1877, the press industry was confronted by a larger and more literate audience and took steps to accommodate this audience by adopting new printing technology to enable larger print runs in 1883. Towards the end of the 1890s, both the *New Zealand Herald* and *The Press* bought linotype machines which greatly enhanced setting the typeface quickly. Papers



Figure 4.1 Zealandia Expectant, *Auckland Weekly News*
Source: ATL Wellington, *Auckland Weekly News* (1877–1934), 8 May 1908.



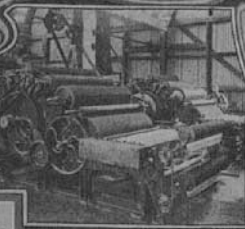

18 THE AUCKLAND WEEKLY NEWS, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1908.

ONEHUNGA WOOLLEN MILLS LTD

PATRONISE LOCAL INDUSTRY

ALL
PURE
WOOL

ALL HIGH GRADE
WOOLENS OF
LOCAL MANUFACTURE
IN NEWEST DESIGNS

TWEEDS, RUGS,
BLANKETS, MAUDS,
FLANNELS, SHIRTINGS,
HOSIERY, YARNS.

A FLOURISHING AUCKLAND INDUSTRY. THESE PRODUCTS ARE KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Figure 4.2 Advertisement in the *Auckland Weekly News* for Onehunga Woollen Mills
 Source: ATL Wellington, *Auckland Weekly News* (1877–1934), 8 May 1908.

were now able to print 12,000 copies per hour as opposed to just 1,200. In 1872, papers were able to print news received by telegraph and in 1876 the opening of the trans-Tasman telegraph meant that news from London could be in the colony within 24 hours of dispatch. The size of the paper also changed over time and the price dropped. In 1902, the *New Zealand Herald* lowered its price from 2d to 1d. In six years, circulation of the paper trebled and by 1920 stood at 15,000.²⁵ The city dailies usually had a sister-weekly publication, which catered for readers located in more isolated areas, but these were also read by the city populace as they offered sketches and subsequently photographs. The *Auckland Weekly Herald*, which first appeared in 1877, for example, was by 1900 committed to a culturally nationalistic photo-journalism, depicting scenes of the nation's daily life. Far fewer photographs were published of events that occurred outside the nation's boundaries. In an average issue taken at random from 1908, only four out of 45 pages contained overseas news. During the 1920s and 1930s, both the women's and children's pages were more prominent than overseas news. In its early phase the paper carried a regular column called 'The Settler' which, by the inter-war period, gave way to 'The Leisure Hours'. The publication also took news from Hollywood like many of its daily stablemates.

The weeklies became an attractive feature during the Second Boer War when representations of conditions were avidly sought by readers. In contrast, the dailies stood aloof from this trend, as they felt that illustrations of any kind would lower the tone of the paper. Most morning dailies, which also perceived themselves as superior to the evening papers, held out in this respect until well into the 1920s, at which point photographs began to appear on their pages. In the case of the *New Zealand Herald*, it was a significantly non-imperial event – the arrival of the American fleet – which caused enough commotion to first warrant the inclusion of pictures. Part of the reason for the changes outlined here was that the daily press was being challenged by a newer kind of journalism. The new journalism took its cue from the American yellow 'sensationalist' press and was first seen in the Antipodes in a publication known as *The Truth*, a weekly newspaper which was initially produced in Sydney, but was then transposed to several other Antipodean cities in the early twentieth century. Founded by William Nicholas Willis, *The Truth* was originally a mouthpiece for republican sentiment, but under John Norton's ownership from 1896, the paper settled on a format which focused on publishing pieces covering scandal and fraud in public life. It was, as Yska notes, through *The Truth* that Australians

were first introduced to the 'pungent populism of new journalism often associated with the name of American, William Randolph Hearst'.²⁶ By 1906, *The Truth* was published throughout the Antipodes, with a New Zealand version assembled and distributed from Wellington. One summary of Norton's journalistic achievement is that he 'had an influence on popular attitudes of his time which was far more far-reaching than has been generally recognised'.²⁷ Indeed, any attempt to explore the sentiment for Empire cannot afford to overlook this publication, containing as it does a distaste for monarchy and a scepticism for Empire, as well as representing an important vehicle for the introduction of American culture between the two World Wars, which it simultaneously reported and yet condemned. James Belich believes it can be seen as the only nationally read paper of its era, mostly being purchased by working-class men. Many libraries and reading rooms refused to subscribe to it, however, given its lurid headlines, many relating to crimes and court appearances.²⁸

Two other significant publications which began to break the stranglehold of the rather staid daily papers and which imitated developments in the British rather than American press were Christchurch's *The Sun*, which was modelled on the British *Daily Mail*, and Melbourne's *Sun News-Pictorial*, which aped the British *Daily Mirror*. Both of these papers began to demonstrate a fresher format in terms of the presentation of their news. The latter, founded by the Sydney publisher Hugh Denison, was 'the first new daily in Melbourne for thirty-one years. Its twenty pages included ... four pages of pictures. It carried a comic strip, a gossip column, letters up to fifty words, a mystery serial and a page for women'.²⁹ Until its appearance, the daily Melbourne press was dominated by the two morning dailies, *The Age* and *The Argus*, and the evening paper *The Herald*. Of the three, *The Age* claimed the largest circulation before 1920 of 151,740 in 1915. *The Herald* claimed a circulation of 60,000 in 1892. Melbourne's version of *The Truth* took a swipe at *The Argus* in 1910 as it claimed that the paper's readership did not reach beyond the 'suburban snob ... The vast majority of the community neither purchase it nor peruse it'.³⁰ It then widened its criticism to all three daily papers by accusing them of being mere 'creatures of capitalism' and stated that 'times have progressed but the Argus, the Age and the Herald have stood still in political principle'.³¹ This comment was rather disingenuous because there were key differences in the political outlook amongst the three papers, ranging from imperial conservatism in the case of *The Argus* to a more national liberalism in the case of *The Age*. However, with hindsight, all clung on to rather staid formats.³² By the inter-war period, circulation figures were

more accurately published and of the three leading dailies, *The Herald* then led sales, with 173,000 copies sold per day, closely followed by the newer publication, the *Sun News-Pictorial*, with 170,000. Both were acquired by the Herald and Weekly Times (H&WT) group by 1926.³³ This indicates that there was an appetite for a fresher format in relation to the presentation of news by the 1920s. Their leading editorials were significantly trimmed and photographs adorned the front page. The older dailies such as *The Age* sold 107,000 and *The Argus* sold 97,000.³⁴ Whilst the sales figures increased for a period after 1945, *The Argus* ceased publication in the 1950s having changed its format drastically to a tabloid under new British ownership.³⁵ The circulation of *The Truth*, by contrast, grew considerably and was 30,000 in 1902, which was noted by Michael Cannon as ‘an extraordinary figure for a weekly journal in those days’. Its circulation improved across time, to the point where the Sydney version of this publication claimed 196,248 copies sold for the month of May 1932, giving it weekly sales in that month of approximately 49,062.³⁶ Belich suggests that the New Zealand sales figures for *The Truth* stood at 100,000 a week and the paper certainly claimed the largest circulation on its front title page in the inter-war years.³⁷

As a result of the appearance of the block headlines and photographically endowed *Sun News-Pictorial* in 1922, some innovations were eventually adopted by the dailies. *The Age* did not go as far as its leading rival *The Argus* in the adoption of photographs, but both papers gradually feminised their pages, with women’s and children’s sections appearing and the inclusion of fuller sporting sections: ‘Gradually both newspapers were domesticated and suburbanised.’³⁸ This did not necessarily mean that imperial identity disappeared from these sections of the paper; the women’s page contained news of organisations like the Victoria League and projects like Empire shopping week, whilst the children’s page could also be infused with characters or books which demonstrated imperial ideals. Most of the overseas news arriving into Australia and New Zealand was published on one or two pages of the paper, gathered together under the heading ‘Cable News’. In his study of Australia’s attitudes to the crises that befell Europe in the 1930s, Eric Andrews notes that: ‘Foreign affairs, let alone European affairs, were by no means a major interest of Australians, except possibly from the time of Munich to the outbreak of war in 1939.’³⁹ This viewpoint will be explored in this chapter by means of a content analysis. Nolan notes of the press after the First World War that: ‘Although they clung to their old ideologies and values, the traditionally political, essentially masculine, editorial character of the papers was diluted by their new formats.’⁴⁰

The Empire in the daily press

A content analysis conducted in relation to five daily newspapers published on either side of the Tasman is undertaken here. Whilst the exercise can only be an approximation of the amount of column space given to national and imperial issues, the results demonstrate that over the period from 1880 to 1940, the following broad patterns in the press are discernible, as shown in Tables 4.3–4.6 below.

Table 4.3 Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1895

Newspaper	British and Imperial News Items	International News Items
<i>The Argus</i>	224	207
<i>The Herald</i>	224	173
<i>The Press</i>	411	236
<i>Evening Post</i>	540	305
<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	195	101

Table 4.4 Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1908

Newspaper	British and Imperial News Items	International News Items
<i>The Argus</i>	304	362
<i>The Herald</i>	273	219
<i>The Press</i>	628	370
<i>Evening Post</i>	670	347
<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	358	205

Table 4.5 Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1920

Newspaper	British and Imperial News Items	International News Items
<i>The Argus</i>	185	359
<i>The Herald</i>	392	635
<i>The Press</i>	286	237
<i>Evening Post</i>	787	946
<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	261	396

Table 4.6 Imperial and international news items in five Antipodean papers, 1935

Newspaper	British and Imperial News	International News Items
<i>The Argus</i>	246	352
<i>The Herald</i>	271	370
<i>The Press</i>	648	696
<i>Evening Post</i>	847	770
<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	127	155

Note: totals are for a combined total of content analysis for March, May and August.

A comparison of the indexes for *The Argus* and the *Sun News-Pictorial* suggests that the former published substantially more imperial news than its newer competitor. *The Argus* evidently believed its readership wished to be informed about the activities surrounding the Empire in far greater detail than its newer rival. In 1927 entries are recorded across a number of headings such as ‘Empire Day’, ‘Empire Defence’, ‘The Empire Marketing Board’, the ‘Empire Parliamentary Association’, ‘Empire Preference’, ‘Empire Shopping Week’ and the ‘Empire’, totalling approximately 47 news items in the year, whilst the *Sun News-Pictorial*’s index, by contrast, suggests that it gave its readers far less imperial news, with the entries under ‘Empire’ for 1930 totalling 19 and ‘Empire Day’ amounting to six entries. Therefore, this would suggest that nearly 50 per cent more news about the Empire was published in *The Argus*. Another observation that can be made is that of the imperial coverage provided in *The Argus*, the most emphasis was placed on Empire trade and defence, that is, the most instrumental aspects of Empire. This supports the ‘nationalism within Empire’ sentiment that historians have suggested was the prevailing attitude of the Australian and New Zealand elites before the Second World War.

The Chanak Crisis (1922)

The first major test of imperial loyalty after the war occurred in 1922 and concerned what subsequently became known as the ‘Chanak Crisis’. In the course of the Greco-Turkish war that continued in the aftermath of the ending of the First World War, it was feared that the Turks would invade the declared neutral zone between the two countries established by the Allies in 1918, putting it once more under Turkish rule. In the face of this growing crisis, the British Cabinet under Lloyd

George decided to call on the Dominions for assistance in fighting the Turks should it prove necessary to do so. Most historical accounts note that as a test of imperial sentiment, the call met with a varied response. In the loyalist camp lay New Zealand, sending a response to London at the earliest opportunity (within 14 hours) and provoking substantial numbers of men to offer their services again to fight in Asia Minor. Australia too lent its support, although it became clear in the wake of the crisis that Prime Minister Billy Hughes was extremely unhappy at the lack of consultation that Britain had entered into with Australia on the matter. Canada and South Africa refused to participate and, as one account notes, the lesson to be taken from the crisis was that 'Dominion co-operation could not be taken for granted, least of all when there had been inadequate prior consultation'.⁴¹ Yet even in the case of the most loyal component, dissenting voices could be heard in the course of the crisis. Christchurch's *The Sun* thought that the offer of help was 'only what might be expected of Mr. Massey; his sturdy imperialism would brook no delay in such an emergency' and the *Evening Post* believed that if the neutral zone were not upheld: 'We had better discard all our imperial responsibilities and confess our day is done.' However, the *Auckland Star* pondered the implications of the swift decision of New Zealand to help Britain to address the crisis, since the respective nations had signed the peace settlements separately. In a column entitled 'The Empire's War Cloud', it suggested that Britain was in fact looking to defray the cost of Empire onto the Dominions:

We have often wondered whether Mr. Massey and his fellow colonial Prime Ministers fully realised the implications of that act. Britain's present invitation seems to us not unrelated to her plain intimation that she is unable to go on bearing so disproportionate a share of the cost of naval defence. Sooner or later possibly the question of giving help may arise in an issue remote from the war. If for example Britain were in trouble in India, would she invite the Dominions to assist her and would the Dominions feel obliged to do so?⁴²

The more conservative *The Press* of Christchurch preferred to paper over any apparent cracks in imperial unity by noting that neither South Africa, Canada nor Australia had said anything that indicated that they would not come to Britain's aid in any further conflict. For the *Sun News-Pictorial*, the resignation of Lloyd George in the wake of the crisis was to be regretted, its view being that he had seen the Empire in its totality and had 'thrilled us with a lively consciousness of our kinship'.

This sentiment could not have been further from that expounded by Melbourne's *The Truth*, which had suggested earlier in the crisis that: 'Nobody appears to know what this war is about, nor even which side we will be on. The present threat of war comes from that direction which the daily papers call the Near East, which is actually the far North West in relation to Australia (of course the daily papers never take the Australian point of view).'⁴³

Ireland and India in the Antipodean press

Both Ireland and India received comparatively brief news coverage in the Antipodean dailies compared to the 'primary' imperial link with Britain. There were, however, times when both Ireland and India did receive attention in the columns of these newspapers. Indeed, Irish issues had the capacity to occasionally intrude into the lead columns of the papers (a sizeable Irish Catholic population existed in Melbourne, for example), which was less evident in the case of Indian news. The settlement which partitioned Ireland and was proclaimed in December 1921 brought Irish issues to the fore for British Empire readers. Most of the papers concurred that this settlement to 'save the Empire' was worthy of celebration in a similar manner to that of Armistice Day, which had been marked four years earlier.⁴⁴ Indeed, the *Auckland Weekly News* took the liberty of speaking for the people when it proclaimed in its leader that: 'From the point of view of the Empire – and this is the only test non-hyphenated New Zealanders will seek to apply – the Irish agreement is vastly more satisfactory than appeared possible at any time for many months.'⁴⁵

The conservative morning dailies such as *The Argus* approved of British negotiations and noted that the British government acted with 'great forbearance and magnanimity'. Sinn Féiners, meanwhile, could have 'saved much blood, hideously shed, if they had accepted the offer long since made of autonomy under the Crown on the Dominion model'.⁴⁶ *The Press* voiced similarly pro-British backing when it noted that 'A self-governing Ireland within the Empire can be as self-respecting as an independent Irish Republic' and later questioned: 'How Ireland ever came to get Mr. de Valera as President nobody can entirely understand [since] his intention had evidently been to wreck the settlement.'⁴⁷ By contrast, the evening daily the *Auckland Star* chose to note in its lead column that the treaty marked 'The Great Settlement' because: 'There is nothing in the whole history [of] England of which Britons have so much reason to be ashamed, as England's treatment

of Ireland. The memory of it has been an abiding grief to those who believe in Britain's mission as a standard-bearer of freedom and civilisation. It confronted them everywhere, complicating Dominion politics, poisoning foreign relations, besmirching the name of their country and their race and offending their moral sense.⁴⁸ Wellington's *Evening Post* noted that Ulster's 'dilemma' was to choose between 'standing out of an All-Ireland Parliament for local affairs and losing her present power over Imperial affairs and her community with the Empire at Westminster'. Either way, the province would lose.⁴⁹ The paper's Christmas hope was also that by resolving the Irish question, it would 'cease to act as a cause of estrangement between Britain and the United States and thereby disturb the peace of the world'.⁵⁰ Six months later, however, the position looked far bleaker. The *Evening Post*, evidently without close knowledge of events, reprinted extracts from *The Observer* to the effect that the Irish Treaty has proved to be a 'recipe for chaos and ruin'.⁵¹

In its coverage of British India, there was less frequent coverage and certainly fewer editorials written about it. Most papers were content to reproduce cable news received from London relating to uprisings, social conditions and the passive protest of Gandhi. The morning dailies tended to simultaneously voice an admiration for the British management of India whilst raising a concern that India would be 'fast-tracked' to Dominion status in the inter-war period, something that would therefore place it on an equal footing with the White Dominions, which in the eyes of Antipodean editors had taken far longer to achieve such status. *The Argus* noted in December 1922 that India was 'not a nation' and believed Britain had fulfilled obligations which had not yet been met by the Indian population.⁵² The use of the pronoun 'we' in the piece suggested that *The Argus* fully aligned itself with British policy. In October 1930 it asked: 'What is Dominion status?' It answered the question by noting: 'There is no such thing as Dominion status. In the Dominions there is strong self-conscious national life ... You cannot make the political conditions of say Canada exist in India.'⁵³ Moreover, the thought of an independent India was not welcomed as it was believed that it would threaten the security of the sea and air routes between Australia and Europe.⁵⁴ Defensive issues relating to India were also noted in *The Herald's* editorial comment, published at the time of the Simon Commission's published report.⁵⁵ *The Age* was evidently too concerned with domestic issues to provide editorial comment on Indian affairs. There were 'obvious conditions' that had to be met before Dominion status was awarded. There was a danger, the paper believed, in 'hasty action'.⁵⁶ As Gandhi began a 21-day

fast, an editorial in *The Argus* rather sarcastically noted: ‘Mortification of one’s flesh to impress one’s enemies does not have the desired effect with stolid Britons.’⁵⁷ Evening papers like the *Auckland Star* also steered a fairly conservative line on India, hailing the progress of the subcontinent as the British Empire’s ‘greatest achievement’. It also castigated Gandhi, who, it believed, had sunk India into ‘pure anarchism’.⁵⁸ It pointed to the fact that that the Indian subcontinent had been transformed into a ‘kind of League of Nations’.⁵⁹ *The Star* similarly doubted Indian nationhood.

Reporting royalty: from dignity to celebrity 1914–37

How did press attitudes to the monarchy change over time and what does this tell us about the newspapers’ attitudes towards the Empire? As Aron Paul has noted, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were two possible ways to demonstrate imperial unity on offer to loyal Antipodean citizens: imperial federation could be embraced, which could be seen as a ‘rational’ approach to the governance of Empire or, conversely, the more ‘irrational’ sentiment for royalty could be demonstrated.⁶⁰ Indeed, as has already been noted in this study, Empire Day, associated as it was in some quarters with imperial federation, struggled to implant itself in an Antipodean context, losing out to the celebration of the King’s birthday on 6 June. The coronation of summer 1911 also saw the staging of the sixth Imperial Conference at which it became clear that there was no appetite for imperial federation and that imperial affairs were lacking a coherent direction. Alfred Deakin’s speech which was published in the press at this time noted that ‘the form of that union [imperial federation] is already out of date and fast becoming obsolete’.⁶¹ Moreover, *The Age*, which had consistently opposed imperial federation, noted in its column headed ‘The English Attitude to Empire Affairs’ that: ‘The home government is without a policy, it has nothing to propose. It was passive in 1907, apparently it is to be passive and platitudinous in 1911. Absorbed by domestic quarrels and party engineering, feebly represented at the colonial office by a second rate politician who has only a professional interest in the Dominions ... it can do little more than listen and “sympathise” and procrastinate.’⁶² Given the incoherence of ministers on the issue of imperial unity, it was evident that the monarchy was perceived to function as a symbolic bond of Empire to fill the vacuum. The 1911 coronation was therefore constructed particularly by elite morning dailies as a hope for a new era in imperial relationships and the monarchy was cast as what the *Evening*

Post called the 'Living Link of Empire'.⁶³ By the time of the visit to the Antipodes of the Prince of Wales in 1920, *The Age* was evidently content with the imperial relationship as it noted that whilst Australia was 'no imperial yoke', it was 'proud of its British ancestry' and hoped that the 'present [imperial] relationship may continue permanently'.⁶⁴

Whilst George V became for many of the papers the figurehead of Empire, over the ensuing years, it was his three sons, the Prince of Wales (1920), the Duke of York (1926–7) and the Duke of Gloucester (1934–5), who were rather more tangible figures for Australians and New Zealanders as they journeyed to the outer reaches of the Empire.⁶⁵ As Mark McKenna has noted: 'The descriptive language used in the media coverage of royal tours is an obstacle to understanding popular monarchism ... The coverage is reliably fawning and hyperbole is the order of the day ... The language used by reporters varies little over the years.'⁶⁶ While McKenna is right to note that the appearance of Empire solidarity 'was not what it seemed', a closer analysis of the press during the inter-war period demonstrates that there were important shifts in the ways in which the press treated the monarchy, reflecting changes in popular attitudes during the decades when a democratic American popular culture began to influence the climate of public opinion in the British Empire. McKenna says very little about the Abdication Crisis of 1936, for example, and how the affair was treated in the popular Antipodean newspapers, but it is evident that at a popular level, the papers had come to regard the man who would become Edward VIII by the mid-1930s as a 'celebrity', who was fair game for both approval and criticism – a figure whose private life was no longer out of bounds for journalistic consideration.⁶⁷ An early indication of this changing attitude to royalty was found in the journalistic treatment of the visit to Australia in 1934 by Edward's brother Prince George, who arrived principally to attend Melbourne's 1934 Centenary Exhibition. Journals such as *Table Talk*, a long-running society publication, had notably treated him as a 'celebrity in town' and paid particular attention to his personal predilections; thus, one feature published in the journal was entitled 'An Evening with "PG". Margaret Saville Introduces You to a Modern Prince Charming'. The narrative attempted to put the reader in the room with him:

I expect you have already identified numerous celebrities; lovely exquisitely poised, perfectly gowned women; men who bear honoured old names, or who are famous in some leading sphere. And if you look a few yards to your left you will see that Royalty is also

present tonight. Yes that's Prince George or P.G. as his friends call him. It was his nickname in the navy, and he prefers it to a more formal address.⁶⁸

It is also significant that this feature article also linked the monarch to popular dance and music culture, noting that Prince George's favourite dances were 'the Charleston and the Black Bottom, and then the Tango, his latest being the Rhumba... "Come on over to the sunny side" was one of his favourite tunes recently ... All the latest tunes are sent over to him regularly from America ... Gin and tonic is his favourite drink, although cocktails are always served to his friends at York House'.⁶⁹

In a similar way, as the crisis of 1936 unfolded, some of the papers felt that Edward was no more than a celebrity who could sell papers. Assessments of the Prince of Wales and his character at the time of the abdication divided the press and the people.⁷⁰ For the elite newspapers such as *The Press*, the Prince was regarded as an 'Ambassador of Empire' who demonstrated an 'understanding of modern problems' and whose democratic outlook had won him 'the affection of the great body of his people'.⁷¹ The paper also believed that news of the constitutional crisis, as it emerged in December 1936, would be a source of public anxiety in the Dominions just as much as in London. Concern and sympathy for Edward was due not only to his 1920 visit to the Antipodes but also to the fact that by the mid-1930s, it was felt important that the royal family were seen as an important source of stability and a mark of liberty as fascist regimes strengthened their position in Europe. Yet, whilst the elite morning dailies rallied behind the decisions made by their respective premiers to pressure Edward to renounce the throne and reject a morganatic marriage, it is evident that the popular papers realised that there were other perspectives on monarchy that could be offered to readers. The Christchurch evening daily *The Star-Sun* noted that 'events have robbed the Throne of much of the glamour that should surround it' and that the monarchy had suffered a 'serious loss of prestige'.⁷² Melbourne's *The Herald* instead argued that democracy had been 'well served' by the drama, and once it became clear that George VI would be the new king, he was noted to be a 'Family Man' who, with his wife and two daughters, was 'At Home in His Home', which chimed with the increasingly suburbanised Melburnian reader.⁷³ The *Sun News-Pictorial* also pointed to Edward VIII's democratic nature, noting in one issue that he was a man of simple tastes who had adopted a 'middle-class life style'.⁷⁴ On the same page, however, it noted that Wallis Simpson was the 'most conspicuous women in the world' and it took great delight in

regaling its readers with her personal history, including her two previous marriages.⁷⁵ *The Truth* went perhaps furthest of all in its exploration of the story behind the abdication, devoting more space to Edward and Wallis as their private lives became public knowledge.

There was a notable distinction here between the attitudes taken by the Melbourne and New Zealand variants of the publication. Whilst claiming to be the working man's paper, both versions stood aside from Labour and the Left, and largely peddled a more conservative outlook, based on sensationalist stories covering crime, sex and deviancy, comment and the arrival of what it saw as unwanted American influences. Melbourne's version attacked the monarchy from the perspective of class and elitism, whilst the New Zealand version gave more coverage and comments from the perspective of the 'scandal' of the affair and the characters involved. As an historian of *The Truth* notes, the paper generally 'set itself against divorce in all but a few cases'.⁷⁶ It had, for example, little time for the 'short-lived marriages' that took place in Hollywood and believed that they were a symbol of immorality.⁷⁷ Thus, in the context of the abdication, *The Truth* could project its 'morality' at the very highest symbol of Empire. A precedent for dislike of the royal family by *The Truth* had nevertheless been set at an early stage. John Norton had condemned the presence of the Prince of Wales at the opening of Australia's Federal Parliament in Melbourne in 1901 and refused an invitation to a royal party. He believed that the Australian public would not be sorry when 'the show has ended and the principal performers have departed. The people will probably think even less favourably of imperialism than before'.⁷⁸ The theme of a corrupt clique also permeated much of *The Truth's* journalism in the 1920s. Here, the notion of the monarchy as the 'crimson tie of Empire' was denounced as an 'elaborate comedy that the imperialists have recently been staging in Australia'.⁷⁹ The paper had also backed the notion that Australians should take on the role of state governors rather than having them imported. As the economic slump engulfed Australia in the early 1930s, the Melbourne version of *The Truth* criticised the incumbent Governor of Victoria, Lord and Lady Stradbroke, who, it noted, 'certainly were spenders and were always giving dinners and throwing parties throughout their extended term of office. Lady Stradbroke was bitterly resentful of the fact that her husband, who had been overlooked for the position as Governor-General, the position being given instead to an ex-contractor and an ex-master builder'.⁸⁰

In its treatment of the abdication, the Melbourne version of *The Truth* was rather more supportive of the Prince of Wales than its sister publication in New Zealand and, indeed, demonstrated a substantial

volte-face in suggesting that Edward's abdication had been the result of the failure of the 'Naice [sic] British press' to back him in his hour of need. It noted the 'pious ostrich-like attitude which makes the British character the despair of continental people' and that the 'Empire will want to know why the hurry'.⁸¹ It pointed to a conspiracy theory as to why the King was being asked to step aside. Another headline from the Melbourne version paid a 'Digger Tribute to Teddy' and pleaded with the public not to 'hit a man when he's down'.⁸² The New Zealand version of *The Truth* took a rather different tack. Instead of castigating the English establishment for Edward's removal, it dwelt on the scandal of the royal marriage and made some attempt to localise the crisis by drawing parallels with other high-society marriages in the Antipodes. Edward lost the throne, the paper claimed, partly because he was a 'reaction to the war' who attended too many parties and had mistaken 'popularity for esteem'.⁸³ The latter criticism was perhaps a veiled reference to Edward's Hollywood appeal. Occurring contemporaneously with the Abdication Crisis, *The Truth* compared the divorce of the Earl of Jersey from his Australian wife Patricia Richards, who, like Wallis Simpson, was a member of the so-called 'Forty Club'.⁸⁴ It also reported on the more local example of the case of Mabel Freer, whose privacy was also infringed when journalists focused on her relationship with Lieutenant Dewar of Melbourne and who had been prevented from entering Australia by the intervention of the Commonwealth Minister of Customs.⁸⁵ These two stories were rather tenuously linked by *The Truth* as 'a remarkable coincidence [of] events at both ends of the far-flung Empire'.⁸⁶ To solidify the link, it asked Freer for her opinion of Wallis Simpson and her role in the royal crisis. By locating the abdication episode alongside these more localised figures, who were also, nevertheless, part of the smart London circle, *The Truth* gave its readers a rather different perspective on the crisis and catered for the appetite amongst its working-class audience for scandal and sensation. Its disengagement with royalty as a symbol of Empire was evident in the manner in which it noted that the unity of Empire against the marriage was what it deemed a 'Sidelight on the King's Romance'.⁸⁷ However, it believed that Edward's chivalry was more important than the Empire and that he had done the right thing by standing by Wallis rather than bowing to the wishes of imperial government to keep the throne and not the woman.⁸⁸

Thus, the crisis of 1936 represented an interesting litmus test of attitudes to Empire, which revealed how far some papers were now willing to recast the previously revered monarchy in terms of private vice and

fallibility. The inclusion of an American dimension to the affair meant a publication like *The Truth*, which had already expressed distaste for popular culture emanating from the USA, could implicate the monarchy in this process. Overall, the treatment of the royal crisis in the Antipodes reveals that many readers were encouraged to dwell on the meaning of monarchy, something which at least one paper admitted that readers probably did not do very often.⁸⁹ It was a fairly easy task for the elite press to project George VI as the new 'imperial statesmen', a phrase they had, only months before, used in relation to his brother. Perhaps the ease with which this was undertaken and the lack of contestation about such terms suggests that, for many, the real interest in the monarchy was seen in terms of its treatment by the tabloid press.

John Tamson's bairns? The Imperial Conferences of 1911, 1926 and 1932

In what respects did the reporting of imperial conferences change across the period under scrutiny in this study? During this time, discourse surrounding the 'imperial link', as it played out in the public sphere, shifted from primarily political and defensive issues (at least until the end of the 1920s) to the economic sphere. Meetings before 1914 had in fact discussed more fundamental issues, such as the relationship between the component parts of the Empire and a recognition that imperial federation was not desired by most members, the latter an outcome of the 1911 Imperial Conference. Indeed, as Sir John Findlay, New Zealand's Attorney General, noted at this time, the Empire 'was a collection of free States ... pursuing fiscal and other political policies wholly different from those of the parent State, and materially different from those of each other'.⁹⁰ Given this divergence by the mid-1920s, the Conferences focused on the question of recognising Dominion autonomy, which reached fruition in 1931 in the form of the Statute of Westminster. Historians on both sides of the Tasman have debated how far nationalist sentiment grew in the inter-war decades. For David McIntyre, writing in the 1980s, New Zealand remained a 'loyal outpost of empire' throughout this period, whilst writing more recently of Australia, Kosmas Tsokhas has noted that: 'Far from acknowledging similarities, Australians became increasingly aware of dissimilarities between the British and themselves.'⁹¹ Importantly, the latter notes that a sense of 'belonging' depended on the social groups from which opinion was taken, a factor perhaps underplayed in McIntyre's essay.

In the wake of the Imperial Conference of 1926, the Christchurch evening daily *The Sun* noted that the Conference had ‘redeemed itself in the eleventh hour of its service’, but that it had ‘not discovered a new doctrine of Empire ... It simply has brought the truth out of confused and “crooked thinking”’.⁹² It maintained that: ‘These quarrels will not be permitted to disturb the harmony ... of the whole Empire when serious occasions demand common action.’⁹³ The *New Zealand Herald* noted that some members at the Conference ‘were prone to speak on occasion as if they desired nothing so much as to cut the Imperial moorings of their particular ship of state’ before acknowledging that the ‘family feeling had been strengthened’ as a result of the Conference.⁹⁴ The *Auckland Star* believed that the Conference had told the public ‘no more than we knew before’,⁹⁵ its conclusions containing ‘little that is new’. Melbourne’s *Sun News-Pictorial* gave particular coverage of the statements made by Stanley Bruce in his pushing for an audit of the Empire which would benefit the Dominions.⁹⁶ Overall, the paper chose to publish the conclusions of *The Times* that the Conference had produced little that was new in the way of Empire relations.⁹⁷ Statements which suggested a happy imperial family were to be tested within a few years as the global economic outlook worsened and it became clear that at a popular level, the sentiment for Empire was waning. Before the 1930s, imperial conferences had made little headway in the realm of tariff agreements and, indeed, there had been no direct bargaining on this issue. Britain was largely committed to a free-trade arrangement and did not contemplate imperial preference until the economic conditions saw it come off the gold standard in 1931 and impose tariffs at the same time.⁹⁸ Momentum developed in the early 1930s as the crisis of depression encouraged an imperial solution.

The crux of the inter-imperial trade issue was how far the Dominions would allow British manufacturers into their domestic market in return for Britain diverting its own purchases of raw materials and foodstuffs from global to imperial traders. In this respect, the most significant moment between the two wars came in July and August 1932, when British and Dominion representatives met in the Canadian city of Ottawa to discuss preferential trade relationships within the British Empire. Existing analyses of the context in which the Ottawa meeting took place have suggested that the Dominions were far more enthusiastic about the Conference and its possible outcome than Britain itself was. The ramifications of the meeting are still disputed, but most analyses agree that it fell short of remedying the economic slump.⁹⁹ Popular feeling about the Conference has not yet been given much consideration, however,

as the majority of studies have concentrated on the interactions of the statesmen-participants from the various governments. Yet, when the popular press is examined, it is noticeable that when it came to proving editorial comment about the Conference and exploring the 'meaning of Ottawa', there was a sharp difference of opinion between the Antipodean morning and evening press. Whilst the morning dailies, which catered for a more middle-class and upper-class readership, typically (although not exclusively) retained a degree of sentiment for Empire in their editorials relating to Ottawa, this was far less noticeable in relation to evening papers, which enjoyed a more working-class readership.

Evidently, the Christchurch morning daily *The Press* saw Ottawa as a significant moment for the Empire and it went to the lengths of creating a substantial 'British Empire Trade' supplement in July 1932 to mark the opening of the Conference. In the supplement, it explored many aspects of the meeting, from its historical evolution to the location of Ottawa as a conference setting. It published numerous adverts in the supplement for British-made manufactured goods, including typewriters, motor cars and cigarettes. As a paper comparable to Melbourne's *The Argus*, it is evident that the British link was still highly valued and celebrated. Moreover, when it came to contemplating the meeting in its editorials published as the Conference progressed, it considered 'The Meaning of Ottawa' to be more than Empire. Rather than being seen within an exclusively imperial framework, for *The Press*, the purpose of the meeting was international cooperation and the creation of wider international prosperity.¹⁰⁰ It noted that between 1919 and 1930, imperial conferences had primarily been concerned with solving political problems arising from 'Dominion nationalism' created by the First World War. Ottawa was thus the first economic meeting since the conflict. *The Press* believed that any attempt to divert trade to non-imperial areas would lead to all nations being the poorer.¹⁰¹ The paper therefore put as much emphasis on the benefits to Britain and the wider international context as it did on narrower nationalistic sentiment. It was later to acknowledge that the views of non-imperial nations such as the USA with regard to Ottawa must have been to perceive 'an undignified scramble for commercial concessions'.¹⁰² Wellington's *Evening Post*, by contrast, noted a large degree of public disengagement with the meeting and pondered the motivation of the New Zealand delegation, venturing to suggest that economic rationality had trumped imperial sentiment:

The public as a whole was far too deeply immersed in the depression to take any interest in the agenda of the Economic conference ... It

may please the vanity of New Zealanders to think of Mr. Coates as taking a leading part in the 'titanic struggle of business versus blood ties' now proceeding at Ottawa ... But we should like them to consider whether it was blood or business that inspired the powerful and prolonged agitation by which the Farmers Union and other producer's organisations seriously embarrassed the Government, sought to dictate the personnel of the Ottawa delegation and ultimately succeeded in getting Mr. Coates appointed as its spokesman ... It was a purely selfish agitation, constructed on business lines. There was no talk of 'blood ties' then. A strictly business agitation now takes its place in the 'due perspective' of history, as a contribution to the titanic effort which Mr. Bruce and Mr. Coates are now making on behalf of 'blood ties' against the sordid selfishness of Britain!¹⁰³

Such a comment is perhaps not surprising in a paper that was more likely to be read by the working man and is indicative of grievances that underpinned the imperial relationship during the 1930s.¹⁰⁴ In its summary of the Conference entitled 'Ottawa's Accomplishment', Christchurch's evening daily *The Sun* remained dubious about its outcome and in its second leader became even more critical under the headline 'Manufacturers in Peril'. Here, it bluntly stated that 'All but the strongest New Zealand manufacturing industries may be driven to the wall as a result of the undertaking given at Ottawa' and concluded that New Zealand 'cannot now become a nation of farmers and agricultural labourers'.¹⁰⁵ It continued this protest across subsequent issues.

Across the Tasman, *The Age* and *The Argus* also provided their readers with editorial reflections on the Ottawa meeting. As Melbourne's leading conservative paper, *The Argus* proclaimed Ottawa a success in its immediate wake, regretted that the Dominions had approached the Conference 'in such a grudging mood' and expressed the view that it was ungracious that 'a spirit of bargaining animated the representatives'.¹⁰⁶ It suggested that even if the Conference had failed, it would not have resulted in the Empire fracturing since the relationship 'was not strictly business'.¹⁰⁷ The paper had, however, published a series of articles by Associate Professor G.M. Wood in the weeks leading up to the Conference entitled 'Outlook at Ottawa', which clearly flagged for the reader the extent to which Australian goods were dependent on the British market – far more so than Canadian goods were.¹⁰⁸ Within a comparatively short space of time after the Conference, the paper was happy to publish reviews of books written by Australian academics,

such as Nancy Windett's *Australia as Producer and Trader 1920–1932* (1933) and Edward Shann's *Quotas or Stable Money* (1933), which both cast doubt on the effectiveness of the Ottawa agreements.¹⁰⁹ Windett argued that Australia would in the future look to Continental Europe and the Far East for trade rather than Britain: 'Closely regulated imperial trade will not be in the best interests of Australia.'¹¹⁰ *The Age* put the onus firmly on Britain to equalise trade relationships and suggested that this was possible because whilst Australia imported British-manufactured goods to the value of £45,000,000, Britain imported foreign agricultural products worth a total of £470,000,000 for which Australia was 'eager to find a market'.¹¹¹ Whilst it reserved judgment on Ottawa at its conclusion, it suggested with hindsight that tariff preferences had simply 'assisted vested interests'.¹¹² By contrast, newer dailies such as Melbourne's *Sun News-Pictorial* struck a more nationalistic tone when noting that Ottawa 'opened up a new imperial period in which Australia will share many trade benefits'.¹¹³

By the mid-1930s, however, those papers which were read by the working class were on the whole voicing disillusionment with Ottawa and largely blaming the British government. The *Auckland Star* suspected that a reversal of the Ottawa agreement had taken place in 1935, since as far as the butter and cheese markets were concerned, 'Foreign Countries, the powerful rivals of the Dominions in these important staples of trade, have elbowed their way in and have secured from Britain [revisions] ... of the Ottawa obligations'.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Sydney's version of *The Truth* ran the headline 'Only Ottawa Lemon Pips for Australia' and generally concurred that Australia had lost out in terms of preferences on meat products to non-imperial interests, primarily Argentina.¹¹⁵ Therefore, it is evident that daily newspaper rhetoric was to a large degree 'shaped' for its readership. An analysis of this imperial incident tends to reveal that for working-class Australians and New Zealanders, distant imperial conferences did not appear to offer a solution to the immediate problems posed by the economic depression. Working-class newspapers either at best reserved judgment on or at worst were openly sceptical of the question as to whether Ottawa would deliver on its promise to benefit Antipodean exports.¹¹⁶

The gathering storm 1937–9

The final imperial drama examined here is the diplomatic crisis which escalated in Europe from 1937 to 1939. Britain and France faced the

distinct possibility of a conflict with the expansive totalitarian forces in Germany and initially tried to prevent this by entering into conference with Hitler. The first major crisis occurred in September 1938 following Nazi Germany's occupation of the Sudetenland and from this point forward until September 1939, international tensions ran high. How far did the Antipodean press see the European crisis in wider imperial terms? Perhaps the most obvious but important point to make is that unlike either the initial phases of colonial conflicts of the later nineteenth century or, indeed, the rush to the colours witnessed in 1914–15, the appetite for war was far more muted. The daily press largely aligned itself behind its national governments in advocating appeasement.¹¹⁷ Indeed, in the wake of the September agreements struck with Hitler, a national day of thanksgiving was staged in Australia in September 1938, despite criticism from some quarters that thought Czechoslovakia had been sacrificed for the greater good of peace.¹¹⁸ Elite papers were quicker to cast doubt on how permanent the peace would be. Some criticism was made by the morning dailies that European diplomacy was, given the impotence of the League of Nations, reverting to the concert of Europe which had conducted diplomacy before 1914 and that the voices of smaller nations were being ignored as a consequence.¹¹⁹

Lest readers failed to see the implications for the Empire, however, the popular evening papers stressed that the nation's well-being was linked to events taking place in Europe. Melbourne's *The Herald*, for example, noted in late September 1938 that 'whether there be war or peace, have we not been taught a signal lesson? Relatively few of our people have applied the facts of Europe to Australia's existence and destiny'.¹²⁰ It also noted that: 'There can be no loyalty to our homeland, without active allegiance to Great Britain, for the safety and interests of both are inseparable.'¹²¹ It then subsequently reflected that: 'Now that the European crisis has passed, it is possible to recognize that it did a small service to Australians by stimulating the interest of Australians in international affairs.'¹²² Other papers such as *The Age* took a more nationalistic stance as it contemplated the measures that would need to be taken to ensure Australia's defence in the event of a conflict – what it called the 'Lessons learnt by the September scare' – one of the most important being that: 'Australia can no longer afford to rely upon Britain, but that she must be prepared to defend herself in any possible emergency.'¹²³ This paper continued to advocate up to September 1939 that the 'First Duty of Defence' was to defend its own national boundaries.¹²⁴ Such an inward turning on the part of press discourse became stronger as the conflict loomed, with perhaps the most extreme stance taken

by *The Truth*. The Melbourne version, whilst portraying Hitler and the Nazis as 'gangsters' and 'lunatics' with whom there was no bargaining, argued (as it had done in the First World War) that conscription should not be implemented since the 'Safety of Australia depends upon retaining her man power within her own shores'.¹²⁵ Moreover, after war broke out, *The Truth* continued to take a unique line on the war by examining 'Hitler from a woman's point of view' and the role played in European diplomacy by Mussolini's daughter.¹²⁶ This kind of approach echoed the journalistic style shown at the time of the Abdication Crisis, suggesting that for a significant section of the reading public, the imperial dimension held little interest.

Other papers such as Christchurch's *The Star-Sun* were rather more imperially minded, reminding its readers that Britain was going to war in 1939 because 'the vital interests of the British Empire ... are at stake ... A defeated Britain is a defeated Dominion ... The thing that binds the Dominions to the Mother Country is a legacy of national safety'.¹²⁷ The paper castigated members of the House of Representatives for the ongoing crisis and 'for not being in the least interested in events on the other side of the world'.¹²⁸ Elite papers such as *The Argus* saw the conflict in more significant terms than Empire identity. It also suggested that the war should not be cast 'in political or national terms' since the 'Contemporary structure of international life implies more than economic security, more than political equality, it implies all which good faith, tolerance and world order have built into that code, which we speak of as Christian thought'.¹²⁹ The majority of the papers tended to align with their national government's stance here, which favoured appeasement. Much of the pre-1914 rhetoric, which had embraced a more aggressive imperialism, had by this stage vanished, largely influenced by a desire by both Australia and New Zealand to keep out of European affairs. When it was evident that another war would take place, there was far less enthusiasm than had marked the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

This review of imperial crises across time demonstrates a number of characteristics on the part of the press in the inter-war period, which can be summarised in the following terms. The first observation to be made is that for most of the papers, there was a tendency to conflate Empire with Britain. It is evident that interest in the wider Empire was much less pronounced, with comparatively little news being published from other white settler societies such as Canada and South Africa. The journalistic stance on India was very similar across all the papers, nearly all of whom rejected or denied India's claim to Dominion status in the

1930s, reflecting a continuing sense of racial superiority. As far as the relationship with Britain was concerned, a notable difference existed between the morning dailies, which largely looked favourably upon British actions, and the evening papers, which were more openly critical of British policy in relation to Ireland and Ottawa. It was also evident that a degree of instrumentalism was demonstrated by the evening papers and that more space was devoted to imperial issues when they were of economic concern to the Dominions. This was particularly the case in the samples examined in the 1930s, when international tensions were increasing. International news gained as much space as imperial news, and much of the British news related to the measures being taken to increase its defensive capabilities in the event of war in Europe. A significant amount of 'British' news was information relating to trade or the visits of significant Australian or New Zealand statesmen to Britain. This is perhaps not surprising as the readership of the papers wanted this kind of 'relevant' news. In this sense, by 1939, a national interest was strongly projected onto imperial news.

5

Uniform Diversity? Youth Organisations in the Antipodes c. 1880–1939

An article which appeared in the British Empire Exhibition Supplement to *The Times* in September 1924 contemplated the appeal of New Zealand as a destination for migrating British women. During the course of the article, it was observed that ‘the first lesson to learn in inter-Empire relations is that what is different is not necessarily wrong. It is just different. Life in the Dominion has modified many old British customs. The differences are small, but essential to fit into the scheme of colonial life’.¹ This chapter explores this comment in relation to the historical evolution of youth movements in the Antipodes. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, a perceived ‘youth problem’ in urban Britain led to the creation of a cluster of organisations which aimed to take youth off the street and into uniform, in the process placing them largely under adult supervision.² From enrolment, youths were invariably recipients of programmes designed to instil a greater sense of national and imperial citizenship, but the balance between the two has been comparatively under-explored. Indeed, the questions posed in the late 1970s by Michael Hoare – ‘what did the Empire think about youth and society?’ and whether youth movements in the wider Empire ‘mirrored, paralleled or contradicted the ideas from “home”’ – are still to be fully answered.³ As urban and imperial notions of citizenship were interlinked in the period 1880–1914, it was logical that, in the majority of cases, such organisations were soon replicated in the wider British Empire.⁴ However, Allen Warren has noted the paradox that whilst many of these British initiatives became ‘genuinely imperial and international’, the imperial headquarters often failed to see such dimensions.⁵ There was often, he argues, an unwillingness to tightly control movements and a realisation that they might be reshaped in the wider Empire to fit local conditions. This led at times to a comparative

ignorance of the trajectory that Empire versions of the movements were taking. Indeed, he has more recently noted that Scouting and Guiding are, and were, ‘simultaneously highly local, national and international organisations’.⁶ In addition, from the perspective of the imperial ‘periphery’, the movements matured in a context of the apparent awakening of nationalistic sentiment and theoretically provided a suitable context for informing the young mind in relation to cultural nationalism.

The historiography relating to youth movements has begun to establish a model of historical development, which sees them located initially within localised frameworks and subsequently incorporated after the First World War within international and imperial structures and cultures, although this work is still very much in its early stages.⁷ The majority of sources left to the historian shed light on the ‘official’ attitudes of the higher echelons of the movements considered and it is considerably more difficult to obtain the views of those who formed the rank and file. Of course, it is likely that youths had not yet formed mature opinions about these organisations and the values for which they stood, and were largely directed by adults in their activities. Alternatively, as children moved into adolescence, they could form their own views as to what being a member of a youth organisation meant.⁸

As noted by Tammy Proctor, the adoption of a uniform could play an important role in familial relationships, constituting ‘independence from parental supervision’, although it cannot necessarily be assumed that youth automatically adopted the concomitant values of imperial citizenship.⁹ There is evidence in the British context that youths saved to buy the uniform and in doing so demonstrated the capacity of the organisations to induce thrift and pride in appearance.¹⁰ Another factor to be considered, however, is that where youth did choose to join, they may also have done so as much for fun and adventure (in the case of Scouting and Guiding) or possibly instrumental reasons (such as the YWCA) than a wish to demonstrate either national or imperial citizenship. Parental attitudes towards these movements and their knowledge of the values disseminated by them are also difficult to obtain for the period before 1940. The most important attempt to assess popular attitudes to youth movements in the Antipodes is provided by Diana McCurdy, who notes public ridicule and at times hostility to both Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scouts in New Zealand, sometimes based on a perception of inherent militarism. Parents sometimes offered only lukewarm support to their children when they joined the movements. In

1913, for example, David Cossgrove, founder of the Girl Peace Scouting movement in New Zealand, wrote the following comments in a letter to a Scoutmistress located in the Auckland suburb of Onehunga: 'I am sure that the parents of your girls will appreciate your good work though they may be slow to show it. It seems a rule of the world that the kisses of our admirers are kept for our cold brows.'¹¹ The youth movements were also targeted by street ruffians, as they were in Britain. In 1911, it was reported that the Girl Peace Scouts had been 'subjected to a good deal of annoyance from street roughs, who made sport of them and jeered at them when they came to their meetings in uniform'.¹²

Work undertaken in the British context by Stephen Humphries using oral histories suggests that it was 'sport, the band and the annual camp' that initially drew youths to these movements.¹³ Another point to consider is that these movements never embraced anything like a majority of the total constituency of youth and, indeed, during periods of war (1914–18) and depression (the early 1930s), almost all of them struggled for funds and leadership.¹⁴

This chapter explores the trajectory of Antipodean organisations in more depth, assessing how successfully such organisations were implanted in the wider Empire and how far such offshoots departed in terms of their operational patterns and culture from that established at the heart of the Empire. Did these movements become simply 'imperial' branches? Were they moulded to a new world environment or did they display more overt national characteristics? In this chapter, a cluster of such youth organisations are considered in order to find answers to these questions: the Boy Scout movement, the Girl Guides, the YWCA and the Young Australia League (YAL). The YWCA was disqualified from John Springhall's overview of youth movements conducted in the mid-1970s due to its failure to allow young people to enter the upper echelons of management of the movement, but is included here.¹⁵ A number of historians who have studied the origins of youth movements in Britain have emphasised that they were formed as a result of a cluster of fears on the part of the middle classes that youngsters were 'degenerating' due to urbanisation and that the nation could not rely on its youth in an imperial crisis. They were also formed in order to address what Springhall termed 'juvenile restlessness'.¹⁶ Some British Empire contemporaries welcomed a direct importation of these organisations into the new world, as they believed that citizenship training would address similar problems.¹⁷ Others thought that some degree of adaptation was required before they were launched, in order to provide a better fit with the colonial frontier, one which, by 1910, had adopted

compulsory military training schemes that had been rejected at the core of the Empire.¹⁸

Divergence or conformity: Scouting and Guiding in the ‘age of nationalism’

Whilst taking inspiration and direction from the ‘metropole’, it can be argued that colonial Scouting initiatives were initially left to operate at the margins of the imperial system and displayed considerable divergence from the ‘home’ model in their early years. Indeed, in some instances, a desire to operate outside the imperial system was demonstrated by factions within these movements which at times caused bad feeling within these movements amongst the regional leadership. Antipodean branches had to initially operate in a context of the introduction of compulsory military training (CMT) brought in only two years after the Scout movement was established. CMT was introduced in both Australia and New Zealand in 1909, under the terms of respective defence acts. Whilst the Scouts came to an arrangement with the state which allowed it to continue, the introduction of CMT devastated the Boys’ Brigade movement for at least the next decade in both nations.¹⁹ The history of the Scouting and Guiding movements in New Zealand does much to support the notion of the country being a ‘social laboratory’, since the movement diverged in several notable respects from the model established in Britain in 1907. The ‘Founding Father’ and mother of the Scouting movement in New Zealand were David Cossgrove (1852–1920) and his wife Selina (1849–1929), the former serving, like Robert Baden-Powell, in the Boer Wars.²⁰ Indeed, the two men had met whilst in South Africa and after the war, Cossgrove, promoted to the rank of major and subsequently colonel in 1910, was given permission by Baden-Powell to introduce Scouting into New Zealand, using the name ‘Peace Scouts’. Cossgrove not only established the Scouts, he also subsequently oversaw the formation of the Girl Peace Scouts, (1910), the Bull Pups for junior boys (1917), the Fairy Scouts for junior girls (1918) and the Empire Sentinels (1914), none of which existed in Britain. Cossgrove’s book *Fairy Scouts of New Zealand* used Maori mythology mixed with Baden-Powell’s ‘model of yarns’.²¹ The Empire Sentinels were created for older scouts to forge the ‘bonds of Empire’, but were not successful due to the implementation of the CMT scheme.²²

Undoubtedly the most significant of Cossgrove’s innovations was the creation of the Girl Peace Scouting movement. In contrast with Britain, where a stronger sense of what one historian has called the ‘politics of

gender' existed, the idea of Girl Scouts was evidently less problematic an idea in New Zealand.²³ Indeed, at first Baden-Powell appeared to welcome the Girl Peace Scouts, willingly inspecting troops of them on his tour to Australia and New Zealand in 1912, but this was a stance that was to change after the First World War ended.²⁴ The precise moment at which Baden-Powell changed his views is rather difficult to pinpoint, but it is evident that the women in his life, especially his sister Agnes and his wife Olave, whom he had married in 1912, had serious reservations about the existence of Girl Scouts and began to influence his views.²⁵ Agnes had authored a book entitled *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help to Build up the Empire* in 1912. In the foreword to the book, it was noted that the aim of Guiding was to 'get girls to learn how to be women – self-helpful, happy, prosperous and capable of keeping good homes and of bringing up good children'.²⁶ Later in the book she noted, in a section sub-headed 'Be Womanly', that: 'One loves a girl who is sweet and tender and who can gently soothe when wearied with pain.'²⁷ Of Empire she stated that 'it is men's work to defend the Empire in person ... But you must not forget that you can play a very important part in holding the Empire by becoming experts in ambulance work and nursing'.²⁸ Whilst a section on self-defence was included, overall the booklet framed femininity in far less progressive terms than Cossgrove's Girl Peace Scouts.

Although the handbook was subsequently dismissed by Olave Baden-Powell as 'The Little Blue Muddy', it set the basic parameters for Guiding in the decades that followed.²⁹ Cossgrove's wife Selina had a more positive, modernist outlook. Whilst the Girl Guides had emerged in Britain by 1910, the Girl Peace Scouts had a membership in New Zealand of 300 in the same year.³⁰ Cossgrove's book *Peace Scouting for Girls* was published at this time, advocating a movement very similar to that of the Boy Scouts. Girl Peace Scouts adopted the Scouts' khaki uniform rather than the blue of the British Guides. The movement also diverged by initially omitting the Guides' tenth law for the first three years of its existence and it also adopted a Maori rallying cry.³¹ Unlike the Guide movement in Britain, which initially steered clear of outdoor camping as it constituted a 'positive danger to health', the Girl Peace Scouts adopted the outdoor culture immediately.³² *Peace Scouting for Girls* also advocated and demonstrated self-defence methods such as jiu-jitsu, which had no parallel in the British Guiding movement.³³

By the end of 1910, three organisations for girls had formed in the Empire: the Girl Guides in Britain, the Girl Peace Scouts in New Zealand and Tasmania, and a movement known as 'Girl Aids' which developed in the Sydney region.³⁴ Cossgrove wrote to both Baden-Powell and the

headquarters of the Girl Aids in Sydney to suggest federating the three under the name 'Girls of the Empire', but this idea met with little enthusiasm.³⁵ However, by 1912, Peace Scouting had found a home, not at the heart of the British Empire, but in the context of the new world, and the total number of enrolled Peace Scouts reached 50,000 in the USA by 1920. When attempts were made by the Wellington branch of the Peace Scouts to adopt the name 'Girl Guides' and change to the blue uniform in 1912, Cossgrove prevented the move, distinguishing between the Guides and his 'peace movement'.³⁶ Whilst the outbreak of the First World War saw the British Guides encouraged to play a patriotic role in terms of nursing and childcare, Cossgrove wanted the Peace Scouts to continue their outdoor activities and skills suited for a frontier society rather than be channelled in directions which pandered to old world expectations of gender roles. As Diane McCurdy has noted of the Girl Peace Scouts, 'the over-riding implication of the scheme was that the two genders, in New Zealand at least, were not opposites. Peace Scouting for Girls strived to create ideal female citizens through Scout-like character training in the same way that *Scouting for Boys* aimed to achieve a masculine ideal'.³⁷ After the war, Baden-Powell and his wife gave more time to the development of an international Scout and Guide movement and were evidently surprised (due to the destruction of earlier correspondence) that Peace Scouts were already established in New Zealand. The attempts to bring the farthest-flung outpost of the Empire into the international orbit of Guiding was not the smooth adaptation that has been inferred by some narratives of the movement and provoked the ire of Cossgrove, who made it quite clear to Olave Baden-Powell that he had exerted considerable effort in establishing the Girl Peace Scouting movement and was not about to see it abolished in favour of Guiding. Olave claimed ignorance of the movement that Cossgrove had begun, but suggested that Guiding would be more appropriate. In a letter to Cossgrove written in November 1919, she described the formation of the International Council earlier in the year and two advisory councils, 'one for helping the guide movement in all parts of the British Empire, the other for linking up the movement which has begun in all foreign countries (America included)'.³⁸ She noted that 'most of those who are connected with us by having representatives on the international council [sic] prefer to have the name guide'. The explanation she gave for adopting this term was as follows:

In Great Britain, when it was suggested that the girls should have a similar scheme of training to that of the Boy Scouts, the public,

mothers, educationalists and others all felt that it was essential to develop the womanly attributes and to work mainly with the aim of urging the girls to study home craft and handicraft so that they might become better home makers, wives and mothers for the future.³⁹

Cossgrove had, at this time, made a conscious effort to present the Girl Peace Scouts as a global movement itself. He could, indeed, point to the success of the movement in the USA and he oversaw promotional literature which noted its global reach.⁴⁰ In one of the Girl Peace Scout publications, he stated that: 'Almost any colonial can teach the best English Guide a lot more about the practical side of real Scouting in New Zealand's underdeveloped areas.'⁴¹ The Baden-Powells communicated with, and used as their 'agent', Christchurch-born, Cecilia O'Rourke, who had spent time in England undertaking Guide training. She returned to Christchurch in 1919 entrusted by Olave with the task of trying to bring the Girl Peace Scouts into line with the Guides.

In a letter to Olave written in December 1919 after a meeting with Cossgrove, O'Rourke noted that: 'The first and most important fact seems to be that he [Cossgrove] has got the Girl Peace Scouts recognised by the Government and that therefore no Guides can start. If they do, they are liable to be prohibited by the Government, also that they could not change their name from Scout to Guide even if they wanted to. However, this may not be as binding as he makes it out to be.'⁴² The impasse was resolved the following year as a result of Cossgrove's death and the growing popularity in the Auckland region of Guiding rather than Scouting. By 1923, New Zealand Peace Scouts were effectively consigned to history and replaced by Guides, and localised badges and the khaki uniform also disappeared.⁴³

Cossgrove's declaration that Scouting 'had nothing to do with military work as carried on in war' was contradicted the following year by reports published in Christchurch's *The Press*, which noted that Scouts were going to prove a 'valuable military adjunct', having participated in military manoeuvres in the suburb of Yaldhurst.⁴⁴ Such participation gave the political Left the opportunity to characterise the movement as the appendage of a militarised state which youth should shun, both before and after 1914.⁴⁵ Writing in the *Maoriland Worker*, G.R. Kirkpatrick described the Boy Scout movement as 'a craftily subsidised effort for creating the kill-lust in boys'.⁴⁶ The fact that many of those who provided guidance to the Scouts had served in the army also added to the perception amongst some of this being a militarised organisation.

One of the most significant pre-war divergences from the British model occurred after introduction of CMT, the various Scout troops being incorporated within the school cadet movement. As a result of negotiations, the Scouts managed to retain an identity by the creation of Scout troops alongside senior cadets.⁴⁷ Despite such negotiations, CMT led to a substantial decline in both available Scoutmasters and Scouts. For instance, the number of Scouts in New Zealand had declined from 15,000 in 1907 to 8,000 in 1911. This was partly caused by the withdrawal of subsidies hitherto provided by the Dominion's government. Under Cossgrove's guidance, the Scout movement developed a number of other characteristics that were not replications of the British system. For example, a badge system which adopted local flora and fauna as emblems was in place until 1923, as well as certificates and warrants that were unique to the country, and a number of awards, including the bronze, silver and gold Te Kuri Medals and the silver Kiwi Medal.⁴⁸

In the state of Victoria, Scouts were also formed in 1908 and by 1909 had taken the name 'The Victorian Section, Australian Imperial Boy Scouts'. Given the decentralised, state-based, organisational model adopted in Australia, a comparable figure to Cossgrove was absent. Compared to New Zealand, Scouting initially followed the British model more closely. Despite a resolution by Scoutmasters that any master who assisted or aided in the formation of Girl Scouts should be asked to resign his troop, Girl Peace Scouts had formed in some Melbourne suburbs by 1910, a fact that was quickly condemned by some Victorian Scoutmasters.⁴⁹ Using *The Age's* publication *Every Saturday* as its mouthpiece, J.C. Harrop, District Scoutmaster of the Victorian Section of Imperial Boy Scouts, suggested that 'the time is ripe for the formation of a Florence Nightingale Brigade, where young girls could be instructed in first aid, ambulance and nursing duties, cooking and many other feminine attainments. Leave Scouting and tracking to the boys and he-girls'.⁵⁰ Indeed, by 1914, the Florence Nightingale Girl Aids had been incorporated into the Guiding movement, whereas Peace Scouting in Victoria declined, largely because it had much less support than in its stronghold, New Zealand.

In its early years, there were only lone voices who thought a more nationalistic approach should be taken by the Scout movement. One such individual was *The Argus* journalist Donald MacDonald, who objected to the adoption of the British uniform as it was 'much better suited to British than Australian conditions'. The 'short knickerbockers' and 'stockings which left the knee bare' were, he believed, a mistake as outside the cities it left the Scout vulnerable to snake-bites. He thought that puttees would be a better option for the Australian Scout. He also

believed that Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* had 'no local application'. The South African points he thought of relevance, but in order for the book to be of use in Australia, 'a great many points of local value and interest need to be added'.⁵¹ He followed these comments a month later by suggesting that Scouting would fulfil a national purpose, even if it was being guided from Britain. 'Behind it', he declared, 'is the great national aim, which should and will animate young Australians.'⁵² He subsequently produced his own book for Australian Scouts.⁵³ By 1911, however, the Boy Scout organisation in Victoria had split into two factions, one calling itself the 'Victoria' section and the other the 'Victorian' section, the latter led by Lieutenant Eyrl Lister, which expressed discontent with Baden-Powell and the imperial structure of the Scouts, a schism which became embarrassingly pronounced at the time of Baden-Powell's first visit to Australia in 1912.⁵⁴ The schism was provoked by a disagreement over a new constitution. It subsequently became apparent that the schism was the result of a feeling amongst a section of scoutmasters that those governing the movement (particularly Sir John Madden)⁵⁵ had altered the constitution so that they could continue to hold their positions and thus could not be deprived of what one paper described as 'hob-nobbing to the great pooh-bar B-P; the mighty nabob of the vice-regal residence and other exalted dignitaries of the "upper classes"'.⁵⁶ When Lister's Scouts tried to meet Baden-Powell in June 1912, they were turned away and many in the crowd made 'uncomplimentary remarks', while a 'feeling of indignation seized the crowd'. The *Yarragon, Trafalgar and Moe Settlement News* went as far as stating that, as far as Baden-Powell was concerned, 'a man who breaks his word and is a traitor to his own Scout laws, will not commend himself to Australians ... Australians are not likely to submit meekly to a wanton insult to hundreds of their sons and daughters. But the offender is a non-entity ... However, the man has gone and it will be the fervent wish of many Australians that they may never look on his like again'.⁵⁷ At the heart of this episode was the issue of whether Australian Scouting should be part of an imperial Scouting movement or instead should follow its own path of national development. It would take another decade for Scouting to be brought within the imperial and international orbit after the rift had been healed, an event facilitated by the death of the schismatic figure of John Madden in 1918.

The YWCA and the Young Australia League

Within a relatively short space of time, the YWCA, which had been founded in Britain in the mid-1850s as a result of the Crimean War,

developed branches in the Antipodes. The first branch in the region was founded in Dunedin in 1878, with further branches being established in Sydney (1880), Melbourne (1882), Christchurch (1883), Auckland (1885) and Wellington (1906). It is significant, however, that the YWCA, like its counterpart the YMCA, did not remain an organisation exclusive to the British Empire, but also established firm roots in the USA in the 1850s, just a few years after its launch in Britain. Indeed, both organisations made efforts to become 'global' well before many of their contemporaries. Arguably, the history of the Antipodean YMCA and YWCA demonstrates that whilst they had one of the earliest global outlooks of any youth organisations, within this framework, Antipodean branches derived much of their inspiration from the American YWCA over the period 1880–1939. The Antipodean branches were also 'globalised' rather than 'imperialised' as a result of the emergence of the World YWCA, which was formed in the early 1890s and staged conferences which took place at regular intervals from 1898 onwards in Britain, Europe and the USA. In an effort to forge the movement into a truly global one, the General Secretary of the World YWCA, the American Annie Reynolds, undertook a six-month tour of South Africa and Australasia in 1895–6 and visited several of the Antipodean branches.⁵⁸ Despite such efforts, it is evident that before 1914, it is apposite to talk in terms of an 'Australasian' network which in some respects became more nationalistic. Before 1925, for example, the Australian and New Zealand branches were united into one Australasian organisation and were eventually separated in 1925.⁵⁹ Imperial sentiment within the YWCA reached its zenith during the First World War. The League of Honour, for example, staged meetings at the YWCA premises in Russell Street, Melbourne.⁶⁰ Originally established in London just after the outbreak of the war, the League aimed to 'bind together the women and girls of the Commonwealth and Dominion in the service of God and Empire'.⁶¹

Patriotic activities for the nation and the Empire were staged throughout the war years. As Katie Pickles has noted, the YWCA also played a role in assisting Empire migrants (the majority of whom were British), especially in relation to providing initial accommodation for arrivals, a function it had in common with both the Victoria League and the Overseas League.⁶² The numbers of women migrating to the Antipodes, however, demonstrates that it was among the least favoured destinations. Australia and New Zealand accounted for just five per cent each of the total number of women migrating from Britain in the years 1919–39.⁶³ Most chose Canada as their desired destination. The peak year for New Zealand was 1922, when 655 British women arrived in the

Dominion, most of whom were expected to take up domestic work.⁶⁴ Wellington took the largest number of women, followed by Auckland.⁶⁵ However, in many of the inter-war years, the YWCA received a government subsidy (which lasted until 1931) for no real purpose and by the early 1930s, migration schemes had become moribund, a combination of economic depression and the fact that post-war women viewed domestic service as a less desirable occupation than office work.⁶⁶ Moreover, much of the internal culture of the branch life of the YWCA was increasingly Americanised. The style of management brought to the organisation by Florence Stillwell (who acted as General Secretary from 1911) and Elsie Griffin (who succeeded her in 1917) was indebted to the USA, not Britain. Indeed, Griffin had spent two years before her appointment in New York undertaking training.⁶⁷ Moreover, the American YWCA's *Handbook of the Young Women's Christian Association* was followed 'to the letter' for many social events, including the celebration of American-influenced events such as Halloween.⁶⁸ Influences from the USA were also seen in the design of the new premises for the Auckland YWCA, which were opened in 1918. Designed by architect William Gummer, it incorporated an American-inspired self-service cafeteria.⁶⁹

Other evidence also substantiates the fact that American values held a central place in the Antipodean YWCA movement. Sandra Coney herself cites the appointment of New Yorker Helen Barnes to the post of National YWCA Secretary of Australasia in 1912. In fact, by the turn of the century, it had become apparent that the YWCA was flourishing in the USA and that this nation could claim to be the driving force behind the organisation, far more so than other countries. The USA was frequently referenced as the model that Antipodean branches were seeking to emulate. Moreover, Americans or personnel who had spent time in the USA were increasingly appointed to key positions in the senior management of the Australasian YWCA throughout the period 1910–39. Esther Anderson, who also hailed from the USA, took a leadership position in the Australian YWCA, acting as Secretary of the Adelaide YWCA before assuming a national role as General Secretary. Reflecting on the direction that the Australian YWCA had taken since 1900, it was observed in one press article that:

In America the association seems to have been extraordinarily fortunate in its organisers and office-bearers, for while in many other countries the Y.W.C.A. is well established and daily growing in size and strength, in America it is one of the biggest forces in national

life and its members can be counted by thousands, where ours are only hundreds ... And so the Australian Y.W.C.A. has looked towards America for a new force which will push forward the national work of the association.⁷⁰

The Antipodean perception both before and after the First World War was that the USA produced, as one publication deemed it in an interview with Esther Anderson, 'professionalism in religious work', whereas Britain dealt in 'haphazard amateurism'.⁷¹ This invariably accounted for the appointment of American over British personnel. On a return visit to Australia in 1923, Anderson noted that: 'Young People in America and Australia are more alike than other young people all over the world ... only their accents are different.'⁷² If locally born managers were appointed, it was invariably the case that they had spent time in America, as had Leila Bridgman, who became the National Girls Work Secretary in 1924, staying in that role until 1932.⁷³ A New Zealander by birth, Bridgman had completed a 12-month training course in the USA prior to taking up the post. She drew a distinction between the Antipodean American YWCA movement and the European YWCAs, noting that: 'In England and the countries of Northern Europe, the girls that the association works with are mostly of school age. The YWCA works largely through the medium of the Girl Guides, who are found in Norway, Sweden and other places, as well as England. In America, and in our part of the world, older girls come into the fold, the young working women being catered for, as well as those still in the adolescent stage of life.'⁷⁴ It is significant that in the same newspaper article, Bridgman, in comments made about European youth movements, admitted that she knew more about developments in Germany than in England. Other staff who attained senior positions within the New Zealand YWCA had also spent time in Europe and the USA rather than Britain. Florence Birch, who held the position of Wellington General Secretary for seven years from 1912, left for the USA in 1919 before being appointed Field Secretary for the New Zealand YWCA in the early 1920s.⁷⁵ Jean Stevenson, who became the National Secretary of the New Zealand YWCA in the early 1930s, had gained her experience in Bendigo and Melbourne, and during the First World War had attended American training schools in New York and Pittsburgh, which provided scholarships for YWCA workers.⁷⁶ Outside of the imperial emergencies of 1914–18 and 1939–45, the YWCA refrained from using its publications or its internal programmes to promote imperial sentiment. Indeed, the organisation made a conscious effort to embrace internationalism and

pacifism in the mid-1920s, a move that was also reflected in the Scout and Guide movements after 1920.⁷⁷ The YWCA's publication *Every Girl*, which reported the activities of initially the Auckland YWCA branch and was subsequently adopted as the national magazine, ran features on the 'citizens of the city' and 'citizens of the nation' in the mid-1920s, for example, but when it came to the question of 'imperial citizenship', it ran a feature written by the pacifist Ormond Burton that effectively condemned imperialism. Burton asked women:

suppose you have recently been married and that you are not yet a wonderfully efficient housewife, would you like the strong capable managing person to come in and very efficiently and firmly regulate to the position of domestic in your own house? Of course you wouldn't. Have we really any right to impose our rule on countries which do not desire it? Imperialism at its best is a policy of pessimism, at its worst it becomes a tyranny, draining the very life blood of the subject peoples.⁷⁸

Later in the same year, an article written by Eleanor McNeil, the New Zealand Secretary of the YWCA in China, noted that 'the white races were not necessarily born to rule. If they are really "superior" races they would be proving it by more gentleness, more readiness to serve'.⁷⁹ The increasing 'internationalism' of the YWCA was seen by its allowing the Auckland branch of the League of Nations Union to use its premises from 1925 onwards and the staging of an international grand pageant of nations in the same year, with international hymns sung at this time proclaiming 'In Christ now meet both East and West, In him meet South and North'.⁸⁰ By the 1930s, *Every Girl* was hailing members of the YWCA as 'citizens of the world' and openly endorsed the policy of passive resistance to imperial rule, displayed by Indian nationalists in the adoption of passive resistance, known as Satyagrahi, adopted by native Indians towards imperial rule.⁸¹

During the 1920s and 1930s, American culture also made itself felt in two further ways within the Antipodean YWCA branches: the development of physical culture and exercise, and the emergence of the Girl Citizens Movement in the 1920s. Whilst it can be argued that the increasing emphasis on the 'fit' body was the product of imperial anxiety following the Second Boer War, many of the practical aspects of fitness originated in the USA. In fact, it had been the case that in the realm of physical programmes, the American YMCA initially led the field, and this culture was brought across to the women's organisation.⁸²

By the inter-war period, the fascination with Hollywood glamour, part of which was an interest in body shape, fuelled the fitness programmes of institutions like the YWCA.⁸³ In the early twentieth century, basketball, which had been invented by Dr James Nasmyth at a YMCA gymnasium in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1891, was first played in New Zealand in 1906, being brought to New Zealand via Australia by the travelling secretary of the Presbyterian Bible Class Union of New Zealand, Reverend J.C. Jamieson.⁸⁴ It was taken up by New Zealand women in 1913. The game had been adapted for women as a result of its exposure in England. Volleyball, another popular women's sport, was also played by Antipodean branches of the YWCA and also originated in the USA.⁸⁵

In the mid-1930s, the American Edna Ericson introduced baseball to Auckland, which was 'eagerly taken up by training college women' and became a popular summer game.⁸⁶ The Auckland YWCA's first physical director had been Julia Fisher, appointed in 1921, who was described in one press report as 'one of the best YWCA physical directors in the States'.⁸⁷ A subsequent appointment in the early 1930s was a Miss Serle. It was noted in press reports that she had 'adopted the most modern methods of physical culture being used in Denmark and America'.⁸⁸ By the late 1930s, the Wellington branch had obtained the services of the Canadian Helen McDonald, who subsequently became the physical director of the national YWCA.⁸⁹ McDonald changed attitudes to dancing within the YWCA, which had previously perceived popular dance as a threat to moral standards. Modern dancing was rather seen as a purer form of dance compared to the rough popular dance crazes witnessed during the 1920s in city dance halls and had been popularised by Isadora Duncan.⁹⁰ McDonald had been introduced to dancing during her attendance at Columbia University, which 'had been the first to teach it'.⁹¹

The Girl Citizens Movement (GCM) began in the early 1920s in Australia and had spread to New Zealand by 1922. It imitated the Hearth Fire Movement which had developed in the USA.⁹² It was aimed at girls aged 12–18 in an effort to train them in citizenship, childcare and housework.⁹³ Whilst its ideology has been described as imperialistic, the basis of such an assertion is comparatively weak.⁹⁴ Simpson, for example, admits that flag saluting was never part of its culture and instead argues that because the school journal was heavily influenced by imperial values, the same must have been true for the GCM. However, she notes that the minutes of meetings 'were decorated with illustrations of flags, not only of New Zealand, but of other countries

symbolising international co-operation'.⁹⁵ Similarly, there is considerable over-estimation of the extent of the observance of Empire Day in schools in her analysis. In fact, as she notes, the typical meeting of the GCM was devoid of imperial propaganda and consisted of 'half an hour of organised games, folk dancing or physical exercises, fifteen minutes of business, half an hour of handiwork instruction and fifteen minutes for discussion of character standards'.⁹⁶ Promotion of the GCM in publications such as the *Melbourne Girl*, the journal of the Melbourne branch of the YWCA, instead noted its wish to have 'a link with girls of the world' and made no mention of any imperial ideal whatsoever.⁹⁷ A further important Americanism which the YWCA embraced was the welcoming of prohibition, which, according to the *Melbourne Girl*, reprinting an article from the *Ladies Home Journal* by Samuel Crowther, had eliminated poverty and saved the nation £3,000,000,000.⁹⁸ The Americans were also a driving force behind the increased emphasis on overseas missionary endeavours in areas of the world such as India, China and Japan. The *Melbourne Girl* carried news from YWCAs around the world. In an issue dated May 1934, for example, it reported on YWCAs in India, New Zealand, Switzerland, Bulgaria and the USA.⁹⁹ Of the USA, it was noted in an editorial comment that: 'We can learn a lesson from America; it seems quite time that we in Australia followed in the footsteps of the American YWCA and do something definite about the working conditions of our many domestic club girls.'¹⁰⁰ As well as gravitating towards the North American model, the world fellowship also assumed a heightened profile in the work of the YWCA branches, especially in relation to promoting disarmament in the context of global tensions in the 1930s. Close links were established with groups such as the Women's Disarmament Committee. The New Zealand Executive of the YWCA corresponded in the 1930s, for example, with the 'No More War' League and the League of Nations Union.¹⁰¹ The *Melbourne Girl* handed the front page of its issue of November 1933 to Louise Bakewell, President of the youth movement of the League of Nations Union. Under the heading 'My World or My Country?', Bakewell suggested that YWCA members see their country's affairs not in narrow nationalistic terms, but rather through the prism of world events.

The Young Australia League (YAL), initially known as the Young Australia Football League, was first formed in Western Australia through the efforts of John Joseph (J.J.) Simons, who was known as 'the Boss' and who held the position of Secretary of the Western Australian National Football League between 1905 and 1914. In contrast to some of the other youth organisations under consideration here, the League

embraced a strong sense of nationalism. Simons rejected the sporting code of the 'Anglo' establishment and, in an early version of the League's magazine, the *Australia Junior*, stated: 'Boys of Australia, the future of Australian football, the game of your own country, rests with you ... it is a native of the same soil, and should command the love of every young Australian.'¹⁰² Simons realised that this sentiment for a native sport could be widened to include a love of country in the post-federal environment. In fact, in the very first issue of the *Australia Junior*, he had noted that: 'The Sentiment which brought the Young Australia League into being does not begin and end with football, which is but the beginning, and forms an attractive and pleasant medium for the inculcation of the finest teaching that can be implanted in the hearts of our young countrymen – a spirit of sound healthy Australianism.'¹⁰³

As his biographer noted, Simons was branded an Australian nationalist: 'high protection and anti-imperialism [were] among the chief features of its [the YAL's] policy'.¹⁰⁴ The YAL could therefore arguably be categorised as a nationalistic organisation operating within an imperial framework. Simons was President of the Western Australian Branch of the ANA, which acted to promote indigenous manufacture – indeed, boys were taken to local manufacturers in an effort to develop a sense of local patriotism.¹⁰⁵ From its roots as a sporting touring club, by 1907 it had incorporated education by travel, which would constitute its main objective over the following decades. Before 1914, tours were largely of an intra- and inter-state nature, such as that undertaken by the boys of Western Australia to the eastern Australian states in 1909.¹⁰⁶ On this tour, the boys visited 15 factories, ten theatres, eight zoos, eight churches, six historical sites, six art galleries, four museums, three agricultural shows, three navy training ships, three farms and one printing office. As Moredoundt has noted, this list gives an indication of 'Simons' desire to educate the boys in a spirit of broad Australian patriotism'.¹⁰⁷ A year later, boys visited the US fleet which was harboured at Albany in an effort to instruct youth in the importance of possessing an Australian navy: 'Simons felt that Australians and Americans were more in unison than were the Australians and the British.'¹⁰⁸ Given Simons' feelings, it is not surprising that the first YAL overseas visit was to the west coast of the USA, via New Zealand and Tahiti, and then Britain. In New Zealand, Simons wrote to the local papers, stating that there was 'strong antipathy to the League' amongst New Zealanders, which may have been engendered by the perceived anti-British attitude of Simons detected by the press.¹⁰⁹ However, some New Zealand boys did join the movement and in letters to them, Simons noted that he hoped to establish

branches across the Tasman.¹¹⁰ After the First World War, further YAL tours took place. In 1925 a fourth tour was made to Europe, in 1929 it made its fifth tour to cities in the USA and in the 1930s it subsequently toured Malaya (1935) and Japan (1936).¹¹¹ As Anthony Farnes observed in a posthumous assessment of Simons' career:

The four world tours which Jack Simons led were not without strain. Bent on selling his country at the highest level, he had the added responsibility of diplomacy. All his boys were schooled to a peak of general knowledge on Australia. While they gave talks in school auditoriums, he delivered his message at public functions and dinners. He once tried to have himself publicly presented to President Theodore Roosevelt at the San Francisco fair, but officials vetoed it. The Boss made his own arrangements. As the President's car approached the Australian pavilion, the Boss ordered his boys to strike up The Star Spangled Banner ... the Boss launched into an oration of welcome to the President on behalf of Australia. Australia Day came a little early that year.¹¹²

Other aspects of the YAL also revealed a somewhat more nationalistic stance compared to its contemporaries. One of the more significant was the design of the YAL permanent headquarters, which was officially opened in 1924. After initially awarding the contract for designing the new building to Melbourne-based Walter Burley Griffin, the architect of the new Australian Capital, Canberra and receiving plans which portrayed a very futuristic-looking structure, local opinion turned against the design and new local architects Oldham and Boas were appointed. The building which finally took shape was a more classically designed building incorporating Doric columns and colonnades. A number of ornate stained-glass windows were incorporated into the building which depicted nationally important figures from Australia's relatively short colonial history.¹¹³ However, perhaps the most significant facet of the movement was Simon's nationalist outlook, which meant that the YAL, as an indigenous youth movement, was not fully incorporated into the wider imperial structure. One small aspect of this nationalism is revealed in a letter that 'the Boss' wrote to Bromley Bennett, a New Zealand member of the YAL, in the late 1920s. Simon noted in the course of corresponding with Bennett that he had bought an American car and explained his reason for doing so:

It is true I bought what is popularly called a Yankee car, but the so called Yankee cars in many cases mean more money for Australia

than any other make. Recent statistics show that that 89 per cent of the cars of American brand are produced in Australia, the amount spent in wages and materials running into millions. It sort of seems to many of us that when we buy an article representing 90 per cent Australian, that it is better business than buying a Morris car which only represents 20 per cent Australian. So there you are.¹¹⁴

Simons was also a supporter of the white Australian policy in place in the first half of the twentieth century, as he made clear in issues of *The Boomerang*, the YAL publication. He also suggested a 'nationalism within imperialism' when he noted the necessity of observing rather than scoffing at the national anthem: 'Every citizen in honouring the King is honouring his own representative, the head of his own nation, the head of his own Empire and he who would scoff when "God Save the King" is being sung or played would make little of the nation to which he belongs.'¹¹⁵

Nationalism, internationalism and Empire: Scouting and Guiding in the inter-war years 1919–39

As has been demonstrated, before 1914, youth movements in the Antipodes tended to evolve within national rather than imperial frameworks. The comparative lack of communication between Britain and the wider British Empire meant that Scouting and Guiding evolved in rather different ways. After the war, there was a more concerted effort to coordinate Scouting and put it more explicitly under imperial control. The disappearance of the Girl Peace Scouts and their replacement with Girl Guides in New Zealand is one example of the influence that Olave Baden-Powell brought to the Guiding movement. Yet there have been comparatively few studies which attempt to assess how far Dominion youth organisations were incorporated within an imperial framework after the war, whether a variety of factors, not least distance from the metropole, prevented full incorporation into the imperial system, or whether international/global dimensions were just as important to Antipodean development and sent Scouting down a rather different developmental trajectory. As Frank Trentmann has shown, the First World War marked a significant turning point in international relations, witnessing a growing distaste for pre-war, aggressive, nationalistic sabre-rattling. In its place, an international conception of citizenship began to find favour. Trentmann observes that 'the new internationalist vision of de-politicising nationality strengthened a commitment to the British

Commonwealth as a transnational body, just as it weakened the legitimacy of the nation-state'.¹¹⁶ In the context of Scouting and Guiding, Sally Marshall and Kristine Alexander have begun to explore the extent to which these movements attempted to become simultaneously 'international' and 'imperial' movements between the wars, influenced from within by the world vision of Robert and Olave Baden-Powell and from without by contemporary developments, such as the creation of the League of Nations in 1919 and easier communication between hitherto 'distant' nations. As Marshall notes of the Scouts:

Scouting's imperialism and its new international brotherhood ... co-existed uneasily. Despite the show of brotherly affection, at bottom the Boy Scout movement remained as patriotic and imperialistic as when it was first founded ... Internationalism was a convenient disguise for the organization's continued imperial ambitions, and a way legitimately to take British culture throughout the world.¹¹⁷

The most obvious aspects of such internationalism were the jamborees that were staged across the inter-war years, coupled with an increasingly pacifist rhetoric which embraced the British and non-British worlds. Imperial camps were also staged at intervals between international jamborees. International Scout meetings took place at four- to five-year intervals from 1920 and were staged in England (1920 and 1929), Denmark (1924), Hungary (1933) and the Netherlands (1937). With the exception of the first of these meetings, which had no New Zealand representation 'owing to difficulties of transport', small contingents from both Australia and New Zealand were represented at these.¹¹⁸ The Hungarian jamboree, for example, was attended by 87 Australian Scouts (the largest overseas contingent) and just one New Zealander, who paid his own expenses to attend.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the expense of sending boys to Europe was relatively high (£100–120 per boy), so Antipodean representation at European gearings remained rather select.¹²⁰ Unlike their New Zealand counterparts, Australian Scouts were given government support, which partly explains the 250 Australian Scouts who attended the Birkenhead Jamboree of 1929 compared to 35 New Zealanders. In order to facilitate travel to Europe, the shipping lines offered discounted ticket prices to the boys who travelled. The Scouting recollections of J.R.H. Cooksey, or 'Little John' as he was colloquially known, gives some insight into the ways in which internationalism was regarded by Antipodean representatives. Interestingly, New Zealand Scout leaders were relatively uninformed about the jamborees. Cooksey did

not remember how he came to hear of the 1929 meeting, which suggests that inter-imperial communication was rather poor even in the later 1920s, and on inquiring of the Commissioner if any boys were going from Napier (the North Island town in which Cooksey was based), he received the reply from the Commissioner that he had 'never heard of a Jamboree'.¹²¹ Cooksey noted that: 'Many people in those days knew little about Scouting as a world movement.' A total of 35 boys eventually departed for Britain, but on arrival: 'The entrance to London did not impress the boys.'¹²² The reception given by the London headquarters to the New Zealand Scouts was also rather frosty. Cooksey noted that 'Imperial Headquarters were not impressed' by the book of badge requirements issued in New Zealand, branding them 'New Zealand's "Comic Cuts"' and believing that 'All badge standards had been lowered'.¹²³ The experience of meeting a variety of international Scouts was evidently a more enjoyable experience and opened Cooksey's eyes to the scale of the Scouting movement. Overall, the experience of visiting the heart of the Empire was evidently rather dispiriting, as on the contingent's return to New Zealand, Cooksey noted that Scouting was held in much higher esteem in England than in New Zealand. F.W. Sandford, who had also attended, added that it was not surprising that the 'Scouting movement did not make much headway in the Dominion ... many Scoutmasters do not carry out the spirit of Scouting'.¹²⁴

The Guides also staged international meetings during these inter-war decades, although girls were given less sponsorship to attend world gatherings. At the first World Camp, which was staged at Foxlease in Britain in July 1924, Guiders from each of the national movements took part, including Australian and New Zealand Guiders.¹²⁵ However, as Swinburne notes: 'Only Australians who would be already travelling could be nominated, as there were no funds to finance a four-five week voyage by sea each way, but fortunately many were abroad that year.'¹²⁶ In 1926 the first imperial camp for Guides was staged again at Foxlease and another followed in 1927. At the latter, 27 Australian Guides attended, of which 'many were Victorians'.¹²⁷ When New Zealand was asked by imperial headquarters to participate in the Fifth International Conference in Budapest staged in May 1928, New Zealand sent a reply to Lady Baden-Powell that it was too small to send a delegate. Moreover, the Victorian Scouts were of the opinion (sent in a letter to Robert Baden-Powell) that Guiding was not by 1927 advanced enough to justify the creation of an international world bureau.¹²⁸ A representative of New Zealand, Vida Barron, was present at the international camp staged at Bierville, France in the summer of 1929, yet the

subsequent description of the camp supplied by Barron and published in the *Dominion Girl Guide* was interesting for the light that it cast on the process through which she had passed through to attend:

It was indeed well that New Zealand should be represented at this, the first camp since the forming of the world office, for Australia had a representative and Canada four. There was to have been a representative from India, but she was unable to come at the last minute. South Africa was not represented but probably like New Zealand and Australia and unlike Canada, they received no direct invitation as a separate country. It was through my having got into touch with French Guides that I was invited and through that same reason Australia was invited too.¹²⁹

This experience tends to confirm one aspect of a point made by Kristine Alexander that international meetings could be 'quite exclusionary'. The most obviously exclusionary aspect of international Guiding in this era, however, was the burden placed on parents. Whilst Boy Scouts received support for their travels, this was less forthcoming for Girl Guides, where a strong element of domesticity had been reintroduced after the demise of the Girl Peace Scouts. Alexander has noted that long-distance travel made participation of the daughters of working-class families difficult and even the purchase of uniforms challenged their budget.¹³⁰ Not surprisingly, it was the rather more localised jamborees such as the Melbourne Centenary Rally in 1934–5 which generated the largest overseas New Zealand Scout and Guide attendance (241 Scouts and 65 Guides).¹³¹ Eight New Zealand Guides attended the Ulster summer camp in August of 1934. The first New Zealand Guide to attend a genuinely international camp was in 1937, when Olywyn Haycock, in her capacity as the first recipient of the Juliette Low Award, was invited to the Juliette Memorial Camp staged in New York State.¹³²

Nationalism was not completely eradicated by the new spirit of internationalism in the 1920s. A perusal of the minute books of both Scouts and Guides in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates some scope for nationalistic sentiment to be incorporated within this wider sentiment. In the mid-1920s, for example, the New Zealand Guides believed that it was desirable to have a Maori badge created and to make alterations to one or two of the other badges awarded to 'give them a local context'.¹³³ Moreover, national variations grew stronger over time. In subsequent minutes it was noted that badges more suitable to New Zealand 'could be procured' and that the proficiency badges could be

made 'harder, to suit New Zealand conditions'.¹³⁴ In 1927, the minutes noted that as far as a Brownie hat was concerned, it was left up to the decision of each province to decide the style, again illustrating that whilst incorporated within the imperial framework, the movement was given the scope to create a national identity. The New Zealand Guides also developed ideas for further new badges, 'revised for Australasia', including an astronomy badge which depicted the Southern Cross rather than the Pole Star and the creation of an 'Empire awareness' badge, which perhaps suggested that Guides were comparatively unaware of their place within the wider movement.¹³⁵ These badges complemented existing ones which depicted native flora and fauna.¹³⁶ In the years immediately after David Cossgrove's death, New Zealand Scouts were drawn more tightly into the imperial structure,¹³⁷ although some degree of nationalism was retained. The same was true in the case of the Victorian Guides, where the governing councils began to promote locally made badges and uniforms due to excessive importation costs. As the Depression engulfed the Antipodes, the promotion of the local was still more keenly embraced.¹³⁸ In 1931, when Baden-Powell made his second visit to the Antipodes, for example, *The Dominion* ran an advert for the Grand Rally staged to welcome the Chief Scout. The advert declared: 'The Scouts' Best Motto: Demand New Zealand-Made Goods Haeremai!' In addition, *The Press* advertised the Rally to honour Baden-Powell in the city under the slogan 'Rally! Scouts Guides Be Prepared – Buy New Zealand Made Goods'. Indeed, the Scouts' own publication, the *Scouts Gazette*, had carried adverts to the same effect in the early 1920s.¹³⁹ In another example of nationalist sentiment within the imperial framework in the mid-1930s, a significant move was made when the magazine of the New Zealand Girl Guides, which had up to that point been entitled the *Dominion Girl Guide* and the *New Zealand Guider*, was renamed *Te Rama*.

Whilst the costs of visiting the Empire prevented large numbers of Antipodean Scouts and Guides from participating in imperial and international celebrations, the Empire was in a sense brought to the Antipodes as a result of the two visits that the Baden-Powells made to Australia and New Zealand in 1931 and 1934–5. Both the Australian and New Zealand Scout movements 'took great pride in the prospect of B-P seeing how closely it followed his suggestions'. The visits were significant events, marked in most of the cities visited by rallies that evidently attracted sizeable numbers of Scouts and Guides. The daily press devoted considerable coverage to the visits. Yet, despite providing a warm welcome, Scouting in both contexts received criticism from

Baden-Powell. In Australia he recommended ‘less “Parlour Scouting” and more hiking and camping; an increase in contacts with kindred societies; a greater emphasis on team work and decentralisation’.¹⁴⁰ This last criticism was also applied to New Zealand. Baden-Powell’s visit to New Zealand led to the dismissal of the Christchurch executive. The headquarters of the New Zealand Scouting movement was subsequently relocated to Wellington. For most of the 1930s, the organisation remained in the doldrums before beginning to exhibit a revival in the latter half of the decade. Part of the reason for the decline was attributed to urbanisation, for, as Hector Christie, the Acting Dominion Secretary, noted, ‘a few years ago it was sufficient to organise an outing, camp, or hike, and the boys would revel in the opportunity of personal adventure. Today there is a distinct tendency on the part of youth to require to be entertained rather than to adventure for himself. This may be said to be a reflection on the extensive amusement provided for young people which is becoming more and more evident, particularly in the city life of today’.¹⁴¹

To return to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is evident that imperial values were challenged in relation to youth movements both before and after the First World War for two rather different reasons. First, before 1914, a comparative lack of communication between London and the outer reaches of the Empire meant that both the Australian and New Zealand movements travelled along their own path to development. This divergence was corrected to a degree (in the case of both Scouts and Guides) after the war, but imperialism by that stage had been discredited by the horror of the First World War. Second, Scouts and Guides were then encouraged to see themselves as international citizens, yet the physical demonstration of this was both costly and time-consuming. It is evident that many members of these movements saw their work in more localised terms. The YWCA was evidently the least attached to an imperial framework and was increasingly drawn towards American models of organisation. By the 1920s and 1930s, it was openly criticising the pre-war imperial values that had taken Britain into war. It is significant that in the 1930s, for example, the Australian publication the *Victorian Scout* contained an article devoted to ‘Civics for Scouts’ in which T.G. Littleton asked: ‘What do you know of Empire?’¹⁴² Moreover, at the outbreak of the Second World War, an editorial in the same publication rather gloomily noted that:

Scouting is international in the sense that most countries of the world have adopted it as a system of youth training, but we doubt

very much whether it has done all it might to achieve a better international understanding among any considerable number of Scouts, except perhaps those who have privileged to attend Jamborees in other countries. Australian Scouts particularly are handicapped in forming any real basis for international goodwill ... simply because we are so far removed from other countries ... He [the Scout] cannot be expected to appreciate other viewpoints and other motives of which he knows little or nothing.¹⁴³

6

Ceremonial Days, Imperial Culture, Schools and Exhibitions c. 1900–35

This chapter explores the imperial dimensions to Antipodean cities from two perspectives. The first examines the attempts to embed imperial celebrations such as Empire Day and Trafalgar Day in the urban and institutional calendar, and asks whether they represented the successful introduction of an ‘invented tradition’ amongst both adults and youth. In the second half of the chapter, an analysis of exhibitions staged in the cities under consideration is undertaken in order to assess how far these could also be said to have been imperially infused and how far they represented ‘imperial space’ in the city for the weeks or months during which they were staged.

Empire Day, which was observed from 1903 onwards in Britain, was the vision of Reginald Brabazon, the 12th Earl of Meath. Meath, an Anglo-Irish peer, had ‘retired from an undistinguished diplomatic career to pursue social and philanthropic work amongst youth’.¹ His later life saw him take on a number of positions within the governing bodies of imperial pressure groups, most notably as Vice-President of the Navy League in 1909 and as a member of the National Service League Council (1910–14) and of the League of Empire (1916).² His advocacy of a day for the celebration of the Empire was canvassed at the 1902 Imperial Conference. In his study of Empire Day in Britain, Jim English has argued for its success both before and after the First World War, describing it as ‘a regular and widely practised social celebration’ which incorporated ‘the cultural elements of the imperial nationalism that in the late nineteenth century succeeded in navigating across class and party boundaries ... During the Edwardian era, Empire Day enjoyed an extremely rapid rise as an “invented tradition” and succeeded in tapping into and amplifying an effervescent popular imperial culture. It would be plausible to suggest that it realised (or at least came close to realising)

its hegemonic potential during that period'.³ Andrew Thompson, by contrast, remains more sceptical of the success of Meath's vision for Empire Day and Bernard Porter is even more dismissive, suggesting that children only enjoyed it as far as it offered them a half-day holiday and, indeed, it was not officially marked by the government until 1916.⁴

If English's interpretation of Empire Day as enjoying widespread recognition at the heart of the Empire is accepted, how far can it be argued that it was similarly embraced in an Antipodean context? Empire Day was indeed welcomed by New Zealand's Lancashire-born Prime Minister Richard Seddon and was observed in New Zealand from 1903, but was rejected by his Australian counterpart, the native-born Edmund Barton. The latter's rejection was primarily due to the nature of early federal politics and the fact that adopting Empire Day would alienate Labour Members of Parliament and would thus break a delicate coalition. When F.D. Boyce, President of the British Empire League, appealed to Barton for Empire Day's observance in 1903, the latter rejected it on the grounds that there was:

an inadequate appreciation on the part of many people as to what the Empire really meant. In his opinion it could be just as strong and powerful under the monarchical idea, notwithstanding that many of the leaders of democracy had mixed up the idea of imperialism and a free Empire. The word 'Imperialism' had become an odour in the nostrils of some of the leaders of freedom of thought and liberty, and they appeared to think that to agree to the term 'Imperialism' necessarily meant a blind desire to follow anything which was suggested or proposed by an Imperial power in London.⁵

Observance of Empire Day was thus consequently delayed until 1905, when George Reid's administration introduced it primarily as a means of uniting non-Labour groupings at a federal level. Maurice French argues that Empire Day in Australia was consequently a day for 'citizens' rather than children and was from the outset a socially divisive mechanism aimed at perceived disloyal groups such as Catholics, the Irish and the Left.⁶ In contrast to Britain, Empire Day in Australia was initially a political football eventually handed down to the urban elite for dissemination. At this local level, it usually found support from the Lord Mayor and imperial loyalty groups throughout the period studied here, but the celebrations were evidently less 'embedded' within wider civic culture in comparison to Britain. In Sydney, it was the British Empire League, led by Boyce, which advocated its observance, whilst in Melbourne, Boyce

sought support from the Imperial Federation League (there being no branch of the British Empire League in the city), which agreed to back its introduction. Once established, other loyalty groups added their weight to the celebration, such as the Australian Women's National League (AWNL) formed in 1904 and the Victoria League, which established a Victorian branch in 1908.⁷ In Melbourne, Empire Day was not declared a public holiday, as the Prince of Wales' birthday was already observed. It was seen as 'above all things a children's day'.⁸ The idea that two public holidays would take place within a fortnight of each other was not greeted with enthusiasm by city traders, and early Empire Days passed relatively unnoticed. In 1905, for example, it was noted that the Lord Mayor had to issue a plea to businesses to display flags, but 'in the city ... the response to his suggestion was not such as to result in any striking displays'.⁹ A survey of the ways in which Empire Day was being marked by the adult community suggests that this 'invented' tradition did not oust the other longer-standing public day which had been marked for nearly half a century. Moreover, as Aron Paul has observed, celebration of monarchy as the figurehead of the Empire was preferred by many to Empire Day, the latter being perceived as associated with imperial federalism and the tighter bonds of Empire rather than the looser sentiment associated with the king or the heir to the throne.¹⁰ This attitude was exemplified in 1910 on the occasion of the accession to the throne of George V, when a letter sent to *The Argus* argued that Empire Day should be abandoned since: 'Another Sovereign has reigned since the death of Queen Victoria, and all that is done on that day can be more fittingly done on the King's Birthday, for the King is the real personal head and the symbol of the unity of the empire.'¹¹ The most important forum for Empire celebrations for the adult community was undoubtedly Melbourne's Town Hall, where the AWNL began to stage an annual demonstration of Empire loyalty on the evening of 24 May.

Descriptions of the observance of Empire Day in New Zealand's cities suggest that each centre came to its own decision as to how it should mark the occasion. Historical accounts of Empire Day have tended to go to the extremes of either downplaying its impact or overstating its role.¹² Keith Sinclair gave Empire Day fairly short shrift in his book *Destiny Apart*, inaccurately suggesting that it was first marked in 1904 and that Empire Day was abandoned in 1910 in favour of the King's Birthday.¹³ In fact, celebrations first took place in 1903 and, whilst the King's Birthday enjoyed much wider recognition and was observed as a public holiday in favour of Empire Day, there were attempts to keep Empire Day in the calendar throughout the period under consideration,

especially in the context of schools. Imperial loyalty groups had yet to form branches in New Zealand and, as a result, Empire Day had rather scanty localised organisational backing other than from those located at a national governmental level. One of the initial questions to be addressed for local elites was whether Empire Day was to be declared a public holiday or not. Here, local variations were pronounced, as cities such as Christchurch decided to observe a 'general holiday', whilst others such as Auckland did not. As in Australia, the existence of the Prince of Wales' birthday on the public holiday calendar complicated the introduction of Empire Day and, indeed, on that side of the Tasman, it eventually caused its demise in terms of recognition by the adult public. Nevertheless, as a result of enthusiasm at a national level, the first occasion of Empire Day in 1903 was marked in some of the main New Zealand centres. Auckland celebrated Empire Day with religious services for the Empire Veterans' Association, Protestants and Catholics attending separate ceremonies.¹⁴ In Christchurch, it was declared a public holiday and the occasion was marked by the unveiling of the statue of Queen Victoria.¹⁵ By contrast, in Wellington, whilst government offices observed Empire Day, tradesmen continued their business and there appears to have been no special events staged to mark it.¹⁶ Throughout the Edwardian years, Empire Day certainly struggled to embed itself in the public calendar in Australia and New Zealand. In its coverage of Empire Day in 1908, Wellington's *Evening Post* provided a description of celebrations in New Zealand's major centres.¹⁷ In Dunedin, it noted that 'there was nothing to especially indicate Empire Day', whilst in Christchurch, 'Empire Services were conducted in the churches, and a patriotic concert was held in King Edward barracks and choral hall'. In Auckland, 'rainy weather and a tramway strike' had put a dampener on potential celebrations, whilst in Wellington 'flags are lying limp on land and sea in honour of the Empire, but the popular sentiment is as listless as the bunting'. According to the paper, this was 'not because the people are not Imperialist, but because there is confusion about the observance of two holidays within a week of each other'.¹⁸ Discussions about which of the two rival days should be celebrated was noted in both contexts. There was also disagreement as to what Empire Day meant. One letter written to the *The Press* at this time, signed 'New Zealander', complained that Empire Day was not being observed as was done in other parts of the Empire. In Canada, for example, the writer noted the projection of Canadian history onto the more general celebration of the Empire, whilst in New Zealand, 'such celebrations generally serve merely for expression of that jingoistic imperialism which, outside the

select circle of the Navy League, finds little response in self-respecting New Zealanders'.¹⁹ This localised approach to the celebrations was, however, rejected by the newspaper, as it noted on Empire Day in 1907:

The whole essence of the celebration of Empire Day lies in the fact that it induces us to look outward and not inwards. Local patriotism is an admirable thing, and we have more than once urged that in the celebration both of the anniversary of the province and of the anniversary colony some remembrance should be accorded to the builders of New Zealand. But the celebrations of which to-day is the occasion have for their subject not the creation and development of any single unit of the Empire, but the world-wide Empire.²⁰

Whilst British city elites used Empire Day as a means of instilling good order in the city, projecting it at localised problems, there was a desire in the Antipodean context to prevent localised issues from encroaching onto Empire Day. However, descriptions provided in the local press indicated a somewhat indifferent attitude towards the rather remote concept of Empire unity.

Given their reluctance to project local issues onto the Empire, the Antipodean dailies instead looked to a rather vaguer and blander conception of imperial unity based around trade and defence interests, or even looser notions of Empire sentiment. The vagueness of Empire Day in the Antipodes was epitomised by *The Argus* journalist and imperialist Donald Macdonald. From 1907 onwards, Macdonald was responsible for providing editorial reflection on the Empire. On more than one occasion, he stressed a common heritage and the historical evolution of the British Empire.²¹ In 1909, in the midst of the German 'naval scare', *The Argus* projected national rather than city interests onto the celebrations. It noted that: 'A federated Canada, a federated Australia and a federated South Africa move along the broad paths to individual greatness, yet each of them is destined to become more and more a buttress to the island home which is the centre of them all.'²² By 1913, Macdonald began his reflections on the Empire by asking: 'What is the Empire? The question is being asked thousands of times in these days of empire [sic], and answered in almost as many different ways.' His answer was in itself the rather vague notion of 'the material expression of the spirit of the race'.²³ Before 1914, Labour councillors in working-class suburbs often tried to block Empire Day celebrations, believing them to be divisive and unwanted. One Port Melbourne councillor, for example, suggested to fellow members that what should instead be projected was

the ‘inculcation of an Australian sentiment ... There was practically every race in the world in Port Melbourne and their children did not want to know anything about Jingoism at all’.²⁴ The evening of Empire Day in Melbourne took on the air of a carnival and it is evident that even before 1914, the celebrations assumed an aspect of what it was later associated with, that is, cracker night. On Empire Night 1911, in the suburbs of Canterbury and Surrey Hills, Japanese paper lanterns were displayed in the streets whilst:

Hidden in the in the darkness the small boys of the town threw fire crackers at each other and at the crowds in the streets, without any check from the many tall policemen who had come up from the city to see that youthful loyalty did not forget its manners. There was great competition amongst the lads, for was not a prize to be given by the committee for the best fire? During the past few weeks the council labourers had pruned the trees and this material had been eagerly gathered and stored ... Some of the boys were unable to wait for the signal, and in one case rival groups burned the fair stack while the owners were off guard.²⁵

Ultimately, the decision was taken to abandon the observation of 24 May as Empire Day in New Zealand and the years after 1910 witnessed its demise. The date of 3 June and subsequently 6 June, George V’s birthday, was then declared a public holiday and was to be celebrated at the same time as Empire Day.²⁶ As a result of the Imperial Conference of 1911, it was decided that the King’s Birthday would become a public holiday ‘throughout the Empire [but] Empire Day was discussed but nothing was decided upon’.²⁷

The description of the King’s birthday celebration in Auckland in 1920 is revealing, demonstrating that the day was used by the majority of city dwellers for pleasure seeking and sport rather than observing loyalty to the Empire in any sense.²⁸ The Empire dimension to the day consisted of a military parade and noon salute. As a result, Empire Day fell into neglect. As Christchurch’s *The Press* noted in 1910: ‘Comparatively little notice, so far as public observance is concerned, will be taken of Empire Day this year ... The New Zealand Government, in a fervor peculiar to itself, has hitherto sacrificed Empire Day for the sake of celebrating the birthday of the Prince of Wales.’²⁹ Christchurch used the Prince of Wales’ birthday as its Empire Day, a day defined, for example, by Professor James Hight of University College, Canterbury, who noted that ‘we have been accused of bad judgement in choosing the Prince of Wales’

birthday as the day for our Empire celebrations, but we can justify our choice by other means than by the necessities of school terms and vacations. It has historical sanction. It is not altogether inappropriate that we celebrate the power, the virility and the vigour of our Empire on a day that recalls the creation of Edward of Carnarvon as Prince of Wales in the first year of the 14th century'.³⁰ It is unlikely that the Earl of Meath would have agreed.

Empire Day was observed during the First World War, but thereafter its marking fell into neglect, despite the attempts of imperial loyalty groups to keep it alive. The Overseas Club celebrated in Empire Day in Christchurch in 1918, G.T. Booth delivering a speech on 'The British Empire' in which he 'wondered if we realised what the British Empire really meant'.³¹ In the first half of the 1920s, Empire Day in Melbourne began to lose its profile to the point in 1927 where accounts of public celebrations were reduced to the AWNL's meeting in the Town Hall, the description being tucked away on page 19 of *The Argus*. Empire Day increasingly took on political and commercial dimensions, although these were directed at national and internal rather than imperial concerns. Indeed, from 1918 onwards, Empire Day, where celebrated, was used in more overtly political ways to fend off war disillusionment and the growing internal threats of international communism.³² It became, in short, a day on which to demonstrate national loyalty. As a member of a Melbourne branch of the loyalist United National Federation (UNF) noted in 1918, where once Empire Day was celebrated in the 'same spirit as the church festival of Christmas', it now it took on 'the spirit of Good Friday'.³³ In addition to the UNA, the most significant society that became involved in staging inter-war Empire Day celebrations was the British Empire Union (BEU), which was founded in Britain in 1915 and had established branches in Sydney and Melbourne by the 1920s.³⁴

By the late 1920s, Empire Day celebrations were also incorporated within a wider Empire Shopping Week, which had first been staged in London in 1922 and was initially founded by the British Women's Patriotic League, which consisted of a cluster of aristocratic women, among whom were the Duchess of Newcastle, the Duchess of Somerset, the Countess of Wilton, Viscountess Jellicoe and Lady Sydenham.³⁵ During the week, shopkeepers were encouraged to display the goods of the Empire and the week was subsequently replicated in both Australian and New Zealand cities by the mid-1920s. Melbourne, for example, participated in the week for the first time in 1925, but the movement broke down two years later, before being revived the following year. However, there is evidence that there was a rather different interpretation as to what the

purpose of the week was in the Antipodean cities. During the mid-1920s, one correspondent who called himself or herself ‘Onlooker’ noted that many women he or she had spoken to ‘did not really understand why they should purchase British goods’.³⁶ By the early 1930s, the honorary secretary of the movement in Victoria stated that it was ‘regrettable that the significance of the movement was not more widely appreciated’ and he went to note that an ‘extraordinary error appeared to have arisen in the minds of a few that this reacted to the detriment of Australia’.³⁷ Whilst in Britain shopkeepers displayed the goods of Empire, the spirit was not really reciprocated in Australia.³⁸ Some shopkeepers were ‘dubious of the success of the movement’ and had not joined until Empire Shopping Week ‘was well under way’.³⁹ City businesses which advertised during the week tended to put Australian goods first, well before Empire business, reflecting an emerging economic nationalism which undermined the objectives of the week. This nationalistic sentiment also appears to have infiltrated government circles. When the Empire Shopping Week Council offered maps of the Empire to schools to assist the teaching of geography, for example, John Lemmon, the Minister of Education, decided to reject the offer. The policy of the Ministry, he explained, was ‘to encourage trade in Australia rather than within the Empire’.⁴⁰ This phenomenon was partially reproduced across the Tasman, although as a nation whose trade relied far more heavily on exchange with Britain, New Zealand’s promotion of native goods to the exclusion of the Empire was less pronounced.⁴¹ Empire Shopping Week was ultimately a balance between national and imperial identity. In comparison with Britain, localised patriotism was largely absent.

Trafalgar Day

Alongside Empire Day, another ‘invented tradition’ of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was Trafalgar Day. It was first marked in Britain in 1895 to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the battle, but it was not until a year later that celebrations became more significant. *The Times* noted that the day (21 October) was marked by ‘an extraordinary manifestation of public interest and of patriotism’. The paper reported that its organisation was ‘in large measure due to the Navy League’, but also believed that the celebrations also represented ‘widely-spread enthusiasm for a great hero of the past’ and was the ‘outward symbol of the Imperial spirit of the British people’.⁴² Yet, like Empire Day, celebrations in the Antipodean cities were rather underwhelming. In Christchurch, for example, an editorial in *The Press* noted

in 1910 under the heading 'A Quiet Celebration' that: 'The celebration of Trafalgar Day ... was not distinguished by any striking display of patriotic sentiment. In the city a number of flags were flown from a fair proportion of the flagstaves ... but in many cases poles were quite innocent of bunting.'⁴³ Wreaths were laid at the Queen Victoria statue on behalf of the Navy League, the Girton College branch of the League and Christ's College.⁴⁴ The paper also noted that schoolchildren were given 'lessons made specially applicable to the history of the time'.⁴⁵ His Majesty's Theatre was 'packed in the afternoon' with children who watched lantern pictures and 'rapturous cheers testifying to their patriotic interest in Nelson'.⁴⁶ Prizes for the Navy League essay competition were awarded at this point. There were no public celebrations in Auckland before 1914 and in the inter-war period, only flags were flown 'from a number of business premises'. In addition, junior members of the Navy League were shown a naval film at the Regent Theatre.⁴⁷ Thus, Trafalgar Day took on similar features to Empire Day in that it was a day which primarily involved children. In Wellington, it was also noted that 'it was at the Public schools ... that the main commemorative work was done'. Scholars saluted the flag 'and were told of its significance what Trafalgar Day represented to the Empire and the meaning of sea power'.⁴⁸ Whilst teachers were asked to instil patriotism in their pupils, there was no published instruction on how teachers were supposed to mark Trafalgar Day. The *School Journal* (New Zealand) and the *School Paper* (Victoria) included material that would have been of use to teachers in the October issues of their respective publications, although this coverage was most notable before 1914 and declined markedly in both publications in the mid-1920s. Members of the Navy League attempted to instruct children in imperial values and the sea, although, as will be demonstrated in the final chapter, the League found it more difficult to gain access to schools in the inter-war decades. It was not always the case that children were included in the Trafalgar Day celebrations, however. The indexes to the *Victoria Education and Teachers Gazette* yield only one mention of Trafalgar Day and this to the effect that Wail State School in West Victoria had marked it in 1913, at which 'cheers for the King, Empire and Commonwealth and the Australian navy were heard'.⁴⁹ Public commemoration was also rather muted in Melbourne before 1914. One letter sent to *The Argus* in 1911 on behalf of the 'Royal Naval Veterans' called for better observation of the Day.⁵⁰ Before 1914, given the fact that the Melbourne branch of the Navy League was in abeyance, a service at Wesley Church was the chief means of observing it.⁵¹ After the First World War, it was marked in

the city by a reception at Anzac House, hosted by the President of the Victorian branch of the Navy League, and in the late 1920s, a parade of sailors took place at Flinders Naval Base.⁵² The apex of the observance of Trafalgar Day was reached in 1932 when 600 naval men marched to the Parliament of Victoria and Governor-General Isaac Isaacs took the salute.⁵³ By the late 1930s, however, the parade had moved back to the naval base. Celebrations took place in Como Park Toorak during the Second World War and appear to have encompassed a carnival-like atmosphere to raise war funds.⁵⁴

Imperial values in schools

In 1905, Melbourne's *The Argus* noted on Empire Day that: 'Here ... the day will be above all things the children's day. The children of the metropolitan area will have deeply impressed on their susceptible minds the privileges and duties of imperial citizenship.'⁵⁵ The Earl of Meath's vision, as Springhall has demonstrated, was especially targeted at youth: 'It is forgotten that behind Empire Day was a coherent social and moral doctrine, similar to the Japanese concept of "bushido" that Meath sought to instil in the young. The survival of the Empire depended on training the young to undertake their responsibilities.'⁵⁶ Prior to 1914, educational directors were undoubtedly significant members of the imperial 'project'. As identified by one educational historian, they were the 'internal ideology makers' of the pre-1914 period who were 'influenced by the culture and political imperatives of their times and society'.⁵⁷ Directives issued by the Education Department, chiefly through such publications as the respective education gazettes produced and distributed to teachers in both Victoria and New Zealand, were one of the chief methods of doing so. As the *Victoria Education Gazette* instructed teachers in relation to Empire Day in 1909:

They should assemble children at the usual time and carry out a programme of lessons in geography and addresses, reading recitations and songs of an imperial and patriotic character. The singing of the national anthem and the saluting of the Union Jack should form a prominent part of the proceedings. The roll should be marked for morning meeting only and the children should be free during the afternoon to take part under the direction of their teachers in any celebrations arranged by local authorities or by the teachers themselves.⁵⁸

In its early manifestation and in order to implant Empire Day into the school calendar, it is evident that personnel who would not normally have been seen in the school arrived to boost its message. In the New Zealand context, for example, Henry Fletcher of the City Schools Committee told Napier Street School in Auckland on Empire Day of the 'glory of the Empire as a symbol of liberty' and hailed Queen Victoria's life as one epitomising 'purity and nobleness'.⁵⁹ In other schools, it is apparent that, when left to teachers, the message of Empire began to be lost in favour of the rather more immediate opportunity to simply instil correct moral behaviour in the children. At Bayfield School, in the suburb of Ponsonby, Auckland, for example, on the first Empire Day in 1903, pupils were addressed by George Gregory, a member of the School Committee who 'delivered a short address, in which he briefly sketched the growth of the Empire, and exhorted the children to be loyal to their country and respectful and obedient to those in authority'. At the close of the ceremony, it is interesting to note that three cheers were given for 'The King', 'The New Zealand Government', 'Mr Gregory' and 'The Teachers', whilst the Empire itself was completely ignored.⁶⁰ Pupils at Ponsonby School also heard speeches that evidently had one eye on instilling social obedience. A Mr Dickenson addressed the scholars 'upon their duty to the Empire' and exhorted them to remember "'that righteousness exalteth a nation", that lying and deceit were not the way to become powerful but that honest straightforward conduct was the best surety of success'.⁶¹

It was made clear that Empire Day was not to be regarded as a school holiday, yet this is precisely how *The Argus* described children's perception of it on Empire Day in 1916.⁶² Once the morning observances had been undertaken, the afternoon often lost its imperial associations. The programmes for special matinees offered by cinemas for children on Empire Day show a relatively light imperial theme. The Town Clerk of the Melbourne suburb of Brighton noted that on Empire Day in 1921, the entertainment would consist of successive biograph displays, outdoor sports, merry-go-round rides, Punch and Judy shows and the distribution of sweets.⁶³ At Errol Street School in Melbourne, the children heard patriotic addresses, but the afternoon events consisted of a sports meeting 'with races, medals and prizes, a merry-go-round, a Punch and Judy and a clown'.⁶⁴ From 1917 onwards, these events were used for fundraising for the war effort. On Empire Day in 1918, Melbourne's Trocadero showed the *King and the Big Push*, the *United States Fighting Forces*, *Pathe News* and the *Australian Gazette*, whilst the Grand showed the first two of those listed at the Trocadero along

with *The Orangutang* and the *History of the War*. Meanwhile, the Berkly showed *The Orangutang*, *Cattle Raising in Texas* and *Cinderella*, none of which had an imperial association.⁶⁵

Moreover, during the First World War, some suburban councils rejected the spending of funds on Empire Day celebrations. This was the situation in 1915 when Prahran Council decided to donate the Empire Day funds to the poor, for as one councillor argued, he was not in favour of 'expending £50 in lollies and merry-go-rounds in times of war'. A similar sentiment was expressed by a socialist councillor on Northcote Council, who described Empire Day celebrations as a 'lot of tomfoolery'.⁶⁶ These actions were consistent with the criticisms that had been levelled at Empire Day before 1914 by the socialist journals. *Labor Call*, the official organ of the political Labor Council of Victoria, for example, had asked at the time of Empire Day in 1908: 'Where are the spoils of Trafalgar or the fruits of Blenheim? How much are we the better for Agincourt, or the Nile, or the Alma, or Khandahar? Have we any less interest in Dante or Goethe because they were not born on British soil?'⁶⁷ One of the key questions posed by Anthony Hannan in his analysis of patriotism in Victorian schools is how strong teachers' patriotism was, which he argues was the 'essential element in the mobilisation of youth'.⁶⁸ He notes that 'few teachers received training at a teachers' college, and as a result teachers received their ideological and pedagogical training through the pages of the *School Paper* and the *Education Gazette*'.⁶⁹ Indeed, the problems of teaching Antipodean children about the Empire had been noted as far back as 1889.⁷⁰ One way of assessing the extent of the observation of Empire Day in schools is to survey extant school log books and anniversary histories to attempt to gauge how far teachers were implementing the directives of the educational departments. Of the New Zealand and Victorian log books surveyed, it is evident that some headmasters allowed the school to close on Empire Day and that it was unobserved even before 1914. In the New Zealand context, the log book for Kaiwhara School provides an interesting window into the minds of the teachers. On Empire Day in 1909, it was noted that the school was closed.⁷¹ A subsequent entry in 1913 for Dominion Day, celebrated from 1907 onwards on 24 September, noted that the school was also shut. 'It is about time', the entry read, 'the Dominion Day farce was put an end to. It serves no purpose whatever and only provides another opportunity for needlessly interrupting.'⁷² Thus, it appears that teachers may have resisted the observation of Empire Day for similar reasons, having neither the understanding of nor the enthusiasm for its marking. Indeed, after the



Figure 6.1 The Boers and the British at Napier Street School, Auckland. Note the elements of play-acting as children dress as both British soldiers and Boer farmers
Courtesy of NA Auckland Ref BAOF4009 1/g.

conclusion of the First World War, New Zealand introduced legislation which required teachers to take an oath of allegiance in the wake of the Russian Revolution of October 1917.⁷³ Examples of New Zealand schools observing Empire Day tend to date from the early years of its introduction. Whitemans Valley School recorded a holiday for both Empire Day and the Centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar in 1905.⁷⁴ Newman School's log book for 1903 reveals that in the first year of Empire Day, it was observed on 22 May.⁷⁵ Anzac Day, first marked in April 1916, tended to replace Empire Day in the inter-war period, with references to the latter largely disappearing from log books. The results of a quantitative survey are shown in Table 6.1 below, which demonstrates that the majority of the log books had not recorded Empire Day as an entry.

The evidence in Table 6.1 demonstrates a higher level of Empire Day observance in schools in Victoria than in those in New Zealand. In all contexts, Anzac Day allowed for a more localised patriotism which was incorporated within a more general imperial spirit. Moreover, the New Zealand figures are at odds with the assertion made by Judith Simon that 'there was much attention given [in Native Schools] to the celebrating [of] those occasions which highlighted the might and power of the British Empire' and are rather more supportive of Roger Openshaw's observation that patriotism in wider society did not find its way into schools because 'a number of New Zealand primary school teachers were inadequately trained'.⁷⁶ Further evidence for the lack of Empire Day observance in New Zealand schools is to be found in the anniversary histories published to celebrate golden, diamond or centenary celebrations. Here it is surprising how few of them mention imperial celebrations. Elite schools, such as Melbourne Grammar School and Auckland Grammar School, made comparatively little attempt to embrace Empire Day as a school ritual. It is evident that cohorts of 'old

Table 6.1 School log books and Empire Day c. 1903–39

School/State/Province	Empire Day Logged	Empire Day Not Logged
Victorian School Log Books 1903–39, (43 Consulted)	12	31
Wellington Province School Log Books (38 Consulted)	6	32
Maori School Log Books (22 Consulted)	1	21

boys' did volunteer for service in the First World War, yet the notion that this occurred as a result of imperial indoctrination is debatable. The school magazine for Melbourne Grammar School, *The Melburnian*, first recorded Empire Day in 1907: the cadet corps attended an all-day battalion parade and the rest of the school was granted a half-day holiday, whilst the following year, the school was addressed by the Bishop of Tasmania, which garnered a two-page report in the magazine. There was no mention of Empire Day in 1909, only the results of the Empire Rifles match, and by 1910 any mention of it had disappeared.⁷⁷ Similarly, there is no mention of Empire Day celebrations in the centenary history of Auckland Grammar School and it is evident that imperial patriotism was most notable in relation to the cadets.⁷⁸ The cadets at Auckland Grammar School had been revived after the Second Boer War and in 1911 they were visited by Lord Kitchener and a message was communicated to them by Lord Roberts. The flag, he noted, 'should serve to remind you that you are subjects of a great Empire, which you must do your best to guard and consolidate'.⁷⁹ Some 278 old boys were killed in the First World War; 17 masters also served and five of those were killed.⁸⁰ Despite this imperial interlude, during the inter-war years, the school historian records that Anzac Day became a holiday, as did Labour Day and Dominion Day, 'replacing earlier concessions on St George's, St Andrew's and St Patrick's Days'.⁸¹ Likewise, there is no mention of Empire Day in the history of Melbourne's Church of England Girls' Grammar School, although there is mention of Shakespeare's birthday being observed in 1914.⁸²

The patriotic work undertaken by children during the First World War has been the subject of conflicting interpretations by historians. Michael McKernan argues in *Australian People and the Great War* that Empire Day was 'the highlight of a year-round emphasis on Empire loyalty and patriotism' and sees the success of this indoctrination in the volunteering of men in 1914: 'Pupils and teachers ... devoted to Empire ideals ... welcomed the outbreak of conflict in Europe with almost indecent enthusiasm'.⁸³ Of the three strands of education that McKernan identifies (Protestant, Catholic and private schools), it is argued that all of them initially greeted the war with enthusiasm.⁸⁴ He qualifies this by stating that during the course of the war, there was a greater emphasis on 'Empire' in the private Protestant schools and on 'Australia' in the private Catholic schools.⁸⁵ Indeed, throughout the war, the Catholic schools dissented from patriotic activity as a result of the British suppression of the Easter Rising in Dublin.⁸⁶ The vast majority of children were still educated only as far as the end of primary school

years, with fewer pupils being educated to secondary level. How valid is McKernan's view of patriotism in relation to primary schoolchildren? It is evident that education directors (such as Frank Tate, the Director of Education in Victoria at this point) were keen to see that teachers and pupils demonstrated 'practical' patriotism. To take one or two examples, at Mount Cook School in Wellington, money that would have been spent on Guy Fawkes night was donated to the Belgian Children's Relief Fund, whilst later in the war, £16 10s was donated to the London Children's Relief Fund and 8,500 refundable bottles collected raised £15 5s for the Soldiers' Christmas Fund.⁸⁷ At Melbourne Grammar School for Girls, patriotic war work was undertaken from an early stage of the war with 'concerts, competitions or some kind of entertainment' and in 1916 a school patriotic fund was established.⁸⁸ On the establishment of the patriotic fund, the headmistress 'pointed out the value of direct giving, without exciting entertainment in return for money given for patriotic and charitable objects'.⁸⁹ This comment is revealing as it suggests that children saw fundraising not in patriotic or imperial terms, but as entertainment. Moreover, as Deborah Challinor has noted, 'very few children appear to have applied their initiative and spontaneously attempted to raise funds without the guidance of an adult'.⁹⁰ This is also the view of Stevan Eldred-Grigg, who argues that during the First World War, children were 'browbeaten into giving their skills, their labour and their small savings' and girls and boys were 'roped into fundraising drives, patriotic demonstrations, military and imperial song festivals'.⁹¹ The stories of fundraising in the early weeks of the war were, in his view, 'fishy'.⁹²

However, warfare did appeal to the Antipodean. The centennial history of Wellington's Mount Cook School notes that holidays for military occasions 'became quite a cult', particularly in the context of the Second Boer War, with the school closing to mark the relief of Mafeking and the capture of Pretoria, as well as a parade in Wellington of the Indian contingent of the imperial troops and another for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall at the turn of the century.⁹³ Yet, whilst it is noted that "'All for Empire" appears to have been the spirit of the times', the history contains no description of the marking of Empire Day and it also notes that: 'In the first few days of the war no mention is made in any of the school records.'⁹⁴ Holidays were granted to the children to mark the end of the war, with full or half-day holidays to mark the surrender of Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1918.⁹⁵ Other school histories record that half-day holidays were granted to allow children to attend the reception of wounded soldiers

arriving back home from the Dardanelles in July 1915, but do not mention Empire Day.⁹⁶ Johnsonville School's history notes celebrations for Trafalgar Day, but makes no reference to the observation of Empire Day.⁹⁷ The Kilbirnie School centennial souvenir booklet noted that 'patriotism was a recognized part of all the school syllabus, Dominion Day, Empire Day and Trafalgar Day were all celebrated with appropriate lessons' and Empire Day in 1916 saw the whole school 'working on appropriate subjects'.⁹⁸ During Empire Week, the pupils were lectured by the 'All for Empire' League. The conclusion to be drawn here is that the degree of imperial patriotism in a school was evidently dependent on the level of enthusiasm held by the headmaster and the teachers of a particular school.⁹⁹ During the inter-war years, imperial ties also 'provided their share of spectacle'. A demonstration of the 'living flag in Newtown Park' took place when the Duke and Duchess of York visited in 1927, and the Silver Jubilee of George V in 1935 saw a holiday being granted.¹⁰⁰

The observation of Empire Day in schools in Auckland and Christchurch also appears to be best described as 'patchy' if the anniversary histories are again used as a measure of its ubiquity. No mention of it is made in the histories of Glen Eden, Remeura, Parnell, Bayfeld, Mount Albert, Gladstone, Meadowbank, Richmond Road or Stanley Bay school in Auckland or the Marshland, Burwood, West and East Christchurch, Harewood, Spreydon or Addington schools in Christchurch.¹⁰¹ The history of Bromley School only records that medals were given to children to mark the peace in South Africa in 1902.¹⁰²

Thus, it is arguable that children saw the Empire not in ideological terms, but rather in terms of fun and adventure. This may also have been the attitude towards the *School Paper* and *School Journal* which were used by educational directors to inculcate an imperial sentiment in scholars. To be sure, Empire Day was clearly flagged in the case of both publications before 1914, during the war and beyond, although the precise tone and language used clearly shifted across the time period c. 1905–39. Empire Day issues of these publications were evidently aimed at developing schoolchildren's awareness of the Empire and their own part in its destiny. The *Victoria School Paper* was launched in 1897 and the June (subsequently May) issue had plenty of imperial sentiment within it up to the First World War. The Empire Day message in 1907, for example, explained the virtues of the British Empire before noting that the Day did not just concern 'great people', but 'every boy and girl, every man and woman however humble, who lives an honest, busy kindly life'.¹⁰³ These kinds of imperial messages complemented

the teaching of history, geography and civics, which often presented Antipodean history within the wider story of Empire and discovery.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, an Empire Day issue of New Zealand's *School Journal* became a regular feature in the Edwardian era, with a message from the Earl of Meath often included. Challinor makes the point that children's interpretation of this material might have been to see the issues as 'interesting and entertaining reading material, rather than a manifesto for the ideology of Empire'.¹⁰⁵

A quantitative study conducted of the *School Journal* between 1907 and 1936 noted that over this period, 'Empire'-related material accounted for 7.7 per cent of the content of each issue, placing it sixth in a list of the most popular material behind 'Fiction', 'War', 'Geography', 'Nature Study' and 'Information'.¹⁰⁶ After the First World War, Empire sentiment became less strident. Instructions to teachers on how best to observe Empire Day now suggested coverage of the work of the League of Nations.¹⁰⁷ The Empire Day message printed in the *School Journal* was no longer accompanied by the statements of the Earl of Meath, but (in the New Zealand context) were provided by C.J. Parr, New Zealand's Minister of Education and subsequently Governor-General Charles Ferguson. For the first few years after the First World War, Empire Day continued to be a significant date in the school calendar, for, as Hannon notes, there was disagreement regarding what the exact nature and date of Anzac Day (which was to eventually usurp Empire Day) was to be.¹⁰⁸

Empire ideology began to recede towards the end of the 1920s before disappearing from the *School Paper* and *School Journal* during the 1930s. For example, the last issue of New Zealand's *School Journal* to register Empire Day was published in 1933. Trafalgar Day, which had also usually featured in the October issue before and during the First World War, disappeared in the 1920s. It was reinstated in 1932, with references then being a regular October feature until the outbreak of the Second World War. The features were, however, more focused on the details of the ship *The Victory* than its battles. The features relating to imperial celebrations had to a large extent been demilitarised. As E.P. Malone notes, by the early 1930s, 'nothing resembling the old imperialist ideology could be found. The tone was internationalist and anti-war'.¹⁰⁹ In the case of Victoria's *School Paper*, Empire Day disappeared even earlier. In the May issue of 1925, there was no reference to Empire Day, only one reference to it in 1926 (a header to the paper in heavy black type noted that it was 'Empire Day in the schools of Victoria') and no reference in 1927. In this last year, an article entitled 'Round the Empire' was published,

but the fervour of Empire had disappeared – the article was simply the reflections of an Australian traveller.

The deletion of references to Empire Day in the Victorian *School Paper* was partly due to the influence of the Labor Party, which promoted anti-militarism rather than the Empire, and also a recognition on the part of the ideology makers of the ‘pre-1914 old guard’ such as Frank Tate that the sentiment of internationalism had to be embraced in school culture.¹¹⁰ Tate retired from his post as Director of Education in 1928. Whilst it has been noted that in the Victorian context, Anzac Day was not heavily featured in the *School Paper* during the 1920s, it was also true that a growing cultural nationalism did begin to emerge in the context of music and song.¹¹¹ A perusal of the index of songs published over the period 1896–1939 in the Victorian *School Paper* demonstrates that before 1914, British and Empire songs were regularly published, but became less visible in the inter-war period, being replaced by more nationalistic ones. *God Save the King*, for example, appeared ten times before 1914, but only twice more before 1939, while *God Bless the Prince of Wales* appeared nine times before 1914, but only once after it and *Rule Britannia* appeared six times before 1914, but only once more before 1939. During the inter-war years, moreover, songs like *God Bless Australia* emerged (being printed twice in the 1930s), *Australia, Land of Ours* appeared on five occasions from 1925 onwards, *Song of Australia* ten times (three more times than *Rule Britannia*, but two less than *God Save the King*) over the same period and the Australian national anthem appeared four times. *Advance Australia Fair* appeared four times as well.¹¹² A survey of the *New Zealand Education Gazette* confirms that the League of Nations was featuring more significantly in school culture by 1930. In 1931, for example, an address given by Frank Miller, Principal of Waitaki Boys High School, appeared in the *Education Gazette* entitled ‘Education for World Understanding and Co-operation’, whilst ‘Good Will Day’ appeared in the index of the *Gazette* as well. The British link was still present in terms of the teaching of history (the curriculum still being heavily slanted towards British history) and teachers were also encouraged to promote the significance of trading links with Britain.¹¹³

Exhibitions and the Antipodean city

Across the period under consideration in this book, several Antipodean cities staged exhibitions and there were multifarious reasons for doing so. From the Great Exhibition of 1851 onwards, staging an exhibition boosted the profile of the specific location, hopefully drew crowds

from far and wide, and made a healthy profit. Paul Greenhalgh notes the imperial dimension to many of the exhibitions. The Royal Society, for example, backed the staging of exhibitions and thought they could achieve the following aims: 1) to show off the resources of a colony; 2) to arouse local interest and to encourage emulation; and 3) to enhance British trade there.¹¹⁴ Whilst numerous studies of the phenomenon of Antipodean exhibitions have appeared, the chief focus of many of them was either to demonstrate that they were vehicles for promoting 'nationhood' or showing them as mechanisms for displaying Native races and their physical and cultural attributes (and, by implication, justifying their subjection) or as means of promoting free and imperial trade, containing of course a rather obvious contradiction. The aim of this final section is to explore two facets of Antipodean exhibitions that have, by contrast, received comparatively little attention to date. First, to what extent were Antipodean exhibitions imperial events and what extent were they international? Second, why did cities increasingly promote more national and localised industrial exhibitions in-between the staging of the international exhibitions? In the 1980s, John MacKenzie confidently asserted that from the 1880s, the great exhibitions 'came to be dominated by the imperial theme', a view supported by the subsequent work of Paul Greenhalgh.¹¹⁵ It was at these sites that the imperial gaze focused on aboriginal and native peoples, initially confirming the assumptions of civilising Western imperialism as superior, but subsequently including native peoples for their exoticism. Emily Harris, for example, has stated that at the Inter-Colonial Exhibition staged in Melbourne in 1866–7, 'Indigenous artifacts displayed ... were simultaneously a commemoration of aboriginal (cultural) passing, and trophies of a successful territorial conquest',¹¹⁶ whilst Penelope Edmonds notes that in the Exhibition's Tasmanian Court: 'The juxtapositions of the supposed last of the Tasmanian Aborigines, images of Christ, royalty and images of conciliation and British rule of law side by side ... proffered a highly symbolic visual narrative of British Empire Christianity and ideas of civilisation.'¹¹⁷ However, as both Australia and New Zealand moved from being colonies to commodity providers, the motivation to contribute to exhibitions increasingly became an economic one. As Felicity Barnes comments of New Zealand's contribution to overseas exhibitions staged in the 1920s: 'Markers of the past like Maori were removed in favour of gamboling lambs.'¹¹⁸ This is also a point made by Kirsten Orr, who notes that the international exhibitions were a 'force in the evolution of Australian national identity in the second half of the nineteenth century ... The colonies repeatedly conveyed an image of prosperity and progress through trophy style exhibits that featured towering stacks of

primary products – wool, gold, wheat, woods, wines and other mineral and other agricultural specimens. Images of Australian national identity centred on wealth and land'.¹¹⁹ Davison, McCarty and McLeary similarly note that the first task of international exhibitions was to 'foster the spirit of nationhood'.¹²⁰ By contrast, Linda Young argues that the exhibitions staged before 1900 saw Australians seeking to confirm that they were civilised and British, although she also notes that those staged after 1887 were increasingly exercises in 'local boosterism'.¹²¹

Here I will focus on two of the Antipodean international exhibitions staged at either end of the period under consideration. The first is the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880–1 and the second is the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition staged at Dunedin in 1925–6. A close inspection of official and unofficial documentation, together with press reports of the events, will be undertaken in order to assess whether these gatherings reflected imperial, international or more local values and sentiment.

Inter-colonial rivalry and democratic access: Melbourne's International Exhibition 1880–1

Opening in October 1880 and running for seven months through to May 1881, the Melbourne International Exhibition attracted the participation of 23 nations or colonies and 11 unofficial national contributions.¹²² It took place just a year after Sydney had staged a similar event and inter-colonial rivalries were keenly expressed in advance press reports of the Melbourne Exhibition. The Melbourne publication *Illustrated Australia News*, for example, argued on the occasion of the Exhibition's opening that: 'Victoria must be regarded as the premier colony of Australia and that in all essential elements of a great though young country she has far surpassed her competitors.'¹²³ Such views had also been evident in the discussions between the organisers which took place in the months before the Exhibition was opened. At the meetings held at the Town Hall to discuss the staging of the event, for example, one speaker noted that: 'Victoria undoubtedly did well at the Sydney Exhibition, but the exhibits from Queensland, New Zealand and South Australia showed that there was in those colonies an undercurrent of energy and enterprise which would cause them to run Victoria very close, if not to overtake her.'¹²⁴ A spirit of localism was subsequently confirmed when the Exhibition opened, as can be seen by reference to the floorplan, where Victoria's exhibits were positioned more prominently than its inter-colonial rivals. As the *South Australia Register* rather sardonically noted: 'As for the exhibitors and foreign Commissioners, they are mere puppets to move when

the local Commissioners' wire pulls and to be thankful for the permission to pick up the crumbs that fall from Victoria's table. "Victoria runs the show" is their cry ... Acting on this principle, space far in excess of her wants and in the best position was allotted to Victoria.¹²⁵

The second aspect of the Exhibition to which I wish to draw attention and one that has hitherto been ignored by historians of Antipodean exhibitions is the question of class. Class in many accounts has been downplayed, perhaps due to the assumption of more egalitarian structures in both Australia and New Zealand. However, as Graeme Davison notes, as the city expanded, class conflict became more noticeable.¹²⁶ In the context of the Exhibition, a debate started shortly after its opening as to whether it should open at night in order to allow the Melburnian working man to attend. This debate fractured local opinion and created a significant disagreement between imperial and local interests. Significantly, it took place at a time when the issue of democratic access to cultural institutions was being broached more widely in the city.¹²⁷ Herbert Sandford, the Executive Commissioner for the UK, wanted to preserve the custom hitherto observed at previous international exhibitions of shutting it at night, whilst in Melbourne, a motion which favoured night opening was passed by the Victorian Commissioners. Objections to night opening included concerns relating to the damage that gas lighting might inflict on the exhibits and the claim that it would give 'unusual facilities for fire, thieving and larrikinism'.¹²⁸ Despite the continued opposition of the foreign commissioners, the protocol was breached on one occasion during the early stages of the Exhibition when the Victorian Commission issued invitations to a *conversazione* that was to take place in the evening. Some 15,000 tickets were distributed to the friends of the commissioners and, in the words of *The Argus*, 'all classes of citizens were there', and it is thus possible to gauge popular reaction to the Exhibition from press reports of this occasion.¹²⁹ In order to safeguard their exhibits from what they perceived as unruly invaders, many of the exhibitors barricaded their displays in preparation for the event:

The transept galleries and the galleries over the east nave were kept in comparative darkness in accordance with the wishes of the British and foreign commissioners. Many of the exhibits in the aisles were covered over with canvas – all the German porcelain some of the British and the Italian glassware. Several courts in the central annexe were shut in Queensland, New Zealand, Germany and Italy.¹³⁰

Thus presented, the exhibition hall offered a rather spartan backdrop for patrons to peruse, but it is doubtful whether more exhibits would

have made any difference because it was noted that: ‘The crowd kept to the great avenues of traffic; in short promenaded and paid very little attention to exhibits.’¹³¹ *The Argus* argued for better lighting of the exhibits that were shown, but in the end noted that if the ‘Exhibition is only intended to be thrown open as an agreeable promenade ground, where ladies and gentlemen may meet, saunter and talk or listen to music, the present arrangement will amply suffice’.¹³² *The Argus*, which had set itself against the exhibition from the outset, noted after its first week that attendance was low and suggested that numbers would only increase on the arrival of the racing season in November.¹³³ This was confirmed on Cup Day, when 4,000 people viewed the city of Melbourne from the Dome.¹³⁴ Indeed, rather than a desire to be imperially educated, Melburnian patrons appear to have regarded the Exhibition as a site of leisure and pleasure, with crowds at their largest in the refreshment rooms and at the music recitals. It was subsequently noted in the official catalogue of the 1888 Centennial Exhibition, also staged in the Exhibition Building, that ‘the great mass of the public did not appear to appreciate’ the good intentions of the Exhibition and were more interested in the aquarium and switchback railway that were provided in Carlton Gardens.¹³⁵ The serialised novel *A Woman’s Friendship*, which appeared initially in *The Age* and was written by Ada Cambridge, demonstrates that there were social motivations for attending an exhibition. As one early extract of the novel notes:

Apart from its great attractions, the music and the pictures, our Centennial Exhibition was a very good place in which to enjoy the society of your special friend. Few private premises licensed by Mrs Grundy could furnish such peaceful nooks and corners, such opportunities for comfortable retirement from observation, as were to be found by those who wanted to find them ... Lovers as a rule monopolised these retreats.¹³⁶

The New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition, Dunedin, 1925–6

Local ambitions were also noticeable in the context of the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition staged in Dunedin between 17 November 1925 and 1 May 1926, being somewhat delayed due to the staging of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley during 1924–5. As the official record of the Exhibition noted in its narrative of how it came

to be staged, there were both imperial and local motivations for its origins. New Zealand 'had realised her imperial responsibilities. She had taken her place beside the Motherland in a great World War and had acquitted herself in such a manner as to win the esteem and respect of great nations'.¹³⁷ Yet a more local dimension was present in that the drift to the North Island, which had taken place in the late nineteenth century, needed to be redressed. Otago's newly created Expansion League promoted the idea of an exhibition in order to attract settlers and manufacturers back to the region. The opening of the Panama Canal was also noted as having an adverse affect on the South Island and particularly Dunedin, as it removed the city 'from the beaten track of European shipping. The cessation of direct steamer communication with Hobart and Melbourne and of regular coastal traffic with northern ports seriously affected her commercial interests'.¹³⁸ The idea for an exhibition gained momentum in 1923. A letter to the local newspaper, the *Otago Daily Times*, in January 1923 written by a Mr C. Russell Smith suggested a 'Back to Dunedin Week' in order to promote local businesses. As Stephanie Lamond has noted, in the months preceding the Exhibition, there was considerable debate, not to say conflict, between interested parties as to whether it would be an international or an imperial exhibition. The decision to make it 'international' enraged groups such as the Industrial Corporation of New Zealand and its branches. The disagreement revolved around the competition that New Zealand goods would face from international contributions and the fact that it effectively shunned loyalty to the Empire.¹³⁹ Lamond also notes that: 'Throughout all of this debate the distinction was made between "foreign" countries and those belonging to the British Empire, so that even in this third decade of the twentieth century, rhetoric suggests that the colonial relationship was prospering, with the empire being seen as a single entity, rather than each nation being viewed individually as a world member'.¹⁴⁰ In reality, the Exhibition was neither an imperial exhibition nor a fully-fledged international exhibition, as comparatively few nations participated. Germany was not invited, while France, Italy and the USA were not present.¹⁴¹

The Exhibition consisted of New Zealand and its provincial districts, Australia, Fiji, Canada and Britain. In keeping with their pattern throughout this period, New Zealand's provincial courts did not depict city life, but rather confined themselves to giving the viewer a sense of the agricultural produce, flora and fauna of the particular region. A Maori display was included, but seemed something of an afterthought

by the organisers.¹⁴² The *Official Record* of the Exhibition noted that the British hall transferred exhibits that had been shown at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley.¹⁴³ Patrons who visited the British pavilion entered the 'Hall of Empire', which featured a series of friezes 'depicting the history and pageant of Empire'.¹⁴⁴ Another feature of the court was a map of the world which depicted New Zealand at its centre and would, according to the *Official Record*, 'provoke in the minds of all who studied this map' the fact that 'here was the greatest Empire the world had ever seen, spread over the whole habitable globe'.¹⁴⁵

Yet, whilst the 'official' rhetoric proclaimed the significance of imperial identity, there was another very significant dimension to the event which had become more pronounced after the First World War in the context of exhibitions. Exhibitions were, more than ever, sites of leisure. Johnston notes that the expectations of audiences attending exhibitions had shifted by this stage and they were 'less convinced of the primacy and necessity of Empire'.¹⁴⁶ Whilst the USA provided no exhibits, it was the place of manufacture of a number of mechanisms which were found in the amusement park adjoining the Exhibition grounds. As Lamond notes of the event, 'a significant proportion of the general public who visited it were not concerned with its educational lessons, but rather flocked in large numbers for the various entertainment attractions which were provided'.¹⁴⁷ Significantly, one writer to the local paper observed that: 'Since the 1889–90 Exhibition times have changed. While the citizens were content then to visit the Exhibition mainly to inspect the exhibits, I think something more will be required for 1925. There must be an abundance of attractions to attract the people to the Exhibition regularly.'¹⁴⁸

This plea was recognised in the *Official Record*, where it was acknowledged that 'carnival spirit must be generated'.¹⁴⁹ Given the increasing influence of the USA on Antipodean cities noted earlier, it is not surprising that there were also suggestions that a modern cabaret be included where modern dancing could take place.¹⁵⁰ The mechanical devices that were at the heart of the amusement park were almost exclusively bought from the USA, 'joy rides of outstanding popularity in America', and included the Scenic Railway, the Merry Mix Up, the Fun Factory, the Caterpillar and the River Caves.¹⁵¹ According to the *Official Record*, their 'amazing popularity never waned' and the combined total of patrons using these fun rides totalled 2,414,033.¹⁵² The rides were most popular after 7 pm, when the city's working class attended the Exhibition. After the Exhibition, the rides were transferred to Luna Park, Auckland's 'local Coney Island', where all the rides were 'well patronised'.¹⁵³

Local exhibitions

It is important to stress that international and Empire exhibitions were very special occasions for a city to stage. They were not regular events and no Antipodean city ever hosted more than three of these events over the 60-year period of 1880–1940. A rather more common phenomenon were local and national industrial exhibitions held in the cities under consideration from the 1880s and to which this final section of the chapter is devoted. The local industrial exhibitions were organised by groups such as the Australian Natives' Association (ANA), and subsequently the Chambers of Commerce in each respective state in Australia. In New Zealand, the Industrial Association was the organising body, branches of which formed in each of the large centres during the late 1870s and 1880s. The Christchurch Association was formed in 1879, followed by Wellington and Auckland. It was noted of the formation of the Christchurch's Association that 'in the year 1879, the various industries of Canterbury were in a very depressed condition, partly owing to the importation of goods from England and elsewhere and the locally produced articles being comparatively neglected'.¹⁵⁴ An organisation was created at this point, known as the 'Association for the Fostering and Encouragement of Native Industries and Productions', under the presidency of Robert Allen of Messers Lightband, Allan and Co., a company which since 1872 had been 'engaged in large transactions in the leather and grindery trade', but which eventually failed in 1889.¹⁵⁵ A similar body was created in Wellington in 1887. One of its early chairmen was Samuel Brown, who served two terms as Mayor of Wellington in 1887–8 and also became President of the New Zealand Industrial Association when it was created in 1899.¹⁵⁶ The Canterbury Industrial Exhibition of 1880 drew an audience of 24,000.¹⁵⁷ Staged over five days, it made a profit of £400. This event was effectively copied by Wellington five years later. Subsequent Industrial Exhibitions were staged in Christchurch in 1895, Wellington again in 1896–7, Dunedin in 1898, Auckland in 1898–9, Wellington once more in 1911 and Auckland for a second time in 1913–14.

Former New Zealand Prime Minister Julius Vogel noted on the occasion of the opening of the 1885 Wellington Industrial Exhibition that it 'is small when compared with the magnificent collections which have been displayed elsewhere, but ... ought not to be compared to those vast "world fairs" which have been celebrated from time to time ... but to the various capitals of Europe at irregular intervals throughout the present century'.¹⁵⁸ The Auckland branch sent a deputation to the

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Figure 6.3 Local manufactures at the Second ANA Australian Manufactures and Products Exhibition held by the Metropolitan Committee, ANA, Exhibition Building, Melbourne, 27 January–17 February 1906 souvenir catalogue Courtesy of the SLV.

Premier, Robert Stout, 'to urge further protection to local industries in 1887', whilst a similar campaign was instigated in Wellington, members being addressed by 'old Victorian politicians who had taken an active part in that great Protection campaign fought in that Colony in 1878'.¹⁵⁹ Wellington's Industrial Exhibition of 1911 was, somewhat ironically, staged in the same week that Empire Day was positioned and at a time when the epithet 'Empire City' was being attached to it.¹⁶⁰ The *Evening Post* noted that it was the first exhibition to be staged since Christchurch's International Exhibition of 1906–7, 'in which the government cast much bread on the waters ... How much of it has come back after the many days? What was the net gain to New Zealand from that ostentatious display? What gains can New Zealand manufactures count? It was a more or less vague advertisement of what?'.¹⁶¹ Such local exhibitions became popular events as the enthusiasm for staging bigger international or imperial exhibitions was tending to wane. The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce similarly decided in 1906 that 'owing to the loss usually sustained in holding international exhibitions being out of proportion to the benefits derived from the same, the council was of opinion that it was not advisable to hold such an exhibition in Melbourne at present'.¹⁶² The Centennial Exhibition staged in 1888 had been regarded as a disappointment in comparison to that of 1880–1 and it was to be the last of the city's global exhibitions until Melbourne's centenary anniversary was staged in 1934.¹⁶³

This disillusionment was fairly widespread by the Edwardian era. Christchurch's *The Press* had similarly been rather disappointed by the Christchurch International Exhibition of 1906–7. It welcomed New Zealand's participation at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition because 'it would be infinitely more valuable than the Exhibition at Christchurch, seeing that the latter attracted very few people from overseas'.¹⁶⁴

In Melbourne, the early twentieth century also saw the growth of local industrial exhibitions generally known as 'All-Australian'. The ANA had originated in the early 1870s as a friendly society, but by the turn of the century, its aims had widened to include, in the words of Charles Blackton, 'the cultivation of national feeling, the federation of Australia, compulsory military training, a preference for Australian men and products in the market place, a white Australia, a strong hand in the Pacific better health and education'.¹⁶⁵ The first ANA Exhibition was staged in January–February 1905 in the Royal Exhibition Building in conjunction with the ANA's annual fete. Some 150,000 people attended.¹⁶⁶ Subsequent 'native' exhibitions were staged in every year between 1906 to 1910 and another in 1913 (in 1906, 175 exhibits were

included and the exhibition attracted 400,000 visitors).¹⁶⁷ Exhibitions also took place in 1917, 1920 and 1923, and the ANA's last occurred in 1926.¹⁶⁸ The Chamber of Commerce had staged a separate exhibition in 1913 and held two more in 1924 and 1929. In addition, a 'Manufactures Day' and subsequently a 'Manufactures Week' was held in Melbourne during November of each year, in which shopkeepers were asked to participate to boost the production of local wares. Some 850 firms took part in 1914. At all these events, there was consideration for the weary exhibition-goer and entertainment was increasingly a feature of these events, as had also been the case at the International and Empire Exhibitions. At the 1895 Christchurch Industrial Exhibition, for example, entertainment was provided by a Caledonian society and in the context of Wellington's Industrial Exhibition of 1911, a stadium 240 ft x 88 ft in size was constructed for the enjoyment of bowls, tennis, skating and wrestling among other sports. The All-Australian Exhibition of 1924 attracted patrons by offering an evening showing of a film of the Melbourne Cup which had taken place earlier in the day.¹⁶⁹ The last of Melbourne's major exhibitions was staged in 1934 to mark its centenary. Vikki Plant characterised this event as an imperial celebration, but she also noted that this exhibition contrasted with those previously staged as it gave much greater prominence to sporting events. There was also considerable debate surrounding the 'meaning of the occasion' and its expense in a decade marked by an economic downturn: 'Hardly an event in the programme passed without at least some criticism.'¹⁷⁰ It is clear that for a section of the city's populace, the imperial dimension to the occasion was seen at best as an expensive extravagance or at worst as an unwanted barrier to a developing national identity.

7

The Branch Life of Empire: Imperial Loyalty Leagues in Antipodean Cities c. 1900–39

The period under scrutiny in this book witnessed the formation of a cluster of imperial loyalty leagues in Britain that subsequently established branches in the wider Empire.¹ The reasons for their appearance were multifarious, but underpinning their appearance was a desire for what John MacKenzie describes as a ‘middle-class elitist membership’ to network with each other and to ‘influence politicians and academics, journalists and other opinion-formers’.² ‘Some’, he notes, ‘had highly specific aims, others a more general desire to spread imperial propaganda ... all were concerned with imperial unity.’³ Whilst a limited number of studies have been undertaken into the development of the leagues within British domestic culture, their characteristics and effectiveness in the wider Empire have been given less consideration.⁴ The leagues are significant because they were intended as important mechanisms by which the Empire was brought alive to colonial/Dominion peoples. This they attempted by offering public lectures on imperial issues, facilitating inter-imperial travel and communication, and attempting to develop closer economic and political links.

The recent work of Matthew Hendley is one of the first studies to offer a theoretical framework in which to place the performance of the British leagues.⁵ He argues that it was the leagues with more ‘feminine’ characteristics which managed to operate with some success during the First World War and into the inter-war period, whereas the more ‘masculine’ militaristic leagues went no further than the end of the war. In the first section of this chapter, the chronological development of the various London leagues and their overseas branches is provided and their objectives and activities are described. Five of the most significant features of the British leagues are then taken and their applicability to the Antipodean branches is assessed. In the course of the chapter,

the Hendley thesis of a 'binary' opposition between masculine and feminine leagues is considered for its adaptability and the argument is made that evidence taken from the Antipodes problematises the thesis to some degree. Masculine leagues exhibited feminine characteristics at times and vice versa. The terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are used to designate both the predominance of either men or women in each of the leagues and their associated activities, which tended to conform to socially constructed gender norms in the period under scrutiny.

Let us first consider the salient features of the development of the leagues in Britain and ask how far the Antipodean branches mirrored this trajectory between the 1890s and 1939. Five characteristics identified by historians of the British leagues are presented: elite membership; relatively successful membership totals; the success of 'masculine' leagues before 1918 and their failure in the 1920s and 1930s; and the increasingly 'political' profile of the leagues in the 1920s and 1930s. Were these features also notable in the Antipodean context?

Objectives of the leagues and elite leadership

Imperial loyalty leagues first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Imperial unity appeared to be increasingly important as Germany grew in economic and military strength and, in an Antipodean context, similar fears were harboured regarding Japanese ambition in the Pacific region.⁶ Before 1900, the most significant loyalty organisations to appear were the Royal Colonial Institute (RCI), formed in 1868 (and later renamed the Royal Empire Society in 1928); the Imperial Federation League (IFL), formed in 1884; the Royal Society of St George (RSSG), formed in 1894; the British Empire League (BEL), formed in 1895; and the Navy League, formed in 1895.⁷ These early leagues had a variety of objectives within the broader theme of loyalty to the Empire.

The RCI was primarily concerned with studying the Empire. It encouraged public speakers to address members on imperial matters at its London premises in Northumberland Avenue and subsequently issued its proceedings in published form. The earliest Antipodean branch was established in Christchurch in October 1913. Under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Bowen, former Chief Justice and member of the Legislative Council, and the Branch Secretary Basil Seth-Smith, a farmer and importer, meetings were held for members on a quarterly basis.⁸ Melbourne's branch was founded in 1920, Auckland's in 1926 (initially a temporary committee that achieved a more permanent status in 1935) and Wellington's in 1937.⁹ Like their British counterparts, the

typical Dominion branch member held a prominent position in either business or the professions or, in the case of the female leagues, was married to such a figure. Sir James Barrett, for example, was President of the Melbourne branch from the time of its formation until his death in 1945. Barrett was a notable Melbourne figure, an ophthalmologist and publicist who lectured part time at the University of Melbourne.¹⁰ Other notable members of this branch included Alexander Leeper (1848–1934), Warden of Trinity College, which was the earliest affiliated college of Melbourne University.¹¹ As it attained a more permanent status, the Auckland branch was similarly led by senior members of the academic community, in this instance F.P. Worley and James Rutherford, professors of chemistry and history respectively at University College Auckland.¹² Major James Rufus Boose, who had acted as the Travelling Secretary for the RCI, then took over in the mid-1930s.¹³ Wellington's branch was led by Leonard Tripp, a partner in a firm of Wellington solicitors and a member of a well-established settler family based in Canterbury. Michael Myers, Chief Justice of New Zealand from 1929 to 1946, was Vice-President of the branch. He was also a member of the Wellington Round Table group.¹⁴ The objectives of the British Empire League were rather more vague; its existence was largely due to the IFL's demise in the 1890s. The Melbourne branch of the BEL did not appear until 1920, as, despite the decline of the British headquarters of the IFL, a Victorian branch operated until 1912.¹⁵ Indeed, of the leagues under consideration here, the IFL was more successful in Australia than in Britain. Its leadership was taken from the political and military elite of Melbourne, such as Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Fredrick Sargood, Major General John Hood and John Monash.¹⁶ Unlike the League in Britain, there was a strong emphasis on naval defence. After the formation of the Australian fleet, it appears that the Melbourne IFL felt its work was complete and it had ceased to exist by the outbreak of the First World War. The BEL branch that eventually appeared in 1920 was generally supportive of imperial links and increasingly introduced an Antipodean slant toward the cultural projection of Britishness against the cultural influence of the USA.

In the context of the leagues under scrutiny, the RSSG was distinctive in its celebration of both Englishness and the wider concept of the British Empire. It was launched in 1894 by Howard Ruff and existed alongside the Hibernian and Caledonian societies which had been present in Antipodean cities since the mid-nineteenth century. Its inception was due in part to the growing political spirit of devolution within the constituent parts of the UK, which it believed explicitly threatened to

weaken the Union. The objectives of the Society were to ‘encourage and strengthen the spirit of patriotism amongst all of English birth, to revive the recognition and celebration throughout the world of St. George’s Day and of the birth and death of Shakespeare and to further English interests by every possible means’.¹⁷ A branch was established in Melbourne in the early 1900s, the President of which in 1906 was Melbourne surgeon Dr Frederic D. Bird and the organising committee included Percy Webster, another leading city surgeon, who was also the President and Secretary of the Melbourne branch of the Navy League. Another significant member was solicitor, freemason and Prahan councillor J.H. Maddock, who Bird had succeeded as President.¹⁸ There was only one short-lived branch of the RSSG in New Zealand prior to 1914, located in the South Island settlement of Blenheim. Englishness does not seem to have been an identity that succeeded in embedding itself in the country.¹⁹

At the time of the Second Boer War, these early leagues were then complemented by the Victoria League (1901), the League of Empire (1901), the Defence Leagues (c. 1905) and, further into the Edwardian period, the Round Table (1909) and the Overseas Club (later renamed the Royal Overseas League) in 1910. Both the Victoria League and the League of Empire have been characterised as ‘feminine’ by Hendley, the former being noted by Eliza Riedi as ‘the only predominantly female imperial propaganda society ... which recruited male “experts”’.²⁰ Branches of the Victoria League were subsequently formed in Victoria in 1908 (Australia’s second after the Tasmanian branch, which was established in 1903), Wellington in 1906 (New Zealand’s second after Otago, which was formed in 1903) and Christchurch and Auckland in 1910. The third annual report of the Wellington branch published in 1910 noted a membership of 341, consisting of 53 men and 288 women.²¹ The branch President was Lady Ward, wife of the Prime Minister Joseph Ward, who sat on the branch council, together with other local notables. Among these were Harold Beauchamp, a member of the Wellington Harbour Board and a former provincial parliamentarian and Chairman of the Bank of New Zealand, and the Reverend James Gibb, minister at St John’s Presbytery in the city. The Auckland branch was guided in its early years by William Napier, a Liberal Member of Parliament at the turn of the century and a member of the Auckland Harbour Board who was also heavily involved with the management of the Navy League.²² Its membership was given as 288 adult members in 1910 (with a further 175 juniors), rising to 900 by 1912.²³ Perhaps more than other Victoria League branches, Auckland appears to have

been steered by a male-dominated council in its early years.²⁴ Victoria's branch was formed on the eve of Empire Day 1908 and could at times boast over 1,000 members. Membership rose to an immediate post-war peak of 1,300 in 1919.²⁵ Confirming the elite status of its leaders, the branch founder was Lady Talbot, wife of Reginald Talbot, then Governor of the State, with Mrs Alfred Deakin acting as Vice-President of the branch. Lady Gibson Carmichael, wife of the new State Governor, became President in July 1908 after Talbot's retirement. Honorary members of the council included Alfred Leeper, the surgeons G.A. Syme and Fred Bird, Frank Tate, who was Director of Education in Victoria, and Premier and Chief Justice W.H. Irvine.²⁶ However, only three men out of a total of 205 sat on the branch's council.²⁷

The work of the Victoria League has been described as a 'practical patriotism', providing aid to imperial travellers chiefly through its hospitality committee, sending books out to remote areas of the country and promoting the Empire in schools.²⁸ The branches were also integral in constructing and maintaining war memorials and in observing Empire Day. It is significant that, despite being categorised as an example of feminine 'domestic' imperialism before 1914, the Victoria League branches in the Antipodes did to some extent embrace pre-war militarism. In its first annual report, for example, the League noted that it had met with the IFL in July 1909 and had agreed to 'disseminate information regarding the importance of the British Navy for the maintenance and security of the Empire'.²⁹

Of the leagues that had defence as their priority, the Navy League was amongst the most notable and had been established in London in 1895. Melbourne initially formed a branch in 1903 with the backing of William Harrison Moore, H.F. Wyatt and Major-General Edward Hutton, but this first attempt appears to have been abortive.³⁰ A second attempt to form a branch subsequently took place in 1915, this time under the guidance of Percy Webster.³¹ New Zealand's branches appeared at an earlier stage, with Auckland's branch forming in 1896, Christchurch's branch in 1898 and Wellington's branch in 1901. Perhaps surprisingly, initially these branches did not thrive. One report noted that the Auckland branch had to be resuscitated in the years leading up to 1914 due to 'many of the leaders passing away and others going away'.³² A leading figure in this branch's rejuvenation was President of the Navy League in New Zealand 1893–1907, William Joseph Napier. Before 1914, Wellington's branch was led by J.G.W. Aitken, Mayor of Wellington and its Secretary was C.W. Palmer. Robert Darroch, a local schoolmaster, subsequently took over as Secretary up until the Second World War.³³

Christchurch's branch was led in its early years by the Reverend E.E. Chambers and Sir John Hall.³⁴ Of the branches in New Zealand's main centres, that of Wellington appears to have embedded itself the most successfully before 1914. The annual report of the branch for 1906, for example, noted 319 members, with a large increase in its juvenile sub-branches. Some 26 school branches had been established with 1,700 members by this time.³⁵ Whilst the primary aim of the Navy League was to raise awareness amongst the public of a need for a strong navy and to lobby the government for the funding of such, the distinction between masculine and feminine imperial movements drawn by Hendley is somewhat complicated by the fact that 70 women subscribed to the Wellington branch.³⁶ In its work with schoolchildren and its interest in public memorials (it sent a wreath to be laid at the foot of Nelson's Column on the anniversary of Trafalgar), the League also undertook similar kinds of work to that of the Victoria League. Before 1914, it was keen to proclaim that it was not a jingoistic imperial group, but rather was working to maintain peace.³⁷

Founded in 1901 by Mrs Ord Marshall, the League of Empire (LOE), originally called the Children of the Empire, was directed at promoting Empire sentiment in schools.³⁸ Its early work focused on the correspondence of children located in various parts of the Empire and the introduction of imperial textbooks to be used in schools. In 1907, it staged its first inter-Empire educational conference where the idea for teacher exchange was mooted. Director of Education in Victoria Frank Tate attended, but there was no representation from New Zealand at that stage.³⁹ Indeed, the exchange idea took a while to be realised, being interrupted by the war, and was only implemented on a rather small scale in 1919 when two British teachers travelled to Canada and three travelled in the opposite direction.⁴⁰ An early report into the LOE's work in New Zealand noted that branches existed in Australia, South Africa and New Zealand by 1903.⁴¹ Melbourne's *The Argus* noted that the branch in Victoria was governed by an educational and political elite, including Professor William Harrison Moore, Alexander Leeper, State Governor Sir Reginald Talbot and the politician Sir John Madden, a member of the IFL, who were all members of other imperial loyalty leagues in the city.⁴² Without doubt, the idea of imperial federation was certainly embraced by the LOE, its journal taking the title *The Federal Magazine and 'The All-Red Mail'*. Where the correspondence scheme was instigated, there was evidence that teachers were perhaps not sufficiently informed as to the purpose of the exchanges and allowed inappropriate letters to be sent. 'It is questionable', one observer wrote,

'if the teachers themselves always strike the right key.'⁴³ More positive evidence of the League's eventual influence in Australia and New Zealand was demonstrated when the LOE's prize was won by pupils attending schools located in Western Australia and Auckland in the early 1920s.⁴⁴

Defence leagues were also formed on both sides of the Tasman in 1905 and 1906, with the specific aim of introducing peacetime military training. The Australian National Defence League formed in New South Wales in September 1905, followed by a Victorian Division which, in contrast to its New South Wales counterpart, did not introduce conscription, but relied on voluntarism instead. Amongst the founders of the Victorian branch were Theodore Fink, owner of the Melbourne daily *The Herald*, and Senators H.B. Higgins, Best, Higgs and Hulme Cook.⁴⁵ The inaugural meeting of the New Zealand Empire and National Service League (NZENSL) was staged in 1906. Captain Allen Bell of Hamilton received congratulations from Lord Roberts on its formation, which had the backing of the future Prime Minister William Massey.⁴⁶ It aimed at establishing universal military training for youth. 'The idea', said Roberts, seemed to have 'largely taken firm root in New Zealand' and 'there was every promise of its spreading throughout the colony'.⁴⁷ The aims of the NZENSL included a scheme for imperial federation and universal naval and military training, which was 'of vital importance in the defence of Empire'.⁴⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that its links with the 'mother country' prevented a wide appeal and led to its being incorporated into the National Defence League (NDL), which was backed by Prime Minister Joseph Ward. The NDL was established in 1906, developing some 50 branches and 7,000 members.⁴⁹

The Round Table movement began in 1909 and represented what MacKenzie described as 'an elite body of influential writers, administrators and politicians' whose conception of Empire was 'essentially a mystical one, a vision of imperial states acting as "trustees of civilization in its highest forms"'.⁵⁰ It saw the Empire largely as an organic entity. The movement's founder was Lionel Curtis, who from 1912 held the Beit Lecturership in Colonial History at Oxford University. The most select of the leagues analysed here, the Round Table's discussions of imperial matters were published in its journal, also entitled the *Round Table*, from 1910. Overseas groups swiftly appeared in Australia and New Zealand provoked by Curtis' Empire tour in 1910.⁵¹ The Melbourne group included staff drawn from the University of Melbourne and the professional community. As Leonie Foster notes, members were also already successful in their chosen fields and were 'prominent ... in attaining high political office'.⁵² William Harrison Moore, Ernest Scott, Archibald

Strong and T.H. Laby, Professors of Law, History, English and Natural Philosophy, respectively, were members of the Melbourne group.⁵³ J.H. MacFarland, another founding member, was the University's Vice-Chancellor (1918–35). Herbert Brooks, a leading Melburnian businessman and philanthropist whose father-in-law was Alfred Deakin, was also one of its members.⁵⁴ In New Zealand, groups were formed in the four major cities and membership of each was similarly dominated by senior academics and leading public and professional figures. The founders of the Auckland group were Arthur Myers, former Lord Mayor of the city, Auckland University mathematician Professor Hurst Segar and J.W. Tibbs, Headmaster of Auckland Grammar School.⁵⁵ The Wellington group included Colonel Edward Chaytor (who went on to become General Commanding Officer of the New Zealand military forces), Michael Myers, Henrich Von Haast (barrister and son of Sir Julius Von Haast) and Edward Tregear, who worked within the Department of Labour.⁵⁶ The Christchurch group had founders such as Professor James Hight, a lecturer in history and political economy at Canterbury College.⁵⁷

The Overseas Club, renamed the Overseas League in 1918 after merging with the British Patriotic League and then the Royal Overseas League in 1922, was the creation of Evelyn Wrench (1882–1966). Wrench outlined his motives for founding the club in a pamphlet entitled 'The Story of the Overseas Club' published in the 1920s.⁵⁸ Among the objectives he initially set for the League were a universal observance of Empire Day, the advancement of the ideas of Richard Jebb in relation to colonial nationalism, the promotion of imperial self-defence amongst the self-governing components of the Empire, the endorsing of imperial federation (ultimately unrealised) and the dissemination of British literature and magazines, especially in Canada, which, according to him, relied 'too much for its reading matter on the United States'.⁵⁹ It is evident, however, that the Overseas Club's aims became less ambitious and, indeed, specific over time. Wrench toured both Australia and New Zealand in 1913 to promote the Club and found that overseas branches had in some instances already been established. Executive members of the Christchurch branch included the surgeon Edward Jennings of the medical corps and David Bates, a minister in the Church of England, whilst the Wellington committee was led by Sir Edward Gibbs, the Minister of Education.⁶⁰ Arthur Myers and William Sholto Douglas, editor of the *New Zealand Herald*, were among those on the executive committee of Auckland's branch.⁶¹

New leagues appeared during the First World War. By this time, some were indigenous leagues which had no connection with London, such

as New Zealand's Empire Trade League in 1915 and the All for Empire League in 1916, which was established by the United Commercial Travellers' and Warehousemen's Association and which promoted the boycotting of German-made products.⁶² The British Empire Union (BEU) was formed in London in 1915 and a Melbourne branch appeared a year later under the guidance of Charles Merrett, President of the Royal Agricultural Society, and Alfred Frood, Secretary of the Victorian Anti-German League. No branches of the BEU were formed in New Zealand, where its work was undertaken by the New Zealand Welfare League, which was led by David McLaren. The BEU attempted to reunite capital and labour in the face of wartime industrial strife.⁶³ In 1962, L.H. McElland, Assistant Registrar of Incorporated Societies in New Zealand, was given the task of winding down the Empire Service League.⁶⁴ Picking over the bones of the League, McElland noted the rather sad remnants of the club that remained after 40 years of endeavour: 'Minute book, cash book and bank book ... which appear to cover the period from 1931 to Mrs. Hotchkin's death.'⁶⁵ By the early 1960s, the League was sadly skeletal, supported only by seven child members. The cash book disclosed 'a number of payments, some of appreciable amounts, which I am informed, came from Mrs. Hotchkin's personal resources'.⁶⁶ In such circumstances, this Empire loyalty organisation terminated, reduced by the end to a one-woman band.⁶⁷ However, the League's condition had not always been so moribund. The Empire Service League had formed in Wellington in 1917, its chief architect being Percival Witherby, a member of the Reform Party, who subsequently assumed the position of General Secretary of the League amongst other roles in its formative years.⁶⁸ The League was unusual (but not unique) in not being beholden to a London-based headquarters and it thus breached the core-periphery model followed by many of those subsequently analysed in this chapter. Among others of this ilk which emerged across the Tasman in the inter-war period were the Empire and Loyalty League formed in Perth, Western Australia in 1921, the King and Empire Alliance formed in Sydney in 1920 and the Empire Honour League formed in Melbourne in 1931 in the midst of a period of global depression and political instability.⁶⁹ The agenda of the Empire Honour League was to prevent disloyal individuals from standing for parliament, exercising the franchise or occupying a public position, especially in the sphere of education.⁷⁰

The Empire Service League had, according to McElland's report, 'considerable popularity for a time' and had boasted six branches, with present and past members of city elites in some instances providing

leadership.⁷¹ In an interview with an *Evening Post* journalist, Witherby explained the motivation for forming the League as a desire to stop war by rejecting either individual or national self-interest and a desire for peace through self-regulation. In an essay entitled 'What Freedom Means' written and read by Witherby at the first meeting of the League, he drew on the work of late nineteenth-century moral philosophers such as T.H. Green in suggesting a 'new moral dimension to Liberty' which went far further than simply 'to do as one pleased'.⁷² Formed in the later stages of the First World War, one of the notable objectives of this league was to reduce industrial strife in New Zealand, for as the aims of the movement stated, it wished to 'influence opinion among employers and employees in favour of closer and more sympathetic relations'.⁷³ Interest was shown by the League in the British Whitely committee system of industrial arbitration on which both managers and workers sat and it further aimed to 'improve and develop the national system of education', to 'produce industrial harmony' and to 'purify our political system'.⁷⁴ How did it try to achieve these aims? The methods outlined in its constitution and rules, devised by H.F. Haast, were 'personal example, the formation of branches, literary propaganda, public meetings, the circulation of a journal and books, the creation of libraries and the fostering of a spirit of public service in our educational institutions, the true meaning of democracy, achieved by prizes for essays, teacher circles and school clubs'.⁷⁵ A conference had been held in Wellington in 1918 and it was reported that there were several hundred members in the six branches, with greater expansion expected. The Wellington branch, for example, was for a time led by members of the civic elite such as former city Mayor J.G.W. Aitken.⁷⁶ McElland also speculated in his closure report that: 'I have no details of the operations of the Society down to 1931, but it would appear that, whilst some influential persons were still interested, there were no district branches in existence then and the main work was carried on by Mrs. Hotchkin with occasional meetings of the Executive.'⁷⁷ A closer reading of newspaper coverage suggests that this impression of the League's demise was rather premature. During the early 1930s, reports of the League's work re-emerged after a prolonged silence in the 1920s.⁷⁸ It does appear that key members left the League (Witherby, for example, spent time in London apparently garnering support for the movement in the metropolis) and its aims were reconfigured to place the emphasis on national economic survival in the Depression rather than internal national political stability. Witherby's original moral vision was replaced with a more instrumental outlook which emphasised more

practical economic and business Empire links.⁷⁹ In 1931, the League's operations were reported under the heading 'New Zealand First', which noted that the League was now campaigning to 'support local industries and then British'.⁸⁰ According to Mrs E.A. Hotchkin, the League was making 'rapid headway', with numerous branches established and 'she herself had enrolled about 2,600 members'.⁸¹ Work was now targeted at the casualties of the Depression in the Dominion. In a subsequent report, Hotchkin proclaimed that over 40 branches had been established and 300 requests for the formation of more had been received. In April 1932, Hotchkin arrived in Wellington, where the League was apparently moribund, with the intention of re-energising the branch. She announced that 28 branches had been formed on the West Coast, with membership varying from between 15 to 300. Total membership of the League stood at this time at 3,000.⁸² When a proposal was made that the League mediate between 'classes and political parties' in the 1930s, the chairman objected that the League 'was definitely not political'.⁸³ It is difficult to establish the credibility of Hotchkin's claims for success, but it is evident that the League had certainly shifted its role considerably from that established in the First World War and it might be surmised that when circumstances changed again in the late 1930s, the League's branches declined once more. How far was this ultimately an *Empire* loyalty league? After all, the League had been established as a mechanism for establishing greater understanding between employers and the employed in New Zealand as much as for developing Empire unity and, in its reincarnated form during the 1930s, it was also preoccupied with local issues, such as promoting 'New Zealand goods first', a strategy for pulling New Zealand out of depression. Indeed, in its annual report for 1934, the League noted that it had visited 20 factories and 300 shops in order to encourage the manufacture of Empire (by which it really meant New Zealand-made) goods.⁸⁴

The final phase of league formation occurred during the early 1920s and 1930s with the appearance of the Empire Development Union (EDU), led by Robert Knox, President of the Australian Association of British Manufacturers, and Edmund Jowett, pastoralist and Deputy Leader of the Country Party.⁸⁵ The EDU, formed in Britain by Viscount Walter Long, who had chaired the Imperial War Conferences in 1917 and 1918, had as its agenda to lobby for suggestions made at those wartime meetings to be realised, including the clarification of shipping routes between Britain and its Empire, the issuing of Dominion patents and an inter-imperial parcel service.⁸⁶ The Empire Reciprocity League was an indigenous organisation under the leadership of Sir Archie

Michaelis, a businessman and Jewish leader who subsequently took a seat for the United Australia Party in the 1930s in the Victorian Assembly. Its members included L.H. Caldwell, a leading member of the Victorian motor trade.⁸⁷ Michaelis was succeeded by James L. Moore, Secretary of the Australian Fruit Canners' Association.⁸⁸ The Empire Reciprocity League merged with the British Empire League branch in 1931.⁸⁹ Also in 1931, the Empire Honour League was formed under the leadership of William Murchison, a member of the United Australia Party in Melbourne. It was among the last of the new leagues and was most explicitly directed at the political Left, which was gaining momentum during the Depression.⁹⁰

Popular imperial sentiment and the leagues

These then were the most notable loyalty leagues that formed between 1890 and 1940. As in the British context, the Antipodean leadership of the branches was similarly drawn from societal elites. But how might



Figure 7.1 The Victorian branch of the Victoria League at the Inter-State Conference, Sydney, 1922

Source: SLV, MS 13909, Australian Manuscripts Collection.



Figure 7.2 His Excellency Lord Huntingfield, Governor of Victoria, is entertained by Mrs R. Graham and Mrs Webb Ware in the Early Victorian Exhibition, part of the Melbourne Centenary Exhibition, 1934. The League staged a display of 'Victorian Melbourne' with items donated by the royal family

Source: SLV, MS 13909, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria.

the historian assess their performance over this period? One way of approaching this question is to examine the various problems that the leagues encountered, both externally and internally, before 1918. The first 'problem' was the fundamental issue of how imperially orientated Antipodean city populaces were compared to the British city dwellers.⁹¹ Of the leagues surveyed, the Round Table did most to gauge Empire sentiment in the Dominions, both before and after the First World War. From 1910 onwards, its journal published a number of articles written by the Antipodean groups which addressed this problem. Prior to and following the First World War, there was a rather low level of awareness of and interest in issues relating to the Empire on both sides of the Tasman. In the very first issue of the *Round Table*, for example, it was noted by the London group that 'both in Great Britain and the Dominions ... it is well nigh impossible to understand how things are going with the British Empire. People feel that they belong to an

organisation which is greater than the particular portion of the King's Dominions where they happen to reside, but which has no government, no parliament, no press even, to explain to them where its interests lie, or what its policy should be'.⁹² This comment reflected the desire of the organisation to instigate some kind of imperial federation scheme, although there was not much enthusiasm for such a project in the Antipodes. As E.A. Harney, a senator in the Australian Parliament had noted in a paper given at the Colonial Institute in 1905, imperial federation, as far as Australia was concerned, was:

only a poet's dream and must I fear ever remain so. The consent of the colonies has always been taken for granted. Certainly Imperial Federation there as elsewhere has been constantly in the air, but it has never come to earth; it has never shaken off its nebulous character, and the average Australian's knowledge of it is mostly derived from the purple patches of post-prandial declamation. It rests upon no really found want; it appeals to no genuine public sentiment.⁹³

The attitude to Empire in New Zealand was noted before the First World War in the following terms: 'We feel that we are far from the heart of the Empire and we believe that its destinies are guided by other hands than ours. The minds of people are sunk in apathy which accompanies prosperity.'⁹⁴ During the war, the New Zealand groups also remained less than impressed with popular sentiment towards the Empire. In 1916, an article noted that:

Apart from voluntary contributions ... it would appear that in New Zealand – despite the war, business, politics and pleasure go on much 'as usual'. Our daily papers are full of news, not only of battle, but also local politics, race meetings and football matches and the theatre and picture shows are doing good business throughout the Dominion. As a British community we are not doing as much as we could (and should) to help the Empire and our Allies.⁹⁵

Similar pessimism was recorded by the Australian groups. When renewed interest in the Empire was detected in the years before 1914, it was accounted for by 'the growing threat of Japan as a possible menace to white civilisation through the whole Eastern world, that is to say self-interested motivation of defence, rather than a heart-felt enthusiasm for Empire'.⁹⁶ Significantly, it also dismissed the loyalty leagues' efforts to instil a sense of Empire citizenship and thought that the average citizen

'troubles himself very little about imperial affairs at all ... the mother country is after all a far land, even a foreign land. The Empire is there certainly, but except in times of some stern crisis it is too distant, too formless, to excite any strong enthusiasm in our minds'.⁹⁷ This theme was returned to in the aftermath of the First World War.

Whilst the New Zealand articles pointed to the revival of Empire sentiment as a result of the press coverage relating to the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920, the appointment of Lord Jellicoe to the Governor-Generalship of New Zealand and the meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers in London, it ultimately qualified press influence, noting that 'this editorial influence has and will have only a temporary and, indeed, evanescent effect on the memory of the plain man in this Dominion'.⁹⁸ The conclusion reached at this point was that 'it would not be correct to say of the average New Zealander that he does not think of imperial problems at all. But it is undoubtedly true that his thoughts on the subject are confused and rudimentary'.⁹⁹ New Zealanders were left 'wandering in their imperial wilderness, like sheep without a shepherd'.¹⁰⁰ In the Australian context, sales of the *Round Table* were more than a little disappointing, with only 350 names on the subscription list in 1913, a figure which rose to 380 by 1918.¹⁰¹ Whilst the circulation of the journal was more impressive in New Zealand, with a distribution of 600 in 1913, the groups in the large centres struggled.¹⁰² The lack of enthusiasm for federation schemes was obviously a problem and Lionel Curtis' subsequent ideas for a British Commonwealth caused division amongst the Wellington group for some considerable period. The *Auckland Star*, whose editor was T.H. Laby, was also notably critical of the ideas put forward by Curtis in his book *The Problem of the Commonwealth*.¹⁰³ By the 1920s, perhaps as a result of a failure to agree on a common vision for the Empire and faced with an indifferent public, several of the Antipodean groups ceased to meet. Wellington was recast as the 'New Zealand group'.¹⁰⁴ In the Australian context, William Harrison Moore surveyed the first quarter-century of Round Table activity and noted that there had been 'the loss of the stimulus of any kind of definite objective such as characterised the movement at the outset'.¹⁰⁵ Foster notes that by the 1920s, neither Curtis nor anyone else in the London group made frequent returns to the Antipodes and 'the Australian Round Table was to be as isolated from the metropolis as Australia herself'.¹⁰⁶

Whilst the populace might demonstrate apathy for the Empire, an embryonic nationalism could also hinder the development of some of the leagues. The first of the leagues to experience this sentiment were

the branches of the Australian Navy League. The Melbourne branch, for example, which began operating in 1903, had evidently ceased to function by the outbreak of the First World War as it was noted that the League was re-started in 1915. The reason for its demise can be found in the contemporary debates regarding the creation of an Australian navy, public sentiment favouring an independent navy in the Edwardian era.¹⁰⁷ The resulting navy was still an imperial one, but served local needs. The relaunch of the Melbourne branch in 1915 was due to the imperial emergency created by the First World War and demonstrated the effectiveness of the Australian fleet within an imperial framework.¹⁰⁸

If a lack of clear objectives limited the success of some leagues, then a second problem for those leagues engaged in more 'practical patriotism' was the objectives to be attained during wartime. The Victoria League evidently succeeded in shifting its priorities from its pre-war agenda of hosting imperial travellers and distributing books to the country areas towards sending comforts to troops in Europe, funding ambulances and, quite surprisingly for a 'feminine' league, funding machine guns.¹⁰⁹ This it did to some effect, with one historian of the New Zealand leagues noting that they 'came into their own during war', contributing significant funds and comforts to the troops overseas.¹¹⁰

For the Overseas Club, newly established at the outbreak of war and initially in London, the problem was that its primary function was perhaps too similar to that of the Victoria League, in that its chief reason for being was to host imperial travellers. This was a problem identified by Mayor Henry Holland, who noted on the occasion of the reformation of the Christchurch branch in 1916 that it had been in a moribund condition for the previous three years. Holland suggested that this was due to having 'many institutions at the present time, including those devoted to war and Empire purposes that absorbed the energy of the people'.¹¹¹ Other branches of the club, Dunedin being a prime example, boasted over 1,000 members and made substantial contributions to war comforts for troops at the front.¹¹² Like other branches, Christchurch subsequently established an aeroplane fund, running cryptogram quizzes with prizes for the winners.¹¹³

At the time of the revival of the Christchurch branch, however, another explanation was advanced for its initial failure and is a good example of a further problem that faced many of the Antipodean leagues. In July 1916, *The Press* published a letter signed simply 'Britisher' which noted that the city was 'not overburdened with much enthusiasm except in spasms and after a short flutter of interest or excitement soon settles down again into the same old easy going groove'.¹¹⁴ This, the writer

believed, was due to the fact that 'so many things are run by cliques ... I am of the opinion that as long as the impression remains amongst a large number of people that the club is only for a certain class, and therefore somewhat exclusive, it will never be very successful and will linger in the same old sleepy way'.¹¹⁵ Whilst a detailed study of the rank and file of the leagues is yet to be undertaken, the accusation may have contained a kernel of truth. T.M. Charters, the Secretary of the branch, rejected the accusation that it was a class-based league, yet it is evident that an elite ran the League.¹¹⁶ Katie Pickles has noted that branches of the Antipodean Victoria League were run by elite women: 'At the outset it was the women of New Zealand's colonial elite who belonged to the League; their husbands were mayors, politicians, wealthy landholders and businessmen.'¹¹⁷ Of the Christchurch branch, she notes that the membership was based on 'high society women who appeared in *The Press's* women's pages'.¹¹⁸ It can be more confidently asserted that, as Antipodean society increasingly represented native-born sentiment, the idea of imperial links perhaps waned, a development reflected in the fading popularity of Empire Day in the inter-war period and the growing recognition of Anzac Day as a national day of remembrance of war.¹¹⁹

Before turning our attention to the fortunes of the leagues in the inter-war years, one last pre-war problem needs to be noted, which was the effect that the 'tyranny of distance' had on initiatives undertaken by the Antipodean leagues.¹²⁰ In the annual report of the Victorian branch of the Victoria League, for example, it was noted that whilst 74 letters of introduction had been written on behalf of Australians visiting Britain and a large hospitality committee had been formed in the expectation of receiving numerous visitors from the UK, they were 'disappointed in this hope'.¹²¹ The League of Empire exchange programme was also slow to be adopted in the Antipodes, which tends to modify Hendley's portrayal of such leagues as the 'triumph' of a domesticated imperialism. Sir James Allen, the former New Zealand Minister of Education, noted in 1922 that as far as the League of Empire's teacher exchange programme was concerned, New Zealand had:

not yet taken advantage of the exchange of teachers scheme to such an extent as other Dominions. How much more Canada takes advantage of this method of gaining experience in the centre of Empire was shown at an official welcome given this week to all overseas teachers who are at present in the services of the London County Council. Of the 98 present, 77 came from Canada, 16 from Australia, one from South Africa and four from New Zealand.¹²²

Allen attributed the low League of Empire exchange rate between Britain and New Zealand to the great distance that separated the two countries.¹²³ The first representation from New Zealand at the London LOE Conference took place in 1926.¹²⁴ The numbers exchanging between New Zealand and Britain in the second half of the 1930s was given in press reports as 19 teachers moving in each direction.¹²⁵

If some of the leagues detected popular apathy for the Empire before 1914, another sentiment that could be demonstrated was an embryonic cultural nationalism. When the Auckland branch of the Victoria League proposed a memorial to the fallen soldiers and sailors of the New Zealand wars of the 1860s, it originally accepted a design submitted by an Auckland-based architect who held a written offer to design the memorial. The decision to rescind the contract and then offer it to a London designer saw a number of protests staged, including a deputation to the government.¹²⁶ The statue was eventually unveiled in 1918 and was designed by the London artist J. Eyre Macklin.

By 1920, then, it is evident that the leagues had experienced variable levels of success. A ranking of winners and losers might place leagues such as the Victoria League at the top, having established itself in most Antipodean cities by around 1910 and showing large membership figures. However, groups like the Navy League, the Overseas Club and the RSSG found it more difficult to embed themselves in Dominion society. The RSSG's journal, the *English Race*, was published by the Society from 1908. In its early issues, the question of Antipodean enthusiasm for the RSSG was given significant coverage and most comment cast a rather gloomy picture of how well the branches were doing. Thus, reflecting on the failure to mark St George's Day, the comment was made of the Melbourne branch that:

It does seem extraordinary that in a city with a population of 538,000 it should have been found impossible to get together a few patriotic Englishmen in honour of the old country. We do not even hear that intellectuals took notice of Shakespeare's Day. This seems still more unaccountable when we reflect that there was no race meeting or cricket match to divert attention from the 23rd. The apathy displayed towards so eminently practical a subject as love of the Homeland and we may add of imperial unity – for both are inseparable – affords some indication of the difficulties that have beset the path of the society, while at the same time the need for its existence.¹²⁷

The observation that Melbourne's population size should have generated more enthusiasm was made on more than one occasion in the journal, but the editorials increasingly accepted that its population was

a 'sahara of cosmopolitanism' where rabid enthusiasm for Englishness was difficult to engender.¹²⁸

However, the Melbourne Caledonian Society appears to have had a more virile existence, boasting 800 members in 1900. It had a rather more democratic membership policy compared to some of the other leagues and a notable musical and theatrical dimension.¹²⁹ Indeed, the celebration of Englishness was rather muted in settler society, compared to the somewhat stronger Scottish identity that was projected through Caledonian and Scots societies. As one study has noted: 'Unlike expatriated Englishmen, the Scots had little desire to return to their native lands, but rather, directed their energies toward bringing relations out to the colonies. Their collective view also differed from that of English colonists in that their first loyalty, to Scotland, did not always exactly coincide with their loyalty to Empire.'¹³⁰ The contrast in the interest taken between Scottish and English culture in Victoria is indicated by the presence of seven other organisations in the state that were promoting Scottish interests.¹³¹ The editorial comment in the *English Race* also blamed school culture for this apathy towards English identity: 'No community could have got into this deplorable condition if the great lessons of English history had been taught in the state and other schools, in such a way as to cause the people to realise more fully the great fact that outside their own great island continent there existed another world, an Empire of which Australia is but a dependent part.'¹³² Following the succession of Percy Webster from Fred Bird as President of the RSSG in 1910, the Society doubled its membership in the next two years to reach 329.¹³³ However, it was also hindered by what it perceived to be only cursory interest on the part of the city's daily press. For example, both *The Age* and *The Argus* only gave the RSSG's annual dinner staged in 1913 the briefest of coverage, provoking a critical comment in the *English Race* that more attention should be given by the dailies.¹³⁴ It also took an inordinate amount of time to form a grand council of the branches within the state of Victoria, far longer than Queensland had taken to instigate such a body.¹³⁵ During the First World War, the Society had 'not been idle [but had] been instrumental in collecting and distributing considerable funds by way of assisting the Red Cross and other war activists', yet this was accompanied by the observation that 'since the war started, the society here has practically nothing in the way of entertainments with the exception of a quiet annual dinner on the 23rd April'.¹³⁶

Inter-war difficulties

The Hendley thesis suggests that it was the more 'feminine' leagues which continued to successfully operate in the inter-war decades, whilst

the more 'masculine' leagues struggled and withered in the post-war environment of internationalism and pacifism. This explanation carries considerable weight in the Antipodean context, although matters were more complicated in this region. The neat binary divide is problematised when a wider sample than that taken by Hendley is considered. Parallels with the British experience are certainly found in the failure of the defence leagues after 1918 to stir public opinion to reintroduce peacetime conscription. On both sides of the Tasman, the leagues struggled to re-establish themselves in the 1920s, despite the leadership of high-profile military commanders such as Andrew Russell, who lent his name to the inter-war New Zealand NDL.¹³⁷ The Navy League, however, exhibited both 'feminine' and 'masculine' characteristics. For a militaristic organisation, the branch finances in the inter-war years were generally healthy, largely achieved, it could be argued, by the efforts of women.¹³⁸ With a sizeable female membership, some of its activities were clearly better described as 'feminine' than 'masculine'. Indeed, one report of the Canterbury branch noted that it was 'comprised mostly of women'.¹³⁹ After the war, the Wellington branch staged a successful ball to honour the arrival of the American fleet. In the 1930s, the *Navy League Journal* noted 'splendid work' being accomplished by the Ladies' Committee of the Girls' Section of the Auckland branch. Antipodean branches of the Navy League appear to have been reasonably healthy even in the age of post-war disarmament, with Melbourne's branch boasting 554 members in the mid-1920s, for example. Yet, on closer analysis, the League was not alone in meeting with hostility on the part of Labour governments which took power at both the national and local levels in Australia and New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s. There was also a growing faction within the teaching profession in both Britain and the Dominions that wished to block the work of imperial leagues in schools.¹⁴⁰ The Victorian Labor government, which took power in 1924 under the leadership of George Prendergast, announced that 'peace and internationalism' were to be inculcated into the minds of all state schoolchildren.¹⁴¹ This attitude was mirrored in New Zealand at a municipal level. In a leader in *The Press* published in June 1920, for example, it was noted of the League that: 'The ending of the war has not closed the League's field of useful endeavour, although of course it has largely reduced it. The Empire is no longer exposed to the danger of letting its navy dwindle into a state of helplessness against the growing navy of Germany.'¹⁴² Membership for the Wellington district in 1921 totalled 5,156, declining to 1,304 in 1924 before rising again in 1928 to 2,414, but having less than half its immediate post-war figure

in 1934, with its total membership amounting to less than 1,000.¹⁴³ In Canterbury, the school branches were abandoned since 'the masters' interest waned'.¹⁴⁴ Adult membership also began to fall. Some who left the League in the post-war years cited the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty as their reason for doing so, as they thought that it meant the League's role was redundant.¹⁴⁵ Other problems that were raised after the war included the relative neglect of New Zealand's branch activity by the London headquarters, with little coverage being given to them in the *Navy League Journal*. This suggestion was refuted by Robert Darroch, who also attempted to reject the notion that the League's purposes were at odds with those of the League of Nations. The following year, Darroch wrote to the *Evening Post* to emphasise that when Sir Henry Lunn, a leading advocate for the League of Nations, spoke in the city, he had declared that he 'regarded the Navy League as complementary to the League of Nations'.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, in 1923, the Christchurch City Council, which contained a significant Labour element, began to question the right of the Navy League to stage street collections.¹⁴⁷ For example, Councillor E.J. Howard posed the following question: 'Of all the institutions on God's earth why should the Navy League ask for money in the streets?'¹⁴⁸ He objected to the inclusion of the Navy League in the list as: 'It was run by quite wealthy people who had no need to ask the public for help.'¹⁴⁹ 'What', he asked, 'did the League need the money for?'¹⁵⁰

Moreover, during the 1930s, the Navy League also found it more difficult than at any time in its history to work in schools.¹⁵¹ In an era of internationalism, some delegates to the Wellington School Committee and Educational Federation advocated that the League of Nations Union should be given equal rights, whilst others suggested that schoolchildren be left alone. The Committee noted that: 'School committees would betray the most sacred and responsible trust of parents were they to allow their children to be used *en masse* for the preparation of the atmosphere of the nations, for the insidious propaganda of the profit-making armaments manufactures.'¹⁵² The Educational Federation also objected to schoolchildren being charged a membership fee, which it described as 'an exploitation of their pockets as well as their minds. It would be interesting to see a statement of Navy League receipts over ten years. We would then know to what extent children had built up the credit balance of £800'.¹⁵³

At the eleventh annual conference of the New Zealand Navy League branches staged in 1929, it was noted that there was 'increasing apathy in the branches' since the League of Nations propaganda was 'making

the public apathetic'.¹⁵⁴ The Canterbury branch reported that 'some of their best known men were the ones who were deserting them'.¹⁵⁵ In the mid-1930s, the League found it increasingly difficult to gain entry to schools, initially being prevented from entering during school hours. In 1940, the Navy League was completely barred from entering, a decision that was subsequently reversed on condition that there was 'no canvassing for subscriptions or membership fees on school premises'.¹⁵⁶

Indeed, in its successful staging of dances and balls, the Navy League appears to have found success when it engaged in more feminine activities and less success when its more masculine militaristic aspects were to the fore. Moreover, it was equally possible for feminine leagues to demonstrate more masculine features. The interaction between such feminine and masculine leagues continued in the 1920s, with members of both the Navy League and the Victoria League hosting overseas visitors, such as the British immigration delegation which visited Melbourne.¹⁵⁷ Both Leagues ran a joint essay competition in schools and worked together on issues of mutual concern.¹⁵⁸ In the 1930s, the Victoria League in Victoria demonstrated considerable divergence from the British model of branch development by engaging in state politics. Here it acted in conjunction with other loyalty leagues (including the Navy League) in its attempt to block the appointment of an Australian-born Governor-General, Isaac Isaacs.¹⁵⁹ The more common activities undertaken by the Victoria League continued to be focused on the feminine attributes of offering hospitality, assisting migrants and educating both schoolchildren and country dwellers in imperial values. A point of difference here related to the question of race. The contentious pre-war colour bar, which had been advocated by Dominion branches, was dismantled in the British context in order to host Malaysian students in the 1920s. The Antipodean branches, by contrast, left their bar in place and only hosted those of Anglo-Saxon stock in the inter-war years.¹⁶⁰ The Antipodean branches of the Victoria League certainly mirrored the British branches in the early 1920s in terms of experiencing a shortage of funds.¹⁶¹ To a large extent, this had been rectified by the mid-1920s through the staging of a biennial ball (an event which several of the branches adopted) and donations from members of the Antipodean upper classes.¹⁶² Yet the activities of the League in the 1920s and 1930s could not be accurately characterised as a 'virulent' imperial propaganda. Hendley's observation of the League that 'it did not garner mass support' is appropriate in the Antipodean context, although the Victorian branch declared a respectable membership of 1,387 in 1925–6 with a balance sheet of £2,318, and 2,439 members in 1938–9 with a balance sheet of £3,986.¹⁶³

Its work was more subtle, with an emphasis on education and the hosting of imperial travellers. One area of activity that grew in the early 1920s but that had declined by the end of the decade was assistance to British women migrants. The Victoria League had facilitated the immigration of British women to take occupations as servants (in collaboration with the Society for the Settlement of Overseas British Women) and also aided the arrival of public schoolboys, who took up work on farms in the 1920s. However, the collapse of the Antipodean economy in 1927 put an end to assisted immigration. The New Zealand Labour government which came to power in 1935 did not favour assisted immigration and by 1939, this aspect of the League was effectively in abeyance. This decline was also mirrored in Australia.

In comparison with the Victoria League, the Antipodean branches of the Overseas League (which the Overseas Club was renamed in the 1920s), which could be perceived as essentially engaging in 'feminine' propaganda to use Hendley's typology, operated on a much lower budget and with a lower level of membership. Auckland's branch re-created itself in the later 1920s after a press report described the branch as being in a 'moribund condition'.¹⁶⁴ Victoria's branch contained 267 members in 1928 (up from just 16 two years before) and had a balance sheet of £287.¹⁶⁵ The annual report for the Christchurch branch, which was constituted in 1930, for example, reveals that it had a credit of just £14, 10 shillings and 10 pence in 1932, and Norton Francis, the President of the branch, noted that it 'could do little beyond looking after overseas league members, increase its membership and make the League's objectives more widely known'.¹⁶⁶ Membership stood at approximately 117 at this time, while that of the Auckland branch stood at 300 in 1930.¹⁶⁷ Taking membership and finance as a gauge of performance, the Overseas League has to be seen as a less successful organisation than the Victoria League across the period under scrutiny.

The Melbourne branch of the RSSG appears to have enjoyed some success in the mid-1920s, the *English Race* noting that the annual report of this branch was 'highly satisfactory'.¹⁶⁸ By 1928, however, reports sounded the gloomier note that there were too many 'competing interests' for the branch to thrive.¹⁶⁹ It was thought that too few activities were being laid on for members; one idea to breathe life into the League was that an English folk dance teacher should tour throughout the state. The Antipodean reports in the *English Race* hit the rather bitter note that the Scottish societies were doing much better, and whilst the English had created the Empire, it was the Scots who were reaping the benefits.¹⁷⁰ In addition, the Americanisation of Antipodean cities

was given as a reason for the branch's poor performance, the USA being 'so racially mixed' that its citizens 'could have no ideals in common'.¹⁷¹ Reports of the Melbourne society disappeared at the end of the 1920s and early 1930s, indicating a moribund branch.

Both Melbourne's Empire Reciprocity League and the British Empire League were increasingly associated with attempts to counter the American influence, which was perceived as promoting low morals and using slang English, and was projected through the cinema.¹⁷² The tendency to look inwards was even more pronounced in the case of the BEU, which was infused with right-wing politics from the time of its formation and the activities of which were primarily aimed at condemning the political Left. The Melbourne branch of this group appears to have been rather inactive, however, judging by the scant coverage given to its activities by the Melbourne dailies. It was at its most active in the late 1920s when newspaper reports claimed that it was staging 1,000 meetings a year to encourage shoppers to buy Empire-made goods.¹⁷³ The Sydney branch appears to have been far more active. Like the Victoria League, the BEU in that city staged annual dinner dances that were described on the women's pages of the daily papers.¹⁷⁴ The BEU in Australia, which was controlled from New South Wales, continued its activities into the post-war era.¹⁷⁵

Formed in Melbourne in the early 1930s, the Empire Honour League (EHL) was typical of the increasing preoccupation of loyalty leagues with the forces of the Left in the inter-war period.¹⁷⁶ Like Britain, 'Empire' increasingly became used as a weapon of the Right against the left in the late 1920s and early 1930s in the Antipodes. As Jim English notes, 'Empire Day events [in the inter-war years] were often as much concerned with opposition to socialist ideas as they were with a celebration of imperialism'.¹⁷⁷ As the EHL stated:

It does not require any superior intelligence to realise that a combination of the organised industrial forces with the unemployed, the old age pensioners and the farmer's unity leagues under our democratic franchise will easily constitute an overwhelming majority for the socialisation force. The financial depression and the unemployment problem obviously provide a golden opportunity for the 'bomb throwing fraternity' to promote sedition.¹⁷⁸

As mentioned above, the League's agenda was based around a three-point programme which aimed to prohibit disloyal persons from entering parliament, exercising a franchise or holding public positions such

as teaching.¹⁷⁹ A practical example of this took place in 1932 when Francis Devanny, the publisher of the *Workers' Weekly*, appeared in court charged with soliciting subscriptions for the Communist Party, which was held to be unlawful.¹⁸⁰ Devanny's conviction was quashed on appeal by a ratio of five to one, which prompted the combined societies to demand of the state that communistic activities be outlawed.

To conclude, by what criteria might the leagues be adjudged a failure? The evidence marshalled above tends to offer qualified support for the characterisation of league performance offered by Hendley. A wider sample of the leagues does, however, complicate a simple 'binary' division between the profiles of the leagues. It might be better to picture a spectrum on which the Navy League occupied a mid-point, demonstrating both masculine and feminine attributes. Those leagues which operated most effectively in the inter-war years certainly operated a practical patriotism based on work with schoolchildren and hosting adult imperial travellers. Yet their work by no means represented a saturation of imperial propaganda in the public sphere.¹⁸¹ Another cluster of leagues was evidently intent on halting a creeping Americanisation of society or countering the influence of communism and their activities were most notable during the period of economic depression, suggesting that they were rather more 'temporary' leagues that would struggle as Antipodean society climbed out of the slump by the late 1930s. The Statute of Westminster introduced in 1931 and the inter-war imperial conferences certainly signalled a looser relationship between the members of the Empire and, to a degree, a loosening of imperial bonds. The wider populace appears to have been significantly indifferent to the leagues' activities, perhaps to a greater extent than in Britain, which also hindered the imperial propaganda that they projected. Whilst the feminine leagues achieved a level of 'niche' success, the overall pattern during this time period is perhaps better described as witnessing the stalling of league development, with the majority of Antipodean city dwellers being rather ignorant of their existence and any of their activities.

Conclusions

In his study of Australian nationalism in the era of imperialism, Stephen Alomes argues that in late nineteenth-century Australia, 'the shaping into an imperial mould of city populations' came through several processes, which he lists as follows:

- The dominance of Australian cities and their derivation from the British city model due to Australia's late period of white settlement.
- The tightening ideological bonds of Empire made possible by the steamship and the cable, mass education and propaganda expressed in the many forms of popular culture and made necessary by Britain's relative decline as a world power.
- The development of Australian social institutions in British forms in this era of the invention of tradition.
- The coalescence of traditional invasion fears and social Darwinist views of racial conflict.
- The political uses of imperial and monarchical performance by incumbent politicians.¹

The preceding chapters began to question some of these assertions. Far from the all-encompassing ideology that has been portrayed by some historians of the Empire, the mechanisms for diffusing imperial propaganda were far from foolproof. An alternative reading of the period might list the following points in response to the Alomes thesis of imperial dominance:

- The citizens of Australian and New Zealand cities, whilst living in derivative contexts, did not relate to imperial sentiment, but remained in many instances startlingly indifferent to such an

identity. Some of the key institutions that were fuelling imperial sentiment in Britain followed different paths of development in the Antipodes.

- The connections with Britain were speedier, but so too were those between the Antipodes and the USA. British values were not accepted uncritically.
- The teaching profession did not value imperial culture to the degree that is often assumed in many accounts. Imperial propaganda societies were also relatively unsuccessful. Protestant churches boosted the cause of the Empire via the pulpit, but only a third of the population attended a place of worship in 1900 to hear sermons.
- The 'invention of imperial tradition' failed in many instances. Most obviously, the Earl of Meath's attempt to make Empire Day a widely observed date in the calendar was only partly successful in the Antipodes. Trafalgar Day also had a very low profile.
- Invasion fears could lead to anti-British as well as pro-British sentiment. Many Antipodeans felt that they were being abandoned by the British in the Pacific and that they needed a local navy. This is partly revealed by the faltering of the Navy Leagues in the early 1900s.
- The initial process of colonisation in the Antipodes had largely played itself out by 1880, thus a discourse of race is lacking. By 1908, public rhetoric increasingly placed Australia and New Zealand in relation to the USA.
- The political uses of imperial and monarchical performance by incumbent politicians is recognised – many Lord Mayors were knighted for their services to the city – but the sentiment was not matched in working-class publications such as *The Truth* or the *Labor Call*.

This study has noted that the Antipodean city, whilst 'derivative', was also intent on proving itself to be the equal of an international city. Although they represented the 'British city overseas', to use Asa Briggs' terminology, they were also 'new world cities' located in the Pacific system.² Indeed, from the 1880s onwards, the architectural style of the city was in fact increasingly derived from the USA and the Chicago School. Rhetoric of progress voiced at the time of the International Exhibitions of the 1880s, whilst embracing the concept of 'Greater Britain' in the Southern Seas, also made comparisons between Antipodean cities and international cities. As one historian notes: 'Melbourne was not London reproduced, nor was Victoria the England of the Pacific. Rather these new spaces were places of dislocation and rapid transculturation for newcomers and Indigenous peoples alike.'³ This outlook also perhaps

explains the relative reluctance of many Antipodeans to embrace the imperial federation project at the turn of the century, believing that it would bind them into relationships that were inflexible and would block cooperation with the wider world. By the 1920s and 1930s, elements of US popular culture (dance halls and cinema) were far more in evidence than those from Britain. As Jill Matthews notes, by the end of the 1920s, 'modern popular culture was fully ensconced in the public domain as American and commercial'.⁴ Whilst connections between the Antipodes and Britain were speedier by the 1880s, those with the USA were also accelerated. A significant factor which caused imperial culture to fade in the later Victorian and Edwardian Antipodean city was the lack of a new 'conservative' press, which was a notable development in late Victorian Britain. In each of the three cities studied by Brad Beaven, for example, a new newspaper emerged in the 1880s which trumpeted the Empire and projected it onto local issues.⁵ Whilst 'conservative' with a small 'c', neither *The Argus*, *The Herald*, *The Press* nor the *New Zealand Herald* pandered to the 'new imperialism' in the way in which their British counterparts such as the *Daily Mail* and other English city newspapers did, and a localised dimension to Empire did not as a consequence develop. Thus, Antipodean daily newspapers had as much international news in them as they did British news. There were comparatively low levels of news which featured the wider British Empire. The overseas news pages were simply not dominated by British news. Understandably, the part of the globe that the Antipodean city dweller was kept most up to date with was, perhaps predictably, the 'Tasman world' and much of this news was of a commercial bent. News reports from Britain were also usually concerned with developments which had some commercial relevance to Antipodean society. Imperial ostentation and ceremony evidently held little interest for citizens living so great a physical distance from the heart of the Empire. By the 1920s and 1930s, royalty was the subject of the society press, such as the Melbourne publication *Table Talk*. The royal family had effectively been downgraded to the status of celebrity.

In his recent monograph *Visions of Empire*, Beaven demonstrates that there was a heightening of imperial sentiment in British cities, which was reflected in the public culture of city institutions after 1880. By comparison, the imperial public culture of the Antipodean city was more muted. The fulcrum of middle-class public culture was the town hall. It was from here that the individuals and leagues that were most keen to retain the imperial link were based and diffused their propaganda of Empire, but it is evident that much of this propaganda was

received with indifference or even hostility. Indeed, even in the context of middle-class public culture, civic parades celebrating imperial events were less visible in the Antipodean city. Andrew Brown-May points to the arrival of members of the royal family and the processions which they provoked, yet these tours were relatively infrequent (1901, 1920, 1926–7 and 1934) and between these visits, imperial processions are hard to locate.⁶ Even in the context of post-war turbulence and sectarian tensions in Melbourne, the response of the Victorian Protestant Association to Catholic Archbishop Daniel Mannix's inflammatory use of St Patrick's Day was the staging of a loyalist demonstration *within* the confines of the Town Hall. Invented traditions such as Empire Day and Trafalgar Day evidently failed to secure their place in public space. Many adults simply regarded both Empire Day and the King's Birthday as opportunities for leisure as much as an opportunity to reflect on their role as imperial citizens. The extent to which schoolchildren were indoctrinated with imperial fervor is contested. Many viewed the stories of the Empire that appeared in the *School Paper* and *School Journal* as entertainment, and this aspect was reinforced on the afternoon of Empire Day, when sport was encouraged. After the First World War, Empire Day was further diluted by reference to the League of Nations and the rise of 'Good Will Day' and 'Magna Carta Day' by the mid-1920s.⁷

In addition, working-class behaviour at the time of exhibitions reflected their perception of these events as sites of leisure and pleasure rather than education. Trafalgar Day similarly failed to resonate at the edge of the Empire as much as it did at its heart. The city naval parade in Melbourne lasted for only a brief period in the mid-1930s before it returned to the confines of the naval base.

Not surprisingly, the Round Table found to its evident disappointment that imperial issues had little impact in national elections. Indeed, as this study has demonstrated, imperial loyalty leagues were relatively unsuccessful in spreading imperial sentiment to the wider population. The domain of the middle-class imperialist, societies such as the RSSG foundered on the rocks of either cosmopolitanism or indifference. As Bernard Porter notes, the leagues certainly 'failed to penetrate the crucial class barrier. They [the working class] did not speak the same language'.⁸ Many British settlers instead preferred to participate in the more informal meetings of county societies than the rather stuffy imperial leagues which were led by the colonial upper class.⁹ In the case of other imperial organisations such as the Victorian League, a different developmental path was followed, with racial barriers being

retained well into the inter-war period and the notion of feminine and masculine boundaries being rather more difficult to identify. This perhaps also hindered a unified approach to the Empire, with branches deviating from the metropolitan model. A cluster of other imperial loyalty leagues were more intent on focusing upon local issues than maintaining the wider link with the Empire. A separate path to development (an imperial *sonderweg*?) was also witnessed amongst organised youth groups such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides and Boys' Brigade, where local versions of these groups emerged, most significantly, in the form of Cossgrove's Girl Peace Scouts. By the 1920s, this organisation had been subsumed within the global Guide movement, yet in the mid-1920s, the spirit of internationalism eroded the imperial flavour of these movements and, indeed, the tyranny of distance meant that Antipodean youth groups were still well removed from the heart of the movement up to 1939. The YAL, which grew in strength during the 1920s, interacted as much with the USA as with Britain. Such separate paths of development meant that the imperial project was only partially successful. This is perhaps the most significant point which the chapters in this book have demonstrated. Whilst at a diplomatic level, the Empire transformed into the Commonwealth during the inter-war decades, at a popular level, such conceptions held comparatively little meaning.

The question as to whether empires need imperial cultures to sustain them underpins what has been presented here. Porter's claim is that they do not. He notes that any rhetoric will do, whether that discourse be liberal or conservative, progressive or reactionary. He argues that this discourse is usually indigenously, not externally derived.¹⁰ Let us take one example that Porter uses: the notion of 'progress'.¹¹ Progress in an Antipodean context could be utilised at times of imperial triumph or indeed imperial crisis. On the news of the relief of Mafeking in May 1900, the *Melbourne Weekly Times*, for example, published a supplement which reflected on the development of the city of Melbourne since the 1830s: 'Every reader will receive a special 12 page supplement treating of Melbourne today. The Queen city of the South notwithstanding the comparatively short time in which it has developed, has experienced its ebbs and flows ... is decked in all but the brightest array.'¹² Yet such rhetoric had been used since the 1880s to denote the rise of what George Sala branded 'Marvellous Melbourne'. The rhetoric was also used at the time of the International Exhibitions of 1880 and 1888 to denote Melbourne's global standing, but it could equally be used in the context of inter-colonial rivalry before 1900. In fact, at the time of

Melbourne's International Exhibition in 1880, a number of broadsheet panoramas were published which depicted a bird's-eye or isometric view of the city. These depictions were loved by city dwellers, because, as Graeme Davison notes, 'each viewer could locate his own home or workplace in the large scheme of things'.¹³ This phenomena was not especially linked to the Empire; citizens would have wanted such depictions even if they were not located within it. This study has confirmed that Empire was an identity that had rather shallow roots and goes some way to explaining why imperial sentiment evaporated so quickly in the decades after 1945.

Notes

Introduction: Imperial Sentiment in the British Empire – Themes and Perspectives

1. See the comments of S.J. Potter in his *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System 1876–1922* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 2.
2. C. Dilke, *Greater Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1869); J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (London: Macmillan, 1883). An exploration of intellectual ideas based on notions of ‘Greater Britain’ has most recently been provided by Duncan Bell in his monograph *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future World Order 1860–1900* (Princeton University Press, 2007).
3. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, Chapter 8, esp. p. 171.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
5. A useful survey of imperial loyalty organisations is provided in J.M. MacKenzie’s *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880–1960* (Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 147–72.
6. For more on the communications revolution of the later nineteenth century, see Potter, *News and the British World*; K.S. Inglis, ‘The Imperial Connection: Telegraphic Communication between England and Australia 1872–1902’ in A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones (eds), *Australia and Britain* (Sydney University Press, 1980); B. Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History* (Melbourne University Press, 1949), p. 19.
7. J.E. Tyler, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity 1868–1895* (London: Longmans, 1938), p. 10.
8. W.P. Morrell, *Britain and New Zealand* (London: Longmans, 1944), p. 33.
9. P. Mein-Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 142–3.
10. S. Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 4: 1901–42, The Succeeding Age* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 126.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. M. Dunn, *Australia and the Empire: From 1788 to the Present* (Sydney: Fontana, 1984), p. 63.
14. J. Bridgen, *The Australian Tariff: An Economic Inquiry* (Melbourne University Press, 1929), pp. 148–9.
15. B. Pinkstone and D. Meredith, *Global Connections: A History of Exports and the Australian Economy* (Canberra: AGPS, 1992), p. 102.
16. *Victorian Year-Book 1879* (Victoria: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1879), p. 20.
17. *Victorian Year-Book 1910–11* (Victoria: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1911), p. 566.
18. See ‘Birthplaces of the People of Victoria’ in *Victorian Year-Book 1910–11*, p. 566; J. Eddy and D. Schreuder (eds), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert their Nationalities 1880–1914* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988).

19. The ANA's evolution is most fully explored by Marion Aveling in 'A History of the Australian Natives Association 1871–1900' (PhD thesis, Monash University, 1970). See also the comments by Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688–1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 73.
20. C. Blackton, 'Australian Nationality and Nationalism, 1850–1900', *Historical Studies, Australia & New Zealand*, 9 (1961), p. 354.
21. *Victorian Year-Book 1938–39* (Victoria: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1939), p. 306.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Victorian Year-Book 1894* (Victoria: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1895), p. 42.
24. *Victorian Year-Book, 1937–38* (Victoria: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1938), p. 226. Significantly, the numbers of people giving no reply to the question of religion rose from 1.5 per cent in 1921 to 12.9 per cent in 1933.
25. *Census of New Zealand 1891* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1892), p. 81.
26. *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1893* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1894), p. 62.
27. E.J. Von Dadelszen, *Report on the Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of 5th April 1891* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1891), p. 109.
28. See B. Kingston, *Glad, Confident Morning Vol. 3. Oxford History of Australia 1860–1900* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 85; Macintyre, *The Succeeding Age, 1901–1942*, p. 65.
29. H. Jackson, 'The Later Victorian Decline in Churchgoing: Some New Zealand Evidence', *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 56(1) (1983), p. 100.
30. See M. McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914–1918* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1980), Chapter 6.
31. *New Zealand Official Year-Book 1905* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1905), p. 125.
32. L. Frost, *The New Urban Frontier: Urbanisation and City Building in Australasia and the American West* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1991).
33. *New Zealand Year-Book 1901* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1910), p. 119.
34. R. Trainor, *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialized Area, 1830–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 18.
35. Profiles are provided in *The Cyclopaedia of Victoria: Descriptive and Biographical, Fact Figures and Illustrations* (Melbourne, Cyclopaedia Company, 1903), pp. 310–28; *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive. Historical, Biographical, Facts Figures, Illustrations, Vol. 1, Wellington Province* (Wellington: Cyclopaedia Company, 1897), pp. 271–86; *Vol. 2, Auckland Province* (1902), pp. 115–22; *Vol. 3, Canterbury Province* (1903), pp. 100–4.
36. These being Benjamin Benjamin, Arthur Snowden, Malcolm McEacharn, Henry Weedon, Samuel Gillott, David Valentine Hennessy, John Swanson, William Brunton, Stephen Morrell and Harold Smith. See A. Brown-May and S. Swain (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Melbourne* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 459.
37. See P.H. De Serville, 'Burstton, James (1856–1920)' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB), Vol. 7, 1891–1939* (Melbourne University Press, 1979), pp. 493–4.
38. For Job Ham, see I. McLaren, 'Job Ham, Cornelius (1837–1909)' in *ADB, Vol. 4 1851–1890* (Melbourne University Press, 1972), pp. 328–9. For Downes Carter, see H. Rosenbloom, 'Downes Carter, Godfrey (1830–1902)' in *ADB, Vol. 3, 1851–1890* (Melbourne University Press, 1969), p. 363.

39. For Cain, see J.A. Hone, 'Cain, William (1831–1914)' in *ADB, Vol. 3, 1851–1890*, p. 327; for Benjamin, see G. Solomon, 'Benjamin, Sir Benjamin (1834–1905)' in *ibid*, pp. 139–40.
40. For Lang, see J.A. Hone, 'Lang, Matthew (1830–1893)' in *ADB, Vol. 5, 1851–1890* (Melbourne University Press, 1974), p. 59; for Snowden, see B. Barrett, 'Snowden, Sir Arthur (1829–1918)' in *ADB, Vol. 12, 1891–1939* (Melbourne University Press, 1990), pp. 8–9.
41. D. Dunstan, 'McEacharn, Sir Malcolm (1852–1910)' in *ADB, Vol. 9, 1891–1939* (Melbourne University Press, 1986), pp. 263–4.
42. D. Dunstan, 'Hennessy, Sir David Valentine (1858–1923)' in *ibid*, pp. 262–3.
43. D. Dunstan, 'Cabena, William (1853–1928)' in *ADB, Vol. 7, 1891–1939* (Melbourne University Press, 1979), p. 521.
44. Of the men listed as councillors in the contemporary publications *Cyclopedia of Victoria* and *Cyclopedia of New Zealand (1897–1906)*, the following occupations are listed. For Melbourne: Solicitor 1, Auctioneer 1, Miner (Chairman of the Board of Works), 1, Businessmen/Owner of Business, 1 Builder 1, Railway Car Builder 1, Merchant 3, Accountant, 2, Contractor 2, Ship Owner 1, Owner of Chemist 1, Teacher then Businessman 1, Architect 1. For Auckland: Miner 1, Solicitor 1, Militia Man 1, Licenced Victualler 1, Businessman 1, Carpenter/Builder 1, Butcher 1, Manager of Merchant Company 1, Engineer 1, Barrister 1, Plummer and Gasfitter 1, Chemist 1, Proprietor of Carriage Company 2, Businessman 1. For Wellington: Owner of Foundry 1, Merchant 2, Owner of Cutlery Business 1, Tobacconist 1, Warehouseman 1, Director of Woollen Company 1, Owner of Commission Agency Business 1, Solicitor 2. For Christchurch: Plumber 1, Barrister 1, Milling Trader 1, Soft Goods Merchant 1, Merchant 1, Partner in Engineering Firm 1, Painter and Decorator 1, Hardware Broker 1, Building Trade 1, Brewer 1, Auctioneer 1, Tin Dresser 1.
45. D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2002), pp. 27–40. See also D. McCaughey, N. Perkins and A. Trumble, *Victoria's Colonial Governors 1839–1900* (Melbourne University Press, 1990); G. McLean, *The Governors: New Zealand's Governors and Governors-General* (Otago University Press, 2006).
46. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 36.
47. Melbourne Town Hall was opened in 1870, designed in French Second Empire style by architect Joseph Reed and described in the *Encyclopedia of Melbourne* as 'the hub of Melbourne's social life' (p. 469). Wellington Town Hall opened in 1904, a classical building with a 177-foot clock tower. The foundation stone was laid by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall in 1901. It too is described by Redmar Yska as the 'hub of the city's social and cultural life': Redmar Yska, *Wellington: Biography of a City* (Auckland: Reed, 2006), p. 116. Auckland Town Hall opened in 1911, whilst the citizens of Christchurch had rejected the building of a town hall in the 1870s and the Provincial Government Building was used for this purpose instead. See W.H. Scotter, *A History of Canterbury, Vol. III* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957–71), pp. 45–6; G. Bush, *Decently and in Order: The Centennial History of Auckland City Council* (Auckland: Collins, 1971), pp. 178–80.
48. J.A. Froude, *Oceana, or England and Her Colonies* (London: Longmans, 1886), p. 137.
49. *Ibid*, p. 89.

50. *Ibid*, p. 135.
51. *Ibid*, pp. 148–9. Froude noted in his visit to Melbourne that: ‘The young men who are to inherit fortunes are said to leave something to be desired. To be brought up with nothing to do, with means of enjoying every form of pleasure without the trouble of working for it, with a high station so far as wealth can confer a high station and to have no duties attached to it, is not a promising equipment’ (p. 138). This would perhaps have contributed to the relative lack of imperial civic culture in the city during the period 1900–20.
52. C. Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1890), p. vii.
53. *Ibid*, p. 215.
54. *Ibid*, p. 259.
55. *Ibid*, pp. 225–6.
56. *Ibid*, p. 259.
57. *Ibid*, p. 260.
58. *Ibid*.
59. *Ibid*.
60. *Ibid*.
61. *Ibid*, p. 332.
62. For the life of Richard Jebb, see J.B. Miller, ‘Jebb, Richard. (1874–1953)’ in H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 29 (Oxford University Press, 2004) and for his ideas, see J.D.B. Miller, *Richard Jebb and the Problem of Empire* (London: Athlone Press, 1956); Eddy and Schreuder (eds) *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*; and D. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester University Press, 2006). Jebb’s major publications were entitled *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), *The Imperial Conferences: A History and Survey in Two Volumes* (London: Longman, 1911), *The Britannic Question: A Survey of Alternatives* (London: Longman, 1913) and *The Empire in Eclipse* (London: Chapman, 1926).
63. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, p. 1.
64. *Ibid*, p. vii.
65. *Ibid*, pp. 1 and 84.
66. As Ged Martin noted: ‘Every major argument for or against closer union advanced in the late nineteenth century had appeared in the earlier decades’: G. Martin, ‘Empire Federalism and Imperial Parliamentary Union 1820–1870’, *Historical Journal*, 16(1) (1973), p. 90. Imperial federation was partly stimulated by the examples of the USA and Canada, and European examples like Germany and Switzerland. Both the USA and Canada had, until the mid-nineteenth century, been included within the conception of a ‘Greater Britain’ and the Swiss system of federation. It held out the possibility of an imperial trading system, whilst for others it offered a possible defence system in an era of increasing national tensions. It was also sometimes advocated as a solution to the pressing question of Irish Home Rule. The conception of imperial federation took a number of forms. Many pamphlets produced by contemporaries in the 1880s and 1890s advocated an imperial parliament with seats allocated to each component member according to population size (India was often omitted from consideration).
67. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, pp. 1–2.

68. Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*, p. 291. According to Geoffrey Blainey, this phenomenon 'was one of the riddles of Australian politics'. Victorian politicians of the 1890s, Blainey has suggested, had been raised in the relatively conflict-free era of the 1850s in Britain, whereas Sydney and Brisbane politicians had arrived in steamships from a later period in British history (the 1880s) which had been marked by social tensions. Liberals were the dominant force in Victoria and from 1903 were led by Alfred Deakin. Within the Parliament of Victoria, the Labor Party also remained surprisingly weak. It did win seats in Melbourne, but its success in the wider colony and state was limited. Some historians have argued that this weakness explains why an anti-British/imperial sentiment, primarily in the form of the Sydney-based *Bulletin*, which Dilke and other visitors identified as 'Republican and Protectionist', was rather less pronounced here. See G. Blainey, *A History of Victoria* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 152.
69. S. Macintyre, 'Australia' in R.W. Winks and A. Low (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. V, *Historiography* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 180.
70. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*.
71. Blackton, 'Australian Nationality and Nationalism 1850–1900', p. 351.
72. *Ibid*, p. 352.
73. *Ibid*.
74. *Ibid*.
75. D. Cole, 'The Crimson Thread of Kinship: Ethnic Ideas in Australia 1870–1914', *Historical Studies*, 14 (1971), pp. 511–25.
76. D. Cole, 'The Problems of Nationalism and Imperialism in British Settlement Colonies', *Journal of British Studies*, 10(2) (1971), pp. 160–82.
77. F.K. Crowley, '1901–1914' in F.K. Crowley (ed.), *A New History of Australia* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1974), p. 178.
78. C. Grimshaw, 'Australian Nationalism and the Imperial Connection 1900–1914', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 3(2) (1958), p. 161.
79. C. Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867–1914* (Toronto University Press, 1970), p. 9.
80. *Ibid*, p. 260.
81. Crowley, '1901–1914', p. 261.
82. *Ibid*, p. 262.
83. N. Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, 32 (2008), p. 79. Among the works cited by Meaney at p. 77 as examples of this are: S. Alomes, *A Nation at Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); R. Burrell, *A Nation of Our Own: Citizenship and Nation-Building in Federation Australia* (Melbourne: Longman, 1995); D. Day, *The Reluctant Nation* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).
84. I disagree with Meaney here. Close analysis of Empire Day suggests that it was far from widespread and was in fact used for leisure purposes outside the school context. See Chapter 6 for more on this.
85. W.P. Morrell, *New Zealand* (London: Ernest Benn, 1935), p. 112: 'The Empire belonged to the imagination: New Zealand belonged to the realm of reality.'
86. Keith Sinclair, *Imperial Federation: A Study of New Zealand Policy and Opinion 1880–1914* (London: Athlone Press, 1955), p. 24.

87. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), pp. 125–42 and 156–73. These thoughts were initially mooted in his *A History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 1959, 5th edn 2000), pp. 221–41.
88. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 108.
89. J. Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001).
90. F. Driver and D. Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 4.
91. J.M. MacKenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire': Glasgow – Imperial Municipality' in Driver and Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities*, p. 221.
92. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*; J. Richards, *Film and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army* (Manchester University Press, 1997); and C. Hall and S. Rose, 'Introduction' in C. Hall and S. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press, 2006). See also C. Hall, 'Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain' in S. Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
93. B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 115 and 307.
94. A.S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Longman, 2004).
95. See J.M. MacKenzie's review of *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* in *Round Table*, 94(379) (2005); A. Burton's review appears in *Victorian Studies*, 47(4) (2005).
96. See Porter's subsequent musings in 'Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent Mindedness', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36(1) (2008), pp. 101–17. See also R. Price, 'Is Bernard Porter's *Absent-Minded Imperialists* Useful for the Study of Empire and British National Culture?', paper presented at the NACBS Conference, Boston, MA, 19 November 2006. Available at: <http://faculty.history.umd.edu/RPrice/NACBS%20111906%20Porter%20Session.pdf> (date accessed 17 September 2013) and his article 'One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire and their Imperial Culture', *Journal of British Studies*, 45(3) (2006), pp. 602–27.
97. Macintyre, 'Australia', p. 175. See also the introduction to K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw and S. Macintyre, *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures* (Melbourne University Press, 2007), pp. 1–15.
98. E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). There have recently been useful historical studies of a post-colonial nature that reveal the Antipodean city to have been a white, middle-class space which displaced native peoples from its boundaries in the period c. 1830–90. For example, see P. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010); L. Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester University Press, 2001); J. Evans, P. Grimshaw, D. Philips and S. Swain, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies 1830–1910* (Manchester University Press, 2003). In this sense, Antipodean cities were of course explicitly 'imperial'. The discussion here does not disagree with this perspective, but is mostly concerned with the nature of the imperial connection between the metropole and the colony; in other words, how far did white settlers identify with the wider Empire?

1 From Imperial Federation to the Empty Pavilion: Empire Sentiment in British Empire Cities 1880–1914

1. Rather curiously it must be said, given that the enthusiasm of overseas Britons for 'Britishness' was necessary to make the Empire 'project' work.
2. D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820–1977' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), esp. p. 134. See also J. Schneer, *London 1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
3. See, for example, 'The Spirit of the Coronation', *The Round Table*, 1 (1910–11), pp. 426–34 at p. 428: 'The Crown is not only the symbol but the chief cause of unity. It is a binding force in the British Empire. Remove this centre of attraction and the Empire would dissolve.'
4. D.S. Ryan, 'Staging the Imperial City: The Pageant of London, 1911' in F. Driver and D. Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 117–35.
5. For a description of the pageant, see *The Times*, 10 January 1911, p. 4.
6. S.C. Lomas, *Festival of Empire: Souvenir of the Pageant of London* (London: Bemrose & Sons, 1911). For the dispute over the naming of the pageant, see the comments of someone who called themselves simply 'Onlooker' in *The Times*, 11 January 1911, p. 11. Lascelles described it as such from this point onwards.
7. See, for example, the suggestion for its expansion into an Empire festival in the *Empire Review*, XIX(10) (March 1910), p. 74.
8. Note, for example, Lascelles' comments made at a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel in 1910 that 'it is only within the last few years that the average citizen has taken any vital interest in the British Empire': *The Times*, 24 February 1910, p. 6. The hindrance that a localised patriotism could pose to imperial citizenship was realised by W.K. McClure in an article which appeared in the *Empire Review*, XV (1908) entitled 'The Abuse of Local Patriotism'. He noted that 'until a comparatively recent date, the relations between colonies and mother country were such that the local feeling was tending to swamp, in outward manifestation at least, the wider patriotism that draws its inspiration from the Empire and race' (pp. 21–2). For a treatment of the localised patriotism in relation to the Second Boer War in English cities, see B. Beaven, *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870–1939* (Manchester University Press, 2012).
9. Deborah S. Ryan, 'Staging the Imperial City: The Pageant of London, 1911' in F. Driver and D. Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester University Press, 1999).
10. *The Argus*, 21 January 1911, p. 17. *The Times* noted in its columns that Fisher's ministry was the 'least pageant loving section of the community' and that 'it considers that displays are unimportant compared with what might be achieved if the money was spent here [Australia]': 2 March 1911, p. 5.
11. It is somewhat ironic that the Federal Parliament, sitting in Melbourne whilst awaiting the construction of the new federal capital in Canberra, informed the organisers by Reuters telegram, a technological innovation usually seen as enabling the Empire to be more closely linked, but in this

- case loosening the bonds of Empire. See D. Day, *Andrew Fisher: Prime Minister of Australia* (London: Fourth Estate, 2008), p. 207.
12. *The Argus*, 20 February 1911, p. 8.
 13. *Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates*, 5–10 October 1911, p. 555.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 617.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 618.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Comments of W. Elliot Johnson in the same parliamentary debate.
 20. This model is outlined in Alomes, *A Nation at Last?*, pp. 55–6.
 21. *The Socialist*, 4 August 1911.
 22. *The Times*, 20 February 1911, p. 7.
 23. J. Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), p. 41.
 24. Reported in the *Brisbane Courier*, 8 March 1911, p. 5.
 25. *The Round Table*, II (December 1911–September 1912), pp. 379–80.
 26. *The Argus*, 12 May 1911, p. 6.
 27. *The Argus*, 27 May 1911, p. 18.
 28. G. Martin, 'Empire Federalism and Imperial Parliamentary Union 1820–1870', *Historical Journal*, 16(1) (1973), pp. 65–92.
 29. G. Martin, 'The Idea of "Imperial Federation"' in R. Hyam and G. Martin (eds), *Re-appraisals in British Imperial History* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 130.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
 32. *New Zealand Herald*, 14 January 1885, p. 4.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. *The Age*, 29 July 1884, p. 4.
 35. J.D. Anson, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Victoria, 1885–1900' (BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1959), p. 10.
 36. *The Age*, 16 August 1889, p. 4.
 37. *Ibid.* Indeed, J.A. Froude had cast doubt on federation in *Oceana*, noting that the colonies were in no mood for a union which 'may bring them under the authority of Downing Street' (p. 11). Instead, he posited an organic union based on sentiment for the mother country (p. 13).
 38. Anson, 'The Imperial Federation Movement', p. 4.
 39. L. Foster, 'The Imperial Federation League in Victoria after Australian Federation: An Analysis of its Structure, Personnel, Aims and Decline' (BA (Hons) thesis, Monash University, 1979), p. 13.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. SLV, E.E. Morris, 'Imperial Federation: A Lecture Delivered at Melbourne Town Hall', 28 August 1885, p. 5.
 42. *The Argus*, 28 August 1885, p. 5.
 43. SLV, 'Imperial Federation Addresses 1885–1909', Public Meeting, Melbourne Town Hall, 5 June 1885, p. 4.
 44. G.R. Maclean, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada, 1884–1902' (PhD thesis, Duke University, 1958), p. 108.
 45. Foster, 'The Imperial Federation League in Victoria', p. 53.
 46. Maclean, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada', p. 277.

47. *The Age*, 16 August 1889, p. 4.
48. It was proposed by David Buchanan that the national destiny of Australia was to form an independent nation. See *Young Australia: The Official Organ of the Imperial Federation League*, III(6) (1889), p. 717.
49. Maclean, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada', p. 115.
50. *The Argus* cited in Anson, 'The Imperial Federation Movement', p. 13.
51. Foster, 'The Imperial Federation League in Victoria', pp. 58, 80.
52. See *The Star*, 15 October 1889, p. 3; *Young Australia*, III(6) (1889), pp. 716–17; Sinclair, *Imperial Federation*, p. 13.
53. W.P. Reeves, *The Long White Cloud* (Auckland: Golden Press, 1973).
54. Sinclair, *Imperial Federation*, p. 13.
55. Maclean, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada', p. 109.
56. K.S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan 1885* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1985), p. 10.
57. *New Zealand Herald*, 9 February 1885, p. 4.
58. Inglis, *The Rehearsal*, pp. 44, 73, 82.
59. *The Argus*, 25 February 1885, p. 4.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *The Argus*, 13 February 1885, p. 5.
62. J. Damousi, 'War and Commemoration: The Responsibility of Empire', in D.M. Schreuder and S. Ward (eds), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 290.
63. See, for example, *The Argus*, 30 May 1885, p. 5. The collection of funds was overseen by the city's elite, most especially the Governor of the Colony. A description of the city elite present at the meeting is provided in this report.
64. *The Argus*, 24 February 1885, p. 6.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *The Argus*, 20 February 1885, p. 4.
68. *The Argus*, 17 March 1885, p. 5.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *The Press*, 7 February 1885, p. 3.
71. *New Zealand Herald*, 25 February 1885, p. 3.
72. For the fears, see R.G. Lungley, 'Russophobia in New Zealand 1873–1905' (BA (Hons) dissertation, Massey University, 1975); G. Barratt, *Russophobia in New Zealand 1838–1908* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981).
73. *New Zealand Herald*, 11 March 1885, p. 5.
74. Inglis, *The Rehearsal*, p. 155. Ironically, by 1909, the statue was in a state of neglect and disrepair. See *The Argus* 19 May 1909, p. 5.
75. C. Wilcox, 'Australian Involvement in the Boer War: Imperial Pressure or Colonial Realpolitik?' in J.A. Moses and C. Pugsley (eds), *The German Empire and Britain's Pacific Dominions 1871–1919: Essays on the Role of Australian and New Zealand in World Politics in the Age of Imperialism* (Claremont: Regina Press, 2000), p. 198.
76. See M. Hutching, 'New Zealand Women's Opposition to the South African War' in J. Crawford and I. McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War* (Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 53.

77. See, for example, *Evening Post*, 17 November 1899, p. 2. John Crawford has noted that the war had a complex effect on the soldiers who participated in it, ranging from a belief in New Zealand's place in the Empire to a more nationalistic outlook. J. Crawford, 'The Impact of the War on the New Zealand Military Forces and Society' in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, p. 209.
78. See, for example, *Evening Post*, 17 November 1899, p. 2.
79. *The Argus*, 30 October 1899, pp. 4–5.
80. *Otago Witness*, 19 October 1899, p. 23.
81. *Ibid*, p. 23.
82. *Ibid*.
83. *Otago Daily Times*, 26 March 1900, p. 2.
84. *Evening Post*, 8 April 1901, p. 5.
85. *The Argus*, 21 December 1899, p. 5. *The Argus* itself contributed 100 guineas to the fund.
86. See, for example, E. Ellis, 'New Zealand Women and the War' in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, pp. 137–8.
87. Craig Wilcox shifted his position on the importance of the war to Australians. In his essay written in 2000, he suggested that 'the official Australian commitment was overtaken by a popular Australian involvement' in the period from October 1899 to mid-1900. See Wilcox, 'Australian Involvement in the Boer War', p. 198. Later he argued that for most Australians, the war was 'a sideshow': see C. Wilcox, 'The Australian Perspective on the Boer War' in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, p. 152. See also C. Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899–1902* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 43. It has also been noted that the return of soldiers in the later stages of the war and in 1902 after the war ended was celebrated 'with restraint' in Australia. See the comments made by L. Field, *The Forgotten War: Australian Involvement in the South African Conflict 1899–1902* (Melbourne University Press, 1979), p. 179.
88. M. Oppenheimer, *All Work, No Pay: Australian Civilian Volunteers in War* (Walcha, NSW: Ohio Productions, 2002), p. 25.
89. *Ibid*, p. 24.
90. 'Thirst for News', *Evening Post*, 31 October 1899, p. 4.
91. *Ibid*.
92. R. Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899–1902* (London: Routledge, 1972).
93. *The Age*, 23 May 1900, p. 6.
94. *The Age*, 24 May 1900, p. 6.
95. *Ibid*, p. 8.
96. *Ibid*.
97. *The Argus*, 24 May 1900, p. 8.
98. *The Age*, 24 May 1900, p. 6. For a discussion of this phenomena in the context of the Empire, see S. Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 92–106.
99. *The Age*, 24 May 1900, p. 8.
100. *The Age*, 26 May 1900, p. 4.
101. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, pp. 40–95.

102. See, for example, *The Argus*, 8 October 1894, p. 6; 19 November 1894; 3 August 1896, p. 6.
103. P. Downes, *Shadows on the Stage: Theatre in New Zealand: The First 70 Years* (Dunedin: John Mcindoe, 1975), p. 142.
104. R. Waterhouse, *From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville: The Australian Popular Stage 1788–1914* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1990), p. 128.
105. P. Parsons (ed.), *Companion to Theatre in Australia* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1995), p. 535.
106. *The Argus*, 9 December 1899, p. 13; 15 January 1900, p. 3.
107. *The Argus*, 15 January 1900, p. 3.
108. See ATL, Eph-A-WAR-SA-1900-01-1.
109. *The Argus*, 5 November 1900, p. 7. For Holt, see Parsons, *Companion to Theatre in Australia*, pp. 282–3.
110. *Evening Post*, 5 February 1900, p. 6.
111. *Evening Post*, 26 July 1901, p. 6.
112. M. Hurst, *Music and the Stage in New Zealand: A Century of Entertainments 1840–1943* (Auckland: Charles and Begg, 1943), p. 39.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
114. Downes, *Shadows on the Stage*, p. 103.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Parsons, *Companion to Theatre in Australia*, p. 283; Hurst, *Music and the Stage*, p. 27.
117. See Parsons, *Companion to Australian Theatre*, p. 283; *The Argus*, 2 September 1901, p. 6.
118. *The Argus*, 18 June 1904, p. 4.
119. *Ibid.*
120. G.M. Binns 'Patriotic and Nationalistic Song in Australia to 1919: A Study of the Popular Sheet Music Genre', 2 vols (MA thesis in Music, University of Melbourne, 1988), vol. 1, Chapter 4, 'Songs of the Boer War'.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–6.
122. *Ibid.*
123. D. Dell, *New Zealand Sheet Music Archive*, 3rd edn (Upper Hutt: D. Dell, 1999).
124. In his account of New Zealand's participation, Hall thought that in terms of popular opinion, the war aroused 'intense public interest' in its early stages, but was regarded with a measure of indifference by the end of 1900, then 'came into the public mind again when the new call for volunteers was received'. D.O.W. Hall, *New Zealanders in South Africa, 1899–1902* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1949), p. 87.
125. *The Herald*, 19 January 1901, p. 2.
126. *The Herald*, 2 December 1901, p. 4. For a tempering of the notion of popular enthusiasm at the outbreak of the war in an Australian context, see C.N. Connolly, 'Manufacturing Spontaneity: The Australian Offer of Troops for the Boer War', *Historical Studies* (1978), pp. 106–17. Thus, 'no offer was the product of a significant popular demand for involvement' (p. 106). Stuart Macintyre also notes that the war mood was ephemeral: S. Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1901–1942, The Succeeding Age* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 130. Both L.M. Field and Craig Wilcox confirm the lack of popular enthusiasm at the war's end. See Field, *The Forgotten War*, where he notes that: 'As the months rolled by, other

contingents returned but never to the same public enthusiasm' (p. 127). Wilcox notes that the end of the war 'was not another Ladysmith or Mafeking celebration, not a moment of mass engagement with the war and its aims – the mood needed for such a moment had long ago evaporated': Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War*, p. 342.

127. *The Herald*, 10 December 1901, p. 1.
128. *The Herald*, 27 December 1901, p. 4.
129. *The Herald*, 3 June 1902, p. 6.
130. *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 1902, p. 4.
131. For war weariness, see M. McKinnon, 'Opposition to the War' in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, pp. 28–45; Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia*; Field, *The Forgotten War*.

2 Imperial Identity in Antipodean Cities During the First World War and its Aftermath 1914–30

1. C. Chilton, *The Manhood of the Nation: An Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Industrial Corporation in Christchurch, 20 February 1919* (Christchurch: Sun Printers), p. 9.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Compare, for example, Nicholas Boyack's analysis in 'A Social History of New Zealand Soldiers in World War One, Based upon their Letters and Diaries' (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985) with that of A.M. Conde, 'Australia's Ceremonial Response to War: Troop Departures 1885–1993' (PhD thesis, Monash University, 1994) and J.C. McLeod, 'Activities of New Zealand Women During World War I' (BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Otago, 1978).
4. J. Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830–1970* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 342. In a contemporary investigation of the reasons for rejecting the first referendum of October 1916 in Australia, C.H. Campbell, travelling in rural Victoria, found a variety of reasons for rejecting conscription, many of which related to internal rather than imperial factors, including a dislike of Billy Hughes, the perceived conspiracy against labour to send them out of the country, a reluctance to send sons or relatives to Europe and a reluctance of leading businessmen to take a lead in the 'yes to conscription' campaign lest it offend customers. Most significantly, most had only vague notions of the issues at stake. This evidence does point to localised rather than imperial issues taking priority and being at the heart of citizens' decision making. See *The Argus*, 18 November 1916, p. 7. In the wake of the first referendum, Keith Murdoch explained the defeat as being due to Australia's geographical position, which 'gave her peculiar and urgent problems of population and development' and that these had 'evidently weighed more heavily with the majority of the people than the immediately grave crisis confronting the Empire'. See *The Herald*, 16 December 1916, p. 15.
6. Darwin, *The Empire Project*, p. 342.
7. J. Phillips, 'Was the Great War New Zealand's War?' in C. Wilcox (ed.), *The Great War Gains and Losses: ANZACS and Empire* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1995), p. 84.
8. S. Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in World War I* (Auckland: Random House, 2010).

9. For example, see G. Hucker, 'The Rural Home Front: A New Zealand Region and the Great War 1914–26' (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2006).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 14. However, see the recent contribution by A. Francis, '*To Be Truly British We Must Be Anti-German*': *New Zealand, Enemy Aliens and the Great War Experience* (Oxford; Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 47–68.
11. See J. Smart, 'War and the Concept of a New Social Order: Melbourne 1914–1915' (PhD thesis, Monash University, 1992), p. 122. The crisis was then 'given equal billing with Irish Home Rule'. This neglect was also seen in rural New Zealand. Graham Hucker notes that war enthusiasm is an inadequate description for the spirit of 1914 in the Taranaki region of New Zealand. His work instead uncovered localised concerns coming to the fore. See Hucker, 'The Rural Home Front', pp. 29–48.
12. *The Sun*, 27 July 1914, p. 10.
13. See, for example, the map of telegraph cables displayed in *The Argus* and also the photograph of the war crowd gathered at the paper's office: 5 August 1914, pp. 7 and 10.
14. *The Sun*, 30 July 1914, p. 6.
15. *The Sun*, 6 August 1914, p. 6.
16. *The Sun*, 1 August 1914, p. 8.
17. *The Press*, 1 August 1914, p. 10.
18. *The Press*, 4 August 1914, p. 8.
19. *The Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 8.
20. *The Sun*, 10 August 1914, p. 6; 7 August 1914, p. 6.
21. *The Press*, 6 August 1914, p. 8. It is interesting to note Brian Lewis' comments in his recollections of his Melbourne childhood during the First World War that songs such as 'God Save the King', 'Rule Britannia', 'Sons of the Sea' and 'Soldiers of the King' 'were to drop out of use as the expected war went on': B. Lewis, *Our Empire* (Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 7.
22. *The Press*, 4 August 1914, p. 8.
23. *The Press*, 6 August 1914, p. 8.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *The Herald*, 6 August 1914, p. 4.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *The Argus*, 6 August 1914, p. 6.
28. Smart, 'War and the Concept of a New Social Order', p. 125.
29. J. Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilisation in Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 82. See also the comments of Judith Smart: 'It is by no means clear that the crowds in the streets of Melbourne in that first week of war were expressing support for the politicians' and newspapers' notions of liberty, freedom and democracy': "'Poor Little Belgium'" and Australian Popular Support for War 1914–15', *War and Society*, 12(1) (1994), p. 31. For larrikinism in pre-1914 Antipodean cities, see S. Sleight, 'The Territories of Youth: Young People and Public Space in Melbourne c. 1870–1901' (PhD thesis, Monash University, 2008).
30. *The Star*, 4 August 1914, p. 3.
31. G. Parsons, 'The Christchurch Community at War 1914–1918: Society, Discourse and Power' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2003), p. 27. The section of *The Sun* entitled 'Women's World' published a description of the Mayoress' (Mrs Jane Holland) fund for Canterbury Equipment on 22 August

- 1914, and on 29 August in the same section, four women were featured under the heading 'In the Cause of Empire', all of whom had claim to elite status: Mrs G. Rhodes, Mrs W.D. Stewart, Miss Thurston and Mrs Walter Hill. Mrs Stewart, for example, was the wife of the Minister of Internal Affairs. Judith Smart notes of Melbourne's women that whilst middle-class women with leisure engaged in Red Cross and comforts work, 'working class women were pre-occupied – especially if breadwinner-husbands [sic] or sons enlisted – in keeping households functioning on the meager separation allowance paid to them'. See Smart, 'War and the Concept of a New Social Order', p. 130.
32. For the demonstration, see *The Sun*, 22 August 1914, p. 12. See also Parsons, 'The Christchurch Community at War', p. 25, who notes that patriotic fundraising events were never likely to include working-class organisations.
 33. *The Sun*, 22 August 1914, p. 12. Half-day holidays were also granted for troop marches through Melbourne city centre; Judith Smart argues that these would also have underpinned the motives for crowd attendance as much as national or Empire patriotism. See Smart, 'War and the Concept of a New Social Order', p. 131.
 34. Oppenheimer, *All Work, No Pay*, p. 27.
 35. See, for example, *The Sun*, 17 April 1915, p. 4. For regionally based relief funds in New Zealand, see ATL, *Annual Reports of the Auckland Provincial Patriotic Fund and War Relief Association* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1916–23); *Canterbury Patriotic Fund* (Christchurch: Andrews Bay 1916); *Annual Report and Statements of the War Relief Association of Wellington* (Wellington: New Zealand Times Company).
 36. *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 1916, p. 9.
 37. See, for example, *The Sun*, 'Auckland Patriots: The Parochial Spirit', 23 March 1916, p. 10; *New Zealand Herald*, 20 March 1916, p. 4.
 38. S. Morgan, 'The Home Front: Aspects of Civilian Patriotism in New Zealand During the First World War' (MA thesis, Massey University, 1975), p. 68.
 39. M. Woods, 'Re/Producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand 1906–25' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997), p. 90.
 40. *Ibid*, p. 90. Women did of course also act in anti-imperial or at least non-imperial ways during the First World War – for example, protesting against conscription in both an Australian and a New Zealand context during 1916. See McLeod, 'Activities of New Zealand Women During World War I'. Women also instigated food riots in Melbourne in 1917. See R.B. Scates and R. Frances, *Women and the Great War* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).
 41. *Evening Post*, 15 August 1914, p. 3.
 42. *Evening Post*, 25 September 1914, p. 3.
 43. *Evening Post*, 20 November 1914, p. 2.
 44. *The Argus*, 18 November 1914, p. 9.
 45. *Ibid*. The departure took place on 21 October, but, due to a press blackout, news of the departure was finally delivered to the newspaper-reading public three weeks after the event.
 46. A-M. Condé, 'Australia's Ceremonial Response to War: Troop Departures 1885–1993' (PhD thesis, Monash University, 1994), p. 42.
 47. *Ibid*, p. 47.
 48. Hocken Library University of Otago, MS-1088, Papers of James Allen, J.L. Skeeman, 'Summary of Appreciations of the Average New Zealand Man

- on First Arrival in Expeditionary Force Training Camps 1917' (IGS) Director of Military Training.
49. *Ibid.*
 50. L.L. Robson, *The First A.I.F. A Study of its Recruitment 1914–1918* (Melbourne University Press, 1970), p. 17.
 51. J.N.I. Dawes and L.L. Robson, *Citizen to Soldier: Australia before the Great War, Recollections of Members of the First A.I.F.* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1977).
 52. P. Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1978).
 53. A total of 18 of the interviews are held by the State Library of Victoria (SLV), although, frustratingly, Adam-Smith did not list these interviews in her bibliography in *The Anzacs*.
 54. B. Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (Canberra: ANU, 1974), p. 4.
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
 57. N. Boyack, *Behind the Lines: The Lives of New Zealand Soldiers in the First World War* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1989), p. 6.
 58. E.M. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations During World War I* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 43. On the basis of press analysis, it has also been argued that British public opinion only threw its weight behind the war after the government committed the nation to war with Germany. See A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).
 59. *Ibid.*, p. 44. Alistair Thomson also found complex motives in his study *ANZAC Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 26–9. For studies of factors which lay behind enlistment more generally, see N. Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998); Gregory, *The Last Great War*.
 60. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion*, p. 45.
 61. G. Sheffield, 'Britain and the Empire at War 1914–1918: Reflections on a Forgotten Victory' in J. Crawford and I. McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland: Exisle, 2007), p. 39.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. N. Boyack and J. Tolerton (eds), *In the Shadow of War: New Zealand Soldiers Talk About World War One and their Lives* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), p. 25.
 64. I. McGibbon, 'The Shaping of New Zealand's War Effort, August–October 1914' in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War*, p. 51.
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. M.D. Sheftall, *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 45.
 67. R. White, 'Motives for Joining Up: Self-Sacrifice, Self-Interest and Social Class, 1914–1918', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 9 (1986), pp. 3–16 and 'The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War', *War and Society*, 5(1) (1987), pp. 63–77; B. Zino, 'A Kind of Round Trip: Australian Soldiers and the Round Trip Analogy 1914–1918', *War and Society*, 25(2) (2006), pp. 39–52.
 68. White, 'Motives for Joining Up', p. 5.
 69. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

70. G. Harper, *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home* (Auckland University Press, 2011), p. 60. In his earlier collection of edited letters, Harper notes in his introduction that as a result of the war, 'Notions of duty, honour sacrifice and Empire all suffered': *Letters From the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home 1914–1918* (Auckland: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 14.
71. ATL MS-Papers-1374. Lieutenant Colvin Stewart Algie, War Diary 1914–15.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. J. Phillips, N. Boyack and E.P. Malone (eds), *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the First World War* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1988), p. 262.
75. AWMC, 2 DRL/0254, Diary of Private Granville Bennett.
76. SLV. MS 10138, Bennett Family Papers 1869–1932, Box 1/1, War Diaries of Rev J.P. Bennett, May 1915–16.
77. See, for example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1915, p. 6, which noted that motives for enlistment included 'pure patriotism' or a 'spirit of adventure', while others did so 'because they don't care to feel quite out of it when their comrades are going'. The paper continued by noting: 'Then there is the man who is going because he finds it hard in these times to earn a living and the man who is cajoled into enlisting by the taunts of his sweetheart, or the raillery of his friends. Some it may be desire for fresh scenes, some are actuated by a spirit of revenge, being moved to horror by the accounts of the abominable outrages perpetrated by the enemy in Belgium and in Flanders.'
78. ATL MS- Papers-1417, Diary of C.L. Comyns, 1914–15.
79. AWMC, PR 90/051, Mawer Dougall Cowtan, letter dated 6 August 1952.
80. S.D. Rogers, *Letters Written to His Brother Harold* (Hamilton: E. Anderson, 2007), p. 5.
81. E.G. Pilling, *An Anzac Memory: Extracts from the Rough Diary of Lieutenant E.G. Pilling* (Dunedin: Stanton Bros, 1933), p. 11.
82. For his enlistment see *ibid.*, p. 1 and for Anzac Day observance, see p. 146. Pilling hailed from the city of Dunedin.
83. AWMC, MSS-0844, 'One of Fifty-Nine Thousand' War Recollections of Private Robert Bamford, written by his nephew James Bamford, p. 241.
84. A. Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain* (Melbourne University Press, 2000), p. 27.
85. White, 'The Soldier as Tourist', p. 65. White also makes the point that many men had little to lose and much to gain by enlisting. In a sense, if Empire meant anything, it was as a playground rather than in the nobler sense of imperial loyalty.
86. AWMC 3 DRL/3663, Diary of Private Robert W. Harpley.
87. Boyack, 'A Social History of New Zealand Soldiers in World War One', p. 50.
88. ATL, MS-Papers-3908, Diary of Gerald Beattie, entry for 31 December 1916. Beattie was a schoolteacher. Even before the war, it is evident that Australians and New Zealanders who spent time in the UK did not fully integrate with the host community, but preferred to remain somewhat apart. The Hotel Cecil was a meeting place for elite Australians to network. Numerous advertisements were placed in this publication advertising hotels as being under 'Australian ownership'. In the First World War, Australian and New Zealand casualties were also treated in separate hospitals. For this, see *British Australasian*, 1 July 1915.
89. ATL, MS-Papers- 3908, Diary of Gerald Beattie, entry for 31 December 1916.

90. D. Blair, 'Those Miserable Tommies: Anti-British Sentiment in the Australian Imperial Force 1915–1918', *War and Society*, 19(1) (2001), pp. 72 and 91.
91. *New Zealand Herald*, 9 October 1915, p. 6.
92. *The Herald*, 17 January 1916, 19 January 1916 and 24 January 1916; *The Argus*, 'Play the Man, Enlist, Australia is at Stake', 20 January 1916. For Strong, see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/strong-sir-archibald-thomas-8701> (date accessed 18 September 2013) and for Fink, see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fink-theodore-6171> (date accessed 18 September 2013).
93. *New Zealand Herald*, 15 September 1915, p. 6.
94. For the riots, see Scates and Frances, *Women and the Great War*; and B. Ziino, 'Enlistment and Non-Enlistment in Wartime Australia: Responses to the 1916 Call to Arms Appeal', *Australia Historical Studies*, 41(2) (2010), pp. 217–32.
95. *The Sun*, 14 January 1916, p. 6.
96. *New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1916, p. 9.
97. *New Zealand Herald*, 25 March 1916, p. 9.
98. See, for example, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 March 1916, p. 8.
99. *The Sun*, 3 November 1916, p. 6.
100. *The Herald*, 5 May 1917, p. 4.
101. *The Sun*, 9 April 1918, p. 6.
102. P. Sekules and J. Rees, *Lest We Forget: The History of the Returned Services League 1916–1986* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1986), p. 6.
103. The organisation changed its name in 1940 to the Returned Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia. In 1965 it changed once more to the Returned Services League of Australia.
104. L. Rowe, 'Returned Servicemen and Politics in Victoria 1915–1925' (BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1966), p. 6.
105. See W.R. Mayhew, 'The New Zealand Returned Services Association 1916–1943' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1943), p. 30.
106. M. Crotty, 'The Anzac Citizen: Toward a History of the RSL', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 53(2) (2007), pp. 183–93.
107. *The Bayonet*, 10 January 1919, 3 December 1920.
108. See, for example, *The Duckboard*, 1 April 1924.
109. *The Duckboard*, 1 May 1924.
110. *The Duckboard*, 1 August 1924.
111. *Quick March*, 10 May 1922.
112. ATL, World War I Oral History Archive, observations made during the interviews with Nicolas Boyack or Jane Tolerton (the interviewers) with the following veterans: Joseph Mitchell ATL OHInt 0006/56, interviewed 5 October 1989; Thomas Lane ATL OHInt-0006/46, interviewed 11 August 1988; Charlie Lawrence, OHInt-0006/47, interviewed 9 October 1989; Len Leary, OHInt-0006/48, interviewed 10 September 1988; Robert Jenkin, OHInt-0006/44, interviewed 10 August 1988; Fred Tate, OHInt-0006/76, interviewed 1 May 1988. Tate thought that the RSA only became a drinking club in later years but had nothing to do with Anzac Day.
113. *The Duckboard*, 2 March 1925.
114. S. Alomes, *A Nation at Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880–1988* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); and M. Wilson, 'The Making of Melbourne's Anzac Day', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 20(2) (1974), pp. 197–209. For the ways in which Anzac Day was projected in and received by returning soldiers in the inter-war years,

- see also Thomson, *ANZAC Memories*, p. 140; Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion*, p. 91.
115. *The Duckboard*, 1 January 1925. The Victorian RSL witnessed a dispute in the mid-1920s over an unadvertised job which Ernest Turnbull, the Victorian President, took for himself. This earned him the ire of Gilbert Dyett, President of the League. See Sekulesk and Rees, *Lest We Forget*, p. 57.
 116. *The Duckboard* noted in June 1930 that membership of the Melbourne branch had risen from 400 in 1920 to 1,165 in August 1931. There were 1,229 members of the Melbourne branch of the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) and around 11,000 in Victoria more widely. This was considerably less than the desired figure of 35,000 voiced by the journal in March 1929.
 117. Wilson, 'The Making of Melbourne's Anzac Day', p. 209.
 118. Thomson, *ANZAC Memories*, p. 131. Some Australian newspapers bemoaned a lack of enthusiasm at regular intervals across the inter-war period. See *The Mercury*, 28 April 1917; *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier, South Australia), 24 April 1930, p. 1; *The Advertiser* (Hurstbridge, Victoria), 8 May 1931, p. 4; *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Queensland), 27 March 1937, p. 8.
 119. *The Argus*, 26 April 1933, pp. 7–8.
 120. *The Argus*, 26 April 1926, p. 12; M. Henry, 'Making New Zealanders through Commemoration: Assembling Anzac Day in Auckland, 1916–1939', *New Zealand Geographer*, 62 (2006), pp. 3–12.
 121. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 1932, p. 8.
 122. J. Phillips, 'The Great War and New Zealand Nationalism: The Evidence of the War Memorials' in J. Smart and T. Wood (eds), *Anzac Muster: War and Society in Australia and New Zealand 1914–18 and 1939–1945* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 1992), p. 23.
 123. C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: GP Books, 1990), p. 104.
 124. *Ibid.*
 125. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
 126. K. Pickles, 'Mapping the Memorials for Edith Cavell on the Colonial Edge', *New Zealand Geographer*, 62 (2006), p. 20.
 127. *Ibid.* p. 21.
 128. B. Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 87.
 129. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 130. K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne University Press, 2008), p. 328.
 131. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

3 Empire City or Global City? North American Culture in the Antipodean City c. 1880–1939

1. These were the comments made by Professor C.L. Wood in his foreword in F.L. Irvine Smith, *The Streets of My City* (Wellington: Reed, 1948).
2. *Ibid.*
3. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*.
4. Smith, *Streets of My City*, pp. 148–9.

5. Auckland erected the first statue of Queen Victoria in 1899 to mark the Diamond Jubilee which had taken place two years before, whilst Christchurch created its memorial in 1903 as a way of marking the jubilee of the founding of the settlement and as a memorial to those local soldiers who had died in the Second Boer War. The Duke of Cornwall laid the foundation stone in June 1901 and it was unveiled in May 1903 designed by British sculptor Francis Williamson. Six bronze inserts reflected the colonisation of Canterbury. See M. Stocker, 'Queen Victoria Monuments in New Zealand: A Centenary Survey', *History Now*, 7(4) (2001), pp. 5–9. I am grateful to Eddie Butler-Bowden of Melbourne City Council for sending me an inventory of Melbourne's street furniture: City of Melbourne, *Outdoor Artworks*.
6. Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, pp. 582–3.
7. For comments on the state of the statue, see *The Argus*, 19 May 1909, p. 5; 27 January 1922, p. 8.
8. For useful surveys of the Melbourne statues and other street furniture, see R.T. Ridley, *Melbourne's Monuments* (Melbourne University Press, 1996).
9. The northern Wellington suburb of Khandallah, for example, was effectively created when a Captain Andrews made his home there after retiring from the Indian Army and, as Irving-Smith noted rather disapprovingly, the streets within this area were subsequently renamed to fit with the Indian theme. Crescent Road had its name changed to Simla Crescent in 1925: see Irvine-Smith, *Streets of My City*, p. 215. Yet, for other suburbs, the USA proved to be an influence in the naming of others. Brooklyn, for example, a southerly suburb laid out in the 1880s, contained streets named after American presidents and the suburb incorporated a Central Park. In Melbourne, the vast eastern suburbs took names familiar to the British traveller, although here the names awarded to suburbs tended to reflect Englishness more than the wider Empire, amongst which were Canterbury, Box Hill, Notting Hill, Blackburn and Doncaster.
10. Frost, *The New Urban Frontier*, pp. 18–36; M. Lewis, P. Goad and A. Mayne, *Melbourne: The City's History and Development* (City of Melbourne, 1994).
11. These points are a summary of observations made by Ann McEwan in "'An American Dream" in the "England of the Pacific": American Influences on New Zealand Architecture 1840–1940' (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2001), pp. 14–47.
12. P. Bell and R. Bell, *Implicated: Americanising Australia* (Perth: API-Network, 2007), pp. 26–7.
13. McEwan, "'An American Dream'", p. 192. Among the noted New Zealand architects to take these courses was Edmund Anson, who designed the Centennial Exhibition staged in Wellington in 1940. The style he used was Streamline Moderne Art Deco and was influenced by his visits to the Chicago Exhibition of 1933 and to the New York World Fair and the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition, both of which were staged in 1939. See P. Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture: From Polynesian Beginnings to 1990* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), p. 134. Joseph Dawson also took such a course and designed factories for the Ford Motor Company in various locations in New Zealand; for this, see J. Gatley, 'For(ward) Thinking; The Ford Building Seaview' in J. Wilson (ed.), *Zeal and Crusade: The Modern Movement in Wellington* (Christchurch: Te Waihora, 1996), pp. 21–7.

- J.W. Chapman Taylor was heavily influenced by the arts and crafts style and admired C.F.A. Voysey; see McEwan, “‘An American Dream’”, p. 194; Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture*, p. 80.
14. For example, J. Griffiths, ‘Were There Municipal Networks in the British World c. 1890–1939?’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37(4) (2009), pp. 575–98; McEwan, “‘An American Dream’”.
 15. For more on Gummer, his work in both Auckland and Wellington, and his American influences, see K.J. Shanahan, ‘The Work of W. H. Gummer Architect’ (unpublished BArch dissertation, University of Auckland, 1983), pp. 30–2.
 16. Noted in Lewis *et al*, *Melbourne: The City’s History and Development*, p. 81.
 17. *Ibid*.
 18. *Ibid*, p. 7.
 19. A. Brown-May, ‘The Australian Building’ in Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, p. 44.
 20. For the Finks Building, see www.walkingmelbourne.com/building507.html (date accessed 22 September 2013) and for the New York Permanent Building Society, see <http://www.walkingmelbourne.com/building603.html> (date accessed 22 September 2013).
 21. R. Storey, ‘Skyscrapers’ in Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, p. 665.
 22. Lewis *et al*, *Melbourne: The City’s History and Development*, p. 81.
 23. See http://www.walkingmelbourne.com/building228_the-auditorium.html (date accessed 13 October 2013).
 24. See M. Lewis, ‘Building Technology’ in Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, p. 99.
 25. ‘Walking Melbourne’, www.walkingmelbourne.com/building459_dovers-building-.html (date accessed 22 September 2013).
 26. S. Gardyne, ‘Transition in Architectural Style from Beaux Arts to Bauhaus: Wellington between the Wars 1919–1939’ (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1981), p. 19.
 27. The contract to construct the building had been bid for by the San Francisco company Reid Brothers, but was rejected by Campbell’s Government Department. See McEwan, “‘An American Dream’”, p. 124.
 28. P. Richardson, ‘An Architect of Empire: The Government Buildings of John Campbell in New Zealand’ (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1988), p. 95.
 29. *Ibid*.
 30. See *The Argus*, ‘Rebuilding Melbourne: Modern Architecture’, 22 June 1912, p. 7. J.M. Freeland contends that this new technique first appeared in an Australian context in Sydney in 1910. See J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 249.
 31. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia*, p. 219.
 32. For these, see *N.Z. Building Progress* (July 1917), p. 1003; Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture*, p. 103; McEwan, “‘An American Dream’”, p. 106. For the Californian/Spanish mission-style in an Australian context, see P. Goad, *Melbourne Architecture* (Boorowa, NSW: Watermark Press, 2009), p. 117.
 33. Advocated by L.M. Wilkinson, first Professor of Architecture at the University of Sydney. See Freeland, *Architecture in Australia*, p. 233.
 34. See, for example, the advertisement for the Hotel George in *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects*, XIV(2) (1935), p. ii.

35. R. Storey, *Walking Melbourne: The National Trust Guide to the Historic and Architectural Landmarks of Central Melbourne* (Victoria: National Trust, 2004), p. 33.
36. M.A. Bruce, 'R. A. Lippencott, The American Connection' (BArch thesis, University of Auckland, 1985).
37. Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture*, p. 111.
38. Bruce, 'Lippencott', p. 74.
39. See I. Lochhead, 'New Zealand Architecture in the Thirties: The Impact of Modernism', *Landfall*, 38(4) (1984), p. 470.
40. *The Argus*, 29 July 1925, p. 23.
41. *The West Australian*, 6 May 1927, p. 12.
42. *Ibid.* For a full exploration of Melbourne's inter-war inner-city building redevelopment, see B. Schrader, 'Rebuilding Melbourne: Modernity and Progress in the Central Business District' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2001).
43. *The Argus*, 30 July 1932, p. 24. See also B. Schrader, 'Paris or New York? Contesting Melbourne's Skyline, 1880–1958', *Journal of Urban History*, 36(6) (2010), pp. 823–4.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *New Zealand Building Progress* (September, 1923), p. 8.
46. B. Schrader, 'Modernising Wellington' in Wilson (ed.), *Zeal and Crusade*, p. 12.
47. Gardyne, 'Transition in Architectural Style from Beaux Arts to Bauhaus', p. 15.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
50. For Melbourne's version, see Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, p. 118.
51. McEwan, "'An American Dream'", p. 132.
52. See the following issues of *N.Z. Building Progress*: August 1917, p. 1039; October 1917, p. 42.
53. *N.Z. Building Progress* (August 1923), p. 274.
54. *New Zealand Institute of Architects: Journal of Proceedings*, 3(6) (1915), pp. 14–20.
55. For example, Cyril Trevethick's visit to America was reported in the *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects*, 9(3) (1930), pp. 62–7.
56. McEwan, "'An American Dream'", p. 218. See Knight's outline of modernism in 'Modern Tendencies in Architectural Design', *Journal of the NZIA*, 9(4) (1930), pp. 86–93.
57. *The Argus*, 8 June 1927, p. 14.
58. *Ibid.*
59. SLV, MS9454, Manuscripts of the Royal Australia, Institute of Architects, Boxes 35–8, Newspapers Clippings Files; *The Age*, 7 June 1927.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Anonymous, 'International Architectural Exhibition', originally published in *Architecture*, 6 (1927), pp. 146–8, reprinted in A. Stephen, A. McNamara and P. Goad (eds), *Modernism and Australia: Documents on Art, Design and Architecture, 1917–1967* (Melbourne University Press, 2006), p. 246. There was more credit given in this publication to American Buildings such as the New York Telephone Building, plans of which had been displayed at the exhibition.
62. McEwan, "'An American Dream'", p. 236, citing Anthony Trollope's book *Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 2* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1873), p. 457.
63. SLV, MS5494, Manuscripts of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Boxes 35–8, Newspaper Clipping Scrapbooks; *The Age*, 2 March 1940.

64. This relationship reached its apogee on the eve of the Second World War when movie balls were staged at venues such as Auckland's Peter Pan Cabaret. See *New Zealand Sporting and Dramatic Review*, 26 July 1939, p. 5.
65. *The Argus*, 20 December 1913, p. 22 and 22 January 1914, p. 13.
66. See Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, p. 194. For the opening of a hall in the inner-city suburb of Brunswick, see *The Argus*, 18 August 1914, p. 14.
67. *Ladies Mirror*, 1 September 1924, p. 30. For its opening, see *Auckland Star*, 12 April 1922, p. 7. For its relocation and the reaction of residents, see *Auckland Star*, 5 October 1925 and 26 July 1926.
68. J. Griffiths, 'Popular Culture and Modernity: Dancing in New Zealand Society 1920–1945', *Journal of Social History*, 41(3) (2008), p. 613.
69. *Ibid.*
70. M. Tebbutt, *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 201.
71. C. Baade, "'The Dancing Front": Dance Music, Dancing and the BBC in World War II', *Popular Music*, 25(3) (2006), p. 353, cited in Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, p. 209.
72. ATL Rev, Henry Ryan Papers 83-230-2/02. Undated press clipping, *Strand Magazine*.
73. It is evident that American cars were increasingly favoured by both New Zealanders and Australians in the inter-war years. Ford opened a factory in Geelong, Victoria in 1925 and Seaview, Wellington in 1935–7. See R. White, 'Americanisation and Popular Culture in Australia', *Teaching History* (August 1978), p. 13; Gatley, 'For(ward) Thinking', p. 21. For the impact of American popular culture more widely in Australia, see R. White, 'A Backwater Awash: The Australian Experience of Americanisation', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1(3) (1983), pp. 108–22.
74. For the two versions of America, see J.J. Matthews, 'Which America?' in P. Bell and R. Bell (eds), *Americanisation and Australia* (Sydney: USW Press, 1998); W. Phillips, "'Six o'Clock Swill": The Introduction of Early Closing of Hotels Bars in Australia', *Historical Studies*, 19(75) (1980), pp. 250–66; C. Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country: The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand* (Trowbridge: Minerva, 1967).
75. *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 September 1928, p. 60.
76. 'The Joyous Jazz', *The Truth* (Melbourne), 11 November 1922.
77. J.J. Matthews, *Dance Hall and Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity* (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005), p. 66.
78. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 14 July 1923.
79. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 14 June 1924.
80. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 13 December 1924.
81. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 16 May 1925.
82. For example, 'Yankee Officer and Minister's Daughter', *The Truth* (Melbourne), 15 August 1925.
83. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 3 October 1925.
84. See A. Davies, 'The Scottish Chicago? From Hooligans to Gangsters in Inter-war Glasgow', *Cultural History and Social History*, 4(4) (2007), p. 519.
85. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1927, p. 11. See also V. Pratt, *Passages of Time: A History of Lee Street State School and its Site from 1853* (North Carlton: V. Pratt, 1981), p. 49.

86. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 25 October 1930.
87. *The Daily News* (Perth, WA), 14 July 1932, p. 2.
88. *Central Queensland Herald*, 15 March 1934, p. 15.
89. 'Wanted: Expert Machine Gunners', *The Truth* (Melbourne), 14 March 1931. See also the comments in *Worker* (Brisbane), 17 January 1934, p. 16.
90. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 20 January 1934.
91. *The Argus*, 4 April 1952, p. 3.
92. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*; J. Richards, *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army* (Manchester University Press, 1997).
93. D. Collins, *Hollywood Down Under: Australians at the Movies 1896 to the Present Day* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1987), pp. 37–8.
94. *The Advertiser* (South Australia), 18 January 1909, p. 8.
95. Collins, *Hollywood Down Under*, p. 38.
96. R. Cooper, 'The Australian Film Industry' (BA (Hons) thesis, Australian National University, 1965), p. 12.
97. P.A. Harrison, 'The Motion Picture Industry in New Zealand 1896–1930' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1974), p. 126.
98. Cooper, 'The Australian Film Industry', p. 28.
99. Harrison, 'The Motion Picture Industry in New Zealand', p. 98.
100. *Ibid*, p. 121.
101. *Ibid*, p. 133. Harrison cites the Economic Subcommittee of the Imperial Conference held in 1926, which suggested New Zealand's import figure to have been '10% in recent years'. However, the figure given by Harrison for 1925 is eight per cent. See *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Vol. 1 for 1927* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1927), p. 231.
102. Harrison, 'The Motion Picture Industry in New Zealand', p. 104.
103. See, for example, *The Argus*, 7 August 1929, p. 7. UMA. James Barrett Papers 75/22, Box 1510/19, 'Council of Combined Empire Societies, Letter Dated 14 April 1932, Barrett to Minister of Trade and Customs'. See also Collins, *Hollywood Down Under*, pp. 179–97.
104. *The Argus*, 9 August 1927, p. 15.
105. *The Argus*, 14 March 1927, p. 14.
106. *Evening Post*, 9 November 1929, p. 21.
107. *Auckland Star*, 18 August 1927, p. 8. From the early 1930s, a rise was witnessed in the number of British films shown in the Antipodes. In Australia, one report published in 1934 noted that in 1930, some 175 films were imported into the country, whilst by 1933, that figure had risen to 380. At the same time, the number of US films decreased from 1,859 to 986 over the same period – in other words, from 86.5 per cent of the total to 66.3 per cent. See 'A Romance of Industry: The Rise of the British Film', *The Argus*, 2 June 1934, p. 28.
108. See *The Argus*, 30 December 1926, p. 10. Further dimensions to American domination were the influence of American architects in the design of purpose-built cinemas in the 1920s and 1930s and the fact that 95 per cent of suburban theatres in Australia were noted as being under American control. For more on this, see R. Thorne, *Picture Palace Architecture in Australia* (Sydney: Sun Books, 1976); and N. Elliott, 'Anzac Hollywood and Home Cinemas and Film Going in Auckland 1909–1939' (MA thesis, University

- of Auckland, 1989); UMA Sir James Barrett Papers, Acc 75/22, Box 1610/19, Council of Combined Empire Societies. Letter from Barrett to H.S. Gullett, Minister for Trade and Customs, 14 April 1932.
109. *The Argus*, 19 February 1925, p. 6.
 110. K. Boyd, 'The Western and British Identity on British Television in the 1950s' in B. Bebbler (ed.), *Leisure and Cultural Conflict in Twentieth Century Britain* (Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 111. Here Boyd also refers to Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian 1776–1930* (Princeton University Press, 2009).
 111. P. Limbrick, *Making Settler Cinema: Film and Colonial Encounters in the United States, Australia and New Zealand* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
 112. A. Kuhn, *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p. 101.
 113. D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage Earners in Interwar Britain* (London: Woburn Press, 1995), p. 131.
 114. *The Argus*, 29 October 1927, p 35; *The Advocate* (Tasmania), 7 June 1927, p. 1; *Kalgoorlie Miner* (WA), 7 June 1927, p. 5.
 115. N. Elliot, 'Anzac Hollywood and Home Cinemas', p. 109. Gordon Mirams noted that the US Western *Cimarron*, released in 1931, was a flop in New Zealand: G. Mirams, *Speaking Candidly: Films and People in New Zealand* (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1945), p. 90.
 116. *Central Queensland Herald*, 22 February 1934, p. 2.
 117. See Elliott, 'Anzac Hollywood and Home Cinemas', p. 110.
 118. Its findings were published as *Royal Commission into the Moving Picture Industry in Australia 1927–8* (Canberra: Government Printers, 1928).
 119. *Royal Commission into the Moving Picture Industry in Australia: Minutes of Evidence* (Canberra: Government Printers), p. 360.
 120. *Ibid*, p. 363.
 121. *Ibid*, pp. 364–7.
 122. *Ibid*, p. 325.
 123. *The Argus*, 15 June 1927, p. 24.
 124. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, September–October 1928* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1928), p. 324.
 125. In a recently published monograph, Felicity Barnes draws attention to the British short features that preceded the main film. These films retained a much higher percentage of the market than the features. London was often the feature of the shorts, although it seems unlikely that patrons went to the cinema ostensibly to see these rather than the main feature. See Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland University Press, 2012), pp. 228–35.
 126. W. Brittenden, *The Celluloid Circus: The Heyday of the New Zealand Picture Theatre* (Auckland: Godwit, 2008), p. 124.
 127. P.A. Harrison notes that Victoria and New South Wales both introduced state legislation to further promote Empire films. In Victoria it was required that 2,000 feet of Empire film (1,000 feet of which had to have been filmed in Australia) be shown at every cinema screening, a measure which boosted both the Australian and British film industries. See Harrison, 'The Motion Picture Industry in New Zealand', pp. 138–9.
 128. Mirams, *Speaking Candidly*, p. 127.

129. *Ibid.*
130. *The Argus*, 17 March 1927, p. 11; 9 August 1933, p. 6; 25 April 1936, p. 16; 2 August 1937, p. 10.
131. Mirams, *Speaking Candidly*, p. 128.
132. Rhodes of Africa was given fulsome praise in the *New Zealand Education Gazette*. See the issue for 1 August 1936, p. 1.
133. *Evening Post*, 9 August 1935, p. 4.
134. *The Argus*, 2 August 1937, p. 10.
135. For this, see L. Cleveland, 'What They Liked: Movies and Modernity Down Under', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 36(4) (2003), p. 768.
136. J. Richards, 'Patriotism with Profit: British Imperial Cinema in the 1930s' in J. Curran and V. Porter (eds), *British Cinema History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), p. 252.
137. Mirams, *Speaking Candidly*, p. 102.
138. 'Hollywood Blow a Bugle of Empire', *The Argus*, 23 September 1939, p. 2. *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* appears to have been popular in Wellington, running for over a month at the Majestic cinema. See *Evening Post*, 11 May 1935, p. 7.
139. *Ibid.*
140. *The Argus*, 18 January 1940, p. 9.

4 Integration or Separation? Attitudes to Empire in the Antipodean Press c. 1880s–1930s

1. *Evening Post*, 20 May 1920, p. 6.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Evening Post*, 17 March 1908, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*
5. 'The Defence of the Pacific', *Evening Post*, 12 August 1908, p. 6.
6. Potter, *News and the British World*, pp. 12–35. Examples of British and Tasman world editors included Australian Gresley Lukin (1840–1916), editor of the *Evening Post*, who had formerly edited the *Brisbane Courier*. He significantly encouraged local writers and artists to contribute to the *Brisbane Courier*. His obituary in the *Evening Post* (12 September 1916, p. 6) noted that: 'While giving his mind powerfully to proposals and projects for the welfare of the Empire and New Zealand, Mr. Lukin did not overlook Wellington City nor its people.' Sydney Deamer (1891–1962), editor of *The Herald* in the 1930s, had been born in England and was successively editor of Sydney's *The Sun*, the Melbourne *Sun News-Pictorial* and, after a spell in Adelaide reviving *The Register*, *The Herald*. I am grateful for press clippings relating to Deamer sent to me by Donna Bishop, Librarian at the Herald and Times Weekly. See also the entry for Sydney Deamer by Gavin Souter in *ADB*, Vol. 13. 1940–1980, p. 558. Michael Keene became the first New Zealand-born editor of *The Press*. He was of Irish descent and had worked on *The Dominion*, Wellington's conservative daily published from 1907. He was described politically as something of a reactionary. See *The Press 1861–1961: The Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch Press Company, 1961), p. 186.
7. Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 212. Potter steers clear of using press editorials as historical evidence in his study; doing so may have complicated the 'imperial integration' model.

8. For the Ottawa meeting, see www.archive.org/stream/imperialpresscon00donarich/imperialpresscon00donarich_djvu.txt (date accessed 22 September 2013).
9. H.E. Turner, *The Imperial Press Conference in Australia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925), pp. 68–75. However, Henry Mayer subsequently noted in his survey of the Australian press, a key to news reporting and the editorial outlook was the question of ‘proximity’ or, as he put it, ‘what is near should receive preference over what is far is a rule which can easily be defended’. See H. Mayer, *The Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1968), p. 98.
10. *The Argus*, 3 October 1925, p. 32.
11. A. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 1.
12. S. Vella, ‘Newspapers’ in M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 192.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Potter, *News and the British World*, p. 215.
15. J. M. MacKenzie, ‘The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire’ in S.J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire c. 1857–1921* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), p. 23.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
17. G. Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1968).
18. E.M. Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia: Reactions to the European Crisis 1935–1939* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1970), pp. 5, 19. As he notes, most newspapers ‘gave foreign news spasmodic and sensationalist interest’ (p. 19).
19. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press*, pp. 11–12.
20. S. Nolan, ‘Manifest Editorial Differences: *The Age* and *The Argus* in the 1920s and 1930s’ in M. Porter (ed.), *The Argus: The Life and Death of a Great Melbourne Newspaper 1846–1957* (Melbourne: RMIT, 2001), p. 85.
21. *Auckland Star*, 8 May 1930, p. 8.
22. Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p. 6. Mayer’s study included a survey of the space devoted to various new items in *The Age*, Melbourne’s morning daily liberal paper, and *The Herald*, the leading evening daily. His samples, covering the period 1855–1925, showed a decline in overseas news reporting over time in *The Age* and an increase in *The Herald*.
23. *The Sun News-Pictorial* was founded by Keith Murdoch and edited by Monty Grover. See M. Cannon (ed.), *Hold Page One: Memoirs of Monty Grover, Editor* (Victoria: Loch Haven, 1993), pp. 27–31.
24. See S. Nolan, ‘Themes in the Editorial Identity of *The Age* Newspaper’ (MA thesis, Monash University, 2001), p. 35.
25. Much of the information in this paragraph is gleaned from the retrospective article published in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1983 and reproduced in *The New Zealand Herald: The Story of the Newspaper and of the Wilson Horton Group* (Auckland: The Group, 1983).
26. R. Yska, *Truth: The Rise and Fall of the People’s Paper* (Nelson: Pottan Publishing, 2010), p. 15.
27. M. Cannon, ‘John Norton’ in *ADB, Vol. 11*, pp. 41–2.

28. Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 179.
29. Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p. 30.
30. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 5 November 1910.
31. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 6 January 1912.
32. Nolan, 'Themes in the Editorial Identity of *The Age Newspaper*', p. 36.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
34. J. Arnold, 'Newspapers and Daily Reading' in M. Lyons and J. Arnold (eds), *A History of the Book in Australia 1891–1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2001), p. 263. Exact figures for the *Sun News-Pictorial* in 1926 were given as 128,070 per day on 19 November 1926, p. 3. The circulation battle heated up considerably in the mid-1920s, with each paper claiming to be the top-selling daily. See *Sun News-Pictorial*, 25 October 1926, p. 2.
35. Nolan, 'Themes in the Editorial Identity of *The Age Newspaper*', p. 65.
36. For figures, see M. Cannon, *That Damned Democrat: John Norton, an Australian Populist, 1858–1916* (Melbourne University Press, 1981), p. 23; *The Truth* (Sydney), 3 July 1932.
37. Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 179.
38. Nolan, 'Manifest Editorial Differences', p. 97.
39. Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia*, p. x.
40. Nolan, 'Manifest Editorial Differences', p. 97. *The Argus* gave more coverage to imperial links. This study found that *The Argus* yielded more information about the imperial loyalty leagues than the other two Melbourne dailies. *The Age* campaigned in the 1920s for 'the dawn of a new era of moderate Liberalism' and gave more consideration of the economic outlook and remedies such as a protective tariff (p. 101).
41. A. Ross, 'The Chanak Crisis', *New Zealand's Heritage: The Making of a Nation*, 6 (1973), p. 2156. For Australia's reaction, see P. Sales, 'W.M. Hughes and the Chanak Crisis of 1922', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 17(3) (1971), pp. 392–405.
42. *Auckland Star*, 19 September 1922, p. 4.
43. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 23 September 1922.
44. See, for example, *Auckland Star*, 8 December 1921, p. 4.
45. *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 December 1921, p. 47.
46. *The Argus*, 8 December 1921, p. 6.
47. *The Press*, 7 December 1921, p. 8; 10 December 1921, p. 8.
48. *Auckland Star*, 8 December 1921, p. 4.
49. *Evening Post*, 9 December 1921, p. 6.
50. *Evening Post*, 23 December 1922, p. 6.
51. *Evening Post*, 6 June 1922, p. 6.
52. *The Argus*, 27 December 1922, p. 9.
53. *The Argus*, 11 October 1930, p. 8.
54. *The Argus*, 2 December 1933, p. 4.
55. *The Herald*, 11 June 1930, p. 6.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Cited in Nolan, 'Manifest Editorial Differences', p. 72.
58. *Auckland Star*, 31 May 1930, p. 8.
59. *Ibid.*
60. A. Paul, 'One King to Bind Them All: The Imperial Federation Movement, the Imperial Monarchy and the Triumph of Sentiment', *Melbourne Historical*

- Journal*, 32 (2004), pp. 64–7. For a similar argument in New Zealand, see J. Bassett, “‘A Thousand Miles of Loyalty’: The Royal Tour of 1901”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 21 (1987), pp. 125–38.
61. *The Age*, 25 May 1911, p. 4.
 62. *The Age*, 26 May 1911, p. 4. Typical of *The Age*'s condemnation of imperial federation is the commentary published in the paper on 29 May 1911, p. 4.
 63. *Evening Post*, 5 May 1920, p. 4.
 64. *The Age*, 27 May 1920, p. 4.
 65. See P.W. Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia 1867–1986* (Adelaide: Royalty Publishing, 1986).
 66. M. McKenna, ‘Monarchy: From Reverence to Indifference’ in D. Schreuder and S. Ward (eds), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 274. These comments are supported in a New Zealand context by reference to the official publications of the time, especially G. Scholefield, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the Dominion of New Zealand April–May 1920* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1926).
 67. For Edward Prince of Wales' image in the 1920s and 1930s in relation to celebrity, see L.E. Nym Mayhall, ‘The Prince of Wales versus Clark Gable: Anglophone Celebrity and Citizenship between the Wars’, *Cultural and Social History*, 4(4) (2007), pp. 529–43. This section does not argue that Australasian papers were exceptional in taking a more populist approach to monarchy; indeed, these trends were visible at the heart of the Empire too as Britain itself was subjected to American popular culture for the first time.
 68. *Table Talk*, 10 May 1934, p. 7.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. For a brief background to the Abdication Crisis and responses from New Zealanders, see P. Cape, ‘The Abdication: New Zealanders and Royalty’, *New Zealand's Heritage: The Making of a Nation*, 6 (1973), pp. 2381–6.
 71. *The Press*, 11 December 1936, p. 14.
 72. *The Star-Sun*, 12 December 1936, p. 4.
 73. See the issues of 12 and 14 December 1936 respectively.
 74. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 11 December 1936, p. 3.
 75. *Ibid.*
 76. R. Joblin, ‘The Breath of Scandal: New Zealand Truth and Interwar Society 1918–39’ (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1990), p. 194.
 77. *Ibid.*
 78. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 2 June 1901.
 79. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 26 June 1920.
 80. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 1 July 1933.
 81. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 12 December 1936.
 82. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 19 December, 1936.
 83. *New Zealand Truth*, 28 April 1937.
 84. *New Zealand Truth*, 3 February 1937.
 85. See also the coverage given to the affairs in the *Daily News* (Perth), 2 June 1937, p. 1; *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Queensland), 3 June 1937, p. 7; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 November 1936, p. 17; and *The Worker*, 15 December 1936, p. 21.
 86. *New Zealand Truth*, 6 January 1937.
 87. *New Zealand Truth*, 9 December 1936.

88. *Ibid.* For the paper's readership, see Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 179.
89. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 12 December 1936, p. 6.
90. Quoted in I.R. Hancock, 'The 1911 Imperial Conference', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 12 (1966), p. 371.
91. K. Tsokas, *Making a Nation State: Cultural Identity Economic Nationalism and Sexuality in Australian History* (Melbourne University Press, 2001), p. 299.
92. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 23 November 1926, p. 1.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November, p. 4.
95. *Auckland Star*, 22 November 1926, p. 6.
96. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 25 October 1926, p. 4.
97. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 23 November, 1926, p. 6.
98. J. Tomlinson, 'The Empire in Economic Thought' in A. Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 219.
99. See, for example, J.B. O'Brien, 'Empire v. National Interests in Australian-British Relations During the 1930s', *Historical Studies*, 22 (1987), pp. 569–86; J. Tomlinson, 'The Empire in Economic Thought' in Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of Empire*, p. 219.
100. *The Press*, 21 July 1932, p. 8.
101. *Ibid.*
102. 'The Empire and the World', *The Press*, 17 August 1932, p. 10.
103. *Evening Post*, 16 August 1932, p. 6.
104. The sentiments could be heard in the *Evening Post* as far back as at least 1908. See, for example, its editorial leader for 17 March 1908, p. 4.
105. *The Sun*, 23 August 1932, p. 4.
106. *The Argus*, 22 August 1932, p. 6.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *The Argus*, 22 July 1932, p. 6.
109. *The Argus*, 25 November 1933, p. 10; 27 January 1934, p. 9.
110. *The Argus*, 27 January 1934, p. 9.
111. *The Age*, 1 August 1932, p. 6.
112. *The Age*, 22 August 1932, p. 4; 8 September 1938, p. 4.
113. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 23 August 1932, p. 6.
114. *Auckland Star*, 27 August 1935, p. 6.
115. *The Truth* (Sydney), 8 August 1932.
116. For a discussion of Ottawa, see T. Rooth, *British Protectionism and the International Economy: Overseas Commercial Policy in the 1930s* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); A. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p. 169; Tsokas, *Making a Nation State*.
117. For the Dominions and appeasement, see Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia*; R. Ovendale, *Appeasement and the English Speaking World: Britain, the United States, the Dominions and the Policy of 'Appeasement' 1937–1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975); J. Crawford and J. Watson, "'The Most Appeasing Line": New Zealand and Nazi Germany', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(1) (2010), pp. 75–97.
118. See 'Price of Peace in Europe: Readers Varying Views', *The Argus*, 4 October 1938, p. 2.

119. *The Press*, 30 September 1938, p. 12.
120. *The Herald*, 29 September 1938, p. 4.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *The Herald*, 30 September 1938, p. 4.
123. *The Age*, 4 October 1938, p. 4.
124. *The Age*, 20 September 1939, p. 4.
125. *The Truth* (Melbourne), 9 September 1939; 16 September 1939.
126. *New Zealand Truth*, 23 August 1939.
127. *The Star-Sun*, 26 August 1939, p. 12.
128. *The Star-Sun*, 25 August 1939, p. 12.
129. *The Argus*, 26 August 1939, p. 6.

5 Uniform Diversity? Youth Organisations in the Antipodes c. 1880–1939

1. ATL, YWCA Scrapbook Wellington, MSY 3846, *British Empire Supplement to The Times*, 30 September 1924.
2. For the concerns of these movements with social citizenship, see B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working Class Men in Britain* (Manchester University Press, 2005).
3. M. Hoare, "'Our Comrades Beyond the Seas': Colonial Youth Movements 1880–1920", *Turnbull Library Record*, 12 (1979), p. 76.
4. For such links, see B. Beaven and J. Griffiths, 'Creating the Exemplary Citizen: The Changing Notion of Citizenship in Britain 1870–1939', *Contemporary British History*, 22(2) (2008), pp. 203–25.
5. A. Warren, 'Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal 1900–1940' in J.M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 236.
6. A. Warren, 'Foreword' to N.R. Block and T.M. Proctor (eds), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2009), p. xi.
7. The main research undertaken on the period 1919–39 for the Guides has been by K. Alexander, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2(1) (2009), pp. 38–63. See also T.M. Proctor, "'A Separate Path": Scouting and Guiding in Inter-War South Africa', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42(3) (2000), pp. 605–31.
8. As one correspondent to the Melbourne publication *Every Saturday* noted: 'In some troops the Scouts are not even consulted regarding their own particular troop work. The Scout Master says that such a thing is to be done or the Scouts are to go to such a place on such a day. They are not asked whether they wish to do such a thing or go to such a place.' See *Every Saturday*, 18 February 1911. In the British context, Melanie Tebbutt notes that her father, Les, a member of the Boys' Brigade in the 1930s, often did as he pleased when on camp with the movement. Undoubtedly, colonial youth had the same capacity to shape the culture for their own enjoyment. See Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, pp. 75–8.
9. T.M. Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain 1908–39', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), pp. 118–19.

10. *Ibid*, p. 118.
11. Letter dated 18 August 1913, David Cossgrove to Miss Ferguson, ATL 88-130-03/1, cited in D. McCurdy, 'Feminine Identity in New Zealand: The Girl Peace Scout Movement 1908–25' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000), p. 118.
12. ATL 88-130-33/4, *Dominion Scout*, 1 June 1911, cited in McCurdy, 'Feminine Identity', p. 117.
13. A point made in Stephen Humphries in his *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889–1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 134. Whilst class is a more slippery notion to employ in settler societies, the working class in the wider British world may also have failed to identify with these movements. As noted by Martin Crotty in his essay 'Scouts Down Under: Scouting, Militarism and Manliness in Australia 1908–1920' in Block and Proctor (eds), *Scouting Frontiers*, pp. 77–88, more research needs to be undertaken to ascertain how far militaristic values were embraced by the wider population.
14. According to published figures, there were 1,695 Girl Guides in New Zealand in 1926, and the total number of females in the age range 10–15 was recorded in the 1926 census as 65,686. The Guides therefore enrolled approximately 2.5 per cent of the eligible females: *Dominion of New Zealand: Population Census 1926* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1928). In her monograph *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain 1880–1939* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 84, Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska notes that the Boy Scout movement was the most successful of the Edwardian youth movements, yet 'there is little evidence to suggest that the Boy Scouts were any more successful than the older organizations in getting hold of the stunted narrow-chested slouching loafer.'
15. J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 13.
16. *Ibid*.
17. Sleight, 'The Territories of Youth'; L. Row, 'Aims of Boy and Girl Peace Scouts and Probable Effect on Young New Zealanders', ATL 88-130-02-04, clipping from the *Dominion Scout*, 1 May 1913.
18. Baden-Powell used the frontier as an inspiration for the Boy Scouts. See, for example, R.H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890–1918* (Toronto University Press, 1993).
19. For CMT in New Zealand, see I. McGibbon, 'Compulsory Military Training' in I. McGibbon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 109. For Australia, see L.C. Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription in Australia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), p. 50. For the Boys' Brigade, see J. Springhall, *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883–1983* (London: Collins, 1983); M. Hoare, *Boys, Urchins, Men: A History of the Boys Brigade in Australia and Papua New Guinea 1882–1976* (Sydney: Reed, 1980).
20. See David Cossgrove's biography written by M. Esplin, available at: www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c34/1 (date accessed 1 October 2013).
21. C. Dawber, *Ambitious Fun: The Journey of Guiding in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Girl Guides, 2008), p. 28.
22. C.J. Edwards, *Bygone Days: A Narrative* (Auckland: Friends of Motu Moana, 1995), p. 20.

23. An expression used by Carol Dawber in her book *Ambitious Fun*, p. 13.
24. A factor in this would have been the split in the British Scouting movement during 1909 over the issue of militarism. Sir Francis Vane, Baden-Powell's London Commissioner, was a key figure in the split. He had objected to Baden-Powell's autocratic management style. This split subsequently coloured Baden-Powell's view of the New Zealand Girl Peace Scouts.
25. Possibly as a result of his marriage to Olave, Baden-Powell changed his mind about the acceptability of the Girl Peace Scouts. According to his most recent biographer, Tim Jeal, a shift in attitude was apparent from 1909. Up to this point he had turned a 'Nelsonian blind eye' to the existence of Girl Scouts, but he began to advocate their replacement by Girl Guides from this time onwards. This seems a little inaccurate in terms of Girl Peace Scouts in the wider Empire, as outright disapproval was only evident after 1918. For Jeal's comments, see T. Jeal, *Baden-Powell* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), p. 469 specifically and pp. 469–87 more generally. Baden-Powell's approval is documented in the *Dominion Scout*, 1 November 1912 at the time of his first visit. His subsequent disapproval was outlined in a letter sent to Cossgrove in January 1919, cited in S.G. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting: The First Fifty Years, 1908–58* (Wellington: Boy Scouts Association, 1958), pp. 50–1.
26. Foreword to A. Baden-Powell, *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1912).
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. As described in *Window on My Heart: The Autobiography of Olave, Lady Powell; as Told to Mary Drewery* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977), p. 108.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
31. The Girl Peace Scouts' badge system and motto 'Always Be Ready' also diverged from the Guides.
32. Cited in McCurdy, 'Feminine Identity', p. 96.
33. See also S. Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since they Won the Vote* (Auckland: Viking Press, 1993), p. 118.
34. Inquiries about the Girl Peace Scouts were made to Cossgrove from locations as diverse as New South Wales, South Africa, South Australia, Tasmania and the USA. For the USA Peace Scouts, see M.A. Rothschild, 'To Scout or to Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy 1912–1941', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 6(3) (1981), pp. 115–21. The Girl Aids were recognised in Sydney, but not in Melbourne. Girl Aids learnt first aid, camp cooking, miniature rifle shooting, signalling, life-saving and personal hygiene, See *The Argus*, 13 September 1910, p. 9. Donald Macdonald was not aware of any branches existing in Melbourne in 1910: *The Argus*, 15 March 1910, p. 9. Culliford notes the activity of the GPS in the city in 1911 in *New Zealand Scouting*, p. 35.
35. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting*, p. 34.
36. Dawber, *Ambitious Fun*, p. 24.
37. McCurdy, 'Feminine Identity in New Zealand' p. 73.
38. ATL 88-130-02/04, 'Girl Peace Scouts – Correspondence and Related Papers 1912–53', letter from Olave Baden-Powell to David Cossgrove, 18 November 1919. Olave Baden-Powell had suggested an international council at the beginning of 1919. The first meeting took place in Oxford in 1920.

39. See T.M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2009), p. 42.
40. See, for example, D. Cossgrove, *Dominion Girl Peace Scout Association: its Organisation, its Aim and Object*. Copy held by National Archives, Christchurch Branch CH 670, 191/11, 1919–25. See also *The Girl Peace Scouts: A New Zealand Movement for New Zealand Girls Copied by the Girl Guides and Spread All Over the World*, undated document held by ATL, 88-130-02/04.
41. *The Girl Peace Scouts: A New Zealand Movement for New Zealand Girls*.
42. ATL 88-130-02/04, 'Girl Peace Scouts – Correspondence and Related Papers 1912–53', letter from Cecilia O'Rourke to Olave Baden-Powell, 4 December 1919. Olave was also keen that the US Peace Scouts did not extend their influence in South America. See Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, p. 53.
43. Significantly, a press report entitled 'Guide History', which appeared in the *Evening Post*, 28 September 1944, p. 10, contained no mention of the Girl Peace Scouts, but focused solely on the history of Guiding since 1923.
44. *The Press*, 13 October 1908, p. 8; 14 October 1909, p. 9.
45. After the war, see comments made by the Labour Mayor of Christchurch, Rev. J.K. Archer, reported in *The Press*, 24 November 1927, p. 4. Archer was a Fabian socialist who in a speech at the Boy Scout Conference said that he 'had regarded the movement with [a] certain amount of suspicion for fear it should be fostering a spirit of militarism'. This suggestion was rebuffed by General A.W. Andrew, who responded by noting that militarism 'meant all sorts of things' and that the marksmanship badge had been discarded. For Archer, see www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a17/1 (date accessed 1 October 2013).
46. See, for example, G.R. Kirkpatrick's article in the *Maoriland Worker*, 12 May 1911, p. 13.
47. In the 1980s, an exchange of views regarding the militarisation of the British Scouting movement took place on the pages of the *English Historical Review* and has been usefully summarised in M. Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism and the "Invisible Contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme 1904–1920', *Twentieth Century British History*, 4(3) (1993), pp. 201–23.
48. The minutes of the Scouts noted that all localised badges were withdrawn with the exception of the 'Cossgrove' badge. See ATL, MS 0325, Minutes of the Dominion Council of Boy Scouts Association, 24–26 April 1923.
49. This resolution is noted in *Every Saturday*, 25 September 1909, p. 406: 'Any Scout Master assisting or aiding the formation of Girl Peace Scouts should be asked to resign.'
50. *Every Saturday*, 22 October 1910, p. 535. A letter published in *Every Saturday* entitled 'Girl Peace Scouts' in the 2 November 1910 issue contained similar comments.
51. *The Argus*, 13 April 1909, p. 6.
52. *The Argus*, 11 May 1909, p. 7.
53. S.J. Marshall, 'The Victorian Boy Scout Movement: A Case Study of Adaptation from Edwardian Times to Today' (MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1989), p. 38.
54. *Ibid*, pp. 35–6. She notes the comments made by the rival group that Baden-Powell's supporters were a 'pack of sycophants revelling in the opportunity to mix in the upper echelons of society'. Baden-Powell subsequently toured

- New Zealand. His visit is documented in Scouts Association of New Zealand, *Baden-Powell in New Zealand* (Wellington: Boy Scouts Association, 1973). For Baden-Powell in Victoria, see *The Argus*, 21 May 1912; 12 June 1912; 13 June 1912; 17 June 1912. *The Argus*, 20 July 1914, p. 7 noted three strands within the Boy Scout movement: the Boy Scouts Association, the Imperial Boy Scouts and the Church of England Scouts.
55. 'R. Campbell, Madden, Sir John (1844–1918)', *ADB*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, available at: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/madden-sir-john7453> (date accessed 17 October 2013).
 56. 'Baden-Powell – A Shattered Idol', *Yarragon, Trafalgar and Moe Settlement News*, 27 June 1912.
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. M. Dunn, *The Dauntless Bunch: The Story of the YWCA in Australia* (Victoria: Clifton Hill, 1991), pp. 25–6.
 59. E. Law, *Down the Years: A Record of the Past for the Women of the Present and the Future* (New Plymouth: Taranaki Press, 1964), p. 15.
 60. *The Argus*, 14 July 1915, p. 11.
 61. *The Argus*, 19 November 1915, p. 6.
 62. Membership figures for both the New Zealand and Australian branches suggest that it failed to enrol as many girls and women than it hoped. The Melbourne YWCA contained 1,329 members. This figure is cited in the *Melbourne Girl*, October 1929, p. 3. Australian membership totalled 8,840. The movement did not claim even 5 per cent of the young female population in 1916. UMA, YWCA Papers National Board Minutes, Box 1, Series 3/1, October 1910–November 1918.
 63. K. Pickles, 'Empire Settlement and Single British Women as New Zealand Domestic Servants During the 1920s', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 35(1) (2001), p. 22.
 64. *Ibid*, p. 23.
 65. *Ibid*, p. 31.
 66. *Ibid*, p. 35.
 67. S. Coney, *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland, 1885–1985* (Auckland: YWCA, 1986), pp. 64–5.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. McEwan, "'An American Dream'", p. 109; Coney, *Every Girl*, p. 92.
 70. UMA, YWCA Records, 107/61, YWCA Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings 1907–11, undated press cuttings.
 71. UMA, YWCA Records, 107/61, YWCA Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings 1907–11, 'The Modern Young Women's Christian Association – An Interview with Esther Anderson', undated press cutting (1911?).
 72. UMA, YWCA Records, 107/61, Series 17, Scrapbooks 1904–77, undated clipping (1923?).
 73. Bridgman became General Secretary of the Wellington branch of the YWCA in 1938. See *Evening Post*, 11 August 1938, p. 18.
 74. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1924, p. 5.
 75. See *Evening Post*, 11 October 1919, p. 7; Law, *Down the Years*.
 76. Dunn, *The Dauntless Bunch*, p. 62.
 77. See ATL MS-Papers-1536-2/8/18, Australian and New Zealand YWCA National Board Minutes, 13 May 1925.

78. *Every Girl*, 10 March 1925, p. 15; 10 April 1925, p. 15; 10 July 1925, p. 13. Burton, a pacifist in the First World War, married Helen Tizard, Secretary of the YWCA, in 1926.
79. 'The Devolution of an Imperialist', *Melbourne Girl*, 10 October 1925, pp. 12–13.
80. See *Every Girl*, 28 October, 1925, p. 16; 'Grand Pageant and March of Nations', *Every Girl*, 10 October 1925, p. 5.
81. *Every Girl*, 5 October 1930, p. 3.
82. B. McLennan, *The YMCA in New Zealand: The First 125 Years* (Wellington: National Council of the YMCAs of New Zealand, 1981), p. 3.
83. Bodybuilding was, according to YMCA historian Colin Taylor, first used as a term in 1881 by Robert Roberts, a Boston YMCA staff member. This was modified for women to become physical culture. See C. Taylor, *Mind Body and Spirit: YMCA Auckland Celebrating 150 Years: 1855–2005* (Auckland: Reed, 2005), p. 122.
84. Coney, *Every Girl*, p. 170.
85. Dunn, *The Dauntless Bunch*, p. 109.
86. Coney, *Every Girl*, p. 183.
87. *Auckland Star*, 9 August 1919, p. 5.
88. AWML MS 1131, Records of the Auckland YWCA, Press Cuttings 1931–33, *Auckland Star*, 1 February 1931.
89. See M. Clark, "'Be Fit and Add Something to the Person": The Sport and Physical Recreation Programme of the Wellington YWCA 1918–1939' (Research Essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993), p. 26.
90. ATL, MSY 2630, YWCA Press Clippings 1928–62. For inter-war dance crazes and the popular reaction to them, see Matthews, *Dance Hall and Picture Palace*; Tebutt, *Being Boys*; Griffiths, 'Popular Culture and Modernity'.
91. ATL MSY 2630, YWCA Press Clippings 1929–1962.
92. C. Simpson 'The Social History of the Young Women's Christian Association 1883–1930' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1984), p. 245.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
97. *Melbourne Girl*, 29 August 1929, p. 1.
98. *Melbourne Girl*, 7 May 1930, p. 7.
99. *Melbourne Girl*, 1 May 1933, p. 7.
100. *Ibid.*
101. AWML MS 1131, Minutes of Executive Committee of the YWCA, March 1929–February 1937.
102. *Australian Junior*, issue 2, p. 190, cited in W. Moredoundt, 'John Joseph (Boss) Simons and the Young Australian League' (Diploma in Public History, Murdoch University, 1995), p. 3.
103. See Simons in the first issue of the *Australia Junior* (1906), cited in Moredoundt, 'John Joseph Simons', p. 3.
104. V. Courtney, *The Life Story of J.J. Simons Founder of the Young Australia League* (Perth: YAL, 1961), p. 21.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
106. Courtney, *The Life Story of J.J. Simons*, p. 33.
107. Moredoundt, 'John Joseph Simons', p. 4.

108. *Ibid.* He also notes that Simons harboured a pro-American attitude all his life, which was at odds with a pro-British Empire stance. See also the J.J. Simon memorial issue of *The Boomerang*, October 1948.
109. *Evening Post*, 7 December, 1911, p. 7.
110. YAL archive, Perth, letter from J.J. Simons to Ian Young, 15 June 1929.
111. For the 1925 tour, see the publications *Young Australia League Tour of Europe 1925*, *Reprint of Fortnightly Bulletins Issued During the Progress of the Tour* and for 1929, *Boys! See America With the Young Australia League*.
112. A. Farnes, 'Portrait of a Patriot', *The Boomerang*, September 1955, p. 3.
113. These included Charles Yelverton O'Connor, Edmund Barton, Nellie Melba, Captain Cook, Sir John Forrest, Alfred Deakin, Henry Lawson and Sir John Monash. See *The Boomerang*, August 1993. The issue is devoted to the YAL building.
114. YAL Archive, Perth, letter from J.J. Simons to Bromley Bennett, 12 June 1930. This letter was among those kindly reproduced and sent to me by Janet McCallum, curator of the Boss Simons Memorial Museum and Library, Perth.
115. J.J. Simons, *Reflections* (Perth: YAL, 1926), p. 47.
116. F. Trentmann, 'After the Nation-State: Citizenship, Empire and Global Co-ordination in the New Internationalism 1914–30' in K. Grant, P. Levine and F. Trentmann (eds), *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism c. 1880-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 48.
117. Marshall, 'The Victorian Boy Scout Movement', p. 96.
118. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting*, p. 61.
119. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1933, p. 17; *Auckland Star*, 29 November 1933, p. 17.
120. *The Argus*, 15 September 1928, p. 18; 6 December 1928, p. 9. For New Zealand, see J.R.H. Cooksey (aka Little John), *My Job* (Hastings: Hart Print House, 1965), p. 63.
121. Cooksey, *My Job*, p. 63.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
124. *Evening Post*, 13 November, 1929, p. 10.
125. Six girls and one leader were allowed to attend from each nation and six from each Australian state.
126. G. Swinburne, *Among the First People, 1908–1936: The Baden-Powell Girl Guide Movement in Australia* (Sydney: Girl Guide Association of Australia, 1978), p. 55.
127. The Girl Guides Association of Victoria Archive, Annual Report 1927–8, p. 5.
128. Victorian Guides Association Archive, Executive Committee Minutes, 19 October 1927.
129. ATL, 88-130-29, *The Dominion Girl Guide*, 1 October 1929, p. 23.
130. Alexander, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism', pp. 38–63.
131. *Evening Post*, 1 December 1934, p. 16; ATL 88-130-33/2, *New Zealand Guider and Monthly News Sheet*, March 1935.
132. *Evening Post*, 11 August 1937, p. 19.
133. Dawber, *Ambitious Fun*, p. 62.

134. ATL, 88-130-04/2, Dominion Executive Minute Book, Girl Guides Association, New Zealand, Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Dominion Council of the Girl Guides Association, 25 November 1926.
135. ATL, 88-130-04/2, Dominion Executive Minute Book, Girl Guides Association, New Zealand, Minutes of Executive Meeting, 2 September 1929.
136. Dawber, *Ambitious Fun*, p. 62.
137. See ATL, MSY-3773, Scout Association of New Zealand, Dominion Executive Minute Book 1922–4; Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting*, p. 53.
138. Girl Guides Victoria, Executive Minutes, 20 August 1930.
139. *The Press*, 6 March 1931, p. 5; *Scouts Gazette*, 15 August 1922.
140. *The Argus*, 25 August 1931, p. 5.
141. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting*, p. 97.
142. *Victorian Scout*, March 1935. Also note the comments made in August 1936 that ‘it is not necessarily true that because Scouting is international all Boy Scouts are so minded’ and in the September 1936 issue that ‘there are still Scouts and others in the movement who cannot or will not see beyond their own group or other format’.
143. *Victorian Scout*, September, 1938.

6 Ceremonial Days, Imperial Culture, Schools and Exhibitions c. 1900–35

1. M. French, ‘The Ambiguity of Empire Day in New South Wales 1901–21: Imperial Consensus or National Division’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 24(1) (1978), p. 62.
2. See J.O. Springhall, ‘Lord Meath, Youth and Empire’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5(4) (1970), pp. 97–111.
3. J. English, ‘Empire Day in Britain 1904–1958’, *Historical Journal*, 49(1) (2006), p. 258. This view is challenged in the recent work of Brad Beaven, who argues for a more localised approach to Empire Day. Here local anxieties attached themselves to Empire Day, leading to very different ways of observing 24 May. See his recent monograph *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870–1939* (Manchester University Press, 2012).
4. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?*, pp. 120–2; Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. 208.
5. F.B. Boyce, *Empire Day* (Sydney: Christian World Print, 1927), p. 9.
6. M. French, ‘One People, One Destiny – A Question of Loyalty: The Origins of Empire in New South Wales 1900–1905’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 61(4) (1975), pp. 236–48.
7. For the AWNL, see E. McCarthy ‘“Conservative Female Endeavour”: The Australian Women’s National League 1904–14’ (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Melbourne, 1985).
8. *The Argus*, 24 May 1905, p. 6.
9. *The Argus*, 25 May 1905, p. 7.
10. A. Paul, ‘One King to Bind Them All: Imperial Federation, The Imperial Monarchy and the Triumph of Sentiment’, *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 32 (2004), p. 72.

11. *The Argus*, 24 May 1910, p. 8.
12. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, pp. 232–3. It is stated that Empire Day was observed as a public holiday in both, but only the State of Queensland created a public holiday.
13. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 177.
14. *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1903, p. 8.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Evening Post*, 25 May 1908, p. 7.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *The Press*, 23 May 1907, p. 7.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Donald Macdonald had been the first Australian war correspondent during the Second Boer War and his reports were subsequently published as *How We Kept the Flag Flying: The Story of the Siege of Ladysmith* (Melbourne: Ward, Lock, 1900). See the entry by Hugh Anderson for 'Donald Alaster Macdonald' in *ADB, Vol. 10, 1891–1939* (Melbourne University Press, 1986), p. 249.
22. 'Australia and the Empire', *The Argus*, 24 May 1909, p. 7. No author is given for the column, but it is highly likely that Macdonald was the author of this piece given his previous journalism in relation to Empire Day.
23. D. Macdonald, 'A Retrospect of Empire', *The Argus*, 24 May, 1913, p. 6.
24. *The Argus*, 13 May 1914, p. 17.
25. *The Argus*, 25 May 1911, pp. 7–8.
26. This was confirmed under the terms of the New Zealand Public Holiday Act 1910. See *Public Acts of New Zealand 1908–31, Vol. III* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1932), p. 721.
27. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1911, p. 9.
28. *Auckland Star*, 3 June 1920, p. 4.
29. *The Press*, 24 May 1911, p. 8.
30. See James Hight Papers, MBL 242 A1-2, 'Addresses and Lectures', undated letter (c. 1927), Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury. For Hight's career see N.C. Phillips, 'James Hight' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. III, 1901–1920* (Auckland University Press), pp. 217–18; W.J. Gardner *et al*, *A History of the University of Canterbury 1873–1973* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 1973).
31. *The Press*, 25 May 1918, p. 7.
32. English, 'Empire Day in Britain' notes that the Day was increasingly seized by the political right in the inter-war period 'to attack what were seen as seditious groups' (p. 264).
33. *The Argus*, 24 May 1918, p. 6.
34. H.L. Rubinstein, 'Empire Loyalism in Inter-War Victoria', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 70(1) (1999), p. 71.
35. For its evolution, see *The Times*, 8 May 1923, p. 11; *The Argus* (Empire Trading Review Supplement), 22 May 1933, p. 4.
36. *The Argus*, 22 May 1926, p. 25.
37. 'Empire Shopping – Australian Buying First', *The Argus*, 17 May 1930, p. 24. Another correspondent in the 1920s had noted that: 'Our conception of Empire is a poor one ... the fiscal policy of Australia is against free trade between the British Dominions' (7 May 1926, p. 17). From the early 1900s,

- there had been a vibrant economic nationalism promoted by groups such as the ANA and some business firms believed they were promoting Great Britain by putting Australian goods first. See, for example, the advert of Gowing Brothers in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May, 1907, p. 5: 'Support native industries and so help build up a Greater Britain beyond the seas.'
38. For Australian produce in London, see 'Empire Shopping Week: Popularising Victorian Product', *The Argus*, 18 July 1923, p. 15.
 39. *The Argus*, 28 May 1928, p. 18.
 40. 'Empire Maps Rejected – Action by Mr. Lemmon', *The Argus*, 28 May 1930, p. 7. Lemmon had also taken action to remove imperial material from the *School Paper* in the early 1920s. See Ann G. Smith's entry for John Lemmon in *ADB*, Vol. 10, 1891–1939, pp. 72–3.
 41. See, for example, the advert for 'The Farmers' department store in *The Press*, 19 May 1928, p. 7. In the advertisement, the store draws attention to the 'Most comprehensive Display of Empire Goods Ever Made by any Trading Concern in New Zealand'. Ballantynes stressed the 'Links of Empire' and gave space in its shop window to goods 'representative of some area under the British flag' (*The Press*, 19 May 1928, p. 5). Stranges' advertisement proclaimed that 'Not only should we encourage Empire trade, but we in New Zealand should give support to the manufactures of this country' (*The Press*, 22 May 1928, p. 3).
 42. *The Times*, 22 October, 1896, p. 4.
 43. *The Press*, 22 October 1910, p. 9.
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. *Auckland Star*, 21 October 1927, p. 10.
 48. *Evening Post*, 21 October 1920, p. 8.
 49. *Victoria Education and Teachers Aid*, 16 November 1914, p. 412.
 50. *The Argus*, 11 October 1911, p. 14.
 51. *The Argus*, 21 October 1912, p. 13.
 52. See *The Argus*, 22 October 1924, p. 15. A luncheon was also staged by the Royal Society of St George at tearooms in the city: see *The Argus*, 16 October 1930, p. 6. For the Flinders Naval Base review, see *The Argus*, 16 October 1928, p. 6. One correspondent to *The Argus* could not understand 'why public schools do not send parties of boys to witness such an inspiring display'. This may be indicative of the declining enthusiasm amongst school governors to mark the occasion. *The Argus*, 22 October 1929, p. 17.
 53. *The Argus*, 21 October 1932, p. 6.
 54. *The Argus*, 23 October 1944, p. 3.
 55. *The Argus*, 24 May 1905, p. 107.
 56. Springhall, 'Lord Meath, Youth and Empire', p. 107.
 57. A.W. Hannon, 'Patriotism in Victorian State Schools 1901–1945' (MA thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1977), p. 57.
 58. *Victoria Education Gazette and Teachers Aid*, 20 April 1909, p. 154. The *School Paper* (published from 1896) and *The Gazette* (published from 1900) were edited by educationalist Charles Long (1860–1944). According to his entry in the *ADB*, 'he combined an ardent love of Britain with a strong Australian

- nationalism'. See R.J.W. Selleck, 'Charles Richard Long', *ADB*, Vol. 10, 1891–1939, p. 133. The *New Zealand School Journal* was launched by George Hogben in 1907. Hogben was a 'liberal imperialist' who believed in the Empire as a 'civilising force'. See E.P. Malone, 'The *New Zealand School Journal* and the Imperial Ideology', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 7(1) (1973), p. 18.
59. *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1903, p. 8.
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1903, p. 8. The Earl of Meath was also the patron of the Duty and Discipline Movement. The Empire and social control were quite closely associated in the worldview of Meath. See Springhall, 'Lord Meath, Youth and Empire', p. 103.
 62. *The Argus*, 25 May 1916, p. 7. By the inter-war period, there is evidence to suggest that teachers also began to see Empire Day in such terms. The *Victoria Education Gazette*, for example, noted in its instructions to teachers in 1929 that: 'Picture shows and other such entertainments presenting a programme which has not been specially chosen for such an occasion are not regarded as suitable, not are sports meetings' (20 April 1929, p. 82). In fact, from the moment of its implementation, sports meetings were a common form of observing Empire Day in the afternoon. See, for example, *The Argus*, 24 May 1916, p. 8.
 63. PROV. VPRS 11083/P/0001, 'Empire Day Celebrations: General Correspondence File', 1921–35.
 64. E. Warne, *Errol Street: The First Hundred Years 1857–1957* (Melbourne: Errol Street Centenary Committee, 1974), p. 45.
 65. PROV. VPRS 8291/P/0001, 'Empire Day Celebrations: General Correspondence Files', 1917–22.
 66. *Prahran Telegraph*, 24 April 1915 and 22 May 1915; *The Argus*, 5 May 1915, p. 11.
 67. *Labor Call*, 28 May 1908.
 68. Hannon, 'Patriotism in Victorian State Schools', pp. 57–8.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. *The Argus*, 12 January 1889, p. 4. Dr Pearson, the Minister of Public Instruction, questioned whether it was better for children to learn of Australian history first before tackling its place in the wider Empire. See *The Argus*, 20 May 1890, p. 9. By 1905, however, a series of texts were provided by Charles Long William Gillies and Walter Murdoch which promoted British history over any other nation. See Hannon, 'Patriotism in Victorian State Schools', p. 12.
 71. NA Wellington, ABDM R21563407, Acc. W3569, Kaiwhara School Log Book, 1889–1912.
 72. NA Wellington, R211563408, Acc. W3569, Kaiwhara School Log Book, 1913–63.
 73. R. Openshaw, 'The Highest Expression of Devotion: New Zealand Primary Schools and Patriotic Zeal During the Early 1920s', *History of Education*, 9 (1980), p. 342.
 74. NA (Wellington), ABDM. R21564370, Acc. W3569, Whitemans Valley School Log Book, 1899–1911.
 75. NA (Wellington), ABDM. R21563752, Acc. W3569, Newman School Log Book, 1892–1906.

76. Judith Simon *et al*, *Nga Kura Maori: The Native School System 1867–1969* (Auckland University Press, 1998), p. 91; R. Openshaw, 'Patriotic Observance in the Primary School Curriculum 1900–1930', *Delta*, 24 (1979), p. 46. Significantly, there is no entry for Empire Day in the index of Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai's subsequent monograph *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native School System* (Auckland University Press, 2001).
77. See the following issues of *The Melburnian*: May 1907, pp. 46–7; May 1908, p. 44; May 1909, pp. 54–7. Similarly, there is no mention of Empire Day in the centenary history of Wadhurst School, the preparatory school for Melbourne Grammar School. See S. Hooper *et al*, *100 Not Out: The Wadhurst Centenary Book 1886–1986* (South Yarra: Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, 1986).
78. K.A. Trembath, *Ad Augusta: A Centennial History of Auckland Grammar School 1869–1969* (Auckland: Old Boys' Association, 1969).
79. *Ibid*, p. 153. In her study of children at war in New Zealand, Deborah Challinor suggests that boys joined the cadets not because they were keen to defend the Empire, but simply because it was 'fun and exciting and allowed members to take part in activities they enjoyed': D. Challinor, 'Children and War: A Study of the Impact of the First World War on New Zealand Children' (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1993), p. 12.
80. Trembath, *Ad Augusta*, p. 189.
81. *Ibid*, p. 201.
82. SLV, *Melbourne Church of England Girls' Grammar School: A History of the School, 1893–1928* (Melbourne: Ramsey Publishing, 1929), p. 10.
83. M. McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980), p. 46.
84. *Ibid*, p. 49.
85. Catholic schools observed Empire Day as Australia Day in June. See *ibid*, p. 44.
86. *Ibid*, p. 62.
87. T.L. Scadden, *Pride in Diversity: A History of Mount Cook School 1874–2000* (Wellington: Mount Cook Celebration Committee, 2000), p. 39.
88. SLV, *Melbourne Church of England Girls' Grammar School*, p. 12.
89. *Ibid*.
90. Challinor, 'Children and War', p. 22.
91. S. Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI* (Auckland: Random House, 2010), p. 118.
92. *Ibid*, p. 119.
93. Scadden, *Pride in Diversity*, p. 24.
94. *Ibid*, p. 26.
95. *Ibid*, pp. 28–9.
96. An example being Karori School Wellington. See *Karori School Centenary 1857–1957* (Wellington: Karori School Centennial Committee, 1957), p. 45.
97. *Johnsonville School 70th Anniversary: Souvenir of Jubilee Celebrations, 1937* (Wellington: Johnsonville School Committee, 1937), p. 28.
98. *Kilbirnie School Wellington: The First One Hundred Years* (Wellington: Kilbirnie School Centenary Committee, 1984), pp. 22–3.
99. In a survey of a sample of 42 school histories located in various provinces of New Zealand, only three contained references to imperial celebrations: *Hastings*

- Central School 1875–1975* (School Centenary Committee, 1975), p. 47; *Taupo School Centenary Celebration 1894–1994* (Taupo: The School 1994), p. 15; *Castlecliff Primary School, Wanganui 1892–1992* (Centennial Booklet, 1992), p. 17 notes there was an ‘Empire Day assembly, then School was dismissed’. In 1916, the pupils attended a film entitled *Britain Prepared* at His Majesty’s Theatre on Empire Day afternoon (p. 18).
100. *Kilbirnie School Wellington*, p. 29.
 101. For Auckland, see *75th Jubilee Glen Eden Primary School* (Auckland Jubilee Committee, 1990); *Remuera District School Centennial 1873–1973* (Remuera, 1973); *Parnell Primary School Centenary 1873–1973* (Auckland: Parnell Centenary Committee, 1973); *1886–1986 Bayfield School Centenary: Reunion Programme* (Herne Bay: Reunion Committee, 1986); J. Kelly, Ngaire Diamond and C. Badcock (eds), *Mount Albert Primary School: 100 Years* (Mount Albert Primary School, 1969); *Gladstone Centennial 1887–1987* (Auckland: The School, 1987); *Meadowbank School 75th Jubilee 1915–1990* (Auckland: The School, 1990); *Richmond Road School 1884–1984* (Auckland: Richmond Road School, 1984); *Stanley Bay School 75th Jubilee 1909–1984* (Auckland: Stanley Bay School Jubilee Committee, 1984). For Wellington, see *Thorndon Primary School’s 125th Jubilee 1852–1981* (Wellington: Jubilee Committee, 1981); *Berhampore School Jubilee Booklet 1915–1965* (Wellington: Jubilee Committee, 1965); *Khandallah School 75th Jubilee 1893–1968* (Khandallah: Jubilee Committee, 1968). For Christchurch, see R. Clarke, *Addington Primary School: 125 Years 1881–2006* (Addington Primary School, 2006); *Burwood School Jubilee 1872–1962* (Christchurch Jubilee Committee, 1962); *Christchurch East School 1873–1998* (Christchurch East School, 1999); *Harewood School Centennial Celebrations* (Coulls, Somerville Wilikie, 1965); Miss Shirley et al, *Marshland Primary School Centennial Jubilee 1888–1988: The School and our Early Life* (Christchurch: The School, 1988); *Richmond Primary School Centennial Celebrations 1875–1975* (Richmond Primary School, 1976); *Spreydon School Diamond Jubilee 1872–1932: Programme of Celebration* (Spreydon School Diamond Jubilee, 1933); *West Christchurch School Diamond Jubilee 1874–1934* (West Christchurch School, 1934).
 102. *Bromley School Centennial 1880–1980* (Christchurch: Bromley School Centennial Committee, 1980), p. 8.
 103. *School Paper for Class IV*, May 1907.
 104. R. Shuker, *The One Best System? A Revisionist History of State Schooling in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987), p. 111.
 105. Challinor, ‘Children and War’, p. 9.
 106. D.R. Jenkins, *Social Attitudes in the School Journal* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1939), p. 4.
 107. *New Zealand Education Gazette*, 1 November 1921, p. 4. Openshaw notes that in the early 1920s, the Navy League had a strong presence in schools and the League of Nations Union a fairly low profile. By the end of the 1920s, however, it was the Navy League that found itself increasingly marginalised and the League of Nations Union promoted in its stead. For the early 1920s, see Openshaw, ‘The Highest Expression of Devotion’, pp. 337–8. For the League of Nations Union and its growing influence in Australian schools by the mid-1930s, see P. Harrison-Mattley, ‘The League of Nations Movement and Australian Schools’, *ANZHES Journal*, 1(2) (1972), pp. 8–20.

- For New Zealand, see R. Openshaw, 'New Zealand State Primary Schools and the Growth of Internationalism and Anti-War Feeling 1929–1934', *ANZHES Journal*, 9(1) (1980), pp. 1–14.
108. Hannon, 'Patriotism in Victorian Schools', p. 176. He notes that in Australia 'technical problems rather than deliberate policy affected the salience of Anzac Day' as the 25 April fell on 'either the weekend or the Eight Hours Day public holiday' when pupils were not at the school. Of the recasting of Empire Day, he also notes that the Empire Day issue of *Victoria's School Paper* between 1919 and 1924 'was haltingly used to suggest the contemporary malaise and to explain the way in which the improvement of character could become the solvent of social ills' (p. 179).
 109. Malone, 'The *New Zealand School Journal*', p. 24.
 110. Hannon notes that by 1929, 'peace themes were the core of Education Department publications and activities'. See 'Patriotism in Victorian State Schools', p. 197.
 111. *Ibid*, p. 191.
 112. *School Paper Songs Index 1896–1971* (Music Branch: Education Department, 1976). There was similarly low coverage of Anzac Day in the *School Journal* – there was no mention of it in the 1925 issues, but it began to increase its profile in the late 1920s. As Jenkins noted, however, in his study of the journal, coverage in the 1930s was 'increasingly confined to the activities of hospital ships during the Gallipoli campaign': *Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal*, p. 24. In Victoria, the ANA complained at the lack of Australian history taught in schools. Calls for the teaching of Australian history in schools and that a lectureship in Australian history be established at the University of Melbourne were also heard in the late 1930s. See *The Argus*, 25 March 1937, p. 10 (ANA); 18 August 1938, p. 2 (Royal Caledonian Society).
 113. See *New Zealand Education Gazette*, 1 September 1931, pp. 164–6 and 1 October 1931, pp. 177–9; for textbooks used in history teaching, see 2 March 1931, p. 32. For Empire trade patriotism, see 1 July 1932, p. 104.
 114. P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 55–6.
 115. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 97.
 116. E. Harris, 'Race and Australian National Identity at the 1866–67 Intercolonial Exhibition' in K. Darian-Smith, R. Gillespie, C. Jordan and E. Willis (eds), *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World* (Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2008).
 117. P. Edmonds, "'We Think That This Subject of the Native Races Should Be Thoroughly Gone into at the Forthcoming Exhibition": The 1866–67 Intercolonial Exhibition' in Smith *et al* (eds), *Seize the Day*, Chapter 4, p. 13.
 118. Barnes, *New Zealand's London*, p. 132.
 119. K. Orr, 'A Force for Urbanism and National Identity: The Evolution and Impact of the Nineteenth Century Australian International Exhibitions' in V. Bath (ed.), *Identity and Universality: A Commemoration of 150 Years of Universal Exhibitions* (Paris: Bureau International des Expositions, 2002), p. 42.
 120. G. Davison, J.W. McCarty and A. McLeary, *Australia 1888* (Sydney: Fairfax, 1987), p. 22.

121. L. Young, "'How Like England We Can Be": The Australian International Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century' in Smith *et al* (eds), *Seize the Day*, Chapter 12, p. 1.
122. A full account of the Exhibition is contained in J. Parris and A.G.L. Shaw, 'The Melbourne Exhibition 1880–1881', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 51(4) (1980), pp. 237–54. They note that the cultural legacy of the Exhibition was 'negligible', but suggest that it was a 'popular success' (see pp. 245 and 247).
123. *Illustrated Australian News*, 9 October 1880, p. 183.
124. *The Argus*, 27 January 1880, p. 6.
125. *South Australian Register*, 26 October 1880, p. 5.
126. G. Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Melbourne University Press, 1978), p. 12.
127. For access to the Public Library and Museum on Sundays in Melbourne, see *The Argus*, 26 October 1880, p. 6.
128. *The Argus*, 18 October 1880, p. 6; *South Australian Register*, 26 October 1880, pp. 5–6.
129. The night opening took place on 14 October and was reported the following day. See *The Argus*, 15 October 1880, p. 6.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid.*
133. *The Argus*, 16 October 1880, p. 8.
134. *The Argus*, 5 November 1880, p. 6.
135. Cited in Young, "'How Like England We Can Be'", Chapter 12, p. 11.
136. E. Morrison (ed.), *Ada Cambridge's A Woman's Friendship* (Sydney: NSW University Press, 1988), pp. 9–10.
137. G.E. Thompson, *Official Record of the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition Dunedin 1925–1926* (Otago: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1927), p. 6.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
139. See S. Lamond, "'The Merry Mix Up": A History of the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition Dunedin 1925–6' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1989), p. 36.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
141. See E. Johnston, 'Representing the Pacific at International Exhibitions 1851–1949' (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1999), p. 158.
142. Johnston notes that by the mid-1920s, 'there was a growing international shift away from exhibiting colonised and other people at international exhibitions'. See *ibid.*, p. 158.
143. Participation at which had been seen as disappointing, for, as the New Zealand Commissioner noted: 'It was generally thought at the inception of the British Empire exhibition scheme that the main objective was the fostering of inter-imperial trade. It was therefore very disappointing to the overseas representatives from the Dominions and Colonies to find ... that no steps were taken by their General Administration to organise any combine effort in this direction.' ATL- MS-Papers 1693, Report of the NZ Commissioner, 1924.
144. *Official Record*, p. 43.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

146. Johnston, 'Representing the Pacific', p. 282.
147. Lamond, "'The Merry Mix Up'", p. 71.
148. Cited in *ibid*, p. 72.
149. *Official Record*, p. 40.
150. Lamond, "'The Merry Mix Up'", p. 72.
151. For a description of the Caterpillar and the Merry Mix Up, see *Evening Post*, 14 September 1925, p. 11. They also featured at Wellington's Winter Show and Industrial Exhibition staged in July 1926. See *Evening Post*, 29 June 1926, p. 11.
152. *Official Record*, p. 40.
153. *Auckland Star*, 10 February 1928, p. 10; 6 December 1926, p. 17.
154. *Canterbury Jubilee Industrial Exhibition: Official Handbook and Catalogue* (Canterbury: Lyttleton Times, 1900), p. 13.
155. See *Auckland Star*, 13 August 1879, p. 3; *Evening Post*, 8 June 1889, p. 2.
156. See K. Conlon, 'No Funny Business: The Disinternment of Samuel Brown' (BA (Hons) research essay, Massey University 2013), pp. 33–4.
157. *Canterbury Jubilee Industrial Exhibition*, p. 13.
158. *Official Record of the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition Wellington 1885* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1886), p. 22.
159. *Auckland Star*, 14 July 1887, p. 3; 9 April 1887, p. 4
160. *Evening Post*, 24 May 1911, p. 9.
161. *Ibid*.
162. *The Examiner* (Launceston, Tasmania), 17 January 1906, p. 6.
163. D. Dunstan, *Victorian Icon: The Royal Exhibition Building Melbourne* (Kew, Vic: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1996), p. 189.
164. *The Press*, 14 August 1908, p. 6.
165. C. Blackton, 'Australian Nationality and Nativism: The Australian Natives' Association 1885–1901', *Journal of Modern History*, 30(1) (1958), p. 37.
166. Dunstan, *Victorian Icon*, p. 284.
167. *Ibid*.
168. *Ibid*, p. 293.
169. *The Argus*, 3 November 1924, p. 6.
170. V. Plant, "'The Garden City of a Garden State": Melbourne in the 1934 Centennial Celebrations', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 63 (1992), pp. 96 and 98.

7 The Branch Life of Empire: Imperial Loyalty Leagues in Antipodean Cities c. 1900–39

1. Surveyed in MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*. Four of them are the focus for the recent monograph by Matthew Hendley, *Organised Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain 1914–1932* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).
2. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 148. Whilst a comprehensive investigation of the rank-and-file membership of the leagues has yet to be undertaken, it is evident that the working class often had a rather instrumental attitude to these leagues. As Jim McAloon notes of the Plunket Society (infant care), which peddled an imperial ideology, 'the success of these ideological campaigns was only partial ... Imperial glory increasingly became

- unpopular among the working class'. See J. McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy Settlers in Canterbury and Otago 1840–1914* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2002), p. 169.
3. *Ibid.*
 4. Exceptions being K. Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of Empire* (Manchester University Press 2002); K. Pickles, 'A Link in "The Great Chain of Empire Friendship": The Victoria League in New Zealand', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 33(1) (2005), pp. 29–50; and H. Rubinstein, 'Empire Loyalty in Inter-War Victoria', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 70(1) (1999), pp. 67–83.
 5. Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, pp. 225–8.
 6. For a wider analysis, see D. Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850–1939* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999).
 7. For a history of the Royal Colonial Institute/Royal Empire Society, see T. Reese, *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society 1868–1968* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968).
 8. For Bowen, see *Alexander Turnbull Library Biographies Index* (Wellington: National Library, 1996) and for Seth-Smith, see *New Zealand Biographical Clippings 1890–1988*, Vol. 1 (Wellington: National Library, 1996), p. 169.
 9. I am grateful to the Royal Commonwealth Society, London for providing me with details of the foundation of the Antipodean leagues.
 10. For Barrett, see *ADB*, Vol. 7, 1891–1939, pp. 186–9.
 11. For Leeper, see *ADB*, Vol. 10, 1891–1939, pp. 54–6.
 12. For Worley, see his obituary in *ATL*, *New Zealand Biographies*, 2 (1960), p. 150. For Rutherford, see K. Sinclair, *A History of the University of Auckland, 1883–1983* (Auckland University Press, 1983), p. 172.
 13. For Boose, see *Who Was Who? 1929–40*, vol. III (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1941), p. 134.
 14. For Tripp, see his obituary in the *Evening Post* (Wellington), 20 September 1957, p. 11. See also L.O.H. Tripp, *Memoirs of L.O.H. Tripp 1862–1957* (Timaru: Herald Printing Works, 1958). Like many of those involved in Empire loyalty leagues, Tripp also involved himself in other areas of civic life, being a member of the Navy League council and a member of the board of governors of Marsden Collegiate School. For Myers, see *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Napier: G.W. Venables, 1908), p. 152 and *ATL*, *New Zealand Biographies*, Vol. 3, p. 172.
 15. For an account of the rise and fall of the IFL in Victoria, see L. Foster, 'The Imperial Federation League in Victoria: An Analysis of its Structure, Personnel, Aims and Decline' (BA (Hons) dissertation, Monash University, 1979).
 16. See Foster, *Imperial Federation League in Victoria*, pp. 28, 95–6. For the League in Canada, see G.R. Maclean, 'The Imperial Federation Movement in Canada, 1884–1902' (PhD thesis, Duke University, 1958).
 17. *The English Race: The Journal of the Royal Society of St George* (February 1908), p. 64.
 18. For Bird, see *ADB*, Vol. 7, 1891–1939, p. 293; for Webster's obituary, see *The Argus*, 9 June 1928, p. 30; and for Maddock's obituary, see *The Argus*, 21 November 1933, p. 6.
 19. See J. Watson, 'English Associationalism in the British Empire: Yorkshire Societies in New Zealand before the First World War', *Britain and the World*,

- IV (2011), pp. 85–6. Another branch does seem to have been created in Wellington just before the outbreak of the Second World War. See the *Evening Post*, 24 April 1939, p. 6.
20. E. Riedi, 'Women, Gender and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League 1901–1914', *Historical Journal*, 45(3) (2002), p. 572.
 21. ATL Wellington, Richmond Family Papers Ref 77-173-62/01, Third Annual Report of the Victoria League, Wellington Branch, 1910.
 22. *Who's Who in New Zealand* (1908), p. 123.
 23. *Auckland Star*, 22 September, 1910, p. 9; 10 October 1912, p. 11.
 24. For the Christchurch branch, see S. Dowling, 'Female Imperialism: The Victoria League in Canterbury, New Zealand, 1910–2003' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2004), pp. 26–7.
 25. SLV, PA 98/110 and PA 03/09, Annual Reports of the Victoria League, Victorian branch, 12th Annual Report, 1919–20, p. 6.
 26. For Irvine (Premier and Chief Justice), see *ADB*, Vol. 9, 1891–1939, pp. 439–41.
 27. SLV, First Annual Report of the Victoria League of Victoria 1908–9, pp. 3–4.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 30. *The Argus*, 29 October 1903, p. 9.
 31. *The Argus*, 25 June 1915, p. 10. For Webster, see *The Argus*, 9 June, 1928, p. 30.
 32. *The Navy: Journal of the Navy League*, XVIII (October 1912), p. 282. This contradicts the brief history written by Beverley Bamford, 'A Brief History of the Auckland Branch of the Navy League', unpublished document held by the Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Acc No. MB 129 E 491. Here, the early history of the branch is proclaimed to be successful.
 33. See *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (1925), p. 57.
 34. For Hall (Former Prime Minister and Mayor of Christchurch), see *The Press*, 1 July 1907, p. 7.
 35. *Evening Post*, 27 June 1906, p. 2.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. *Otago Witness*, 1 August 1906, p. 65.
 38. Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, pp. 66–114.
 39. The League of Empire had links with the IFL. Frank Tate presented a paper to the Victorian IFL in 1908 entitled 'School Power – An Imperial Necessity'.
 40. *The Story of the League 1901–1991* (London: League for the Exchange of Commonwealth Teachers, 1991), p. 5. Before the First World War, a Canadian league which called itself 'Hands Across the Sea' had exchanged teachers with New Zealand, although its work was cut short by the outbreak of war in 1914. See *Wanganui Chronicle*, 16 January 1914, p. 8.
 41. *Thames Star*, 21 July 1903, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 3 September 1904, p. 4.
 42. *The Argus*, 25 September 1905, p. 5.
 43. *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 17 December 1907, p. 11.
 44. *Evening Post*, 11 January 1921, p. 8.
 45. L.C. Jauncey, *The Story of Conscriptio in Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 16.
 46. *Otago Witness*, 16 January 1907, p. 14.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. *The New Zealand Empire and National Service League* (Hamilton, 1906).

49. P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 11. Membership of the Defence League stood at 6,600: Auckland accounted for 4,125, Wellington 1,862, Canterbury 298 and Otago 185. Figures are provided in J.D. Milburn, 'New Zealand's First Experiment with Compulsory Military Training 1900–1914' (MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1954), p. 36a. In the parliamentary debates which took place in 1909 prior to the passing of the Defence Act, the uses for which the military training would be put revealed the tensions between national and imperial defence. See *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1909* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1909) pp. 1001–426. See also D.K. Skow, 'The 1909 Defence Act: A Case Study of Militarism in New Zealand' (BA (Hons) dissertation, Otago University, 1981). Note the comments made by Martin Crotty that military training was as much about national defence in Australia as defence of the Empire in *Making the Australian Male: Middle-Class Masculinity 1870–1920* (Melbourne University Press, 2001), p. 25. Keith Sinclair notes that at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the idea of imperial enthusiasm in New Zealand is rather better expressed as enthusiasm for 'militarism': 'New Zealanders were ready to fight anyone and to prove to the world that they were as good as the best' – Sinclair, *Imperial Federation*, p. 22.
50. MacKenzie. *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 167.
51. For New Zealand, see J.E. Kendle, 'The Round Table Movement: Lionel Curtis and the Formation of the New Zealand Groups in 1910', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1 (1967), pp. 33–50.
52. L. Foster, *High Hopes: The Men and Motives of the Australian Round Table* (Melbourne University Press, 1986), pp. 38–9.
53. Short biographies for these individuals are listed in the appendices of Foster, *High Hopes*, pp. 189–243.
54. *Ibid*, pp. 196–7, 221–2.
55. For Hurst Segar, see *Who Was Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (1908), p. 154. For Tibbs, see *Who's Who in New Zealand* (1925), p. 219.
56. For Atkinson, see *Who's Who in New Zealand* (1925), p. 42; for Von Haast, see *ibid*, p. 225; for Tregear, see *ibid*, p. 220.
57. For Hight, see his obituary in *The Press*, 19 May 1958, p. 10. These names appear as correspondence in the Round Table File held in the James Hight Papers, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, MB 242, J11 Round Table Correspondence.
58. For an overview of the League, see A. Smith, *The Royal Overseas League: From Empire into Commonwealth. A History of the First 100 Years* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).
59. *Ibid*, p. 8.
60. For Jennings, see *Who's Who in New Zealand* (1908), p. 85; for Bates, see *The Press*, 3 August 1916; for Gibbs, see *Oamaru Mail*, 26 January 1916, p. 6.
61. For Douglas, see *ibid*, p. 45.
62. *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 February 1916, p. 2. See also G. Hucker, 'When Empire Calls: Patriotic Organisation in New Zealand During the Great War' (MA thesis, Massey University, 1979), pp. 35–6.
63. The League's formation appears to have been influenced by strike activity in the New Zealand coal industry. For McLaren, see K. Taylor's entry in

- the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (DNZB), www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3m22/1 (date accessed 6 October 2013). McLaren had moved from the Left to the Right in a move that was perhaps only possible in the context of the First World War and the forces it unleashed.
64. See NA, Christchurch Regional Office (NACRO), 'Empire Service League', CH 670 193/12, 1933–64.
 65. *Ibid.* Elizabeth Adela Hotchkin was the main driving force behind the League when it revived in the 1930s. One of the earliest news reports of her had been published in the *New Zealand Truth* when, described as a society lady, she was reprimanded for receiving contributions for a war fund without having a permit: *New Zealand Truth*, 26 April 1919. There is no reference to the League's activity, for example, in Wellington's *Evening Post* or *The Sun* (Christchurch) during the mid- to late 1920s.
 66. See NA, Christchurch Regional Office (NACRO), 'Empire Service League', CH 670 193/12, 1933–64.
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. Its formation was noted in the New Zealand section of the *Round Table*: 'After Three Years of War' (March 1918), pp. 412–13. The reason for its formation appears to have been partly provoked by strike activity in the New Zealand coal industry, which was noted in the *Round Table* (September 1917), pp. 823–32.
 69. For the Empire Loyalty League, see *The Argus*, 12 July 1921; for the King and Empire Alliance, see the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 and 23 December 1920; *The Argus*, 2 April 1931. In May 1931, a disturbance took place at the Melbourne Exhibition Building when an Empire Honour Meeting was interrupted by communists. In 1918, the possibility of forming a British Empire Defence League in New Zealand was mooted. Its declared aims were similar to that of the Empire Service League, stressing loyalty to the Empire and the placing of 'integrity of Empire' before the preoccupation with party politics. This movement does not appear to have gained momentum and no traces of activity have been found for the 1920s. David McLaren, its leader, then led the New Zealand Welfare League from 1919, which bore a close resemblance to the British Empire Union. See NA (Wellington), NEB 1, Box 21, British Empire Defence League.
 70. The Empire Honour League's Organising Director was William Murchison. See his letter to *The Argus*, 26 October, 1936, 'Christianity or Communism?', p. 6.
 71. See the coverage of its formation in, for example, the *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 May 1917; *Evening Post*, 7 and 9 May 1917; and its first conference, which was held on 24 May 1918.
 72. *Evening Post*, 9 May 1917, p. 2. The League published four pamphlets in total: *What Freedom Means* by Percival Witherby; *The Great Occasion* by H.C. Tennent of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force; *America's Peace Programme*, also written by Witherby; and *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference*. In this last pamphlet, Witherby noted of the League that 'I should feel compelled to add that considerable as this progress has been, it would have been infinitely greater if one-quarter of the people who have approved of the League's objectives and wished it success had done any individual act to bring that success about'.
 73. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 May 1917, p. 6. For a discussion of New Zealand's class war and associated industrial turbulence, see Eldred Grigg, *The Great*

- Wrong War*, pp. 24–8. In February 1915, the Empire Trade League was formed, which aimed to encourage trade within the Empire. It only lasted until January 1916, when it merged with the Auckland Provincial Industrial Association. In February 1916, it was replaced by the ‘All for Empire’ League, which was formed in Christchurch with the objective of eliminating German trade from New Zealand. The moving force behind this League was the United Commercial Travellers and Warehousemen; see *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 February 1916, p. 2. This League also lasted until June of the same year. See G. Hucker, ‘When the Empire Calls: Patriotic Organisation in New Zealand During the Great War’ (MA thesis, Massey University, 1979), pp. 35–6.
74. Constitution and Rules of the Empire Service League: Archives New Zealand (Christchurch Office), CH670 1933/12/1933–64.
 75. The Wellington solicitor H.F. Von Haast was the son of Julius Von Haast, scientific scholar and founder of the Canterbury Museum. H.F. Von Haast was a member of the Round Table Wellington Group. Mrs Hotchkyn was the dominant figure in the League by the 1930s. She stood (unsuccessfully) as an independent candidate in national elections for the Hurunui constituency in the 1940s. As far as realising the methods outlined in the founding constitution, she spoke on Wellington’s 2YA wireless station on the subject of the Empire Service League for half an hour and also addressed schools about the activities of the League. There is also evidence of a short-lived publication issued by the League entitled ‘Our Empire’ in NA (CRO) 670 193/12, 1933–64.
 76. For Aitken, see *DNZB*, A–L (Wellington, 1940), pp. 7–8. Aitken was Mayor of Wellington from 1900 to 1904 and subsequently became an MP for the city. A prominent member of the Presbyterian church, he was also involved (as was Matheson) in the Boy Scouts organisation and the YMCA. He died in 1921.
 77. NA (CO), CH670, Box 186, ‘Empire Service League Incorporated’.
 78. For its condition by the 1930s, see *The Sun* (Christchurch), 22 November 1934, p. 2.
 79. As Graham Hucker has noted, the views of the Empire Service League were ‘idealistic and nebulous’ and ‘the ordinary citizen would have been at a loss to comprehend their writings’. See Hucker, ‘When the Empire Calls’, p. 48.
 80. *Evening Post*, 27 May 1931, p. 11.
 81. *Ibid.*
 82. *Evening Post*, 12 April 1932, p. 11.
 83. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 22 November 1934, p. 4.
 84. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 22 November 1934, p. 2.
 85. For Knox, see *ADB*, Vol. 9, 1891–1939, pp. 630–2; for Jowett, see *ibid.*, pp. 525–6.
 86. *The Argus*, 6 December 1922, p. 8.
 87. See *ADB*, Vol. 15, 1940–1980 (Melbourne University Press, 2000), pp. 365–6. For Caldwell’s obituary, see *The Argus*, 15 January 1937, p. 10.
 88. *The Argus*, 17 November 1931, p. 13.
 89. *The Argus*, 11 April 1931, p. 17.
 90. Murchison was a member of the Senate in the early 1930s representing the United Australia Party. See *The Advertiser*, 18 December 1931, p. 1.

91. This has of course been the subject of debate between writers such as MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* and more recently Hall and Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire* pitched against Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*.
92. *The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire*, I(1) (1910), p. 1.
93. See 'Imperialism from an Australian Standpoint', *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 36 (February 1905), pp. 148–9. For Harney, see *Who Was Who 1929–40* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1941), p. 596.
94. *Round Table*, II (December 1911–September 1912), pp. 373–4.
95. *Round Table*, VI (December 1915–September 1916), p. 182.
96. *Round Table*, I (November 1910–August 1911), pp. 191–2.
97. *Ibid*, pp. 499–500.
98. *Round Table*, XI AND XIII (December 1921–September 1923), p. 454.
99. *Ibid*, p. 458.
100. *Ibid*.
101. UMA, William Harrison Moore Papers, Box 17, Acc 63/1, 'The Round Table', 11/6/5. See also Foster, *High Hopes*, p. 4. This was partially countered by some 57 Victorian newspapers carrying information about the Round Table. See A.C. May 'The Round Table 1910–66' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1995), pp. 7–8.
102. The Christchurch group appears to have ceased meeting by 1923. See also the comments in J. Illott, 'History of the Round Table Group in New Zealand', unpublished paper held in the John Illot Papers, Victoria University of Wellington archives.
103. L. Curtis, *The Problem of the Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan, 1916). See also J.E. Kendle, *The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union* (Toronto University Press, 1975), pp. 200–1.
104. Illott, 'History of the Round Table Group in New Zealand'
105. UMA, William Harrison Moore Papers, Box 17, Acc 63/1, 'Summary of Round Table in Australia 1910–1935', 11/6/2/6
106. Foster, *High Hopes*, p. 35.
107. P. Dennis *et al* (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 516–20.
108. I am indebted to Malcolm Longstaff of the Australian Naval Society for his ideas as to why the Australian branches of the Navy Leagues struggled in the Edwardian era.
109. Dowling, 'Female Imperialism', p. 40.
110. Pickles, 'A Link in "The Great Chain of Empire Friendship"', p. 37.
111. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 7 July 1916, p. 4.
112. *The Press*, 7 July 1916, p. 10.
113. *The Press*, 17 October 1916, p. 5.
114. *The Press*, 24 July 1916, p. 4.
115. *Ibid*, p. 4.
116. *The Press*, 27 July 1916, p. 9.
117. See *The Sun* (Christchurch), 6 February 1915, p. 6; Pickles, 'A Link in the "Great Chain of Friendship"', p. 35.
118. Pickles, 'A Link in the "Great Chain of Friendship"', p. 35.

119. For the rise of the Anzac legend, see Dennis *et al* (eds), *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, pp. 42–8.
120. The phrase being employed most famously by Geoffrey Blainey in *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1968).
121. Victoria League of Victoria First Annual Report 1908–9, p. 8.
122. *Evening Post*, 4 February 1922, p. 14.
123. *Ibid*, p. 14.
124. Archives New Zealand, Wellington, E2 Box 268 29/18/50, 'League of the Empire 1920–53'.
125. *Evening Post*, 14 December 1937, p. 10.
126. For letters relating to the commission, see *Auckland Star*, 18 June 1914, p. 2; 27 June 1914, pp. 7–8.
127. *English Race*, August 1908, p. 53. James Jupp makes rather scathing comments about the Society, arguing that its culture 'may border on the absurd': J. Jupp, *The English in Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 199.
128. *Ibid*.
129. See, for example, A.H. Chisholm, *Scots Wha Hae: History of the Royal Caledonian Society of Melbourne* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950), p. 33. See also T. Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society 1850–1930* (Edinburgh University Press, 2011).
130. V. Yarwood, 'Shibboleth of Empire: Attitudes to Empire in New Zealand Writing, 1890–1930' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1982), p. 76.
131. Chisholm, *Scots Wha Hae*, p. 38.
132. *English Race*, August 1908, p. 53. Criticism was also levelled at Melbourne's middle classes which did not want to display their identity in public.
133. *English Race*, September, 1912, p. 64.
134. *English Race*, December, 1914, p. 70. It noted that the press was devoted to 'local politics and sport'.
135. *English Race*, September, 1913, p. 82.
136. *English Race*, December, 1918, p. 42.
137. See I. McGibbon (ed.), *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 142, who notes that they were moribund by the early 1930s. For Australia, see Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription*, p. 342.
138. *The Argus*, 30 April 1936, p. 14.
139. *The Navy*, XVII (March 1912), p. 84.
140. For Britain, see J. English, 'Empire Day in Britain, 1904–1958', *Historical Journal*, 49(1) (2006), p. 268.
141. R.J.W. Selleck, *Frank Tate: A Biography* (Melbourne University Press, 1982), p. 247.
142. *The Press*, 14 June, 1920, p. 6.
143. National Archives, ABFK 7395, Navy League, General File, Annual Reports for the Navy League.
144. *Ibid*.
145. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 2 April 1925, p. 3.
146. *Evening Post*, 21 June 1926, p. 8.

147. Where Labour took power at both the state and municipal levels on both sides of the Tasman, the Leagues found it difficult to realise their ambitions due to Labour's anti-imperialist attitudes. In Melbourne, when the Empire Reciprocity League offered its Empire Trade Week maps to the Labor Minister for Public Instruction, John Lemmon, for use in schools, it was rebuffed. Lemmon argued that it was government policy to encourage trade within Australia. *The Argus*, 28 May 1930, p. 7.
148. *The Sun* (Christchurch), 4 September 1923, p. 10.
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.* Of the 'big four' New Zealand cities, Christchurch developed the most significant Labour representation at a local city level before 1939. Labour took overall control of the council for the first time in 1927.
151. This was a problem that was also experienced by the Royal Empire Society in Melbourne. When the women's section of the Society approached John Seitz, the Director of Education in Victoria, to discuss a weekly essay competition for schoolchildren on subjects such as 'the need for a united Empire' with winners being broadcast on the radio station 3UZ, Seitz replied that he was averse to it and said that 'education departments did not like essays and did not approve of competitions and would not work with a broadcasting station'. Moreover, he wanted to know 'why, if the RES was such a powerful organisation, did it want to attempt to carry out such a thing as the proposed scheme, which was a waste of time'. UMA, James Barrett Papers, Box 17 10/32, Imperial File 96A, undated memorandum. It is likely that this incident occurred in 1939.
152. *Evening Post*, 14 August 1934, p. 13. For a discussion of the growing internationalism and anti-militarism displayed by educationalists in the late 1920s and early 1930s, see R. Openshaw, 'New Zealand State Primary Schools and the Growth of Internationalism and Anti-War Feeling 1929–1934', *ANZHES*, 9(1) (1980), pp. 1–14. For the growth of the League of Nations Union in the Antipodes, see B. Attwood 'Apostles of Peace: The New Zealand League of Nations Union' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1979); P. Harrison-Mattley, 'The League of Nations Movement and Australian Schools', *ANZHES*, 1(2) (1973), pp. 8–20.
153. *Evening Post*, 15 August 1934, p. 11.
154. National Archives (Wellington), ABFK 7395, Navy League, Wellington Branch, Eleventh Annual Conference 1929.
155. *Ibid.*
156. *Evening Post*, 19 November 1936, p. 9; 18 September 1940, p. 11; 16 October, 1940, p. 10; 17 October, 1940, p. 10.
157. SLV, Victoria League of Victoria 15th Annual Report, 1922–3, p. 8.
158. See, for example, SLV, Victoria League of Victoria 13th Annual Report, 1920–1, p. 6.
159. For Isaacs, see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/isaacs-sir-isaac-alfred-6805> (date accessed 6 October 2013). For the Council of Combined Empire Societies, see UMA, James Barrett Papers, Acc 75/22, Box 16, 10/19. For the Council, see Rubinstein, 'Empire Loyalty in Inter-War Victoria', pp. 75–6. The Council of Combined Empire Societies consisted of the Victoria League, the British Empire Union, the RSSG, the Empire Reciprocity League, the Australian Women's National League, the Navy

- League, the Melbourne Scots, the Scottish Union, the Country Party, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Mothers Union, the Royal Empire Society and the BEL.
160. For the issue of race before 1914, see Riedi, 'Women, Gender and the Promotion of Empire', pp. 595–6; Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, p. 292. For the hosting of only Anglo-Saxons, see SLV, Victoria League of Victoria Annual Reports, 1919–39.
 161. *Sun News-Pictorial*, 30 October 1922, p. 19; *The Argus*, 28 October 1922, p. 18; SLV, Victoria League of Victoria, 13th Annual Report, 1920–1, p. 6.
 162. The 17th Annual Report for the Victorian branch 1924–5 noted that this had generated funds totalling £676, 16 shillings and 11 pence.
 163. Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, p. 222.
 164. *Auckland Star*, 28 September 1927, p. 8.
 165. *The Argus*, 22 November 1928, p. 15; 16 March 1928, p. 7.
 166. MBL, University of Canterbury, Acc 545 5/1, Royal Overseas League Branch Minutes, 1932.
 167. Noted in Royal Society League Christchurch, Acc 545/5/1, Branch Minutes for 1930.
 168. *English Race*, March 1925, p. 34.
 169. *English Race*, January 1928, p. 25.
 170. *English Race*, August 1925, p. 34, comments made by Stanley Bruce.
 171. *English Race*, September 1926, p. 56.
 172. *The Argus*, 15 April 1930, p. 9; 30 May 1930, p. 11. The quota imposed in 1927 by the terms of the Cinematograph Act had little effect in countering the US domination of the film industry. See the comments of S. McIntyre, *Oxford History of Australia, 1901–1942* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 206.
 173. *The Argus*, 14 November 1929, p. 5.
 174. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 1928, p. 6.
 175. The BEU in Australia published the *Practical Patriot* between 1936 and 1946, which was renamed the *Empire Patriot* between 1946 and 1953.
 176. See *The Argus*, 2 April 1931, p. 13.
 177. English, 'Empire Day in Britain, 1904–1958', p. 265.
 178. UMA, 75/22, Sir James Barrett Papers, Box 17 10/28, 21/6/1933.
 179. UMA, 75/22, Sir James Barrett Papers, Box 17 10/28, 21/6/1933. For the rise of Australian communism, see S. Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999). The stance of the leagues aligned at this point with other 'clandestine organisations' which were on standby for a leftist putsch: see pp. 265–6. Here Macintyre notes that the scale of anti-communist activities 'far exceeded any threat from the left' (p. 266). The Communist Party had 1,500 members in Australia by 1931 and its Unemployed Workers Movement 30,000 (p. 266). For New Zealand, see K. Taylor, 'Workers Vanguard or People's Voice: The Communist Party of New Zealand from Origins to 1946' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1994).
 180. Reported in *Brisbane Courier*, 9 December 1932, p. 15.
 181. Both the Overseas League and the Victoria League primarily staged 'at homes' and garden parties for the inner cadre of council members and welcomed imperial visitors. See Pickles, 'A Link in the "Great Chain of Friendship"', p. 41.

Conclusions

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Index

Bold page numbers indicate figures; italics indicate tables.

- A & H Henderson 81, 83
Abdication Crisis (1936) 117–21
The Absent-Minded Imperialists
(Porter) 18–19
Adam-Smith, Patsy 57
Adler, Dankmar 77
The Age 31, 42, 43, 52, 85
alcohol 87–8
Alexander, Kristine 147, 149
Algie, Colvin 61
All-Red Tour 24, 26
Allen, Sir James 66, 199–200
Alomes, Stephen 69, 208–9
Alonso, Stephen 27
*Altered Memories of the Great War:
Divergent Narratives of Britain,
Australia, New Zealand and
Canada* (Sheftall) 59–60
American influence 22
American modernism 84
American Romanesque 77
Anderson, Esther 140
Andrews, E.M. 58–9, 108
Anglo-American architecture 76
Anglo-Japanese alliance 100
Antill, Robert 60
Anzac Day 69–70, 166, 167
The Anzac Illusion (Andrews) 58–9
An Anzac Memory (Pilling) 62–3
'Appreciation of the Average New
Zealand Man on First Arrival in
Expedition Force Training Camps
1917' (Skeeman) 56–7
Arbuckle, Fatty 89
architecture
 American Romanesque 77
 Anglo-American style 76
 British influence 77
 Californian Spanish style 78
 Chicago style 77
 of Empire 84–5
 journals and magazines 76, 83–4, 85
 opportunities to study 75–6
 and social class 85
 styles 78–9
 technology 77–8, 83
Architecture 85
The Argus 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45–6,
 52, 53–4, 56, 101, 109
Auckland Weekly Herald 108
Auckland Weekly News 106, 107
Australia
 federationism 32
 Festival of Empire 25–7
 social division 27
 trade 3–6, 7–8
*Australia as Producer and Trader
1920–1932* (Windett) 125
Australian Manufactures and Products
 Exhibition 180
Australian National Defence
 League 189
Australian Natives' Association
 (ANA) 179, 180, 181–2
Australian navy 198
Australian Navy League 198
 see also Navy League
Australian People and the Great War
 (McKernan) 167
Australian Royal Commission of
 Inquiry into cinema 95–7
Australian Westerns 93–4
Australians, Britishness 8–9
Australia's Empire (Schreuder and
 Ward) 20

Baden-Powell, Agnes 133
Baden-Powell family, visits to Australia
 and New Zealand 150–1
Baden-Powell, Olave 134–5, 147

- Baden-Powell, Robert 133–4, 147
 Bakewell, Louise 143
 Bamford, James 63
 Barlow, Marcus 79–80
 Barnes, Felicity 172
 Barron, Vida 148
 Barton, Edmund 154
 baseball 142
 basketball 142
The Bayonet 68
 Beattie, Gerald 63
 Beaven, B. 210–11
Behind the Lines: The Lives of New Zealand Soldiers in the First World War (Boyack) 58
 Belich, James 17–18, 20, 28, 109, 110
 Benjamin, Benjamin 10
 Bennett, Grenville 61
 Bennett, Rev. T.P. 61
 Berger, Carl 15–16
 Bingham, A. 102–3
 Binns, Georgina 46
 Birch, Florence 140
 Blackton, Charles 15
 block-booking 91–2
 Boers and the British at Napier Street School, Auckland 165
 Boy Scouts 23
 Boyack, Nicholas 58, 63, 69
 Boyd, K. 93
 Brabazon, Reginald (12th Earl of Meath) 153, 162
 Bridgman, Leila 140
 Britain
 troops' attitudes to 63
 uniformed youth
 organisations 129–30
 youth problem 129
 British Empire Exhibition 68–9
 British Empire League (BEL) 33, 184, 185, 206
 British Empire Union (BEU) 191, 206
 British films 92–3
 Britishness 1–2
 Australians 8–9
 historical perspectives 14–18
 rejection of 27–8
The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War (Gammage) 58
The Bulletin 37
 Burley Griffin, Walter 78
 Burston, James 10
 Burton, Antoinette 18–19
 Burton, Ormond 141
 Cabena, William 11
 Cain, William 10
 Californian Spanish style 78
 Cambridge and Kent Terraces, Wellington, 1931 83
 Campbell, John 77
 Canada
 federationism 32–3
 nationalism and imperialism 15–16
 Cannadine, David 11, 73
 Cannon, Michael 110
 capital investment 2–3
 car ownership 87–8
 Carr, Katherine 88
 casualties, reporting of 65
 Cavell, Edith 71
 celebrations
 context and overview 153
 Empire Day 153–60
 exhibitions 171–3
 King's birthday 155, 158
 local exhibitions 179–82
 Melbourne International Exhibition 173–6
 New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition 176–8
 Prince of Wales' birthday 158–9
 Trafalgar Day 160–2
 celebrity, of royalty 117–19, 210
 Challinor, Deborah 168
 Chanak Crisis, press coverage 112–14
 Chicago style 77
 children
 and cinema 94
 patriotic work 167–8
 view of Empire 169–70
 see also schools
 Chilton, Chas 49
 Christchurch, war enthusiasm 55
 Christie, Hector 151

- cinema 22, 58, 91–8
 audiences 94
 Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry 95–7
 distribution 91–2, 96–7
 films shown 91–4, 95, 97–8
 ideology 94
 imperial films 92–3
 newsreels 91
 parliamentary debate 96
 Second Boer War, 1899–1902 91
- cities
 Americanisation 205–6
 Australia 8–9
 Britishness 18
 exhibitions 171–3
 identity 208–10
 imperial orientation 195–7, 198–9
 imperialism 208
 land values 79
 New Zealand 9–10
 street names 73
see also North American culture
- citizen-soldiers, First World War 56–64
Citizen to Soldier: Australia before the Great War Recollections of Members of the First A.I.F. (Dawes and Robson) 57
- citizenship 146–7
 civic elites 10–11
 civic pride, and memorials 71–2
 class discourse 27
see also social class
- Cole, Douglas 15
 commemoration, of imperial figures 73–4
 communications, developments in 2
 compulsory military training (CMT) 132, 136
- Comyns, C.L. 62
 Condé, Anne-Marie 56
 Coney, Sandra 139
 conscription 50, 64
 Cook, Joseph 51
 Cooksey, J.R.H. 147–8
 Cossgrove, David 130–1, 132, 133–4
 Cossgrove, Selina 132, 133
 Cowtan, Mawer 62
 Crichton, William 84
- Crotty, Martin 68
 Crowley, F.K. 16
 cultural nationalism, and Imperial Loyalty Leagues 200
 Cummings, C.L. 84
 Curtis, Lionel 189, 197
- daily newspapers 105
 Damousi, Joy 35
 dance crazes 86
 dance halls 85–90
 and cultural change 87–8
 reactions to 86–90
 social significance 88
 dance styles 86
 dance venues 86
 dance, Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) 142
 dances 85–6
 Darroch, Robert 203
 Darwin, John 50
 Davison, Graeme 173, 175, 212
 Dawes, N.I. 57
 Deakin, Alfred 15
 defence, and federationism 30, 32
 defence leagues 189
 deference, to Britain 16
 Devanny, Francis 207
 Diamond Jubilee 24
 difference 129
 sense of 63
 Dilke, Charles 1, 12
 domestic culture, and Empire 18–21
 Donald, McDonald 136–7
 Downes-Carter, Godfrey 10, 32
 Doyle, Stuart 96
 dress, Scouting 136
 Driver, Felix 18
 dual loyalty 16–17
The Duckboard 68–9
 duty 65–6
- economic ties 2–3, 14
see also trade
- editorial policy 108, 110
 Edmonds, Penelope 172
 education, levels of 167–8
 Eldred-Grigg, Stevan 51, 168
 elections 211

- elites 27
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 194, 199
 middle-class 183
 war enthusiasm 54
 women 199
- Empire
 abandonment 30–1
 children's view of 169–70
 diversity 101
 and domestic culture 18–21
 enthusiasm for 19
 ideas of unity 100–1
 troops' consciousness 60–3
- Empire Day
 awareness of 60–2
 decline 158–60
 evaluations of 153–4
 fundraising and
 expenditure 163–4
 instructions to teachers 162, 170
 meaning 156–9
 observance 154–6, 157–60
 as public holiday 156
 school log books 166
 schools 162–71
 social and moral doctrine 162
- Empire Development Union (EDU) 192
- Empire Honour League (EHL) 194, 206–7
- Empire Reciprocity League (ERL) 193–4, 206
- Empire Sentinels 132
- Empire Service League (ESL) 191–3
- Empire Shopping Week 159–60
- The Empire Strikes Back*
 (Thompson) 18
- English, Jim 153
- Evening Post* 40, 41, 56, 99–100
- exchange programmes, Imperial Loyalty Leagues 199–200
- exhibitions 171–3, 211
 local exhibitions 179–82
 localism 173
 Melbourne International Exhibition 173–6
 New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition 176–8
 representations of identity 172–3
 and social class 175
- The Expansion of England* (Seeley) 1–2
- Expedition and Ethnographic Films 92–3
- extortion 90
- Fairy Scouts of New Zealand*
 (Cossgrove) 132
- federationism 2, 13–14, 21, 29–33, 196
- femininity, Imperial Loyalty Leagues 183–4, 186, 188, 201–2, 204–5, 212
- Festival of Empire 24–7
- fiction 45–6
- Findlay, Sir John 121
- The First A.I.F. A Study of its Recruitment 1914–1918* (Robson) 57
- First World War 21–2
 attitudes to 49–51
 and attitudes to Empire 58–9
 citizen-soldiers 56–64
 enthusiasm for 51–6
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 190–1
 memorial culture 67–70
 national identity 49–51
 overview 51
 popular reaction 53–4, 55–6
 public opinion 59
 responses to outbreak 53
 troop departures 55–6
- Florence Nightingale Girl Aids 136
- Foster, Leonie 189, 197
- Fowler, David 94
- free trade imperialism 29
- Freeland, J.M. 78
- French, Maurice 154
- Froude, J.A. 11
- fundraising, Imperial Loyalty Leagues 203
- Gammage, Bill 58
- Gandhi, Mohandas 115–16
- gangs 90
- Gardyne, Stuart 77
- gender roles
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 183–4, 186–7, 188, 201–2, 212
 and press 105
 youth organisations 133, 134–5

- Gilbert, David 18
 Girl Aids 133
 Girl Citizens Movement (GCM)
 142–3
 Girl Peace Scouts 22–3, 131, 132–3,
 135, 136, 212
 Gladstone, William 30, 35, 36
 Good Film League 94
 Gordon, Charles 33–7, 74
 Gray, Young, Morton & Young 79
 Great Patriotic Demonstration 54–5
 Greater Britain 1–2
 Greenhalgh, Paul 172
 Griffin, Elsie 139
 Grimshaw, P. 15
 Guiding 212
 aims of 133
 Baden-Powell visits 150–1
 expansion 134–5
 inter-war 146–52
 internationalism and
 imperialism 147–50
 nationalism 149–50
 and Scouting 132–7
 World Camps 148–9
 Gummer, William Henry 76, 79
- Ham, Cornelius Job 10
 Hannon, Anthony 164, 170
 Harney, E.A. 196
 Harper, Glyn 60
 Harpley, Robert 33
 Harris, Emily 172
 Harris, Mr (MLA) 36
 Harrison, Patricia 92
 Harrop, J.C. 136
 Hassan, Andrew 63
 Hendley, Matthew 183–4, 186, 188,
 201–2, 207
 Hennessey, David Valentine 11
The Herald 47–8, 53–4, 65, 67, 71
 Hight, James 158–9
 historical perspectives 14–18
 Hitler, Adolf, press coverage 127
 Hoare, Michael 129
 holidays 167
 Holland, Henry 55, 198
 Hollywood 89, 91
 Hotchkin, E.A. 192
- hotels, design 78
 Humphries, Stephen 131
 Hurst, Maurice 45
- identity
 Anzac 17
 cinema 94
 representations of 172
 immigration policies 14
 immorality, dance halls 86–90
 imperial and international news items
 in five Antipodean papers
 1895 111
 1908 111
 1920 111
 1935 112
Imperial Cities (Driver and Gilbert)
 18
 Imperial Conference 1926 95
 imperial conferences 28
 press coverage 121–5
 imperial days 23
 imperial events taking place across
 the period 1919–40 104
 Imperial Federation League (IFL)
 29–30, 32, 184, 185
 imperial federation movement 2,
 13–14, 21, 29–33
 imperial identity, during First World
 War 49–51
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 54
 American influence 206
 apathy 203–4
 Australian National Defence
 League 189
 Australian Navy League 198
 British Empire League (BEL) 184,
 185, 206
 British Empire Union (BEU) 191,
 206
 characteristics 184
 class 211–12
 context and overview 183–4
 and cultural nationalism 200
 defence leagues 189
 defence role 187–8
 emergence and development 184
 Empire Development Union (EDU)
 192

- Imperial Loyalty Leagues – *continued*
 Empire Honour League (EHL) 194, 206–7
 Empire Reciprocity League (ERL) 193–4, 206
 Empire Service League (ESL) 191–3
 evaluation 207
 exchange programmes 199–200
 female elite 199
 First World War 190–1
 fundraising 203
 gender roles 183–4, 186–7, 188, 201–2, 204, 212
 Imperial Federation League (IFL) 184, 185
 imperial sentiment 194–201
 inter-war 201–7
 leadership 184–5, 186–7, 188, 189–90, 191, 192, 193–4
 League of Empire (LOE) 188–9
 levels of success 200
 Melbourne Caledonian Society 201
 membership 185, 186–7, 188, 189–90, 194, 202–3, 204–5
 National Defence League (NDL) 189
 Navy League 160–2, 187–8, 202–4
 New Zealand Empire and National Service League (NZENSL) 189
 objectives 184–94
 Overseas Club/League 190, 198, 205
 political hostility 202
 politics of 206–7
 problems 195–7
 Round Table 189–90, 195–6, 211
 Royal Colonial Institute (RCI) 184–5
 Royal Society of St George (RSSG) 184, 185–6
 schools 188, 202–3
 Second Boer War, 1899–1902 186
 tyranny of distance 199
 Victoria League 186–7, 194–5, 198, 204–5
- Imperial Press Conferences 100
 imperial sentiment
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 194–201
 post-war 67–8
- Imperial Society of Dance Teachers 87
 imperial values, in schools 162–71
 imperialism
 challenges from youth
 organisations 151–2
 and nationalism 15–16
 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) 138, 141
 India, press coverage 114, 115–16
 Inglis, Ken 34, 71
 instrumentalism 27, 33–7
 inter-urban rivalry 66–7
 International Architectural Exhibition, 1927 84–5
 international exhibitions 23
 internationalism
 inter-war 146–7
 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) 140–1, 143
 Ireland, press coverage 114–15
 Irvine-Smith, F.L. 73
 Irvine, William 70
- Jackson, Hugh 9
 jamborees 147–8
 jazz 87, 89
 Jebb, Richard 12–14
 Johnston, E. 178
- 'King and Country' enlistment myth 60
 King's Birthday 155, 158
 Kingston, Beverley 9
 Kirkpatrick, G.R. 135
 Knight, C.R. 84
 Kuhn, A. 94
- Lamond, Stephanie 177
 land values 79
 Lang, Matthew 10
 Langley, Rev. H.A. 36
 League of Empire (LOE) 188–9
 exchange programme 199–200
 League of Honour 138
 Lemmon, John 160
Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home (Harper) 60
 Lewis, Miles 76
 lighting 83

- Limbrick, Peter 93–4
 liminality 21
 Lippencott, R.A. 78–9
 literacy, press response 105
 local exhibitions 179–82
 Australian Manufactures and
 Products Exhibition 180
 localism, exhibitions 173
 loyalist nationalism 17
 loyalty, dual 16–17
 Luttrell Brothers 78
- MacDonald, Donald 136, 157
 Macintyre, Stuart 3, 9, 14, 20
 MacKenzie, John 18, 19–20, 43, 91,
 92, 102, 172, 183
 MacKenzie-Richards thesis 91, 92
 Madden, John 137
 Mafeking celebrations 41–3
 Malone, E.P. 170
 Marshall, Sally 147
 Martin, Ged 29
 masculinity
 Imperial Loyalty Leagues 183–4,
 188, 201–2, 204, 212
 personal 65–6
 Massey, William 51, 55, 66
 Matthews, Jill 89, 210
 Mayer, H. 104
 McCarty, J.W. 173
 McCurdy, Diana 130, 134
 McEacharn, Malcolm 11
 McElland, L.H. 191–2
 McEwen, Ann 75, 84, 85
 McGibbon, Ian 59
 McIntyre, David 121
 McKenna, Mark 117
 McKernan, Michael 167
 McLeary, A. 173
 McNeil, Eleanor 141
 Meaney, Neville 16
 Melbourne
 Mayors/ Lord Mayors 10–11
 population 8–9
 Melbourne Caledonian Society
 (MCS) 201
 Melbourne International
 Exhibition 173–6
 floorplan 174
- memorial culture 67–70
 memorials
 and civic pride 71–2
 to imperial figures 73–4
 symbolism vs. utility 70–1
 Meredith, D. 7
 middle-class culture 210–11
 middle-class elitism 183
 migration, women 138–9, 205
 militarism, youth organisations 130–1,
 135–6
 Mirams, Gordon 97
 missionary activity 143
 monarchy, recasting 24
 Moore, William Harrison 197
 Moorhouse, Bishop 32
 morality
 defence of 88–9
 and press 119
 Morell, W.P. 16
 Morgan, Simon 55
 Morris, E.E. 32
- National Defence League (NDL) 189
 nationalism
 changing attitudes to 146–7
 cultural nationalism 200
 emergence 13–14
 during First World War 49–51
 historical perspectives 14–18
 and imperialism 15–16
 Scouting and Guiding 132–7
 Young Australia League (YAL)
 144
 Young Women's Christian
 Association (YWCA) 138
 youth organisations 136–7
 Navy League 160–2, 187,
 202–4
 New Zealand
 attitude to Empire 28
 Britishness 9
 exports 1905–9 6
 exports 1929–33 7
 imports 1905–9 6
 imports 1929–33 7
 population 9–10
 street names 73
 trade 6–7

- New Zealand and South Seas
 International Exhibition 176–8
- New Zealand Empire and National Service League (NZENSL) 189
- New Zealand Herald* 30, 31, 36–7, 65, 105–6
- New Zealand Truth* 88–9
- New Zealanders, and British 63
- news syndication 2
- newsreels 91
- North American culture 210
 cinema 91–8
 context and overview 73–5
 dance halls 85–90
 influence on built environment 75–85
 opportunities to study architecture 75–6
 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) 139–40, 141–3
- Norton, John 108–9, 119
- novels 45–6
- Oceana* (Froude) 11
- Oppenheimer, Melanie 40, 55
- oral histories 57
- Orientalism* (Said) 20
- Ornamentalism 73
- O'Rorke, Cecilia 135
- Orr, Kirsten 172
- Otago Daily Times* 40
- Otago Witness* 39
- Ottawa Conference 122–5
- outdoor culture, youth organisations 133
- Overseas Club/League 190, 198, 205
- pacifism, youth organisations 141
- Pageant of Empire 25
- Paradise Reforged* (Belich) 17–18, 20
- Parkin, G.R. 32–3
- Parsons, Gwen 54
- passive resistance 141
- patriotic work
 children 167–8
 women 55
- patriotism
 localised 55, 66
 in popular culture 44
 practical 198
 of troops 57
- Paul, Aron 116, 155
- peace scouting 132–4
- Peace Scouting for Girls* (Cossgrove) 133
- personalisation, of warfare 51
- Phillips, Jock 50–1, 70–1
- photography 108, 110
- physical fitness, youth organisations 141–2
- Pickles, Katie 71, 138, 199
- Pilling, Edward 62–3
- Pinkstone, B. 7
- Plant, Vikki 182
- political hostility, Imperial Loyalty Leagues 202
- political relationships 2
- popular culture 43–6
- popular nationalism 17
- popular sentiment, Imperial Loyalty Leagues 194–201
- popular support, Second Boer War, 1899–1902 41
- population
 concentrations, Australia 8–9
 concentrations, New Zealand 9–10
- Porter, Bernard 18–19, 154, 211, 212
- post-colonial studies 20
- Potter, Simon 100–1
- Poynton, Mr 26–7
- practical patriotism 198
- pre-war diplomacy, press coverage 125–7
- press 2
 academic study 102
 attitudes to Empire 27–9, 210
 attitudes to First World War 21–2
 change of approach to war 64–5
 circulation 110
 content 22
 coverage 102, 110
 coverage of Empire day 156–7
 coverage of war 34–5
 daily and weekly newspapers 105
 death of Gordon 34–7
 editorial policy 110
 evolution 105–10
 explanatory role 101

- federationism 30–2, 33
 Festival of Empire 26
 formats and prices 108
 and gender roles 105
 Imperial Federation League (IFL) 30
 influences on 108–9
 July 1914 crisis and threat of war 52–3
 local exhibitions 181
 Melbourne International
 Exhibition 175–6
 morality 119
 photography 108, 110
 rhetoric 212
 role in Empire 100–1
 Second Boer War, 1899–1902 38–41
 sensationalism 108–9
 technology 105, 108
 war weariness 47
see also individual newspapers
The Press 36, 52–3, 105–6
 press and Empire
 Chanak Crisis 112–14
 context and overview 99–103
 Empire in daily press 111–12
 imperial and international news
 items in five Antipodean papers,
 1895 111
 imperial and international news
 items in five Antipodean papers,
 1908 111
 imperial and international news
 items in five Antipodean papers,
 1920 111
 imperial and international news
 items in five Antipodean papers,
 1935 112
 imperial conferences 121–5
 imperial events 1919–40 104
 indexes 112
 India 114, 115–16
 Ireland 114–15
 methodology 103–5
 newspapers studied 103, 103–4
 Ottawa Conference 122–5
 pre-war diplomacy 125–7
 royalty 116–21
 summary and conclusions 127–8
 Price Jones, Mostyn 60
 Price, Richard 19, 42
 Prince of Wales' birthday 158–9
Problems of Greater Britain (Dilke) 12
 Proctor, Tammy 130
 proficiency badges 149–50
 prohibition 143
Propaganda and Empire
 (MacKenzie) 19–20, 43
 quasi-prohibition 87–8
 Queen Victoria, civic tributes 73–4
Quick March 69
 quota system, film distribution 96–7
 racial barriers 211–12
 racketeering 90
 railway stations 79
 re-colonisation 17
 recruitment, localised 66–7
 Rees, J. 68
 Reeves, W.P. 33
 Reid, George 154
 Reidi, Eliza 186
 religion
 Australians 8–9
 images 172
 New Zealand 9
 Returned Servicemen's
 associations 67–9
 Returned Servicemen's journals,
 imperial sentiment 67–9
 Reynolds, Annie 138
 rhetoric 212
 Richards, Jeffrey 91, 97
 Richardson, Henry Hobson 77
 Robson, L.L. 57
 Rogers, S.D. 62
 romanticism 33–7
 Round Table 189–90, 195–6, 197, 211
Round Table 58
 Royal Colonial Institute (RCI) 184–5
 Royal Society of St George (RSSG)
 184, 200–1, 205–6
 royalty
 celebrity 210
 changing attitudes to 117–19
 press coverage 116–21
 Rush Building system 80
 'Russian scares' 33–4, 37
 Ryan, Deborah 25

- Saarinen's entry for the
Chicago Tribune Building
Competition 81
- Said, Edward 20
- Sandford, F.W. 148
- Scates, Bruce 71, 72
- school cadet movement 136
- School Journal* 170
- school journals 170–1
- schools
Boers and the British at Napier
Street School, Auckland 165
- Empire Day 162–71
histories 168–9
- Imperial Loyalty Leagues 188, 202–3
- imperial values 162–71
- levels of education 167–8
- logs of Empire Day 166
- Trafalgar Day 160–1
- Schrader, Ben 80
- Scouting
Baden-Powell visits 150–1
- challenge to imperialism 151–2
- expansion 134–5
- and Guiding 132–7
- inter-war 146–52
- internationalism and
imperialism 147–50
- nationalism 149–50
- schism 137
- Second Boer War, 1899–1902 21,
37–41
- Imperial Loyalty Leagues 186
- Mafeking celebrations 41–3
- peace 48
- popular culture 43–6
- postcard depiction 47
- weariness of 46–8
- weekly newspapers 108
- Seddon, Richard 154
- Seeley, J.R. 1–2
- Sekules, P. 68
- sensationalism, press 108–9
- Shaw, Peter 79
- Sheffield, Gary 59
- Sheftall, M.D. 59–60
- Shrine of Remembrance 71–2,
74
- Silvester, Victor 87
- Simons, J.J. 143–6
- Simpson, C. 142–3
- Sinclair, Keith 17, 155
- six o'clock swill 87–8
- Skeeman, J.L. 56–7
- skyscrapers 76, 80–3
- Smart, Judith 54
- Smith, Anthony 101
- Snowden, Arthur 10
- social class
and architecture 85
- Imperial Loyalty Leagues 211–12
- and Melbourne International
Exhibition 175
- social division, Australia 27
- social laboratory 16
- socio-cultural relationships 2
- songs 46, 171
- Springhall, John 131
- Stanfield, Stan 59
- The Star* 54
- Stevenson, Jean 140
- Stillwell, Florence 139
- The Streets of My City*
(Irvine-Smith) 73
- street names, New Zealand 73
- Strong Berry, Archibald 65
- Studies in Colonial Nationalism*
(Jebb) 13
- Sudan campaign 34–5
- Sullivan, Louis 77
- The Sun* 52, 55, 65, 67, 109
- Sun News-Pictorial* 109
- symbolism, memorials 70–1
- tariffs, Australia 7–8
- Tate, Frank 171
- Tebbutt, Melanie 87
- technology
built environment 77–8,
83
- press 105, 108
- telegraph 108
- tensions, international 30
- theatre 44–5
- Thompson, Andrew 18, 154
- Thomson, Alistair 70
- The Times* 47
- Tolerton, Jane 69

- trade 2–3
 New Zealand 6–7
 Victoria (Australia) 3–6, 7–8
see also economic ties
- Trafalgar Day 160–2
- Trainor, Richard 10
- travel writings 11–14
- Trentmann, Frank 146–7
- troop departures
 First World War 55–6
 Second Boer War, 1899–1902
 38–40
- troops
 assessment of 56–7
 consciousness of Empire 60–3
 motivations 57, 58–63, 65
 relationships 63–4
- The Truth* 108–9
- The Truth* (Melbourne) 88–9, 90
- Tsokhas, Kosmas 121
- turn to the personal 64–5
- Turner, C.A.P. 77
- tyranny of distance 199
- unity 184
 as class concern 183
 expression of 116
 ideas of 1–2, 100–1, 157
- utility, memorials 70–1
- Vaudeville 44
- Vella, Stephen 101
- Verhey, Geoffrey 54
- Victoria (Australia)
 exports 1906–10 3
 exports 1935–9 5
 imports 1906–10 4
 imports 1935–9 4–5
 trade 3–6, 7–8
 UK settlers 8
- Victoria Education Gazette 162
- Victoria League 186–7, 194–5, 198,
 204–5
- Visions of Empire* (Beaven) 210–11
- Vogel, Julius 179
- volleyball 142
- voluntary enlistment, decline in
 64–7
- volunteerism 40–1, 55
- war enthusiasm 51–6
- war tourism 60, 63
- war weariness 46–8
- Ward, Joseph 28, 55
- warfare, appeal of 168
- Warren, Allen 129
- Waterhouse, Richard 44
- weekly newspapers 105, 108
- Wellington East Post Office
 Building 82
- Westerns 94
- White, Richard 60, 63
- Wilcox, Craig 37–8
- Wilson, Mary 70
- Windett, Nancy 125
- Witherby, Percival 191, 192–3
- Wolfe, Bruce 92
- women
 in dance halls 88
 migration 138–9, 205
 patriotic work 55
 threat of moral degradation 89
- Wood, G.M. 124
- Woods, Megan 55
- working-class 211
- working-class literacy, press
 response 105
- World Camps 148–9
- Wrench, Evelyn 190
- Young Australia League (YAL) 23,
 143–6, 212
- Young, Linda 173
- Young Women's Christian Association
 (YWCA) 137–42
 American influence 138, 139–40,
 141–3
 challenge to imperialism 151–2
 disarmament 143
 globalisation 138
 imperialism 138, 141
 internationalism 140–1, 143
 missionary activity 143
 nationalism and imperialism 138
 pacifism 141
 physical fitness 141–2
- youth organisations 212
 attitudes to 130–1
 Baden-Powell visits 150–1

youth organisations – *continued*

- challenges to imperialism 151–2
- competition between 134–5
- context and overview 129–32
- costs to parents 149
- Empire Sentinels 132
- expansion of Scouts and Guides 134–5
- and gender roles 133
- gender roles 134–5
- Girl Citizens Movement (GCM) 142–3
- as global movements 134–5
- historiography 130
- internationalism and imperialism 147–50

- militarism 135–6
- nationalism 136–7, 149–50
- outdoor culture 133
- pacifism 141
- peace scouting 132–4
- physical fitness 141–2
- school cadet movement 136
- Scouting and Guiding 132–7, 146–52
- Young Australia League (YAL) 143–6
- Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) 137–42
- youth problem, Britain 129
- Ziino, Bart 65–6